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Letter from an Editor

Dear Readers,

I selected the history major because I was decent at it in high school. For my first few semesters at CU Boulder, I was an alright student. I completed what was required of me, and nothing more. At that time I wasn't drifting aimlessly without direction, but I wasn't driven either. There was no real sense that what I was doing mattered beyond the next assignment. Joining The Colorado Historian changed that, forcing me to take history seriously in a way I hadn't before. Reading and editing other students' was demanding. You can't sit with someone else's argument, line by line, and not start to care. Somewhere in that process, the discipline of history became my calling.

Serving as Editor-in-Chief this year has been the most meaningful part of my time as an undergraduate. At the beginning of the year, we set ambitious recruitment goals and met them, bringing nine new members onto our editorial team. We also desired greater diversity in what this journal covers. We wanted it to reflect the fact that history ought not to be confined to one place or one perspective. I'm proud to say we did that. One piece on women's needlework in early America, for example, shows just how much history exists outside of what we typically think of as "important." It expands what we consider worthy of attention, and in doing so, it strengthens the field as a whole.

None of this would have been possible without our editorial board, and especially Jo Axel, our Managing Editor, who has been sharp and reliable from start to finish. I have full confidence in Jo as they step into the Editor-in-Chief role next year. The journal is in good hands. I also want to thank our faculty advisor, Dr. Honor Sachs, whose guidance has been invaluable throughout this process. Her feedback (especially the discipline of omitting needless words) has made this journal stronger on every page. And on a more practical note, she graciously allowed me to visit her HIST 1015 survey course, where I was able to recruit two excellent new members to our editorial team.

This year also comes at an interesting moment, as the United States celebrates its 250th birthday. For two and a half centuries, this country has held together through many challenges. The American story is not perfect, but it is enduring. There are ideas and institutions that have lasted because generations chose to defend them and argue over them. Looking back across that history, I feel a real sense of pride in my country and a respect for what it takes to build something that lasts.

That's something I didn't understand when I first got to college as an individual without much direction. But now, I have a clear sense of who I am and what I want to do. History is now something I care about and intend to pursue, especially in the study of American history and its political traditions. I'm not leaving just yet, and I look forward to continuing my involvement with the journal next year as Editor-in-Chief Emerita. But this role, this year, has given me a sense of purpose that I didn't have before. It has been an honor to serve.

Best,

Ella Reese Madden

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"Stitching Status: The Gender, Labor, and Hierarchy Behind Colonial Boston's Material Education"

Abigail Kilgore

New England readers of the subscription newspaper *The Boston Evening-Post* would not have been shocked to see an advertisement section included in their March 26, 1753 paper. Nor would they have been shocked to see an advertisement placed by one of the many "she-merchants" of colonial Boston. What would have caught their eye, however, was the ad's unusually comprehensive list of services and materials that could be found within the walls of she-merchant Elizabeth Murray's shop on Cornhill Street in Boston. While advertisements for imported goods were common, few she-merchants combined the promise of a genteel education with the sale of luxury materials as explicitly as Murray did. In the ad itself, Murray detailed her teaching abilities in various needlecrafts as well as her willingness to take young ladies for boarding. The ad then described the various threads, fabrics, and adornments that the public could purchase from her storefront.[1] In describing the fine materials in her store, Murray not only emphasized her direct commercial connections to London, but also signaled the types of patrons and boarders she was looking to be connected with. Taken together, the contents of this March 1753 advertisement clearly lay out the hierarchy of colonial Boston's consumer economy and gendered nature of pictorial embroidery.

Elizabeth Murray's Boston boarding school reflects the continuation of English gendered educational traditions in colonial New England, particularly in its emphasis on pictorial embroidery for young women. To establish the gendered nature of pictorial embroidery at Elizabeth Murray's Boston boarding school, viewers need not look further than the words "young ladies." Here, Murray's advertisement makes it clear that girls and women are the only people allowed to attend her school and board inside her home. This gender requirement follows centuries of historical precedent. As English citizens, Bostonians would have been well aware of the educational practice of "placing out." Beginning in the fifteenth century, the "placing out" system functioned as a transitional form of education in which young girls lived within the households of wealthier families to perform domestic services in exchange for practical training in needlework, housekeeping, and other feminine skills.[2] While young boys were also "placed out," their roles typically involved outdoor agricultural work or apprenticeships in skilled trades that would prepare them for wage-earning futures. In contrast, girls remained within the domestic sphere, where their labor reinforced expectations of modesty, diligence, and domestic competency.[3] Given this longstanding division, it is reasonable to assume that the emphasis on needlework in the English "placing out" system was carried into the boarding school model that later emerged in New England during the early eighteenth century.

Elizabeth Murray's restriction of boarding and educating "young ladies" also aligns with traditional societal expectations of the period. The societal expectations of eighteenth-century Boston were deeply rooted in the city's religious founding, which emphasized a woman's role in continuous domestic pursuits over all else. Puritan ideology associated industriousness with godliness, which was especially true for women, whose character was believed to be shaped through their mastery of household labor. Domestic tasks like weaving, spinning, and needlecrafts illustrated a woman's ability to complete the central duties that a marriage and family would require of her.[4] In particular, needlework carried symbolic moral weight as pictorial embroideries represented refinement and gentility to viewers. On top of this, women's material production offered an antidote to idleness, a trait that was looked down upon in colonial Boston.[5] Promi-

[1] Elizabeth Murray, advertisement, *Boston Evening-Post*, March 5, 1753, American Antiquarian Society (Worcester, MA).

[2] Dorothy Gardiner, *English Girlhood at School: A Study of Women's Education through Twelve Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), 114-29.

[3] Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers & Pictorial Needlework, 1650-1850* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 12-16.

[4] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of the American Myth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), 29.

[5] Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun*, 148.

nent New England families could invest in a boarding school education to demonstrate that their daughters possessed both the skills required for marriage and the accomplishments that would keep them from idleness. Taken alongside the historical precedent, it is clear that Elizabeth Murray only advertised her boarding school to girls because of the exclusively gendered nature of women's material production.

Murray's advertisement first emphasizes the hierarchical nature of women's pictorial embroidery with the line, "ladies to board or half board at a very reasonable rate." In the early eighteenth century, traditional schooling in the neighboring town of Lexington cost a family "3 pence per scholar per week."[6] While prices like 3 pence per week might have been reasonable to most people, it is not what Murray's pupils paid while they attended her school. According to the Trumbull family, who sent their daughter Faith to board with Murray in 1753, they paid the she-merchant upwards of sixty pounds throughout Faith's boarding period. These costs included both tuition and the materials required to make Faith's embroidery projects.[7] In addition to Faith's costs, the family then sent their youngest daughter, Mary, to board with Murray in 1754.[8] While there is no surviving record of what tuition and fees looked like while both girls resided with Murray, it is reasonable to assume the cost would have gone up dramatically, perhaps even doubling, as the Trumbull's expected both daughters to produce embroidery that would display the family's refinement.

In colonial Boston, only a small portion of the population would have been able to afford sending their daughters to boarding schools like Elizabeth Murray's. The families who were connected to these institutions were typically members of the mercantile elite or the upper-middle ranks of their town's commercial economy. This was true for the three girls known to have attended Murray's school. Faith and Mary Trumbull came from a highly connected Connecticut family. Their father, Jonathan, was heavily involved in trade and in the colony's political sphere, ultimately becoming the Governor of Connecticut.[9] The family's geographic ties to Connecticut created another financial burden. The Trumbulls not only paid for their daughters' boarding and supplies, but also the cost of transportation to get them to and from Boston. Sarah Henshaw, another one of Murray's pupils, was also a well-connected young girl. Her father, Joshua Henshaw, was a successful merchant who served Boston as both a magistrate and town committee member.[10] These girls and their families represented a carefully defined social tier where wealth and connections made an education like the one gained at Murray's boarding school possible and meaningful.

Unlike the low-cost town schools such as the one from Lexington, Murray's combination of boarding fees and required purchases of her imported materials placed her school firmly out of reach for laborers, artisans, apprentices, and the city's working poor.[11] However, for elite families, paying these fees was more than an education expense, it was a social strategy. Sending a daughter to a prestigious school signaled that a household possessed both the financial means and cultural ambitions associated with gentility. This is visually represented by some of the pieces created at boarding schools around Boston, specifically coats of arms. One such coat of arms was stitched by Sarah Henshaw, a student of Murray. While her needlework looked like a traditional coat of arms, it did not include basic elements of style like names or mottos.[12] This likely means that her family was actually not entitled to bear arms, but that she created the piece to display the wealth and prominence of her family. In this sense, Murray's school functioned as a site where wealth, gender, and societal aspirations came together, shaping which young women had access to the kinds of needlework instruction that symbolized refinement in eighteenth-century Boston.

The materials listed in Murray's advertise-

[6] Elisabeth Anthony Dexter, *Colonial Women of Affairs: Women in Business and the Professions in America Before 1776*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1972), 81.
[7] Patricia Cleary and Elizabeth Murray, *Elizabeth Murray: A Woman's Pursuit of Independence in Eighteenth-Century America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 64.
[8] Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 54-58.
[9] Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 54-58.
[10] Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 56, 68.
[11] Dexter, *Colonial Women*, 81.
[12] Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 60-75.

ment also reveal the hierarchical nature of her shop and boarding school through their explicit connection to London. In colonial Boston, London stood at the center of fashion, taste, and economic power. Goods imported from the city carried cultural weight beyond their practical use.[13] According to her advertisement, Murray's inventory included fine silk, muslin for dresden, and gauze in various shades, as well as gold and silver gymp. In addition, she sold other millinery goods like lace, ribbons and ornamental trimmings.[14] These things all would have been recognized by *Boston Evening-Post* readers as markers of refinement due to their metropolitan origins. By emphasizing her store's London connections, Murray signaled that her shop catered to families who had the means to pay for luxury materials and were hoping to align themselves with the fashions and social expectations of the metropole.

Elizabeth Murray's ability to attract upper-class clientele was rooted not only in the materials she sold, but also in her own direct connections to the metropole. While originally from Scotland, Murray spent quite a few years in her young adult life in London. Living with her older brother James and his new wife, Murray learned the basics of transatlantic commerce.[15] Upon moving to the colonies with her brother, Murray decided to open her own shop and regularly got business advice and lines of credit from James.[16] With her own connections in the city, Murray could employ correspondents like Anne Elliot to select her wares for her. When she wanted to be more involved in the choosing of her products, Murray could simply go to London herself and select what she believed would "suit the Boston market very well."[17] Furthermore, the lines of credit offered to her by her brother allowed Murray to buy finer goods than what she may have been able to purchase on her own. These goods distinguished her as a merchant who traded in refinement rather than necessity. Such a distinction mattered because her elite clientele in Boston sought to demonstrate their gentility through participation in imperial consumer culture. In this way, her personal commercial network reinforced the exclusivity of her clientele and firmly situated her business within the hierarchy of Boston's consumer economy.

Murray's 1753 advertisement also makes the hierarchical nature of material production in Boston visible through the specific items she offered for sale. The advertisement lists luxury goods that were far removed from the coarse, utilitarian textiles used in ordinary household objects. These were items that required significant skill to work with and were intended for decorative needlework rather than basic mending or garment construction.[18] Take the muslin she offered for dresden as an example. Dresden was a style of embroidery that utilized stitching threads to pull the backing fabric into a design. If students were too rough on the muslin, or were not precise with their stitches, their projects would be ruined, making the purchase of all the materials involved useless.[19] By having these items in her shop, Murray demonstrated that her business was for those engaging in refined forms of needlework, projects that signaled leisure, education, and social position. Her inventory therefore served as a material marker of social rank, revealing how certain types of needlework, and the supplies required to complete them, belonged primarily to the city's wealthier households.

Elizabeth Murray's shop, and its surviving advertisement, demonstrate how deeply colonial Boston's material culture was shaped by interconnected hierarchies of gender, class, and empires. Her boarding school for "young ladies" reflects the continuation of English gendered educational traditions, while its high cost and rich clientele reveal how access to such instruction was limited to the colony's social elite. At the same time, the fine textiles, fashionable trims, and luxury threads she sold positioned Murray as a respected intermediary between the metropole and New England's wealthiest households. By tracing the origins, quality, and symbolism of the goods she sold,

[13] Cleary, *Elizabeth Murray*, 65-67.
[14] Murray, advertisement, *Boston Evening-Post*, March 5, 1753.
[15] Cleary, *Elizabeth Murray*, 17-24, 34.
[16] Cleary, *Elizabeth Murray*, 66-68.
[17] Cleary, *Elizabeth Murray*, 66.
[18] Cleary, *Elizabeth Murray*, 64-67.
[19] Cleary, *Elizabeth Murray*, 58.

the city's distinctions of class, gender, and cultural authority can be better understood. Ultimately, Murray's business reveals how consumption, gender, and empire intersected in everyday spaces, making her shop a small, but telling, example of the broader inequalities embedded in colonial society.

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"Freedom or a Gilded Cage"

Hailey Nagel

Introduction

The treatment of gender and women in Ireland has been correlated with vast religious, national, and cultural identities. *Roisin Dubh*, originally a seventeenth century love song, was redefined as a nationalist anthem by the eighteenth century. The song then transformed into a metaphor for the country of Ireland by the nineteenth century's cultural and political revivals, most notably in the Gaelic Revival.[1] Throughout the song, Roisin develops from a woman into a symbol of the Irish public under British imperial rule, memorialized yet struggling, remembered fondly and yet reliant on male brute and protection. This metaphorical image of womanhood pushed women into a morally idealized role, demeaning their place in society in both a political and social sphere. The female figure is depicted as docile, voiceless and stunning. This reflects Catholic idealism of womanhood as submissive and silent, while strengthening a patriarchal perspective that limits women to only the domestic domain.

Thus, *Roisin Dubh* personifies the principle contradiction of nineteenth century Irish culture: obstruction of women's access to social and political autonomy while concurrently idealizing the likeness of a woman. By assessing the song through a historical perspective, this essay depicts how political and social life in Ireland was directly proportional to the discrimination of women's roles. Women's limited positions restricted material and financial capital, and further strained national development by excluding half of the population from universal living. This marginalization is reflected in a multitude of historical events, such as the Easter Rising of ninety sixteen. In this instance women's efforts to help, including within the realm of Cumann na mBah's female branch, were disregarded, undervalued, and rarely created political rights nor enduring autonomy.

[1] "Roisin Dubh," *Irish Folk Songs*, accessed December 9, 2025, https://www.irish-folk-songs.com/roisin-dubh-lyrics.html#google_vignette.

Implications of the Work

Beginning in the eighteenth century, Irish women were situated within a social hierarchy that prioritized allegorical importance over personal influence. Nationalist movements often used female symbols or figures, including Kathleen Ni Houlihan, to embody the nation; illustrating women as compliant victims whose predicament motivates male valor.[2] The adoption of *Roisin Dubh* as a nationalist song epitomizes the theme of a mournful, idealized woman whose defining character trait is dependency on male saviors. Therefore this mirrors a cultural norm in which women are expected to focus on the political and moral desires of the nation while maintaining zero independent jurisdiction. During the nineteenth century, British colonial rule vastly undermined women's roles. The Gaelic Revival, which attempted to revive Irish literature, music, and language, also incorporated women symbolically while limiting their material influence. The song's inclusion in nationalist groupings and taverns opened the scope of illiterate individuals' ability to convey patriotic belief, and yet continued to reinforce the invisibility of actual women in political debates. By illustrating the nation as a woman requiring external preservation, Roisin Dubh standardized the image of women as pliant receivers of male-centered action.

Religious centers were critical to upholding sexist gender hierarchies of eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century Ireland. Catholicism promoted domesticity and purity, most clearly through moral instruction, education and social idealism of marriage as the most significant female achievement.[3] In line with previous marginalization, women were vastly excluded from leadership positions within the Church. For instance, the first ordination of women in the Church of Ireland did not happen till ninety-ninety, which was

[2] Laura Lyons, "Feminist Articulations of the Nation: The 'Dirty' Women of Armagh and the Discourse of Mother Ireland," *Journal of Irish Studies* 24, (1996): 110-122.
[3] Eilis Kiely, "Pre-Baby Boom Women's Attitudes and Responses to Second Wave Feminism in Ireland," *Women's Studies Forum* 46 (2014): 1-4, 7.

only thirty five years ago. Simply put, these religious structures supported the enforced inferiority of women and ensured that symbolic renditions of women were indicative of current social restraints, rather than artistic thought.

Importance of Roisin Dubh

Roisin Dubh, often translated to "Little Dark Rose" or "Dark Rosaleen," was originally noted as a love song named after Rosin Dubh Ni Neill, daughter of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, who was betrothed to Red Hugh O'Donnell. Due to a lack of childbearing and unprecedented occurrences, the couple separated, and Rosin became seen as a "type of Ireland," and the muse of many Tyrconnellian works. On the surface, the song is seemingly a love song, with the speaker conveying longing, devotion, and resentment towards Roisin. Phrases (translated to English for the sake of comprehension) such as, "You have driven me mad, fickle girl – may it do you no good!/ My soul is in thrall, not just yesterday nor today," showcase the woman as emotionally powerful yet morally ambiguous. Roisin is adored and yet denounced to the speaker's desires, as she is minimized into lacking autonomy separate from male action. The song was created during the Nine Years' War, with the underlying theme of the song being quite patriotic and clearly hiding the nationalistic sentiment through allegories, likely due to British censorship. The song's allegory that depicts a woman transforming into an embodiment of the Irish nation further encapsulates the patriotism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This can be seen in the lines; "The ocean will be all red waves, the sky all blood,/ Every mountain and bog in Ireland will shake/ One day, before she shall perish, my Roisin Dubh."[4] Here, the utilization of written personal devotion as nationalistic symbolism is palpable, and Ireland becomes depicted as a woman under terror from colonial forces. Hencefore, Rosin is regaled as a metaphor for Ireland: endangered, captivating, and reliant on male forces for salvation and protection. The lyrical prevalence of male autonomy in conquest and homeland security reflects the barring of women from military and actual political prowess, as mentioned by Lyons and Kiely.[5] The song fundamentally acts as a contradiction of the typical Irish cultural depiction, as women are central to national identity, and yet this importance is undermined by their sexist exclusion from power. The inequalities depicted by *Roisin Dubh* are far from the song's supposed original meaning, nonetheless, they present the strongest argument for the disproportionate hardships women faced, as all roads led to the same conviction: women were meant to be symbols, not true equals.

Roisin Dubh functions on many levels: as a nationalist symbol, a channel of cultural recollection, and a mirror of gendered beliefs.[6] The song preserves many facets of Irish identity in a time of colonial suppression, with the elusive resistance of lost culture recognition. Despite this, the allegorical woman embodies the ideals of domestic steadfastness and passivity, supporting the confinement of women into private realms. In a nutshell, transforming a love song into a political symbol showcases the importance of art, specifically within the sphere of resistance and augmentation of male indulgent principles. This dichotomy stresses the fragility of the Irish state's political and national autonomy; symbolic female identification was praised, while real women's labor, agency, and voices were crushed to maintain national culture.

Laura Lyon's work on the ninety-eighty Armagh Prison protest exemplifies the disparity between material and symbolic femininity.[7] Republican women incarcerated during the Troubles exemplified a traditional form of protesting, using their bodily waste and bodies to resist the annulment of political status. Most specifically, the use of hunger strikes in Irish prisons to accomplish political goals, similar to the suffragettes in England and the United States, was imperative to written governmental revisions. By displaying the female body as a method of political measure, the prisoners tested the religious and societal

[4] "Roisin Dubh."

[5] Lyons, "Feminist Articulations of the Nation," 113; Kiely, "Pre-Baby Boom Women's Attitudes," 3.
[6] "Roisin Dubh."
[7] Lyons, "Feminist Articulations of the Nation," 110.

expectations of women. Further, this display distorted the vision of a perfect wife and mother into one of great strength and defiance. Lyons accentuates that these women's behavior undermined the allegorical ideal of docile femininity, written in *Roisin Dubh*. The Armagh women directly contrast the victimized female character of nationalistic song. These women obtained agency via confrontation with state power, and campaigned using portions of their bodies that had been silenced and controlled. Their protests emulate a prominent historical pattern in Ireland in which women were forced to assert social and political influence through physical, disruptive action, when formal autonomy was denied. In this context, women's bodies became the main means of political recognition, revealing that when women were excluded from power, womanhood itself was reduced to the body.

Eibhear Cullingford unpacks how Irish media and culture depicted the punishments of idealized femininity. Sinead O'Connor's public facade of a shaved head, rejection of sexist norms, and clear disgust of Catholicism, clashed with the cultural ideals of women in the late twentieth century.[8] O'Connor's behavior showcased the social anxieties invoked when women strive to participate with their supposed autonomy in public settings dominated by men. Similarly, Neil Jordan's inclusion of *The Butcher Boy* depicts how women constrained by rigid expectations face the subsequent psychological and societal weight of unjust ideals. Both works demonstrate how deeply intertwined cultural ideals of femininity were in Irish society, and that these conformities of domestic and moral perfection endured far past the nationalist period *Roisin Dubh* was created in. Evidently, the tensions between material reality and idealized femininity was preserved across centuries, impacting both the lived experiences and outlook of Irish women.

Kiely's focus on pre-baby boom women further indicated how traditional gender roles limited women's autonomy in Ireland. Socialized into piety, moral obligations, and home life gifted by the passive woman of *Roisin Dubh's* origins, many women were presumed to denounce educational and career aspirations to prioritize their families. However, disclosure of second wave feminism created selective noncompliance. Select groups expanded to clerical work, teaching, and involvement in local organizations, which created pockets of agency within a limited social framework. Keily highlights how generational circumstances and exposures alter interaction with reshaping norms. Women who lived in postwar economic limitations and rigid religious authority often internalized expectations, despite their behavior showcasing subtle tactics of negotiation. For instance, involvement in voluntary organizations or non-regulated political spheres permitted women to influence social life without dangerously crossing societal boundaries nor testing patriarchal dominance.[9] Even in moments of clear political disruption, women's engagement was often demeaned to support rather than a central role, once again demonstrating the limits placed on formal authority for women. Regardless of the impacts of women's influence in the political and social spheres, the decision was evident: no matter how prevalent women were to society, the importance of male superiority was too critical to displace. Women were to be seen, not heard, and the refusal to overturn such norms only further emphasizes the absurdity of their existence, even in such advantageous times.

Conclusion

Roisin Dubh epitomizes the historical pattern of symbolizing Ireland as a morally idealized and pliant woman, demonstrating both deeply entrenched gender hierarchies and nationalistic desires. Lyons, Cullingford and Kiely displayed how women, through cultural critique, bodily opposition, and generational intercession, ultimately questioned these limitations and unveiled the restrictions of symbolic femininity.[10] The historical rejection of women from power in the economic, religious, and political spheres constrained

[8] Elizabeth Cullingford, "Virgins and Mothers: Sinead O'Connor, Neil Jordan and *The Butcher Boy*," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 15 (Spring 2002): 123-145.

[9] Kiely, "Pre-Baby Boom Women's Attitudes," 4.

[10] Lyons, "Feminist Articulations of the Nation," 130; Cullingford, "Virgins and Mothers," 130; Kiely, "Pre-Baby Boom Women's Attitudes," 8.

the already limited personal autonomy of individuals, reinforcing patriarchal control and, in turn, confining Ireland's broader national autonomy. Both material and metaphorical femininity, while aligned, created comparatively separate actualities. Paradoxically, despite women being celebrated as national allegories, they were denied acknowledgement and acceptance as influential figures in political, social, and public life. The fragility of Ireland's political and social structure limited the possibilities of separation from the systemic marginalization of women.

Ultimately, examining *Roisin Dubh* within the context of historical analysis and scholarship reveals that unbalanced gender relations were not just purely moral or social establishments, but crucial to governance and national identity. The symbolic woman, idealized yet meek, represents both Ireland's political restrictions and cultural durability. The enduring separation between lived experiences and figurative ideals captures the persisting implications of gender inequality in Irish society. Therefore, recognizing the hidden historical legacies of women is fundamental in fully comprehending the nation's identity and autonomy. Without the contributions of women, modern-day Ireland would cease to exist as it is known today, and that significance should not be undermined. Women's impact in society is something to be celebrated rather than demeaned, and the acknowledgement of their leadership, resilience, and work is critical to digesting the nation's identity, culture, and history.

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"Echoes of Empire: Why the Comanche Faded, and the Mongols Endured"

Walker Maze

Nomadic horse cultures have an important and storied place in the history of humankind. These tribes have consistently risen from humble origins and rivaled even the most powerful of their sedentary counterparts. The most recent, and perhaps final example of these cultures humankind will see comes from the American Great Plains, where many tribes competed for dominance following the reintroduction of horses to the Americas in the 16th century. This period, lasting until the late 19th century, marks a drastic shift in indigenous lifestyles from the agrarian and foot nomadic hunter-gatherer cultures of the centuries before, to mostly equestrian nomadic, almost pastoral societies. This rapid change created a turbulent environment in which many empires rose, fell, and were replaced by others in the span of only a few hundred years.

