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Special Edition

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THE COLORADO HISTORIAN

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A COLLECTION OF HISTORIAL ARGUMENTS

Force Design and the Historical Legacy of Amphibious Warfare in Taiwan's Defense
ELLA R. MADDEN

Cricket in South Africa
WESTON TITUS

Hunger Strikes as Anti-Colonial Protest in India and Ireland
JORDAN PARKS

The Graveyard of Authoritarianism: The Cult of Personality at Cihu Park
DREW KENDALL

The Legacy of "Good Queen Bess"
HAILEY NEWSUM

Literacy: Mau Mau's Strength in its Intellectual Resistance
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Jumping Ship: How Over exploitation Sank America's Whaling Empire
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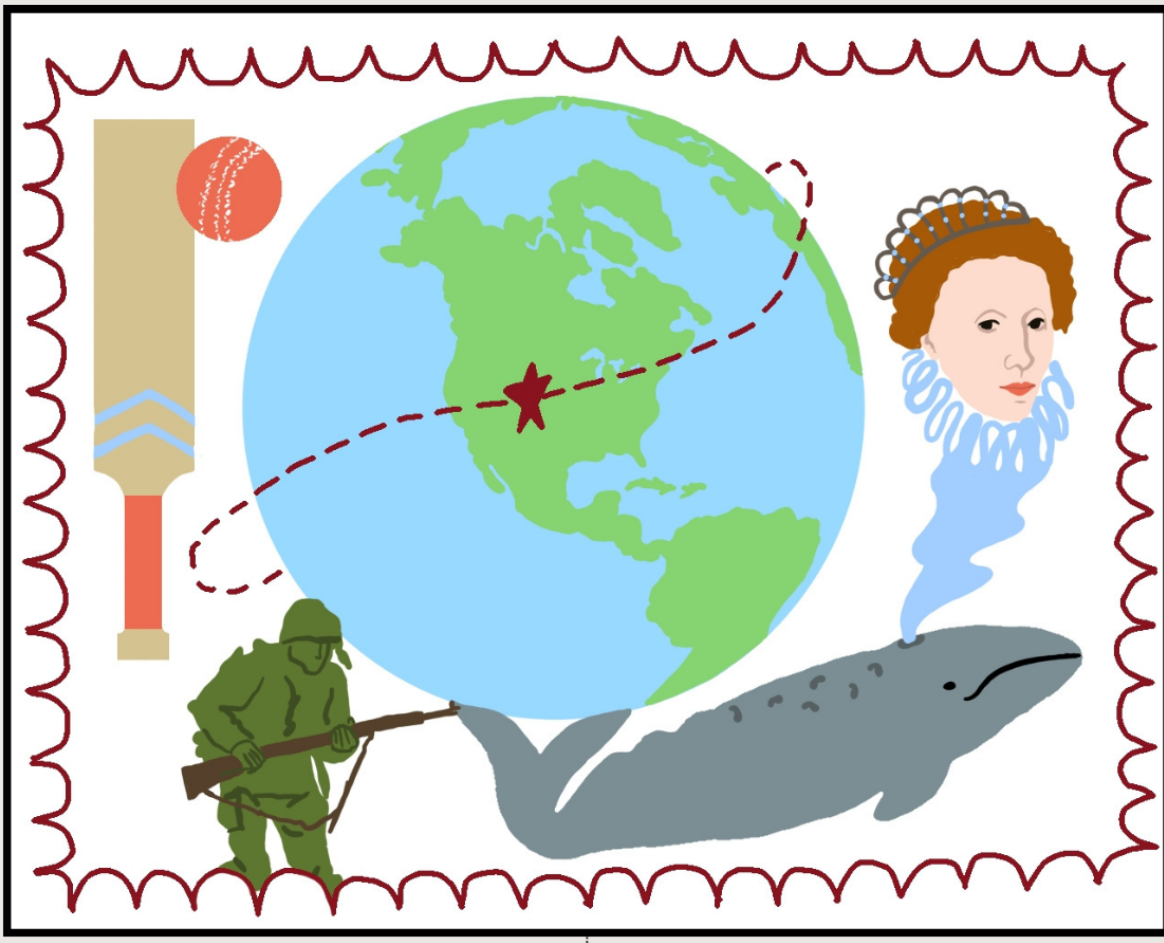

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Letter from an Editor

Dear Readers,

I am thrilled to present the 2025 edition of The Colorado Historian. Our team's continuous work to bring over one hundred pages of research to publication has been tremendous. We are honored to continue over three decades of publications that each highlight the most thorough and worldly historical research completed by Undergraduates at the University of Colorado Boulder. Our team purposely chose research that spans a variety of subjects and viewpoints while prioritizing conclusions derived from primary sources.

We also look to highlight the honors thesis projects for the second year in a row. Their dedication to a yearlong mission of research and defense is tremendously impressive. We are not able to place any of the full versions into the Journal because of their great length, which exemplifies the gravitas of their achievement. Full abstracts can be found near the end of this year's edition, including a link to full research papers.

I came to CU planning on only studying economics, but found the burning drive to explore history was too great to ignore. My participation in the Historian was delayed until Junior year, where I found a historically minded community focused on becoming better writers, reviewers, and overall historians. My fellow Historian members have become some of my closest friends and most comfortable communities..

My time with *The Colorado Historian* and undergraduate experience has reached its final

chapter. Thank you to the amazing history professors and high school teachers who have pushed me to explore the historical world with starry eyes. I also would not be able to be here without my parents, who have supported me in education and continuously endorse my passions. Thank you all for taking the time to read this year's edition. I am eternally confident in the mission here at the *Colorado Historian* and can't wait to see future generations grow as historians as well.

Sincerely,

Hayden Fox

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Force Design and the Historical Legacy of Amphibious Warfare in Taiwan's Defense

Ella R. Madden

Introduction

Taiwan's strategic significance in the Asia-Pacific region is in large part due to its central location in the South China Sea, a critical waterway that has long been a point of geopolitical competition. The South China Sea is one of the most important maritime regions in the world, facilitating nearly one-third of global trade[1]. Its vast reserves of natural resources, including oil and natural gas, further elevate its economic and strategic value. For Taiwan, situated near the northern edge of this contested region, control over its maritime domain is vital to national security and economic stability. Moreover, Taiwan's position serves as a critical chokepoint for any military operations in the region, making it a key player in the broader contest between the United States and China.

The ongoing tensions between China and Taiwan, rooted in historical claims and political rivalry, have placed Taiwan at the center of U.S. military strategy. Since the end of World War II, Taiwan has relied on U.S. support to deter potential aggression from the People's Republic of China (PRC). This reliance has grown more pronounced in the face of the PRC's increasing military modernization, particularly in its amphibious and naval capabilities. As the PRC asserts

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[1]Cordesman, Anthony H., Arleigh A. Burke, and Max Molot. "The Critical Role of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea." China and the U.S.: Cooperation, Competition and/or Conflict An Experimental Assessment, 337. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2019. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep22586.30.

its claims over the South China Sea and continues to pressure Taiwan with military posturing, the United States has sought to reinforce its own military presence in the region, reinforcing alliances and modernizing strategies for littoral combat.

Amphibious warfare—military operations that launch assaults from the sea onto land, typically using naval, air, and ground forces to secure coastal areas—has long been fundamental to Taiwan's defense strategy. Its geographic position and vulnerability to amphibious invasion have made such operations essential in preparing for potential conflicts with the PRC. The United States Marine Corps' Force Design builds on this history, focusing on modernizing amphibious warfare capabilities to address contemporary challenges in the Indo-Pacific. This initiative emphasizes distributed maritime operations, advanced technologies, and lighter, more agile forces, which are essential for countering the PRC's growing capabilities in contested littoral zones like the South China Sea.

Force Design 2030 was created not only to address evolving threats posed by near-peer competitors like China but also to transition the Marine Corps away from its previous role as a "second land army" focused on prolonged land wars in the Middle East. Over the past two decades, the Corps' operations in Iraq and Afghanistan prioritized counterinsurgency and large-scale ground combat, obscuring its traditional role as an amphibious, expeditionary force-in-readiness. The shift initiated by Force Design is a return to the Corps' roots, prioritizing its ability to project power from the sea and operate effectively in coastal and maritime environments.

This paper examines how Force Design reflects the historical and strategic importance of littoral combat to Taiwan's defense. Specifically, it explores how the initiative draws on Taiwan's post-World War II amphibious warfare strategies while addressing contemporary

challenges posed by the PRC's growing military capabilities. By placing Force Design within the broader context of Taiwan's historical defense strategies, the geopolitical dynamics of the South China Sea, and the modernization of U.S. military doctrine, this analysis highlights the enduring relevance of amphibious warfare to regional security. Ultimately, the paper evaluates whether Force Design 2030 represents a timely and effective response to the challenges of defending Taiwan in an era of heightened tension with China.

Historical Context

After World War II, Taiwan's status underwent a significant shift, positioning it as a crucial geopolitical asset in the emerging global order. In 1945, following Japan's surrender, the island was handed over to Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government, the Republic of China (ROC). This transition placed Taiwan within a new framework, where China was envisioned as part of a "post-war order, with regional policemen in charge of security—the 'United Nations'".[2]As part of this postwar vision, Taiwan's strategic importance grew within U.S. efforts to contain Communist expansion in East Asia, particularly after the outcome of the Chinese Civil War in 1949, which saw Mao Zedong's Communist Party establish the PRC while Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Party retreated to Taiwan. This relocation solidified Taiwan's role as a bulwark against Communist influence.

Throughout the Cold War, Taiwan's value as a defensive stronghold and its vulnerability due to its proximity to mainland China became central to American strategy. Geographically positioned within the first island chain, Taiwan served as a pivotal point in the U.S.'s efforts to

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[2] Khan, Sulmaan Wasif. *The Struggle for Taiwan: A History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2023, 26.

deter Communist expansion. The Taiwan Strait Crises of the 1950s underscored this importance, as the U.S. sought to counter PRC aggression while navigating Taiwan's delicate political status. During this period, Taiwan was viewed as both a "hostage to China's power and politics, but also a threat to China's development and relations with the United States."[3] This duality required a careful balancing act: Taiwan was an essential defensive outpost for the U.S., but supporting it risked escalating tensions with China.

American military aid played a critical role in fortifying Taiwan's defenses during the early Cold War era. With substantial U.S. resources, Chiang Kai-shek, often referred to as the Generalissimo, seized the opportunity to transform Taiwan into a militarized stronghold. "The Generalissimo would instead move to strengthen his position there (American aid, of course, made such strengthening possible)."[4] The influx of U.S. aid not only reinforced Taiwan's coastal defenses but also facilitated the development of amphibious and littoral capabilities critical to countering regional threats. This emphasis on amphibious operations highlighted the strategic importance of defending Taiwan's vulnerable coastal regions and securing its position within the broader U.S. containment strategy in East Asia.

This historical context underscores the enduring importance of Taiwan within U.S. strategic planning and its relevance to modern military initiatives like Force Design 2030. The lessons learned from decades of collaboration, coupled with the persistent threat posed by the PRC, highlight the need for continued emphasis on amphibious and littoral defense capabilities. Taiwan's history as a critical defensive outpost remains central to understanding

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[3] Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf, ed. *Dangerous Strait: The U.S.-Taiwan-China Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008, 15.
[4] Khan, *The Struggle for Taiwan*, 89.

the evolving security dynamics in the Indo-Pacific and the role of the United States in maintaining regional stability.

Overview of Force Design

Force Design is a transformational shift in the United States Marine Corps' operational strategy, designed to meet the challenges of modern warfare in contested littoral zones. Initiated under the leadership of then-Commandant General David H. Berger, Force Design seeks to realign the Corps with its historical mission as a forward-deployed, expeditionary force while addressing the unique threats posed by near-peer adversaries like China. Central to this initiative is the modernization of amphibious warfare capabilities, allowing the Corps to "fight at sea, from the sea, and from the land to the sea,"[5] as well as "maneuver across the seaward and landward portions of complex littorals."[6] These goals ensure the Marine Corps can operate effectively in highly contested environments, such as the South China Sea, and confront aggressor naval forces.

A major component of Force Design is the shift away from the Corps' previous role as a second land army during the prolonged land wars in the Middle East. Over two decades of counterinsurgency operations in Iraq and Afghanistan led to a focus on heavy ground combat units, which diminished the Marine Corps' readiness for maritime conflict and amphibious operations. Force Design redirects the Corps back to its traditional roots, emphasizing lighter,

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[5] United States Marine Corps. *Force Design 2030: Report Phase I and II*. Washington, D.C.: Headquarters Marine Corps, 2020, 3. Accessed December 14, 2024. https://www.hqmc.marines.mil/Portals/142/Docs/CMC38%20Force%20Design%202030%20Report%20Phase%20I%20and%20II.pdf.

[6] See note 5 above.

more mobile forces designed for rapid deployment and amphibious missions.[7] This reformation ensures the Corps remains a naval infantry force capable of "sea control and sea denial in a contested littoral environment,"[8] a goal that is vital to U.S. strategic interests.

The Corps' modernization prioritizes "technically disruptive"[9] advancements and capabilities to counter threats posed by adversaries like the PRC. One of the plan's key innovations is the integration of precision-guided munitions, unmanned systems, and long-range fires into Marine Corps operations[10]. These tools will allow for distributed operations so smaller, more autonomous units can operate independently across vast areas while remaining interconnected through advanced communication networks. This decentralized approach enhances the Corps' flexibility and reduces the vulnerability of large formations to enemy strikes, particularly in regions dominated by Anti-Access/Area Denial (A2/AD) systems, such as the South China Sea[11].

Analysis of Force Design's Effectiveness

Force Design aims to modernize the Marine Corps' amphibious capabilities, aligning closely with the priorities outlined in Taiwan's Defense White Papers. Taiwan's National Defense Report 2023 highlights the increasing threat of aggression from the PRC and emphasizes the need to strengthen asymmetric warfare, coastal defense, and joint force capabilities[12].Force Design, with its focus on distributed maritime operations, complements

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[7] USMC, *Force Design 2030*, 2
[8] See note 7 above.
[9] See note 5 above.
[10] See note 7 above.
[11] See note 5 above.
[12] Republic of China (Taiwan) Ministry of National Defense. *ROC National Defense Report 2023*. Taipei, Taiwan: Ministry of National Defense, 2023, 59. Accessed December 14, 2024. https://www.mnd.gov.tw/newupload/ndr/112/112ndreng.pdf.

Taiwan's strategic objectives, particularly its efforts to defend its littoral zones and disrupt potential amphibious assaults.

New Marine Littoral Regiments envisioned in Force Deign, are particularly suited to Taiwan's geographic and strategic needs. Operating in contested maritime environments, MLRs bring a suite of capabilities such as anti-ship missiles, surveillance, and expeditionary advanced base operations (EABO)[13]. These units align with Taiwan's focus on asymmetric warfare by creating smaller, mobile, and harder-to-target forces capable of launching precision strikes against an invading force. This distributed approach aligns with Taiwan's goal of leveraging "geography… within tactical defense areas to increase defense lines to fail enemy invasion attempt"[14].

The Chief of Naval Operations (CNO) Navigation Plan 2024 further strengthens the case for Force Design's effectiveness. The CNO's focus on "readiness for the possibility of war with the People's Republic of China by 2027,"[15] with an emphasis on joint operations, fits well with Force Design's priorities. The integration of Navy and Marine Corps capabilities enhances the ability to execute joint maritime operations, a critical requirement for defending Taiwan[16]. The Navigation Plan's commitment to long-term warfighting advantages supports Force Design's emphasis on modernizing the Marine Corps with advanced technologies, including unmanned systems and long-range precision weapons, which are vital for countering the PRC's A2/AD systems.

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[13] USMC, *Force Design 2030*, 10.
[14] Republic of China (Taiwan), *ROC National Defense Report 2023*, 65.
[15] United States Navy. *Chief of Naval Operations Navigation Plan 2024*. Washington, D.C.: Department of the Navy, 2024, III. https://www.navy.mil/Portals/1/CNO/NAVPLAN2024/Files/CNO_NAVPLAN_2024_50 Sat.pdf?ver=wcI10aP6LiEoojJZz-2qXA%3d%3d.
[16] United States Navy. *Chief of Naval Operations Navigation Plan 2024*, 14.

A major limitation is the rapidly evolving nature of PRC military capabilities. Taiwan's National Defense Report highlights China's growing amphibious and missile capabilities[17], which may outpace the Marine Corps' modernization under Force Design. The PRC's continued investment in amphibious assault ships, advanced missile systems, and naval expansion requires the United States and Taiwan to remain adaptive. While Force Design provides a solid foundation, its success depends on ongoing innovation and the ability to anticipate emerging threats.

Force Design aligns well with the strategic priorities outlined in Taiwan's Defense White Papers and the Chief of Naval Operations Navigation Plan 2024. Its emphasis on distributed operations, naval integration, and advanced technologies enhances the collective ability to deter PRC aggression and defend Taiwan. However, the initiative's effectiveness depends on overcoming challenges in adaptability to evolving threats. Continued collaboration between the United States and Taiwan, along with sustained investment in innovation, will be critical for ensuring Force Design's success in securing regional stability.

Implications of the 2024 U.S. Presidential Election

The re-election of President Donald J. Trump introduces significant uncertainties regarding the United States' commitment to Taiwan's defense, which could directly impact the strategic objectives of Force Design. President Trump's transactional approach to foreign policy, exemplified by his suggestion that Taiwan should "pay us for defense,"[18] raises concerns about the reliability of U.S. support in the event of a conflict with the PRC. This

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[17] Republic of China (Taiwan), *ROC National Defense Report 2023*, 12.
[18] Associated Press. "Trump Says Taiwan Should Pay US for Defense Support, Avoids Pledge to Protect Island." *AP News*, July 17, 2024. https://apnews.com/article/trump-taiwan-chips-invasion-china-910e7a94b19248fc75e5d1ab6b0a34d8.

stance could undermine the deterrence that Force Design aims to strengthen through enhanced amphibious and littoral combat capabilities in the Indo-Pacific region.

Donald Trump's foreign policy is often described as unpredictable due to its emphasis on transactional relationships, a willingness to break with diplomatic norms, inconsistent messaging, and a focus on personal relationships with foreign leaders over established protocols. His transactional approach, as evidenced by comments regarding Taiwan, signals a shift away from traditional U.S. policies that prioritize long-term strategic commitments and alliances. This unpredictability extends to his habit of breaking diplomatic norms, such as his unprecedented direct engagement with North Korea's Kim Jong-un, which created uncertainty about U.S. intentions among both allies and adversaries. Additionally, his reliance on personal rapport with leaders like Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping adds another layer of ambiguity to U.S. foreign policy. In the context of Force Design, this lack of consistency raises concerns about whether U.S. commitments to defend Taiwan and counter China's influence will remain in place or be undermined by transactional calculations, potentially weakening the deterrence Force Design is designed to reinforce.

