HISTERIA!

2016

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Contents

EDITORIAL PREFACE
Sasha Rasmussen iii

HISTORY 92F – FOUNDATION HISTORY
Lanesha Panui 1

HISTORY 106 – EUROPE TRANSFORMED: PRE-MODERN TO PRESENT
Erin Ramsay 7

HISTORY 108 – RISE AND FALL OF THE USA
Erin Lee 14

HISTORY 204 – CATASTROPHE AND CONSERVATION IN THE PACIFIC
Mariata Pittman 20

HISTORY 264 – HOLLYWOOD'S AMERICA: HISTORY THROUGH FILM
Alexandra Smith 28

HISTORY 300 – THINKING HISTORY: APPROACHES TO THE PAST
Caitlin Abley 36

HISTORY 342 – EARLY MODERN JAPAN 1600-1868
Aiden Williamson 45

HISTORY 367 – HEALTH, MEDICINE AND SOCIETY
Bridget McLay 50

HISTORY 735 – SAINTS AND SINNERS, c. 300-800 CE
Anthony Artus 59

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EDITORIAL PREFACE

Welcome to *Histeria!* 2016, an edited collection of some of the best student work submitted in courses offered by the disciplinary area of History in 2015. The purpose of this collection is twofold: to celebrate the intellectual achievements of the students whose work is here included, and to serve as a compendium of model essays which future students may use to guide them in their own writing. As such, student work from all university stages is represented, from foundation to honours level.

The essays presented here were chosen because they exemplify many essential elements of writing good history: fluency of expression; focused arguments with clear and compelling structure; exceptional research and a consistent use of evidence to support their claims; and depth of analysis and critical engagement with their topic and material. However, what I believe sets these essays apart is a touch of daring: the flexibility of intellect demonstrated by the authors, and their courage in approaching their topic from an unconventional or original angle. In compiling this selection, I have also sought to represent the disciplinary area of History in all its breadth and diversity. As such, the essays which follow explore a variety of geographical and temporal settings, from the Europe of late antiquity to twentieth-century Hollywood. A variety of methodological approaches are also represented; alongside the more traditional research essay, there are pieces with a strong historiographical bent, or which offer a close reading of a particular document within its historical context. Several of the essays included here pose the interesting question of how to tackle unusual or unruly historical objects – for example, how might one study the history of the Pacific Ocean, when it will not lie still to be analysed?

We begin with Lanesha Panui, whose work offers keen insights into the changing nature of Maori leadership at the turn of the century. Panui's analysis considers both Maori and Pakeha social structures and traditional forums, and discusses how particular figures each embodied new ways of thinking about leadership within a Maori context. The first of our stage I contributors, Erin Ramsay stresses the importance of the historian's own voice in the process of writing history. Ramsay argues not only that meanings and practices surrounding gender were under constant negotiation through social practice in Europe in the Early Modern period, but also that the interpretations subsequently imposed by historians are highly contingent on the historian's particular motivations and experiences. Erin Lee offers a similarly thoughtful consideration of the power dynamics of slavery in America, using the autobiographical writings of Frederick Douglass to reflect on the role of resistance in the lives of African-American slaves. Her critical analysis of the various types of resistance offered by those enslaved adds nuance to traditional narratives, asserting that through these means, slaves could to some degree become agents of their own empowerment.

At stage II, Mariata Pittman weaves an intricate narrative which combines the personal and the more broadly historical. Through the history of her own family, Pittman explores the long history of the Pacific Ocean in all its variety, from whalers to conservationists, integrating aspects of social, cultural and environmental history in the process. Alexandra Smith takes on another challenging historical source, this time in the form of a Hollywood film – '*It*'. Using the film as a touchstone, Smith explores ideas of gender, sexuality and social norms in 1920s America, arguing that the vision of modern life promoted in the film represents a departure from Victorian social norms and values, replacing these with new ideals of consumption, leisure and social mobility.

At stage III, Caitlin Abley takes one of the big historical questions by the horns, considering the transformation of the notion of historical 'truth' within the profession over the last few decades. Acknowledging that historians have become increasingly at ease with the notion of co-existing historical 'truths', Abley argues that we must now consider how this development of plurality has affected the way in which the general public engages with the past. Aidan Williamson's essay focuses on the memoirs of a German traveller, Engelbert Kaempfer, who visited Japan in the late seventeenth century. Williamson skilfully sifts through Kaempfer's misunderstandings and prejudices to consider what such a document can tell us about the objectives and values of Japanese society at that time. Bridget McLay offers a thoroughly-researched account of the importance of infant health in the early decades of the twentieth century. Her sophisticated analysis ties in themes of war and empire, and considers the ideological role of motherhood within society. At honours level, Anthony Artus' extended essay on the early church is an example of meticulous scholarship, based on extensive and original reading of an array of primary and secondary literature. Artus' object of study is the body and its conflicting roles in the early Christian imaginary, as both a means to achieving sanctity and a sinful obstacle.

Although some minor formatting changes have been made in the editing process, the work and ideas presented here remain those of the students themselves. It has been my pleasure to compile this selection of exceptional essays, and I extend my thanks to all staff and students who submitted essays for consideration. It is my firm hope that this collection will prove interesting and useful to students in their study of history, and I wish you all the best in this endeavour for 2016.

Sasha Rasmussen ***January 2016***

HISTORY 92F – FOUNDATION HISTORY

Lanesha Panui

What was new about the styles of Maori Leadership which emerged in the first half of the twentieth century, and what was their impact?

Messiahs, Mana Wahine and Young Colts in the Twentieth Century

In the first half of the twentieth century, Maori had a precarious position in a society for which they had laid the foundation. The 100% ownership of their ancestral lands had fallen immensely to the takeover of European settlement, and their population was in steep decline due to Influenza and the like. With an entire culture in crisis, and no real grasp on the future, the elders turned to their usual traditional remedies fashioned for old grievances. Then came a new generation of leaders that emerged with styles of leadership never seen before by their predecessors and their Pakeha counterparts. Parry best defines leadership as "the presentation by a person of some identifiable vision that people can aspire to; and their willingness to follow the leader along a socially responsible mutually beneficial pathway, toward that vision."[1] In a time where Maori had very little to aspire too and were in dire need of an uplifting, the new leaders came to their aid and transitioned Maori into a period of significant change. In this time Te Puea Herangi became the most influential Maori female leader in New Zealand, the prophet leader Rua Kenana set up his new Israelite community at Maungapohatu, and the Young Maori Party utilized the best of both worlds.

The Young Maori Party, established in 1897 was a loose association of men who were all graduates of Te Aute College in Hawkes Bay. The Young Maori Party utilized a somewhat covert, or undercover, style of leadership. They turned away from protests and humble groupings and used their education and familiarity with European civilization to work their way up the political rankings and make their changes. Selwyn Katene agrees with the appeal of educated Maori in leadership roles at the time in saying “educated Māori became the modern day equivalent of the tohunga.”[2] Peter Buck, Maui Pomare and Apirana Ngata were the most prominent members of the group of young men determined to use the Pakeha health and education systems to benefit Maori, and improve their socio-political standing while preserving their culture.[3] The men, taken under the wing of James Carroll, were associated with new and innovative health measures adopted by the government that had a significant impact in the Maori community. During his time in the Eastern Maori seat and as Native Minister, Ngata pushed for Maori in developing their own lands. He also assisted Carroll in drafting important pieces of legislation to allow Maori more representation and greater say in Parliament.[4] Pomare was made Maori health officer and worked to improve the health practices in many Maori settlements, advocating the use of Pakeha health-care services.[5] Additionally, Buck was made Medical Officer of the Department of Health in 1905, and emphasised in his election speech that he “championed Maori rights and hoped that the Government would listen to the [Maori] exhortations.”[6] In their efforts, the Young Maori Party aided Maori in a smooth transition into European civilization. Their new approach to leadership and Maori grievances using European remedies and the power of education, lead them to leave a lasting mark.

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[1] K. W. Parry, *Transformational leadership: developing an enterprising management Culture,* Melbourne, 1996, p.14

Te Puea Herangi was the female leader, often regarded as Princess, for the Maori king movement in the Waikato in the twentieth century. Granddaughter to the second Maori King Tawhiao Te Wherowhero, Herangi was to play a crucial role in the revitalization of the Tainui Kingitanga or King Movement.[7] Te Puea first arrived on the scene during the First World War, a time when women were not commonly in positions of power. It has been said that the general consensus of early writers on traditional Māori leadership was that leadership [anywhere] was exercised primarily by males and that being the first born in the male line was the deciding factor in succession to ariki or rangatira level.[8] This was a similar outlook in the European society of the time. Being that this was not the case for Te Puea, it is not surprising that she was met with a cold reception upon taking up her leadership status. The pot was stirred even more by her occasional breaking of tradition "by standing and speaking in public, for example, which Maori women did not do conventionally."[9] Te Puea persevered against her critics and adopted a role in the community often unseen in previous leaders. She lead her people not with an iron fist or dictatorially, but with the generosity and care of a mother figure to the Kingitanga. Her solidarity to Tainui was first consolidated in her firm stance against the Government's conscription policy. She provided "much needed encouragement" to the men forced into camps for their refusal to enlist, and her stance against conscription held fast even through to the Second World War.[10] This motherly, nurturing style is seen again in her moving of the Mangatawhiri settlement to a building on reclaimed land in the Waikato to be called Turangawaewae marae. The comfortable new home replaced the 'swampy conditions' of their previous settlement, and housed the children orphaned due to influenza.[11] Her extensive list of achievements for Maori betterment does not do her real impact any justice and even so it is said that there was little recognition for the poverty and powerlessness she fought for.[12] Not only did she make big moves for Maori of the time in health and many other sectors, but her nurturing nature opened the doors for Maori women in leadership. She was "followed by a new wave of Maori women" and, after the establishment of the Maori Women's Welfare League in 1951, was elected its first patron.[13]

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[2] Selwyn Katene, ‘Modelling Maori leadership: What makes for good leadership?*’, MAI Review*, 2010, vol. 2. Retrieved 7 October 2015, from http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/viewFile/334/477

[3] Ann Sullivan, ‘Tōrangapū – Māori and political parties - The emergence of the party system’*, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 13-Jul-2012, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/torangapu-maori-and-political-parties/page-2

[4] M. P. K. Sorrenson, ‘Ngata, Apirana Turupa’, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 4-Dec-2013, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3n5/ngata-apirana-turupa

[5] Graham Butterworth, ‘Pomare, Maui Wiremu Piti Naera’, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 20-Oct-2012, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3p30/pomare-maui-wiremu-piti-naera

[6] R. Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: A Struggle without End,* Auckland, 1990.

[7] Angela Ballara, *Te Kingitanga: The People of the Maori King Movement,* Auckland, 1996, p.9

Also emergent in the 1900s was Rua Kenana Hepetipa, Tuhoe prophet and faith healer from the Urewera. During the time when Urewera country was under threat of mining Rua emerged with his claim to the title Te Mihaia Hou – the new messiah – focussed on the return of Maori lands and on the end of Pakeha rule in New Zealand.[14] Prophet leaders were not uncommon at the time, with the likes of Te Kooti of the Ringatu and T.W. Ratana and his ‘morehu’ also in existence. Yet what was different about Rua, in comparison to Ratana for instance, was that Ratana referred to himself as ‘Te Mangai’ or the ‘mouthpiece’ of God.[15] Rua, on the other hand, presented himself as “the brother to Christ” and disagreed with Ratana’s ‘facts’, particularly on the coming of Christ.[16] In this he differentiated his style of leadership, from run-of-the-mill prophet to ‘the Chosen one’. Furthermore, while other religious groups in many ways set themselves up to Europeanise Maori, Rua rejected the European influence for his people and lead them to a life of isolation at Maungapohatu where they would devise their own leadership. The creation of ‘the City of God’ in the Urewera illuminated the separatism of the group from Pakeha rule, calling themselves ‘iharaira’ or Israelites. Despite his rejection of their influence, Rua adopted and adapted many Pakeha standards for their settlement, including many hygiene and housing standards, such as the addition of wash basins in every house and the prohibition of horses on the main street.[17] Of the appeals to his new style of religious leadership, the faith healer had a religious superiority of sorts. Many prophets who had gone before him had told the stories of their messages from God, yet were never witnessed. What distinguished Rua from the rest was the acceptance from the major tohunga of the Ringatu, Eria Raukura. A “shower of shooting stars, signalling the rise of a new prophet” that fell over Maungapohatu, after which Eria baptised Rua as the Messiah, may have played a large role in his devout following.[18] Nevertheless, he was highly innovative. Despite irreconcilably dividing the Tuhoe, Rua guided his people at a time of inevitable change and ignited the fires of faith in a hopeless people.

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[8] Katene

[9] M. King, (rev. ed.), *Maori: A Photographic and Social History,* Auckland, 1996.

[10] Ballara, p.114

[11] Ibid. p.115

[12] Ibid. p.123

[13] Ibid. p.118

It was said that Māori society tended to look to those with higher education for guidance and advice in coping with the modern world and for leadership of traditional and contemporary Māori structures.[19] Whether the higher education stemmed from tertiary institutes, a noble mentor and personal determination, or the word of God Himself, all leaders explored were influential and held extensive respect and nobility amongst their groupings. In many areas, especially those of particular importance to Maori, i.e. land and health, the new leaders of the time excelled in their ambitions and took advantage of their unique approaches. Rua and his prophetic guidance lead the Tuhoe people out of an imminent ruin. Te Puea lead the Kingitanga to a more comfortable existence in Ngaruawahia, potentially preventing their wiping out at the hands of influenza, amongst many other things; and the Young Maori Party shone a light on Pakeha systems that would later greatly benefit Maori communities. They all had individual impacts on their people and Maori as a whole, and contributed to the progression of a deprived culture in many areas. They all set up legislation and measures that would ensure the turning point of Maori’s decline. What greater impact is there than progression?

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[14] Judith Binney, 'Rua Kenana Hepetipa', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand,* updated 30-Oct-2012, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3r32/rua-kenana-hepetipa

[15] Walker, p.181

[16] Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplin and Craig Wallace, *Mihaia: the Prophet Rua Kenana and his community at Maungapohatu,* Wellington, 1979, pp.15, 158.

[17] Walker, p.92

[18] Binney et al., *Mihaia*, p.20

[19] Katene

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HISTORY 106 – EUROPE TRANSFORMED: PRE-MODERN TO PRESENT

Erin Ramsay

Based on your reading of the following, how did ideas about gender influence the experience of European people during the Early Modern period? Why, in your view, do these scholars offer different explanations?

Gender ideology in early modern Europe was undoubtedly centred around patriarchal belief in gender hierarchy, as well as ideas about the fixed nature of both men and women, but interpretations of the impact of such ideology on European people's lives – especially women's – have varied. Historians Susan Dwyer Amussen and Julie Hardwick argue primarily that early modern gender ideology negatively impacted women. By contrast, Martin Ingram and Diane Purkiss do not indicate that impacts of both masculine and feminine gender norms were either overwhelmingly positive or negative, but offer more complex readings of the custom of charivari and of witchcraft than other authors. Finally, Natalie Z. Davis and Silvia Evangelisti state that early modern ideas about gender did allow for the challenging of social hierarchy and some limited freedoms for women. The differences in these explanations can be attributed to differences in source material, the aspect of society analysed, and the scholar's own personal historical viewpoint.