One of the most dominant and famous tribes from this era was the Comanche. Originally an offshoot of the Shoshone people in Wyoming, the Comanche migrated south around the 16th century.[1] They adapted many of the equestrian practices of the Utes and moved onwards to the Southern Great Plains, displacing and almost annihilating the Apache in the process. For decades, the Comanche often worked in tandem with the Utes as they clashed with the Apache over control of river valleys, able to win due to their adoption of a more mobile societal structure.[2] They quickly came to be known as some of the greatest horse riders the world had ever seen. George Catlin, on the First Dragoon Expedition in 1834, said of them, "I am ready, without hesitation, to pronounce the Camanchees the most extraordinary horsemen that I have seen yet in all my travels, and I doubt very much whether any people in the world can surpass them."[3] The Comanche came to dominate the Southern Great Plains as an empire that spanned several US states, with cattle and horse raids delving deep into Mexico. Their raids were so powerful and devastating that they were "turning much of northern Mexico into an exploited and fragmented raiding hinterland."[4] These raids have also been attributed to the beginning of the Mexican-American War.[5] In examining the Comanche, their success is evident. Despite this, the Comanche would go from dominance of the Southern Plains in the early 19th century to being confined on a reservation less than a century later, their way of life crippled. Three major destabilizing factors can be attributed to this collapse: less adapted horses, a destabilized ecosystem, and a multifactorial economy that couldn't sustain its own growth. This paper will look at a similar society, the Mongol Empire, in an effort to make these reasons for the Comanche downfall more apparent.

A vast grassland to the north of modern-day China and a subregion of the Eurasian Steppe, the Eastern Steppe stretches all the way to Europe. The Eastern Steppe has a long history of nomadic conglomeration, with one of the first large-scale recorded examples of this coming with the Xiongnu in the 3rd century BC, as they united to fight for centuries against the imperialist Chinese Han Dynasty.[6] This trend of unified nomadic tribes has continued in the region for millennia. The Mongols arose in the 12th and 13th centuries not due to a looming imperial threat, but because of the efforts of one man. Temujin, known by his title of Chinggis Khan, or "Universal Ruler," took the many divided tribes of the Mongols, united them under one body, and by his death was able to bring them as far west as Poland, with control

[1] Pekka Hämäläinen, "The Politics of Grass: European Expansion, Ecological Change, and Indigenous Power in the Southwest Borderlands," *William & Mary Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (2010): 177–178.
[2] Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (Yale University Press, 2008), 24-32.
[3] George Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, With Letters and Notes Written During Eight Years of Travel and Adventure Among the Wildest and Most Remarkable Tribes Now Existing, Vol. 2* (H.G. Bohn, 1866), 99.
[4] Pekka Hämäläinen, "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures," *Journal of American History* 90, no. 3 (2003): 833.
[5] Brian Delay, "Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War," *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 1 (2007): 35–68.
[6] Valerie Hansen, *The Open Empire: A History of China to 1600* (W.W. Norton & Company, 2015), 109.

over most of Asia and parts of Eastern Europe. Despite his death in 1227 AD, his empire would live on, albeit fractured, for centuries, in the form of khanates such as the Russian Golden Horde and the Chinese Yuan Dynasty. The Mongols were well known for their horsemanship, with horse archers being a staple of their military, and allowing them to use speed to rapidly conquer.[7] In fact, Mongols have been described as an "ethnic group on horseback."[8]

The Mongol conquest provided a great boon to trade in Eurasia, with their highest income coming from taxes on trade and tribute collected from their many conquered cities.[9] Aside from making money off of these taxes and tributes, the Mongols had a lucrative market for sable fur, a large rodent native to the Eastern Steppe. This fur was used to make luxury clothing items, and was popular even in Western Europe.[10] While the Mongol conquest was a time of terror and death for many, what followed was a period of increased trade and prosperity, often referred to as the "Pax Mongolica" as a way to compare it to the peace and trade under the Roman Empire.[11] Their control allowed them to keep roads safer, utilizing military dominance to discourage bandits. Bringing so many cultures and states together under one rule, and later a handful of rules by Chinggis Khan's progenies, encouraged trade along the Silk Road. They ultimately connected Europe and Asia in ways that had never been done before, and have not been done since. The Mongols were able to rise from weak, divided tribes in the corner of the continent into one of the most fearsome, massive empires the world has ever known.

In order to properly draw comparisons between these two societies, their similarities must first be laid out clearly. After all, these two societies lived in entirely different times on opposite ends of the globe. Despite their geographical and chronological separation, the two groups lived in relatively similar conditions.[12] The Mongols were based out of the Eastern Steppe, while the Comanche operated out of the Southern Great Plains, also a vast grassland, and a part of the American Great Plains. Likely due to their similar environments, both living in grasslands with harsh temperatures, their societies developed similarly. Before the reintroduction of horses to North America, native tribes subsisted primarily through farming and hunting. While some were nomadic, it was on foot, and thus with a far lower range.[13] Once horses spread throughout the continent, introduced by the Spanish in the 16th century, many tribes adopted horses into their lives. The Comanche, being one of them, rapidly evolved into nomadic peoples known for their horsemanship. The Mongols likewise had a strong association with horses. Their conquering armies utilized horses to a great extent, and Mongol horses are famous for their endurance. They also maintained a nomadic lifestyle. Outside of similar environments and a shared nomadism, the Comanche and Mongols shared a strong emphasis on luxury goods trade to bolster their economy. The Comanche traded buffalo robes to European and American traders, while the Mongols traded pelts of the sable with people all along the Silk Road.[14] These luxury good markets meant that both societies had extremely trade-dependent economies. Another factor is the imperial presence they both dealt with. For the Mongols, it was the Chinese Song Dynasty to their south, while the Comanche dealt with the ever-expanding United States to their east. Despite their similarities, the early-19th century Comanche were unable to sustain their empire like the 13th century Mongols did, likely due to the recency of the horse's introduction to their society.

Comanche horses were hardy, but still not particularly evolved to thrive in the American Plains. They were well adapted to "survive in desert condi-

[7] Hansen, *The Open Empire*, 315.
[8] Haige Han, et al., "Selection signatures for local and regional adaptation in Chinese Mongolian horse breeds reveal candidate genes for hoof health," *BMC Genomics* 24, no. 35 (2023): 2.
[9] Dashzeveg Oyuntsetseg, Suvdmaa Tuul, and Lagnai Tuvshintur, "Tax Policy of the Mongol Empire (1206-1405)," *Mongolian Diaspora. Journal of Mongolian History and Culture* 2, no. 2 (2022): 89-108.
[10] Janet Martin, "The Land of Darkness and the Golden Horde: The fur trade under the Mongols, XIIIrd-XIVth centuries," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 19, no. 4 (1978): 401-421.
[11] Prajakti Kalra, "Pax Mongolica: Trade and Traders in the Mongol Empire," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History,* 19 Nov. 2020.
[12] David Moon, "The Grasslands of North America and Northern Eurasia," in *A Companion to Global Environmental History*, ed. J.R. McNeill and E.S. Mauldin (John Wiley & Sons, 2025), 261.
[13] Pekka Hämäläinen, "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures," 833.
[14] Martin, "The Land of Darkness and the Golden Horde," 401-421.

tions, to live entirely off grass, and to cover enormous distances between water sources."[15] While the horses thrived in the summer and in the lower reaches of the Comanche territory, they weren't well equipped to survive the harsh winters. This meant that the Comanche's lives, especially in the winter, revolved around their horses. This usually resulted in the Comanche and their neighboring tribes using river valleys for shelter in the winter, a major reason they initially clashed with the Apache. Many plants could still be found, but lost much of their nutritional value, so "supplements of willow (Salix spp.) and cottonwood (Populus deltoides) bark and twigs were essential."[16] The need for specific food to fulfil their horses' dietary needs forced them to stay in one area for part of the year. The Comanche's horses simply weren't adapted to the harsh winters and couldn't survive at a sustainable rate without extra sustenance. This limited their mobility during the winter. The Comanche were unable to conduct raids or travel far to trade, and as a society that rose due to their transition to mobile raiding and trading, this was a problem. The Comanche were able to find safe havens, such as the Big Timbers on the Arkansas River, which allowed them to take refuge in the same places every year, better establishing their routine.[17] However, this routine made them more predictable during the winter, and United States Army tactics against the Comanche in the 1870s often involved exploiting these critical vulnerabilities, such as attacking winter camps.[18] In doing so, the United States was able to cripple the Comanche much more easily. One of the greatest strengths of a mobile force is its maneuverability, and the Comanche's need to stay around the rivers greatly reduced their ability to maneuver for part of the year. The horses that gave them their strength limited them every year and eventually created a weakness to be exploited.

In the case of the Mongols, horses were adapted to the Eastern Steppe, and thus not reliant upon river valleys, allowing their riders to maintain their mobility in the winter. A study of Mongol horses shows that "horses in Inner Mongolia have adapted to harsh environments, grazing year-round without supplemental feeding even when the ground is covered with snow and experiencing temperatures below −40 °C in severe winters."[19] The horses of the Eastern Steppe were perfectly suited to their environment and adapted to not need any sort of supplementary food. The Mongols still migrated during the winters, but did not have to focus so much on finding food for their mounts, only moving their livestock to winter pastures. This allowed them to be more flexible in their movements, making them less predictable to their enemies, and gave them one less limitation to worry about. As a nomadic group, they were more effective due to their longer tradition of equestrian nomadism.

The major food source for Comanche horses, especially in the summer, was grass. While the Great Plains are a vast grassland, they aren't infinite, and can only support so many animals at one time. Comanche horses competed directly with the Comanche's most important food and trade resource, the buffalo. Both animals primarily subsist on grass, and with the horse being a new introduction to the area, the food chain was disrupted.[20] As the Comanche grew in size and power, so too did their horse population, and they had to displace the buffalo for their horses to have adequate grassland. The Comanche couldn't simply do away with horses to keep buffalo numbers up because it was horses that allowed them to efficiently hunt the buffalo in the first place. Without horses, the Comanche were incapable of hunting buffalo on a scale large enough to support the robe trade. This competition didn't exist for the Mongols. Their luxury goods came from the comparatively small sable, which did not compete with their horses or livestock for grassland. While their food sources, mostly sheep, ate grass, they were controlled herds rather than wild populations, meaning that their ecosystem was more balanced and streamlined to support them. They could maintain both their herds

[15] Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 29.
[16] Peter Mitchell, *Horse Nations: The Worldwide Impact of the Horse on Indigenous Societies Post-1492* (Oxford University Press, 2015), ProQuest Ebook Central.
[17] Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 37.
[18] Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 333.
[19] Han et al., "Selection signatures for local and regional adaptation in Chinese Mongolian horse breeds reveal candidate genes for hoof health."
[20] Hämäläinen, "The Politics of Grass," 173–208.

and their trade markets without losing their ability to feed themselves. The Comanche, on the other hand, trapped themselves in a cycle. They needed to hunt more buffalo to support the growing market for buffalo robes. To do so, they needed to keep more horses to hunt the buffalo. To support their high number of horses, more grassland was needed. As the buffalo population began to collapse due to a lack of grazing grounds, the Comanche buffalo robe trade began to falter, which was a huge part of their economy.

The Comanche economy was unable to sustain itself due to its split nature. It was stuck between a trade economy and a subsistence economy due to the relative recency of horses within their society. While hunting buffalo was common long before the reintroduction of horses,[21] with native peoples creatively hunting them on foot, the scale of it was drastically increased in this time period. The Comanche no longer had to follow the buffalo on foot, and thus had a much easier time hunting them. The Comanche never fully moved away from buffalo as their primary food source, but they now used buffalo in trade as well.[22] However, more buffalo were needed for trade than for subsistence. Buffalo robes, the primary luxury trade goods obtained from buffalo, were in high demand in the 1800s, and frequently traded to white Anglo-Americans.[23] The Comanche were some of the largest suppliers in this market, and began hunting more buffalo than were needed to sustain themselves. This resulted in population decline and became a major issue for the Comanche, who still relied upon the buffalo as a primary food source. Their growing empire and flourishing trade were their own downfall and actively undermined the stability of their society. As a result of its split nature, neither side of the economy could be particularly streamlined. While it can and has been argued that the Comanche had begun to remedy this issue by relying more on their cattle and allowing the population to recuperate between hunts by the late 19th century, this followed a great reduction in their population, and they acted too late.[24] In the 1870's, white buffalo hunters, seeking to make money by collecting their own buffalo hides, went out onto the plains and wiped out what remained of the once-abundant population, leaving behind the rotting carcasses.[25] The economic loss alone could have been crippling enough to doom the Comanche, but the blow to their morale and sense of lifestyle may have been greater. As aforementioned, the Comanche had already begun relying more on cattle for food, and likely could have transitioned entirely to surviving off of cattle. They could have utilized their vast herds of raided horses to supplement their economy and pivoted to a fully pastoral society. The damage, however, was more than purely economic, as "the wholesale slaughter shook their existence at its core."[26] Native peoples across the Great Plains felt the pain that came with the loss of the buffalo, with the Comanche being one of many.[27] As stated by Plenty-Coups, a Crow chief at the time of the buffalos' destruction, "When the buffalo went away the hearts of my people fell to the ground, and they could not lift them up again. After this nothing happened."[28] The destruction of the buffalo came with the destruction of their way of life, and a huge part of the world as they knew it.

One could argue that the Mongols, who had a similarly split economy, show that such an economy didn't lead to the Comanche downfall. After all, the Mongols generally maintained their lifestyle as nomadic herdsmen even after conquering much of Eurasia and putting much focus on trade. While split between trade and their livestock, the Mongols had a system that simply fit together better. They relied on livestock like sheep, goats, and cattle for their food, along with hunting game animals. Their luxury goods trade was based upon sable fur.[29] The sable wasn't a key piece of the Mongol diet like the buffalo was to the Comanche. Thus, their luxury goods were entirely separate from their food supply, and efforts to in-

[21] Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 22.
[22] Hämäläinen, "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures," 833.
[23] Thomas James, *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans* (Dayton Memorial Library at Regis University, 2009), 206.
[24] Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 329.
[25] Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 337.
[26] Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 337.
[27] Frank B. Linderman, *Pretty-shield: Medicine Woman of the Crows* (Harper Collins, 2021), 166.
[28] Linderman, *Pretty-shield*, 166.
[29] Martin, "The Land of Darkness and the Golden Horde," 401-421.

crease trade wouldn't undermine their ability to feed themselves. In addition, their balanced ecosystem ensured that they would be able to sustain their economy. Their ecosystem was already equipped to sustain livestock and sable, and no stimulus to the Mongols' environment tipped the scales out of balance, unlike with the Comanche.

The Comanche and the Mongols were both dominant forces in their respective heydays. One, a sprawling Eurasian empire of trade and tribute, built upon campaigns of rapid violence. The other, a raiding powerhouse that kept the Southern Plains in a stranglehold. Both characterized by nomadic, horse-based societies and large trading networks, these two cultures share more in common than one would think based on their distance in space and time. While the Mongols would control vast swaths of Eurasia, albeit in different forms, for centuries, the Comanche went from the peak of their power to being stripped of their territory and lifestyle within a century. Much of this can be attributed to the relative recency of horses' arrival in the New World. While the Mongols' horses were adapted and bred for millennia to thrive in their harsh environment, the Comanche had to base their lives around their horses' survival in the winter due to their lack of adaptation. Horses upset the balance of the Great Plains ecosystem, causing competition for the grassland and a huge decline in the buffalo population. Horses were well established in the ecosystem of the Eastern Steppe, and did not disrupt the Mongols' local environment or food chain. Finally, the introduction of horses pulled the Comanche economy between trade and subsistence, and its reliance on buffalo only hastened its decline. The Mongols' diversification of food and trade goods, as a result of a more balanced ecosystem, made their conditions much stabler. The Comanche of the early 19th century were unable to sustain their empire like the Mongols of the 13th century due to the newness of equestrian nomadism, competition for grassland, and an economy split between trade and subsistence. They were destabilized by trends set in motion centuries before, which came to a head just in time for American buffalo hunters and the US military to permanently cripple them.

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"Treason, Adultery and Dishonor: Roger Mortimer's Execution in 1330"

Sydney Bihm

Introduction

Roger Mortimer was brought up by a noble family in the late 13th century during the reign of Edward II and Edward III, and according to historian Ian Mortimer, "[H]e longed for a life of martial glory, and felt himself bound to the king."[1] Despite being a loyalist at birth, Mortimer died by execution labeled as a rebel, a manipulator of the Queen, and a killer of the King. In order to understand Roger's execution, it is necessary to first understand the existing political conditions and motives that made him a traitor.

It is important to note how Roger's heritage influenced his life and actions. His grandfather, for whom he was named, gained the affluence and trust of the English crown through conquest after his success in the Battle of Evesham in 1265.[2] During this battle, Mortimer's grandfather "found Hugh Despenser whom he killed with his own hands," causing a long-standing feud between the two families.[3] The Despensers gained immense favor from King Edward II during Roger's campaign in Scotland, and according to *Vita Edwardi Seccundi*, the Despensers were "hated by everyone, even the king's son."[4] Roger's conflicting loyalty to the King and to the feud with the Despensers can be seen as a point of tension eventually leading to his part in the 1322 rebellion and a renowned escape from the Tower of London in 1323. Roger's need to honor his family name through vengeance coincided with popular distaste for a powerful political figure, thus outweighing his royalist loyalty to the crown, lending to his treasons.

Background on the war in Scotland is also of crucial note, as the war can be seen as a cause of Roger Mortimer's initial gain in power and tensions with the crown. *The Chronicle of Geoffrey Le Baker* notes that in 1305 Robert the Bruce "wished to usurp the kingdom of Scotland… without the knowledge and consent of his liege and lord the king of England," denoting the start of a series of wars for Scottish independence.[5] These tensions overseas weakened Edward II's political stability, which in turn, increased Roger's affluence and power. Roger's successes against the Scottish allowed him to be appointed King's Lieutenant of Ireland/Viceroy in 1316, gaining royal favor.[6] However, due to the fact that Roger had heritage ties to Scotland, Ian Mortimer argues that "Roger had increasingly gained the king's respect," but could not completely gain his trust.[7] Roger got a taste of power from quelling these rebellions that would snowball into later issues of manipulation and offense to the crown. Mortimer's connection to Scotland further highlights reasons for dishonor and distrust between himself and the crown.

Edward II's inability to placate his nobility and struggles in warfare led to his deposition and cemented both Roger's initial transgressions throughout the rebellion, as well as his increasing thirst for power during the rule of Edward III. By pursuing relations with Queen Isabella, securing a "shameful peace" with Scotland, and manipulating the kingship of Edward III, Roger Mortimer thoroughly offended the English crown and secured his own execution.

Historiography

Roger Mortimer's character and intentions remain one of the most contested aspects of his career, particularly because the surviving sources from medieval England make it difficult to clearly determine the motivations of powerful political figures. *The Chronicle of Geoffrey Le Baker*, a 14th-century chronicle written by an English cleric during the reign of Edward III, characterizes Roger as a traitor to the monarchy who manipulated parliament and King Edward III for his own motivations. Le Baker states that Mortimer "glittered in all his transient glory… and a

[1] Ian Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor* (Thomas Dunne Books, 2005), 16.
[2] Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, 7-8.
[3] Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, 9.
[4] Wendy R. Childs, trans., *Vita Edwardi Secundi* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 239.
[5] David Preest, trans., *The Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker* (The Boydell Press, 2012), 2.
[6] Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, 42.
[7] Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, 94-95.

bigger, noisier crowd waited on him than waited on the king's person."[8] Thus, the primary source depicts Roger as a selfish man that wished to have greater glory than the king, an act of immense offense due to the fact that the king was seen to have been chosen by God himself. However, this source may be limited because chronicles were often written in favor of the king at the time, and naturally looked disfavorably on any revolutionary. Historian Alison Weir writes of Mortimer from the perspective of Queen Isabella's reign and similarly depicts Roger as manipulative and self-serving. Weir states that "Mortimer was certainly motivated in part by a lust for power" in his relationship with the queen, and that he "clearly exercised tremendous power through Isabella."[9] The historian does not discount a romantic connection between the two, but clearly states that Mortimer had a strong desire for personal gain and took advantage of the political turmoil at the time. This source offers a valuable perspective compared to the previous chronicle, as it was written with a secondary perspective meaning the author had more information available to them upon forming this argument. Taken together, these interpretations suggest that Mortimer's ambition, manipulation of royal authority, and dominance over the young king made him appear as a direct threat to the crown. This perception helps explain why Edward III chose to execute him in 1330 without granting him the legitimacy of a formal trial.

Historian Ian Mortimer seems to disagree on the terms of Roger Mortimer's character, depicting him as a more tempered man until his height of power. The historian discusses Roger's initial betrayal, stating that he "desperately tried to reach a compromise" with the king.[10] Ian Mortimer depicts Roger as a loyalist until he had no choice but to betray Edward. He argues that many nobles had to make the same choice, and therefore, his rebellion was not a move for him to gain power. Furthermore, the historian argues that Roger was already in the king's favor, making his only real opposition the Despensers.[11] The purpose of this source is to apply a new interpretation of Roger's character and is therefore valuable because it argues his actions were a result of the political environment, rather than a reflection of his character. However, as a secondary source, it also lacks the first-hand understanding of primary sources like the chronicle. Roger Mortimer's character is crucial when considering his limited reign and resulting transgressions because of the implications to the crown tied to such a position of power.

Mortimer's position as the primary advisor to the Queen Mother was fraught with risks of dishonor, including rumors of amorous relations and the assumption he was taking too much power. The level of intimacy to which this relationship with Queen Isabella extended is often debated. The majority of the sources, both primary and secondary, conceded that the nature of Isabella and Moritmer's relationship was, in fact, romantic. Weir is a strong proponent of this argument, and she states that the two "were attracted to each other, and plunged headlong into an adulterous affair."[12] As a biography of Queen Isabella, the purpose of this source is to depict Isabella's life through an unbiased lens that removes the arguments surrounding Roger and Edward that may distort her story. Therefore, this source is valuable in that the author is able to present a more uninhibited account of the queen's relationships, both with Edward and with Mortimer. *The Chronicle of Geoffrey Le Baker* is one of few primary sources that mentions this adultery and describes Morimter clearly as "the lover of the Queen."[13] This chronicle, as a primary source, is valuable due to its distinct origin, which provides information directly from the time period that these events occurred. Therefore, this argument that Moritmer and Isabella truly were romantically involved is arguably more reliable, as not only do a wider scope of sources accept it, but even primary sources reflect this sentiment.

In contrast, some historians argue that Isa-

[8] Preest, *The Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker*, 41.
[9] Alison Weir, *Queen Isabella, Treachery, Adultery, and Murder in Medieval England* (Ballantine Books, 2005), 201, 249.
[10] Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, 102.
[11] Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, 95.
[12] Weir, *Queen Isabella*, 200.
[13] Preest, *The Chronicle of Geoffrey Le Baker*, 41.

bella and Mortimer's relationship lacked romantics, and this was merely a form of gossip at the time. For instance, Ian Mortimer mentions Queen Isabella's dislike for infidelity as a young girl, noting that she watched her brothers' three wives be imprisoned as reprimand for their affairs.[14] The idea that Isabella and Mortimer were not romantically involved is expanded upon by Kathryn Waner, who argues that Mortimer displayed hostility towards Isabella, rather than affection.[15] Both of these sources are secondary sources, meaning they rely heavily on the interpretation of primary sources rather than directly relating first-hand accounts. This perspective can make interpretations more subjective and less reliable, therefore limiting the factual nature of the information provided. Generally, the argument in this field of historiography is that the nature of Isabella and Moritmer's relationship was only depicted to be romantic through rumors rather than actual fact.

Another historical debate surrounds the Murder of Edward II; however, the overall consensus is that the King's death occurred, whether committed by Mortimer or not. According to historian and translator Wendy R. Childs, "all government records and contemporary chroniclers accept that Edward died in 1327, whether his death was natural or not."[16] This source has value in the author's purpose to present primary chronicle sources at face value, and merely translate them without added interpretation. Yet it is clear that Roger was keeping much secret from the general public, and therefore, the chronicles are also somewhat limited in that they lack the full scope gained from historical analysis. Ian Mortimer argues that "Berkeley lied in announcing the death in September 1327, probably on instructions from Roger Mortimer," and that Mortimer faked the king's death, keeping him alive to better control Edward III.[17] However, this source may be limited as Ian Mortimer's arguments may be based more on interpretation than evidence, given a lack of sourcing and general consensus for this belief. This debate is of less importance to the topic at hand, due to the existing consensus that Roger wanted his king to appear dead, and therefore, his loyalty to the crown can be discerned as weak, whether or not the king survived.