Project 2025, a comprehensive policy blueprint developed by conservative think tanks, outlines a vision for restructuring various aspects of the federal government, including defense and foreign policy. While there has been speculation about potential shifts in defense priorities under a Trump administration, Project 2025 is notably supportive of Force Design 2030, recognizing that the initiative "will be critical to ensuring the Corps' future combat effectiveness."[19] The project emphasizes modernizing military capabilities and maintaining

[19] Miller, Christopher. "Department of Defense." In *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, 91–131. Washington, D.C.: 2025 Presidential Transition Project, 2025. https://static.project2025.org/2025_MandateForLeadership_CHAPTER-04.pdf.

readiness for great-power competition, which aligns closely with the goals of Force Design. Given this alignment, it is unlikely that Project 2025 would seek to dismantle or significantly alter the initiative. Instead, it may reinforce the Marine Corps' focus on littoral operations, which is central to countering near-peer adversaries like China. This support provides a sense of continuity for Force Design, even amidst greater uncertainty about the administration's defense and foreign policy direction.

The selection of key cabinet members, such as Pete Hegseth—a former Army officer and media personality known for his cautious stance on U.S. military interventions—signals a potential shift in defense policy direction. Hegseth has expressed skepticism about U.S. involvement in foreign conflicts, emphasizing the importance of nations taking responsibility for their own defense. In a Fox Business clip on heightening tensions in Taiwan, he stated, "It's better for them to fight for their own freedom than for us to be entangled in that conflict."[20] This perspective suggests that under his influence as Secretary of Defense, the administration may adopt a more restrained approach to military engagements, potentially impacting the United States' commitment to Taiwan's defense. Such a shift could undermine the strategic objectives of Force Design, which relies on a robust U.S. military presence in the Indo-Pacific to deter aggression from the PRC. A reduced commitment could encourage the PRC to take action, challenging the effectiveness of Force Design in maintaining regional stability.

The re-election of President Trump, coupled with initiatives like Project 2025 and the selection of key figures such as Pete Hegseth, introduces challenges and opportunities for the future of Force Design. While Project 2025 is broadly supportive of the initiative, Trump's

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[20] "Pete Hegseth reveals potential impact of Ukraine's resistance on Taiwan," *Fox Business*, March 29, 2022, video, 1:38-1:43, https://www.foxbusiness.com/video/6302254909001.

unpredictable foreign policy approach raises questions about the consistency of U.S. commitments in the Indo-Pacific. Statements like Hegseth's, suggesting that nations should fight for their own freedom rather than relying on U.S. involvement, highlight the potential for a more isolationist stance that could undermine the entire purpose of Force Design. Additionally, Trump's transactional view of alliances and his willingness to break with traditional diplomatic norms create uncertainty regarding U.S. support for Taiwan. Despite these concerns, Force Design modernization efforts remain a major component of U.S. military strategy, but their success will hinge on clear, consistent policy direction and unwavering commitment to regional allies like Taiwan.

Conclusions

Force Design represents a significant effort by the United States Marine Corps to modernize its capabilities in response to the evolving threats of the 21st century, particularly in the Indo-Pacific. By emphasizing distributed maritime operations, advanced technologies, and the re-establishment of amphibious warfare as a core competency, Force Design aligns well with Taiwan's strategic needs as outlined in its National Defense Reports and the geopolitical imperatives of the South China Sea. The initiative addresses crucial challenges posed by the PRC's growing military power and emphasizes the enduring importance of littoral combat in regional security.

However, the effectiveness of Force Design relies on multiple factors. Taiwan's defense strategy, the Chief of Naval Operations' Navigation Plan 2024, and ongoing interoperability efforts provide a strong foundation for success, but they also highlight potential gaps in adaptability. Furthermore, the implication of re-electing President Trump

introduces additional uncertainties in the future effectiveness of protecting Taiwan. The possibility of a more isolationist or transactional approach to Taiwan's defense could undermine the deterrence and operational effectiveness that Force Design seeks to achieve.

Despite these challenges, Force Design positions the Marine Corps as a pivotal player in defending Taiwan and securing U.S. interests in the Indo-Pacific. Its focus on flexible, distributed forces and its commitment to innovation reflect a forward-looking approach to modern conflict. However, the success of this initiative will depend on sustained political support, effective implementation, and the ability to adapt to rapidly changing dynamics, both in the region and in Washington, D.C.

Ultimately, Force Design is more than a strategic initiative; it is a test of the United States' commitment to maintaining stability in the Indo-Pacific and deterring aggression from near-peer adversaries like China. By learning from history, leveraging new technologies, and fostering strong alliances, the Marine Corps has the opportunity to redefine its role in an era of heightened global competition. The stakes are high, and the success of Force Design will have far-reaching implications for Taiwan's defense, U.S. regional influence, and the future of global security.

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Cricket in South Africa

Weston Titus

Thesis

Sports function as an important and revealing microcosm of the greater society surrounding them. They primarily serve as entertainment, but can provide a window into nationalism, economics, racial inequalities, and politics. In South African history, cricket is an important window revealing the racial discrimination that was Apartheid government policy through 1990, whose effects lasted into the future.. In this paper, I argue that the sport was introduced as a display of military and colonial power by the British, then was used to assert the dominance of these leaders over the indigenous South Africans whose territory was being occupied. The sport was deliberately and systematically racialized from the moment it was introduced, and understanding both the ways that this system was upheld and how it eventually fell is integral to understanding the greater racial dynamics at play in apartheid South Africa.

Additionally, I argue that cricket served as an important way to introduce the issues of Apartheid to a greater international audience. Through a collective activity like sport, activists were able to relate the racialization of the game to the average citizen, especially through protests of the South African national team and their international play. By heavily racializing an international and widely popular sport, activists were able to significantly increase the reach of their movement.

Background Information

Apartheid was a series of laws that sanctioned racial discrimination and segregation against nonwhites. Racism and discrimination had been widespread from the beginning of colonial occupation, but the National Party's D.F Malan, the 4th prime minister of South Africa, put these policies into law starting in 1948 under the name "separate development". The Population Registration Act of 1950 directly classified every citizen into Bantu, White, or Coloured, to directly apply these policies to every citizen of South Africa and control the labor and movement of non-whites.[21] Jobs, housing, restaurants, and entire cities were completely separated by race with a police state being used to uphold these policies.

After large international protests began to mount in the 1980s, some of those being centered around South Africa's racially segregated cricket team, the anti-Apartheid movement began to make serious ground toward large-scale reform. The US saw protests such as Martin Luther King's widow Coretta and her children being arrested at the South African Embassy.[22] South African sports and international affairs continued to be boycotted until reformation. The ultimate death blow was the mounting economic sanctions that crippled the nation, forcing them to finally allow free and fair elections. The general public responded in force, resulting in activist Nelson Mandela becoming the first black president and ushering in a new era of freedom.

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[21] Stanford, The history of apartheid in South Africa, accessed April 26, 2024, http://www-cs-students.stanford.edu/~cale/cs201/apartheid.hist.html.
[22] "Pressure to End Apartheid Began at Grass Roots in U.S.," U.S Mission Geneva, December 17, 2013, https://geneva.usmission.gov/2013/12/17/pressure-to-end-apartheid-began-at-grass-roots-in-u-s/.

Historiography

Historians generally agree that while greater geopolitical factors were ultimately the biggest reasons for the overthrow of the Apartheid era in South Africa, sports filled a unique niche in bringing a larger audience onto its side. Kristine Höglund notes how the 1994 Reconciliation plan explicitly noted reintegrating sports and allowing non-white players to play alongside white players; a direct example of the reconciliation that would be necessary for South Africa to heal as a nation. She notes many other ways that sport encouraged the embracement of diversity and cultural unity.[23] These points of view largely fall in line with the claim that this paper makes, of sports playing a limited but crucial role in expanding the scope of anti-Apartheid protest.

Little has been written about the meaning of the militaristic early structure of cricket, which this paper will delve further into. While there are various records on early matches being organized primarily by colonial officers, I have found no scholarship noting the power structure that this created for non-white prospective players and how this system fed into the racist society that would eventually adopt Apartheid as its governing policy.

Arguments

The first recorded game of South African Cricket can be found through a newspaper clipping to advertise a match between two teams of English military officers in 1804, with locals being encouraged to attend.[24] From the onset, cricket was used as a way to display British

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[23] Höglund, Kristine, and Ralph Sundberg. "Reconciliation through Sports? The Case of South Africa." *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (2008): 805–18.
[24] Allen, Dean. "South African Cricket, Imperial Cricketers and Imperial Expansion, 1850–1910." The International Journal of the History of Sport 25, no. 4 (2008): 443–71. doi:10.1080/09523360701814789.

white power and superiority over the people they were colonizing. By tying the introduction of the sport to the military, it became directly intertwined in the colonial power that was being imposed. The sport was for powerful white people, and was introduced that way to South Africans deliberately and intentionally, as shown by the continued military demonstrations in cricket such as these examples from the 19th century.

In 1889, South Africa was officially named a "test cricket" member, making it one of the initial grounds for the highest level of "first-class" cricket to be played. The early tours can be seen emphasizing military aspects, with all of them being accompanied by military officers who would act as umpires, their military status prominent in the advertising.[25] Cricket has always been in a tiered system, and during this time, even the most talented Black or Indian players were completely disallowed from moving up in the ranks. Using the guise of traditional sports tiers being based on skill and merit, it became easy for cricket to become highly segregated and racialized, and the high-level matches that received attention would paint South Africa as being a white haven.

When looking into the way that cricket teams were named in South Africa, from the onset the purpose of the racialized power structure is apparent. White teams had names like "Transvaal Cricket Union", identifying the area, while non-white teams had to strictly identify themselves with names like "Natal Coloureds Cricket Association".[26] Even in the pre-apartheid era, the system that had been set up by British colonists who introduced cricket made the sport an elitist race-based system that forced non-white people into the bottom. White players were able to identify themselves with the sport itself and enjoy being thrust into the top tiers that

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[25] *Advertisement for the First Test of 1889*. 2007. Photograph. *Wikipedia Images*.
[26] United Nations Centre against Apartheid, and Ramsamy, Sam. Racial Discrimination in South African Sport. Reports. United Nations (New York), 1980. https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.nuun1980_10.

international competition had to offer, non-white individuals had to make clear that they belonged to the lower classes before being allowed to compete.

Those who were unable to rise to the high ranks of cricket leagues because of the discriminatory policies clearly saw the league as a violent and dangerous display of imperial power over their people. The fact that it was surrounding a game did not matter; the realities of racism were still harmful and meaningful. In their charter, the KwaZulu-Natal Cricket Union recognized the hardships that non-white cricket players had gone through in solemn terms. They were referred to as "those who have suffered the exclusion, prejudice, and deliberate underdevelopment of the cricket establishment."[27]

It is also worth noting that some non-white cricket players were able to escape the tiered system and compete at the highest level the sport had to offer. Great Britain's own teams were not racially segregated, and players such as Basil D'Oliveira, a black South African, were able to compete professionally in Test Cricket.[28] However, these defectors were still unable to compete for the South African side of any international event.

The "Stop The Seventy Tour" that formed in 1969 from a larger group of Anti-Apartheid activists garnered significant attention due to the way they protested South African Cricket in their visits to England. Their opposition to the SACA was shown by various high-visibility and shocking methods of protest. The most emblematic example of this is David Wilton-Godberford's 1970 threat to unleash thousands of grass-eating locusts to ravage the playing field of a London cricket team if they continued to play South Africa's apartheid team.

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[27] Reddy, Krish The Other Side: A Miscellany of Cricket in Natal (South Africa: KwaZulu-Natal Cricket Union, 1999).
[28] United Nations Centre against Apartheid, and Ramsamy, Sam. Racial Discrimination in South African Sport. Reports. United Nations (New York), 1980. https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.nuun1980_10.

These unconventional methods of protest garnered significant attention from the public everywhere the Stop The Seventy activists followed the South African team, while simultaneously protesting the apartheid policies and serving to educate the public about the realities of Apartheid.[29]

Campaigns that highlighted discrimination in sport, such as the "Stop The Seventy Tour", made their way to the zeitgeist of the UN and general global politics. Rob Nixon claimed that "the power of the sports boycott stemmed largely from its ability to grip the media by generating spectacle."[30] Nelson Mandela, while more interested and involved in the rugby scene than cricket, saw sport as an important vessel for activism and for spreading the anti-apartheid message. While he was imprisoned for much of the Apartheid era, Mandela was outward about the importance of integrating sport as a way for non-white South Africans to be true members of society. After he was eventually elected president in 1994, marking a significant turning point in South African history and the last nail in the coffin for the Apartheid era, his appearance at an integrated 1995 national Rugby match was coined "the most significant sporting event in South African history."[31] His appearance inspired many as this was the first integrated sporting event in years.

The dedication of these key figures of the Anti-Apartheid movement toward integrating and protesting cricket shows that they saw the sport as a powerful tool of the imperial movement, which was the exact intention of the British who introduced cricket and set up the system it operated in. By dismantling this racialized and tiered system, especially by protesting

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[29] Nixon, Rob. "Apartheid on the Run: The South African Sports Boycott." Transition, no. 58 (1992): 68–88. https://doi.org/10.2307/2934968.
[30] Nixon, Rob. Apartheid on the Run, 68–88.
[31] Danilewitz, Justin. "Athletics & Apartheid: The Evolution of Integrated Sports in South Africa." *Harvard International Review* 20, no. 4 (1998): 36–39. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42763940.

it whenever extended beyond South Africa's borders of South Africa, non-white South Africans could be integrated not only legally but also in recreational spaces. Sporting events were seen as such a sacred place free from politics that South Africa's insistence of racial segregation turned many onto the side of anti-apartheid protest against politicization of sport, with their support for non-white players being a byproduct.

Various organizations spawned from the racialized system which had been perpetuated and eventually put into policy in the form of an Apartheid nation and the South African Cricket Association (SACA) putting into writing their own racial discrimination policies for their four teams, which represented the country in international play. Countries outside of the British Crown completely boycotted playing against a team that so blatantly racially discriminated against its own people as well as opposing teams. Yet teams within the United Kingdom, as well as New Zealand, still regularly made the trip to compete against South Africa in international play at the highest level.

Domestically, the SACA saw intense pushback from anti-Apartheid protests, as seen in an impassioned 1960 letter to boycott any event involving them. The protestors claimed that SACA was "introducing politics into South African Sport" with their policies, while also saying they believed that "sport can bridge the gap of colour," urging for new leadership in the world of cricket.[32]

South African leaders and police used violent force to shut down many of those who tried to change the highly racialized system of cricket that had been developed. The SAN-ROC organization was a group of activists looking to integrate the sport, with one of their main teams

[32] Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport. South African Cricket Tour. Circulars, 1960. https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.aamp2b1400051.

being the Aurora Cricket Club. The members of this team were violently assaulted and arrested for trying to compete against white players, and newspaper clippings show that the public was torn on whether the sport should see through these racial changes.[33] General activists who had been previously uninvolved in the world of cricket saw this as a meaningful medium to create change and inform the public about racial discrimination that these players faced.

Another team looking to integrate the sport, the South African Indian Sporting Contingent, consisted of colonial-born Indian players. In their introductory letter from 1921, the white mayor of their town supported them by claiming they were "respected not only by their fellow Indians…but also by the European community."[34] In order to have any chance of playing against the Test League teams of that time, they needed the cosigning of a white person. Still, they faced constant harassment during their matches and were unable to successfully integrate any parts of the sport.

Conclusion

Anti-Apartheid activists being so involved in the sport of cricket, both before and during Apartheid policy, shows that racial discrimination was both deeply rooted in the sport and deeply important to those affected. Even activists who had no previous connection with the world of sports saw cricket as a way to introduce the politics and horrors of an Apartheid regime to the greater public. Further, by showing examples of racial discrimination in a schoolyard game, they made it a more accessible message. The sport was systematically introduced by an imperial military power, and treated non-white players as second class sub-human athletes.

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[33] Reddy, Krish, The Other Side: A Miscellany of Cricket in Natal (South Africa: KwaZulu-Natal Cricket Union, 1999).
[34] Reddy, Krish, The Other Side.

Additionally, the prevalence of sport in the lives of those who may not otherwise care about politics meant that cricket played a crucial role in placing Apartheid issues on the doorstep of the average citizen. While protest was already growing globally, the world of sport was another critical avenue for the anti-Apartheid message to be spread, and was further backed by key leaders like Nelson Mandela who noted the importance of sport in this movement. Cricket in South Africa is an example of the uncanny unifying power that sports can have, sometimes rearing its head as ugly displays of Nationalism and a way to uphold racist policy, or a way for diversity and acceptance to overcome and lead the country into a new era of unity.

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Hunger Strikes as Anti-Colonial Protest in India and Ireland

Jordan Parks

Introduction

The first half of the twentieth century bore witness to a wave of hunger strikes protesting British rule and violence in India and Ireland. Representing themselves as a manifestation of Britain's inability to feed, imprisoned hunger strikers rejected colonial rule while weaponizing the only instrument still in their control: their own bodies. Irish and Indian nationalists drew upon religious and national sacrifice as they starved in protest of British colonial rule. In India, political activists devoted themselves to *Bharat Mata*, Mother India, the deity and representation of the new Indian nation. In Ireland, Catholicism was asserted as the contradiction to British Protestantism, and Irish hunger strikers drew upon Catholic martyrdom in their strikes for an independent Ireland. Hunger strikers in both nations were prepared to die for both religion and country. In a portrayal of religious martyrdom, Indian and Irish hunger strikers used their bodies as a manifestation of the nationalist struggle, starving under British cruelty for a free and independent India and Ireland while exposing the falsity of the colonial civilizing mission.

Famine and the New Imperialism

Memories of famine haunt India and Ireland. Hunger and the image of a starving nation are deeply connected to British brutality. From 1845 to1850, immense famine swept across Ireland. The famine was man-made by the British. The colonial government only permitted Irish peasants to eat potatoes and when a potato blight ruined the 1845 potato crop, famine ravaged the country. The British refused to allow starving peasants to eat the other crops they grew which

were instead exported to England, causing mass starvation. This laissez-faire famine attitude killed one million and forced another two million to immigrate.[35] Under British rule, India was plagued by devastating regional famines, the most prominent being the 1876-1878 Famine and the 1943 Bengal famine. In 1876, images of skeletal bodies circulated around the world, arousing international sentiments of horror and disgust. The British middle and upper classes viewed the starving poor "as the architects of their own misery, incapable of the moral restraint necessary to check their birth rate, which produced too many mouths to feed."[36] The British did not consider themselves responsible for famine conditions, and instead claimed that the famines were a result of people's inability to take care of themselves. Famine was understood to be a consequence of colonized people's own inadequacy and underdevelopment, not the fault of colonial policy.