Susan Dwyer Amussen predominantly addresses how early modern ideas about gender negatively impacted women.[1] For example, Amussen notes that married women were paid less for their work, it being deemed less important than men's.[2] Amussen states that the idea women were inherently inferior to men resulted in fewer political and legal freedoms and a lack of education for women, which in turn reinforced the idea that women were incapable, encouraging further subordination.[3] Amussen states that one impact of the prevalent idea that women were naturally sexually insatiable was that widows were believed to be more likely to transgress sexually and were placed under greater scrutiny by their peers, as they did not have a husband to fulfil their perceived sexual needs.[4] Widow Katharine Parker of Hellesdon, for example, was suspected of sexual misconduct simply because a male servant lived with her.[5] Finally, Amussen discusses the expectation of violence by husbands towards their wives, because women were considered 'inherently unruly'.[6] Amussen places herself within the context of feminist scholarship, which may explain why she is more concerned with negative impacts of gender ideology on women.[7] For example, Amussen, unlike Natalie Z. Davis and Martin Ingram, definitively states that the purpose of charivari – a ritual involving the shaming of men who had suffered violence at the hands of their wives – was to remind women of their place.[8] As a feminist historian, Amussen may have been more likely to connect this event, as well as the other evidence surrounding gender ideology that she discusses, to the oppression of women.

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[1] Susan Dwyer Amussen, 'The Gendering of Popular Culture in Early Modern England,' in Tim Harris, ed., *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500-1850*, London, 1995, pp.50-51.

[2] Ibid., p.53.

[3] Ibid., p.55.

Like Amussen, Julie Hardwick focuses on the negative impacts of early modern gender ideas, looking specifically at women seeking separations in Early Modern France.[9] Hardwick examines the legal challenges presented to women due to patriarchal gender expectations, in particular, noting that women were careful to indicate to courts they had not provoked any harm done to them and had shown "obedience, respect and duty [obéissances, respects et devoirs]" towards their husbands.[10] Witnesses had to prove a husband had "beat and exceeded [batta et excedda]" his wife, to indicate he had gone beyond what was deemed socially acceptable treatment of her.[11] One Pierre Laporte in 1676 justified his violent behaviour towards his wife to the court by stating that he had merely attempted to restore order to the household after she had stolen property from him.[12] Hardwick notes that judges took a husband’s inability to manage the economy of his household into account over other factors, a weighting which resulted from the idea that a man failing in his role as provider and head of the household was more transgressive in terms of masculinity than one who beat his wife.[13] The similarities between Hardwick and Amussen’s conclusions – that Early Modern gender understandings resulted in women’s oppression – can be explained by the case studies that Hardwick uses. Rulings in legal cases reflect the opinions of the judiciary. While within popular culture understandings of gender may have been more flexible (as seen when neighbours banded together to protect women from domestic violence), the judiciary had an obligation to uphold ‘official’ or normative gender ideology, which could be why, overall, Hardwick’s article implies that ideas about gender subordinated women rather than offering them freedom.[14]

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[4] Ibid., p.57.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., pp.65-66.
[7] Ibid., p.50.
[8] Ibid., p.66; Natalie Z. Davis, 'Women on Top', in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*, Stanford, 1975, p.140; Martin Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the Reform of "Popular Culture" in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 105, 1984, p.94.
[9] Julie Hardwick, 'Seeking Separations: Gender, Marriages and Household Economies in Early Modern France', *French Historical Studies*, 21, 1998, pp.157-80.
[10] Ibid., p.163.
[11] Ibid., p.165.
[12] Ibid., p.174.

Martin Ingram addresses the custom of charivari, but differs in judgement regarding what the ritual reveals about impacts of gender understandings to Natalie Z. Davis and Susan Amussen. Ingram states that most English charivari, also known as “ridings”, occurred due to the domination, including physical assault, of a husband by his wife.[15] Ingram, in agreement with Amussen, reiterates that the notion that women should remain submissive was what officially occasioned charivaris, quoting a participant of a 1604 riding in Suffolk who stated that its aim was not only to shame the transgressive woman for her actions, but to set an example for other women.[16] According to Ingram, however, charivaris were more common during festivals or holiday periods.[17] This suggests ideas about gender could provide opportunities for entertainment or festival tradition rather than simply producing punitive or didactic customs. In agreement with Davis, Ingram states that charivari could suggest to ordinary Early Modern people that existing hierarchies were not infallible and could be challenged.[18] However, he disagrees directly with Davis’ idea that charivari encouraged the subversive behaviour of women.[19] Ingram’s more complex reading of charivari compared with Amussen and Davis is perhaps due to his choice of evidence, which includes artworks and woodcuts which portray more commonplace occurrences of charivari, rather than the rarer cases cited by Davis, when charivari were more obviously the source of inspiration for subversion of social hierarchies.[20] Ingram's lack of a clear feminist perspective may also mean that he is less inclined to adopt a particular viewpoint of charivari which might consider this practice with an agenda of illustrating either the subordination – or indeed the liberation – of women.

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[13] Ibid., pp.165-179.

[14] Ibid., p.175.

[15] Ingram, p.86.

[16] Ibid., p.93.

[17] Ibid., p.94.

[18] Ibid., p.96; Davis, pp.146-148.

[19] Ingram, p.97; Davis, p.140.

Like Ingram, Diane Purkiss, in her analysis of women's depositions at witchcraft trials, does not suggest outright that Early Modern gender ideology had solely negative or positive impacts.[21] Purkiss identifies herself as a "feminist literary critic", but her article is more of a response to past treatment by feminist historians of the topic of witchcraft.[22] Purkiss is able to draw a more neutral conclusion on the impacts of gender ideology than other authors, by re-examining and refuting past feminist claims that witchcraft was purely the result of patriarchal gender beliefs, recognising that accusations of witchcraft were also about women's own responses to gender ideology.[23] Purkiss notes that both witnesses at witchcraft trials and the accused were guided by definitions of female identity involving being mother and housewife.[24] Purkiss argues that Agnes Heard, accused in 1582 of witchcraft when Bennet Lane's spindle and milk went awry following the exchange of domestic items between the two women, is a manifestation of the anxieties around the upkeep of the women's domestic sphere, and in particular, food production.[25] Agnes' 'witchcraft' can be seen as a perceived attack on Bennet's identity, as by entering and disrupting her domestic sphere Agnes prevented Bennet from fulfilling her role as a competent housewife.[26] By using this example, among other cases in which the 'witch' is argued to be a response to anxieties about women's perceived roles as mothers and nourishers, Purkiss shows how accusations of witchcraft can be seen as resulting from an internalisation of gender expectations for women by Early Modern European women. [27]

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[20] Ingram, pp.81-95.

[21] Diane Purkiss, 'Women's Stories of Witchcraft in Early Modern England: The House, the Body, the Child', *Gender and History*, 7, 1995, pp.408-432.

[22] Ibid., p.411.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., pp.411-414.

[26] Ibid., pp.413-415.

Natalie Z. Davis and Silvia Evangelisti both argue that Early Modern gender ideology was able to indirectly empower some women.[28] For example, Davis asserts that charivari seemed to encourage the re-enacted figure of the domineering wife to continue in her subversive practice, indicating how the figure of the 'woman on top', intended as censure by patriarchal authorities, indirectly encouraged subversive female behaviour.[29] Davis also suggests that fictional transvestite saints, another kind of 'woman on top', may have inspired Joan of Arc's military crossdressing.[30] The constructed acceptability of gender inversion within carnival culture, Davis argues, led to further social subversion by men as well as women, as seen in an English 1641 riot during which cross-dressing men calling themselves "Lady Skimmington" protested against the enclosure of forests by the king.[31] Silvia Evangelisti notes that gender expectations limited the vast majority of Early Modern Italian women to either marriage or the convent.[32] Evangelisti however states that for upper-class women who became nuns, the convent could be a site of creative freedom and limited financial independence, and for laywomen, it could be a physical site of refuge, suggesting that the limitation of women's options in accordance with patriarchal ideas in practice lead to a number of women joining convents voluntarily, thereby indirectly helping such women.[33] Both Davis' and Evangelisti's conclusions that gender ideology aided women can be explained by the particular contexts they examine. Literature and carnival culture, addressed by Davis, are more likely to have encouraged subversion due to the greater flexibility of gender understandings in these areas than in domestic or legal contexts, whereas Amussen explicitly states that looking at the impacts of gender ideology in relation to popular rituals or literature is insufficient to understanding the impacts of these ideas as a whole.[34] Likewise, Evangilisti is able to highlight positive impacts of gender ideas for women due to the fact that the convent represented a liminal or marginalised space, removed from more commonplace social attitudes. Davis published her article in 1975, when feminist exposure and subversion of patriarchal norms were key to popular discourse around gender, and this may also explain why she seeks to interpret the early modern period as encouraging – albeit indirectly – the subversive behaviour of women.

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[27] Ibid., pp.416-425.

[28] Davis, pp.124-151; Silvia Evangelisti, 'Wives, Widows, and Brides of Christ: Marriage and the Convent in the Historiography of Early Modern Italy', *The Historical Journal*, 43, 2000, pp.239-246.

[29] Davis, p.140.

[30] Ibid., pp.144-145.

[31] Ibid., pp.146-148.

[32] Evangilisti, p.234.

[33] Ibid., pp.239-246.

[34] Amussen, p.49.

The six authors addressed all have varying, and at times conflicting, interpretations of how Early Modern understandings of gender impacted European people's lives. Susan Dwyer Amussen and Julie Hardwick outline gender expectations and impacts in terms of women's subordination, which can be attributed to Amussen's feminist perspective and Hardwick's particular analysis of gender within the European legal sphere. Martin Ingram and Diane Purkiss are less concerned with determining whether gender ideology was beneficial or detrimental to any particular group: Ingram is not influenced by explicit feminist preoccupations of whether gender ideas ultimately subordinated or liberated women; Purkiss, as a revisionist and a feminist, seeks to reconsider and expand on earlier, one-sided feminist opinions on witchcraft. Lastly, the feminist context in which Natalie Z. Davis produced her research, as well as the focus on more liminal spaces by both Davis and Silvia Evangelisti, explains why these authors are able to argue that ideas about gender were in fact able to empower women in certain ways.

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HISTORY 108 –RISE AND FALL OF THE USA

Erin Lee

Document analysis – 'Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglas'.

Resistance was one of the primary means by which enslaved African Americans attempted to attain personal freedom, assert their human dignity and dismantle the institution of slavery. Slave resistance as described in Frederick Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself* can be divided into three categories: physical, cultural and intellectual. These categories of resistance emerged as responses to different aspects of slavery which oppressed slaves individually and collectively; therefore, it is difficult to discern which form of resistance was of most importance, as the different types of resistance were carried out for distinct ends and in turn had distinct effects and importance. While physical and cultural resistance was of great importance to individuals and communities, these types of resistance were limited in their ability to ultimately overthrow slavery. Because of this, one could argue that intellectual resistance was most important because it played a greater part in the road to emancipation than its physical and cultural counterparts.

Physical resistance manifested a variety of ways which can be grouped as indirect and direct resistance. Silent sabotage and escaping bondage were types of resistance which fall into the indirect group.[1] Silent sabotage was the most wide spread form of slave resistance. Breaking the equipment they worked with, reducing their productivity, or in Frederick Douglass's case, purposefully letting horses loose were some of the ways in which slaves sabotaged their masters.[2] Escaping bondage, as Douglass did, was a form of slave resistance which functioned as disobedience and an assertion of a slave's right to liberty. [3] Direct physical resistance took the form of rebellions and violent confrontations between slaves and whites, although slave revolts were rare.[4] Though chances of success were near non-existent and the consequences of a revolt were brutal, armed slaves were motivated to rebel against their white masters out of desperation born from their oppression. [5] It was also rare for a slave to physically fight with a white man, the punishment for which according to lynch law was death.[6] Despite this risk, Douglass writes about two such encounters in his *Narrative.* The fight that takes place between Douglass and Mr. Covey shows Douglass resisting the horrific treatment Covey subjects him to but more importantly it illustrates Douglass's refusal to accept that he does not have the right as a human being to protect himself against bodily harm. [7] Douglass's later fight at the ship-yard further demonstrates his radical resolve to defend himself against his white counterparts. [8]

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[1] Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*, Brief 4th ed., New York and London, 2014, p.420.

[2] Douglass, Frederick, 'Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself', in David W. Blight, ed., *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself, with Related Documents*, Boston, 2006, p.79.

While physical resistance gave slaves a chance to assert the agency that slavery stripped them of, its wider impact was limited due to the largely individual nature of physical types of resistance. However, this is not to say that the types of resistance described in above were not of great importance to slaves. Covert and overt forms of physical resistance helped to sustain the psyche of slaves by reclaiming some of the power and control that slavery took from them. The effect of physical resistance on the psyche of a slave is illustrated in Douglass's description of his fight with Covey. Douglass states that his decision to fight back was a turning point for him as a slave because 'it revived in [him] a sense of [his] own manhood… and inspired [him] again with a determination to be free.' [9] The power of physical resistance lay in its ability to empower those who resisted within an institution which was constructed to nullify the individual power of enslaved African Americans. While this was a feat in itself, physical acts of resistance alone were unable to overcome the very institution they were rebelling against.

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[3] Ibid., p.111.

[4] Foner, p.421.

[5] Ibid., p.422.

[6] Douglass, p.104.

[7] Ibid., p.88.

[8] Ibid., p.104.

[9] Ibid., p.89.

In response to the prevalent brutality of slavery cultural resistance was an assertion of humanity that aided slaves in coping with the conditions of their bondage. Practicing religion, singing, speaking native languages, marrying and maintaining families were the main ways in which African American slaves created their communities and retained their individual and collective identity. Slave religion evolved to be markedly different than the hypocritical white Christianity, focusing on the redemption, equality and brotherhood of the Christian message which enforced the powerful belief that the institution of slavery was a sinful one.[10] Singing, both religious and secular was a crucial way slaves expressed sorrow, joy and hope for freedom. [11] For slaves who had been brought to America from Africa, the use of their native tongue was a way of retaining their identity and also undermining the omnipotent control of their masters and overseers. Although slave marriages weren't recognised by law, many slaves married despite the constant threat of separation by way of being sold.[12] Douglass describes a different kind of familial separation in chapter one of his *Narrative*, the standard practice of taking babies from their mothers before they are twelve months at which point they are taken to a farm a significant distance away to be cared for by old women.[13] Despite this cruel separation, his mother walked twelve miles a handful of times in order to forge something that resembled a mother-son relationship.[14]

Although cultural resistance was essential in maintaining the spirit of slaves, it created a paradox in which their strategies of survival perpetuated the same institution that threatened them. Cultural resistance served as a coping mechanism which sustained slaves throughout the most brutal and bleak moments of their bondage; without them life as a slave would have been impossible to endure. The types of resistance described above were ways in which slaves were able to assert their humanity over the notion that they were merely property. Religion was of particular importance to slave resistance not only as a form of resistance itself, but because it gave slaves the hope of deliverance and the conviction that slavery was an abuse against their God-given rights. While this hope and conviction could empower slaves to carry out other types of resistance, it functioned primarily as a way of coping within the system of slavery, the result ultimately meant that slaves lived to be slaves another day.

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[10] Ibid., pp.119-124; Foner, p.418.

[11] Douglass, p.51; Foner, p.418.

[12] Ibid., p.414.

[13] Douglass, p.42.

[14] Ibid., p.43.