Analysis

Roger's relationship with the Queen contributed heavily to his execution, as he offended both King Edward II and Edward III by securing this political and romantic alliance. Alison Weir argues that "the affair might have been born partially out of revenge on both sides," as Mortimer wished to gain retribution for the punishments he faced at the hands of Edward, and Isabella may have been offended by Edwards's alleged relations with nobility.[18] Even if the two weren't romantically involved, they were politically aligned against Edward over a mutual hatred of Hugh Despenser. According to *The Chronicle of Geoffrey Le Baker*, the Queen specifically hated Despenser.[19] Both she and Mortimer had their lands redistributed by King Edward II, Isabella's going to Despenser and Mortimer's wardship going to Piers Gaveston in 1304.[20] Mortimer also had a longstanding feud with Despenser, making his alignment with the Queen's disapproval very natural and apparent. Therefore, it can be seen that due to these political rivalries, this relationship was likely a direct attempt to offend the king and was an impactful part of Mortimer's offenses. Additionally, according to interpretations and translations from Wendy Childs, "by 1326 [Edward II] had heard of [Isabella's] association with Mortimer, and his letters of March and June expressed growing anger at this inappropriate public liaison."[21] It is clear that Edward was offended by his wife's alliance with Mortimer, whether romantic or not. This source directly references primary letters, making it incredibly valuable as the King's sentiments of offense are explicitly expressed. As such, it's clear that no matter

[14] Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, 140.
[15] Katheryn Warner, *Isabella of France: The Rebel Queen* (Amberley Publishing, 2017), 28.
[16] Wendy R. Childs and Phillip R. Schofield, trans., *The Reign of Edward II, 1302-27* (Manchester University Press, 2022), 280.
[17] "Notes and Essays," Ian Mortimer, accessed February 23, 2025, https://www.ianmortimer.com/essays/index.htm; Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, 196.
[18] Weir, *Queen Isabella*, 200-201.
[19] Preest, *The Chronicle of Geoffrey Le Baker*, 16.
[20] Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, 19.
[21] Childs and Schofield, *The Reign of Edward II, 1302-27*, 216-1.

the legitimacy of the rumors surrounding the romantic nature of Isabella and Mortimer's relationship, support of Mortimer's power was weakened as the alliance deeply displeased the crown. Not only was Edward II aggrieved, but he was threatened by the possibility of Roger being tied by blood to the royal bloodline, due to the fact that by 1329, "Isabella may have been pregnant by Roger Mortimer."[22] This information supports the idea of an intimate relationship between Mortimer and Isabella but also demonstrates Roger's use of Isabella as a tool for control. His plausible infiltration into the royal family would have gained him immense power and was extremely threatening to the continuity of the House of Plantagenet as a whole. Weir's argument that Mortimer manipulated Isabella for power plays a huge role in this piece of evidence as well, as both suggest that Mortimer's involvement with Isabella was largely to gain prevalence within the royal hierarchy. Therefore, it can be seen that Mortimer's involvement with Isabella, no matter the level of intimacy, was targeting the crown. Both Edward II and Edward III's royal honor was threatened by Mortimer's actions with Isabella, and his attempts to gain power through such a relationship conflicted with the autonomy of the crown. By offending both kings so directly and attempting to ingrain himself in this system of power, Roger ensured his own execution at the hands of Edward III.

Roger Mortimer's negotiations and settlements with Scotland contributed to his execution, as they directly threatened the honor of the king by making him, and England itself, appear weak. *The Chronicle of Geoffrey Le Baker* denotes a list of the main causes of Edward's execution, one being that "[i]n return for a large sum of money he had stopped the king from winning honor at Stanhope mark" in 1327.[23] Throughout most sources, this event is referenced as a large reason for Roger's execution, largely due to the fact that it was parliament who cited such a transgression against Mortimer in 1330.[24] This level of legality demonstrates that Mortimer's offense to English valiancy was not taken lightly. According to 18th-century historian John Oldmixon, Roger was "the author of the Scots escape at Stanhope park,"[25] and therefore greatly disregarded his English loyalty in favor of the Scots. It is clear that Roger gave up English dignity for his own self-serving ideals, as he was swayed by the great sum that was offered to him, and likely his Scottish heritage as well. On March 17, 1328, the Treaty of Northampton was signed recognizing Scotland as an independent kingdom withRobert the Bruce as king. Thus, Roger "procured the marriage and peace with Scotland, so dishonourable to the king and kingdom that he consumed the king's treasure."[26] Roger not only insulted the king by surrendering his country to the Scots with this treaty, but also by accepting the monetary compensation for himself and Isabella. According to Mortimer, Edward "express[ed] his anger at how Scotland had been taken from him," and therefore, it can clearly be seen that the king did not take this offense lightly.[27] Roger repeatedly acted as though he was of the same standing to the king, and by taking control of what Edward considered to be his sovereignty, Mortimer exceeded the hypothetical limit of disrespect towards the crown. Not only was the king insulted by this treaty, but the general population of England was aggrieved by Mortimer's transgressions. Public opinion of this 'shameful peace' can be seen in a 1763 play by Hatchett as men discussing it state, "[A]ll this owing to Mortimer? My blood begins to boil," and mention how many "laugh at him for it."[28] While this play is somewhat limited due to the fact that it lacks both the key information of primary sources and the thoughtful evaluations of more recent secondary sources, it makes a strong commentary. Many in Scotland were aggrieved by Roger's actions, as the war with Scot-

[22] Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, 221-222.
[23] Preest, *The Chronicle of Geoffrey Le Baker*, 42.
[24] John Oldmixon, *The lives of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and of Robert, Earl of Oxford, &c. Prime Ministers in the Reigns of Edward the Second, and Richard the Second* (Printed for A. Baldwin, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, 1711), 28.
[25] Oldmixon, *The lives of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and of Robert, Earl of Oxford, &c. Prime Ministers in the Reigns of Edward the Second, and Richard the Second*, 28.
[26] Oldmixon, *The lives of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and of Robert, Earl of Oxford, &c. Prime Ministers in the Reigns of Edward the Second, and Richard the Second*, 28.
[27] Oldmixon, *The lives of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and of Robert, Earl of Oxford, &c. Prime Ministers in the Reigns of Edward the Second, and Richard the Second*, 28.
[28] William Hatchett and William Mountfort, *The fall of Mortimer. An historical play. Dedicated to the Right Honourable John Earl of Bute* (Printed for G. Kearsly in Ludgate-Street (London), 1763), 15-17.

land had been long fought and would continue after this treaty. The act of a temporary peace in exchange for a small monetary compensation was not accepted as a proper or lasting form of reconciliation by much of the English population.[29] Roger Mortimer's actions towards securing peace with Scotland slighted English prestige, as they were motivated by his selfish need for wealth and power. By taking the monetary compensation of the king and accepting peace against English wishes, Roger made the crown and nation of England appear weak, thus insulting English honor altogether.

Once in a more secure place of power behind Edward III's position as a child-king, Mortimer repeatedly dishonored the crown by taking on too much royal authority and abusing Edward III's position as a minor. After Edward's coronation in 1327 and becoming the first Earl of March in 1328, Roger held multiple roundtables, "thinking he had as much right to the honours as the authority of the kings of Britain."[30] Roger not only outshone the king in authority but in wealth as well. As Wendy Childs states, "Mortimer [wore] Prince Edward's livery at the French Queen's coronation."[31] Roger's exorbitant spending on himself at the expense of the King's wealth was treasonous enough, but flaunting these riches only further offended the king and other nobility of lesser standing. Roger had very little support from the baron class to which he previously belonged as they saw him as a power-hungry noble, likely not much different from the views of Hugh Despenser. By taking on so much wealth and authority at the king's expense, Roger was equally as threatening to the nobility as Despenser before him. However, while Despenser had the support of the king, Roger certainly did not. According to *The Chronicle of Geoffrey Le Baker*, "Roger had purposefully been a bad advisor to the king," and this was one of Roger's many transgressions stated by parliament.[32] Hatchett agrees with this argument, stating that "Mortimer t[ook] care nobody shall have the king's ear but himself,"[33] demonstrating that Roger manipulated the King's weak position as a minor to his advantage. However factually weak this source may be as a play, the concurrence of Hatchett's message within the primary chronicle demonstrates how valuable and defendable this argument is. The chronicles were able to accurately represent sentiments due to their first-hand perspective, and when combined with the fact that no significant scholarship refutes this claim, Mortimer's abuse of the King's power can be seen as verified. At the beginning of Edward III's reign, Roger got away with these indiscretions, as the king was so young he relied solely on his counselors. Roger's strategy to make himself Edward's only counselor, therefore, was a maneuver to bolster his power and wealth. According to Ian Mortimer, during this time twenty-four attempts were made on Roger's power, and in his final execution "the difference had been the King's support."[34] Thus, Roger's offense to the nobility was less of a cause of his execution than his violations of honor towards the English crown. By purposefully misleading Edward III to gain positions of authority and accumulate wealth, Mortimer built up a list of transgressions that snowballed into Edward's coming of age and securing of power, resulting in his execution.

Conclusion

During the 14th century, the stability of the English monarchy and nobility relied solely on the delegations of whichever king was in power, and the discrepancy in functionality between Edward II and Edward III's rule clearly demonstrates this issue. Furthermore, Roger Mortimer's ability to manipulate this system and the opportunities it presented to gain power and affluence exhibits the dysfunctionality of English politics at this time. Had Mortimer been a more valiant or considerate leader, he could have used the authority he gained to secure his position and affect the course of the royal bloodline, whether

[29] Hatchett and Mountfort, *The fall of Mortimer. An historical play. Dedicated to the Right Honourable John Earl of Bute*, 15.
[30] Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, 215; Oldmixon, *The lives of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and of Robert, Earl of Oxford, &c. Prime Ministers in the Reigns of Edward the Second, and Richard the Second*, 24.
[31] Childs and Schofield, *The Reign of Edward II, 1302-27*, 216-217.
[32] Preest, *The Chronicle of Geoffrey Le Baker*, 42.
[33] Hatchett and Mountfort, *The fall of Mortimer. An historical play. Dedicated to the Right Honourable John Earl of Bute*, 17.
[34] Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, 235.

he decided to change England for the better or not. Roger's selfish need for power at the end of his life led him to dishonor the crown through adultery with the Queen, poor decisions regarding Scotland, and blatant disrespect to Edward III. Had Mortimer truly been the opportunist that some historians claim he was, he could have placated the nobility and Edward III in ways that gained him respect and lasting authority; however, his self-centrism was his demise. Mortimer's story is a strong case in the delicacy of English autonomy. If a single nobleman could exploit the fragility of the English monarchy to rise so far, then it stands to reason that a leader with true vision and political acumen could have reshaped the course of English history forever.

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"Cultural Narratives and Remembered Histories: nineteenth- and twentieth-century Kiowa art"

Jo Axel

What can art tell us about a people's culture and history? Kiowa art throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries depicted horses in a variety of ways. For a people whose livelihood relied on horse-powered buffalo hunting and war, this is hardly surprising. However, the content and prevalence of horses varied based on art type and time period. Exploring these trends can allow us to articulate the changes in Kiowa life and self-conception in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and to suggest possible reasons for such changes.

While studies on Kiowa culture incorporate Kiowa art as a primary source, few, if any, focus on horses. Similarly, studies on Kiowa art tend to investigate a specific art type without making a chronological analysis of changing art forms and subjects. A comparative assessment of yearly calendars, ledger art, and twentieth-century professional art reveals changes over time to Kiowa life and culture. As horses were an important component of Kiowa life, they are an apt subject to follow through the art. Depictions of horses in Kiowa art from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries reveal a shifting historical legacy and identity of the Kiowa people as Kiowa artists grappled with balancing internal Kiowan and external American narratives of their culture amid the assimilation of their people into American society.

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Kiowa yearly calendars depicted horses in alignment with their position in traditional Kiowa culture. The calendars recorded an event for the winter and summer of each year, covering most of the nineteenth century into the early twentieth century.[1] Horses in the calendars were most commonly associated with raiding, which reflected the Kiowa's status as a powerful horse culture in the Southern Plains.[2] The ultimate horse art in the calendars began to show a changing reality as the Kiowa came into closer contact with the United States. Following the 1875 settlement of the Kiowa onto the reservation in modern-day southwestern Oklahoma, a group of prisoners taken to Fort Marion in Florida made ledger art, named for the type of paper used.[3] In contrast to pre-reservation ledger art which recorded war exploits, the Fort Marion ledger art focused on other horse-related activities such as hunting.[4] The accessibility of the Fort Marion ledgers allows for careful comparison and analysis, but the art must be evaluated within the context of imprisonment and a predominantly White audience. As such, we can understand that the Fort Marion artists were rewriting their people's history and balancing tradition, a new reservation-era reality, and White American expectations. Creating art in the twentieth century, the Kiowa Six represented a new generation of artists contending with changes to Kiowa self-conception and continuing external pressures, especially from the U.S. government. By the time the Kiowa Six were producing art, their people had mostly assimilated into an American lifestyle.[5] Differences between commissioned art and independent art reveal that the Kiowa Six were simultaneously conforming to White American ideology and attempting to continue the tradition of art as a historical and cultural record for their people. Depictions of horses were therefore less common and mostly nonviolent, with only limited art of hunting. Such representations reflected both the remembered history of the Kiowa and the post-reservation reality in which the Kiowa Six lived. The processes of acculturation and resistance are seen most clearly in the art of the Kiowa Six, but investigating earlier art forms reveals longer and more complex processes spanning decades and generations.

[1] James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 143; Candace S. Greene, *One Hundred Summers: A Kiowa Calendar Record* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 27.
[2] Mildred P. Mayhall, *The Kiowas* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 14-15.
[3] Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 253.
[4] Joyce M. Szabo, "Shields and Lodges, Warriors and Chiefs: Kiowa Drawings as Historical Records," *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 1 (1994): 2-4, https://doi.org/10.2307/3536977.
[5] Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 273-274.

Horses in pre-reservation Kiowa culture

In pre-reservation Kiowa culture, horses were tools for hunting and war and a signifier of individual wealth. The Kiowa were a horse-rich people who used horses for a variety of purposes.[6] Horses used for war were specialized, while less valuable horses were used for transportation or hunting.[7] The Quaker Thomas Battey, who lived with the Kiowa for some time, described how "the ponies and mules are driven in [to camp], and the whole village is transferred to their backs and is gone."[8] Beyond physical uses for horses, they were also a form of currency used to arrange marriages or to express goodwill.[9] John R. Bell, coming into contact with Kiowas in 1820, related that a Kiowa man gifted him a horse as a gesture of good faith.[10] The gift indicated that the Kiowa man was comparatively horse-rich and might have been trying to display his wealth. Finally, though horses were highly valued in Kiowa society, they served as a food source in times of need, indicating that the Kiowa did not have a taboo on horse meat in the same way that they had on some other animals' meat.[11] In Kiowa society, horses had pragmatic uses and were valuable and significant because of those uses.

In Kiowa religion, horses were a form of payment to medicine men and, rarely, were used as a sacrifice or associated with individual medicine. The Kiowa attributed individual medicine to certain animals; common animals included birds, snakes, bears, buffalo, and deer.[12] Horse medicine was less common, despite being a central animal in the traditional Kiowa lifestyle. When war medicine was associated with horses, the horses themselves embodied the power, such as *ɔdlpábai* (Thick Mane) who maintained his ferocity throughout a battle despite having several different riders.[13] Anthropologist Benjamin Kracht names only a few examples of horse-based medicine but has numerous accounts of horses used as payment to a medicine man.[14] Horses were therefore valuable but not so precious as to be hoarded; they were spent and traded within the community for important services. In his description of the Sun Dance, the most important yearly religious event, Kracht describes the ritualistic hunting, butchering, and presentation of a buffalo, all completed astride a horse.[15] While the buffalo was the sacred animal of the Sun Dance, horses were simply a tool to complete the hunt. Therefore, compared to other animals, horses did not have a particularly strong spiritual significance, and they were most commonly used as a form of payment or as a valuable sacrifice.

Horses in Kiowa yearly calendars

The Kiowa yearly calendars associate horses with raiding and minimally with war, religion, and payment, which aligns with horses' position in Kiowa society. Three yearly calendars allow for investigation over a nearly one-hundred-year period. The first two yearly calendars were originally analysed in James Mooney's *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*. These are the Sett'an calendar, which ran from 1833 to 1892, and the Anko calendar, which ran from 1864 to 1892.[16] From Candace S. Greene's *One Hundred Summers: A Kiowa Calendar Record*, the Silverhorn calendar, ranging from 1828 to 1929, serves as another reference point.[17] Together, the three calendars depict horses in relation to raiding, war, payment, religious sacrifice, food, and transportation.

The most common horse-related event in the yearly calendars is the stealing of Kiowa horses by other parties, reflecting the importance of horses as a symbol of wealth and power. In the Sett'an calendar, the art for both the winters of 1852-53 and 1857-58

[6] Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 98.
[7] Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 96-98.
[8] Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 121.
[9] Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 110.
[10] John R. Bell, *The Journal of Captain John R. Bell, Official Journalist for the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1820*, ed. Harlin M. Fuller and LeRoy R. Hafen (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1957), 192, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.32106000650017&seq=11.
[11] Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 110, for taboos on animal meat see 106.
[12] Weston La Barre, *The Autobiography of a Kiowa Indian* (Madison, Wisconsin: Microcard Foundation, 1957), 100-101. Though Apekaum was speaking to La Barre in the 1950s, his grasp of traditional Kiowa culture was strong.
[13] Benjamin R. Kracht, *Kiowa Belief and Ritual* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 77, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucb/detail.action?docID=4854350.
[14] Kracht, *Kiowa Belief and Ritual*, 77, for horses as payment/gift see 98, 124, 145.
[15] Kracht, *Kiowa Belief and Ritual*, 225.
[16] Mooney, *Calendar History*, 143.
[17] Greene, *One Hundred Summers*, 27.

records Pawnees stealing Kiowa horses.[18] The summer of 1876 is remembered for the stealing of Sun Boy's horses in all three calendars.[19] This would have been a noteworthy event since losing all of one's horses would put a significant dent in an individual's wealth and their ability to obtain more wealth through war, raiding, and hunting. While the raid of 1876 was in particular recorded, it stands to reason that horse raiding was a common event since all three calendars share a shorthand to depict the raid.[20] The usage of horse tracks to represent the large stolen herd speaks to the frequency and magnitude of horse raiding. As horse herds for their own sake were not recorded in the yearly calendars, raiding is the likely reason such a shorthand was common enough to be shared across the calendars. Even in a source as general as the yearly calendars, the horses' value was made clear through the concern shown for their loss.

Other representations of horses in the yearly calendars portray them in war contexts or as a payment or sacrifice; the former's rarity can be explained by considering the purpose of the calendars, while the latter's rarity is to be expected. Firstly, the Sett'an calendar's drawing for the winter of 1837-38 shows a Kiowa warrior on a horse parading an enemy head, demonstrating the clear relation between horses and war.[21] The image of a mounted warrior reinforces the prestige and honor gained from scalping an enemy. As conflict was common, it wouldn't have been deemed the distinguishing event of the season often. The lack of horses in relation to war in the yearly calendars can therefore be understood as a result of the art form rather than commentary on the importance of horses. Secondly, though the summer of 1873 was marked by growing discontent and discussions of war, all three calendars reference Guibadái's (Appearing Wolf) taking and killing of Pa-kóñkya's (Black Buffalo) horses because the latter had stolen the former's wife.[22] Not only were horses a form of currency, especially relating to marriage, but they were also a sign of prestige, as an individual lost horses after committing an immoral act. In addition, this event reinforces the idea that the Kiowa were horse-rich because killing horses, rather than only appropriating them, was part of the usual punishment.[23] Finally, shown in both the Sett'an and Silverhorn calendars, in the summer of 1861, a horse was left as a sacrifice at the Medicine Lodge as atonement for its owner's poor behavior.[24] While Mooney writes that this was a unique event, Greene considers the event to have been normal in Kiowa society.[25] The episode nonetheless reaffirms that horses were more likely to be payment in religious settings than spiritually important. The rarity of horses as payment or sacrifice aligns with a weaker association in Kiowa culture.

The final depiction of horses in the Sett'an and Silverhorn calendars references two moments of change as the settlement onto the reservation influenced Kiowa culture and lifestyle. The Sett'an calendar's final drawing of a horse is for the summer of 1879, during which horses were eaten due to unsuccessful buffalo hunting.[26] Mooney writes that this could be considered the end of the buffalo in Kiowa territory.[27] This then was an incredibly important time and came only a few years after the settlement of the Kiowa onto the reservation in 1875. These few years were a great physical and, by extension, cultural transition for the Kiowa people. The final drawing of horses in Silverhorn's calendar in the summer of 1896 depicts two women riding a horse and running away from the Kiowa, according to Silverhorn's brother Hauvahte.[28] It's possible that the concern with women and their actions reflected a changing Kiowa culture influenced by outside, American ideas.

[18] Mooney, *Calendar History*, for winter 1852-53 see 295, for winter 1857-58 see 305; Greene, *One Hundred Summers*, for winter 1852-53 see 72-73, for winter 1857-58 see 78-79. The events of both winters are corroborated in the Silverhorn calendar though no actual horses are depicted for the winter of 1852-53.
[19] Mooney, *Calendar History*, 340; Greene, *One Hundred Summers*, 106-107.
[20] Mooney, *Calendar History*, 340; Greene, *One Hundred Summers*, 106-107.
[21] Mooney, *Calendar History*, 272-273.
[22] Mooney, *Calendar History*, 336-337; Greene, *One Hundred Summers*, 102-103.
[23] Mooney, *Calendar History*, 237.
[24] Mooney, *Calendar History*, 310; Greene, *One Hundred Summers*, 84-85.
[25] Mooney, *Calendar History*, 310; Greene, *One Hundred Summers*, 84-85.
[26] Mooney, *Calendar History*, 344.
[27] Mooney, *Calendar History*, 344
[28] Greene, *One Hundred Summers*, 138-139.

Horses in the Fort Marion ledgers and a changing reality

The Fort Marion prisoners were prolific artists contending with a stark new reality; their imprisonment coincided with the removal of the Kiowa people onto the reservation, and their art reflects both a changing Kiowa lifestyle and American influences. When the Kiowa moved onto the reservation in 1875, buffalo populations were decreasing, and by 1879, the Kiowa were unable to successfully hunt buffalo.[29] As such, the Fort Marion artists, imprisoned from 1875 to 1878, had left behind a rapidly changing situation when they were transported to Florida.[30] An examination of the depictions of horses, or absence thereof, in their art can illuminate how the Kiowa conception of traditional life was shifting and how their history was being recorded at the end of the nineteenth century.

In the Fort Marion ledger art, horses are associated with hunting and everyday life rather than scenes of battle, as was traditional in earlier ledger art, or raiding, as was common in the yearly calendars. The Fort Marion prisoners had been artists before they were imprisoned and therefore would have been familiar with the traditional content of ledger art.[31] However, the unique circumstances of their art production at the fort meant that they were producing for a White American audience and so were constrained to certain subjects.[32] In Etahdleuh Doanmoe's ledger art, scenes of outright war are significantly less common than art of mounted warriors at rest or Kiowa men hunting.[33] Doanmoe's artwork still depicts a militarized society, but the body of work is less threatening to a White audience for its comparative lack of war scenes. Doanmoe's one war scene is a battle between Indigenous people and therefore wouldn't have been interpreted as a threat to Americans.[34] Several pages earlier, a drawing of a war party is tempered by unmounted warriors who, standing next to their horses, nearly blend in with their mounts.[35] The Kiowa artist Wohaw goes even further: out of twenty-four pages in one of his sketchbooks, six pages depict horses and hunting, two pages depict horses and warriors, and another four pages depict horses in unclear contexts.[36] Beyond avoiding battle scenes entirely, only half of Wohaw's drawings contain horses, which almost certainly represents another change from earlier ledger art because horses and conflict had been so closely intertwined. There are two possible explanations that both influenced these changes: the first is that the pressures of a White audience demanded a different representation of traditional Kiowa life, and the second is that these ledgers were reflecting already occurring changes in contemporary Kiowa life as a result of the transition to the reservation and increased U.S. control.