In the wake of the Industrial Revolution, British belief in free trade and market capitalism created a laissez-faire approach to famine in the mid-nineteenth century, resulting in the deaths of millions and a deep and permanent memory of hunger in India and Ireland. The tradition of "hands off" famine relief shifted in the 1890s as colonial ideology oscillated towards a liberal paternalistic approach. In the second half of the nineteenth century, growing liberal critique of the empire and its costs became increasingly unignorable for British authorities. The British needed to redefine the imperial mission. In the 1890s, New Imperialism emerged as an ideology which reframed British identity as belonging to its vast overseas empire, prioritizing ideas of a historical and moral obligation to civilize the colonies in order to justify the brutality of colonization.[37] As the Second Industrial Revolution mechanized farming and production to levels

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[35] David Nally, "'That Coming Storm': The Irish Poor Law, Colonial Biopolitics, and the Great Famine," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98, no. 3 (2008): 714.
[36] Kevin Grant, *Last Weapons: Hunger Strikes and Fasts in the British Empire, 1890–1948.* (Germany: University of California Press, 2019), 13.
[37] Ronald R. Thomas, "The Fingerprint of the Foreigner: Colonizing the Criminal Body in 1890s Detective Fiction and Criminal Anthropology," *ELH* 61, no. 3 (Autumn 1994): 657.

never seen before in history, the caloric intake of the poor greatly increased and chronic hunger became uncommon and less acceptable in Britain. Where images of starving Indians and Irish had once generated a great sense of disgust, they now aroused sympathy. Historian James Vernon wrote that hunger, "was one of the core dilemmas of British liberalism that helped determine where the boundaries would be drawn between the market and the state, the subject and the citizen, the individual and the collective, the nation and the empire."[38] No longer could the British sit and watch their colonial subjects go hungry. The colonial civilizing mission now called for food in the mouths of the starving world. In Rudyard Kipling's famous poem, *The White Man's Burden*, he illustrates the paternalistic duty of the colonial power to feed. Kipling writes, "take up the white man's burden (...) fill full the mouth of famine."[39] The new barometer of colonial success became the governing power's ability to prevent famine in order to 'civilize' and secure a profit margin.

It was under this new ideology of the paternalistic duty of the colonial power to feed its colonized subjects that hunger striking came into itself as a powerful tool of protest, and what in part made it so effective. These new policies made hunger a great liability to the British government, giving credibility and moral authority to those who fasted. Historian Kevin Grant writes that, "hunger weakened the moral authority of the government and thus morally empowered those who chose to endure hunger to display the government's unjust rule."[40] Hunger strikers represented their people's starvation and exploitation at the hands of the British, reminiscent of times of famine, and Britain's perceived duty of civilization at the cost of Indian and Irish lives.

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[38] James Vernon, *Hunger: A Modern History* (Germany: Harvard University Press, 2009), 273.

[39] Rudyard Kipling, *White Man's Burden: The United States & The Philippine Islands* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1899).

[40] Grant, *Last Weapons*, 18.

Across the Black Water

Fasting for political purposes holds a long tradition in Irish and Indian mythologies. These traditions developed independently of one another and influenced nationalistic perceptions of independent Ireland and India. A 1913 edition of the *Scientific American* cites the ancient tradition of Hindu *dharna,* in which "the debtor would sit at the creditor's door and taste no food until his claims were satisfied."[41] If the debtor died in this process, the creditor would be cursed or face punishment. This practice was strictly outlawed by Indian Penal Codes, but it was this tradition which Indian nationalists in the twentieth century drew upon as they fasted for better prison conditions and Indian independence in the name of *Bharat Mata*.

The most notorious jail in British India lay on the Andaman Islands, which jailed India's political prisoners. The journey from Calcutta to the Andaman Islands took four days across the Black Water. Upon arrival, the prisoners waited in a quarantine plague camp where they were forced to squat before British prison guard David Barry. The prisoners called Barry Yama, the Hindu lord of death.[42] Separated by four days of water from mainland India, political prisoners at the Cellular Jail were completely isolated. The British believed that this severe isolation would quarantine the spread of revolutionary ideas. In his memoir, V.D. Savarkar, an Indian revolutionary imprisoned at the Cellular Jail, recollects a speech given by Barry to the prisoners in which Barry stated that, "in the Universe there is one God, and He lives in the heaven above. But in Port Blair there are two; one, the God of Heaven, and another, the God of the Earth. Indeed the God of Earth in Port Blair– that is myself. The God of Heaven will reward you when you go above. But this God of Port Blair will reward you here and now. So ye prisoners, behave well."[43] Barry did not understand that there was a third God at Port Blair far more significant

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[41] "'Sitting Dharna' and Hunger Strikes." *Scientific American* 108, no. 15 (1913): 334.
[42] Grant, *Last Weapons*, 100.
[43] V. D. Savarkar, *The Story of My Transportation for Life* (Bombay: Sadbhakti Publications, 1950), 124–25.

than him: *Bharat Mata*. It was to her, not Barry's God of the Earth, that prisoners devoted themselves to. *Bharat Mata* gave face and purpose to the sufferings of prisoners at Port Blair. Nationalism and religion realigned the significance of death. Sacrifice gave *Bharat Mata* power, and sacrifice would deliver her, and all her children to freedom.[44]

In British India, starvation became a multifaceted symbol of both non-violent and militant protest, and was most often employed by prisoners who had nothing more they could give to the cause than their own lives. The majority of the prisoners in the Cellular Jail were nationalist revolutionaries, who continued their revolutionary practice in the Cellular Jail.[45] In 1912, prisoners began a general strike for better prison conditions. Prison guards responded brutally. Prisoners' food was vastly reduced, and they were forced into fetters or to hang from handcuffs off their cell ceilings. One of these prisoners was twenty-year old Bengali Nani Gopal Mukherjee. He refused to wear prison clothing, broke his neck ticket, and refused commands. Mukherjee was moved to a smaller prison within the Cellular Jail where he began a hunger strike. This was the first nationalist Indian hunger strike, his inspiration unknown.[46] His hunger strike lasted several weeks, with authorities forcibly stuffing milk into his nose as his fellow inmates continued their work stoppage. The prisoners demanded political prisoner status and transfer back to the mainland. Mukherjee, on death's doorstep, did not cease his strike until Savarkar told him that he too would fast until death if Mukherjee died.[47] The hunger and labor strike was a success, as the British authorities agreed to send all political prisoners back to the mainland.

In the depths of the Cellular Jail, Mukherjee had launched the Indian political hunger

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[44] Sumathi Ramaswamy, "Maps, Mother/Goddesses and Martyrdom in Modern India," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 3 (2008): 821.
[45] R.V.R. Murthy, "Cellular Jail: A Century of Sacrifices," *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 67, no. 4 (2006): 881.
[46] S.N. Aggarwal, *Heroes of the Cellular Jail* (Rupa Publications India, 2007), 57.
[47] Savarkar, *Story of my Transportation*, 255.

strike, beginning a movement that would help shape Indian nationalism and bring international recognition and eventual independence to the Indian cause. Several hunger strikes in Indian prisons occurred in the gap between the First and Second World Wars. Hunger striking as a protest tactic was largely spread during WWI by the transportation of Sikh prisoners, who went on hunger strike for religious rights in prison, from one province to another.[48] In 1929, members of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association went on hunger strike while on trial for war against the colonial government. Bengali revolutionary Jatin Das died after a sixty-four day hunger strike and fifty-thousand people met the train carrying his body in Lahore. Hundreds of thousands attended his funeral procession in Calcutta. Das became a key figure in the Indian pantheon of revolutionary martyrs, and was depicted in nationalist artwork offering his head to *Bharat Mata*, a symbol of complete devotion and sacrifice to the Indian nationalist cause.[49]

The most infamous and significant Indian prison hunger strike came in 1933 with a forty-five day hunger strike at the Andaman Islands, which maintained momentum for the Indian nationalist movement in the decade-long lull of Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Campaign. The strike was spurred on by increasing numbers of militant political prisoners arriving at the Cellular Jail and worsening prison conditions. Hunger striker Achyut Ghatak remarked that, "when we arrived at the Andamans no one of us could think about returning back alive. It was a jungle. No sooner were we in the jail compound it appeared as if we were in hell."[50] After the authorities refused their ultimatum for better prison conditions, which had not improved since Mukherjee's 1912 strike, prisoners began their strike on May 12th, 1933. The strike went beyond a demand for better prison conditions for revolutionaries on the Andaman Islands, it was a

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[48] Grant, *Last Weapons*, 106-109.
[49] "Bandhan Mein Bharata Mata Ka Bhent" (Chained Mother India's Sacred Offering), ca. 1931, National Archives of India, no. 1789 (Proscribed Literature Hindi).
[50] Pramod Kuar Srivastava, "Resistance and Repression in India: The Hunger Strike at the Andaman Cellular Jail in 1933," *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies* 7, no. 2 (2003): 89-90.

simultaneous demand for Indian freedom and part of the larger nationalist movement.[51]

On May 17th 1933, the strikers began to be force fed. The legal precedent for force feeding had been enshrined into law in the 1910 Bengal Jail Code. Force feeding was a brutal, humiliating procedure that often took several hours. It was completely dehumanizing, and mistakes proved deadly. Tubes were frequently misplaced, and instead of filling a striker's stomach with food, could instead be directed into a striker's lungs. Force feeding would kill three of the 1933 hunger strikers.[52] The British senior medical officer declared that all precautions had been taken and that the prisoners' deaths did not lie in the hands of the prison authorities.[53] Public anger and agitation on the mainland grew at the news of the death of three strikers and the continued refusal of prison authorities to fulfill the prisoners' demands. The strike did not end until June 26th when a compromise was reached. A new set of rules altered the way of prison life on the Andaman Islands. In 1937, another massive hunger strike occurred at the Cellular Jail, which was only resolved after Gandhi's intervention. Hunger strikes at the Andaman Islands had revitalized the nationalist movement for a free India. The martyrs' faces were plastered everywhere, immortalized side-by-side with depictions of *Bharat Mata* whom they had given everything for.

The Threshold

The practice of starving for political purposes holds a long tradition in Ireland, dating before the Christianization of the country. Known as *troscead*, a debtor would sit on the doorstep of their creditor, refusing to eat until the debt was forgiven. When Ireland christianized, *troscead* was transformed into a ritual hunger strike that began with the setting sun and ended with its

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[51] Srivastava, "Resistance and Repression," 90.
[52] Srivastava, "Resistance and Repression," 93.
[53] From Government of India, Home Department to Secretary of State for India, repeating telegram of 18th May from Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar islands, 21st May 1933, No. 1273, P&J 1941 of 1933.

rise.[54] Fasting and self-sacrifice took on new significance in Catholic Ireland, as fasting was often linked with religious devotion and self-sacrifice connected to the suffering of Christ. Saint Patrick notably fasted upon the doorstep of an Irish king until the king converted himself and his people to Christianity.[55] In 1904, *troscead* was illustrated in Irish nationalist William Butler Yeats's play *The King's Threshold*, in which the main character Seanchan refused to eat until his dispute to the Irish King Guiare was relieved. Yeats wrote that if one were to be, "wronged, or think that he is wronged, and stave Upon another threshold until he die, The Common People, for all time to come, Will raise a cry against that threshold, Even though it be the King's."[56] Popular Irish literature of the time looked to Pre-Christian Ireland when defining what an independent Ireland could look like, echoing Irish republican sentiments as Ireland defined itself and support for its independence grew.

In the midst of WWI, as Britain claimed to fight for the right of self-determination and peace across the world, a group of Irish radicals attacked British political strongholds in Dublin on Easter Sunday, 1916. In the aftermath, fifteen leaders of the uprising were executed by firing squad and one was hanged. All sixteen men were declared martyrs, their sacrifice linked with the redemptive sacrifice of Christ. The tide of public support shifted in favor of a militaristic nationalist movement and the sacrificial motif had long been cemented into Irish Catholicism, paving the way for further sacrifice and martyrdom in the name of a free Ireland. In the aftermath of the Easter Uprising, the Republican Party Sinn Fein rose to electoral dominance in 1918, setting the stage for the Irish War of Independence.

In 1917, Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) leader Thomas Ashe was arrested by British

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[54] George Sweeney, "Irish Hunger Strikes and the Cult of Self-Sacrifice," *Journal of Contemporary History* 28, no. 3 (1993): 422.
[55] "'Sitting Dharna,'" *Scientific American,* 334.
[56] William Butler Yeats, *The King's Threshold* (United Kingdom: Shakespeare Head Press, 1915), 8.

forces and sentenced to two years hard labor. Ashe was refused political prisoner status and he instantly began a hunger strike in protest.[57] Imprisoned at the infamous Mountjoy Prison in Dublin, Ashe would solidify the hunger strike as a powerful political weapon against the British. The British feared another republican martyr being added into the public pantheon and began to force feed Ashe. Ashe was force fed through a tube by a novice British medical practitioner and he died of aspiration pneumonia when his lungs were accidentally pumped with food.[58] This news and the nature of his death horrified the public. Key to the British paternalistic mission was feeding the mouths of colonized peoples. Ashe's death was a horrific and interpersonal illustration of the contradictory nature of Britain's mission. In the policy was the promise to feed, in history there lay the haunting memory of the famine, and in the struggle for independence stood Ashe's death as he was quite literally killed by the falsity of this paternalistic notion. His funeral bore witness to a display of great defiance in the streets of Dublin. Ashe's casket was escorted by a guard of several thousand volunteers and followed by two hundred priests, including the Archbishop of Dublin.[59]

It was in this context that IRA leader Terrence MacSwiney was arrested in 1917. MacSwiney went on hunger strike with other prisoners and was soon released.[60] In 1920, he became Lord Mayor of Cork following the death of Lord Mayor Tomas MacCurtain by RIC forces on orders of the British government. In his inauguration speech MacSwiney said, "It is not who can inflict the most, but who will suffer the most, who will conquer."[61] He was later arrested that same year. In protest of his own arrest, MacSwiney went on hunger strike, asserting that, "I

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[57] George Sweeney, "Self-Immolative Martyrdom: Explaining the Irish Hunger Strike Tradition," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 93, no. 371 (2004): 340.
[58] Grant, *Last Weapons*, 82.
[59] Sweeney, "Self-Immolative Martyrdom," 340.
[60] Jason Perlman, "Terence MacSwiney: The Triumph and Tragedy of the Hunger Strike," *New York History* 88, no. 3 (2007): 309.
[61] Terence MacSwiney, "Terrence MacSwiney's Inaugural Address as Lord Mayor of Cork" (Speech, Cork, Ireland March 1920).

shall be free, alive or dead, within a month."[62] MacSwiney's hunger strike denied the British government's right to hold him, therefore refusing the right of British law in Ireland. MacSwiney employed the only weapon still left in his hands, his own life. His strike was widely publicized, and an outpouring of support from across the globe flooded in. The world was watching.

Terence MacSwiney's hunger strike placed the British government in a precarious position. Releasing MacSwiney would have been to surrender all control over Ireland.[63] Yet allowing him to starve and creating another martyr would have been disastrous for the British as international sympathy shifted rapidly in favor of the Irish Republicans. Sinn Fein leader Arthur Griffith in response to Prime Minister David Lloyd summed up the British position in a scathing statement, "It is amazing that your government, having tortured Irish patriots in your prisons for weeks, when they are at the point of death offers to release them if they proclaim themselves murderers and suggests that it will kill them if they do not."[64]

Terence MacSwiney's hunger strike was perhaps one of the most successful in history, putting the British government in Ireland in an increasingly difficult position, where the image of a lone prisoner against the ambivalent, ancient force of the British Empire became a symbol of Ireland's struggle for independence. In the last days of MacSwiney's strike, the government began force feeding him. MacSwiney died of starvation on October 25th, 1920. His funeral procession in Dublin was attended by 30,000 mourners. At his funeral in his hometown of Cork, Arthur Griffith gave the eulogy, "His heroic sacrifice has made him in death the victory over the enemies of the country's independence."[65] The British government was called MacSwiney's executioner by the Irish Press in the aftermath of his death. Tributes to MacSwiney poured in

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[62] "Lord Mayor of Cork - Fateful Reply to Findings of Court Martial," *Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 17, 1920, 6.
[63] Perlman, "Terence MacSwiney," 311.
[64] "Say MacSwiney Cannot Guarantee End of Murders," *New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1920, 1.
[65] "Lord Mayor of Cork Buried – Impressive Scenes – Funeral Procession through the Streets – Funeral Oration," *Irish Times*, November 1st, 1920.

from across the world, his death radically altering the understanding of the Irish Independence struggle. MacSwiney's death destroyed the idea of British "law and order" in Ireland, and the month following his death was the most violent of the war.[66] In July 1921 a ceasefire was declared, resulting in the Anglo-Irish treaty in December and the North-South partition of Ireland.

MacSwiney and Ashe's hunger strikes became mythology– independent Ireland would be realized on a foundation of sacrifice steeped in Catholic martyrdom. MacSwiney's hunger strike would become the blueprint for countless other hunger strikes throughout the twentieth century in Ireland. From 1913 to 1922 1,000 Irish prisoners went on hunger strike, and in 1923 nearly 8,000 nationalists went on hunger strike.[67] These strikes were aimed at both the British government and the Irish Free State, some lasting days, others months. These hunger strikes were a continuation of militant republicanism, of prisoners using their lives and bodies as weapons against the state. This tradition continued beyond the first quarter of the twentieth century. In 1981 ten Republicans died on hunger strike in the infamous HM Maze Prison, which was built solely for holding Republican prisoners. These Republicans went on hunger strike against the removal of the Special Category Status for Republican prisoners in 1976, which had previously granted Irish Republican prisoners all the rights of traditional prisoners of war. The strike was a showdown between the strikers and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who refused to reinstate Special Category Status which resulted in the deaths of ten hunger strikers.

One of the men who died in the 1981 strike was revolutionary Bobby Sands, who maintained that the hunger made him feel connected to God and that he felt certain that his sufferings would be mended in heaven. Sands died for the faith and a United Ireland free from

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[66] Perlman, "Terrence MacSwiney," 315.
[67] Sweeney, "Self-Immolative Martyrdom," 339.

British rule and influence. In his final diary entry on March 17th, Saint Patrick's Day, written in Irish, Sands considered the way his body fought against the lack of food, but that the mind is more important than the needs of the body. Sands believes this mentality came from a desire for freedom, specifically a desire for Irish freedom. Sands wrote, "They won't break me because the desire for freedom, and the freedom of the Irish people, is in my heart. The day will dawn when all the people of Ireland will have the desire for freedom to show. It is then we'll see the rising of the moon."[68]

Conclusion

The initial British conquests of India and Ireland were built on a desire for profit and a foundation of exploitation and cruelty. This despotism and dutiful violence would create some of the worst famines in history in the two nations, killing millions and leaving a permanent memory of starvation. In the late nineteenth century, many in Britain no longer tolerated unjustified violence and such laissez-faire famine policy. New Imperialism articulated a new approach to empire, one built off stewardship which aimed to see the colonized world brought into a British way of life. Irish and Indian hunger strikers saw vulnerability within New Imperialism, "the morality of British violence depended upon building, not destroying, upon elevating, not debasing."[69] Hunger strikes illustrated that this supposed equality within the British Empire did not exist and that it was being intentionally remitted.