Intellectual resistance, though more abstract than its counterparts, was the form of resistance that had the most potential to improve the lives of slaves. Forms of intellectual resistance included learning to read and write in secret, and clandestinely teaching others these skills. Though Douglass initially received his education from his master's wife Sophia Auld, the bulk of his education was done secretly in defiance of his master.[15] Over several years Douglass became literate by befriending poor white boys and giving them bread in return for lessons, baiting boys into writing competitions so he could learn from them, copying words from a spelling book with chalk on pavements and fences and practicing writing in discarded copy-books of the child of his master.[16] There was a period during Douglass's stay at St. Michaels when a young white man endeavoured to teach slaves to read the New Testament. However, this was cut short when church leaders in the community attacked the Sabbath school and forbade any similar gatherings.[17] Douglass's next encounter with intellectual resistance came in the form of his teaching at Sabbath school throughout his first year with Mr. Freeland.[18] When considering his time teaching his fellow slaves Douglass says that 'it was the delight of [his] soul to be… bettering the condition of [his] race', indicating the importance of literacy to Douglass, his friends, and his race. [19]

Unlike cultural and physical resistance which posed little threat to the machinery of slavery, intellectual resistance was regarded by whites as dangerous as it caused slaves to become conscious of their human rights. While Douglass does place significance on other forms of resistance, as discussed in this essay, the continued stress upon literacy as the most effective form of resistance throughout his *Narrative* indicates its greater importance. Douglass realised the power of slave literacy while overhearing his master's staunch and fearful opposition to it, which illuminated for Douglass 'the white man's power to enslave the black man.' [20] Douglass realised that if the most effective mode of control used by masters was keeping slaves ignorant, and therefore the most effective weapon against their control was knowledge, knowledge that could only be attained through literacy. While becoming literate was clearly significant to Douglass, its importance goes beyond him as an individual. The abolitionist strategy of 'moral suasion' was advanced greatly by slave narratives like Douglass's, as the depiction of the evils of slavery convinced thousands of northerners to join their cause.[21] Other publications Douglass would go on to produce and the numerous speeches he gave to great affect would not have possible without his literacy. It is the ability of intellectual resistance to effect change and to contribute towards dismantling the institution of slavery which makes it the most important form of slave resistance.

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[15] Ibid., pp.63-67.
[16] Ibid., pp.67, 70-71.
[17] Ibid., p.78.
[18] Ibid., pp.94-95.
[19] Ibid., p.95.
[20] Ibid., pp.63-64.

It is initially difficult to write an essay judging the relative importance of forms of resistance people employed within a system which at first seems unfathomable to first world modern sensibilities. However, the physical and cultural acts of resistance which gave slaves mental power, emotional support and hope, and the intellectual resistance which played a vital role in emancipation slaves do not seem so unfathomable when one considers the multitude of oppressed peoples in the present day and the recent past. Though Douglass was writing for nineteenth century audiences, his message resonates throughout history and continues to open up unseeing eyes to the oppression and injustice which persist in the modern world.

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[21] Foner, p.446.

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HISTORY 204 – CATASTROPHE AND CONSERVATION IN THE PACIFIC

Mariata Pittman

How does your personal/familial history intersect with that of the Pacific Ocean over the last 200 years?

The Pacific Ocean is so ecologically tremendous and yet interconnected, that a familial history which has presided in the Pacific Ocean for as long as my lineage has will undoubtedly construct many ecological relationships with the ocean. Because of this, my familial history has intersected with – and contributed to – many central and fundamental stages in the history of the Pacific Ocean over the last 200 years: namely, the colonial establishment of agricultural cultivation and commercial trade; the commodification of large marine animals such as whales and fish; the interaction between Western, environmentalist ecological concepts with those of Pacific people; and the process of decolonization of Pacific states and natural resources.

The effect of colonial agriculture, invasive species, and commercialization of the Pacific Ocean was a pivotal stage of its history, and one with which my family history intersected in various ways. My Great, Great Grandfather James Estall was a trader throughout the Pacific, selling and transporting goods, and met my Great, Great Grandmother, Manuela Pradis in Valparaiso, Chile, a main port of trade. Their son, Marcus Estall would then marry my Great Grandmother Lindai, whose Grandfather was a Chinese indentured labourer working on sugar and cotton plantations in Tahiti in the 1800s, among masses of migrant workers.[1] Through these two men, my family history has intersected with that of the commercialization of the Pacific, and its ecological effects, through both the role of buying and selling resources as a trader, and the role of cultivating those resources from the land, as a laborer. Although cultivation took place on land, Rapaport notes that the nature of the Pacific ecosystem is such that “even the most distant or highest point of land is close to the sea” and has “significant effects on the marine resources”.[2] The new demand created by the expanding global market encouraged major upheavals of cultivation practices on islands in the Pacific, and “greater intensification of agriculture”, with significant ecological repercussions.[3]

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[1] Bill Wilmott, 'Chinese Contract Labour in the Pacific Islands in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Pacific Studies* 27, no.2 (2004), p. 165

Despite Pacific focus on marine resources, Rapaport identifies soil as an equally fundamental and ecologically important source of food, building materials, clothing, and medicine.[4] Markets and “export-oriented crops” majorly affected soil, involving cultivation methods that led to increased soil degradation, ‘agrodeforestation’, and extensive use of agricultural chemicals.[5] Cultivation also involved “indiscriminate and careless use of pesticides”.[6] Thaman even identifies that some of these pesticides having specifically “been banned as too dangerous for use in the countries where they were produced” in what has been termed “The Poisoning of Paradise”.[7] Pesticides in turn involved “dangerous contamination of the underground freshwater supply”, and contributed to “eutrophication and clogging of waterways”, and other “rapid flow-on effects on the productivity of coasts and reed”.[8] Additionally, urbanized ports due to this trade, such as Valparaisa, in which Marcus traded and Manuela lived, involved industrial pollution, settlements, harbors, sewage and domestic waste runoff into the ocean, and sedimentation, all contributed to “increased flow of nutrients” and “eutrophication” to the detriment of marine and coral life.[9] Additionally, on land, new cash crops reduced biodiversity, changed traditional diets, and, in many departments of agriculture, a narrowing to ‘niche products’ suitable for export.[10] Though the novelty of these effects can be over-expanded, as my Polynesian ancestors most certainly also “caused considerable damage” in their ecological interactions, it involved a sustainability that was lost with commercialization[11]. The effect of increased cultivation and cash crop specialization in the agriculture of Pacific nations that occurred during the nineteenth century was a major stage in the history of the Pacific Ocean, through the massive ecological effects these actions had on the ocean and its ecosystems.

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[2] Moshe Rapaport, *The Pacific Islands: Environment and Society, Revised Edition,* Honolulu, 2013, p. 375

[3] ibid., p. 66

[4] ibid., p. 59

[5] ibid., p. 351

[6] ibid.

[7] ibid.

[8] ibid.

[9] ibid., p. 375

[10] ibid., pp. 346-347

In the past 200 years, my family history has undergone various changes in the effects we have had on marine life, particularly through large marine animals. This has involved my Polynesian ancestors' culture of fishing, which was grounded in a need for food supply, and conducted through generally sustainable methods with their own ecological impacts, but not to the effect that would eventuate with the arrival of colonials. Traditional fishing practices involved conservational fishing methods like 'subsistence fishing', use of natural and sustainable fishing technologies, and regulation by the cultural practice of Ra'ui in order to sustain supplies.[12] Generally in the Cook Islands, and in my family history, larger marine species were respected, and were not used as food sources. My family in Atiu through my Grandmother Paruarangi, even had a mythical guardian to keep them safe at sea that was half-dolphin and half-shark, known as an "itimanuka". However, the eventual growth of commercial fishing and whaling became "arguably the first massive human-induced alteration of the marine environment", with the large pots used by colonial whalers to boil whales still present – although no longer used – in Rarotonga by my Mother's childhood.[13] Although my Polynesian ancestors weren't directly involved in whaling, my Great, Great, Great, Great, Grandfather, William Whichman was a German whaler, who eventually settled in Tahiti and married Martha Bambridge. Through William Whichman, my familial history has intersected with a massive part of the history of the Pacific Ocean in the whaling industry, which boomed in the mid-nineteenth century and had major ecological consequences.[14] The whaling industry, in its removal of 'large predatory fishes or marine mammals' from a marine ecosystem inevitably resulted in major 'top-down' effects, such as the release of forage, prey, and competitor populations, ‘trophic cascade’, and effects on zooplankton and phytoplankton.[15] Nutrient cycles were also interrupted due to the fundamental ecological role that whales play in the cycle of nutrients, particularly through their faeces.[16] The commercialization of marine life, and its targeting of large marine predators ‘such as whales, seals, turtles, sharks’ and so on, saw an ecological interaction between humans and the Pacific Ocean in which humans both directly impacted marine animal populations, and indirectly had an even wider impact on ecosystems, due to the role of these predators as ‘key functional components of marine ecosystems’.[17]

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[11] ibid., p. 350

[12] ibid., p. 367; Charles Nordhoff 'Notes on the off-shoring fishing of the Society Islands' *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* vol. 39, no.154 (1930), pp. 140-150; Admin, 'What is Marae Moana?', *Marae Moana,* 12 February 2014. Retrieved from www.maraemoana.gov.ck/index.php/about-marae-moana/what-is-marae-moana

[13] Boris Worm, Heike K Lotze, & Ransom A. Myers, 'Ecosystem Effects of Fishing and Whaling in the North Pacific and Atlantic Oceans', in *Whales, Whaling and Ocean Ecosystems,* ed. James Estes, California, 2012, p. 339

[14] Jock Phillips, 'Whaling: Ship-based Whaling', *Te Ara- the Encyclopedia of New Zealand,* 13 July 2012. Retrieved from http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/whaling/page-1.

The commercialization of the Pacific in the nineteenth century and the consequences of this process opened up major concerns of conservation, particularly fueled by nuclear testing throughout the Pacific. This has led to the gradual alignment of Western Environmentalism and Pacific approaches and methods of natural resource use – a history in which my family has been involved in very recent years – particularly through the environmental efforts of the Polynesian Voyaging Society and through the developing project of the Cook Islands Marine Park. Though nuclear testing was never conducted near the Cook Islands, my mother can still remember seeing the sky light up from bomb testing conducted hundreds of miles away. Such was the expanse of the impact of nuclear testing across the Pacific. Although, it wasn’t for years that the true extent of the environmental impact of bombing would start to be understood by people of the Pacific, they were affected greatly, even down to the presence of radiation in the fish and crops they ate.[18] However, over the last two decades or so, Pacific awareness and understanding of the environmental dangers of nuclear power, the importance of conservation, and Western concepts of environmentalism, have become increasingly integrated in both state policy of Pacific countries and in the minds of everyday people. In 1995, the Greenpeace vessel the *Rainbow Warrior* led the protest action against French nuclear test bombing on Mururoa Atoll in French Polynesia.[19] They were joined by a peace flotilla of 100 New Zealand yachts led by Sir Peter Williams, and the Vaka Te Au o Tonga, sailed from Rarotonga by a crew made up of the Polynesian Voyaging Society and Captained by my uncle, Tua Pittman.[20] The Government of the day, with the belief that "the vaka would best symbolise the opposition of Polynesians to nuclear tests", unanimously endorsed the voyage.[21] The Greenpeace voyage was one of many environmental efforts and messages carried by the Polynesian Voyaging Society, in which my uncle and my sister are very involved as spokespeople and voyagers, particularly in the "Blue Canoe Project" and the voyage of Te Mana o Te Moana.

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[15] Worm et al., p. 333; ibid., p. 339

[16] ibid.

[17] ibid.

[18] Frank S. Zeiko, *Make it a Greenpeace!,* New York and Oxford, p. 133

[19] ibid, p. 143

These projects saw the voyaging society collaborate with Western environmental powers, in order to practice and spread cultural methods of interacting with the Pacific Ocean, with a sustainable, environmental message.[22] My father's history is also interwoven with that of Western environmentalism, through his role in the Cook Islands Government. At the opening of the Pacific Islands Forum in 2012, Prime Minister Henry Puna announced the developing project of 'Marae Moana', the development of over 1 million square kilometers of the Cook Islands Exclusive Economic Zone into a marine park. The area of Marae Moana was analysed by the Cook Islands government in conjunction with Western environmental groups such as Birdlife International and the Critical Ecosystems Partnership Fund, and found that it included nine Key Biodiversity Areas, which contained 61 globally threatened species, and a further 136 identified coral species and some 600 species of fish in coral reefs.[23] Though to this day it is not yet a legal entity, it is a developing project in which my father is also involved, through the Marine Park Steering Committee, established and chaired by the Prime Minister and comprised of offices including the Prime Minister's office, of which my Father is the Chief Executive Officer.[24] Henry Puna expressed that the aim of the park would "provide the necessary framework to promote sustainable development by balancing economic growth interests… with conserving core biodiversity and natural assets, in the ocean, reefs and islands".[25] The development of this project will have great ecological impact, replenishing fish stocks, protecting biodiversity, sensitive coral reefs and endangered species, and allowing breeding sanctuaries.[26] The involvement of my father and uncle in promoting and executing environmentalist messages show how my family has intersected with periods of nuclear bomb testing and conservationism, two important stages in the history of the Pacific Ocean with prevailing effects.

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[20] Release/MW, 'Voyagers Honour Peace-fleet Leader', *Cook Islands News,* 14 April 2015. Retrieved from http://www.cookislandsnews.com/item/51310-voyagers-honour-peace-fleet-leader/51310-voyagers-honour-peace-fleet-leader

[21] ibid.

[22] Unknown, 'The Voyage 'Te Mana o Te Moana'', *Pacific Voyagers,* publication date unknown. Retrieved from http://pacificvoyagers.org/the-voyage-te-mana-o-te-moana/

[23] Admin, 'Biodiversity', *Marae Moana,* 15 April 2014. Retrieved from http://www.maraemoana.gov.ck/index.php/biodiversity.

[24] Admin, 'Cook Islands Marine Park Announced by Cook Islands Prime Minister', *Marae Moana,* 26 February 2013. Retrieved from http://www.maraemoana.gov.ck/index.php/all-news/marine-park-news/75-cook-islands-marine-park-announced-by-the-cook-islands-prime-minister

[25] ibid.

Decolonization of the Pacific has supposedly involved the restoration of sovereignty over natural resources to decolonized Pacific countries, however, there are still varying remnants of colonization that have led to tensions between Pacific concepts and concerns of sustainability, and the reality of industrial, capitalist dependency. My family has been involved in these very recent stages of the history of the Pacific Ocean, through my father's role as CEO of the Prime Minister's Office, and his role a decade ago, as the secretary of foreign affairs, in which he was involved in foreign fishing rights policy. Though only a self-governing, and not a sovereign state, the Cook Islands has legal autonomy over their natural resources.[27] Upon regaining this, the Cook Islands – like the rest of the Pacific – have been faced with "the dilemma of choosing between their social and economic development aspirations, and revenue" from expanding usage of resources.[28] This has resulted in a post-colonial relationship in which "in the Pacific, wealth flows from dependency", as shown in the reality that collective GDP per capita of fully sovereign states is only 3% that of politically integrated territories, such as the Cook Islands.[29] Economic development continues to be reliant on colonial infrastructure, imports, and "unsustainable indebtedness".[30] An ongoing issue today is policy surrounding seabed mining in the Cook Islands. An estimated 10 billion tonnes of manganese nodules are currently located in the sea-bed of the Cook Islands Exclusive Economic Zone, and this potential resource has generated great commercial interest. Current policy is that distribution of governmental permits to mine will only be considered conditional to the 'physical, chemical, or biological integrity of the ocean'.[31]

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[26] Admin, 'What is Marae Moana?', *Marae Moana,* 12 February 2014. Retrieved from www.maraemoana.gov.ck/index.php/about-marae-moana/what-is-marae-moana

[27] Jarvy Web, 'Government of the Cook Islands', *Cook Islands Government,* 11 October 2014. Retrieved from http://www.ck/govt.htm.