A consequence of the new portrayals of horses in the Fort Marion ledger art was that the Kiowa legacy was being rewritten by Indigenous artists working in an American assimilationist context, and so their constructed history balanced both narratives. If ledger art was understood as a system of record keeping in Kiowa society, then the Fort Marion ledger art asserted a specific image of the Kiowa as the truth.[37] The sketchbooks discussed above portray a militaristic society but not necessarily one at war. The majority of the horse-related action depicted in Wohaw and Doanmoe's sketchbooks is hunting, a non-threatening and easily justified activity because all people have to eat. Another artist, Zotom, went as far as rendering American soldiers on horses in addition to Kiowa warriors and hunters.[38] The art reflects how the Kiowa's power dynamic with the United States shifted as the Kiowa were forced from their nomadic, free lifestyle to settle on the reservation and became more and more depen-

[29] Mooney, *Calendar History*, 344.
[30] Candace S. Greene, "Being Indian at Fort Marion: Revisiting Three Drawings," *American Indian Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2013): 290-291, https://doi.org/10.5250/amerindiquar.37.4.0289.
[31] Greene, "Being Indian at Fort Marion," 291.
[32] Greene, "Being Indian at Fort Marion," 293.
[33] Etahdleuh Doanmoe, *Etahdleuh Doanmoe Sketchbook*, purchased August 1875, pencil and colored pencil, 8.5 in x 11.25 in (21.6 cm x 27.6 cm), Sotheby's, for war scene see 20-21, for hunting see 5, 12-13, 18, 32-33, for warriors outside of battle see 10, 16-17, 22, 27-28, 29-30, https://plainsledgerart.org/plates/index/111/detail.
[34] Doanmoe, *Etahdleuh Doanmoe Sketchbook*, 20-21.
[35] Doanmoe, *Etahdleuh Doanmoe Sketchbook*, 16-17.
[36] Wohaw, *Wohaw Sketchbook No. 1*, purchased 1877, pencil and colored pencils, 8.5 in x 11 in (21.6 cm x 27.4 cm), Kiowa Tribe, for hunting see 2, 5, 8, 22, 23-24, for warriors see 1, 21, for other horses see 3, 4, 12, 19, https://plainsledgerart.org/plates/index/113/detail?page=1.
[37] Greene, "Being Indian at Fort Marion," 289.
[38] Zotom, *Zotom Sketchbook*, September 1876, pencil and colored pencils, 11 in x 8.5 in (27.4 cm x 21.6 cm), Taylor Museum at the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, Colorado Springs, Colorado, for American soldiers see 8, for Kiowa mounted warriors see 4, 11, 14, https://plainsledgerart.org/plates/index/8/detail.

dent on assistance from the United States.[39] Not only did pressures from a White audience affect the Fort Marion artists, but an internal understanding of Kiowa history and identity might have also been shifting in parallel with a changing reality. However, some art from Fort Marion still depicted traditional war scenes, and Greene suggests that it was produced for internal viewing among the prisoners.[40] One such example of this unofficial art shows a Kiowa warrior killing a Navajo enemy; this overt violence is completely unlike the official sketchbooks and is much more similar to traditional ledger art.[41] Therefore, a complete loss of tradition had not occurred, and traditional art that remembered traditional life was still being produced. Despite this, as more and more art rewrote the associations of horses in Kiowa culture, subsequent generations of Kiowa, such as artists of the twentieth century, might have had a fundamentally different conception of their own people's past because of both internal and external narratives. Art such as the Fort Marion ledger art was not only a survival mechanism for the imprisoned artists but also a step in rewriting their history and reinterpreting their identity.

The Kiowa Six and competing narratives in twentieth-century art

The Kiowa Six were a new generation of artists whose art navigated changing Kiowa conceptions of self as well as pressures to conform to an American narrative of Indigenous history. Born around the beginning of the twentieth century, they received various arts training from family members and through early schooling.[42] By 1926, Spencer Asah, Jack Hokeah, Lois Smoky, and Monroe Tsatoke were studying at the University of Oklahoma's Art School, though Lois Smoky stayed for only a year.[43] Stephen Mopope and James Auchiah joined the group later on.[44] The Kiowa Six received national and international recognition for their art starting in 1928/29, and several of them continued to work professionally throughout the twentieth century.[45] Stephen Mopope was in particular credited in 1975 by the *Pawhuska Daily Journal-Capital* as "one of the most important figures in the development of contemporary Indian painting."[46] By considering their artwork within the cultural context of the twentieth century, we can begin to understand how forces of deculturation and resistance influenced twentieth-century Kiowa art.

Charley Apekaum's biography, as told by Weston La Barre in *The Autobiography of a Kiowa Indian*, provides a reference point for the world that the Kiowa Six grew up in and how it had changed since the reservation period. At the opening of the twentieth century, the reservation land was allotted in small parcels to individual Kiowa, and any leftover land was sold to White Americans.[47] By the mid-1950s when La Barre interviewed Apekaum, Apekaum remarked that Kiowa culture had changed completely, including their housing, their cultural traditions, and the prevalence of their language.[48] In his childhood, each family might have had about forty to fifty horses, but by the 1940s, Apekaum claims that the Kiowa people had sold their horses in favor of modern American inventions such as cars and radios.[49] Coincidentally, by the time of speaking with La Barre for the book, Apekaum had become Stephen Mopope's stepfather.[50] The circumstances described directly related to Mopope's life and cultural context and likely reflected that of the other Kiowa Six artists.

Depictions of horses in the artwork of the

[39] Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 255-258.
[40] Greene, "Being Indian at Fort Marion," 292.
[41] Greene, "Being Indian at Fort Marion," 295-6.
[42] Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the United States Department of the Interior and Rosemary Ellison, *Contemporary Southern Plains Indian Painting*, ed. Myles Libhart (Anadarko, Oklahoma: Oklahoma Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative, 1972), 14-15.
[43] Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the United States Department of the Interior and Rosemary Ellison, *Contemporary Southern Plains Indian Painting*, 15; Mary Jo Watson, "Smoky, Lois (1907-1981)," in *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture* (Oklahoma Historical Society, 2010), accessed April 9, 2025, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=SM009.
[44] Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the United States Department of the Interior and Rosemary Ellison, *Contemporary Southern Plains Indian Painting*, 15.
[45] "Indian Artists Recognized," *Enid Events* (Enid, OK), Feb. 14, 1929, https://gateway.okhistory.org/ark:/67531/metadc2074790/m1/11/?q=%22spencer+asah%22+date%3A1928-1932. Though Lois Smoky's art was included in the book published in 1929, she is mostly absent from contemporary commentary, possibly due to her status as the only woman of the group or her only having stayed a year at the University. Thus while the term "Kiowa Six" is used today, many older sources and academic texts refer only to the "Kiowa Five."
[46] "Preview Painting Exhibition Set," *Pawhuska Daily Journal-Capital* (Pawhuska, OK), Nov. 13, 1975, https://gateway.okhistory.org/ark:/67531/metadc2283780/m1/6/?q=stephen%20mopope.
[47] Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 273-274.
[48] La Barre, *The Autobiography of a Kiowa Indian*, 14.
[49] La Barre, *The Autobiography of a Kiowa Indian*, 17, 44.
[50] La Barre, *The Autobiography of a Kiowa Indian*, 23.

Kiowa Six exhibit hunting and travel but omit war and raiding, a further evolution of the changes seen in the Fort Marion ledger art. In one prominent example, Mopope's painting of a mounted hunter was given to President Eisenhower by Representative Wickersham of Oklahoma in 1953.[51] In addition, Mopope's 1937 mural on the wall of the United States Post Office Building in Anadarko, Oklahoma, depicts mounted Kiowa moving from one camp to another.[52] The mural includes a woman and her child as well as a colt, creating a unique familial atmosphere completely separated from war honors and even hunting. While both artworks represent traditional Kiowa life, they skirt around the raiding and war that were fundamental to Kiowa prosperity and instead highlight less common associations of horses from pre-reservation Kiowa culture, such as transportation. The 1929 book *Kiowa Indian Art* offers a wider selection of art from five of the Kiowa Six, excluding James Auchiah. However, of the thirty pieces, only two depict horses, and they are both portraits of Kiowa warriors at rest.[53] Oscar Jacobson, director of the University of Oklahoma's Art School and mentor to the Kiowa Six, writes in the introduction to the book that "dances, songs, games, dramas, as well as the myths, legends and magical art of healing are the subjects for the pictures of the five young Indians….It is the work of pure Indians, only one generation removed from the hunting grounds and the war path."[54] Despite acknowledging the traditional occupations of the Kiowa, Jacobson connected the art of the Kiowa Six with non-horse-related aspects of traditional Kiowa culture. None of the art is inaccurate, but the book ignores a large part of Kiowa history. The Kiowa Six's representations of horses can be understood as another step removed from the Fort Marion ledger art's depictions of warfare and hunting. Similar to the Fort Marion ledger art, both internal and external pressures must have led to this new shift. Not only were American narratives focusing on certain aspects of Kiowa culture, as Jacobson clearly demonstrates, but during the first half of the twentieth century, the Kiowa were also more fully acculturating, trading their horses for cars. The Kiowa Six were therefore distanced from their people's horse-riding identity, and such a change was reflected in their art.

Perhaps more illuminating is art by the Kiowa Six that does not feature horses; its prominence speaks to a contrasting narrative of the Kiowa as primitive pagans bettered by their contact with the United States. Through the Works Progress Administration and the New Deal, members of the Kiowa Six were commissioned to paint murals decorating a variety of public-facing institutions, including two murals in the Department of the Interior Building by James Auchiah and Stephen Mopope.[55] Auchiah's mural depicts a feast with dancers, while Mopope's mural depicts a dance in celebration of a hunt.[56] Together, the murals were intended to represent Kiowa culture, but representing a Plains Indian horse culture without horses seems a strange choice. The murals reinforced shared values of Kiowa and American culture, such as women preparing food in Auchiah's mural or the religious gratitude shown in Mopope's mural.[57] A 1940 *Evening Star* article praises the murals for their depiction of the "good" aspects of Indigenous culture while omitting warfare.[58] As horses in Kiowa culture and art had previously been strongly associated with raiding, war, and hunting but not strongly associated with religion, there was no place for horses in the murals. Another set of murals was created for Father Isidore's Memorial Chapel in 1929 and painted by the four Kiowa Six artists who had attended St. Patrick's

[51] AP Photo, "A Fair Exchange," *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), Mar. 11, 1953, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1953-03-11/ed-1/seq-3/.
[52] Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the United States Department of the Interior and Rosemary Ellison, *Contemporary Southern Plains Indian Painting*, 27.
[53] Spencer Asah et al., *Kiowa Indian Art: watercolor paintings in color by the Indians of Oklahoma* (Nice, France: C. Szwedzicki, 1929), 15 (digital page 48), 16 (digital page 50), https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015063452398&seq=1.
[54] Oscar Jacobson, introduction to *Kiowa Indian Art: watercolor paintings in color by the Indians of Oklahoma* (Nice, France: C. Szwedzicki, 1929), 7, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015063452398&seq=1.
[55] J'Nell Pate, "Kiowa Art from Rainy Mountain: The Story of James Auchiah," *American Indian Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (1974): 197-198, https://doi.org/10.2307/1184603.
[56] David W. Look and Carole L. Perrault, *The Interior Building: Its Architecture and Its Art* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, Preservation Assistance Division, 1986), 115-116, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015029850214&view=1up&seq=1.
[57] Look and Perrault, *Interior Building*, 115-116.
[58] "Murals By Indian Artists," *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), Mar. 24, 1940, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1940-03-24/ed-1/seq-67/.

Mission School established by Father Isidore.[59] In these murals, which tell the story of the school and the acculturation of the Indigenous pupils therein, horses appear in only three out of sixteen panels and only once in relation to an Indigenous Apache man who is shown being baptized with his horse beside him.[60] To have painted the Kiowa with horses would have afforded them substantial power, as they indeed had had, and so the murals omitted horses to depict a peaceful transition. The dominant narrative suggested in both sets of murals is a distinctly American one, an implied White savior narrative. Though some art by the Kiowa Six continued portraying a shifting Kiowa cultural legacy relating to horses, it is apparent that external pressures to show a particular, American-centric narrative were at play in the twentieth century.

Conclusion

In traditional pre-reservation Kiowa culture, horses were associated with war, raiding, and transportation and served as a form of payment for interpersonal and religious transactions. All of these associations are represented in Kiowa yearly calendars, though horse raiding is the most common horse-related event depicted. In the 1870s, the imprisoned artists of Fort Marion created ledger art that reflected a militarized society without drawing overt war scenes and focused more closely on portraying hunting. This differed from earlier ledger art, which served as a record of battles and war honors. Such a shift reflected the reality that by 1875, the Kiowa had been removed to a reservation, and participating in conflict was significantly less common. In addition, as the Fort Marion artists sold their artwork to a White audience, their art also reflected the influence of American narratives about Indigenous cultures with a stronger focus on non-violent daily life. Finally, the art of the Kiowa Six in the twentieth century only occasionally depicted horses and avoided war and raiding. Many prominent works of art created by members of the Kiowa Six omitted horses entirely despite purportedly representing Kiowa culture, that is a Plains Indian horse culture. This new twentieth-century shift in the depiction of horses was due to both internal and external factors: by the early to mid-twentieth century, Kiowa life had changed significantly, and even the art of the previous generation, such as the Fort Marion ledger art, had already begun reinterpreting and reimagining Kiowa society. Furthermore, as the Kiowa acculturated, there were also American narratives of Indigenous people as primitive pagans cowed by the United States' military might influencing the Kiowa's own conceptions of self. These competing narratives, established earlier in the time of the Fort Marion ledger art, were most prominent in the art of Kiowa Six, the latest step in a longer process of acculturation.

While not necessarily considered a traditional historical source, art has functioned as a method of communal memory-making in many cultures. As such, art is an invaluable resource to the historian, especially concerning histories without a written source base. Though artistic interpretation is not necessarily the purview of a historian, art historians aside, combining such interpretations with other historical sources results in more well-rounded research. To examine processes of acculturation and deculturation, art as a representation of cultural thought across time has proven to be a valuable source. Such a treatment of other bodies of artistic work has the potential to enrich the historical field, moving away from Western-centric ideas of written source primacy. As the field navigates "decolonizing" research, artwork could prove to be a strong resource for revealing cultural narratives and investigating remembered histories.

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[59] Southern Plains Indian Museum and Crafts Center (U.S.), *Kiowa Murals: An Exhibition, June 16-July 18, 1991* (Anadarko, Oklahoma: United States Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Southern Plains Indian Museum and Crafts Center, 1991). Spencer Asah, Jack Hokeah, Stephen Mopope, and James Auchiah were the four artists who worked on this project.

[60] Southern Plains Indian Museum and Crafts Center (U.S.), *Kiowa Murals*.

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"Radio Radicalism: How Populist Politicians Used the Radio in the 1930's"

Jack Wheeler

The 1920s and 30s saw drastic changes in politics, both in the international and American spheres. The decades were defined by the rise of both communists and fascists, as well as the introduction of mass media to the political sphere. Mass media was dispersed through many different mediums: films, newspapers, and books were all prominent examples. During this era, however, few mediums grew as rapidly and entered as many homes as the radio. The radio played a monumental role in changing American politics.

In this paper, I will argue that the rise of radio as a technology—one made accessible to large swaths of the American population—connected to the rise of populist political figures in 1930's America through the dissemination of propaganda. I will be arguing this through two people's usage of the radio: Louisiana governor and senator Huey Long, and Canadian-American radio priest Charles Coughlin. These two used the radio to shape politics in a way that previous populist politicians could not—simulating direct connections with differing groups of people, allowing them to achieve substantial outreach. The messaging would often take on a religious nature, which was central to its success. Ultimately, this radio-based political style would allow them to disseminate their views to tens of millions of Americans through propaganda and thus bring their fringe political views closer to the mainstream. They later were able to use the radio to mobilize their bases to achieve their political goals.

The historiography of these fields is complex; There is plenty of history on the role of the radio in both politics and society. Gordon Bathgate wrote a century long history of the international role of radio in his 2020 book *Radio Broadcasting: A History of the Airwaves* and Bill Kovarak analyzed the role of radio in the changing society of the 20th century in his book *Revolutions in Communication: Media History from Gutenberg to the Digital Age*.[1] Additionally, there is a plethora of individual research into both Huey Long and Charles Coughlin. Long has been the subject of significant analysis, including a Pulitzer Prize winning biography by T. Harry Williams.[2] Coughlin, likewise, has been the subject of much academic research. The largest collection of publicly accessible primary sources comes from the University of Detroit Mercy's Charles Coughlin Collection.[3] There is also some work comparing Long and Coughlin, most notably coming from Alan Brinkley.[4]

To understand why the introduction of radio was so influential to politics, it is important to recognize the significance the radio played in American life during the 1920s and 1930s. Radio as it is popularly understood— a publicly accessible means of commercialized communication—came to prominence in the 1920s. The Federal Communications Commission, for instance, cites a 1920 broadcast announcing the results of the presidential election between Warren Harding and James Cox as the "first commercial radio broadcast."[5] While some dispute the validity of this statement, it is representative of the time at which commercial radio began to thrive. Over the span of a decade and a half, radio grew very rapidly; by 1937, Gallup surveys show that about 90% of American households had a radio.[6]

The radio had become nearly inseparable from the lives of most Americans. This led to people angling to use the radio as a method of political propaganda. The ability to reach people in their own homes was a vital tool, especially if you had charisma

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[1] Gordon Bathgate, *Radio Broadcasting: A History of the Airwaves* (Pen & Sword History, 2020), EBSCOhost; Bill Kovarik, *Revolutions in Communication: Media History from Gutenberg to the Digital Age* (Continuum, 2011), EBSCOhost.
[2] T. Harry Williams, *Huey Long,* 1st ed. (Knopf, 1969), EBSCOhost.
[3] Collection: Father Charles E. Coughlin, Special Collections, University Archives, University of Detroit Mercy.
[4] Alan Brinkley, "Comparative Biography as Political History: Huey Long and Father Coughlin," *The History Teacher* 18, no. 1 (1984): 9–16. https://doi.org/10.2307/492875.
[5] FCC, "History of Commercial Radio," FCC.gov. October 17, 2023, https://www.fcc.gov/media/radio/history-of-commercial-radio.
[6] William G. Mayer, "Poll Trends: Trends in Media Usage," *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (December 1, 1993): 593–611, https://research.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=3d63e34f-d2d2-3717-80e1-5e495ad15137.

transmittable through the radio. This was one of the intentions behind Roosevelt's Fireside Chats, as well as the broadcasts of many lesser-known mainstream politicians. Candidates could campaign over the airwaves, and politicians could create a direct communication channel between themselves and their constituents. However, this also provided a path for people on the political periphery to reach the mainstream. This is where Coughlin and Long come into play.

Nicknamed the "Kingfish," Long was first elected governor in 1928 and served two terms before being elected to the Senate.[7] He neared complete dominance in Louisiana politics, building an empire that saw him become a sort of autocrat over state policy. Long sought to expand his political empire over the rest of the United States, planning to challenge Franklin Roosevelt in the 1936 presidential primary. His path to the presidency was built on a populist economic message, which is often referred to as the 'Share Our Wealth' program. Long's political ambitions were put to an end in 1935, when he was assassinated in the Louisiana State Capitol building.

Charles Coughlin was a Catholic radio priest. Father Coughlin rose to fame as a supporter of welfare policy, such as that featured in the New Deal. However, as the 1930s progressed, Coughlin began incorporating antisemitism and pro-fascist sympathy into his broadcasts much more frequently. He became much more vocal in his support for Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, and Francisco Franco.[8] At his peak in 1936, Coughlin had an estimated 30 million listeners—roughly one fourth of the U.S. population and almost 10 million more than the entire U.S. population of Catholics. Coughlin's most prominent radio show was pressured into ending by the National Association of Broadcasters during World War II due to his support for Nazi Germany, and his radio career—at least as a prominent host—was over.

Before delving into individual descriptions of how either of these men used radio as a vehicle for political propaganda, it is important to understand select similarities and differences between the two, as these would play a major role in how they shaped their broadcasting. Long and Coughlin both supported extremist politics, but these policies did not always coincide. Both were based on economic populism and often concealed anti-democratic sentiment, Coughlin, however, incorporated more racial and antisemitic hatred into his broadcasts, going as far as to say the Bolshevik Revolution was a Jewish-led conspiracy. Long was also an elected politician, while Coughlin was not—Long used the airwaves as a campaign vehicle, while Coughlin was a career broadcaster.

However, I would argue one of the most prominent differences between Long and Coughlin's politics is when they incorporated their extremism into their broadcasts. Long was always a populist demagogue (he at times would even call himself this). His political career was built on his extremism—people liked him because he painted himself as a radical outsider. He may not have always been honest about every "radical" tendency, but he also did not take any pains to hide them. Coughlin's was not always as evident. His antisemitism was always present, but it was not initially the basis of his political platform. It was only when he grew more dissatisfied with the way Roosevelt handled the Great Depression that Coughlin began to center his extremist social stances on his broadcasts. This method of softening his message for wider audiences allowed Coughlin to lure people who were not inherently antisemitic or pro-fascist to his broadcasts and thus allowed him to weave in propaganda gradually.

In this section, I intend to focus on Huey Long's use of the radio as a means of spreading propaganda to solidify his power in the state of Louisiana and possibly expand it beyond. Long's political ascendence was predicated on economic populism targeted towards working class people—his use of the radio was vital to being able to communicate with voters as well as spread his propaganda amongst them.

[7] Austin J. Clements, "'The Franco Way': The American Right and the Spanish Civil War, 1936–9," *Journal of Contemporary History* 57 (December 13, 2021): 341–64, doi:10.1177/00220094211063089.
8 Peter Schrag, *Not Fit for Our Society: Immigration and Nativism in America* (University of California Press, 2010), https://research.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=465e7ff5-c2a9-3834-87f0-4ec14f1a17c9.

To understand why radio amplification of his politics was so effective, it is important to understand Long's specific rhetorical strategies. Long's speeches were designed to appeal specifically to the Southern working-class. In a speech to Senate staffers in Washington, Long compared wealth inequality to a barbecue—there was a certain amount of food prepared for everybody, and millionaires like Andrew Mellon and J.P. Morgan were taking 85% of the food.[9] This metaphor was certainly widely applicable, but it was designed both to address anger at wealth disparity and to appeal to working-class Southern culture. By fusing the two, Long believed he could radicalize laborers—and in turn get them to favor a political project focused on wealth distribution that held him at the center.

Also notable about Long's rhetoric is its religious nature. In the barbecue speech for example, he says specifically that it is the Lord who called the barbecue. Long argues that the necessity of fairer distribution of wealth is not just political, but Christian. God specifically has called the barbecue, and God specifically wants things to be shared evenly at that barbecue. This religious nature can be seen throughout the advertising of his Share Our Wealth program. He claimed that Share Our Wealth was a 20th century representation of Old Testament principles, and frequently interwove Biblical quotations into speeches.[10] This religious nature was likewise a rhetorical tactic; it could appeal to Christian Southerners and convince them to favor populist viewpoints that they previously would not understand.

Long's speaking style was thus designed to create a connection with Southern farmers and workers. However, his tactics had one inherent flaw in that they historically had trouble reaching the people it was targeted towards. Long's political style relied on building a direct connection with his followers, the reason why Long needed the radio to succeed. Louisiana had a population of over 1.5 million people —it was impossible to go to every town and speak directly to the people, but by using the radio he could simulate this. With the radio, he could speak to people in every corner of Louisiana—and later every corner of the country—and convince them to support a political view that many would never even hear of.

Long would go on the radio—most commonly his friend's Shreveport-based KWKH station—and talk directly to people in their homes. He would intentionally use simpler language so as to make sure everyone could understand, regardless of educational background.[11] He would also intentionally act like a "clown," as he phrased it, to get as much broadcast time as possible. In this way, he became able to introduce people to his radical policies, transforming Louisiana's political sphere through the creation of a new propaganda empire—one that was made possible only through the commercial and technological evolution that gave rise to radio politics.

In this section, I analyze Charles Coughlin's use of the radio as a method of spreading his political propaganda. Coughlin's primary strategy was to portray himself as a trustworthy figure—wanting people to view him like they might have viewed their local priest. In doing so, he turned himself into someone people felt like they could trust.

Coughlin, similarly to Long, supported welfare reform. He was an early supporter of the New Deal and later would come to reject it, believing it did not go far enough to support the poor American. He was also a major supporter of "unionism," claiming that millions of American laborers, both skilled and unskilled, must unite—regardless of political belief—to fight against corporate exploitation.[12] He was able to gain a listener base amongst millions of working-class Americans by appealing to the politics of economic justice.

Coughlin exploited his religious status to

[9] Huey, Long, "Speech to Senate Staffers at the Washington Press Club," transcript of speech delivered at Washington Press Club, Washington D.C., December 11, 1934, https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/hueyplongbarbecuespeechpressclub.htm.
[10] Ernest G. Bormann, "A Rhetorical Analysis of the National Radio Broadcast of Senator Huey Pierce Long," *Speech Monographs* 24 (1957): 244, doi:10.1080/03637755709375212.
[11] Bormann "A Rhetorical Analysis of the National Radio Broadcast of Senator Huey Pierce Long," 244.
[12] Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression*, 1st ed. (Knopf, n.d.), accessed December 4, 2025, EBSCOhost.

empower himself in this way. He rose to power as "the radio priest." Coughlin claimed to begin broadcasting after a Ku Klux Klan cross-burning at a parish he had been assigned to in Royal Oak, Michigan.[13] He used this defense of Catholics to reinforce an image of himself as a just fighter for social progress. On air, Coughlin would weave between sermon and politics rapidly, deliberately tying them together. In doing so, Coughlin would blur the line between Biblical mandate and Coughlin's personal politics, allowing him to further spread his propaganda. In a 1939 sermon, Coughlin calls for a rejection of the U.S. Cash and Carry of World War II, claiming that Britain and France's deeds were "un-Christianly" and unworthy of support. He goes on to claim that Hitler cannot be seen as an aggressor when compared to British deeds.[14] The broadcast, despite being primarily political, begins with a church organ and is filled with constant references both to God and the Bible. In this sense, Coughlin attempts to depict his politics as sermon.