In 1921, Mohandas Gandhi spoke on the Anglo-Irish Treaty that ended the war, stating that the British withdrew from Ireland because, "It is the shame of any further imposition of agony upon a people that loves its liberty above everything else. It is the magnitude of the Irish sacrifice which has been the deciding factor… And England has yielded when she is no longer

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[68] Bobby Sands Trust, *Writings from Prison: Bobby Sands* (Ireland: Mercier Press, 1998), 219.
[69] Grant, *Last Weapons*, 152.

able to bear the sight of blood pouring out of thousands of Irish arteries."[70] Hunger strikes confronted the British with the emptiness of the empire's civilizing mission, as crown citizens used their body's ability to starve against a colonial enterprise that had promised to nourish them. They represented their people's exploitation in a brutally personal way. India and Ireland saw itself reflected in the deaths of Jatin Das and Terence MacSwiney, their memory made immortal as martyrs. These protests evolved from different cultures, yet hunger strikers found themselves united in a shared struggle against British imperialism, armed with the symbolic power of religious meaning and nationalistic martyrdom. Hunger was the most visceral form of protest. These hunger strikes in India and Ireland, separated by geography and time, reflected the failure and irony in the British civilizing mission. The British did not need to feed India and Ireland, but they would be made witness to its starvation. Hunger striking in India and Ireland was elevated through religious significance as hunger strikers starved for autonomy in the face of an empire of lawlessness.

[70] Mohandas Gandhi, "Notes: Ireland and India," *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. 22 (Delhi: Government of India, 1983), 17-18.

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The Graveyard of Authoritarianism: The Cult of Personality at Cihu Park

By: Drew Kendall

In the early morning of February 22, 2019, a group, “Shot for Democracy,” defaced an equestrian statue of Chiang Kai-shek (CKS) on the campus of the National Chengchi University in Taipei. They covered the statue with red paint and made off with one of the horse’s legs which they had sawed off.[71] The group stated that this symbolic act was undertaken as a step towards progress ahead of the commemoration of the 228 Incident, the 1947 massacre of civilians by the military government under CKS.[72] For Pro-Independence and Pro-Democracy organizations, like Shot for Democracy, the gleaming bronze statues of CKS are constant reminders of the oppressive military dictatorship responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of civilians.

The differing response to the defacing of this statute demonstrates the divide between those who still venerate CKS and those who do not. This difference is partly based on the experiences of separate groups during CKS’ reign. The Kuomintang’s (KMT) military dictatorship under CKS imposed The White Terror, the period of violent martial law from 1947-1992, upon the Taiwanese people.[73] As they established control over Taiwan, the KMT promoted CKS as a strong paternalistic figure and patriot. That image was mainly believed only by the

[71]James Morris, "Taiwan's Statues of Chiang Kai-shek Must Be Dealt With," *The News Lens International*, January 17, 2019.
[72] Morris, "Taiwan's Statues of Chiang Kai-shek."
[73] National Human Rights Museum, “White Terror Period,” accessed April 28, 2025, https://www.nhrm.gov.tw/w/nhrmEN/White_Terror_Period.

waishengren, migrants from mainland China who had arrived in Taiwan en mass in 1949 with the KMT soldiers.[74]

The *benshengren*, those who lived in Taiwan before 1945, were the victims of much of the repression under CKS and thus had significantly different experiences under CKS's rule. These different experiences between the two groups created two separate collective memories and identities over the last 60 years. However, the youth of Taiwan today are now forming a more unified Taiwanese identity.[75] To them, KMT statues that glorify a dictator, CKS, do not represent Taiwan's future. How someone views the truth about Taiwanese history can still depend on whether they see themselves as Waishengren, Benshengren, or just Taiwanese. The statues were erected when CKS's cult of personality was being cultivated by the *Waishengren*, but now, sixty years later, the truth that the narrative hid has since been revealed.[76] As the portrayal of CKS has evolved over time, a new critical view leads Taiwanese people to question not only the impact of removing statues of CKS on his image and ideology, but also the impact of removing those statues on a Taiwanese understanding of their own identity and history.

In Taoyuan's Cihu Park, hundreds of statues of CKS that once acted as propaganda to encourage reverence of him and his ideology are now in one cluster. These statues once filled town squares and parks across Taiwan. However, today it

[74] U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, "The Chinese Revolution of 1949," *Milestones in the History of U.S. Foreign Relations*, accessed April 28, 2025, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/chinese-rev.
[75] Chieh-Ting Chen. 2019. "Taiwan's Statues of Chiang Kai-shek Must Be Dealt With." The News Lens International, January 17, 2019.
[76] Edward, Wong, 2018. "Taiwan's Chiang Kai-shek Statues, Symbols of Authoritarian Past, Face a Reckoning." The New York Times, February 28, 2018.

Image 1- A brave leader on horseback?

is a graveyard of statues honoring an authoritarian, now unwanted (by some). It is the physical remnants of CKS's cult of personality. The statues are side by side, leading to a strange juxtaposition of two differing personas that the KMT cultivated for CKS during his long reign. In one statue, he is a kind old man with a cane. This sits next to one of the largest statues in the park, in which he is a brave leader on horseback. In this second statue, a massive mounted bronze CKS, in uniform, is giving a wave of encouragement. This militaristic image of CKS was standard in the KMT propaganda during the early part of his government in Taiwan. More importantly, equestrian statues are typically reserved for commemorating famed military commanders and heroes, and the mounted CKS statue was an attempt to associate him with other

strong leaders in history. Images of the brave man on horseback invoke authority, courage, and determination, traits imperative to maintaining a strongman persona.[77]

Most of the statues now collected at Cihu Park were created to project power and bolster the cult of personality surrounding CKS as a strongman leader- the generalissimo. The KMT's messaging under CKS focused on anti-CCP (Chinese Communist Party) propaganda and the prosperity under CKS. Propaganda is vital for maintaining authoritarian regimes because strongmen use propaganda to disseminate information about a crisis, perceived or otherwise; the authoritarian regime then uses that to justify its actions. The KMT had the perfect enemy, the CCP, because they were an ever-present threat from which the people of Taiwan needed protection.[78] While that may be an oversimplification, the pervasive fear of a mainland communist invasion kept CKS in power long enough for a miraculous event to occur.

Typically, when authoritarians lose a civil war, their government falls, but by a "miracle," the KMT is an exception. CKS's prospects in 1949 after losing the Chinese Civil War looked grim, but following the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, Taiwan became strategically valuable to American interests, and CKS received a miracle (or had fortuitous timing). The U.S. military wanted to prevent the spread of Communism in the Korean War and thus protected the staunchly anti-communist government of CKS.[79]

This protection ensured Taiwan and CKS's regime's existence, and also revamped CKS's image globally through foreign media outlets. Originally, the American public was introduced to CKS in the 1930s when he and his wife graced the cover of *Time* magazine as Man and Wife of

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[77] Kees Van Tilburg. "Equestrian Statues." Equestrian Statue. Accessed October 15, 2024.
[78] Jeremy E Taylor. 2006. "The Production of the Chiang Kai-shek Personality Cult, 1929–1975." The China Quarterly, no. 185: 101.
[79] U.S. Department of State, "The Chinese Revolution of 1949."

the Year in 1938.[80] The good press continued throughout the 1930s and 1940s as the U.S. government heavily supported the KMT against both the Chinese Communists and the Japanese in World War II.[81] After CKS's defeat to Mao Zedong in the Chinese Civil War in 1949, he appeared to outlive his usefulness to Washington. However, the Korean War revitalized the need for a Taiwanese ally, so the U.S. propaganda machine returned to aid CKS. Fortunately, Soong Mei-Ling, CKS's second wife, was familiar with U.S. culture and norms since she attended Wellesely College and was a Christian.[82] Her years in the U.S. enabled Mei-Ling to easily connect with the U.S. public. Her popularity inspired the media to produce another overwhelmingly positive propaganda campaign.[83] This positive propaganda was useful internationally and domestically to bolster CKS's image.

CKS continued to use the moniker "Generalissimo" throughout his rule, and in the 1950s, his public image largely remained that of a strong military commander.[84] In April 1955, he graced the cover of *Time* magazine for the second time, now in military garb, but the KMT and the Waishengren remained in a state of limbo.[85] Among some in the KMT, there remained a clear belief that General CKS would eventually retake the mainland. However, after the second Taiwan Strait crisis in 1958, it was clear that the KMT would not be glorious conquerors in a crusade against communism. After 1958, CKS could not maintain a purely militarist image, and a new Confucian-influenced patriarchal figure emerged in the 1960s.[86] The KMT continued to

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[80] Time. 1938. Time Magazine Cover Archive, January 3, 1938.
[81] U.S. Department of State, "The Chinese Revolution of 1949."
[82] Laura Tyson Li. Madame Chiang Kai-shek: China's Eternal First Lady. New York: Atlantic Monthly, 2006.
[83] Seth Faison, "Madame Chiang Kai-shek, a Power in Husband's China and Abroad, Dies at 105," *New York Times*, October 25, 2003, https://www.nytimes.com/2003/10/25/world/madame-chiang-kai-shek-a-power-in-husband-s-china-and-abroad-dies-at-105.html.
[84] Jeremy E. Taylor. 2006. "The Production of the Chiang Kai-shek Personality Cult, 1929–1975." The China Quarterly, no. 185: 104.
[85] Time. 1955. Time Magazine Cover Archive, April 18, 1955.
[86] Maggie, Clinton. 2017. "Fixing the Everyday: The New Life Movement and Taylorized Modernity." In Revolutionary Nativism: Fascism and Culture in China, 1925–1937, 128–160. Duke University Press, 145.

build the cult of personality of CKS by infusing the school curriculum with patriotism, commissioning paintings of CKS, and, most importantly for this research, creating statues.[87]

In the 1960s, Soong Mei-Ling also helped to reinvent the image of her husband, as it was difficult to promote a military dictator who had lost a civil war in a time of relative peace. The new, more personable image of CKS as a kinder, benevolent patriarch who lived a virtuous life was easier to champion. Once again, statues were useful in depicting and cultivating this new image. The military statues erected in the 1950s were not removed, but his newly reworked Junzi, a Confucian spiritual leader, persona necessitated more endearing statues.[88] These two primary iterations of CKS's image, the generalissimo and the kind old man, exist in parallel to uphold him as a paragon of virtue. He is both old and kind and a defiant military commander. The commonality shared amongst the statues is a general sternness or discipline. CKS's facial expression invokes the traditionally masculine elements associated with a strong man. Furthermore, some of the statues were designed to emphasize different traits. In the seated red statue, he is benevolent and knowledgeable; on horseback, he is a commander; and in the smaller

[87] Taylor, "The Production of the Chiang Kai-shek Personality Cult," 103.
[88] Arif Dirlik. 1975. "The Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement: A Study in Counterrevolution." The Journal of Asian Studies 34, no. 4: 952.

statues, he is an everyman with a cane. The various depictions deliberately bolstered elements of CKS's personality and his New Life Movement.

Image 2- A Kind Old Man?

The New Life Movement embodied the guiding principles of CKS's platform and government. The movement reflected the eight key ideological pillars of CKS's propaganda aimed at changing Chinese culture.[89] CKS claimed that Chinese culture in the 1930s promoted a life of sickness, selfishness, and filth.[90] In order to combat those "moral failings," the New Life Movement combined Methodist Christianity, Confucian Fascism, and a general "public morality" to revolutionize Chinese society to produce a more "moral, spiritual and intellectual

[89] Dirlik, "Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement," 996.
[90] Dirlik, "Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement," 994.

makeup" of a "true" Chinese culture.[91] CKS decreed the first four principles (orderliness, cleanliness, simplicity, and frugality) in a speech in 1935.[92] In a later speech in 1937, he included promptness" and "precision" followed by "harmoniousness" and "dignity."[93] CKS argued that those eight virtues were imperative for behavior within society, and the KMT's propaganda openly embraced his narrative.

One of the largest statues in Cihu Park is demonstrative of the new image they wanted to cultivate for CKS: a benevolent figure. In it, an old CKS, with a book in hand, sits in a dignified, commanding manner to survey the park. There are many replicas of this seated CKS throughout the park. However, the most common version of statues at Cihu Park depicts CKS as a (standing) benevolent father figure with simple everyday clothes and a dignified yet kind smile. He stands with a cane, watching over his nation and people. The New Life Movement's principles of orderliness, simplicity, and frugality are personified by his simple clothing and unremarkable cane. His general expression is one of dignity and paternalistic pride. The paternal element is not explicitly one of The New Life Movement's tenets. However, it reflects a different segment of the New Life Movement altogether: Confucian Fascism.

[91] Dirlik, "Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement," 995.
[92] Dirlik, "Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement," 996.
[93] Dirlik, "Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement," 996.

Image 3-An Empty Shell of a Man?

Confucian fascism is a distortion of several elements of Confucianism that lend themselves to legitimizing authoritarian governments. The New Life Movement centered a disciplined lifestyle emphasizing order and a strong leader and protector.[94] Confucian teaching upholds the idea of the *Junzi*, an exemplary citizen and leader following a disciplined lifestyle. Cults of personality encourage following a disciplined leader in order to better oneself. Embedded within Confucianism is the idea of a hierarchical system that maintains social harmony.[95] Fascists justify their rule by enforcing a particular social order that they create, which they then argue ensures harmony and security from the "threats" facing the people. Typically, in

[94] Dirlik, "Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement," 958.
[95] Paramore, Kiri. "Confucianism as Fascism (1868–1945)." Chapter. In Japanese Confucianism: A Cultural History, 141–66. New Approaches to Asian History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Confucianism, harmony comes from a strong father, but the Fascist elements transfer responsibility from the patriarch to the state.[96] Fascism generally draws upon a mythical past, culture, or ancestry that somehow makes them superior, and Confucianism filled that role for CKS.[97]

The unassuming statue of an old man with a cane is meant to be parallel to the image of Junzi. It is used to minimize the harm to society inflicted by his regime by making people question whether a kind old man could harm society. The narrative that Soong Mei-Ling crafted of CKS as a disciplined, kind, and moral leader was meant to hide the ruthless military dictator who perpetrated the White Terror. The old man resting in the armchair is the same individual responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of civilians.

The use of statues as a form of propaganda to influence the perceived legacy of CKS is precisely why these statues are dangerous, and why groups like Shot for Democracy are actively campaigning to uncover the whole truth and fully remove these authoritarian symbols from prominent locations in Taiwan. The statue of CKS as the old man with a cane helps to sanitize his image and remove knowledge of his violent actions from his legacy. When authoritarian, strong men are allowed to dictate the narrative, tragedy happens.

The statues were erected in the same breath as the distribution of all other propaganda. At best, these statutes lacked context for understanding CKS's actions and could potentially create flagrant lies at worst. Soong Mei-Ling built this narrative for her husband, which likely helped to allow CKS's rule to continue until his death. The statues also serve as a physical reminder of the distortion of Confucianism, which misuses its positive messages about the

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[96] Paramore, "Confucianism as Fascism," 150.
[97] Clinton, "Fixing the Everyday," 136.

importance of self-discipline and family and instead promotes the authoritarian model, where the state replaces the role of the family.

The modern-day debate over statue removal occurs because history is influenced by perspective, and some, including those who are Waishengren, find reasons to continue defending CKS.[98] However, this pro-statue perspective might also be influenced by an unwillingness to come to terms with an unsavory past and the implications of that past on one's own perceived identity. Yet statues are not meant to remember history; they are intended to commemorate and glorify history. Statues are inherently political because of the context in which they were erected. The modern-day KMT leadership argues that the removal of statues erases history and that the statues should remain to, "contemplate more on the various groups of people's historical memory."[99] On the other hand, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) leads a restorative justice commission that paints a very unflattering, but accurate, portrayal of CKS and the KMT during his rule.[100]

While the debate continues, over three hundred statues were recently removed as of April 2024, with the plan to remove another seven hundred.[101] The removal process is actively resisted by the defense minister and military and heavily criticized by Beijing.[102] Beijing's support for the statues remaining stems from the fact that the KMT's current platform refutes Taiwanese independence and has a much more positive view of Beijing than the DPP.[103] The firm belief in

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[98] Helen Davidson. "Taiwan Pledges to Remove 760 Statues of Chinese Dictator Chiang Kai-shek." 2024. The Guardian, April 23, 2024.
[99] Tom Grundy. "Taiwan Vows to Remove 760 Remaining Public Statues of Martial Law-Era Leader Chiang Kai-shek." Hong Kong Free Press, April 24, 2024. https://hongkongfp.com/2024/04/24/taiwan-vows-to-remove-760-remaining-public-statues-of-martial-law-era-leader-chiang-kai-shek/.
[100] Grundy, "Taiwan Vows to Remove 760 Remaining Public Statues."
[101] Davidson, "Taiwan Pledges to Remove 760 Statues."
[102] Davidson, "Taiwan Pledges to Remove 760 Statues."
[103] Grundy, "Taiwan Vows to Remove 760 Remaining Public Statues."

there being one China links the interests of once bitter enemies: the CCP and KMT. Beijing's position on statue removal was initially counterintuitive, since CKS fought the CCP, but the removal of statues severs another link between Taiwan and the mainland.[104]

While this paper has discussed Taiwan's past and present, the future is visible in the park itself. Cihu Park is not just a mausoleum for CKS but also for his ideology. Taiwan's past is not relegated to basement storage, but the authoritarian past does not adorn the nation either. The end of most papers on authoritarianism of late forecast the end times, but Taiwan stands as an example of an alternative. In 2024, the Taiwanese government redoubled its De-Chiangification effort. Unsurprisingly, Cihu Park is not the only mausoleum dedicated to CKS. In central Taipei, a large "Lincoln Memorial"-esque statue of CKS presides over the city, where a changing guard ceremony has been held in CKS's honor since the statue's unveiling.[105] In July 2024, the DPP's government moved that ceremony to the street outside and away from the statue of CKS. Ironically, the changing of the guard ceremony is now held on Democracy Boulevard.[106] There is something poetic about a ceremony that upholds an autocratic dictatorship being relegated to a street named after what CKS spent his life suppressing.

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[104] Chong Ja Lan. "The Many 'One Chinas': Multiple Approaches to Taiwan and China." 2023. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 2023.
[105] Al Jazeera. 2024. "Taiwan to Stop 'Worshiping Authoritarianism' at Chiang Kai-shek Statue." Al Jazeera, July 12, 2024.
[106] Al Jazeera, "Taiwan to Stop 'Worshiping Authoritarianism.'"