[28] Moshe Rapaport, *The Pacific Islands: Environment and Society, Revised Edition*, Honolulu, 2013, p. 376

[29] ibid., p. 327

[30] ibid., pp. 325- 327

[31] Admin, 'Sea-bed Mining', *Marae Moana,* 12 February 2014. Retrieved from http://www.maraemoana.gov.ck/index.php/about-marae-moana/seabed-mining

Another example is the reliance of the Pacific on the corporate sale of fishing rights in the Cook Islands Exclusive Economic Zone. The employment and income generated to Pacific people – directly and through related industries – necessitates this sale, even though it allows the use of Purse Seine fishing vessels to the direct detriment of tuna resources, but also to sharks, turtles, and other fish, due to the 'non-selective' nature of Purse Seine fishing.[32] Through my father's role in a de-colonized Pacific governmental body, my family has interacted with the Pacific Ocean in the stage of decolonization, which sees the continuation of economic dependence of Pacific countries on large corporations and industrialized countries, and the unofficial sovereignty that larger countries continue to have on the Pacific's natural resources.

My familial history has had a very long and varying relationship with the history of the Pacific Ocean, with different members of my family occupying roles that generally oppose each other in the larger scale of ecological interaction, as I descend from native Cook Island fishers and colonial whalers, a colonial trader, and a migrant labourer, and people of Rarotongan, Tahitian, Maori, Chilean, and European origins. My familial history, and its convoluted and recurrent interaction with that of the Pacific Ocean, shows how increasingly interrelated the ecology of the Pacific Ocean has become with the intensified activities of various social groups, all of whom adopt differing methods in their interactions with the environment.

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[32] Rapaport, p. 375; Admin, 'Sea-bed Mining', *Marae Moana,* 12 February 2014. Retrieved from http://www.maraemoana.gov.ck/index.php/about-marae-moana/seabed-mining

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HISTORY 264 –HOLLYWOOD'S AMERICA: HISTORY THROUGH FILM

Alexandra Smith

Film: 'It', directed by Clarence G. Badger, 1927.

What can this source tell us about the people, society and culture that created it?

During the 1920s, the Hollywood film industry witnessed American culture change in ways that saw Victorian values abandoned in the pursuit of modernity. The film industry adopted a higher level of technology in production, resulting in an increased capability for spreading mass culture. As a result of film's increasing capacity to perpetuate cultural objects and ideals, American culture became more established and identifiable.[1] A film that clearly demonstrated this proliferation of mass culture is the silent film "*It*" (1927) starring Clara Bow.[2] The film centres on shop girl Betty Lou, and the romantic pursuit of her wealthy boss Cyrus Waltham. Through Betty and other characters, the film portrays a society increasingly focused on consumption and leisure, also demonstrating the social changes that occurred in portrayals of gender and sexuality, particularly amongst women. The following essay shall explore what the film *It* can tell us about the people, society and culture that created it, addressing themes of consumerism, class, race, gender and sexual behaviour.

One of the things *It* tells us about 1920s America, regards the increased valuing of consumerism. Due to the increase in the media's dissemination of advertising, consumption replaced politics as the front-runner of public concerns.[3] Spending – as opposed to saving – became the new norm, making it socially acceptable to take on debt in order to purchase goods.[4] As a result big business and entrepreneurship thrived in an increasingly industrialized society, and became highly valued as one way in which the American dream could be achieved. Big business is used as a draw card in the opening sequence of *It.* The camera focuses on a large sign reading “Waltham’s: World’s Largest Store”, before panning out to reveal a bustling street of potential shoppers, enticing viewers with the images of a city lifestyle. The sign is especially important in that it reads ‘world’s largest’ and not ‘America’s Largest’, as it projects the idea of American business becoming a world superpower. Betty’s boss Cyrus, founder of Waltham’s, clearly represents this emergence of ‘new money’ that accompanied growth in industrialization. Cyrus is depicted as a hard worker, respected by others within his class who were born into, rather than worked their way towards, wealth. Betty’s character, in her pursuit of Cyrus, displays the achievement of wealth as something to be sought after. Betty realizes that by marrying Cyrus, she would be in a better position to legitimate her consuming desires, illustrating the appeal of ‘get rich quick’ schemes that required abandoning the stricter moral rules of the past.[5] The scene that most clearly depicts Betty’s desires shows her fawning over a dress advert for the Waltham’s store as she prepared to go dining with Cyrus’s friend Monty in the hopes she would encounter Cyrus. The scene symbolizes not only her desire for a dress, but the man whom she believes can supply it for her. Betty therefore represented the ideal customer; one who saw what she wanted and ultimately attained it, as her and Cyrus were united in the final sequence of the film.[6]

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[1] Eric Foner, *Give me Liberty! An American History,* New York and London, 2006, p. 610.
[2] *It*, dir. Clarence G. Badger, Paramount Pictures, United States, 1927.
[3] Foner, pp. 616-17.
[4] Ibid., pp. 611-12.

It also demonstrates how class impacted upon experiences of achievement. Those of higher classes are seen to enjoy more decadent past times and luxuries. Betty for example, who is not a member of the social elite, is shown as overwhelmed and bewildered in the lavish French restaurant she visits with Cyrus’s friend Monty. Monty finds her behaviour embarrassing, and this prompts him to ask for a back table. However, the fact that he was still willing to dine with her demonstrates the increased acceptance for class mobility. Although Betty was a working class girl, Monty did not hesitate in asking her to out to dinner. Cyrus also accompanied Betty on a date to a more casual outing at a fun house, illustrating the valorization of middle class leisure pursuits. Cyrus’s relationship with Betty was however a fetishization of her class, as it permitted her greater freedom from strict gendered behaviours in contrast to other women in the film's plot, such as Cyrus's friend Adela.[7] Adela, an upper class woman from a respected family, feels it necessary to consult her mother about whether Cyrus would be a suitable husband, showing a wariness of 'new money' amongst the upper classes. This demonstrates the lingering of traditional values, Adela representing those of the Victorian woman. So, although Adela may have seemed a stronger match for Cyrus in terms of class, she fails in her pursuit of him because of her inability to keep up with the modern world. The audience is therefore compelled to identify more with Betty's ambitious and active pursuit of Cyrus as a reflection of their own desires to achieve wealth.[8] *It* subconsciously communicated to its 1920s audience that America needed to move away from Victorian values in order to profit and succeed, and that a person of any class could do so.

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[5] Marsha Orgeron, ‘Making “It” in Hollywood: Clara Bow, Fandom and Consumer Culture’, *Cinema Journal* , vol. 42, no. 4 (2003), p. 90; Foner, p. 610.

[6] Orgeron, p. 84.

Many individuals were, however, purposefully excluded from sharing in the prosperities of the time. Most notably excluded were minority racial groups. During the 1920s fears were sparked over mass immigration. Protestants in particular feared that immigration would encourage a further decline of their traditional religious values as a result of growing religions like Judaism.[9] The more general population feared losing jobs to non-American citizens. As a result of these fears, 1924 saw the implementation of the Immigration Act establishing the 'illegal alien' category as well as barring all Asian populations from entry into America. The primary aim of the Act was to improve the quality of democratic citizenship by making it more exclusive.[10] Nevertheless, America simultaneously saw a rise in the promotion of cultural diversity in which immigrant groups attempted to promote their cultures through the underlying value of freedom. Many Americans responded positively to this resurgence, in fact during the 1920s the middle and upper classes became famous for 'slumming it', referring to those of higher classes that would partake in activities such as dance halls, which were largely located in lower-class areas like Harlem.[11] Notably, in *It* the interactions between immigrant or minority groups with main actors are noticeably positive. Cyrus is shown joking with Italian waiters at a restaurant, adding a dimension of friendship. However, even though films such as *It* employed actors of various ethnic backgrounds, rarely are they seen in nonservice roles. The only African-American in *It* plays the role of a valet, whilst the use of Italian waiters is a highly stereotypical portrayal. These portrayals not only demonstrate the severely limited roles actors of various ethnic descents had to choose from, but reflect the limited real world opportunities available to these groups. *It* is therefore a clear representation of how racist and stereotypical portrayals continually persisted in Hollywood – and America at large – during the 1920s.

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[7] Orgeron, p. 91; Cynthia Felando, 'Clara Bow is *It*', in Andy Willis, ed., *Film Stars: Hollywood and Beyond*, Manchester UK, 2004, p. 18.

[8] Orgeron, p. 89.

[9] Foner, p. 621.

[10] Ibid., p. 625.

[11] Foner, p. 630.

Another noteworthy shift in American culture at the time was manifested through the changes and expanding portrayals of gender and sexual behaviour, particularly in regards to femininity. As discussed, the expansion of consumerism led to changes and weakening of specific social and cultural norms. Enactments of gender and sexuality became more open and frivolous with room for diversity in their enactment. Hollywood experimented with several methods of challenging the sexual status quo, encouraging a more "dynamic feminine style" through characters such as the flapper.[12] Flappers were sexually stylized in appearance and behaviour, representing a shift in traditional understandings of female sexuality as demure and naive. Hollywood films were the only medium at the time in which these behaviours could be exhibited so blatantly. Regarding *It*, Bow came to represent the ideal modern woman living outside of conventional standards as a model for mimicry by her audience.[13] Bow's dramatic "shimmying and shaking" movements, associated with the 1920s flapper, convey sexual confidence particularly when interacting with other characters in *It*.[14] The term "it" itself was contemporary slang for sex appeal, and so Bow's stylization was extremely fitting to Betty's characterization. This kind of sexual liberation was also employed in films as a device for promoting goods to the female audience. Advertisers were aware of the growing fan culture of the time surrounding stars like Clara Bow, and knew that by placing their products in association with such a starlet, the female audience would be influenced to purchase said products. Women themselves became actively engaged in the purchasing process and were increasingly accepted when taking control and acting upon their individual desires. In *It,* Betty is shown staring at Cyrus as he walks through the Waltham's store, reducing Cyrus to the status of an unknowing spectacle, thus reversing the traditional sexual gaze.[15] By disrupting women's constant position as the object of attraction, women were actively empowered.

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[12] Felando, p. 9.

[13] Orgeron, pp. 88-89, 82.

[14] Felando, pp. 11, 14.

During the 1920s dating also became a normalized practice, amongst middle-class youth especially, and technological developments like the automobile permitted people the freedom to go out more.[16] Relationships centred on companionship, and romance became the norm, shifting away from the exclusive fulfilment of patriarchal family structures. As a result the expectation of sexual fulfilment and eroticism in marriage became a reasonable expectation for both men and women, as physical contact became more acceptable as part of the search for one's life partner. [17] However, the sexual double standard remained evident, as women still felt the need to reserve their sexual behaviour under a mask of ambiguity.[18] The scene in *It* where this is most prevalent shows Cyrus kiss Betty on the lips after a date. Betty slaps him, despite her earlier flirtatious behaviour, only to re-enact the moment in private later on with a stuffed animal. She later says, "I'm sorry, but a girl has to do that. You know how things are", referring to the social expectations she was adhering to through her response.[19] Betty also refuses an offer to be Cyrus's mistress. Although it could have provided her with the materialism and affection she desired, there was a persistent stigma attached to engaging in such behaviours without the promise of marriage. Unlike Betty, her friend Molly is shown unable to enjoy the privileges of modern America, due to her role as a single mother. Molly served as a cautionary tale to women should they fall prey to the sexual awakening of the 'Jazz age'.[20] Those at the time would have blamed Molly entirely for her situation, and no questions arose concerning the father's whereabouts. Dating behaviours of the 1920s therefore suggest that although enactments of gender and sexuality were becoming more flexible, there remained a presence of traditional morals that prohibited true freedom, particularly for women.

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[15] Orgeron, p. 85.

[16] Beth Bailey, "From Front Porch to back Seat: A History of the Date", *Magazine of History,* vol. 18, no. 4 (2004), p. 23.

[17] Felando, p. 10.

[18] Ibid., p. 17.

[19] *It,* dir. Clarence G. Badger.

[20] Sara Ross, '"Good Little Bad Girls: Controversy and the Flapper Comedienne', *Film History,* vol. 13, no. 4 (2001), pp. 409, 124; Orgeron, p. 93.

During the 1920s the changes in social and cultural norms were by no means unchallenged. Many Americans felt threatened by the new secular and consumer driven ideas and the associated ‘relaxed’ moral standards.[21] Fundamentalist thought in particular supported a resurgence of moral institutions through policies such as the prohibition, a policy many opponents deemed to be a violation of freedom.[22] Hollywood was also affected by such puritanical policies and in 1922 the Hayes Code was introduced. The code deemed what acceptable behaviour to be shown in films, prohibiting all nudity, long kisses and adultery, fearing behavioural mimicry. Several women of the time acknowledged that on-screen behaviour influenced their attitudes towards love and sex, and so harsh critics found it legitimate to assume that any behaviour shown would embody the potential for mimicry.[23] In *It,* one scene shows Adela changing yet fades into black before any considerable amount of skin or undergarments are exposed. This could be considered as an attempt to discourage women from undressing or displaying their body too openly. Producers were aware of film's potential to cause controversy and sought to balance films with moral and social criticism. *It,* for example, was highly critical of feminist politics, illustrating the struggle many feminists found in adapting to the changing political situation of the time. When suffragette social workers showed up at Betty and Molly’s apartment to take possession of Molly’s infant, Betty is quick to show her distaste for the women saying, “If women like you would stay home and have babies of your own, we’d all be better off!” demonstrating an attitude of resistance to feminists politics following women’s suffrage in the 1920s.[24] This kind of behaviour exemplifies the apparent tensions that existed between critics of changing cultural values and expectations and those who sought to further their own modernity.

It clearly demonstrates the changes that occurred in American culture and society during the 1920s as a result of modernization. Hollywood films were particularly apt means for capturing the increasing value of consumer culture and the achievement of wealth. Class and race were contributing factors in how certain characters were portrayed in these films, reflecting wider social expectations and opinions. Bow’s character Betty was an archetypal embodiment of these cultural shifts, and through her pursuit of Cyrus, demonstrates changes in gendered social norms. Betty also demonstrated the emergence of the modern woman, although as a character she remained aware of the social restrictions prohibiting certain behaviours. In conclusion, *It* reveals a lot about the people, society and culture of the 1920s. *It* clearly reflects who benefited most from the times, as well as how conservative and more liberal values interacted with one another to negotiate a new and more modern American culture.

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[21] Foner, p. 610.

[22] Ibid.,p. 622.

[23] Foner, p. 620; Smith, pp. 143-44; Felando, p. 22.

[24] *It*, dir. Clarence G. Badger.

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HISTORY 300 –THINKING HISTORY: APPROACHES TO THE PAST

Caitlin Abley

In The Landscape of History *John Gaddis defends 'the historical method' by suggesting that 'it's part of growing up to learn that there are competing versions of truth, and that you yourself must choose which to embrace. It's part of historical consciousness to learn the same thing: that there is no "correct" interpretation of the past, but that the act of interpreting is itself a vicarious enlargement of experience from which you can benefit.' In light of our readings this semester, to what extent do you agree with Gaddis? Why?*

Nothing But the Truth:

Perks and Pitfalls of Pluralism in the Historical Method

In the latter half of the twentieth century, the historical profession embraced the concept of pluralism. Historians such as John Gaddis enthusiastically accepted the idea that there are 'competing versions of the truth', and that there is 'no correct interpretation of the past'.[1] This changed the nature of professionalised history, which had, up until that point, sought to use historicist methods to arrive at almost irrefutably "true" accounts of the past. Undoubtedly, the process of interpreting the past – regardless of which "truth" one arrives at – is, as Gaddis puts it, 'itself a vicarious enlargement of experience from which you can benefit.' However, the fundamental question is whether the historical profession can sustain all these competing versions of the truth. There are a number of social and political advantages to historical pluralism, particularly in restoring agency to marginalised groups. However, a lack of cohesion between interpretations has arguably alienated the general public from engaging with academic history. The solution, as is so often the case, appears to lie in the middle ground. Providing both sweeping grand narratives and a diverse range of specialised interpretations is the key to developing historical consciousness.