Coughlin would readily take advantage of his position in the Catholic Church to lend him credibility as a religious figure. The Catholic Church, throughout the span of his early career, refused to condemn his sermons and other broadcasts because of fear of conflict within the church and retribution from Coughlin's supporters.[15] Coughlin used this to reinforce his credibility—his status as an official Christian figure led many to blindly view him as more trustworthy.

Coughlin would also use his broadcasts to spread antisemitism, such as claims that Jewish people were responsible for the problems faced by the American worker. He would frequently do this by claiming his antisemitism as something else, usually anti-communism. In one of his radio "sermons," Coughlin said that Jewish bankers were responsible for funding the Russian Revolution and called Nazism a necessary defense against communism.[16] He would also fuse his antisemitism with sermons, switching back and forth between attacks against Jewish people and Christian theology. In the same broadcast he declared Nazism a necessary defense, he says there can be "no love without God."[17]

Long and Coughlin had different ideals, different goals, and different political paths. However, both of their populist techniques needed the radio. They needed the radio for two reasons. It allowed them first to reach people easily, thus attempting mass appeal, and subsequently this direct access of radio provided a method of mobilizing their bases easily and efficiently.

The mass appeal has already been discussed independently in this paper for both Long and Coughlin, however some notable trends emerge when their individual cases are compared. Both used similar tactics in their rhetoric to reach wider audiences, the most visible of these was how they leaned into religion. Coughlin is more known for using his status as a Catholic Priest to tie his politics to the Gospel, but Long performed a similar maneuver. They both argued that populist economic reform was a Bible mandated mission—it was right for any good Christian to push for a more equitable distribution of wealth and thus they must support populist economics.[18]

While I have no doubt that they both believed that their politics were God's will, I also believe that this was an intentional rhetorical strategy to appeal to religious Americans, especially those in the working class. By fusing religion with populism, populist politicians could fuse them together to expand their appeal while also lending themselves an additional layer of religion-based credibility.

This strategy existed before the radio, but the radio made it significantly stronger. Long and Coughlin were not only able to have this conversation with listeners in their own living rooms, but they were also

[13] Charles Coughlin, "Appeal to the Laboring Man" Unlisted Station, July 16, 1939, https://libraries.udmercy.edu/archives/special-collections/index.php?collectionCode=coughlin_cou&record_id=42&item_id=40.
[14] Charles Coughlin, "Cash and Carry will Evolve into Credit and Carry," Unlisted Station, September 10, 1939, https://libraries.udmercy.edu/archives/special-collections/index.php?collectionCode=coughlin_cou&record_id=121&item_id=54.
[15] Earl Boyea, "The Reverend Charles Coughlin and the Church: The Gallagher Years, 1930-1937," *The Catholic Historical Review* 81, no. 2 (1995): 211–25, EBSCOhost.
[16] Charles Coughlin, "Not Anti-Semitism but Anti-Communism," Unlisted Station, November 28, 1938, https://libraries.udmercy.edu/archives/special-collections/index.php?collectionCode=coughlin_cou&record_id=89.
[17] Coughlin, "Not Anti-Semitism but Anti-Communism."
[18] Bormann "A Rhetorical Analysis of the National Radio Broadcast of Senator Huey Pierce Long," 244; Coughlin, "Appeal to the Laboring Man."

able to do it weekly. In the 1880's, a populist politician with national aspirations could appeal to a group of people directly, maybe once or twice a year during a speaking tour, but a radio-based politician could do it weekly. This strategy of establishing a personal religious connection worked; when the U.S. government first began to publicly consider pulling Coughlin from the airwaves, listeners wrote to the FCC en masse saying that they could not feel like they could trust anybody else.[19] People held up Coughlin as a bastion of truth, and some would even go so far as to call him a voice of God.

After building up this level of ardent adoration from their supporters, the radio also allowed Long and Coughlin to mobilize their supporters much more effectively than they could have otherwise. Coughlin, for example, mobilized his listeners against those who wanted his radio show removed from the air consistently, encouraging them to send letters to the FCC. He also struck against radio stations that would try to pull him—when a WMCA station in New York pulled him from the air after his antisemitic broadcast on Kristallnacht, Coughlin mobilized his listeners to picket out front of the station for 38 weeks.[20] Long exerted similar mass mobilization techniques amongst his followers. Long's use of radio commercials during the 1928 Louisiana Governor Primary was crucial to his dominant victory.[21] Both relied on similar radio-centered campaigns throughout their careers—Coughlin for spreading antisemitism and opponent intimidation and Long for elections. Neither would have been able to mobilize supporters as effectively or as quickly as they did without the radio.

In summary, the radio was central to the public success of both Charles Coughlin and Huey Long. They were able to expand their populist voter base in ways that previous populists were not. They often used similar rhetorical strategies to do so—simple, religious, and tailored to working-class people. They later used the radio to mobilize their loyal followers to achieve political ends.

In this way, technological change opened a window for populists to achieve greater popularity and use that popularity for political ends. I believe that this conclusion has wider reaching implications—further technological change could be used to achieve a similar expansion of populist politics. The internet and social media have, notably, allowed modern populists to drastically expand their bases using similar strategies to Long and Coughlin.

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[19] Alyssa Clina, "'The Greatest Single Force of Our Day': Father Charles Coughlin's Audience and The Power of Radio," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 44 (February, 2024): 424–39, https://doi.org/10.1080/01439685.2024.2310347.
[20] Donald Warren, *Radio Priest: Charles Coughlin, the Father of Hate Radio* (Free Press, 1996), EBSCOhost.
[21] Brinkley, *Voices of Protest.*

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"John: The Greatest Victim of the Angevin Dynasty"

Lucas Alejandro Sardiña

King John is a notorious figure, not only for his infamous weakness in signing the Magna Carta, but also through depictions of astounding cruelty and idiocy. Recently, historians have delved deeper into John's actions and the contexts surrounding them, revealing the character of John to be more complex than typically portrayed. Unfortunately, concrete history regarding John during the First Baron's War is difficult to come across. For example, Anthony Beadles notes that, "unlike his father and brother, John had no close companions who wrote his life." The bulk of John's history came in accounts before his reign, mainly through chronicles of his brother Richard and father Henry, and after thorough sources which are very obviously biased against him.[1] Taking this lack of information into account, the sources available to analyze King John and his reign are biased. In addition, many accounts that came from his reign were written by a handful of "angered monastic chroniclers, who… loaded him with charges of tyranny, cruelty, and, with less reason, of sacrilege and irreligion" following his quarrel with Pope Innocent III in the earlier years of the thirteenth century.[2]

The first Baron's War transpired against the backdrop of the Angevin-Capetian feud. The Angevin Kings were vassals of the Capetians, who ruled over France. As dukes of Anjou, the Angevins paid homage to the Capetians, but they would also revolt and act as if they were sovereigns in their own right. As a result, the Angevins were overpowerful vassals, and the bounds of loyalty between and even within the two dynasties were hazy. Nobles and royal members conspired to overthrow Kings, revolts raged under every reign, and the tide of power was ever-shifting. In this climate, King John competed with King Philip Augustus for power over France, continuing Richard's rivalry with the French King. King John lost this feud, which contributed to his descent into infamy. In the end, John fell victim to kin strife, the loss of land in France, and escalating animosity toward the Angevin style of rule.

Historical approaches to this period seek to establish a chronology of events that explain the conflict between John and his barons, but few offer more in-depth evaluations of John and his actions. For example, a description of "individual resistance in 1212; in 1213 more concerted efforts were made; in 1213 John was defeated abroad…" illuminates how the conflict progressed, but gives little insight into John as an individual aside from implications.[3] Such implications arise from documentation of his failures as a monarch, alluding to a handful of acts that portray him as especially brash, impulsive, and greedy. Take Peter Des Roches' elevation to justiciar by John in 1214, for example, where the previous justiciar Geoffrey Fitz Peter was cast aside despite his loyal undertaking of John's policies, even when disagreeing with them. John sought to dismount Geoffrey from his seat of power, though why specifically is not made clear. Sidney Painter, a medieval historian, cites the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie* and attributes John's attitude towards Geoffrey as a result of "envy of his wealth, power, and prestige."[4] On the other hand, a similar citation exposes "John's craven behavior in Normandy in 1203" and "John's fears of Geoffrey Fitz Peter."[5] It is worth noting that the previous remarks came from a "uniformly hostile" biographer writing after John's death, and his account of John fluctuated between censure and narration.[6] Unfortunately, many of the descriptions of John follow the same tune, and as John Holt puts it: "John's reputation, bad at his death, was further depressed by writers of the next generation."[7] The issue of biased primary sources stifles the attempt at a fair evaluation of King John, but there are meth-

[1] Anthony Beadles, "Opponents of King John," *History Today* 29 (May, 1979): 280.
[2] J. Holt, "John," in Encyclopedia Britannica, December 27, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-king-of-England.
[3] Beadles, "Opponents of King John," 283.
[4] Sidney Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020), 203-225, https://doi.org/10.1353/book.71692.
[5] David Crouch, "Baronial Paranoia in King John's Reign," in *Magna Carta and the England of King John*, ed. Janet S. Loengard (Boydell & Brewer, 2010), 48.
[6] Crouch, "Baronial Paranoia in King John's Reign," 47.
[7] Holt, "John."

ods to dodge such pitfalls.

A remedy for contesting perspectives and a more balanced recounting of John's character could be attained through analysis of primary sources from before his reign. In an analysis of King John's life and the creation of the Magna Carta, Stephen Church delves into the character of Angevin Kings. When describing a matter of inheritance, Church states that "custom may have pointed in one direction, but when an Angevin king set his mind against custom, the Angevin king got his way."[8] When studying King John and the First Barons' War, such a statement explains much of his actions through defiance of social expectations. Church asserts a similar opinion when analyzing the matter of John seeking to join Philip Augustus in his war against Richard the Lionheart, John's brother. John sought to bribe both sides for his support, which placed him in bad social standing. Church notes that "from John's point of view…being given money for support was no more than the usual way to rule a kingdom."[9] While the aforementioned perspectives and studies of King John, his barons, and the conflicts surrounding them establish a concrete series of events and developments leading to the Magna Carta and the beginning of the end of the Angevin line, they fail to examine the reasons behind why King John did what he did. By stating the stigma surrounding John, no progress is made in discovering his nature, upholding the unfair notion that he is one of England's weakest rulers. Thus, a deeper study of John during the First Baron's War should be made by investigating the peripherals of his reign and placing differing accounts against each other, thereby producing a more nuanced justification and explanation for John's actions.

Primary sources surrounding the period consist mainly of monastic chroniclers writing of John or his predecessors. Namely, Roger of Wendover, who wrote the *Flowers of History* in 1235. Roger Wendover covers John's reign in earnest, but also with a biased hand. As a monastic chronicler, he writes of John's reign with spite for his actions against the Church. Still, his analysis of John's reign highlights the general sentiments surrounding the King, the perception of his actions by nobles and clergymen alike, and how shifting allegiances caused King John's demise.[10] A similar chronicler, Roger of Hoveden, covered the reigns of Henry II and Richard, but not John. Still, his accounts of John's predecessors help demonstrate the similarities between the three sovereigns, lending evidence to a general Angevin style of rule.[11] Focusing more on King Henry II, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and Prince Richard, Peter of Blois wrote a series of letters in the latter half of the 12th century, illuminating the political state of the Angevin empire at the time.[12] Along with Roger of Hovedon, Peter of Blois provides context to the environment John is faced with. Each writes with a bias to different figures. Roger of Hovedon and Peter of Blois write with reverence about Henry II, while Roger of Wendover writes with dissent to John, and favor to Roger and Henry. The most notable primary source of John's reign is the Magna Carta, which lists the grievances of the Barons and clergymen. Written in 1215, it details the causes for the baronial rebellion, with clauses concerning taxation, inheritance, individual rights, and even ecclesiastic rights. While the document is said to be aimed at King John, further analysis shows an attempt to outlaw the Angevin style of rule as a whole.[13]

King John was a figure of controversy within his own family, leading to dwindling support and an onslaught of gossip, both factors contributing to the baronial uprising. However, John was not the only troublemaker in the Angevin family. Henry II had to quell a revolt incited by his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and son, Richard the Lionheart, from 1173 to

[8] Stephen Church, *King John: And the Road to Magna Carta* (Boulder: Basic Books, 2015), accessed February 26, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central, 31.
[9] Church, *King John: And the Road to Magna Carta*, 57.
[10] Roger Wendover, *Flowers of History*, trans. J.A. Giles, (London), accessed March 22, 2024, https://archive.org/details/rogerofwendovers02rogeial.
[11] Roger Hoveden, *The Revolt of 1173-74*, accessed March 22, 2024, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/1173hoveden.asp; Roger Hovedon, *The Battle of Gisors, 1198*, accessed March 22, 2024, https://deremilitari.org/2014/03/the-battle-of-gisors-1198-according-to-roger-of-hoveden/.
[12] Peter of Blois, *Description of Henry II*, accessed March 22, 2024, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/1177peterblois-hen2.asp; Peter Blois, *Letter 154 to Queen Eleanor*, accessed March 22, 2024, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/eleanor.asp.
[13] *Magna Carta*, 1215.

1174. Eleanor and Richard sided with King Louis of France to undermine and take the lands from Henry, invading his territories in England and France. Eventually, the rebellion ended when Henry captured Queen Eleanor, whom he put in confinement and forced Richard to surrender.[14] John started a revolt of his own against Richard, which ended much the same as Richard's did. Eleanor acted as a mitigator to the latter revolt, encouraging Richard to forgive John. Eleanor herself was a revered figure, known to be a powerful and intelligent queen, as seen in Peter of Blois's letter to her, stating: "you are a most prudent woman," and asking her to end her revolt against Henry.[15] In the latter 12th century, she was an asset to King Richard, whom she favored, having assisted her against her husband. This was not so for John, as Eleanor died in 1204 following the death of Arthur of Brittany, leaving John isolated. Having lost Queen Eleanor, the allegations against John for the murder of Arthur burgeoned in congruence with the loss of Normandy. Of Arthur's death, Roger Wendover wrote that Arthur addressed John with "indignation and threats,"[16] an affront that, in Henry II and Richard's reigns, would have been punished immediately. Instead, Arthur was "sent to Rouen" and "imprisoned," disappearing shortly afterward. Rumors arose of his brutal killing, where it "seemed that John was suspected by all of having slain him with his own hand…", causing widespread resentment against John.[17] Henry II himself was alleged to have killed Archbishop Thomas Beckett in 1170, but was defended by Peter of Blois, who said: "I believe in no way that the king was guilty of this thing…"[18] John had no such defense. Instead, he was ridiculed under a rumor that compounded following the death of Eleanor, who had defended and supported John. As a result, John's kin strife, once a hallmark of Angevin rule, and lack of defense contributed to his inability to recruit the Barons for support in France. The image that follows his wartime abandonment is one of a foolhardy, impulsive warmonger, which doesn't show the full picture.

Along with kin strife, John's descent into infamy is largely a factor of the Angevin Empire's decline throughout the reigns of Henry, Richard, and John. Since its creation, the Angevin machine required constant land intake and frequent military victories to satisfy the mass of nobles and barons supporting the empire. W.L. Warren notes that the Angevin Empire was "a rickety, ramshackle affair, kept together by the military prowess of Henry and Richard,"[19] describing curtly what awaited King John. Failure to grow the Angevin lands or placate the barons through other means would inevitably lead to strife. From Henry II who, in the eyes of chroniclers was a steadfast and daring ruler, "extended his borders greatly," to Richard "the Lionheart," who reclaimed all that Phillip Augustus had seized in Normandy and made him flee the land with "nothing… except… three or four knights…," the stage was set for John to fall short.[20] For example, the feud between Phillip Augustus and John, wherein the war for Angevin lands continued past Richard's death, demonstrates the hefty circumstances John faced. John ceased fighting in 1200, opting instead to sign the Treaty of Le Goulet and earn the spite of several barons. Subsequently, a vast portion of the land Richard gained was returned to Phillip's hands, but the French King continued assaulting Angevin territories. It wasn't until 1204 that John formally went to reclaim said lands, and ironically, the vigor with which he enacted these military preparations inspired a set of grievances in the Magna Carta, a testament to the volatile nature of his criticism.[21] Unfortunately for John, his campaign for Normandy was plagued by baronial apathy and treachery, Phillip's experience and growth as a military leader, and his sullied reputation as the alleged murderer of Arthur. Such hostility is documented by Roger of Wendover when he states: "...many turned their affections from the king from that time forward, wherever they dared and entertained the deepest enmity against

[14] Hoveden, *The Revolt of 1173-74*.
[15] Peter of Blois, *Letter 154 to Queen Eleanor*.
[16] Wendover, *Flowers of History*, 205.
[17] Wendover, *Flowers of History*, 206.
[18] Peter of Blois, *Description of Henry II*.
[19] W.L Warren, *King John* (University of California Press, 1978), 13.
[20] Peter of Blois, *Description of Henry II*; Hovedon, *The Battle of Gisors*.
[21] *Magna Carta,* Clauses 12 and 14.

him…"[22] In addition, Phillip Augustus had experience with English invasions, and had the advantage of not only his nobles, but some of John's as well, either directly by payment or indirectly by refusing to help John. Phillip had already been a strong leader and rival to Richard in the 1190s, but by the time he faced John at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214, he had a keen mind for battle and bloated support from his vassals. Thus, John faced challenges his predecessors never had, and with much less backing from his own "allies," it is no surprise that even after combining forces with the Holy Roman Empire and Flanders, John still lost Normandy to Phillip Augustus. Consequently, the barons and monks, who were all forced to contribute taxes to this campaign, were outraged despite their hand in its failure. Consequently, monks' descriptions of John carried significant bias and misread his failures as functions of his own stupidity. Considering how ecclesiastic members were some of the only literate people of the time, the majority of history regarding John from this period was resoundingly negative. The loss of Normandy seemingly caused the Barons to remember years of oppression under Angevin rule, and they directed their grievances at King John.

Being a baron under Angevin rule was often exhausting and very taxing. Between the wars, revolts, and constant power struggles, barons were fit to be drained of all they owned, were it not for the empire's growth. Seeing as the empire grew in land and power under Henry II and Richard the Lionheart, barons could put up with the kings' excessive antics. While many credit John as being the worst of the three, the subjects under Henry and Richard were not much happier. W.L Warren writes that "all three, as a matter of fact, were heartily disliked by many people in their own day," as evidenced by the revolts each ruler had to face.[23] Henry murdered the martyr Thomas Beckett, Richard waged war on the continent and levied a plethora of taxes, and John did much of the same, only in a more hostile and unforgiving political and social climate. From this perspective, it's plain to see why John bore the consequences of the Angevin rule. Having lost the warband status and lacking the resources his predecessors had, John fell victim to a movement directed at him in name but in essence aimed at the oppressive dynasty looming behind him. For example, the Magna Carta has several clauses censuring the actions of multiple Angevin Kings indirectly. Take clause 38, for example, which states that "no freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned… or in any way destroyed… except by the lawful judgment of his peers."[24] This clause addresses John's imprisonment of Arthur, but it also addresses Henry's alleged murder of Thomas Beckett. Another instance of censure appears in clause 12, where the barons write that "no scutage nor aid shall be imposed on our kingdom, unless by common counsel…", highlighting John's excessive tax policy, but also Richard's, who levied a high tax on the use of the Great Seal of England, which John repealed in 1199.[25] The list goes on, but the message remains the same: the barons expressed a consistent frustration with Angevin oppression, of which John was only a part.

John's failure to uphold the might of the Angevin empire comes as a result of his predecessors' compounding actions, which left the lackland to resolve a mess that was unredeemable even before his coronation. Accumulating grievances, high expectations, and equally high odds made John the greatest victim of Angevin rule, as he is remembered as one of the greatest tyrants in history when, in actuality, he was only a product of his age. Instances such as these warrant questioning of other figures in medieval times, particularly those portrayed as villains, as the lack of unbiased or timely sources frequently leads to unfair representations of their character. Whether it be the monastic chroniclers slandering the name of John and disseminating word of his defects throughout the ages, or some other predisposed chroniclers, John, as he is known, is a figure composed of emotion and gossip, not objective representations. King John was by no means one of the "great" kings of England, but

[22] Wendover, *Flowers of History*, 206.
[23] Warren, *King John*, 4.
[24] *Magna Carta*, Clause 38.
[25] *Magna Carta*, Clause 12; King John, "Fees for use of the Great Seal, 1199" *Internet History Sourcebooks project* (Fordham University), accessed February 26, 2024, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/1199johnfees.asp.

neither was he the forebear of tyranny.

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"'Immigration is the foundation of abolitionism:' Race, Immigration, and Paranoia in Antebellum Louisiana"

Jada McGlothin

During the Antebellum years between 1811 and 1860, Louisiana white elites participated in the intentional vilification and stripping of rights from the long-standing racial group of the gens de couleur. This process is well-documented through a multitude of scholarly works; however, an obscure manifestation of this process through the animosity toward another ethnic group is virtually unexplored. This essay will embark on tracing the process toward this culminating point by divulging the history leading to Louisiana's distinct racial structure and the cultural group that emerged on the cusp of the Antebellum period. In examining this Antebellum period, an era of mass paranoia will be uncovered, leading up to an impactful wave of reactions to German immigrants in the late 1840s. In this climax, it will be revealed that white Louisiana's adverse reaction to this wave of immigrants is not based on pure animosity, but instead a projection due to years of pent-up paranoia.

Kulturkollision, or, Cultural Collision: 1699-1803

Frenchman Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville first encountered what is now known as the state of Louisiana in March of 1699 on an expedition for Louis XIV;[1] however, the first enslaved Africans were not imported to the region until 1719.[2] In 1724, an early sign of the white ruling class's paranoia over their ability to promote racial subjugation resulted in the installation of the Code Noir. The Code Noir was an attempt to balance a very limited allotment of enslaved persons' protections as well as the liberties of white enslavers over their property, such as disallowing enslavers from exceeding "prescribed limits of punishment" on enslaved persons but leaving the whipping of enslaved Blacks completely unrestricted.[3] However, in action, these protections for the enslaved population were rarely enforced. While the French colonial practice of enslavement progressed, the beginnings of a distinct racial group began to emerge: gens de couleur, or free people of color.

Free people of color began to appear in the Louisiana territory closely behind the introduction of enslaved Black persons to the colony. The first step in the creation of this racial group was the rampant rape of enslaved Black women by their white male enslavers, resulting in the emergence of a new population of lighter-skinned offspring. The 'free' component of this surfacing racial group was originally derived from manumission by family, e.g., their white fathers freeing them from bondage, citing paternal heritage as the basis of freedom.[4] The proliferation of this racial group is fairly straightforward from there: emancipated free people of color mixed with others like them, eventually leading to an "astounding increase" in the free people of color population that, instead of existing in obscurity, became their own distinct racial group.[5] Nevertheless, the Code Noir worked to dampen the liberties of free people of color through methods including denying voting rights, requiring passes for travel, limiting their rights in court, and more.[6] The French colonial regime in Louisiana was pivotal in creating free people of color. However, this racial group ascertained ways to increase their quality of life when the French gave up their territorial rights to the Spanish from 1762 to 1800.