Images

Image One, viewed at https://www.goteamjosh.com/blog/cihu

Image Two, viewed at https://www.goteamjosh.com/blog/cihu

Image Three, viewed at https://www.goteamjosh.com/blog/cihu

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The Legacy of "Good Queen Bess"

Hailey Newsum

Much of Europe never thought Elizabeth would succeed. It was expected that her rule would be short-lived and fail to produce anything significant to note. However, working against all odds, Elizabeth I proceeded to rule England for 45 years in a period of great success and triumph, earning the title of the Elizabethan Era. From the beginning, the English knew the promise that Elizabeth's reign held: "William Camden, who produced the earliest history of her reign…declared that she was proclaimed Queen…and that 'neither did the people ever embrace any other Prince with more willing and constant mind and affection…than they did her'. The Elizabethan age, the world of Good Queen Bess was, it seemed, about to begin."[107] To understand the circumstances that led to Elizabeth's eventual coronation, and the beginning of her reign, it is first necessary to understand her family. Her father, Henry VIII, did not provide England with a very stable reign as displayed by his many marriages and military endeavors, leaving England's coffers significantly depleted. He did, however, create the Church of England. The genesis of the Church allowed him the ability to divorce, something not granted by the sanctity of Roman Catholicism, and made Elizabeth Tudor a possible heir to the English throne. Then came Edward VI, who inherited the throne at only nine years old, but notably promoted Protestantism during his reign, even creating the Book of Common Prayer. Preceding Elizabeth then was Mary I, better known as "Bloody Mary". She reigned for five years and put excessive effort into restoring England to Catholicism through the persecution of Protestants. Elizabeth

[107] Susan Bassnett, *Elizabeth I : a feminist perspective* (Berg Publishers, 1992), 37.

then entered her reign after the deaths of these family members and their unfortunate misgivings. The state of England was by no means ideal, as they were facing internal dissent, exterior threats, financial issues, and dynastic instability.

To understand Elizabeth's reign, it is also crucial to investigate her formative years. Her upbringing was far from easy; "Born a girl when Henry VIII urgently desired an heir to secure his kingdom's future, declared a bastard, excluded from the succession by her brother Edward VI, accused of misconduct with her stepmother's husband, and imprisoned by her own sister, Elizabeth survived a youth fraught with difficulties and dangers."[108] However traumatic these events may have been, they shaped Elizabeth into the ruler she would become, influencing her decisions and tactics later on in life. To further illustrate Elizabeth's suffering, her mother was also beheaded when she was only two years old, which significantly altered her upbringing.[109] Thomas Seymour, who happened to be Edward VI's uncle, married Henry VIII's widow, Catherine Parr: making himself Elizabeth's stepfather.[110] Seymour was said to have often visited Elizabeth for inappropriate activities, and may have contributed to her belief in herself as a woman who did not need a man. His potentially unwanted advances may have influenced her perception of men and what they did when they had power. She proceeded to reign without a husband, betrothed, or even publicly known lover- she chose to put herself and her country first, and did so alone. Elizabeth also received one of the finest educations available at the time, and was well versed in Latin, Italian, French, and Greek.[111] This made her powerful, as she "would not later have to rely on translators, as did many sovereigns, when dealing with foreign

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[108] Maria Perry, *The Word of a Prince: A Life of Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1990), 14.
[109] Richard Rex, *Elizabeth I* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, England: Tempus Publishing Limited, 2003), 18.
[110] Rex, 24.
[111] Robert P. Ellis, "Elizabeth I," *Salem Press Biographical Encyclopedia*, September 1, 2022, https://research.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=3943eaab-1d17-3d51-b674-04430d08fc59.

ambassadors."[112] While Elizabteh grew up with a fine education, and a livelihood that royalty and money could offer, she also grew up without a mother, was mistreated significantly by her own family members, and watched England go through a number of drastically different rulers.

All of this information regarding the state of England and Elizabeth's personal life prior to her rule is what created both the condition England was in, and the methods with which Elizabeth would rule. With all odds against her, "In 1558 Elizabeth became Queen. She was 25 and a woman. To rule at all in Tudor England would have been difficult, even for a man."[113] Elizabeth managed to do so, and admirably at that. The circumstances of Elizabeth's reign produced religious tensions, growing apprehension regarding the Spanish-and eventually war, opportunities for economic improvement, and the need for a monarch who could rise to the challenge. Queen Elizabeth I adeptly promoted religious toleration and Protestantism, managed the Spanish threat and ensuing conflict, displayed skill in foreign policy, and fostered economic growth– the cultivation of such, created the legacy of "Good Queen Bess" that would be maintained for centuries to come.

In order to understand how Elizabeth I's reign defined her as "Good Queen Bess", it is imperative to start with the problems England was facing during her reign. To begin, Elizabeth inherited England at a time of great religious unrest. The reign of her sister, the unforgettable "Bloody Mary", had been disturbing for England to say the least, and the dissent between Catholics and Protestants was undeniable. Elizabeth sought to pursue Protestantism for England as both her father and Edward VI had done. This was important as under Roman Catholicism her reign could be questioned as illegitimate. Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn, was Henry VIII's

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[112] Ellis.
[113] Joseph M. Levine, ed., *Elizabeth I* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), 3.

second wife. Under Roman Catholic law, divorce was illegal and therefore Elizabeth's claim to the throne questionable. The shift to Protestantism would allow Elizabeth to be more widely viewed as a legitimate ruler. The significance of religious tension in England at this time, however, is most observable as the English people were rather fond of Catholicism. While the monarchy worked to instill Protestant beliefs, totems, and practices throughout England, they were met with notable resistance.[114] It was a struggle for England to shift from monarchy to monarchy under both Protestantism and Catholicism. Eamon Duffy provides, "They had seen all this before – the books and images burned, the altars stripped and demolished, the vestments sold for cushions and bed-hangings. That destruction had had to be reversed, with great difficulty and at enormous cost."[115] The impermanence of this transition created a difficult position for Elizabeth to help England move towards Protestantism as its principal religion. Looking at the surrounding political climate, the English feared entering a scenario similar to the devastating French Wars of Religion that were actively occurring as Catholic France fought emerging Protestantism. Although England chose to avoid religious civil war, "The picture that emerges from them is unmistakably that of a slow and reluctant conformity imposed from above, with little or no evidence of popular enthusiasm for or commitment to the process of reform."[116] The next issue Elizabeth faced held incredible potential for disaster. The Spanish problem was ever present during her reign. There was first, growing anxiety between the heavily traditional Roman Catholic Spain, and the progressive Protestant leaning England that was ruled by a woman. Elizabeth took measures to encourage Protestantism in other spheres of Europe; "Remaining officially neutral, Elizabeth encouraged support by volunteers and through private subscriptions;

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[114] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 566.
[115] Duffy, 571.
[116] Duffy, 573.

eventually, she made large loans to the rebels out of her treasury." This is regarding her assistance to the Netherlands, who was fighting against the Spanish at the time. Acutely, small actions began to add up between Spain and England as their differences and opposition to one another grew. Sir Francis Drake also contributed to this conflict through his pirating and privateering, intercepting many Spanish ships and fleets under the flag of the Golden Hind. He took their wealth and treasure, directly working against the Spanish, but doing so discreetly for the English. Eventually these countries came to a head and dissent led to the Spanish Armada.

Looking at the economy Elizabeth inherited, it was far from perfect. Bluntly, "Elizabeth inherited a country on the verge of bankruptcy."[117] The coffers had already been significantly depleted by Henry VIII and the reigns of Edward and Mary were not substantial or peaceful enough to hinder the financial issues that were deeply rooted in the struggles of Henry VIII's reign. Elizabeth was faced with solving the religious problem of England, as well as dealing with the Spanish in a way that forced her to reason with her resources and take stock of her finances.

The final problem facing England and Elizabeth was dissipating faith in the monarchy. Recent dynastic instability contributed significantly to this widespread incredulity at the possibility of a ruler investing in England for its citizens rather than just personal ambition. The English people had cycled through three rulers in under 15 years. There were drastic differences in the age, religion, and way of ruling under Henry, Edward, and Mary. The English were in need of a leader who would account for their people, could operate both tactically and peacefully, and restore financial, political, and social stability on some front to England. The expectations at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign were disheartening and the assessment was that Elizabeth's reign

[117] Bassnett, 37.

wouldn't last six months. At the outset of her reign the outlook was bleak and Elizabeth was young and untested. These main issues paint a visual of the disarray England was in as Elizabeth claimed the throne, and lay out the most significant and pressing problems that needed to be addressed.

Now, to investigate the way Queen Elizabeth I dealt with these extensive problems, is to demonstrate a large part as to why she went down in history as "Good Queen Bess". The capacity for greatness and the competency that Elizabeth had as a ruler earned her this well deserved title as she stepped in to serve as the monarch England needed.

Addressing the precarious religious issue first, Elizabeth was operating with the understanding that the English enjoyed being Catholic for the most part and did not necessarily want to change their religion. She focused on centering this shift to Protestantism, employing royal edicts but relative peace. Elizabeth centered the intention of Protestantism on the good of England, and forced her people to choose between Catholicism or a united country. In the book, T*he Stripping of the Altars*, it reads, "William Perkins… reported the common view that 'it is safer to do in religion as most doe.' In that paradox lies the key to understanding the Reformation in the English parishes."[118] The English people were followers at this time and this is exactly what happened. Elizabeth also understood the integration of religion into daily life and worked to incorporate Protestant beliefs into plays and other social events.[119] Shifting these events away from their initial Roman Catholic influences slowly changed the minds and beliefs of the English people. Similarly, with the intent to modify churches, Elizabeth established the removal of external symbols of Roman Catholicism. This refashioning, "was imposed as a matter of policy

[118] Duffy, 591.
[119] Duffy, 579.

from above; as we have seen, it was for a time widely if quietly resisted. But it could not be without effect."[120] Elizabeth's slow but relentless tactic eventually found success; "At a time of serious religious conflict, she pursued a policy remarkably tolerant and unprovocative."[121] Insight is provided in this sentiment; "Chalice gave way to communion cup, altar to table… And as these external changes had been accepted, so attitudes had shifted."[122] Elizabeth managed to overcome the resistance she was faced with, and although some English were more than happy to make this shift to Protestantism, the majority wished to stay with the old religion. Duffy provides that Elizabeth made it so that, "the chances of a reversion to the old ways faded."[123] The permanence of the Protestant religion that Elizabeth managed to instigate over the length of her reign is nothing shy of incredible, and demonstrated her innate capacity to be an effective monarch as she settled the religious tension in England.

When addressing the presence of religion in Elizabeth's reign, it is crucial to also acknowledge that she was excommunicated by the Pope in 1570. Of little importance to Elizabeth herself, this action did ignite issues, as the Pope then gave the green flag for people to attempt to overthrow Elizabeth as an enemy of the papacy. What is important to note is not only did she manage to avoid murder by Catholics, but the situation created the public image of "Elizabeth, foiler of Popish plots."[124] This became particularly relevant as the phrase "Good Queen Bess" gained popularity in 1668, when rumors surfaced that Catholics, allegedly urged by the Pope, were plotting to kill Charles II. This was reminiscent of the 1570 papal excommunication of Elizabeth, which had similarly fueled the fears of Catholic plots. On the

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[120] Duffy, 585.
[121] Ellis.
[122] Duffy, 588.
[123] Duffy, 585.
[124] Julia M. Walker, *The Elizabeth Icon: 1603-2003* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 87.

110th anniversary of her accession, Elizabeth was invoked as an icon of resilience, remembered for surviving such plots.[125] The actions she took and what she survived during her reign created the legacy of "Good Queen Bess" and made it relevant as a reference point in the future as well.

Turning to the issue of the Spanish is complex and multifaceted. It begins with Sir Francis Drake. Elizabeth endorsed the strategy of privateering, which paid off as Drake's overseas endeavors also paid off. England was making significant advancements in the field of navigation under Elizabeth. Sir Francis Drake completed the second circumnavigation of the globe, proving England's capacity to compete with Spain (who completed the first). England's dominance of the seas, their progress in the New World, and everything Drake was able to accomplish created a sense of national pride for English naval accomplishments.[126] This national pride was a drastic improvement from what England had experienced in the first half of the century. It helped solidify their standing militarily, while also promoting economic prosperity and improvement. Although this success was positive for England, it only increased the tension with Spain. Eventually direct conflict occurred, and it presented itself as war with Spain. Important to note is that, "As a queen, she had little enough to gain from war. Kings and nobles, educated in and motivated by a tradition of chivalry and martial prowess, could seek glory in conquest, in battle, even up to a point in defeat."[127] Going to war wasn't a chance for Elizabeth to prove herself in battle or to conquer, it was the opportunity to defend her beliefs, allies, and country. The Spanish Armada embodies this as "The defeat of the Armada was the high point of Elizabeth's reign…As far as the English at the time were concerned, their victory came down to

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[125] Walker, 88.
[126] Armitage, Christopher. 2022. "Walter Raleigh." *Salem Press Biographical Encyclopedia*, September. https://research.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=790fa95e-b903-3857-83d0-d5e75b3ecb6e.
[127] Rex, 116.

divine providence and defensive prudence. It was God's favour to England in general and to Elizabeth in particular, which explained his providence…Elizabeth herself appeared as the saviour of her people."[128] The English were an underdog in the conflict against the Spanish Armada, and their victory was monumental. Summed up, "the greatest external threat of her reign ended in increased prestige for the nautical and military skill of England."[129] During Elizabeth's reign, these wins against Spain and Catholicism bolstered her popular support and engrained a legacy of victory and tactical success in her name.

Proving her military capacity and adding to her legacy, Elizabeth was also an effective diplomat. By making naval advancements and progress under the Golden Hind, she successfully eliminated a direct correlation to the monarchy. Her people were operating under an English, but not royal flag, which made it far harder for enemies, such as the Spanish, to have cause to attack or start a full fledged war. Her capacity as a politician was also noteworthy. Bassnett states that Elizabeth was, "Effectively an unknown quantity, a cipher, she certainly had great skill in verbal manoeuvring and a natural inclination towards politics."[130] Another author states, "Elizabeth could be as economical with her truth as she was with her money."[131] A drastically different author touches on her diplomatic character saying, "The Queen's participation perhaps reflects that underside of her character which was the obverse of her usual extreme caution. She was not unwilling to gamble when the risks were as near zero as possible–when neither her money, her name, nor her policy was at stake."[132] This use of extreme caution can be interpreted as a flaw,

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[128] Rex, 125.
[129] Ellis.
[130] Bassnett, 53.
[131] Rex, 33.
[132] Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588*. (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1981), 333.

but is also considered a tactic that served Elizabeth well over the years.[133] It created the space for the strategy of plausible deniability to be used, as she was not very decisive or quick in her decision making. Whether this is necessarily a pro or con, it regardless influenced her political actions and the involvement of England with the rest of Europe, which is historically significant.

Tackling the precarious economic standing of England was no easy feat for Elizabeth. First, the piracy which occurred under her command, notably by Francis Drake, created the opportunity for England to gain wealth and treasure with minimal effort and while simultaneously taking advantage of their Spanish enemy. This strategy helped the English economy significantly and brought them valuable resources from the New World without requiring extensive journeys. Conflict with the Spanish was inevitable and, "Once kings went to war, cost was no object…Elizabeth had a very clear sense of the cost, and a shrewd sense that such benefits as there might be would mostly redound elsewhere. She hesitated long before agreeing to go to war."[134] She was intentional not only with her actions, but also with her finances, unlike her predecessors. Elizabeth's financial success in managing the war efforts was also supported by joint-stock companies. They helped diversify commerce, and the economic shift also tied closely to religion, as wealthy English merchants were often Protestant. Protestant beliefs, such as predestination, justified their profits without requiring reinvestment in the Church, unlike Roman Catholicism. This alignment of Protestantism with capitalism boosted England's economy, marking a prosperous shift from the financial struggles of Henry VIII's era. Succinctly regarding Elizabeth, "Her prudent management kept the cost of government within

[133] Rex, 40.
[134] Rex, 116,117.

the capacities and tolerance of her subjects. Under her, England became what it would remain for centuries: a recognized naval power."[135]

The final, and arguably determining, factor of the success of Elizabeth's reign was restoring England's faith in monarchy. The reign of Elizabeth I was in great part established by the image she built of herself both through her public presentation, artwork, and spoken word.

Understanding that Elizabeth consciously crafted her character through her public image is a sentiment to how strategic and intelligent she was. She made herself mean something to England, and, "In the early years of her reign Elizabeth showed herself regularly to the people in elaborate processions, progresses and state and religious rituals, a living symbol of government."[136] This was a calculated move and presented her as strong, human, and most of all capable. Levine provides, "From the moment she began to reign, she employed every feminine device imaginable to woo her Englishmen and win the indispensable popular support."[137] The success she found in captivating her people was not in spite of the fact that she was a woman, but because of it, and weaponizing her femininity was one of Elizabeth's greatest achievements. Her presentation of herself was always intentional and powerful, and this applied to her portraits as well. Work such as the Ditchley Portrait (see Figure 1) illustrate that Elizabeth was an emboldened leader from the beginning. The description, "Rarely in art has there been a more explicit fusion of monarch and kingdom,"[138] perfectly describes the piece. This portrait symbolizes the Queen's authority over her country as England is literally shown at her feet on a

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[135] Ellis.
[136] Bassnett, 52.
[137] Levine, 3.
[138] Susan Watkins and Mark Fiennes. *The Public and Private Worlds of Elizabeth I* (New York, N.Y: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 7.

globe.[139] Next, looking at The Armada Portrait (see Figure 2), it displays her genuine power. The portrait holds a number of underlying messages as, "Elizabeth faces toward the calm seas on her right and turns away from the stormy waters where the Spanish ships are floundering. She is positioned as a calm force for good, in contrast with the chaos of Catholic Europe."[140] She, "Stretches her fingers across the globe: following England's victory over the old enemy, Elizabeth is the empress of the seas."[141] The power Elizabeth had as Queen is undeniable, but a work such as The Armada Portrait truly embodies so many of her skills as a capable wartime leader, and a symbol of success and greatness for the English. Finally, the Pelican Portrait (see Figure 3) shows Elizabeth's true love for her country and her people. Notably, "The pelican was one of Elizabeth's favourite symbols. It was used to portray her motherly love to her subjects."[142] Also, "In times of food shortages, mother pelicans were believed to pluck their own breasts to feed their dying young with their blood and save their lives. In the process of feeding the mother would die."[143] This imagery just highlights how devoted Elizabeth was to the English, and that she was truly ruling for her people. The image that Elizabeth composed of herself publicly and historically is nothing short of impressive. Elizabeth's cogent presentation of herself was both tactical and political, achieving extraordinary success and firmly establishing her as a ruler and a historic symbol.