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[1] John Gaddis, 'The Landscape of History', in *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*, Oxford, 2002, p.10.

From the inception of professionalised history to its practice in the present day, the field of history has changed significantly. In the nineteenth century, the notion of historicism was developed in German universities. The fundamental premise of historicism was the 'autonomy of the past must be respected.'[2] Practitioners aimed to recreate history as it really happened, without imposing the historians' own present-day values and priorities. Historicism was an attempt to balance history through objectivity and sources, and the notable proponent of this approach Leopold von Ranke conceived of history as a rigorous science. Most importantly for the purpose of this essay, he wanted to use the methods of historicism to arrive at near-irrefutable truths. This was the birth of professionalised history. Traditionally, history has been regarded as 'an account of the doings of the great', focused on so-called 'grand narratives' of elite politics, war and governance.[3] Over the latter part of the twentieth century, this tradition drastically declined. Historians began to criticise these grand narratives for dismissing the experiences of common people as 'inaccessible or unimportant', or presenting them as merely 'one of the problems government has had to handle'.[4] The publication of E.P. Thompson's article 'History from Below' in 1966 gave a title to an emerging historical method which sought to explore the lived experiences of those who had been ignored or discounted by traditional histories. History from below gave rise to the 'competing versions of the truth' that Gaddis references in his article. Historians no longer focused on unearthing, as Ranke put it, 'how things actually were' in the past.[5] Instead, they looked to alternative accounts which contested traditional narratives and gave voice to the hitherto invisible actors of the past.

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[2] John Tosh, 'Historical Awareness', in *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, 3rd ed., London, 2000, p.5.

[3] Jim Sharpe, 'History from Below', in Peter Burke, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, University Park, Penn., 1991, p. 25.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Leopold von Ranke, *Histories of the Latin and German Nations from 1494 to 1514*, as cited in John Tosh, 'Historical Awareness', *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, 3rd ed., London, 2000, p. 5.

Gaddis' statement that 'there is no "correct" interpretation of the past' is hard to dispute. Even if historians possessed a time machine, it would not be possible to discover anything close to universal truth, or to comprehensively and accurately depict 'how things actually were' for each historical actor. Marc Bloch, who co-founded the Annales School of French social history, attributed this to the fact that the individual 'never perceives more than a tiny patch of the vast tapestry of events'.[6] In the present moment, everyone's truth is different, determined by their individual experiences, and a singular narrative can never "correctly" interpret and present all those different but simultaneous truths. The key question, then, is not whether there is a correct interpretation of the past, but whether the historical profession can sustain these myriad competing versions of the truth.

On an individual level, the acceptance of competing interpretations provides only benefits. History students approaching their courses with the mentality that there is no way of discovering the truth of the past, or that there is no such thing as "historical fact" may find the process of examining sources and drawing conclusions entirely pointless. Building any narrative when you know it can never come close to accurately describing 'how things actually were' can feel like a futile enterprise. However, Gaddis' notion that 'the act of interpreting is itself a vicarious enlargement of experience from which you can benefit' restores a sense of purpose and legitimacy.[7] The very process of choosing which competing version of the truth you wish to embrace, based on the critical examination of sources, is intellectually worthwhile. In addition to developing analytical skills, an historical consciousness based on the acknowledgment of different truths allows historians to recognise 'our relative insignificance in the larger scheme of things.'[8] We can start to understand not only how much has preceded us, but also how many different truths are currently playing out across the world. This is a humbling realisation, one that can serve to ground historians before they attempt to represent the reality of the past.

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[6] Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, quoted in John Gaddis, 'The Landscape of History', in *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*, Oxford, 2002, p. 4.

[7] Gaddis, p. 10.

[8] Ibid., p. 5.

There is no doubt, then, that the act of interpreting the past provides the ‘vicarious enlargement of experience’ that Gaddis describes. However, this is a highly personal benefit to each historian as an individual. To defend ‘the historical method’, as Gaddis does, by insisting that it is ‘part of growing up’ to accept that there are competing versions of truth, one must also examine the wider benefits. There are positive social and political outcomes of what Dipesh Chakrabarty has described as the ‘cult of pluralism’ that emerged in the 1970s.[9] Jim Sharpe argues that history from below works to reinstate a past to social groups who ‘may have thought that they had lost it, or who were unaware that their history existed.’[10] It restores agency to those who had until then been written out of traditional narratives, and shows that they themselves created history, rather than being passive objects on whom history was imposed. John Tosh suggests that the restoration of historical awareness to marginalised groups stops the imposition of damaging stereotypes. He quotes Malcolm X in saying, ‘if we don’t go into the past and find out how we got this way, we will think that we were always this way.’[11] History from below and “minority histories” provide competing versions of the truth which disrupt traditional narratives that focus on and privilege Western elite groups. Chakrabarty outlines the benefits of pluralism in specifically challenging national narratives, and showing that the nation is ‘always a contingent result of many contesting narratives’.[12] He argues that ‘minority histories’ are not only beneficial for their restoration of agency to the disenfranchised of history. The very realisation that there is no one truth, but competing versions of it, is what propels the study of history forward and keeps scholarship alive and dynamic. To be able to tell the stories of overlooked groups, to ‘master the problems of crafting such narratives – particularly under circumstances where the usual archives do not exist – is how the discipline renews and maintains itself.’[13] ‘Minority histories’ and history from below have introduced new approaches to sources and evidence, as displayed in Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie’s *Montaillou*, in which he wrote about the various beliefs held within a medieval Pyrenean peasant community by using inquisitorial records.[14] Different versions of the truth require different sources, and this demands innovation and imagination from historians.

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[9] Dipesh Chakrabarty, ‘Minority Histories, subaltern pasts’, *Postcolonial Studies* vol. 1, no. 1, 1998, p.15.

[10] Sharpe, p. 36

[11] Malcolm X, *On Afro-American History*, as cited in John Tosh, ‘Historical Awareness’, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, 3rd ed., London, 2000, p.3.

[12] Chakrabarty, p. 15.

[13] Ibid., p. 16.

However, pluralism does have a downside. In their 2014 publication *The History Manifesto*, Jo Guldi and David Armitage pinpoint the flaws in what they describe as 'micro-history'. They describe the trend of focusing on shorter time-scales, which arose in the 1970s out of a desire to increasingly professionalise historical research by anchoring study in archives, and the motivation to further political causes by studying subaltern pasts.[15] This prevalence of micro-historical focus fed into the loss of the grand narrative, and the abandonment of the *longue durée*. Guldi and Armitage criticise these micro-histories, claiming that in their bid to reconstruct history in ever-finer detail, they 'court antiquarianism'.[16] The specialisation of historical knowledge, the acceptance of endless competing versions of the truth, and a reluctance to synthesise these different interpretations has arguably made professional history inaccessible to those not extensively trained in the field. By concentrating on writing for marginalised communities, historians have turned their backs on the masses. Guldi and Armitage argue that pluralism has widened the gap between academic and popular history, and has led to the abandonment of the ancient goal of history being a guide to public life.[17]

The presence of so many individual interpretations of the past is thrilling for historians, but creates difficulties of engagement for non-historians. This has perhaps alienated professional historians from the public, despite there still being a keen public interest in history, as shown by the popularity of historical literature and films. This distance between academic and popular history can explain how the same person can ask, "what exactly can you do with a history degree?", and thoroughly enjoy watching *Band of Brothers*. There is a sense of discord between academic study of the past and popular engagement with it. According to Guldi and Armitage, it is the rejection of the *longue durée* and the accompanying decline in public engagement which has plunged the field of history into 'crisis'. This has manifested in waning enrolments in university history departments, and increasing demands from administrators and funders for these same departments to demonstrate their "value", "relevance" and "impact". The solution, as proposed by these authors, is focusing history back on larger processes, and attempting to explain 'where things came from'.[18] Historians ought to reduce 'a lot of information to a small and shareable version', in order to engage as large an audience as possible with narratives that can be understood by non-experts. They recommend concentrating on the "big picture" historical processes and problems of environment, governance, democracy and capitalism, with a view to reinstating historians as guides to public life and policy.[19]

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[14] Sharpe, p. 29.

[15] Jo Guldi and David Armitage, 'Introduction: The bonfire of the humanities?', in *The History Manifesto*, Cambridge, 2014, http://historymanifesto.cambridge.org/read/introduction-bonfire-humanities/.

[16] Jo Guldi and David Armitage, 'Conclusion: the public future of the past', in *The History Manifesto*, Cambridge, 2014, http://historymanifesto.cambridge.org/read/conclusion-public-future-past/.

[17] Guldi and Armitage, 'Introduction.'

The widening divide between academic and popular history is undoubtedly a problem that historians need to address. Each generation is, in Gaddis' words, 'bound to learn from the past, whether or not we make the effort, since it's the only base we have.'[20] If history is the process through which skills, knowledge and experience are transmitted from one generation to another, historians ought to approach this transmission systematically, and engage with the public as much as possible to develop their historical consciousness. Tosh grapples with the difference between social memory, which all societies have, and historical awareness. The latter 'invites a more rigorous interpretation'. It goes beyond social memory, which paints a picture of the past which 'serves to explain or justify the present, often at the cost of historical accuracy.' Historical awareness is based on the premise that 'getting the story right matters.'[21]

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Guldi and Armitage, 'Conclusion.'

[20] Gaddis, p. 8.

[21] Tosh, p. 2.

In the context of the acknowledgement that there is no “correct” interpretation of the past, getting the story “right” is perhaps a question of supplying the public with enough information that they can recognise that there are many different stories, often with equal claim legitimacy, and allowing them to choose which version to embrace. There are, of course, limits to this pluralism. We cannot simply say that anything can be an historical truth. Chakrabarty provides a two-fold-test when deciding what accounts can be absorbed by, thus enriching, the mainstream of historical discourse. Two questions must be answered in the affirmative: ‘Can the story be told/crafted? And does it allow for a rationally-defensible point of view or position from which to tell the story?’[22] With these qualifications in mind, competing versions of the truth can enrich both academic and popular understandings of the past.

The main problem with *The History Manifesto*, as expressed in Cohen and Mandler’s critique of the publication, is the demand that ‘we must, all of us, engage the big picture.’[23] Their solution to the problem of public engagement with professional history appears to be retreating back to the grand narrative through a focus on the *longue durée*. Though they attempt to promote the fusion of “macro” and “micro” histories, the creation of a narrative of ‘where things came from’ is unavoidably accompanied by the synthesising of many different interpretations into one version of the truth. This may well make the profession more accessible to the general public, which is in itself a worthwhile enterprise, but there is no reason why all historians must follow their suit. The authors’ rallying cry of ‘Historians, unite!’, though quaint, ought to be ignored.

So much of the richness of history comes as a result of different opinions and opposing historiographical approaches. There is certainly merit to providing overarching narratives. However, the nature of these is that they so often elide competing versions of the truth, and therefore ought to be supplemented by more specific studies which provide the scope for more nuanced competing interpretations. This is why having broad survey courses at Stage I at university (for example, History 106: Europe Transformed) is worthwhile, but the knowledge gained is necessarily refined at a higher level (as it is in History 324: Old Regime and Revolution in France), at which stage competing interpretations can be introduced and evaluated in more depth. Diverse opinions on the ‘truth’ of the past, and also how we ought to study it, keep the historical profession moving forward in increasing innovation. This is well-entrenched at an academic level. The next step is to introduce an historical consciousness of pluralism to non-historians, lest they be at the mercy of popular history and social memory.

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[22] Chakrabarty, p. 16.

[23] Deborah Cohen and Peter Mandler, ‘“The History Manifesto”: A Critique’, *American Historical Review*, vol. 120, no. 2 (2015), pp. 530-542; Guldi and Armitage, ‘Introduction.’

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HISTORY 342 – EARLY MODERN JAPAN 1600-1868

Aiden Williamson

Document analysis – Engelbert Kaempfer, 'The History of Japan'.

The written works of Engelbert Kaempfer provide a useful tool for understanding aspects of Japanese society in the Edo period, despite – indeed, perhaps even because of – the fact that they are written from the perspective of a foreigner who possessed neither a complete nor correct understanding of Japanese culture, society, or practices. An account of his experiences during his audiences with the shōgun contained in an excerpt of Kaempfer's *The History of Japan Together with a description of the Kingdom of Siam, 1690-1692 (The History of Japan)* provides a particular insight into the Tokugawa shogunate's reception and treatment of Western representatives during this time. With references to the observations Kaempfer recorded in this excerpt, this essay will first discuss the context in which the described encounter took place, both in terms of Japanese historical conditions, and of Kaempfer himself. Secondly, it will consider the relevance these observations hold for the notion of Japan as a closed country during this time, and, lastly, will examine the implications of this text for understanding the purpose and nature of Japan's foreign relations during this time.

To understand this excerpt, it is important that the author and his perspective are considered. Kaempfer was a German physician and was, at the time of the events described, in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, and it was the economic relationship between the Company and the shogunate that allowed for such audiences between Kaempfer and the shogun to take place.[24] The intent and purpose of the passage concerning the meetings must also be considered. Kaempfer's *History of Japan* was written in German, and thus, was intended for consumption in the Western world, and it can therefore be surmised that the purpose of this passage is to relate Kaempfer's experiences within Japan to readers in his home continent. This is not to say that the work, or this passage in particular, is of no use to understanding Japanese foreign policy during this time period. Indeed, Kaempfer's perspective as an outsider is useful to this end, even as he clearly demonstrates his incomplete understanding of the Japanese political system. The fact that Kaempfer referred to the shōgun as "Emperor", together with his reference to "princes" who were likely high-ranking daimyō and court officials, although demonstrably incorrect, reflect how he perceived and understood the political system.[25] It is quite possible that Kaempfer was not aware that the Emperor of Japan and the shōgun were separate entities. Indeed, with all of the ceremony and displays of submission directed towards Tsunayoshi which Kaempfer describes, this misunderstanding seems to be a simple one to make.[26] Furthermore, it is also possible that Kaempfer and the other member of the Dutch East India Company delegate were not made aware of the intricacies of the Japanese system of governance, in which the shōgun was, at least nominally, a ruler in the Emperor's stead.[27]

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[24] Constantine Nomikos Vaporis, *Voices of Early Modern Japan: Contemporary Accounts of Daily Life During the Age of the Shoguns*, Santa Barbara, California, 2012, p. 111.