The Spanish arrived in the Louisiana Territory in 1762 due to the secret Treaty of Fontainebleau,

[1] John C. Rule, "Jérôme Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain, and the Establishment of Louisiana, 1696-1715" in *French Louisiana: A commemoration of the French Revolution Bicentennial*, ed. Robert B. Holtman and Glenn R. Conrad (Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1989), 27.
[2] Daniel H. Usner Jr., "From African Captivity to American Slave-lighter-skinnedry: The Introduction of Black Laborers to Colonial Louisiana," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 20, no. 1 (1979): 25, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4231866.
[3] Gilbert C. Din, *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: The Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763-1803* (Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 8, Google Books.
[4] Laura Foner, "The Free People of Color in Louisiana and St. Domingue: A Comparative Portrait of Two Three-Caste Slave Societies," *Journal of Social History* 3, no. 4 (1970): 409, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3786302.
[5] Alice Moore Dunbar-Nelson, "People of Color in Louisiana," in *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*, ed. Sybil Kein (LSU Press, 2000), 5.
[6] Code Noir of 1724, trans. Vernon Valentine Palmer.

which quietly ceded the region from the French to the Spanish; Spanish possession became internationally accepted as a part of the 1763 Treaty of Paris, post the Seven Years' War.[7] The transition of power was slow, as the French remained in control of the government until 1766. When the Spanish eventually did begin installing their colonial government, the already present French colonial inhabitants spent around two years, 1766-1768, questioning its legitimacy.[8] Therefore, it was not until 1769 that the Spanish started applying their own legal code in the region. Compared to the French enslavement within the territory, the Spanish legal code allowed for more mobility for free persons of color. Under the first Spanish colonial governor, Antonio de Ulloa, marriage between an individual with one-fourth Black heritage[9] and a Spanish individual became legally permissible, angering French inhabitants.[10] On November 25, 1769, the third Spanish Colonial governor, Alejandro O'Reilly, implemented the legal code of Castile and the Indies. This code of law proposed that slavery was inherently against nature in the sense of rationale and reason, and further, that enslaved persons were not mere cattle, but human beings in a lower disposition.[11] While this was dictated with enslaved persons in mind, this decree worked to humanize all those with Black heritage, such as free people of color. Further, in the late 1780s, the Spanish crown itself instituted the Código Negro, which allowed for the installation of the coarctation–an act that permitted enslaved persons to manumit themselves.[12] In less than two decades, the Spanish regime had made moves that made it possible for the free people of color to both grow and assert their own humanity, driving their status closer to that of the white race.

As the Spanish continued their colonial control, another increase in the population of free people of color can be attributed to the folly of the French regime. Between 1789 and 1799, a struggle to end the Ancien Régime in France ensued; in today's time, this is known as the French Revolution.[13] In the midst of the conflict, across the ocean in one of their most lucrative colonial projects of the island of Saint Domingue, a slave revolt was underway that would eventually result in the liberation of the region.[14] A major result of this slave uprising, i.e., the Haitian Revolution, besides the French loss of control, was an unprecedented wave of migration from the island to the Louisiana territory, with numbers ranging from 15,000 to 20,000 refugees between 1790 and 1810. This migratory power would greatly increase the free people of color population in the region.[15] Although France seemed to be in an era of loss during the last decade of the 18th century, in 1800, France was given back territorial claims to the Louisiana territory from the Spanish as ordained by the Treaty of San Ildefonso.[16] Due to the aforementioned conflicts France experienced in the 1790s and the global ambitions of their new leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, France's monetary funds had been virtually drained. Napoleon, seeking to deliver himself and his country from a declining "military reputation," embarked on focusing a tremendous amount of energy on the trampling of their long-time European enemy, England.[17] Consequently, selling the Louisiana territory to Thomas Jefferson and the U.S. in 1803 was both a bailout measure and a refocusing of priorities for the French ruler.[18] While the Louisiana region would forever be out of the control of the French and Spanish, the racial structures, liberties, and customs they left behind would both

[7] Frances Kolb Turnbell, *Spanish Louisiana: Contest for Borderlands, 1763-1803* (LSU Press, 2024), 1.
[8] Turnbell, *Spanish Louisiana*, 4.
[9] Commonly labelled as quadroon at the time.
[10] Din, *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves*, 40.
[11] Din, *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves*, 42-43.
[12] Hilary McLaughlin-Stonham, *From Slavery to Civil Rights: On the streetcars of New Orleans 1830s-Present* (Liverpool University Press, 2020), 33.
[13] The Ancien Régime refers to the political and social structure in which France existed under prior to 1789. This system was defined by an absolute monarchy, privileged nobility and clergy, and the oppression of the commoners. See: William Doyle, *The Ancien Regime* (Palgrave, 2001), 1-4.
[14] Modern-day Haiti; Franklin W. Knight, "The Haitian Revolution," *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (2000): 112, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2652438.
[15] Nathalie Dessens, "New Orleans Between Atlantic and Caribbean Reinterpreting the Saint-Domingue Migration," in *Mobility and Coercion in an Age of Wars and Revolutions c. 1750-1830*, ed. Jan C. Jansen and Kirsten McKenzie (Cambridge University Press, 2024), 157.
[16] Joseph P. Sánchez, "Old Heat and New Light on Spanish Diplomacy Regarding the Louisiana Purchase and the Defense of New Mexico, 1762-1819," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 64, no. 1 (2023): 6-7, https://www.jstor.org/stable/27260052.
[17] Thomas Fleming, *The Louisiana Purchase* (John Wiley & Sons, 2003), 109-110.
[18] Laurent DuBois, "The Haitian Revolution and the Sale of Louisiana," *Hattiesburg: Southern Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (2007): 19, Proquest.

remain and work to create a unified cultural identity, under the title of Creole, that was initially unified against the intrusion of American governance and influence.

Identität, or, Identity: The Creole

Before the Louisiana Purchase, holding a Creole identity was, in effect, irrelevant. To Historian Joseph G. Tregle Jr., it was the perceived 'intrusion' of Anglo-settlers post-purchase that made the already-existing multi-cultural population rally behind the idea of a singular Creole identity.[19] This essay will utilize Connie Eble's definition in her work Creole in Louisiana by defining Creole as a racially diverse sect of Louisiana society with roots in "French colonial language and colonial culture" existing before the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.[20] A minor addendum to this definition includes those with Spanish-colonial ties prior to 1803 as well. Within this creole identity is a unique caste system of whites, free persons of color, and enslaved Black persons. While other classes of free persons of color existed in the U.S. during the Antebellum period, Louisiana stands as 'unique' due to the treatment of free people of color being based in the aforementioned French and Spanish colonial law, instead of English law present in the rest of the U.S.[21] Importantly, these liberties afforded to Creoles were only relevant for 'free Creole,' i.e. white and free people of color, while enslaved Creoles obtained a station comparable to that of other enslaved American persons during the Antebellum Era. A large attachment to the Creole identity was the act of enslavement. As seen in all other slave states in the U.S. during the Antebellum era, wealthy white individuals reserved the right to enslave Black individuals under the practice of chattel slavery. Due to earlier French colonial ties, free people of color were permitted to own slaves in Louisiana. In the 1724 version of the Code Noir, free people of color were allotted "les mêmes droits, privilèges et immunités" that white persons held.[22] Considering a 'right' at this time was to enslave people, free people of color were also allowed to participate in the practice of enslavement. The contradictions within this right are glaring. In Article LIV of the Code Noir, free people of color were given "les mêmes droits, privilèges et immunités," affording them rights such as owning property, but were simultaneously restricted in manners that logically also fell within the purview of the aforementioned Article.[23] Nevertheless, even with the inconsistencies, free people of color took advantage of the rights they were allotted, as seen through the occasional mass slave ownership by free persons of color, e.g., Antoine Dubclet of Iberville Parish, Auguste Donate of St. Landry Parish, and Mrs. Thoma Dumford of Plaquemines.[24]

Ownership of enslaved persons became even more relevant to the assertion of their free status after the Louisiana purchase. In the 1806 Louisiana Black Code, it is stated that enslaved individuals could not own property, making property ownership synonymous with freedom. Therefore, by holding property, especially those considered high value, such as enslaved persons and land, one can prove or maintain their free status–an action utilized by free people of color starting from 1803 and extending throughout the Antebellum period.[25] In owning slaves, free people of color found themselves socially outranking certain non-slave owning white citizens across Louisiana due to their possession of the pinnacle of status. Post Louisiana Purchase, as the rest of the U.S.' slave societies rested their terms of enslavement upon binary racial categories, in Louisiana, ties to a mix of colonial regimes and the Creole identity formed a distinct racial group, free people of color, who held particular influence heading into the American Antebellum period.

[19] Connie Eble, "Creole in Louisiana," *South Atlantic Review* 73, no. 2 (2008): 42, https://www.jstor.org/stable/27784777.
[20] Eble, "Creole in Louisiana," 43.
[21] Thomas N. Ingersoll, "Slave Codes and Judicial Practice in New Orleans, 1718–1807," *Law and History Review* 13, no. 1 (2011): 23-24, https://doi.org/10.2307/743955.
[22] Translates to "the same rights, privileges, and immunities"; Code Noir of 1724, Article LIV, 129.
[23] Alluding to the aforementioned restrictions on voting rights, travel, etc. mentioned under the "Kulturkollision, or, Cultural Collision: 1699-1803" header.
[24] Joseph Karl Menn, "The Large Slaveholders of Louisiana, 1860" (M.A. diss., University of Texas, 1998), 93-94, Davis Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (437097536). By 1860, Dubuclet's real property held a value of $200,000 while his personal property stood at $6,400. In 1859, Donate's 60 slaves produced 100 bales of cotton while Dumford's 75 slaves produced "250 hodheads of sugar."
[25] Kenneth R. Aslakson, *Making Race in the Courtroom: The Legal Construction of Three Races in Early New Orleans* (NYU Press, 2014), 131-132, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.c,tt9qfjhs.9.

It is critical to note reasonable debate concerning the definition of a Creole. The complexity of the title of Creole particularly emerges in who is excluded from the group. Mentions of early 17th-century Germanic settlers in Louisiana being considered Creole permeate parts of academia.[26] This claim finds its legs in the fact that an entire region of Louisiana is named after the ethnic group: the German Coast.

Ausreißer, or, Outlier: the Others

Back in 1721, French Colonial Governor Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville permitted German immigrants to settle a portion of land sitting on the Mississippi River near Lake Pontchartrain.[27] This specific ethnic group had been targeted by John Law, a controversial Scotsman tasked by the French government with stimulating population growth in the Louisiana territory.[28] Law's preference for Germans was due to their reputation of being "sturdy, stock, honest, and hardworking."[29] As these immigrants arrived in, albeit in relatively small numbers,[30] the region colloquially, and eventually historically, gained the name of the German Coast. A fateful flood in 1722 and the lack of enslaved labor restricted the growth of this region's almost entirely agrarian economy, compared to other settlements in the Louisiana territory.[31]

On the basis of Creole admittance, the settlements of Germans in early Louisiana history, even in high concentration areas such as the German Coast, lacked the level of cultural and legal impacts that French and Spanish colonial efforts provided. Because they lacked a crucial territory-wide cultural contribution, it does not make sense to include them within the cultural subgroup that developed. The limits of the definition of a Creole are deserving of its own, drawn out, dissection; however, for the purposes of this work, a further clarifying inclusion to the definition of a Creole will be delineated as having individual ties to an ethnic group that held both a colonial regime and produced deep cultural impacts in what is now the state is Louisiana, pre-Louisiana Purchase–i.e, the French and Spanish. This exclusion does not mean that the German Coast or Germans in Louisiana as a whole are devoid of significance, however. Though the German Coast's early history was characterized by a relatively low enslaved population, by 1811, it housed one of the largest slave revolts in U.S. history and a subsequent great age of paranoia among the white populace of Louisiana.

Verfolgungswahn, or, Paranoia: 1811-1848

Around ninety years after the founding of the German Coast, on the evening of January 8, 1811, an enslaved man by the name of Charles Deslondes began what would eventually be known as the German Coast Uprising. The insurgency, which originated on the plantation of Colonel Manuel André, started with the assassination of Andrés's son, Gilbert. After this initial assault, the growing group of enslaved individuals moved in the direction of New Orleans.[32] At its peak, the mass of insurgents reached over 500 enslaved persons.[33] Within twenty-four hours, the Governor of the U.S. Territorial Louisiana at that time, W.C.C. Claiborne, acted with haste against the growing movement, as seen through letter communication with different military and government personnel.

By late afternoon on January 9th, Claiborne had officially announced that a group of enslaved persons was in a state of insurrection on the German Coast.[34] That same day, he requests that General Wade Hampton, a man with the capacity to command federal troops stationed in the region, order the relevant personnel to "permit no Negroes to" touch the Bayou Bridge in an effort to halt the group's movement to-

[26] Menn, "The Large Slaveholders," 83. Menn defines individuals with "Germanic background(s) who were born in Louisiana" as Creoles.
[27] Ellen Merrill, *Germans of Louisiana* (Pelican Publishing, 2004), 24, Google Books.
[28] Merrill, *Germans*, 19. John Law was a known gambler and was implicated in a murder in his homeland.
[29] Merrill, *Germans*, 21.
[30] Merrill, *Germans*, 24. The initial wave of settlement in 1721 brought 247 Germans.
[31] Merrill, *Germans*, 2.
[32] Nathan A. Buman, "Historiographical Examinations of the 1811 Slave Insurrection," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 53, no. 3 (2012): 324, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23266745.
[33] David Geggus, "Slave rebellion during the Age of Revolution," in *Curaçao in the Age of Revolutions, 1795-1800*, ed. Wim Klooster and Gert Oostindie (Brill, 2011), 44.
[34] W.C.C. Claiborne to the Secretary of State, January 9, 1811, in *The Official Letterbooks of W.C.C. Claiborne, Vol. V, 1801-1816*, ed. Dunbar Rowland (Jackson, MS: State Department Group of Archives and History, 1917), 95-96.

ward New Orleans.[35] In the evening, Claiborne alerted Major St. Amand that he had sent a multitude of men to march up the coast to "soon meet the Brigands and arrest them."[36] Two days later, Claiborne announced that the insurgents were assaulted by "a party of armed citizens."[37] Realizing the end was near, many of the rebels "fled into the woods" and by dusk of January 11, 1811, the insurrection had effectively been silenced.[38] In the end, there were an estimated ninety casualties.[39] As the dust settled and the continuance of Louisiana's Slave Society was secured, the paranoia set in.

Enslaved revolters moving toward New Orleans via the Mississippi River Road. This painting was created by Lorraine Gendron of Hahnville and is on display at the Destrehan Plantation.

While the participating enslaved revolters were captured, put on trial, and executed,[40] free people of color in the state found themselves under the light of suspicion. After the rebellion, Claiborne cast doubt upon the loyalties of "the small but significant class" of free people of color in the state.[41] Due to his Virginia heritage, Claiborne was likely unfamiliar with the complexities of the Louisiana racial structure.[42] Notably, there is one claim that free people may have planned to storm the armory at Fort St. Charles, in support of enslaved revolters.[43] Nevertheless, considering the overall lack of attention on this slave revolt, it is difficult to confidently assert to what extent free people of color supported the enslaved revolters.[44] Further, while there is an indication that a free people of color militia was used to assist in putting down the revolt, whether these people were willing participants or tools of the state is also lost to history. It did not help their case of innocence in their social 'trial by public' that Deslonders, the aforementioned mind behind the revolt, was cited as having a yellow skin tone, a characteristic often synonymous with the appearance of free people of color.[45]

Free people of color derived no benefit from openly assisting the enslaved population. By 1811, Louisiana's free people of color were poised to tread carefully. Under the French and Spanish regimes in Louisiana, free people of color were often differentiated due to their lighter skin tone. Yet, in Antebellum slave records, there are both mentions of yellow-appearing enslaved persons being sold as well as 'griff' enslaved persons existing in slave ledgers being kept on plantations, signaling the weakening of the lighter appearance of free people of color being a symbol of freedom.[46] Nevertheless, the new U.S. government control in Louisiana did not consider this lack of motive. Free people of color were placed in a position of

[35] W.C.C. Claiborne to General Hampton, January 9, 1811, in *The Official Letterbooks*, 93.
[36] W.C.C. Claiborne to Major St. Amand, January 9, 1811, in *The Official Letterbooks*, 93-94.
[37] W.C.C. Claiborne to the Secretary of State, January 11, 1811, in *The Official Letterbooks*, 96.
[38] Buman, "Historiographical Examinations," 325.
[39] Geggus, "Slave rebellion," 44.
[40] Nathan A. Buman, "To Kill Whites: The 1811 Louisiana Slave Insurrection" (M.A. Thesis., Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College, 2008), 8, ProQuest (29123224).
[41] Nicholas Farrell Bloom, "The Reactionary Romance of American Slave Revolt: Scripting the Unthinkable in the Archive of the 1811 German Coast Uprising," *American Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (2022): 849, https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/aq.2022.0060.
[42] Bloom, "The Reactionary Romance," 847.
[43] Buman, "To Kill Whites," 21.
[44] Buman, "Historiographical Examinations," 336-37. Bauman claims that "no study has yet capitalized fully on a transnational methodology to comprehend the insurrection thoroughly," a subsequent criticism of past, often racially prejudicial, bias' exhibited by scholars such as Charles Gayarré, Adam Rothman, Francois-Xavier Martin, and John S. Kendall in in their surveys of the rebellion. Bauman even criticizes the work of Daniel Rasmussen, which has been hailed as the pinnacle analysis of the German Coast Rebellion, due to his lack of proper citations and an improper, modern academic lens on the events.
[45] *Works Progress Administration Historical Military Data: Louisiana Militia 1811-1814*, Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University, quoted in Buman, "To Kill Whites," 80.
[46] Act of Sale, January 22, 1858, Box 3, Folder 1, 1840-1867, William Polk Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (hereafter listed as "UNCCH"); Slave Ledger, 1827, Case 1, Folder 2, 1808-1952, Trist Wood Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, UNCCH. The term "griff(e)," at this time was used to trace lineage, in the vein as the derogatory terms of Mulatto or Quadroon, and to denote a browner appearance for the purposes of enslavement and specifically the slave trade in Louisiana. Further reading in: Walter John, "The Slave Trader, the White Slave, and the Politics of Racial Determination in the 1850s," *The Journal of American History* 87, no. 1 (2000): https://www.jstor.org/stable/2567914.

'guilty until proven innocent' as seen in Claiborne's surveillance project against the race following the January uprising.[47] Additionally, the U.S. government's assistance in organizing the defeat of the revolt won considerable favor among the white Creole elites, signaling that in less than a decade, the unifying Creole identity against American intrusion was already becoming corroded. The German Coast Uprising is crucial because of how it encouraged this schism. By turning the white Creoles against their free people of color Creole counterparts, a short-lived era of coexistence turned into a climate more attuned to a racially based Us vs. Them framework, i.e., the Black free people of color and enslaved population were conspiring against the whites, whether that be Creole or American. The unification of the Creole was ultimately no more; a culture that had taken two colonial regimes and over a century of history to formulate had been divided by the events of a two-day insurgency. Free persons of color were irreversibly associated with radical anti-slavery ideology, and therefore, the corruption of Louisiana society. The assault on the rights of free people of color became the theme of this new age.

The relationship between the white ruling class, now a mix of white Creoles and Americans, and free people of color only continued to sour. One of the white ruling class's first moves was to strike at the greatest catalyst to the initial growth of the free person of color race: manumission. Between 1825 and 1853, numerous laws discouraging manumission, such as placing a hefty financial burden on slave owners wanting to manumit their slaves,[48] were a deliberate push by the Louisiana governing body to restrict and decrease the free people of color population. In the case of Berard v. Berard (1836), the court concluded that an enslaved person could not bring a suit questioning the legitimacy of the individual claiming them as their enslaved property.[49] Coupled with the fact that free persons of color could be kidnapped into slavery,[50] the ruling prevented them, and any other enslaved individuals, from claiming their freedom in any capacity. Additionally, the contempt for the liberties of free persons of color was not isolated in governance, serving to show how entrenched in Louisiana white society this movement was. Across the 1830s and 1840s, the Louisiana media operated to further ignite fears against an uncontrollable race of free people of color through quite ironic methods. In an October 1838 conversation between a True American magazine editor and a subscriber, both individuals concluded that all free persons of color were dwelling illegally within the state in a manner that directly worked to the detriment of Louisiana as a whole.[51] The next year, in another edition of True American, the writer harps on the fear of a massive influx of free persons of color into the state of Louisiana due to a recent restriction on their habitation in Alabama.[52] These complaints are both ironic and illogical. The only reason free people of color came to be inhabitants in Louisiana was due to the intentional importation of African slaves more than a century earlier. Louisiana itself was built on the forced and willing migrations of a multitude of diverse groups; the willing aspect of this process, however, was now frowned upon because it was increasingly non-white.

In an 1841 publication of the *Weekly Crescent City* magazine titled 'Criminal Alliances,' special attention is paid to the perceived deplorable relationships between a white man and a "quatroon or mulattress" as it is inherently against nature.[53] This complaint pays no mind to the systemic rape and abuse of enslaved Black women that eventually birthed the racial group that they now feared. This sentiment also displays a turn even further away from the already virtually abandoned Creole unity. In the past, cases of consensual relations between a white individual and a free person of color under Spanish law were

[47] Bloom, "The Reactionary Romance," 862.
[48] McLaughlin-Stonham, *From Slavery to Civil Rights*, 34.
[49] Whitney Nell Stewart, "Fashioning Frenchness: *Gens de Couleur Libres* and the Cultural Struggle for Power in Antebellum New Orleans," *Journal of Social History* 51, no. 3 (2018): 537, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/697894.
[50] Aslakson, *Making Race in the Courtroom*, 155.
[51] "Rights of "free persons of color" to live in New Orleans," October 21-22, 1838, *True American*, Louisiana Works Progress Administration, State Library of Louisiana, Louisiana Digital Library.
[52] "Communication: Free Negroes," March 12, 1839, *True American*, Louisiana Works Progress Administration, State Library of Louisiana, Louisiana Digital Archives.
[53] "Criminal Alliances," April 18, 1841, *Weekly Crescent City*, Louisiana Works Progress Administration, State Library of Louisiana, Louisiana Digital Archives.

permissible and seen quite widely.[54] By the late 1840s, emotions in Louisiana were at a high. The paranoid white populace feared what they viewed as a strong manifestation of their freedom, their Slave Society, being undermined by the mere existence of free people of color. Disgust toward free people of color became normal with clear manifestations. In 1848, the introduction of a new variable served to highlight just how intense this resentment truly was.

Mirror, or, Spiegel:
German Forty-Eighters: 1848-1860

In 1848, across the Atlantic, an ultimately unsuccessful revolt occurred within the German Confederation. These actions arose from counter-culture beliefs spurred on by the Vormärz Period.[55] During this period, ideas of 'Freiheit und Einheit'[56] arose among the commoners, eventually leading to the commencement of a revolutionary movement in March 1848.[57] The eventual failure of the revolutionary uprising was due to internal conflicts based upon ideological and regional differences between the revolutionaries, and external conflicts such as Prussian, Bavarian, and Austrian opposition to the German federal state.[58] In the chaos that followed, a multitude of these failed revolutionaries found themselves on ships headed to ports across America. Upon settlement in their new homes, those whose revolutionary spirit still burned inside of them found a new cause to take on: abolitionism.

Many of the German Forty-Eighters[59] who had settled in Northern, Eastern, and Western cities such as Cincinnati, Chicago, and New York rallied behind the cause of abolition. These German immigrants were particularly outspoken against the installation of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and then the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854.[60] These sentiments arose among German immigrants from a feeling of governmental overreach, something in which they were privy due to their experiences in the Vormärz Period. The efforts of this particular immigrant group post 1848 were so well-regarded among abolitionists that even Frederick Douglass was quoted saying, "a German has only to be a German to be utterly opposed to slavery."[61] On a local basis, German immigrants surrounded themselves with like-minded people by joining Turner Societies. Turner Societies, or Turnvereine, were created before the landing of the German Forty-Eighters as vessels to continue German cultural traditions and promote physical well-being post-migration to the U.S.[62] After the introduction of German Forty-Eighters to Turner Societies, however, there became a greater emphasis on political positioning and maintaining a platform. Members of the Societies, known as Turners, heavily positioned themselves under the tradition of thinkers such as Thomas Paine, specifically as it pertained to religious and political freedom. In the vein of abolitionism, because of their strong belief in "the rights and freedoms of the individual," they stood staunchly against enslavement.[63] Separate Turner Societies showed unity through joining a joint organization called a Turnerbund.[64] From the perspective of a Slave Society benefactor, the German Forty-Eighters were a group of foreign radicals operating directly against their interests. Louisiana Slave Society participants were simply no different.

As seen in the preceding over thirty decades of history, 1811-1848, the white elites in Louisiana did not take kindly to what they viewed as intruders and disrupters of their culture and society. It was almost natural for them to show unbridled ambivalence

[54] Reference to the aforementioned allowance of marriage between different races started by Spanish Colonial Governor Antonio de Ulloa.
[55] Andrew Dean Henley, "Vormärz of Germany and The Critique of Heinrich Heine" (M.A. diss., Portland State University, 1997), 2, PDX-Scholar.
[56] Translates to "freedom and unity."
[57] Mark Hewitson, "'The Old Forms are Breaking Up, ... Our New Germany is Rebuilding Itself': Constitutionalism, Nationalism and the Creation of a German Polity during the Revolutions of 1848-49," *The English Historical Review* 125, no. 516 (2010): 1174-75, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40963126.
[58] Hewiston, "The Old Forms," 1186-89, 1199-1200.
[59] The term "Forty-Eighters" emerged in academia in the 1980s and 1990s to describe the massive wave of German immigrants to the U.S. from 1848-1860 and their subsequent cultural and political impact. See: Heike Bungert, "The German Forty-Eighters in American Society and Politics," in *Yearbook of Transnational History*, ed. Thomas Adam (University Press Copublishing Division, 2021), 69.
[60] Bruce Levine, *The spirit of 1848: German immigrants, labor conflict, and the coming of the Civil War* (University of Illinois Press, 1992), 150; Bruce Levine, "Immigrants, Class, and Politics: German-American Working People and the Fight Against Slavery," in *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States*, ed. Charlotte L. Brancaforte (Peter Lang, 1989), 131.
[61] Levine, *The Spirit of 1848*, 150.
[62] Annette R. Hofmann, "The American Turners: their past and present," *Revista Brasileira de Ciências do Esporte* 37, no. 2 (2015): 120, http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.rbce.2014.11.020.
[63] Hofmann, "The American Turners," 122.
[64] Herminghouse, "The German Secrets," 10.

toward an influx of a different ethnic group, especially one who had a reputation in the North, East, and West of being champions of abolition. Consequently, post-1848 perceptions of German Immigrants from the Louisiana media were a largely one-sided affair.