Elizabeth had a talent for public speaking. She addressed her people in both an educated and inspirational manner. Her speeches provided written historical evidence and gave the people

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[139] Watkins & Fiennes, 7.
[140] "The Armada Portrait of Elizabeth I." Armada Portrait of Elizabeth I. Accessed December 6, 2024. https://www.rmg.co.uk/queens-house/attractions/armada-portrait-elizabeth-i.
[141] Watkins, 83.
[142] "Symbolism in Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I." Royal Museums Greenwich. Accessed December 6, 2024. https://www.rmg.co.uk/stories/topics/symbolism-portraits-queen-elizabeth-i.
[143] "Symbolism in Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I." Royal Museums Greenwich. Accessed December 6, 2024. https://www.rmg.co.uk/stories/topics/symbolism-portraits-queen-elizabeth-i.

an opportunity to hear her. Rex states, "Much of Elizabeth's reputation has been built upon her display of courage in 1588…Her appearance at the muster of her forces at Tilbury, when she made her famous address to the troops, was an inspiring moment in the national myth."[144] This speech cast light on Elizabeth's true character. She says, "I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live and die amongst you all; to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust."[145] Elizabeth identified herself with her country and the English identity. The English people took to this well, as they had a monarch that was willing to live and die like one of them; nothing could be more inspirational. She furthers her credibility by addressing her gender as well stating, "I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too."[146] The power of these words is still felt to this day, as Elizabeth asserted her authority and capability as a female wartime leader who could do as much as, if not more than, a king. Her words inspired confidence and rigor in her troops then, but served even further as words of inspiration for the English for centuries to come. Through her reign, Elizabeth was able to create a country that loved and supported her as much as she did them. In her "Golden Speech", Elizabeth made clear the love she had for the people of England in the statement, "There will never Queen sit in my seat with more zeal to my country, care to my subjects and that will sooner with willingness venture her life for your good and safety than myself. For it is my desire to live nor reign no longer than my life and reign shall be for your good."[147] Her words were impactful and she was a

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[144] Rex, 124.
[145] "Queen Elizabeth I's Speech to the Troops at Tilbury," https://www.rmg.co.uk/stories/topics/queen-elizabeth-speech-troops-tilbury.
[146] "Queen Elizabeth I's Speech to the Troops at Tilbury".
[147] "The Farewell Speech, 1601," https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/elizabeth1.asp.

very well spoken monarch. There was deliberate effort in her public address, and it spoke volumes to the monarch she was. Elizabeth's intentions and love for England shone through and it is described that, "the Elizabeth of the Golden Speech, the Good Queen Bess who was married to her kingdom, appears in an almost mythic light. It is the idea of a monarch that can transcend the flesh and blood problems of the new eighteenth century."[148] Her influence transcends time as, "To be English was to know about the golden age of Good Queen Bess,"[149] and that still holds true to this day. Her success is encapsulated in Levine's opening of his book stating, "For almost 45 years the Queen dominated the English scene; she ruled, held court, directed policy, made (and unmade) the great, and wooed and won the rest. Somehow she transformed herself into that familiar apotheosis of the national will that is celebrated still."[150] Elizabeth's careful crafting of her public image through the power of her words and the heart with which she delivered them rooted her as a determined and compelling ruler.

It is imperative to acknowledge that Elizabeth's rule was far from perfect. She found great success, but it was punctuated by some failures. The economy towards the end of her reign was trending downward and there was an increase of internal dissent. However, she was able to take on so many of the challenges facing a woman in a position of power, and led England to a more powerful standing in Europe economically, politically, and militarily. A common sentiment is found in Bassnett's work when she says, "What is still fascinating about Elizabeth is that all the writing and rewriting of her history, the multi-faceted depictions of a long-dead woman who reigned for forty-five years…refuse to yield a coherent, consistent picture of her."[151] It is truly

[148] Walker, 112.
[149] Walker, 92.
[150] Levine, 1.
[151] Bassnett, 1.

impossible to know the exact ins and outs of Elizabeth as a ruler as her reign was so long ago. Crafting together different historical evidence and writer's insight allows one to form their own image of who Elizabeth was as a ruler. Regardless, Elizabeth's reign was a Golden Age surrounded by years of darker times and the relief and improvement of England she was able to provide her people with is undeniable and, what earned her the title, "Good Queen Bess".

Queen Elizabeth I was a force to be reckoned with. The challenges she faced – marked by religious tensions, the looming Spanish threat, the need for economic development, and the demand for a steadfast and capable leader – shaped her legacy as one of England's most celebrated monarchs. The way with which she handled these challenges is impressive and could not have been accomplished by a lesser monarch. Through her deft de-escalation of religious tension and the promotion of Protestantism, strategic handling of the Spanish, skillful diplomacy, and ability to foster economic growth, Elizabeth illuminated her understanding of England in the 16th century. With her death in 1603 came the end of her life, but not the end of her influence.[152]

[152] Rex, 143.

Figure 1 - The Ditchley Portrait

Figure 2- The Armada Portrait

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Figure 3 - The Pelican Portrait

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Literacy: Mau Mau's Strength in its Intellectual Resistance

Jaxon Arn

The Mau Mau rebellion of 1950's British colonial Kenya encapsulated a desperate struggle for land reclamation by impoverished and displaced Kikuyu people. Kikuyu forces–known as Mau Mau–fought on numerous fronts against colonial forces, white-settlers, and middle-to upper-class Kikuyu loyal to the colonial government. Mau Mau's struggle to reclaim central Kenyan farmland from these beneficiaries of colonial exploitation was characterized by a combination of guerilla and intellectual warfare. In recent years, a plethora of scholarly research has been conducted regarding specific aspects of Mau Mau's intellectual rebellion. Gone are opinions regarding Mau Mau as a solely violent and war-driven conflict, rather, scholars now primarily focus on the intellectual power possessed by Mau Mau.

During the years of the Mau Mau rebellion, Kikuyu people wielded various intellectual tools to combat colonial and loyalist forces. Writing was central to their efforts. Initially employed as the primary medium through which colonial domination was achieved, writing quickly became a weapon utilized by the dominated Kikuyu against that very power.[153] The power of literacy propelled Mau Mau forces to a position which posed a serious threat to their opposition. Writing gave structure to the Mau Mau resistance, forming an effective bureaucracy which dictated guerilla tactics and organization. Letter writing gave Kikuyu insurgents the capacity to convey their message to sympathizers, as well as the colonial government that they

[153] James H. Smith, "Njama's supper: The consumption and use of literary potency by Mau Mau insurgents in colonial Kenya," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 3 (1998): 532.

fought against.[154] Anti-Mau Mau propaganda could be challenged through Kikuyu journalistic endeavors, granting Mau Mau the ability to indoctrinate more of the Kenyan public.[155] Mau Mau was able to fight against its opposition on these fronts through its capacity to effectively communicate ideas through writing.

This paper will center on the concept of writing as a powerful tool employed by Mau Mau. Extensive research currently exists pertaining to the numerous functions of Mau Mau writing, with each individual investigation highlighting a specific facet of Mau Mau literacy. However, there is a lack of literature which connects these facets to form a collective narrative regarding Mau Mau's history of written rebellion. Through an exploration of the unique forms of writing employed by Mau Mau, and analysis regarding their impacts, this paper aims to argue that literacy was a powerful weapon during Mau Mau's resistance, as it propelled their anti-colonial rebellion to a threatening position of significance.

Significant historiographical work has been devoted to Kenyan, and specifically Kikuyu publications and personal writing before 1952. Historian Fay Gadsen provides ample information regarding the development and actions of African press organizations leading up to 1952, offering important context for the evolution of the press during the Mau Mau rebellion.[156] Similarly, historian Bodil Folke Frederiksen analyzes African newspapers and highlights their impact on displaying African grievances with colonial rule through letters and articles.[157]

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[154] Derek R. Peterson, "The Intellectual Lives of Mau Mau Detainees," *Journal of African History* 49, no. 1 (2008): 73-91; D. Barnett and K. Njama, *Mau Mau from Within: Autobiography and Analysis of Kenya's Peasant Revolt* (London: Macgibbon, 1966), 186-7.
[155] Myles Osborne, "'The Rooting Out of Mau Mau From the Minds of the Kikuyu is a Formidable Task': Propaganda and the Mau Mau War," *Journal of African History* 56, no. 1 (2015): 77-97.
[156] Fay Gadsden, "The African press in Kenya, 1945-1952," *Journal of African History* 21, no. 4 (1980): 515-535.
[157] Bodil Folke Frederiksen, "'The Present Battle is the Brain Battle': Writing and Publishing a Kikuyu Newspaper in the Pre-Mau Mau Period in Kenya," in *Africa's Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and Making the Self*, ed. Karin Barber (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 278-313.

Historian Derek Peterson explores how different kinds of Kikuyu texts were interpreted, used, and recomposed in Kenyan political discourse, providing more context regarding the Kikuyu's practice of writing before Mau Mau.[158]

The research mentioned provides ample context for the genesis and development of Kikuyu writing and supports the work of numerous scholars who explored the intellectual world of Mau Mau. Historians have worked to combine this context with African and British testimony to create narratives regarding Mau Mau's intellectual exploits. With his understanding of the African press, historian Myles Osborne argues that Mau Mau propagandists used publications to put up a significant fight against the colonial Department of Information.[159] Peterson continues his aforementioned research of Kikuyu writing beyond 1952 to reveal that Mau Mau detainees used letter writing to influence the British public's opinion of displaced Kikuyu.[160] Anthropologist James H. Smith explores the concept of Mau Mau literacy and provides a detailed argument regarding its impact on Kikuyu culture and social value.[161] These authors' explorations of specific facets of Mau Mau writing constructs an encompassing narrative that, when pieced together, reveals its effectiveness as an intellectual weapon.

Central to this narrative are the first-hand accounts of Mau Mau participants, exemplified by Karari Njama's autobiography, *Mau Mau from Within*. Njama was a senior leader for Mau Mau, and one of the only participants with a secondary education.[162] More specifically, Njama was a school teacher turned General Secretary to Field Marshal Dedan Kimathi and General

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[158] Derek Peterson, *Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2004).
[159] Osborne, "Propaganda and the Mau Mau War," 97.
[160] Peterson, "Intellectual Lives," 81.
[161] Smith, "Njama's Supper," 524.
[162] Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau from Within*, 88-9.

Stanley Mathenge.[163] The history contained within Barnett and Njama's work is, as Barnett claims, "reproduced (here) in its entirety exactly as originally written," save a few noted organizational choices.[164] The validity of information presented by Njama is therefore based on his word, although it has been supported by numerous historians. Whether the history he told is biased or not, the actions he took as secretary serve as the primary concern of this paper. Njama's autobiography provides a plethora of personal accounts regarding the bureaucratic structure of Mau Mau, and how his literacy made him an effective secretary to Kimathi.

Bureaucratic Letters and Records: The Shape of Mau Mau

Separated throughout the forests of Kenya, Mau Mau has long been considered as "no single thing, but rather a diverse and exceedingly fragmented collection of individual organizations and ideas out of which no dominant conception of Kikuyu national community had emerged."[165] In saying this, political scientist Bruce J. Berman essentially denies any cohesive structure among the insurgent forces. While Berman's statement effectively generalizes Mau Mau factions, it ignores the complex bureaucratic institutions created by Mau Mau leadership to organize the rebellion.

If Mau Mau was a fragmented collection of individual organizations, then why was Dedan Kimathi widely considered to be its central leader? The answer is that while Mau Mau consisted of many distinct groups, it was united by the leadership of Field Marshal Dedan Kimathi and his bureaucratic organization. Kimathi achieved control of these groups through the

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[163] Smith, "Njama's Supper," 525.
[164] Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau from Within*, 19.
[165] Bruce J. Berman, "Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Modernity: The Paradox of Mau Mau," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 25, no. 2 (1991): 199.

letters written by his secretary Njama.[166] Njama's accounts contain several anecdotes in which he is ordered to write letters containing instructions for Mau Mau faction leaders and generals. During a meeting of senior Mau Mau leadership, Kimathi ordered Njama to, "write letters to the Nairobi Central Committee and inform them how to keep these records we have been discussing."[167] These letters acted as Kimathi's voice and bridged the gap between him and his subordinates. The ability to communicate encouraged Mau Mau leadership to delegate responsibilities, set organizational guidelines, and deliver orders among their forces, despite the distance between them.

Expanding this narrative, historian Maina Wa Kinyatti provides a plethora of letters between Kimathi and guerilla leaders in his work *Kenya's Freedom Struggle*.[168] Throughout these letters, Kimathi responded to requests, provided encouragement, and issued orders.[169] In one letter, he announced the promotion of a new general, and in another, issued an order to destroy some bridges to ensure security.[170] Despite being separate organizations as stated by Berman, Kimathi upheld structure and promoted action among Mau Mau factions through written communication. Writing allowed Kimathi to organize bureaucratic hierarchies which guided the actions of the movement; a structural necessity in the struggle against one of the most powerful armies in the world.

Beyond written communication and orders, Njama's responsibilities also encompassed record keeping–an aspect of Mau Mau written history that was a particular obsession of

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[166] Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau from Within*, 188.
[167] *Ibid*, 255.
[168] It is important to note that the contents of the translated letters, specifically the ideologies they display, are often suspected to be heavily edited by Kinyatti. However, the value of the existence and purpose of these letters can be considered for the rest of this paper. Maina Wa Kinyatti, ed., *Kenya's Freedom Struggle: The Dedan Kimathi Papers* (London, 1987).
[169] Kinyatti, *Kenya's Freedom Struggle*, 79-81.
[170] *Ibid*.

Kimathi's. Njama reccounted scenarios in which he was given detailed instructions on how to authorize record keeping regarding the deaths of Mau Mau participants.[171] These records were extensive, and were intended to memorialize all of those who had given their lives to the rebellion. As argued by Peterson, "By ensuring that fighters' private sacrifices would be remembered, Mau Mau's diligent record-keeping created lineages-of-words in which fighters could invest their sweat and blood."[172] This promise of a written legacy boosted morale among Mau Mau fighters. Knowing that they would be a part of written history, that their sacrifices wouldn't be forgotten, strengthened their resolve to give their all to the rebellion.

Similarly, Njama described an instance in which Kimathi ordered the creation of records accounting for the accumulated losses that every member had suffered from the Kenyan government.[173] Kimathi's obsession with records was not just some personal quirk; he recognized the value that these records would have following the conclusion of the rebellion. Peterson argues that these records assured "the young men and women that they would be remembered as honored ancestors of a future, sovereign Kenyan nation."[174] Kimathi foresaw the future opportunity for ex-Mau Mau insurgents to receive some form of reparations for their losses. Having contemplated the future and recorded his present, Kimathi assured through writing that the losses and sacrifices of Mau Mau fighters would not be forgotten.

Records were also important for the day-to-day functions of Mau Mau leadership. In his autobiography, General Waruhiu Itote -colloquially known as General China– detailed the

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[171] Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau from Within*, 253.
[172] Derek R. Peterson, "Writing Gikuyu: Christian literacy and ethnic debate in northern central Kenya, 1908–1952" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2000), 463.
[173] Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau from Within*, 253.
[174] Derek R. Peterson,"Writing in Revolution: Independent Schooling and Mau Mau in Nyeri," in *Mau Mau and Nationhood: Arms, Authority and Narration*, ed. E. S. Atieno Odhiambo and John Lonsdale (Oxford: James Currey, 2003), 77.

functions of a certain "Committee No. 4"– the most powerful committee of the Mau Mau bureaucratic structure.[175] He described the existence of written records of their meetings, all of which were duplicated and shared among the leaders present.[176] China also described reading from meeting agendas, suggesting that writing was used to structure the meetings of Committee No. 4.[177] China's accounts provide ample evidence which supports that Mau Mau leadership used writing to structure its functions. These practices facilitated smooth operations, allowing Mau Mau leadership to function effectively.

Writing was essential to the organization and function of the Mau Mau bureaucracy. It made communication across vast distances possible and encouraged senior leaders of the rebellion to assert their authority. Records kept information organized for future reference and rallied the resolve of wavering fighters. Certainly, without writing, the Mau Mau leadership would have lacked the structure and means of communication necessary to effectively lead its guerilla rebellion.

Writing to Define Mau Mau's Public Image

Letter writing was not unique in its employment as a method of communication by insurgent leaders. It also served the essential purpose of connecting Mau Mau detainees with outside individuals, governments, and organizations. Peterson discusses letters written by Mau Mau detainees to British liberals, in which detainees "represented their diet, their clothing and

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[175] Myles Osborne, ed., *The Life and Time of General China: Mau Mau and the End of Empire in Kenya* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2016), 78.
[176] *Ibid*.
[177] *Ibid*, 79.

their workload as violations of their rights."[178] Peterson argues that through this written correspondence, "Gikuyu detainees were framing their situation, generating evidence and positioning themselves in a legal and rhetorical world they shared with their rulers."[179] Letter writing permitted Mau Mau detainees to illustrate the suffering they experienced at the hands of colonial forces. By sharing their experiences with British liberals, Mau Mau made progress in altering their public image among the British populace.

Mau Mau detainees did not solely communicate with sympathetic British liberals, Mau Mau leaders participated in such correspondences as well. Njama mentioned letters to British liberal Fenner Brockway, in which Njama requested that accounts of British brutality be shared with the United Nations.[180] Such letters connected Mau Mau to sympathizers abroad and ensured that their suffering would not be ignored. The power of written connection was recognized by General Mathenge, who asked, "he [Njama] can write and speak English. I do not know how to read, how can I speak to the Government while in this forest?"[181] Mathenge and other Mau Mau leaders knew the power writing had on the world stage. With the influence of the written word, literate insurgents could demand respect from colonial officials.[182]

Mau Mau also employed letters as a tactic to define their ideologies and make demands of the colonial government. Njama shared a letter to the colonial government in which he taunted their failed attempts at bombing a Mau Mau base.[183] His letter expressed that God was on their side, and that the constant British violence would be met with even greater resistance if they did

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[178] Peterson, "Intellectual Lives," 86.
[179] *Ibid*.
[180] Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau From Within*, 357.
[181] *Ibid*, 186.
[182] Peterson, "Writing Gikuyu," 461.
[183] Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau From Within*, 204.

not leave Kenya.[184] Similar letters were written from Kimathi, who shared his resolve that peace would only be achieved through the withdrawal of colonial forces and settlers.[185] Just as General Mathenge had stated, writing granted Mau Mau the capacity to make their voice heard. Letters were not solely sent to the colonial government, but also to governments around the world.[186]

Beyond letters, unique forms of writing contributed to defining the identity of Mau Mau. Peterson argues that Mau Mau "made British power provincial, relative."[187] Writing allowed Mau Mau to perform such a feat. Practices, such as serving eviction notices to colonial settlers, were described by Njama, who was intent on highlighting the hypocrisy of colonial settlers.[188] Njama also included argumentative messages in these eviction notices, describing to the recipients that "It would be quite impossible for the Europeans to live like masters and the owners of the country as servants."[189] The act of serving written eviction notices was symbolic and powerful for Mau Mau. By engaging in such displays, Mau Mau simultaneously reduced the conceived British power while elevating their own. Regardless of its effectiveness, this practice affirmed the identity of the Kikuyu as the rightful owners of their stolen land.