This passage also serves as a persuasive counterexample, to dispel the notion that Japan was at this time completely closed to the outside world, and especially to Western powers. While it is true that Japan had very strict controls regarding foreign relations and trade, with many laws restricting both the freedoms of foreigners who wished to deal with Japan and Japanese who held interest in trading or visiting foreign nations, this is not to say that Japan did not interact with the world beyond their borders, or that they had no interest in such interaction. [28] The term *sakoku* – 'closed country' – was applied to Japan largely retrospectively in the later Meiji period, and implies that Japan was inactive in terms of foreign affairs. [29] However, even setting aside the fact that the sole reason Kaempfer was present in Japan, and therefore able to write this passage, was that the Dutch East India Company was engaging in active trade with Japan, the content of the second audience described also indicates that Japan was not uninterested in international matters. [30] Questions were asked of the captain regarding geography, and Kaempfer, as a physician, was asked questions pertaining to Western medical practice.[31] This demonstrates that the shōgun and the court had some interest in the world beyond Japan, even if it was not enough to meet with the representatives on any regular or extended basis, or to journey to foreign shores themselves. Regardless, Kaempfer's account does not reflect the somewhat xenophobic ideology that is sometimes attributed to Japan during this time period.[32] Thus, this passage clearly demonstrates that, while Japan only sought to engage with the outside world in a highly regulated manner, it was not uninterested in doing so.

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[25] Engelbert Kaempfer, 'The History of Japan Together with a description of the Kingdom of Siam, 1690-1692', trans. J.G. Scheuchzer, in Constantine Nomikos Vaporis, ed., *Voices of Early Modern Japan: Contemporary Accounts of Daily Life During the Age of the Shoguns*, Santa Barbara, California, 2012, pp. 112-113.

[26] ibid.

[27] Vaporis, pp. 73-75.

[28] ibid., pp. 95-100.

[29] Fujita Kayoko, 'Metal Exports and Textile Imports of Tokugawa Japan in the 17th Century: The South Asian Connection', in Fujita Kayoko, Momoki Shiro and Anthony Reid, eds, *Offshore Asia: Maritime Interactions in Eastern Asia before Steamships,* Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013, pp. 259-261.

Furthermore, Kaempfer also offers an image of the types of relationships Japan sought to foster with foreign nations, as well as the position in these relationships the government wished to occupy. From the positioning of the shōgun – who was elevated and obscured from the Dutch delegation's sight – to the tasks that were asked of them, including the giving of tribute and performing for the court's amusement, clearly places the Dutch in a subordinate position to the shōgun, and by extension, arguably, to Japan as a whole.[33] The treatment of the Dutch described by Kaempfer, while displaying the interest of the shōgun and the court, also maintained and emphasised the distance being kept between the Japanese and the Dutch. This extended beyond the demands of the shōgun within the context of the audiences, which highlighted the difference between the Dutch and the Japanese, for example, having them speak or sing in their native tongue and make a spectacle of themselves – similar treatment of the Dutch was also exhibited outside of these audiences. [34] The Dutch were restricted, by this time, to the man-made island of Dejima, with transit to and from the island by the Japanese being highly regulated[35]. Thus, the passage not only highlight's Japan's perception of itself as the superior in this relationship, but also reinforces the fact that the

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[30] Clulow, Andy, *The Company and the Shogun: The Dutch Encounter in Japan,* New York, 2014, pp. 260-262.

[31] Kaempfer, pp. 112-113.

[32] Kayoko, pp. 259-260.

[33] Kaempfer, pp. 112-113.

[34] ibid.

[35] Vaporis, pp. 97-98.

Dutch had resigned themselves to accommodating the shogunate's demands[36].

The performance acts demanded of the Dutch delegation which Kaempfer describes provide a compelling argument that, to some degree, the shōgun and his court viewed the Westerners as objects of curiosity.[37] However, barring the restrictions and particular demands made of them on account of their foreign status, their relationship bears some similarities to that between the shōgun and the vassal daimyō. Much like the daimyō, the Dutch were required to pay their respects to the shōgun at regular intervals.[38] More interestingly, these visits were, during Kaempfer's time in Japan, required annually, mirroring the alternate attendance practice of the time period required of the shōgun's vassal lords.[39] This is not to suggest that the shogunate perceived the Dutch East India Company as their vassal. Rather, the shogunate clearly behaved in a manner which established the Company and its representatives as inferiors, and had no intention of treating the Company, or indeed the Dutch Republics, as an equal trade or diplomatic partner.

In summary, whilst Kaempfer's observations are not especially useful for examining the historical realities of the Japanese governmental system of the seventeenth century in a domestic context, they are certainly useful in terms of understanding how Japan's foreign policy was perceived by those engaging with Japan at the time. It becomes readily apparent through a study of Kaempfer's observations that Japan had a firm intention to ensure that other nations could only deal with Japan in a manner that the shogunate deemed proper, and even then, that Japan engaged with the West on unequal terms. Rather, the Dutch East Company, which was Japan's only real connection to the European world at this time, was placed in a markedly inferior position. Even so, it is clear that the Tokugawa shogunate had an interest in preserving and maintaining this commercial relationship with the Dutch, and that their exclusion of other potential trading partners did not equate to a fundamental lack of interest in the nations beyond Japan.

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[36] Clulow, pp. 258-261.

[37] Kaempfer, p. 112.

[38] Vaporis, p. 111.

[39] ibid.

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HISTORY 367 – HEALTH, MEDICINE AND SOCIETY

Bridget McLay

Why was the health of infants considered so important to society in the early twentieth century and what were the results?

In the early twentieth century the health of infants became a matter of paramount social and political importance. This development is best explained when placed in the context of early twentieth century imperial competition and warfare, in which the health of infants became inextricably linked to matters of national efficiency. Given that "population was power", children were increasingly viewed as a precious resource.[1] It followed that mothers, as the persons responsible for infant wellbeing, were vested with a patriotic duty to raise healthy children for the benefit of continued empire. Numerous historiographical accounts have cast this emphasis on the maternal role as a mechanism for social control that ultimately undermined female autonomy. This analysis is powerfully belied by women's continued exercise of discretion with respect to childrearing, their participation in the provision of maternal support services, and their welcome receipt of such services. Women were not helpless victims of oppressive maternal ideals in the early twentieth century. In fact, they were shrewd agents of change who harnessed society's renewed focus on motherhood to claim greater support for themselves and their children.

On an empirical level, the elevated importance of infant health in the early twentieth century was a response to an alarming dual trend; a falling birth rate accompanied by rising infant mortality.[2] That these trends came to the fore in the early twentieth century is in part a result of the establishment of mandatory registration under the Births and Deaths

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[1] A. Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', *History Workshop*, vol. 5, 1978, p. 10.

[2] D. Dwork, *War is Good for Babies and other Young Children: A History of the Infant and Child Welfare Movement in England 1898-1918*, London and New York, 1987, p. 3.

Registration Act of 1874, which enabled authorities to collect data on a scale hitherto impossible.[3] Between 1876 and 1897 the crude birth rate per 1,000 population dropped by 14.1%.[4] During the same period infant mortality increased 6.8%, in spite of improvements in general mortality rates.[5] These figures generated intense concern about the numerical strength of Britain's future population. That concern was compounded by Britain's resounding defeat in the Boer War (1888-1902), which was seen as a result of the physical debility and ill-health of the British soldier.[6] This view was strengthened by recruitment statistics that suggested that 35% of those who had volunteered for military service had been deemed physically inadequate.[7]

Such concerning figures took on heightened significance in the context of early twentieth century imperial competition and warfare. As Dwork states, "If the graph of a dropping birth rate was perceived as an omen of an expected (future) Imperial decline, the recruitment statistics were a statement of immediate national poverty."[8] Growing economic and political competition from recently industrialised Germany, America and Japan crystallised Britain's fears of imminent decline as a military and commercial superpower.[9] The loss of life sustained during the Great War (1914-1919) was met with anxiety that the national stock would never recover. Dwork posits that the War "aroused a sense of foreboding that a new, vital generation capable and competent to take on the work of their parents would not be born at all".[10] This implicit societal concern about the military necessity of human life is explained more bluntly by Davin, who simply notes, "modern warfare required cannon fodder in even vaster quantity".[11]

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[3] ibid., p. 4.

[4] ibid.

[5] ibid., p. 5.

[6] D. Porter, '"Enemies of the Race": Biologism, Environmentalism and the Public Health in Edwardian England', *Victorian Studies*, vol. 34, no. 2, 1991, p. 161.

[7] Davin, p. 11.

[8] Dwork, p. 11.

[9] Davin, p. 10.

[10] Dwork, p. 208.

[11] Davin, p. 43.

Responses to the problem of population deficiency were mixed. Davin has argued that the ideology of Social Darwinism, which precipitated the pseudo-science of eugenics, was "pervasive" at this time.[12] At its most extreme, this school of thought called for the elimination of the unfit by way of laissez-faire politics, allowing 'natural selection' to take its course.[13] Whilst Porter recognises the popular appeal of eugenics, she rightfully asserts that it had little influence on the overall direction of early twentieth century public health policy.[14] Ultimately, concerns about quality gave way to the need for quantity; "If the British population did not increase fast enough to fill the empty spaces of the empire, others would."[15] On the whole, public sentiment seemed to favour the prevention of infant death, rather than the elimination of the unfit by allowing such deaths to continue.

Given the traditional association of womanhood with childcare, alarm about declining infant health precipitated concern about maternal adequacy. In response, both local and national authorities, as well as voluntary societies, sought to refocus their communities on motherhood. In the hope of curbing the falling birth rate, motherhood was given a 'new dignity'.[16] Proponents of maternalism, the notion that a woman's proper place was in the home, drew strength for their arguments from the growing popular equation of motherhood with national duty.[17] Founder of the New Zealand Plunket Society Truby King stated that 'perfect motherhood' amounted to 'perfect patriotism'.[18] Meanwhile, infant mortality was addressed by way of motherhood education. Domestic sciences became compulsory education for the mothers of tomorrow, whilst the mothers of the present were invited to attend courses in matters of hygiene, feeding and discipline.[19]

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[12] Davin, p. 19.
[13] Porter, p. 161.
[14] ibid., p. 170.
[15] Davin, p. 10.
[16] ibid., p. 12.
[17] P. Mein-Smith, *Mothers and King Baby: Infant Survival and Welfare in an Imperial World: Australia 1880-1950*. Basingstoke, UK, 1997, p. 2.
[18] ibid.
[19] Davin, pp. 24-25.

Apple and Davin argue that this newfound emphasis on the importance of motherhood involved the subordination of motherly instinct to scientific instruction.[20] Whilst motherhood was vested with esteem and national importance, Davin argues that women were simultaneously told that they themselves were inadequate to fulfil this “destined and natural function”.[21] Responsible motherhood therefore involved eschewing one’s own tested methods in favour of the advice of scientists and members of the medical profession.[22] Within this framework, voluntary and state initiatives such as home visits by nurses, as well as attempts to improve education with regards to hygiene and nutrition, take on the character of “moral blackmail” designed to undermine women’s self-confidence and autonomy.[23] Apple posits that although women were “perplexed when the ‘expert’ opinion contradicted their own proven abilities and common sense” they accepted the ideology of scientific motherhood without question.[24] The impression created by both Apple and Davin is that mothers were helpless victims within a hierarchy of “…state over individual, of professional over amateur, of science over tradition, of male over female”.[25]

This interpretation involves the application of modern standards of gender freedoms to a context in which they were utterly unknown. The result is that despite Apple and Davin’s overtly feminist intentions, contemporary women have been inadvertently cast as complicit in their subordination by their own passivity and helplessness. Such interpretations are a disservice to those women, and drastically understate the extent to which they welcomed the ideology of scientific motherhood and manipulated it to their advantage.[26] Writing of the growth of the Plunket Society in New Zealand, Bryder observes that local committee reports and newspaper articles are suggestive of a personal and positive relationship between Plunket nurses and their clients.[27] Given that these nurses were merely occasional visitors, their presence cannot be said to entail the usurping of a mother's role.[28] Apple and Davin's model of social control is also difficult to reconcile with the immense popularity of maternity clinics, which were attended *voluntarily* by great numbers of women.[29] As Bryder convincingly puts it, these "were 'modern' women who wanted 'modern' advice".[30]

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[20] R. Apple, ‘Constructing Mothers: Scientific Motherhood in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries’, *Social History of Medicine*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1995, p. 162; Davin, p. 13.
[21] Davin, p.21.
[22] Apple, p. 164.
[23] Davin, p. 13.
[24] Apple, p. 174.
[25] Davin, p. 13.
[26] L. Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers: The Plunket Society and Infant Welfare 1907-2000*, Auckland, 2003, p. 69.
[27] ibid., p. 72.

Moreover, to suggest that women were oppressed by the concepts of maternalism and scientific motherhood is to overlook the way in which women astutely used these ideologies to the advantage of themselves and their children. The rhetoric of national efficiency lent legitimacy and urgency to the cause of child and maternal wellbeing, providing the opportunity for women to demand reform.[31] Thus, in the early twentieth century, 'mother-work' became both public and private; it entailed both the care of one's own children in the home as well as 'social motherhood' in the form of campaigning for support for the nation's children and mothers.[32] In Britain, the Women's Co-Operative Guild conducted surveys to ascertain women's needs, and used that data to secure maternal benefits in legislation such as the National Insurance Act 1911.[33] Similarly, Ladd-Taylor canvasses the ways in which American women organised themselves, in order to harness the new status attributed to motherhood to lobby the government for reform, culminating most famously in the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921.[34]

These women's efforts are understated by Davin's reduction of the aid secured to "a few classes".[35] Lewis has similarly argued that by confining their explanations of infant ill-health to maternal ignorance or indifference, early twentieth century authorities were able to limit the scope of their assistance to promoting the moral responsibility of the mother.[36] Yet even a cursory glance at the historical evidence reveals that the scope of welfare provided was much broader than that. Dwork observes that in 1914 local authorities employed 600 health visitors, and by 1918 this figure had more than quadrupled.[37] Municipal and voluntary maternity and child welfare centres also multiplied significantly.[38] Moreover, legislation to protect children and their mothers was passed in improved and more extensive forms.[39]

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[28] ibid.

[29] Dwork, p. 216.

[30] Bryder, p. 81.

[31] Dwork, p. 209.

[32] M. Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930.* Urbana, IL, 1994, p. 43.

[33] Dwork, p. 217.

[34] Ladd-Taylor, p. 44.

[35] Davin, p. 26.

[36] J. Lewis, *The Politics of Motherhood: Child and Maternal Welfare in England, 1900-1939*. London and Montreal, 1980, p. 16.

Education efforts directed at both present and future mothers were by no means a cheap or straightforward solution. Historians writing from a social-control perspective have tended to view maternal education as a low-cost, easily-implemented solution to the infant health crisis which allowed authorities to side-step the political controversy associated with more direct aid.[40] In fact, maternal education was both labour-intensive and expensive.[41] Classes involved the hire of premises, guest speakers, training equipment, and advertising. That these services were often offered to women free of charge suggests that they were by no means profitable. Moreover, the fact that much of this maternal education was organised by voluntary societies, who were not as constrained by public opinion as municipal authorities, suggests that aid in the form of education was not merely a politically convenient solution.

This is not to suggest that no more could have been done. Lewis is right to point out that deeper social and economic issues continued to place significant burdens on motherhood.[42] The intersection of poverty, young marriage, and large numbers of children meant that pregnancies in the lower classes were often accompanied by malnutrition and overwork.[43] Unfortunately, traditional notions of familial responsibility taking precedence over that of the state, and perceptions of poverty as self-inflicted, served to limit the extent to which these deeper issues were addressed.[44] It is also likely that the authorities' focus on mortality statistics caused them to frame the problem as a series of discrete clinical issues rather than something more fundamental.[45] For these reasons, it goes too far to credit the welfare that was available with the subsequent decline in infant and mortality rates.