It is important to note that there was some positive reception, albeit a minority, toward German immigrants at this time. The *Concordia Intelligencer* newspaper openly considered Germans as positive contributors to society, citing their "steady, sober, and orderly character."[65] This line of reasoning coincides with what John Law thought over one hundred years prior, when he endeavored to increase German migration to Louisiana. However, this positive attitude toward a growing German presence in the state was largely overshadowed by other facets of Louisiana media.

Contrary to the views of the *Concordia Intelligencer*, there is a strain of pity, teetering on prejudice toward the character and capabilities of the new wave of immigrants. In 1857, in an edition of *De Bow's Review* magazine, the article asserts that white immigrants are faced with bigger obstacles in adjusting to America compared to the enslaved persons due to them lacking "owners interested [in preserving] their health and lives."[66] Not only does this undermine the plight of the enslaved, but it also serves to hint that immigrants were incapable of taking care of themselves. In another edition of *De Bow's Review*, German immigrants are posited as being best inclined to take the highly intensive labor jobs of Black persons in the North,[67] serving as a way of presenting German immigrants as sharing a similar level of competency as an 'inferior' slave. These criticisms are not unique to Germans. As already depicted, the Louisiana media and masses had, at this point, virtually aligned free people of color as synonymous with enslaved persons; free people of color and new German immigrants were now being construed in the white Louisianian mind in comparable ways. While these perceptions apply to German immigrants and the German population as a whole, when it pertains to German Forty-Eighter activism specifically, a particular strain of Louisiana media takes a more hostile approach.

Found in multiple editions of the *New Orleans Daily Creole* is a blatant distrust of German Forty-Eighters. The *New Orleans Daily Creole* finds itself submerged in mystery. While its publisher is known and clearly stated at the start of all its editions–J.M. Weymouth & Company–the editor and writer for the works within the newspaper remain unnamed. Who the *New Orleans Daily Creole* was can, therefore, be surmised through two principles: the title of Creole and the lack of the label of a 'Black newspaper.' Concerning the latter, while the absence of evidence does not always suggest evidence, when researching newspapers written during this era, qualifying newspapers are consistently labelled as Black-owned or operating, a term that encompasses the works of free people of color. The *New Orleans Daily Creole* does not hold this label. Therefore, this essay operates under the assumption that the *New Orleans Daily Creole* was run by a white Creole or with the wishes of white Creoles in mind.

"Immigration is the foundation of abolitionism," the *New Orleans Daily Creole* boldly claims in an 1856 article.[68] The article then goes on to denounce the influence of the Northern, Eastern, and Western German immigrant vote, specifically as it concerns the future of slavery.[69] In another article, the *New Orleans Daily Creole* is more specific in claiming that German Tunverein participants specifically were openly vying for the presidency of John C. Frémont, a Free-Soiler, in the national election of 1856.[70] In a later edition of the newspaper, the author claims that due to their revolutionary past, the German Forty-Eighters are easily seduced by the revolutionary spirits, and therefore, plan to destroy the rights allotted to the

[65] "Germans in the United States," *Concordia Intelligencer*, March 18, 1848.
[66] "The Middle Passage; or, Suffering of Slave and Free Immigrants," *De Bow's Review*, June 1, 1857.
[67] "Art. VII," *De Bow's Review*, May 1, 1860.
[68] "American Doctrines Necessary for the Safety of the South," *New Orleans Daily Creole*, July 1, 1856.
[69] "American Doctrines," *New Orleans Daily Creole*, 1856.
[70] "Important Political Movement of the German," *New Orleans Daily Creole*, July 28, 1856. The Free-Soiler Political party and platform was against the expaForty-Eightersnsion of slavery.

South–i.e., the practice of enslavement.[71]

The *New Orleans Daily Creole* was not completely misguided in its apprehension, considering the aforementioned wave of abolitionism present in many German Forty-Eighter. However, there is evidence showing that while Northern German immigrants often fought to revolutionize their circumstances, Southern German immigrants sought to assimilate, in certain cases even calling into question why their Northern and Western immigrant counterparts even wasted their time on "N*gger-freedom."[72]

Overall, for Germans settling in Louisiana post 1848 and pre-Civil War, there is proof of either indifference toward or involvement in the institution of enslavement. Writers in the German newspaper Staats Zeitung claim in an 1848 edition that German immigrants who had settled in Louisiana "do well and do not complain" while living within that particular Slave Society.[73] An outlier, perhaps, is the existence of a Turner society in Louisiana. While New Orleans did have a Turner Society, they as a unit left the American Turnerbund in 1855 because they viewed the most recent Buffalo Convention anti-slavery platform as too radical, leading to a level of stagnation.[74] Therefore, on a general basis, the German Forty-Eighter who settled in Louisiana, by the onset of the Civil War, had shown no signs of outright abolitionist ambitions and instead chose to assimilate into a particular white planter-class ethos of states' rights and anti-secession.[75]

In the cases of Louisiana's German participation in the practice of enslavement, there are signs that slave ownership patterns continued from those of past German settlement within Louisiana. By 1860, it was ascertained that there were at least two plantations under German ownership with large slave-ownership holdings.[76] Coupled with the fact that German slave ownership was already prevalent and, therefore, socially acceptable to new German arrivals in 1848, Louisiana German Forty-Eighters were more inclined to turn a blind eye to, or, support slavery due to the experiences of one of their own nearly a decade prior.

In the 1844 case of Sally Miller[77] v. John F. Miller, Müller sued Miller under the claim that she had been illegally sold into slavery as a young girl soon after arriving in New Orleans in the late 1810s. What makes Müller's story striking to German Louisiana is the fact that she was a German-born person who had somehow found herself a victim of the peculiar institution.[78] Müller was a white woman; her ancestry did not hold a single drop of non-white blood. In an 1844 reaction to the lawsuit, a magazine writer was dismayed at the enslavement that Müller faced, as they surmised that her station was supposed to be "imposed only on the African race."[79] Müller's case eventually found its way to the Louisiana Supreme Court, where a ruling was returned in her favor, allotting her freedom. Because of this unique case, in a sense, German immigrants came to hold a fear similar to that of free people of color: at any moment, they could become enslaved. While this German fear pales in comparison to the real threat free people of color faced, and had faced since their inception in Louisiana, this case provides another form of comparability between free people of color and recent German immigrants. The *New Orleans Daily Creole* concentrated attacks against German Forty-Eighters at face value can easily be construed as the absurd ramblings of an obscure, short-lived newspaper. However, when taking into account everything that led up to this publication, as it relates to the treatment of free people of color and German immigrants in Louisiana, a broader relationship emerges. The Louisiana white ruling class was shaken to its core in the aftermath of

[71] "Where European Exiles Are," *New Orleans Daily Creole*, July 31, 1856.
[72] Herminghouuse, "The German Secrets," 11. Editor's note: The racial slur has been censored by the journal to prevent the word from causing any further harm while remaining true to the history discussed in this paper.
[73] Levine, *The Spirit of 1848*, 157.
[74] Patricia Herminghouse, "The German Secrets of New Orleans," *German Studies Review* 27, no. 1 (2004): 10, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1433545.
[75] Herminghouse, "The German Secrets," 35.
[76] Menn, "The Large Slaveholders," 78. Menn in his work defines "large slaveholding" as the "holding of fifty or more slaves."
[77] 'Sally Miller' is the plaintiff's alias. She is also referred to as Salomé Müller or Sally Müller depending on the source. Sally Miller will henceforth be referred to as Müller to prevent confusion with the defendant John F. Miller.
[78] Herminghouse, "The German Secrets," 5.
[79] "District Court: Lawsuit of Sally Miller," April 9, 1844, *Daily Picayune*, Louisiana Works Progress Administration, State Library of Louisiana, Louisiana Digital Library.

the 1811 German Coast Rebellion. The feeling that the new white U.S. leadership and settlers could perhaps, actually be trusted, coupled with a general sense that free people of color had officially betrayed them, however, provided them with some resolution. When the German Forty-Eighters entered the equation, similar feelings and paranoid reactions reemerged. Both publications post German Coast Uprising and the arrival of German Forty-Eighters centered around fears of conspiracy, i.e., both free persons of color and German Forty-Eighters were destined to come into the state of Louisiana and destroy the slave system. Further, associating both free people of color and German immigrants with the believed incompetencies and incapabilities of enslaved persons, intertwined their narratives to an even greater extent.

The resentment toward German Forty-Eighters was not a pure emotion–it did not come from a new source of animus; instead, they were perfect vessels for what white elites in Louisiana had believed and feared free people of color would eventually become: a foreign influence that would invade and serve as slave liberators. Consequently, the complaints toward German Forty-Eighters are expressions and not actualities. Germans did not lose their property or freedom, but free people of color did. Louisiana media used this new population as a new, covert way to speak negatively about free persons of color. Essentially, this targeting was a mere extension. The German Forty-Eighters were not actually feared in Louisiana; the idea of them was, and the idea of them personified in the white Louisiana's mind was free people of color. The German Forty-Eighters became another outlet for an angered white populace in Louisiana to express a decades-long-held belief: free people of color meant the end of Louisiana society as they knew it.

Free people of color, throughout Louisiana's history, had their livelihoods mandated and morphed based on the whims of the ruling class. When they were needed to barricade Louisiana culture from perceived American invaders, they were accepted. When they became closely associated with enslaved insurrection, they and their rights were cast aside. The animosity towards free people of color eventually became so invasive that it was mirrored onto a new population, due to a momentary convergence in reputations, i.e., the German Forty-Eighters. By the end of the century, the racial fluidity of Louisiana had largely collapsed into the binary 'Black and white' structure present in the rest of the U.S. Consequently, while white individuals could reach the position of Congressman, anyone non-white was not even allowed to choose their own preferred train car.[80] Behind the smoke and mirrors, it was never about the Germans but instead what they represented.

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[80] *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 US 537 (1896).

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"The Saints of Antiquity and the Roman Empire"

Madison Naylor

Christian asceticism can be described as a practice of self-discipline that puts emphasis on self-denial, humility, charity, and chastity, with an aim to strengthen one's faith and relationship with God. This practice was inspired by Greco-Roman philosophy and would become a crucial element in early Christianity as Christians flocked to the desert and denied themselves worldly pleasures in order to strengthen their faith. According to Henry Chadwick, within "the writings of Clement of Alexandria and especially of Origen all the essential elements of an ascetical theology could be found."[1] The history of Christianity in the Roman Empire throughout the third through sixth centuries C.E. is incredibly complex, as we see the religion go from being persecuted during the third century, including a revival of paganism, to being practiced by Roman emperors in the sixth century.. The book *Early Christian Lives* follows numerous ascetics throughout the 3rd through 6th centuries C.E., which allows us to see the varieties of ascetic ideals, the changing dynamic of the Church following the legalization of Christianity, and the gender dynamics within the practice of asceticism. The "lives" within the text all represent the core beliefs of asceticism through practices such as chastity and humility and display the relegation of women within the practice, while simultaneously presenting the changing landscape of the Church during the 3rd through 6th centuries C.E., due to the legalization of Christianity as the Church cemented orthodoxy, and the influence of Roman emperors grew in establishing church policy.

The text *Life of Antony* follows the life of Antony (251-356 C.E.) and was written by Athanasius, most likely during his exile at the hands of Arian hostilities. The Arians followed the teachings of Arius, who believed that Jesus was not one with God the Father, which is a direct denial of the Holy Trinity that was accepted during the Council of Nicaea in 325 C.E.. Athanasius would spend his life defending the Christian beliefs that were established at Nicaea, and this work is sometimes described as "anti-Arian propaganda."[2] The *Life of Antony* presents ascetic ideas through a period of Christian persecution and the growing heresy of the Arians, displaying these unique dynamics in relation to the growing practice of asceticism. In contrast to the other "lives", Antony lived a large portion of his life during the persecutions of Christians under Roman emperors Diocletian and Maximin, in which edicts were posted, "declaring that all churches were to be destroyed, all Bibles and Liturgical books surrendered, sacred vessels confiscated, and all meetings for worship forbidden."[3] In an argument with pagans, Antony states that "the teachings of Christ … appear to you to be foolish and trivial despite the fact that they have endured the tyrannical attempts at persecution on the part of the emperors."[4] This relentless persecution of Christianity at the hands of paganism, which is described as being created by demons, is depicted as proof of the power of God, and that this 'trickery' at the hands of demons can be avoided by those who practice asceticism. Furthermore, as this text was written as a defense against Arian beliefs, there is mention of the heresy of the Arians and Antony's distaste for the group. The text states "you who hold orthodox beliefs are Christians, but they teach that the Word, that is, the Son who comes from God the Father, is a creature, and so they are no different from the pagans who worship the creature instead of the Creator."[5] The text relates Arians to those who practice a faith created by demons and those who are responsible for the persecution of Christians. While the elements of asceticism remain the same for all the saints in *Early Christian Lives*, Antony focuses on the importance of these

[1] Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (Penguin Books, 1993), 177.

[2] Caroline White, Athanasius, Jerome, Sulpicius Severus, and Gregory, *Early Christian Lives* (Penguin Books, 1993), 3.
[3] Chadwick, *The Early Church*, 121.
[4] White, Athanasius, Jerome, Severus, and Gregory, *Early Christian Lives*, 58.
[5] White, Athanasius, Jerome, Severus, and Gregory, *Early Christian Lives*, 52.

practices in combating non-Christian forces, reflecting the culture in which he lived. Furthermore, even when inward issues like Arians are discussed, they are compared to the pagans and the inclusion of Antony's commentary on Arians is heavily impacted by the author's distaste for the Arians. Thus, the *Life of Antony* presents asceticism before the legalization of Christianity, where issues mainly arose from outside sources, displaying the religion before the Christian emperor's influence and during the threat of Paganism.

In the *Life of Malchus*, written sometime after 389 C.E., the author Jerome works to promote the ideal of chastity, as he believed the Church that grew through persecution had become less virtuous through the Christian emperors. The story follows Malchus, who is a holy Christian man and a practicing ascetic, as he is enslaved, which puts his chastity at risk when his master forces him to marry his fellow slave. His resolution to uphold his chastity in the name of God is presented as the reason for his survival, as this resolution leads to God saving him. In contrast to the *Life of Antony*, this work takes a more inward look at Christianity as the legalization of the religion dismantled outside issues such as pagans since the Emperors took "measures to render Pagan worship incapable of being performed in public."[6] Thus, the *Life of Malchus* presents an inward focus on Christian asceticism that reflects both the growing political power of the Church and thus the declining virtue which pushed more people towards asceticism and the unequal differences between male and female practitioners of asceticism. In contrast to the other "lives" which discuss all elements of asceticism, this text mainly focuses on chastity as chastity was seen as incredibly virtuous during a time when the Church was declining in virtue. The text states how "the Church was Born, and how it grew up under the persecutions and was crowned by the martyrs, and how, under the Christian emperors, it became more powerful and wealthy but less rich in virtues."[7] With Constantine becoming the first Christian emperor, the church started to gain political power; however, the emperors started to gain control over church policy. After the Council of Nicaea, which was brought together by Constantine, "it became increasingly the tendency for the final decisions about church policy to be taken by the emperor."[8] Furthermore, the differences between male and female ascetics are highly disputed. Peter Brown assesses this relation by claiming that men and women were not only equals in this practice, but that women actually had it easier, as, "it was harder for men than it was for women to endure a life robbed of a public profile."[9] However, through reading about the lives of these early Christians, it is clear that Brown's argument is not sound. Malchus is given his fellow slave as a wife by his master, and while he had no control over his marriage, he still had control over maintaining his chastity and thus, her chastity as well. The text states that "he offered me my fellow slave, the women who had once been captured with me, as a wife."[10] If Malchus was not a practicing ascetic, then the woman would not have been able to preserve her chastity. Brown's argument completely ignores the societal factors that allowed men to have agency over women and their faith. Men and women might be seen as equal before God, but they were not treated as such in the ancient world, which had a great influence on women's practice of asceticism.

The *Life of Martin* was written by Sulpicius Severus shortly before Martin's death in 397 C.E. Similarly to the *Life of Malchus*, Martin lived after the legalization of Christianity, so the text discusses the increased influence of the Roman emperors on the Church. Furthermore, the text offers insight into the role of women within asceticism and how they have far less agency in the practice than men. Thus, the *Life of Martin* presents an inward look at Christian asceticism that reflects the growing influence of the emperors and how such influence complicated the humility and charity aspects of asceticism and how women had less agency practicing asceticism due to

[6] Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom* (Wiley, 2012), 74.
[7] White, Athanasius, Jerome, Severus, and Gregory, *Early Christian Lives*, 121.
[8] Chadwick, *The Early Church*, 132.
[9] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 200.
[10] White, Athanasius, Jerome, Severus, and Gregory, *Early Christian Lives*, 124.

their place within society. As discussed previously, following the legalization of Christianity, the Christian emperors began to have a lot of control over the church. Prior to Martin's meeting with Emperor Maximus, the text states that "our age has become so depraved and corrupted that it is almost exceptional for a priest to have the strength not to yield to flattery of the emperor."[11] This text centers on the concept of giving up one's earthly possessions, which is reflective of the changes of the Church during Martin's life. During this meeting with the emperor Maximus, Martin would value the holiness of his priest over the emperor, representing the importance of valuing one's faith over one's status. Furthermore, the *Life of Martin* displays how women had less agency practicing asceticism. After Martin performs a miracle on a girl, her father "offered his daughter to God and dedicated her to perpetual virginity."[12] Thus, there is a clear difference in the control that women have over their faith. While the woman in the *Life of Malchus* had her practice in asceticism put at risk due to unequal gender dynamics, this girl is placed into a life of asceticism without her consent. Furthermore, there is a fairly similar situation in the *Life of Antony* when he leaves his sister with the virgins. Thus, Brown's argument is not sound because not only is asceticism for women not easier, but men and women are not even treated as equals. This text presents the growing dissatisfaction with the increasing influence of the emperors within the religion, following similar themes to the *Life of Malchus*, as both Martin and Malchus lived during similar times.

The *Life of Benedict* was written by Pope Gregory I in either 593 or 594 during the early years of Gregory's papacy. This text takes place nearly one hundred years after the other "lives" mentioned and differs from the prior texts as it primarily focuses on the miracle performed by Benedict rather than his actual teachings. The *Life of Benedict* centers around humility and the denial of temptation, similarly to the *Life of Antony*. This text focuses on essential ascetic values such as denying oneself of earthly pleasures, maintaining chastity, and how earthly possession corrupts one's virtue. After what was described as an evil spirit displaying an image of a woman in Benedict's mind, he was pushed to manage his temptation, and he asserts that the holy spirit helped him do so. In which, "afterwards, many people began to abandon the world and to hasten to learn from him, for now that he was free from the vice of sexual temptation."[13] This aspect of asceticism is present throughout all of the "lives" within the text, showing how important chastity was within the ascetic practice. Furthermore, Benedict also presents how possessions can lessen one's virtue. The text states, "as often happens, nobility of family brings with it inferiority of soul: those who are conscious that they have been more important than others, are less likely to consider themselves of little value to the world."[14] This idea of humility and forgetting one's rank is ever present throughout the "lives" of these saints. This idea of humility was also fundamental for Martin when he valued his priest over the emperor, as one's holiness is of more importance than their rank in society or their number of possessions. Thus, these ascetic ideals of chastity and humility remained ever present throughout the vastly changing landscape of the Church during the third through sixth centuries.

While in the twenty-first century we live in an increasingly secular age, ideas of asceticism are still prevalent in both religious and secular manors. The ascetics presented within the *Early Christian Lives* all place emphasis on humility, chastity, and seclusion, but how can these ascetic ideals translate into the twenty-first century? In the *Life of Antony* and the *Life of Martin*, we see an emphasis on seclusion, which is only interrupted in the name of God and performing their obligations to the faith. This idea of seclusion was promoted within asceticism as a means to separate oneself from earthly vices and focus solely on one's relationship with God. In the article, "An Ascetic Life, A Computer Age", the author, Pamela

[11] White, Athanasius, Jerome, Severus, and Gregory, *Early Christian Lives*, 152.
[12] White, Athanasius, Jerome, Severus, and Gregory, *Early Christian Lives*, 151.
[13] White, Athanasius, Jerome, Severus, and Gregory, *Early Christian Lives*, 169.
[14] White, Athanasius, Jerome, Severus, and Gregory, *Early Christian Lives*, 190.

Ferdinand, writes about monks who use the internet to spread their faith. This convergence of asceticism and the internet seems contradictory, as the internet is an inherently distracting force. However, monastery members who use the internet claim that "pious Christian lives dedicated to poverty, chastity and obedience are not incompatible with the internet."[15] Thus, the computer can be, "a tool that speeds their work and leaves more time for prayer."[16] This displays parallels to Antony reluctantly leaving his cave in order to spread Christianity, as even though spreading the religion might present vices, it is more important to spread the word of God. Furthermore, the article, "Pope Francis pulled the Catholic Church into the 21st century," presents the reforms of the Catholic Church during Pope Francis's papacy. Pope Francis, who was an ascetic, was originally thought to simply clean up Church scandals, but he instead made the Church a more inclusive institution. This "triggered resentments and fury from traditionalists, who saw him as abandoning core church principles."[17] This differs from the teachings of Antony, who preached not to befriend the Arians as their beliefs were heresy. However, Francis worked to combat institutionalized issues within the Church, like the privileged status of the monasteries. This aligns with the ascetic teaching of humility that was preached through the lives of the saints. Lastly, ideas of asceticism can also be seen in secular ways. In the article, "Decentering men: Feminist empowerment or brutal asceticism?," the author, Maddie Gillett, writes about the fourth-wave feminist concept that focuses on heterosexual women decentering men in the attempt to combat internalized misogyny. Supporters of this concept "argue that women's lives are far too contingent on male validation, so that romantic involvement is seen as a prerequisite to fulfilment."[18] This idea of false fulfilment within worldly desires is a core element within asceticism. While in a different form, this concept of trying to obtain true purpose within life is still alive in the twenty-first century. Thus, while asceticism is molded into the twenty-first-century world, these core beliefs of asceticism that can be seen through the lives of Antony, Malchus, Martin, and Benedict are still prevalent in the world today. Ascetic practices can be seen today in both the Church and seemingly incompatible concepts like feminist theory. Therefore, while these concepts might be presented in different shapes, asceticism is still prevalent in the twenty-first-century world.

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[15] Pamela Ferdinand, "An Ascetic Life, A Computer Age," *The Washington Post*, May 29, 1999, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/05/29/an-ascetic-life-a-computer-age/fd42a08d-62ef-412e-987d-390b7eeb43c5/.
[16] Ferdinand, "An Ascetic Life, A Computer Age."
[17] "Pope Francis pulled the Catholic Church into the 21st century," *The Washington Post*, April 21, 2025, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2025/04/21/pope-francis-consequential-surprising/.
[18] Maddie Gillett, "Decentering men: Feminist empowerment or brutal asceticism," *Cherwell*, November 2, 2025, https://www.cherwell.org/2025/05/13/decentering-men/.

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"Selling Socialism: How Consumer Culture Impacted Soviet Propaganda"

Emmy Pocsi

Introduction

Throughout history, propaganda has come in many forms. With the advent of new technology, propaganda has been put into every media form possible, and it is now a regular part of most, if not all, people's lives. In a similar vein, advertising has become an essential part of today's world. It is impossible for a person to step outside without having something being sold to them. The world of constant advertising today is mostly associated with capitalism, given that advertisements are created by businesses in order to sell an endless amount of goods and services, from TV sets to cruise tickets. However, the USSR created its own advertisements for its state-owned companies. To most, this would seem a strange venture for a government to put its effort and resources into, but when this advertising is viewed through a lens of propaganda rather than marketing and business, this action begins to make more sense.

The USSR's way of dealing with propaganda is a unique case to study. No matter how much the country tried to stay away from Western and capitalist influence, it still managed to emulate Western society, contradicting the ideology that the country was built on. Many of these shifts to a softer political structure came from a time when consumer culture was on the rise in the USSR. During the Brezhnev era (1964-1985), the Soviet Union began producing more consumer goods, which caused people to start spending more on these items, such as washing machines. This change sparked a need for the USSR to also change its propaganda. In a society so heavily focused on its own ideology and so opposed to capitalism, how is one supposed to consume unneeded products like televisions or expensive clothes without said consumption being seen as a symptom of a capitalist system? This was the main question that Soviet officials needed to answer, especially when increasing consumerism revealed wealth disparity, a problem that a communist society was supposed to avoid.