Bureaucracy itself also shaped Mau Mau's identity. Peterson argues that bureaucratic writing acted as "a way to claim paramountcy over the colonial state, a way of contesting the British monopoly on law-making."[190] Bureaucratic procedure supplied a feeling of political legitimacy to Mau Mau fighters. Through the creation of identity cards, records, and other forms

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[184] *Ibid*.
[185] As mentioned previously, Kinyatti's translations are suspected to be altered. While demands were made to the colonial government, the ideologies contained within these letters cannot be fully accepted as historically accurate. Kinyatti, *Kenya's Freedom Struggle*, 57-60.
[186] Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau From Within*, 357.
[187] Peterson, "Writing Gikuyu," 466.
[188] Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau From Within*, 277.
[189] *Ibid*.
[190] Peterson,"Writing in Revolution," 77.

of bureaucratic writing, "Mau Mau crafted a sovereign polity in the forest with which to provincialize the British."[191] Similar to the aforementioned eviction notices, by rejecting British laws and producing bureaucratic writing, Mau Mau affirmed a new political identity for itself.

The evidence presented cements writing as essential to the formation of the perceived Mau Mau image, both for external and internal observers. Writing allowed Mau Mau to reveal their suffering and ideologies to external sympathizers and opponents. It also facilitated symbolic practices that were essential to the creation of its new political and moral identity.

Countering Anti-Mau Mau Propaganda

As stated by historian Caroline Elkins, the Mau Mau war was as much about propaganda as it was about reality.[192] Constant colonial efforts were made to control the public depiction of Mau Mau. Degrading language was consistently employed to describe Mau Mau, painting the insurgents as, "'dark,' 'evil,' 'foul' [and] 'secretive'", as opposed to British forces which were, "enlightened."[193] The only means by which such slander could be countered was through retaliatory propaganda, which Mau Mau used to correct its image and bolster support.

Mau Mau propaganda was produced in earnest and was considerably effective until the British gained the upper hand in the war in 1954.[194] Osborne reveals that, "Mau Mau propagandists had learned much from – and built upon – the experience and advice of newspaper editors," which allowed Mau Mau to produce consistently effective literature.[195] A majority of

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[191] *Ibid*, 89.
[192] Caroline Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005), 46.
[193] *Ibid*.
[194] Osborne, "Propaganda and the Mau Mau War," 77.
[195] *Ibid*, 86.

Osborne's article is devoted to detailing the hasty British response to counter Mau Mau propaganda, indicative of Mau Mau's success in propaganda warfare. To elicit such an involved response from colonial forces suggests that Mau Mau propaganda writers were producing effective literature. In doing so, they both countered British propaganda and roused public support for the Mau Mau cause.

Njama described his involvement in the observation and creation of several pieces of Mau Mau propaganda. One example witnessed by Njama was the false presentation of a KAU case to the United Nations as successful, which garnered faith in the movement.[196] Another of Njama's accounts details his participation in investigating colonial atrocities, which Njama personally worked to share with the world through the press and sympathetic Europeans.[197] For the secretary of Dedan Kimathi to take such an active role in the creation of propaganda suggests that Mau Mau understood its power. In fact, Njama recalled a specific moment in which Kimathi, and other Mau Mau leaders, agreed, "...to start campaigns against government propaganda and at the same time preach our propaganda."[198] There was an intentional effort on the part of the Mau Mau bureaucracy to counter colonial propaganda with Mau Mau writing.

Ultimately, British colonial forces defeated the Mau Mau in this propaganda warfare as a result of their military victories in the later years of the Mau Mau rebellion.[199] While Mau Mau may have lost, they did not do so without major victories. Propagandized writing proved to be a significant threat to colonial authority in the hands of Mau Mau, and exemplifies how their mastery of literacy put them on equal footing in many different facets of the conflict.

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[196] Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau From Within*, 129.
[197] *Ibid*, 273.
[198] *Ibid*, 357.
[199] Osborne, "Propaganda and the Mau Mau War," 97.

Conclusion

Njama details a moment during his childhood, before he learned how to read and write, in which he remarks, "reading was a great miracle."[200] The potent awe of such words exemplifies just how important writing would become for Njama and for Mau Mau.

It is thanks to the literacy of Mau Mau participants like Njama that the narrative of the Mau Mau rebellion exists as it does today. This essay has served to show just how central writing was to Mau Mau's history. Writing defined organization, communication, public image, and intellectual retaliation within the rebellion. It supported a cultural and political identity within which exemplified the passionate beliefs of an impoverished people. A significant portion of Mau Mau success stories can be attributed to the power of its writing. Writing gave Mau Mau the opportunity to intellectually threaten British forces, which has cemented the lasting legacy of the Kikuyu rebellion.

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Jumping Ship:

How Overexploitation Sank America's Whaling Empire

By: Dan Salon

Bestowed with the task of illuminating America's homes and lubricating its machines, neither whales nor their hunters ever stood a chance. Whaling in America had a rich history preceding the nineteenth century, but after whalers faced the desolation of port blockades, ship seizures, and market closures during the War of 1812, "only those Americans with very long memories could recall the successes previously achieved."[201] Nevertheless, the ports of New England became epicenters of wealth after the war's conclusion, and whale products dominated the illuminant market from 1820 to 1860, with sizable production of whale oil, sperm oil, whalebone, and spermaceti.[202]

Early in the nineteenth century, American whaling found its footing in Nantucket, Massachusetts, a small coastal island that saw considerable traffic of sperm whaling vessels. From 1829 to 1834, the size of the American whaling fleet doubled, and Nantucket's fleet, although nearly the largest in the island's history, was second in size to the burgeoning industry

[201] Lance E. Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Teresa D. Hutchins, "The decline of US whaling: was the stock of whales running out?," *Business History Review* 62, no. 4 (1988): 569.

[202] Whale oil is the oil harvested from Baleen whales (right, humpback, bowhead, and gray), and is a low-quality illuminant and lubricant for heavy machinery. Sperm oil is harvested from sperm whales and is a higher quality product of the same type. Spermaceti is a wax-like substance found in the head cavity of a sperm whale and was used to make odorless, high-quality candles. Whalebone is the strong, flexible filter-feeding system in the mouths of baleen whales. It was used for window shades and corset stays.

growing out of New Bedford, Massachusetts.[203] By the 1830s, around 50% of American whaling ships came from New Bedford. Throughout the 1840s and 50s, American whaling shifted from an offshore-centered sperm whaling fishery to a global giant, sending multiple year-long voyages to newly discovered hunting grounds in the Arctic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans. During this time, America made up over 75% of the global whaling industry.

The fishery's newly found prosperity did not last. At the start of the 1860s, the industry's profits quickly sank. In 1861, the American Civil War broke out and disrupted whaling operations. Ships were intentionally sunk to create port blockades, others were overtaken by confederate raiders, and most remained in port due to the poor economic conditions of the time and the newly increased danger at sea. Although the war ended in 1865, the economic hardships faced by whalers persisted indefinitely. Petroleum, which had been discovered but not widely used before the war, cost only $2.40 per barrel in 1866, while sperm oil cost $2.55 per gallon, roughly 1/30th the volume of a barrel.[204] This competition made it impossible for the previous successes of whaling to be achieved again.

Since the 1860s, historical discussion about whaling's decline has attributed the industry's contraction predominantly to the Civil War and the discovery of petroleum. The decline of American whaling, however, is much more complex. Table 1 and Table 2 show the prices and import values of sperm oil to America during the height of the supposed "golden age" of whaling in the 1840s and 50s and reveal a steadily decreasing yield of sperm oil, all while the

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[203] Nantucket's port exists within its harbor, separated from the ocean by a small channel. The island's success rested on its offshore sperm whaling industry; when ship sizes increased, many boats could not pass the small channel into the harbor.

[204] Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money & Power* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991), 17.

price of the product was steadily increasing.[205] Petroleum was not discovered in Pennsylvania until 1859; the beginning of the whaling industry's contraction was in 1845. To explain these trends, historians have been divided into two distinct categories: those who support a "demand side" explanation and those that support a "supply side" explanation. The former argues that competing products such as camphene, lard oil, and petroleum decreased the need for whale products, while the latter argues that some factor reduced the American whalers' ability to catch whales. The supply side argument is stronger. While the thriving petroleum industry in the mid-1860s kept the American whaling industry operating at a fraction of its former capabilities, the fishery's initial decline in the 1840s and 50s was caused by reduced whale populations, changing migration patterns, declining crew quality, and increased rates of desertion among whalers.

Demand side vs supply side explanations

Historically, demand-side explanations of the decreased yield of whale products in the pre-war decades have been oriented around the emergence of petroleum in the illuminant market but this argument incorrectly assesses the timeframe of whaling's decreased productivity. The American fishery yielded its highest amount of sperm oil in 1837 and its highest amount of whale oil in 1845, fourteen years before the discovery of petroleum in America. These yields steadily decreased after the year 1845.[206] There was competition in the illuminant industry before the discovery of domestic petroleum, mainly consisting of camphene, lard oil, and

[205] Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American whale fishery from its earliest inception to the year 1876* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Alexander Starbuck, 1878), 660.

[206] Sperm Oil production peaked in 1837, but approached that peak again in 1845. After 1845, this number was never approached again. See Table 3.

imported petroleum.[207] According to a more accurate timeline, a demand-side argument would state that these competing products were responsible for the 48% decrease in the amount of sperm oil collected by American ships between 1837 and 1858. However, whale and sperm oil prices were increasing steadily throughout this time period. Unlike the deleterious impact of cheap petroleum in the 1860s, high whale oil prices in the 1840s and 50s seemed to benefit whalers, as they reaped the benefits of the high prices at the expense of consumers. Cheaper lighting fluids existed at the time, but none lived up to the standards of whale products.[208] Imported petroleum could not meet the low prices of its domestic successor, and camphene often exploded, destroying users' homes. The drawbacks of ulterior products and the continued success of whale oil in the face of high prices are clear evidence that the successes of competing products were in no way responsible for the decline of the whaling industry.

Further analysis of the decrease in whale product supply throughout the 1840s demonstrates that the changes were unrelated to decreasing demand, and instead driven solely by supply-side factors. It is important to note the system of payment used in the American whaling industry. Whaling voyages were organized by agents, and crews consisted of "a captain and some number of mates…between two and six boatsteerers…a number of artisans… some service personnel…some skilled [and] some semiskilled [seamen]... some greenhands… and often a boy or two."[209] All of these members, including agents, were paid on a lay system. Each crew member would agree to a contract granting them a fractional percentage (lay) of the voyage's net proceeds. The importance of a crew member's role would determine the length of

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[207] Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Teresa D. Hutchins, "The decline of US whaling", 571.; Walter Sheldon Tower, *A History of the American Whale Fishery* (Philadelphia: Pub. for the University, 1907), 76.
[208] Yergin, *The Prize,* 6.
[209] Lance E. Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Teresa D. Hutchins, *Productivity in American Whaling: The New Bedford Fleet in the Nineteenth Century* (National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper No. 2477, 1987), 4.

their lay.[210] Under this system, both agents' and seamen's livelihoods depended on the success of their voyages and the minimization of expenses. For example, under the lay system, in the face of decreasing demand for whale products, an agent should minimize the number of his ships sent out in order to reach a point where returning ships would be full or near full capacity. This would minimize the number of employees taking a portion of his total profits and decrease expenses related to ship maintenance. If the demand-side explanation of decline was true, by the logic of the lay system, there ought to have been a marked increase in the fullness of returning ships during the supposed years of decreasing demand. From 1845 to 1858, however, returning whaling vessels were noticeably less full, meaning that decreasing demand was not responsible for the decreasing yield. In 1845, at the height of the industry's yield of whale oil, incoming ships returned with an average of 5.52 barrels per ton. The estimated capacity of a ship is between 8 and 10 barrels per ton,[211] meaning that these ships were ~60% full when returning to port. In 1858 however, when onshore competition was strong, ships returned with an average of 3.37 barrels per ton, a 39% decrease from 1845.[212] This data proves that decreasing amounts of whale oil collected by the American fishery over the 1840s and 50s was not due to superior competing products, but a result of supply side factors which hindered whaler's ability to harvest

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[210] Captains, mates, and boatsteerers would most often receive a "short lay" higher than 1/100 of the boats proceeds and descending respectively, while seamen (skilled and unskilled), greenhands, and boys would receive a "long lay" of less than 1/100, also descending respectively. Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Teresa D. Hutchins, *Productivity in American Whaling,* 7.

[211] A similar model was first used by George Shuster, who in a separate analysis determined that a whaling vessel's capacity of oil, on average, is 8 barrels/ton. The highest difference found in this study was 9.9 barrels/ton; Shuster's calculation seems to be fairly accurate given the majority of data collected. George W. Shuster, "Productivity and the Decline of American Sperm Whaling," *Boston College Environmental Affairs Law Review* 2 (1972): 351.

[212] Samples consisted of ships returning with at least 95% sperm whale in their cargo to the port of New Bedford. New Bedford was chosen on account of its market size and record of being home to the most experienced and talented whalemen in America, as to limit the variability of skill between ships. Sperm whaling ships were chosen for the variation in their voyage lengths, consistency in ship sizes, and the superior accuracy in their amount of cargo as opposed to baleen whaling ships. Numbers would be skewed by the weight of whalebone on board a baleen whaling ship. Sperm whaling ships harvested only sperm oil and spermaceti; spermaceti amounts are consistent with the amount of sperm oil because, like oil, the amount harvested depends on the size of the whale hunted.

whales.[213]

Excluding demand-side factors as the reason behind whaling's decreased productivity does not offer a clear answer to the question of why the 1840s and 50s saw such heavy decline. Most arguments on the supply side discredit demand-side explanations and settle on whale population decrease as the all-encompassing reason for decreased yield of oil. This type of reasoning is fallacious; in reality there is not one supply-side factor that caused productivity to decline, but an amalgamation of multiple factors. Responding to the popular argument regarding petroleum's replacement of whale oil as America's leading illuminant, George Shuster neatly states,

> It takes an almost imperceptible sleight of hand to convert the 'law of compensation' recognizing scarcity as a cause for economic extinction into a 'law of displacement' assigning the major executioner's role to alternative developments. Chicken-and-egg obfuscation is all the cloud that is necessary for the invisible hand to convert the rule that failure breeds success into the rule that success breeds failure.[214]

Shuster addresses the question of whaling's decline in the pre-war era, and with the same "invisible hand," assures himself that decreasing productivity aboard whaleships was caused solely by declining whale populations. Although American whaling had a substantial impact on whale populations, this impact has been greatly exaggerated and is only responsible for a portion of the decreasing catch of whales from 1845 to 1861.[215] Estimates of sperm whale

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[213] All values of vessel weight and oil import amounts were collected from Alexander Starbuck. Starbuck, *History of the American whale fishery from its earliest inception to the year 1876,* 420-558.
[214] Shuster, "Productivity and the Decline of American Sperm Whaling," 347.
[215] Sperm whale population estimates are substantially more complete than those of baleen whales. Sperm whales are a single species with singular breeding, feeding, and migration habits, unlike baleen whales which is a designation referring to multiple species. As sperm whaling was a substantial part of the American fishery and has the most

populations before the most intensive period of American whaling fall between 1.8 and 2.4 million total whales.[216] Estimates of how many whales were killed during this time period are less available. It has been estimated that between 1804 and 1900, between 8 and 18 percent of the "initial stock" were killed by whalers. American ships were responsible for roughly 75 percent of those killed, and most of the whales killed in this timeframe were killed during the period of American whaling from 1820 to1860.[217] Even with the inclusion of 45 post-Civil War years, the total decrease in sperm whale population clearly does not make up for the 50% decrease in the yield of whaleships between 1845 and 1861. It does, however, account for a portion of that decrease, and combined with other factors was responsible for the trends of these years.

Alternative supply side explanations

The stark changes in local whale populations during periods of intensive hunting had effects on sperm whale's breeding and migration habits, both of which offer further evidence for a supply-side explanation of whaling's decline. A study by Hal Whitehead in 2003 offers insight into this phenomenon. Whitehead's research "strongly suggests that exploitation can continue to have substantial negative impacts on the size and recruitment rate of an animal population well outside the range of the hunt and for at least a decade after it has ended."[218] This offers two important implications. The continuation of sperm whale population decline

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trustworthy data, this section of the paper will be based on data exclusively on sperm whales. These findings are still relevant to all aspects of the fishery, but studying each individual species of whales is moot.

[216] Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Teresa D. Hutchins, "The decline of US whaling," 576.

[217] This estimate of between 8 and 18 percent was acquired by analyzing the data of Alexander Starbuck and determining the number of whales killed by comparing an estimate of the amount of oil yielded per whale on average to the total income of oil to America. Whales that were killed but not harvested were accounted for.

[218] This quote refers specifically to sperm whales, despite his designation of "animal populations." Hal Whitehead, Jenny Christal, and Susan Dufault, "Past and Distant Whaling and the Rapid Decline of Sperm Whales off the Galápagos Islands," *Conservation Biology* 11, no. 6 (1997): 1387-1396.

after a period of whaling has ended implies that similar population decline would happen even when whales are still being actively hunted. On top of the previously mentioned "8 to 18 percent," then, is an additional population of sperm whales that died in the 1840s and 50s as a continuation of extensive hunting during the 1820s and 30s. The second implication of these findings relates to the hunting grounds used by whalers. Typically, whaleships would hunt a specific portion of the ocean either until those grounds were exhausted, or until a more fruitful opportunity presented itself elsewhere.[219] If hunting affected the size of whale populations outside the area in which they were being hunted, then novel hunting grounds that began to be exploited in the 1840s and 50s may have already become scarce due to earlier whaling elsewhere.

Further zoological evidence reveals that novel hunting grounds may have been depleted before the arrival of whaleships Whitehead's study of sperm whales off the coast of the Galapágos islands from 1985 to 1995 revealed a sharp decrease in the local population, although there had not been sperm whaling in the area for a century. He concluded that this was the result of Peruvian whaling, which ended in 1981 and took place at least 1000 km away. His study of Galapágoes sperm whales concludes: "Peruvian whaling reduced sperm whale densities…leaving both good feeding for animals entering these waters and providing little incentive to leave, effectively resulting in one-way migrations."[220] Sperm whales migrate because of food availability, meaning that depopulation in one area can lead to a food surplus, with sperm whales from significant distances migrating towards

[219] There is a great deal of discourse on this matter. It seems that although whaleships sometimes hunted a whaling ground "to exhaustion," they did not always. Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Teresa D. Hutchins, "The decline of US whaling," 580.
[220] Whitehead, Jenny Christal, and Susan Dufault, "Past and Distant Whaling,"

one another to fill the plentiful waters. In the period of American whaling, these migration patterns must have manifested in the replenishment of popular hunting grounds after they had been "exhausted," and the depletion of novel hunting grounds before the arrival of sperm whalers. These findings offer a more supply-side justification for the decreased catch of sperm whales in the pre-war era.