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[37] Dwork, p. 211.
[38] ibid., p. 212.
[39] ibid.
[40] Davin, p. 26.
[41] Dwork, p. 220.
[42] Lewis, pp. 42-44.
[43] ibid., 43.
[44] ibid., p 14.

Nor is it the contention of this essay that public concern with national efficiency was free of gendered elements. It is clear that in keeping with notions about women's 'proper' role, concern about the effectiveness of mothers was not matched by concern about fatherly responsibility. Moreover, it was implicit in the rhetoric of national efficiency that the concern was with saving male babies; only male babies could grow up to be soldiers and citizens.[46] According to Mein-Smith, "It was assumed that the Empire and its new nations were built on colonisers, traders and soldiers, while womenfolk did the mothering".[47] Yet to state that women were oppressed to the extent of helplessness by these ideologies is an anachronistic oversimplification. Notions of proper gender roles were merely a part of the prevailing social milieu that twentieth century women ultimately harnessed to their advantage.

It must be noted that, although this analysis has been cast in terms of women generally, it is not implied that women's experiences in the early twentieth century were homogenous. The ways in which women experienced the ideology of motherhood were profoundly influenced by class and race. Given that the birth rate appeared to be falling more rapidly in the upper classes, such women tended to be criticised for maternal indifference rather than ignorance, whereas inadequacy was largely thought to be the weakness of the lower classes.[48] Moreover, it is clear from the euro-centric nature of contemporary maternity advertisements that there existed a hierarchy of mothers which prioritised those who were raising 'socially desirable' Caucasian babies above those who were not.[49] Nonetheless, there is sufficient shared experience amongst women of diverse backgrounds to justify the general proposition that women were not passive victims of the ideology of motherhood in the early twentieth century.

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[45] ibid., p. 16.
[46] Davin, p. 26.
[47] Mein-Smith, p. 1.
[48] Davin, p. 14.
[49] Ladd-Taylor, p. 55.

During the early twentieth century, the need to resource both nation and empire precipitated widespread concern about the state of infant health. In a context where population was equated with national strength, a falling birth rate and rising infant mortality were viewed as harbingers of impending imperial decline. Whilst there exists a degree of historiographical consensus as to why infant health took on such heightened significance in the early twentieth century, there remains significant debate surrounding the implications of this for mothers. Numerous historiographical accounts have described reform efforts during this period as mechanisms for the social control of women, which ultimately proved successful. Women were supposedly taught to aspire to motherhood, but also to doubt their ability to do so without scientific help. Yet the extent to which women participated in both the supply and consumption of maternal services suggests that they actually welcomed the synonymy of national efficiency with infant health as an opportunity to procure benefits for themselves and their offspring.

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HISTORY 735 – SAINTS AND SINNERS, c. 300-800 CE

Anthony Artus

Do you think that the body was a primary site for conceptions of sanctity and sinfulness, or is this projection of modern scholarly interests and sensibilities?

Sin and Sanctity in the Eyes of the Beholder: The Self and the Social in the Early Christian Body

In book eight of his *Confessions*, Augustine recalls an anecdote about the conversion of a prominent pagan philosopher named Victorinus. The man who told him this story, Simplicianus, was a mutual friend of Victorinus and Augustine himself and evidently involved in both of their respective conversions. Victorinus had enquired of Simplicianus: 'do walls make Christians?', explaining how he was in fact already Christian but that he was wary of offending his pagan associates by attending Church. Yet after reading holy scripture, Victorinus finally became convinced of the emptiness of pagan rites, saying 'Let us go to the Church; I want to become Christian.'[1]

This essay examines the body in late-Antique Christianity and how early Christians both understood and utilized it as a site of sanctity and sinfulness. The episode above illustrates a curious aspect of the emergent Western Christian worldview to which Augustine subscribed. It recognized that one could not truly receive God until one could do so inwardly and outwardly, the body representing an incarnation of the soul. Both the body and soul of Victorinus had achieved conversion, and thus redemption, simultaneously. Compared to the conflicting duality of Gnosticism or Origenist doctrine, western Catholicism (that is, common orthodox Christianity) was clearly an embodied religion. Its embodiment was manifested in the sacraments, the imitation of Christ and his suffering, the use of relics and the controlled practices of asceticism and monasticism. In comparison, the centrality of the body for

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[1] Augustine, *Confessions*, book 8, translated by Henry Chadwick, *Saint Augustine: Confessions*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992, p. 136.

Donatists arguably exceeded that of the comparatively forgiving Catholic Church. Similarly, some ascetics viewed the body as a path to sin, whilst others manipulated it as a tool for sanctification of the soul. Given this diversity in early Christian thought and practice regarding the body, the essay seeks to problematize the conception of the body as a site of religious importance. Despite its apparent importance, Catholic notions of sanctity and sinfulness were not based primarily on the body, for the body constituted one aspect of a person's being, a simultaneous existence of both flesh and soul. The varying ontological significance of each of these for owners and observers alike, that is the respective "realness" of the body for its inhabitant and others, effected a fluid understanding of the self, the soul and the body. Scholarly emphasis on the physical Christian *corpus* becomes apparent through the course of the essay largely due to the nature of extant sources which frequently refer to physical practices and phenomena. Nevertheless, much like bodily practice itself, any historical treatment of the body inevitably extends beyond the physical. The body therefore was both a discrete site, and one which coexisted with the soul. Its importance as a site of sanctity and sinfulness was ultimately dependant on where one was looking from.

Discussion of the body necessarily refers to multiple bodies, as the definition or manner of its use was contingent both on specific theological views and situational context. I have briefly mentioned some of the varying theoretical conceptions of the body, and an excerpt from the *Life of Paul of Thebes* by Jerome illustrates the second point nicely. In his dying moments, the alleged ascetic Paul proposed to his companion (and in this case disciple) Antony, that it might seem profitable to 'lay down the burden of the flesh and to follow the Lamb, but it is also beneficial for the other brothers to be instructed by your example.'[2] Here Jerome simultaneously presented the body as a personal encumbrance, perhaps an obstacle to salvation which was overcome upon the death of the owner, but also as a means for them to widen the Christian faith. Each instance refers to the body as something imitated and followed – specifically the body of Jesus, then that of Antony himself. The passage therefore reveals a utility of the body which existed separately to either a personal site of sin and sanctity or any theological discourse. In this sense Jerome's text demonstrates how the body could be understood differently within a single paradigm. More importantly, however, it shows that the body was not merely an aspect of self but a separate entity (visible or imagined) to be read as a text. This fact is particularly appropriate considering that, as Dale B. Martin rightly points out, historians of late antiquity 'deal almost exclusively with *texts*'.[3] Clearly there was a distinction between how the body was regarded by owners and observers. Rather than establishing a fixed definition, this essay seeks to explore how different conceptions of the body, in its physical and figurative forms, illuminate its historical theological relevance.

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[2] Jerome, *Life of Paul of Thebes*, translated by Carolinne White, *Early Christian Lives,* London, 1998, p. 81.

Similarly, the concepts of sanctity and sin hold various interpretations. The social function and authority of early Christian morality, originally championed by Peter Brown, has since given way to cultural or gender analysis and even literary criticism such as that of Patricia Cox Miller, perhaps an acknowledgement of the textual nature of surviving evidence and its conspicuous distance from real experience.[4] This evolution represents the changing interests of historians as much as the layered explanations of sanctity and sinfulness themselves. The range of scholarly approaches illuminates a second spectrum by which we might view the body as a religious site. At one end, subscription to Christian morality could represent deep conviction and belief (if not necessarily and intellectual understanding); at the other, it becomes a superficial (though no less effective) force for social control, cohesion or persuasion. The fact that an appreciation of vice and virtue does not automatically equate to strict religious practice merely intensifies this rift. Nevertheless, we can confidently clothe the various real and allegorical "bodies" with distinct interpretations of sinfulness and sanctity. For example, the body as personal site corresponds to a view of genuine religious belief, whereas a generalized hypothetical body is more appropriate in a social role. Yet these private and public bodies are still reconcilable as shown in autobiographies or letters which, despite expressing personal sentiment, were still crafted for wide audiences. Recognizing the various concerns surrounding the textualization and reception of sin and sanctity is crucial for an understanding of the body and its importance within these concepts.

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[3] Dale B. Martin, 'Introduction', in Dale B. Martin and Patricia Cox Miller, eds., *The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies: Gender Asceticism and Historiography*, Durham, NC, 2005, p. 18.

[4] Peter Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 6, No. 1 (1971), pp. 80-101; Patricia Cox Miller, 'The Blazing Body: Ascetic Desire in Jerome's letter to Eustochium', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, vol. 1 No. 1 (1993), pp. 21-45.

More than Meat, More than Raiment[5]

At the most fundamental level, the body was an instrument of personal sanctity, yet as a private site it could operate as a tool, an obstacle, or as an explicit other separated from spiritual experience. An anonymous letter from one woman to another designates the body as such an "other".[6] This letter, of unknown date and authorship, nevertheless gives what Ralph Mathisen calls a 'uniquely feminine perspective' on the Christian lifestyle in contrast to the weight of male-oriented experiences.[7] In the letter, spreading the Gospel is imagined as a type of figurative fecundity, providing a means by which 'a virgin can conceive and how she can give birth.'[8] Yet this bodily metaphor is suspended by the admonition that virginity does not necessarily correspond to piety, for the author asks 'what does [chastity] profit me if I do not have the word of God in my womb – that is, in my heart?'[9] Here, the author makes clear the metaphor, thereby separating the physical body from spiritual relevance, perhaps even undermining the embodied allegory by resorting to the even more abstract "heart". At the same time however, the use of female biblical allusions, and the clear self-identification of the author through a heavily gendered metaphorical body suggests that the body remains important in an imaginative sense, as an allegorical, rather than literal, site of sanctity.[10] In this sense, the body exists as a representation of the self which may be plied with descriptors of piety for the sake of others. Moreover, the alleged virginity of the author is presumably anatomical rather than allegorical, or at least it is intended to be. Apart from the author's continence, any spiritual meaning of her "real", physical body is left unaddressed, raising the question of whether or not physicality constitutes the body.

By comparison, Jerome's Letter 22 to Eustochium deals with the very real fleshly body, but one which is utilized and transformed to both sanctify and to identify sin. This advisory work stresses the preservation of virginity, and in doing so contains 'a peculiar net of relationships involving the body, desire, and language.'[11] Though Jerome denies it, his letter lauds the recipient's virginity, naming her 'Lady Eustochium' as the Lord's bride.[12] Jerome further proposes that 'virginity is consecrated in the persons of Mary and of Christ.'[13] However, whilst praising Eustochium, he also criticizes other cases of female chastity based on their spiritual and physical behaviours. Jerome distinguishes between "good" and "evil" virgins, the latter being 'virgins in the flesh, not in the spirit'.[14] His description of evil virgins involves the use of (and interaction with) the body, associating it with lust (if not intercourse itself), gluttony and pride.[15] This characterization portrays the body as a physical manifestation of desire, something to be denied and concealed.[16] Such a position is clearly in line with Jerome's ascetic sensibilities and the pursuit of an immaterial and asexual existence which Gillian Clark describes as a brutal regime of 'near starvation, sleep deprivation, pain, loneliness and neglect.'[17] But where Clark interprets ascetic practice as a form of social redefinition which imitated the suffering of Christ and the martyrs, Miller identifies the female asceticism of Eustochium, thus textualized by Jerome, as a type of elevated metaphysical existence, the bride of Christ.[18] The resultant metaphoric body is both the product and the object of Jerome's spiritual desire. [19] If the anonymous letter regards the real, fleshly body as separated from spiritual experience, Jerome's letter to Eustochium views it both as it as an incontrovertible site of sin which must be overcome, but also as a means of idealizing a spiritual relationship with God.[20] By textualizing Eustochium's body, Jerome signified a desire for the divine.

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[5] From Jerome, *Epistle* 22.31 (To Eustochium), at *New Advent,* accessed September 27, 2015, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001022.htm: 'Is not life more than meat, and the body than raiment?'
[6] Anonymous letter from a woman, translated by Ralph W. Mathisen, in idem, *People, Personal Expression, and Social Relations in Late Antiquity, Volume 1: With Translated Texts from Gaul and Western Europe*, Ann Arbor, MI, 2003, pp. 160-4.
[7] ibid., p. 160.
[8] ibid., p. 162.
[9] ibid.
[10] ibid., p. 164.

Miller recognizes that the textualized body, a reference point for the self in correspondence, was itself an imagined "third person" in a written conversation.[21] Her notion of Jerome's flight from the tempting literal female body toward the idealized metaphorical female body, and her specific exploration of Jerome's metaphorical figurations once more leaves the significance of the physical body in serious doubt as a location for conceptions of sinfulness and sanctity.[22] However the facts of Eustochium's femaleness and virginity, especially when compared to Jerome's failed attempt to feminize himself through writing, retain some spiritual importance for the flesh.[23] Miller suggests that Jerome saw the female body, an "other" to his own, as a superior canvas for images of 'closure and intactness', but one which was also an object of desire.[24] This vision potentially grew out of Jerome's personal lust, as Miller suggests, but the resultant withdrawal from physical sexuality was nevertheless mirrored in wider ascetic if not Christian society.[25] For the purposes of literary criticism, determining whether asceticism constituted a renunciation or a redefinition of self remains beside the point; Jerome existed in a community where suspended physical sexual behaviour was normalized to some degree.[26] The body represented potential sin in Jerome's writing, an obstacle to salvation which was circumvented by eschewing the desires of the flesh through celibacy and literary reinterpretations of the body. Nevertheless, Patricia Miller's method does little to illuminate conceptions of the personal physical body as a potential site of Christian morality.

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[11] Miller, p. 22.
[12] Jerome, Letter 22.2.
[13] ibid., 18.
[14] ibid., 5.
[15] ibid., 12, 13, 16.
[16] ibid., 25.
[17] Gillian Clark, 'Women and Asceticism in Late Antiquity: The Refusal of Status and Gender', in idem, *Body and Gender, Soul and Reason in Late Antiquity*, Surrey and Burlington, VT, 2011 (1998), p. 43.
[18] Jerome, Letter 22.26.
[19] Miller, p. 30.
[20] ibid., p. 34.
[21] ibid., p. 31.

Augustine perhaps brings us closer to real experience in that he does not write the body as a metaphor for self but rather describes his physical experience of the body as a manifestation of his soul and will. In *Confessions,* the connection between body and soul is expressed through a similarly performative act of conversion to that of Victorinus. Unlike Victorinus, however, preventing Augustine's full acceptance of God are not his peers but his passions - his lust for female companionship causes him to implore God: 'grant me chastity and continence, but not yet.'[27] After much anguish, Augustine is urged by an anonymous voice to 'pick up and read'.[28] The Bible passage he reads instructs him to 'put on the Lord Jesus Christ and make no provision for the flesh in its lusts', a fitting verse given his sin.[29] His previous hesitation represented an inner conflict between two wills, carnal and spiritual, leading him to question why ‘the mind commands the body and is instantly obeyed’ while ‘the mind commands itself and meets resistance’.[30] Augustine understands this dichotomy as an incompleteness of his will: he is able to desire a holy existence but is yet incapable of performing it, whilst being able to make gestures out of frustration but not at the command of his spiritual will. By stating that ‘The one necessary condition’ to arrive at a state of sanctity ‘was to have the will to go’, Augustine asserts the predominance of the will over the physical body.[31] But this conversion was not a simple case of mind over matter as it had involved weeping, groaning, tearing hair and self-harm. Furthermore, though Augustine considered the will to be the only necessary condition for his conversion, he still made an outward expression of this transformation by reading a fortuitously relevant passage from the Bible. Though Augustine’s body was not central to his sanctification, it was nonetheless inextricably linked to his will and thus the fate of his soul as a physical manifestation of these entities.

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[22] ibid., p. 24.
[23] ibid., pp. 27, 33.
[24] ibid., p. 33.
[25] Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York, NY, 1988, pp. 86, 239.
[26] Elizabeth Ann Clark, *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity*, Princeton, NJ, 1999, p. 16; Martin, pp. 14-5.
[27] Augustine, 152.
[28] ibid., p. 145.
[29] ibid., referring to Romans 13:14.

The significance of the flesh in Augustine’s theology owes much to his understanding of original sin as inherited from Adam and the subsequent sinful state of humanity. This conception of original sin itself was a result of his literal and unquestioning reading of the scriptures.[32] Paula Fredriksen suggests that Augustine viewed Adam as a ‘concrete, historical personality’ in whom the body and soul were created together.[33] Adam’s sin was a result of his will, but ‘due to the connection between the body and soul, ‘the penal injury to the soul manifested itself instantaneously in the flesh.’[34] Augustine’s beliefs represented a rejection of the duality between body and soul as prescribed by Manicheans and Gnostics.[35] He also eschewed the self-transformation promoted by Origen’s free will.[36] The nature of the sacraments and their relative importance (particularly baptism) was central to this debate.[37] Not unlike Jerome, Augustine conceived of the flesh as sin. But whereas Jerome, a proponent of Origenist theology, anticipated potential sin, Augustine read the body as a manifestation of existing sin. Mortality itself was symptomatic of this sin.[38] The inferiority of the flesh is also evident from Augustine's Platonist background, which imagined a hierarchy of being that placed the soul above the body and God above all.[39] In this understanding, the entire physical world of humanity itself represented something of an allegory for the spiritual world, absolutely contingent upon the state of the soul and the grace afforded it by God, but meaningless in itself.[40] The body was thus a manifestation of the sinfulness or sanctity of the soul, and at the same time essentially powerless.

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[30] ibid., pp. 140, 147.

[31] ibid., p. 147.

[32] Ellen Muehlberger, ‘Late Ancient Theories of Angels’, in idem, *Angels in Late Ancient Christianity*, Oxford, 2013, p. 48.

[33] Paula Fredriksen, ‘A Rivalry of Genius’, in idem, *Sin: The Early history of an Idea*, Princeton, NJ, 2012, p. 115.

[34] ibid., p. 121.

[35] Hannah Hunt, *Clothed in the Body: Asceticism, the Body, and the Spiritual in the Late Antique Era*, Burlington, VT, 2012, p. 162.

[36] Marilyn Dunn, ‘Asceticism and Monasticism II: Western’, in Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris, eds., *Cambridge History of Christianity*, volume 2: *Constantine to 600*, Cambridge, 2008, p. 672.

[37] Phillip Cary, *Outward Signs: The Powerlessness of External Things in Augustine’s Thought*, Oxford, 2008, pp. 208-9.

These three personal experiences of the body reveal it to be both a physical and figurative entity. The texts were most likely intended to aid individuals in their personal struggles as they navigated a deceptive physical existence which was, as far as the authors were concerned, secondary to the spirit as a site of sinfulness and sanctity. Respectively, they see the physical body as something existing outside of, opposed to, and manipulated by spiritual existence. And yet, perhaps a result of their didactic nature, each source features heavy use of signification; the figurative body represents identity, desire, and an inherently sinful soul. Patricia Cox Miller describes a related concept for the signification of holy men and women, what she describes as "corporeal imagination".[41] But where relics and images of saints and martyrs provided a route to imagined sensory experience, understanding the body as a signifier presented an alternative to the worries of an uncertain temporal world by effectively denying its importance, if not its existence.[42] As a metaphorical entity, the body could not truly accommodate the sin or sanctification which remained the concern of the soul, yet it was the primary outward manifestation of this morality and therefore held social relevance.[43] Consequently, for its spiritual occupant, the body was nothing more than a reflection of their own sanctity or sinfulness, but in the eyes of observers, the body constituted the entire spiritual existence of the person in question. Having examined conceptions of the embodied self, discussion now turns to written accounts of other bodies, and how these affected notions of the flesh as a site of Christian morality.

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[38] Fredriksen, p. 122.
[39] Cary, *Outward Signs*, pp. 6-7.
[40] Cary, *Inner Grace: Augustine in the Traditions of Plato and Paul*, Oxford, 2008, p. 16.
[41] Patricia Cox Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Body in Late Ancient Christianity*, Philadelphia, 2012, pp. 7-8.
[42] Muehlberger, p. 40.
[43] Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1991, pp. 68-9.

A Place of Communion

The poet Prudentius immortalized Saint Agnes in his *Passion of Agnes*, describing how she won divine glory by 'freely embracing death.'[44] The continued impact of martyr stories demonstrates the importance of physical models for Christian devotees, Christ providing the ultimate model for imitation through his crucifixion.[45] Carol Straw notes that, to a sceptical Augustine, God made martyrs through his grace.[46] If this was the case, it was then the Church writers at least who made their stories known. But what types of bodies were invoked in this publicization? Regardless of the martyrs' personal interpretations of their physical selves, the Church effectively reinvented them as historical emblems of Christian piety. Robin Darling Young claims that the written veneration of martyrs made their martyrdom itself a ritual of exaltation.[47] These heavily conventionalized accounts which incorporated allusions to the scriptures and classical texts added further distance between martyr experience and (later) observation and commentary through text.[48] Likewise, hagiographers often availed themselves of artistic fabrication and biblical *topoi*, to the extent that Linda Coon uses the term "sacred fiction".[49] She prudently recognizes that after the age of persecutions, the deeds expressed in martyr acts and passions became unrealizable, and the focus of Christian sanctity shifted onto 'holy endurance [rather] than on sacrificial death.'[50] Disregarding issues of veracity, these accounts of Church heroes emphasized the body as the site of religious deeds – whether through pain, performance of miracles or other good works.

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[44] Prudentius, *The Passion of Agnes*, 9, translated by M. Clement Eagan, *The Poems of Prudentius*, Washington D.C., 1962, p. 275.

[45] Robin Darling Young, 'Martyrdom as Exaltation', in Virginia Burrus, ed., *Late Ancient Christianity*, Minneapolis, MN, 2010, p. 92.

[46] Carol Straw, 'Martyrdom and Christian Identity: Gregory the Great, Augustine and Tradition', in William E Klingshirn and Mark Vessey, eds., *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R. A. Markus*, Ann Arbor, MI, 1999, pp. 252, 264.

[47] Young, p. 71.

[48] ibid., p. 87.

[49] Linda Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity*, Philadelphia, PA, 1996, p. xv.

[50] ibid., p. 4.

The Passion of Agnes depicts the martyr's body as a tool by which she gains entrance into heaven. At the sight of her executioner, she declares 'This butcher is the lover who pleases me... I gladly bare my breast to his cruel steel'.[51] In a similar fashion to the textualization of Eustochium by Jerome, Prudentius gives Agnes a noticeably gendered dialogue. Young notes the importance of willingness in martyrdom, and Agnes' cries may represent an attempt to subvert existing gender relationships whereby Agnes, as the otherwise submissive female, claims an active role in her own sacrifice.[52] Similarly, Eusebius of Caesarea's account of the Palestinian martyr Theodosia, called 'a virgin of God', sees her taunt the sentencing governor, and claim that she had become condemned not by his order but by her own design.[53] Eusebius explains how Theodosia bore the tortures intended for a group of confessors awaiting judgement at the hands of the Governor in question.[54] This presents a dilemma within the nature of martyrdom itself, for if Theodosia had spared the confessors of physical pain, she had apparently also robbed them of sanctification through their own bodily sacrifice. Furthermore, Straw notes that Augustine, critical of Donatist fanaticism, chastises martyrs who simply seek death in place of the salvation found within the Church.[55]

Comparing two interpretations of "martyrdom" illustrates well the problem of martyrdom for the sanctity of the body. *The Acts of Saint Felix*, one of the Donatist martyr stories, places great weight on the physical rejection of evil. Felix, a North African bishop, repeatedly refuses to deliver holy scriptures to pagan magistrates, culminating in his execution, but not before he expresses his gratitude at being made a sacrificial victim.[56] Felix does not gain sanctity by protecting the scriptures, for this is apparently a mere means by which he is made a martyr, thus prompting him to thank God. It is his death rather than his deeds which are significant. In contrast, Paulinus of Nola recalls the work of another Felix, whom he calls martyr by virtue of the fact that 'he had mentally fulfilled his desire to suffer' and fought many times as a strong soldier.[57] For Paulinus, physical demise is not what makes a martyr, rather it is the God-given will, as Augustine contends.[58] Here, even the notion of martyrdom becomes contested as it relates to the body. Clearly martyrdom is synonymous with sanctity, but martyrdom, as a retrospective designation, is constructed for specific purposes with wide-ranging implications for the sanctified body. Whilst the Donatists sought to preserve the integrity of the Church by championing martyrs as alternatives to surviving apostate clergy, Augustine defined heroism in relation to the Church in an attempt to preserve its unity in the face of the fractious movement. Paulinus, on the other hand, sought to increase the eminence of his patron saint by bequeathing him a literary "martyr's crown". The two Felix "martyrs" therefore illustrate how interpretations of the body as a site of sanctity were dependent on external social conditions. This ambiguity could see the body as crucially important, as in the case of the Donatists, or largely irrelevant, as in the poem of Paulinus.

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[51] Prudentius, 74, 77, p. 277.
[52] Young, p. 91.
[53] Eusebius of Caesarea, *History of the Martyrs of Palestine*, 24, at *IntraText*, accessed September 28, 2015, http://www.intratext.com/IXT/ENG0798/_PB.HTMfd.
[54] ibid., 25.
[55] Straw, p. 251.
[56] *The Acts of Saint Felix, Bishop and Martyr,* in *Donatist Martyr Stories: The Church in Conflict in Roman North Africa*, translated by Maureen A. Tilley, Liverpool, 1996, pp. 7-11.

Where the literary bodies of saints and martyrs were shaped by their successors, ascetics and coenobites sought to keep their own bodies under strict control. The pioneering ascetic Saint Antony had originally ventured into the desert to avoid the disturbances of civilization, that he might devote himself entirely to the study of the Bible and prayer.[59] In understanding how Antony's form of asceticism became so popular, Gillian Clark identifies social motivations of asceticism which leave the sanctity of the body in question.[60] She notes how ascetic suffering was for some a means by which to share in the suffering of Jesus and of the martyrs.[61] This possibility suggests that the experience of the physical body held some prime importance in ascetic conceptions of sanctity, bodily suffering acting as a point of communion between ascetics, martyrs and Christ, but simultaneously cautions against the neglect of the more "Christian" concerns of charity or even humility. Conversely, Marilyn Dunn shows how asceticism was, for others, a tool for reinvention, affording women the ability to 'destabilize notions of gender' in light of the insignificance of the flesh.[62] By this interpretation, women utilized a cosmological truth to improve their temporal standing. These views represent the contrasting ascetic practices promoted by Augustine and Origen respectively. If neither of these explanations for ascetic participation is totally practical from a theological point of view, they at least indicate a perception of potential value within the body. The former recognises that Christ's physical suffering was sacred, whilst the latter necessarily confers meaning on the female body, despite its temporal insignificance. The continued discourse surrounding the body in ascetic practice may be traced in the development of the monastic movement and the ongoing modifications to monastic rules.[63] This dedication to the control of the body signifies its importance, whilst the absence of a definitive account of the body expresses its contested nature within ascetic and monastic communities.

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[57] Paulinus of Nola, *Poem* 21, translated by P. G. Walsh, *The Poems of St Paulinus of Nola*, New York, NY and Paramus, NJ, 1975, p. 178.

[58] Straw, p. 252.

[59] Gillian Clark, 'Women and Asceticism', p. 35.

[60] ibid., p. 36.

[61] ibid., p. 43.

[62] Dunn, p. 671.

More curious than pious figures themselves, however, are their remains. Both relics and miracles provide the strongest case for the body as a primary site of sinfulness and sanctity, due to the fact that they involve at least two physical bodies, if occasionally with degrees of separation. The most prolific miracle recorder, Gregory of Tours, attributes no less than fifteen miracles to one Monegund of Chartres, several of which occurred at her tomb.[64] Likewise, Braulio of Saragossa describes the healing powers of Emilian who is credited with removing tumours, averting paralysis, and curing blindness by the touch of his hand.[65] Many more were cured of blindness at his tomb, with one girl apparently resurrected from death.[66] However, as Raymond Van Dam points out, miraculous healings present a problem for the historian.[67] Disregarding the possibilities of real psychological cures or mistaken prognoses, Van Dam suggests that we might understand physical ailments as something beyond the physical, expressions of sin or societal ills.[68] He views the body as an outlet by which one could subconsciously express feelings of guilt or regret. This unconscious performance is perhaps more plausible in a world removed from modern science and medicine. Crucially, Van Dam notes that the misdeeds of the individual had a negative effect on their community, to the extent that all were required to partake in the process of healing, presumably at the hands of the bishop or local miracle worker.[69] Though this anthropological approach potentially undermines the agency of those suffering afflictions, it nevertheless fits both the model of a figurative personal body and a definitive social body. As a communicative instrument, the body becomes a point of exchange both between the soul and flesh of the owner, but also between people.[70] Van Dam states that instead of laying blame on demonic agents, 'people usually conceded that they were personally responsible for both their sins and their illnesses.'[71] With regard to miracles then, particularly their social aspect, the body represents a prime site for conceptions of sin and sanctification. Within such a community setting, the body acts as a signifier of the self, and thus a signifier of one's holiness for observers.

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[63] ibid., p. 678.

[64] Gregory of Tours, *Life of Monegund*, translated by Edward James, *Gregory of Tours: Life of the Fathers*, Liverpool, 1985, pp. 118-25.

[65] Braulio of Saragossa, *Life of St Emilian*, translated by Claude W. Barlow, *Iberian Fathers*, volume 2, Washington D.C., 1969, pp. 126-7.

[66] ibid., pp. 137-8.

[67] Raymond Van Dam, 'Bodily Miracles', in idem, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*, Princeton, NJ, 1993, p. 84.

[68] ibid., pp. 87-8.

What this essay has attempted to show is the variety of ways in which Christians of late antiquity thought about the body and the implications this held for conceptions of sinfulness and sanctity in the flesh. Within Christian theologies, the body was largely regarded as inferior to the soul, whether as a submissive entity or a separate one. However its relevance was maintained in a number of distinct areas. Its primary function was as a metaphor for the self, a location through which to signify the soul or to enact personal transformation. And yet, in these forms the body remained merely representative of personal sin or sanctification, unable to truly express the inner being. At the same time, the body served as a public symbol of exemplary Christianity. Martyrs and saints became the literal embodiment of holiness and a source of sanctity models for Christian congregations. But the most durable meanings of embodied sin and sanctification lay in the body's capacity for physical interaction. Physical contact and visual presence constituted the most reliable ontological truth between Christians. In the same way that historians depend on descriptions of the body for their evidence, so too did the Early Christians rely on the body as a means of knowing each other, if not necessarily themselves. Though the body of was irreconcilably removed from the "true" self, for its observers in social environments it was the definitive self. In these instances, the body was truly *the* site of sin and sanctification.

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[69] ibid., p. 89.

[70] Gillian Clark, 'The Bright Frontier of Friendship', in idem, *Body and Gender, Soul and Reason*, p. 220.

[71] ibid.

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