Along with whale population decrease and migration, the quality of whaling crews contributed heavily to the decreased catch of whales in the 1840s and 50s. During this time period, decreasing crew quality, high desertion rates, and onshore competition for labor tanked crew productivity, and combined with the effects of the depletion of whales, caused a sharp downturn in the fishery's yield. As American whaling reached its highest yield in the 1840s, the industry adapted. Due to depleted whale stocks, voyage lengths increased as more ships began to explore the fresh hunting grounds in the Pacific. Captains soon realized that they could stay at sea for even longer by stopping at transshipment points in the Pacific to sell cargo during a voyage. Davis and Gallman's analysis reveals that "Between 1840-41 and 1857-58, average voyage length increased from thirty-four to forty-five months."[221] These changes had unexpected consequences. As mentioned before, whalemen were paid by the lay system, and when voyages lasted for multiple years, it was common practice for a crew member to receive an advance on his expected pay, typically averaging out to about ¼ of his expected pay from the voyage. The intention was for a whaler and his family to be taken care of during the time he was at sea, but an unfortunate result was a spike in rates of desertion and marooning which crippled ship productivity. After a whaleman received his advance, he was in debt to his ship

[221] Lance Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Teresa D. Hutchins, *Risk sharing, crew quality, labor shares, and wages in the nineteenth century American whaling industry* (National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper No. 13, 1990), 6.

for as long as it took for them to hunt a number of whales equal to what he had already been paid. After this threshold was met, it became the opposite, where a captain was in debt to his crew until they sold the product aboard the ship. This endless cycle of debt resulted in a constant cycle of desertion and marooning.

> The George Howland, for example, a New Bedford ship that typically carried a crew of twenty-eight to thirty-six men, sailed six times between 1840 and 1866. Over the six voyages, the number of whalemen who died, were discharged, or deserted, ranged from twelve to twenty-four, averaging sixty-three percent of the original crew.[222]

This degree of crew turnover had adverse effects on ship productivity. Whaleships hunt whales by deploying a number of small rowboats armed with harpoons to spear and kill their prey. The desertion of a single crew member often put an entire six-man rowboat out of commission.

Captains and agents recognized this pattern and sought to curb its effects on productivity. At the beginning of the 1850s, a number of ship advancements made it possible for captains to hire fewer skilled seamen. They hoped that this would lower desertion rates, as only men with maritime experience had the know-how to desert their ship and secure passage back home elsewhere. With changes in crew quality, however, productivity continued to decline.

> Between 1840-43 and 1856-58… the average productivity index declined by more than a third, illiteracy rose by nearly 30%, and the proportion of unskilled seamen in a crew, by more than a quarter. In the early 1840's less than a fifth of the crews were illiterate and nine out of every twelve whalemen could claim at least some maritime experience. On the eve of the Civil War, however, more than a quarter of the crew could not sign their names, and almost three-fourths of the deckhands

[222] Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Teresa D. Hutchins, *Risk sharing, crew quality,* 6.

had never been at sea.[223]

It is difficult to gauge exactly how much these changes in crew quality affected productivity. Whale population decline and migration, as well as the existing problem of desertion and marooning were at least partially responsible, but there is evidence that the decrease in crew quality in the face of technological advancement was another factor. In the 1820s and 30s, desertion was rare and crews worked together for a common goal. The widespread deceit involved in the industry in the 1840s and 1850s caused professional, skilled seamen to pursue higher paying and less dangerous jobs ashore. The hiring of unskilled men aboard whaling vessels allowed captains to raise their own pay and that of their mates while drastically lowering the average pay of unskilled workers. In the 1850s, ships had to hire more security personnel and harsher mates to keep sailors in line. While technological advancement allowed unskilled men to sail without experience, it did not make up for the loss of chemistry and trust between sailors. Sailors in the 1850s "had neither a sense of loyalty towards officers or owners, nor a feeling of responsibility for the success of any phase of a voyage."[224] This had a direct effect on the productivity of individual voyages, as well as creating a negative feedback loop of skilled mariners leaving the industry because of the lack of professionalism and pay alike.

Conclusion

Whale population decrease, migration, and onboard inefficiency left the whaling industry in a state of near-ruin by the 1860s. From 1861 to 1865, a large number of voyages experienced heavy losses, making agents hesitant to finance whaling expeditions. Although the war did not end whaling, it changed it in scale and practice. The collapse of whaling in the wake of the Civil

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[223] Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Teresa D. Hutchins, *Risk sharing, crew quality,* 27.
[224] Hohman, *The American Whaleman,* 65.

War was directly correlated to the industry's struggles in the decades preceding the conflict. Overexploitation of whales led to population decrease, but also had significant impacts on the lives of the whales that survived hunting. Some died as a result of the changes to their species' population, while others migrated to the plentiful waters left without predators. These survivors, however, were in less danger than their fallen brethren. Whalers had become incompetent as extensive desertion and marooning disrupted their hunting operations, and the seamen who signed on to voyages in the 1850s were unproductive and unruly. These various supply-side factors followed by the Civil War and low petroleum prices led to the collapse of the whaling industry. Were it not for the decreasing yield in the prewar decades, American whaling may have adapted and survived. During the same era, whalers out of Norway were making a name for themselves by harvesting whale meat and oil suitable for cooking from different species than those typically hunted by the Americans.[225] If American whalers were not facing the problems of decreasing yield in the 1840s and 50s, perhaps they could have repurposed their large fleet to appeal to new markets. Overexploitation of whales and labor prevented this redirection, and the supply needed to keep the industry afloat was never found.

[225] Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Teresa D. Hutchins, "The Decline of US Whaling," 573.

Table 1[226]

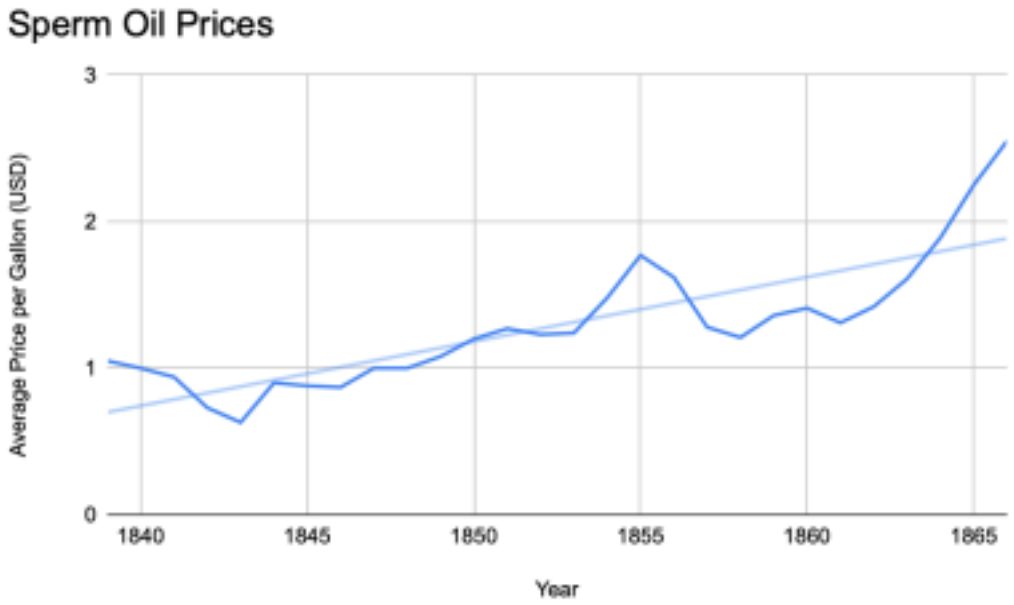

Table 2

[226] All Tables from Starbuck, *History of the American whale fishery from its earliest inception to the year 1876,* 660.

Table 3

Sperm and Whale Oil Prices and Import Values by year

Year	Gallons Sperm Oil	Average Price Per Gallon ($)	Gallons Whale Oil	Average Price per Gallon ($)	Total Values ($)
1837	5,329,138	.82 ½	6,389,995	.35	6,983,657.90
1838	4,076,100	.86	7,204,365	.32	6,250,842.80
1839	4,408,866	1.05	7,040,975	.36	7,524,060.30
1840	4,928,017	1.00	6,408,391	.30	7,230,534.30
1841	4,956,304	.94	6,459,516	.32	7,125,970.88
1842	3,256,155	.73	4,876,232	.34	4,379,812.03
1843	5,260,027	.63	6,511,900	.34	6,293,680.21
1844	4,239,711	.90 ⅝	8,254,481	.36 ½	7,875,970.38
1845	4,967,550	.88	11,593,483	.33	9,283,611.75
1846	3,155,481	.87 ⅞	6,589,737	.33 ¾	6,203,115.43
1847	3,803,719	1.00 ⅝	9,864,225	.36	8,419,288.49
1848	3,401,274	1.00	8,840,663	.33	6,819,442.78
1849	3,179,736	1.08 ⅞	8,827,498	.39 11/12	7,069,953.74
1850	2,926,098	1.20 7/10	6,319,152	.49 1/10	7,564,124.72
1851	3,137,116	1.27 ¼	10,347,214	.45 5/16	10,031,744.05
1852	2,484,468	1.23 ¾	2,652,647	.68 ¼	5,565,409.89
1853	3,246,925	1.24 ¾	8,193,591	.58 ⅛	10,766,521.20

1854	2,315,924	1.48 ⅝	10,074,866	.59 ⅝	10,802,594.20
1855	2,288,443	1.77 ⅛	5,796,472	.71 ⅓	9,413,148.93
1856	2,549,642	1.62	6,233,535	.79 ½	9,589,846.36
1857	2,470,860	1.28 ⅓	7,274,641	.73 ¼	10,491,548.90
1858	2,581,142	1.21	5,740,025	.54	7,672,227.31
1859	2,879,352	1.36 ¼	5,997,946	.48 ½	8,525,108.91
1860	2,306,934	1.41 ½	4,410,158	.49 ½	6,520,135.12
1861	2,171,358	1.31 ½	4,212,085	.44 ½	5,415,090.59
1862	1,752,692	1.42 ¾	3,165,057	.59 ⅓	5,051,781.64
1863	2,049,232	1.61	1,983,681	.95 ¼	5,936,507.17
1864	2,027,718	1.89 ½	2,263,685	1.28	8,113,922.07
1865	1,047,123	2.25 ½	2,401,497	1.45	6,906,650.51
1866	1,154,885	2.55	2,340,513	1.21	7,037,891.23

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Honors Thesis Abstracts:

Justifying Prohibition: U.S. and UN Rhetoric Surrounding

Drug Control in Afghanistan, 1993-2001

Kyrianna Krzystek

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the U.S. government became less engaged in Afghanistan. However, this paper demonstrates how American policymakers during the 1990s convinced the public and international leaders that heroin and narcotics trafficking continued to be a threat to security and moral values. Historically, American drug policy has been rooted in morality, therefore policymakers built upon this necrophobia to create an "evil" in Afghanistan that the U.S. needed to control and regulate. From this, government agencies pointed to the need to control the supply of heroin in order to mitigate societal issues, such as increasing rates of overdose and increased drug-related crime. With increasing terrorism in the late 1990s from both the Taliban and Al Qaeda, controlling the supply of heroin exported from Afghanistan became even more important since both groups were heavily funded by the opium trade. By using documents released by the U.S. government and UN convention press releases, this paper will explain how the U.S. continued to pursue stricter regulations toward drug control policy and became intertwined with the War on Terror as the Taliban and Al-Qaeda grew more dangerous to American interests. At the same time, evaluating newspaper articles published in the 1990s highlight the rhetoric employed by the government to convince the public that the dangers of the opium trade were especially threatening in Afghanistan. These show an evolution in discourse about drug control policy in Afghanistan and the gradual shift toward punitive measures once the War on Drugs became a step toward simultaneously fighting international terrorism. In combination, these documents illustrate the rhetoric implemented by the U.S. government to justify the continuation of the War on Drugs and its relationship to the War on Terror in later stages. I argue that the rhetoric employed by the American government in the 1990s provides an example of how Washington used drug control policy to pursue goals beneficial to the United States.

Between the Mystic and the Politician: Unifying St. Catherine of Siena.

Helena Neufeld

Catherine of Siena (1348-1380) was an Italian mystic and saint. She is best known through the biography written by her confessor, Raymond of Capua, and best known for her extreme fasting. She was also a geopolitical player in the papal captivity at Avignon and the subsequent Papal Schism, as evidenced by a corpus of 382 letters she wrote between 1374 and 1380. In general, academic work on Catherine falls into two historiographical trends: work that treats Catherine as a mystic and focuses on her private life, and work that treats Catherine as a politician and focuses on her public life. This thesis seeks to explain Catherine's use of gendered languages in her letters by joining these two historiographical trends. Specifically, I argue that the way Catherine constructed her own gender was intrinsically related to the way that she wrote to both men and women. Catherine preferred masculine traits to feminine ones as a means of building her own power. The supremacy of masculinity to femininity is present in Catherine's rhetoric, symbols, and metaphors. In letters to both men and women, Catherine encouraged her recipients to be more masculine, wherever possible. In letters to women, Catherine used femininity as a tool to denigrate her recipients. These dynamics are but one way that Catherine's private life impacted her public one, and they make a compelling for unifying Catherine from the mystic and the politician into one woman.

Rutherford B. Hayes and Civil Service Reform:

How Internal Party Divisions Tied The President To Big Business Interests

Robbie Reinhardt

In 1876, as The United States of America was celebrating its centennial anniversary, Rutherford B. Hayes rose to national prominence in the Republican Party as a champion of civil service reform. During the Republican Nominating Convention, Hayes was nominated as an outsider, compromise candidate meant to bridge the gap between reformist and Stalwart Republicans. After winning the nomination, he was unwilling to concede his reformist position in order to accommodate Stalwarts. The divide between Hayes and the faction of Stalwart Republicans was exacerbated by the contested nature of the 1876 election; when Hayes became reliant on Congress to assume the Presidency, Stalwarts threatened Hayes' election chances if he continued to refuse policy compromise. By the time Hayes entered office in March of 1877, the feud between Hayes and the Stalwart wing left Hayes with little political support for his civil service reform agenda. This lack of support pushed Hayes into an alliance with big business interests. The actualization of Hayes' relationship with big business can be seen through his actions in the Great Strike of 1877 and in opposing the Bland-Allison Act. Hayes' stances on these two issues both personally troubled the president and were widely unpopular, yet Hayes pursued them at the behest of his business connections. Once civil service reform became a political impossibility due to Democratic control of congress in 1879, Hayes reneged business interests by championing tariffs and a protectionist economic policy, revealing how the relationship between Hayes and America's financial elite was in service of his reformist agenda. Ultimately, Hayes' unwillingness to accommodate Stalwarts within his own party made his administration beholden to the interests of America's most wealthy to attain support for civil service reform.

The Labor Question and the 1913-1914 Colorado Coalfield War:

The Fight for Industrial Democracy

Jordan Parks

At the beginning of the twentieth century American democracy was being renegotiated. During this time the United States witnessed unprecedented immigration, an increasing wealth gap, and waves of industrial violence which demanded that political, civil, and economic participation be reevaluated in light of the growing power of labor. During the industrial age, Colorado's labor movement was more radical and violent than that in the east, and workers in the American west fought not only for higher wages and workplace safety but to create a form of industrial democracy that represented their rights and values.

This thesis outlines how the labor question reached its most desperate point during the 1913-1914 Colorado Coalfield War. By examining the history of coal mining in southern Colorado and the 1913-1914 Colorado Coalfield War, I argue that the American democratic and economic system assured colliers and coal operators promises that were fundamentally incompatible with one another, and the commitment of each group to see its interests realized reached a splintering point, resulting in industrial warfare over the labor question as each side struggled to define what an industrial democracy would be. Where coal operators sought to increase their wealth through the creation of company empires promised to them by the free market system, miners strived for independence and economic stability.

In the aftermath of the war, John D. Rockefeller Jr. was forced to evaluate the realities of Industrial America. Rockefeller's company union plan was his solution to the labor question. The Rockefeller Plan became synonymous with industrial democracy, silencing the miners' struggle and vision. The 1913-1914 Colorado Coalfield War marks one of the most significant moments in the American labor movement and illustrates that the fundamental issue of the period was how labor and capital would be consolidated within the American democratic system, revealing the full tensions and meaning of the Industrial Age.

The Pope-burning of November 17th, 1677:

Public Political Display in Restoration London

Jackson Moore

This thesis uses the Pope-burning that occurred in London on November 17th, 1677, as a public political performance to analyze the cultural and political facets of Restoration London prior to the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis. This thesis provides an analysis of this specific Pope-burning that has been prior to glossed over in the historiography in favor of the larger ones during the Exclusion Crisis by using several unutilized sources and a few other Pope-burnings. This analysis shows a connection between the possible origins of this Pope-burning and the early stages of the Whig movement. By examining this seemingly strange event, from the political messaging to the involvement of cats, we can gain a better understanding of contemporary Londoners. By looking at some of the key events that were occurring in London in the decades prior, the anti-Catholic and xenophobic traditions present in England, and the pride of the City's independence are some of the topics that will be used to examine this event. Thereby providing a comprehensive understanding of this specific event in the greater context of the Restoration period.

The Tyranny of Taste:
An Exploration of American Fashion in the Mid-1800s

Graham Patterson

In mid-19th-century America, clothing served multiple roles. It symbolized racial superiority for the white elites by drawing on Western traditions, styles, and history to establish dominance. Clothing also reinforced highly defined gender roles, as women's attire compensated for men's more drab attire. However, most relevant to this paper is how clothing was used to divide social classes. This paper explores how fashion evolved during the decade before, during, and after the American Civil War, focusing on its role as a marker of social class. The period from the 1850s to the 1870s was tumultuous in American history, as abolitionists clashed with Southern enslavers in a struggle over American identity, all against the backdrop of expanding industrialization. Clothing served as a key player in this struggle, as it legitimized the authority of different ruling classes. The findings of this research are that elite Americans' monopoly over fashion, and tight control of who could wear what devolved as industrialization and modernization fundamentally changed how people interacted with clothing. Elites continued to use European court fashion to associate themselves with a hierarchical system, but new technology allowed more and more people to afford and take part in this industry. Men's fashion remained relatively stagnant during this time moving toward a more egalitarian style as industrialization lowered production, labor, and time costs.

In contrast, women's fashion changed enormously over the three decades. Women were often used as symbols by men to display wealth, as new developments in manufacturing, trade, and synthetic production allowed for more elaborate stylistic expression. As styles came and went the role of fashion publications, fashion patterns, and industrial manufacturing opened up elite styles to the lower classes. This transition began the decline of elite control over clothing. Because clothing is such a visual representation of class and social mentality, examining how people regulated their attire in the past provides a deeper understanding of history as a whole. To analyze these dynamics, this paper utilizes a combination of magazines, etiquette guides, and daguerreotypes to investigate how fashion during the three decades surrounding the Civil War evolved and reflected class hierarchies. It specifically examines how the American elite dressed

on the East Coast, with a primary focus on New York City and other major metropolitan centers of the era.

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“We are not makers of history.
We are made by history.”-
Martin Luther King Jr.

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