This research paper will first explore the ways the USSR needed to cover up and justify the contradictions that its growing consumer culture was creating. This will provide context for how consumerist influence permeated the Soviet Union and how the USSR moved away from the ideas it constantly promoted to control society. This topic will then transition into how consumerism itself was justified and made to look good within the USSR, and further how it was also used to promote anti-West and anti-capitalist sentiment. This paper will then examine how the people of the Soviet Union responded to such propaganda and how consumers functioned despite propaganda's encouragement to consume goods from the USSR, which will help us to consider whether Soviet propaganda worked in the first place.

This paper includes an analysis of a 1971 poster that is meant to encourage the consumption of better-quality items rather than items made in quantity. This message will become a theme throughout many works of propaganda and will add to the anti-West ideas that proliferated through USSR propaganda. Another form of propaganda featured here is a clip from 1964, titled "The Birth of Soviet Fashion," which talks about the innovations and high standard of the blossoming Soviet fashion industry, and entices viewers to take an interest in the production of fashion. This paper will also analyze a piece of advertising from the USSR itself, which is a relatively simple 1977 advert for a burglar alarm translated from the newspaper Pravda and put in the Current Digest of the Soviet Press, a newspaper dedicated to providing English speakers with selections from Soviet newspapers.

Several secondary sources analyse both the economic and social influences of the USSR around the Brezhnev era, which will be used in this paper. In *Soviet Consumer Goods Advertising: Propaganda and Consumption in the 1950s–1980s in Lithuania*, the author, Brigita Tranavičiūtė, argues that Soviet ad-

vertising was used as a form of propaganda and dives into how this advertising influenced Soviet consumer culture. As specific governmental institutions, like the advertising department, were created, a clearer picture emerged of what exactly the purpose of advertising was, beyond getting citizens to buy certain products.

Another source that is used as a point of analysis is a 1964 article written by James W. Markham, called *Is Advertising Important in the Soviet Economy?*. This article looks at how advertising was used in the USSR from an economic perspective. This article points out how advertising did somewhat contribute to the economy of the USSR, but it also gives evidence that advertising wasn't just used for economic stimulation, but served a larger purpose as a form of propaganda.

Soviet Consumer Culture in the Brezhnev Era by Natalya Chernyshova is also used for the analysis of the general public and their views on consumerism during the mid-sixties to the early eighties. This book looks at how the audience for propaganda in the Soviet Union affected the very propaganda the USSR created, the influence of Western sources, and how Soviet citizens viewed this propaganda. It is important to consider the Soviet public and how they may have been influenced to a certain extent to become more consumerist by the very propaganda that the USSR put out.

Consumerism and Contradiction

The very first chapter of Volume One of *Das Kapital* by Karl Marx (1876) fashions the idea of "commodity fetishism." This concept revolves around relations between consumers and the laborers who make their product. Marx argues that under capitalism, an item becomes valued for its surface qualities, rather than for the labor that created the product. This obscures the process that is used to make the commodity and hides the exploitation of workers under it. In the USSR, as the consumer industry began to improve in the 1960s, Marx's idea of commodity fetishism began to show. In a society that claimed it wanted to keep away from such things, to not mask workers behind their product, one could only assume that such things as advertisements, which encouraged mindless consumerism without much acknowledgement for the worker, would be avoided. However, there was a large push beginning in the 1960s for people to purchase consumer items. Newspapers from the 1960s and 70s began to frequently feature ads, even if they were somewhat sparse. For example, a translated ad from the Pravda newspaper advertises a burglar alarm.[1] Albeit a simple ad, it takes up room where there could instead be a political cartoon or encouraging news about the USSR. James W. Markham's *Is Advertising Important to the Soviet Economy?* describes these advertisements as "quiet and restrained," but the fact that they exist at all is confusing, considering Markham emphasizes the orthodox Soviet view of advertisement as being "parasitic."[2] So, why would these ads be used in the first place?

The Soviet Union in the 1950s experienced a steady increase in consumerist merchandise. It was becoming a place where people could buy more than they had been able to when the economy produced mostly heavy industry goods with a primarily heavy industry economy. This meant that not only was there more of a reason for advertising, but there was also a new opportunity for public opinion to be shaped with advertising. These ads aided in normalizing contradictions of traditional Soviet beliefs. The ad for the burglary alarm is simple and short, yes, but it is in practical, factual language that makes it appear more normal and blends in with the rest of the news stories in the paper. The advertisement does not comment on the product being extraordinary; rather, it's simply a description of the item, its guarantee, and where one can get it. This can be put in the same category as the advertisements that Markham describes in his article as "simple."[3] This type of ad isn't meant to deceive or to make this product sound extraordinary. It is meant

[1] "DEPENDABLE WATCHMAN," *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, December 14, 1977, 16, https://dlib-eastview-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/browse/doc/13633770/advertisement-dependable-watchman?-searchFor=%28%28Advertisement%29%20OR%20%28%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%B2%D0%B5%D1%80%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%B5%D0%BC%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82%29%29.

[2] James W. Markham, "Is Advertising Important in the Soviet Economy?," *Journal of Marketing* 28, no. 2 (1964): 34, 31, https://doi.org/10.1177/002224296402800207.

[3] Markham, "Is Advertising Important in the Soviet Economy?," 35.

to sell a product. But more importantly, it served to numb the population to break from the ideology on which the USSR was built itself on. The more advertisements are shown, the more the population will get used to being encouraged to consume.

(Advertisement) — DEPENDABLE WATCHMAN. (Pravda vostoka, Oct. 26, p. 4) Going on vacation or a long business trip? Don't worry about the safety of your apartment, dacha or car if you install the "signal" burglar alarm.

This device emits a warning alarm if strangers try to break into your home or office, garage, shed, storeroom or dacha.

The alarm sounds in all cases: if an attempt is made to open a door, window or gate, or if someone tries to cut the alarm's wires.

"Signal" is battery powered and does not depend on your home's electricity.

The manufacturer guarantees that the alarm will work without defect if used as stipulated. Guarantee lasts 18 months.

Price — 10 rubles.

ATTENTION TRADE ORGANIZATIONS!

The "Signal" Burglar Alarm is available at the Uzbekistan Wholesale Distribution Center — "Uzkhoztorg."

"DEPENDABLE WATCHMAN," *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 16.

Not only does consumerism itself provide a somewhat contradictory aspect to Marx's own theory, promoting commodity fetishism, but it also reveals a class divide in society. In *Soviet Consumer Culture in the Brezhnev Era*, Natalya Chernyshova points out that many high-ranking politicians and their families had "their own privileged access to desirable goods at home, via 'closed' shops, and abroad."[4] This had a very high risk of scandal, especially in a society where the idea of fighting against class divide and struggle had been used to rally the people. However, when people felt like they had access to the same type of consumerism that the higher-ups dig, then the class divide and the consumerism that came with it could be seen as less of a big deal.

Justifying Consumerism

Within her book, Chernyshova's writings also point to another way the government of the mid-60s and 70s was able to normalize consumerism. She highlights how, especially in the 70s, newspapers and magazines began to run titles - sections - that helped "consumers feel the Party cared."[5] These titles often centered around commodities for the people, and most importantly, quality. This is important because it served as a way to differentiate consumerism in the USSR from consumerism in capitalist countries. The USSR pushed that their products weren't made in quantity and as cheaply as possible for maximum profit, but were instead being made "for the people" with high standards to meet everyone's needs.

This gave an illusion of the West not only being a terrible place in general, but also reinforced the idea that the West was manipulative and uncaring for its people. The government emphasized that people in the West were made into brainless consumers, buying anything that the capitalist bourgeoisie wanted them to.[6] This then fed into the idea that consumerism in the USSR was different from that of the capitalist West, and therefore wasn't truly exploitative. A 1971 poster titled "Our Workshop Gives Both Quality and Quantity!" warns against people who claim to sell quality goods, but actually sell in quantity.[7] The poster essentially says that items produced in quantity will always be much poorer than the products that are displayed. The poster has two illustrated stuffed bunnies, both being held by a shouting salesman. The one rabbit is large, pink, and much more desirable looking than the other, though they look as though they are being sold with the same fervor. The poster states, "It is always so, when pursuing quantity, people will always forget about quality."[8] There is a clear message in this image that conveys the idea that the West exploits and tricks its own consumers into buying products. This poster is almost a reassurance that the USSR will protect its people from these manipulation tactics. The text on the poster points to these sellers as slimy, saying that "what is worse than this awful rabbit are the producers who do not care." The companies being targeted become a clear enemy. The poster's message becomes not just about consumerism, but about manipulators who sell faulty products.

[4] Natalya Chernyshova, *Soviet Consumer Culture in the Brezhnev Era*, (Taylor and Francis, 2013), 100, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucb/reader.action?docID=1244923&c=UERG&ppg=119#.

[5] Chernyshova, *Soviet Consumer Culture in the Brezhnev Era*, 50.
[6] Chernyshova, *Soviet Consumer Culture in the Brezhnev Era*, 49.
[7] B.Semenov, *Our Workshop Gives Both Quality and Quantity!*, 1971, https://soviethistory.msu.edu/1973-2/soviet-consumerism/soviet-consumerism-images/#bwg181/923.
[8] B.Semenov, *Our Workshop Gives Both Quality and Quantity!*.

This redirection serves to take the blame away from the USSR, whose state-owned factories may produce bad products, and puts it on ill-intentioned producers.

B.Semenov, *Our Workshop Gives Both Quality and Quantity!*

Another example of how the government justified and balanced out the contradictory promotion of consumerism is a 1964 video of a meeting of a fashion convention from that year.[9] The video, like much of the other propaganda mentioned before, emphasizes the quality of the clothing. It features clothing styles that were very fashionable for the time, and makes sure to highlight this event as very important, with fashion designers not just from the Soviet Union, but from other countries economically allied with the USSR as well, like Hungary and Bulgaria. The emphasis on how high-end and major this event was points to the idea that communist countries, including the Soviet Union, care about consumer needs. The convention itself serves as a form of propaganda, the fact that it's in Moscow being a big factor in uplifting the Soviet Union. The convention's location alludes to the idea that the USSR is the country that is leading the way for the future of consumer goods and fashion. The video tells the viewer the advancements being made in fashion, and that its new methods for clothing production will make clothing that is cheaper, wrinkles less, and does not shrink in the washing machine.

[9] "The Birth of Soviet Fashion" Moscow, 1964, Michigan State University, 1:01, https://soviethistory.msu.edu/1973-2/soviet-consumerism/soviet-consumerism-video/the-birth-of-soviet-fashion-1964/.

"The Birth of Soviet Fashion" Moscow, 1964, Michigan State University.

These propaganda pieces that the USSR put out about their production of consumer goods don't just serve to emphasize the quality of the things that are produced, but also cover up the bigger contradiction between the ideology of the USSR and how it actually functioned. A stress on quality and care for the consumers is meant to distract from the issues of how those within government had their own access to outside goods that others didn't, creating a class divide that a communist society should have been against. Furthermore, the propaganda obscures the fact that product fetishism was being encouraged by a society that also should have been against it. Instead, the blame was placed on other countries and people who were considered bad actors for pushing low-quality products and, therefore, exploiting their people.

The People's Response

The USSR tried to reconcile contradictions between its government and ideology through propaganda. But no matter how convincing this propaganda may look now to the average viewer, it wasn't a great success among the people at the time. The biggest problem was that the very countries that the propaganda depicted as enemies were now being informally roped into trade, because the people of the USSR were making their own black markets that had foreign goods. Consumerism in the Soviet Union was now

something that people were desensitized to, yes, but not in any way that the government wanted. In *Soviet Consumer Goods Advertising and Consumption in the 1950s–1980s in Lithuania*, Brigita Tranavičiūtė explains how people in Lithuania were disappointed and underwhelmed when faced with the consumer goods that the USSR produced.[10] Though the Soviets had been preparing society for a surge of consumerism and a new era of shopping, they failed to consider that Western countries had a much better and higher quality of production than the USSR did. This ended up creating a new problem regarding consumerism.

A new vision for modern consumerism completely fell through. More than high-up politicians had access to foreign and scarce goods, the common people were now trading them as well.[11] This can be seen throughout the 1970s as a large black market flourished, and posters like this one, entitled "Invisible Hats," were a way to try and deter them.[12] This poster discusses both the buyers and the sellers in the underground market, but targets the sellers. They portray sellers as manipulators, just like the Western capitalists or the other commodity salesmen whom the previous propaganda pieces warned about. But this piece is directed at the sellers rather than the consumers, threatening to fire store directors who sell their much-needed goods in the underground market.

B.Semenov and S.Smirnovskii, *Invisible Hats*, 1974.

The black market even continued into the 80s, with an almost panicked-looking poster calling people to "punish harshly those who take money without work."[13] These posters, although they may make it seem like these buyers and sellers are just an isolated criminal group, miss the fact that this flourishing black market was becoming a part of everyone's daily lives. Even in regular workspaces like offices, people were finding connections that could get them foreign goods and allow them to sell these goods as well.

Anonymous, *Punish Those Who Do Not Work!*, 1986.

As people continued to be dissatisfied with consumer products, they turned to a form of consumerism that the Soviet government disliked. Rather than going after the products that were constantly

[10] Brigita Tranavičiūtė, "Soviet Consumer Goods Advertising: Propaganda and Consumption in the 1950s–1980s in Lithuania," *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 22, no. 1 (2018): 113, https://doi.org/10.30965/25386565-02201006.
[11] Tranavičiūtė, "Soviet Consumer Goods Advertising," 113.
[12] B.Semenov and S.Smirnovskii, *Invisible Hats*, 1974, https://sovietisthistory.msu.edu/1980-2/underground-economy/underground-economy-images/#bwg196/989.
[13] Anonymous, *Punish Those Who Do Not Work!*, 1986, https://sovietisthistory.msu.edu/1980-2/underground-economy/underground-economy-images/#bwg196/986.

being praised in the newspapers as "quality" and "for the people," they were going for products from the West that were meant to be avoided. This was partially a function of the thawing of relations with the West, but also simply because of the lower-quality consumer goods that the USSR was still putting out, even as consumerism within the USSR increased. Propaganda in the USSR had two goals. One was to reconcile the growing consumer market with state ideology. The second was to encourage buying consumer goods. It was failing at both.

Conclusions

As the USSR's relationship between propaganda and consumerism demonstrates, it is incredibly hard to run an autocratic country based on a singular ideology. Contradictions to a society's own ideas can lead to a population straying from that ideology and will cause people to ignore the government and its laws altogether. As people saw high-ranking officials get access to things they could not, consumerism rose, and the class divide became more apparent. Thus, people found ways to get access to the products they wanted. Despite the efforts of propaganda, an underground market for foreign goods became a huge part of the USSR.

This clearly was not a threat that the Soviet Union saw coming, as this black market was preceded by ads for products in the newspaper, trying to get the people of the USSR used to a consumer market. This shouting about quality goods being sold in the USSR also carried anti-West and anti-capitalist tones that warned against manipulative salespeople, both from the West and in the USSR, trying to sell people low-quality products. However, this effort could not stop the eventual influx of goods from the capitalist West.

Propaganda told the people of the USSR that they had the best products, that they cared about their consumers, and that the West was only trying to manipulate them. But people could clearly see that what they were being offered to buy wasn't up to their standards. They also saw that high-status individuals were getting better quality products than they were. As a result, they realized that to have a good consumer experience, they had to find alternative ways to get what they wanted. In the end, the government had to threaten its own people with legal action. Despite these threats, this propaganda failed, which highlights how propaganda can't always succeed against reality. When people can clearly see evidence that a government's propaganda is simply propaganda, and not the truth, then there is bound to be dissent and rule-breaking. The USSR's failed propaganda strategy serves as an example of how autocratic rule isn't all-powerful, but is rather a fragile thing that can be broken down with truth.

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"The Horse's Shadow: The Decline and Renaissance of the Lakota Dog"

Max Iranmanesh

European arrival on the island of Hispaniola in 1492 would introduce a variety of technological and biological factors that would reshape the North and South American continents. Among these biological introductions to the New World were horses, both riding and pack, which would shift the cultural, economic, and political landscape of the continent. The equine introduction would especially impact the Great Plains region and the Indigenous Nations that resided there. The importance of this innovation cannot be overstated, as all native groups felt the impact of this change, and horses would fundamentally shape native history in the Americas. The Lakota, a subgroup of the larger Sioux nation, would feel this effect in all its glory as they gained, used, and eventually lost their horses; corresponding to their political rise, peak, and fall.

Meanwhile, dogs, having been brought over the Bering Strait along with early humans, had occupied a substantial role before this introduction, serving in a myriad of roles both spiritually and economically. After the Lakota adoption and reliance on horses, dogs retained ceremonial and symbolic roles, but lost their economic primacy. Horses became the new measure of wealth and power, yet dogs persisted in myths and rituals, reflecting their enduring cultural resonance. Furthermore, following the decline of the Lakota and their confinement to reservations, dogs regained some of their lost importance. This shift reflects a cyclical pattern in which horses enabled the Lakotas rise, but ultimately became a factor of their undoing. The relationships of dogs, horses, and the Lakota, can be viewed as the iterative rise and fall of Indigenous power in the face of colonial change.

Due to a lack of large pack animals and other domesticated herbivores, dogs became the primary animal of domestication for Indigenous people. Dogs likely crossed over the Arctic land bridge alongside humans from Asia. The exact dating depends on whether you believe the Clovis First model, which estimates that humans arrived 13,000 years ago, or the newer Pre-Clovis hypothesis, which gives dates as far back as 20,000 years ago (but for our purposes, dating is largely irrelevant during this time period).[1] Regardless, we know for certain that dogs were in the west when humans arrived in North America. It is also evident that they largely served similar roles to their Old World counterparts, and took on some of the functions of other domesticated animals in the Old World, such as that of pack animals. Canines took up other positions of importance in Lakota society, which will be further elaborated upon. These include, but certainly aren't limited to, spiritual guardians, guard dogs, pack animals, and personal companions.

As mentioned, prior to equine introduction, dogs were indispensable companions to the Lakota, serving as their partners in daily and spiritual life and holding a tremendous amount of cultural and economic importance. When examining Lakota creation myths, dogs served an important function as spirit guides and protectors. In some oral traditions, dogs are depicted as guides for souls traveling the *Wanagi Tacanku* (Spirit Road, or Milky Way) to the afterlife.[2] Dogs were seen as messengers to the spirit world that could sense danger to their families and owners. The *Šúŋka* (dog) was revered for its spiritual and practical importance. Archaeological evidence of dog burial correlates to them having spiritual importance and holding a place of reverence in society. North American canine burials were often conducted in ways similar to human funerary practices, including offerings being left at the site and burial mounds or rock cairns being erected in their honor.[3]

Dog sacrifice is also an important part of Lakota tradition and was carried out in ceremonies. James R. Walker, a physician who spent extensive time on the Pine Ridge reservation, would get mul-

[1] Dennis J. Stanford and Bruce A. Bradley, *Across Atlantic Ice: The Origin of America's Clovis Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 14, 54.
[2] William K. Powers, *Oglala Religion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 53.
[3] William Pferd, *Dogs of the American Indians* (Denlinger's, 1987), 49.

tiple accounts of this ritual sacrifice involving a painted puppy. Walker's Lakota informants detailed the *Šúŋkawakan Yuwipi* ceremony, where 'a spotted puppy [was] strangled, boiled, and distributed to carry messages to the spirit world'.[4] Ethnographic accounts describe ceremonial painting of sacrificial dogs, and archaeological finds show pigment use in Lakota rituals, suggesting continuity of these practices at Pine Ridge.[5] It is thought that the dog's spirit would receive a vision which can be relayed back to a ritual specialist. After the ritual sacrifice, the dog would be boiled, during which a *Heyoka Kaga* ceremony would be conducted in which people would dance around and occasionally plunge their hands into the boiling water.[6] The stew would be consumed with the intended goal of ensuring clairvoyance to the ritual specialists. The *Heyoka* is a sacred clown or trickster, also known as a "sacred fool".[7] They are chosen by the Great Spirit (*Wakan Tanka*) and are believed to have been chosen by the Thunder Beings (*Wakinyan*) in dreams.[8] The dog's sacrifice would ensure the *Wakimyan*'s appearance and bestowing of wisdom, thus providing prayers, balance, and healing for the tribe. These ceremonies were extremely important, and Lakota spirituality would form the backbone of their society.

Dogs had economic importance as well, being the only Lakota pack animal for many years. Additionally, a family or clan's wealth could be adequately measured by the amount of dogs they possessed because dogs enabled them to transport more goods. Serving as "beasts of burden," dogs could not transport things as efficiently as horses and other designated pack animals but would still be able to haul firewood, food, and water.[9] The Lakota, among other native tribes, would use a *travois*, a triangle-like frame made of wood, to rest on the dog's back, which they would then pull. This tradition would be recounted by John Lame Deer's grandfather, the warrior Eagle Elk, in a retelling by his grandson published in 1992. Eagle Elk describes the process of making such a device, recounted by his grandson Lame Deer; "Before we had horses, dogs were our only beasts of burden. We harnessed two sticks to their shoulders and tied bundles to them, which the dogs dragged along. This was called a *dog travois*.[10] This would prove pivotal to aiding in the seasonal migrations of the Lakota nomadic lifestyle. With sparse vegetation on the plains, dogs would be used in hunting, especially for smaller game such as deer, rabbits, and the like. Bison hunting was far more rare as it was extremely dangerous and exhausting on foot. In essence, the Lakota dogs were sacred and extremely versatile, serving as essential pieces to Lakota life both economically and spiritually. The Lakota bond with dogs would serve as the basis for their eventual relationship with horses.

This canine-centric world transformed dramatically when Spanish conquistadors introduced horses to the Americas. The Pueblo Revolt was the catalyst for this change, when Pueblo rebels expelled the Spanish and acquired their horses, initiating an equine revolution across the Great Plains. In 1680, after decades of Spanish occupation and use of the *encomienda* system, which uprooted and erased Pueblo social and economic life, the Pueblo people reached a breaking point.[11] A concurrent drought and famine further exacerbated these tensions. The Pueblo were led by Popé (Po'pay), a Tewa religious leader from Ohkay Owingeh.[12] Popé coordinated a strenuous alliance of villages out of his base at Taos Pueblo.[13] After sending a signal to start the attack, over 400 Spanish colonists were killed, and they fled South.[14] Prior to the revolt, the Spanish controlled horse distribution, as horses were critical to Spanish military and logistical dominance. With this victory, however, horses, cattle, and sheep were left behind and seized by the

[4] James R. Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual*, trans. Raymond J. DeMallie and Elaine A. Jahner (University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 112.
[5] Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual*, 154; Linea Sundstrom, *Storied Stone: Indian Rock Art in the Black Hills Country* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 89.
[6] Harry W. Paige, *Songs of the Teton Sioux* (Westernlore Press, 1970), 128.
[7] Paige, *Songs of the Teton Sioux*, 198.
[8] Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual*, 85.
[9] John (Fire) Lame Deer and Richard Erdoes, *Gift of Power: The Life and Teachings of a Lakota Medicine Man* (Santa Fe: Bear & Company, 1992), 42.
[10] Lame Deer and Erdoes, *Gift of Power*, 35.
[11] Andrew L. Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 15.
12 United States Congress, *Journals and Records of the 109th United States Congress,* U.S. Congress, 2005–2006.
[13] Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680*, 124.
[14] Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680*, 134.

nearby indigenous groups.[15] This bypassed Spanish restrictions and allowed these groups to spread to plains tribes up north, fundamentally changing the military, economic, and political landscape of the continent. By the 1700s, groups such as the Kiowa and the Cheyenne were eventually able to spread the horses to the Lakota, an event that substantially transformed the tribe's society and standing with other Indigenous Nations.

The exact moment of the Lakota horse adoption is hard to pin down. It is estimated that the Cheyenne were the primary group to introduce horses to the Lakota around 1730.[16] The Lakota called them *šuŋkawakaŋ*, or "dog of wonder," illustrating the role horses would soon come to adopt. Horses enabled unprecedented mobility, allowing the Lakota to transport larger travois loads and cover vast distances on horseback. In addition, the culture became increasingly focused on their relationship and eventual reliance on the buffalo, due to the ability to keep up on horseback and hunt buffalo far more effectively than on foot. Equine reliance would reach its height during the 1840s and 1870s.

Between the 1840s and 1870s, the Lakota had become one of the most powerful indigenous groups in North America. This era of regional dominance was directly correlated to their mastery of horses, which allowed them to outmaneuver rival tribes, resist U.S. encroachment, and establish a vast territory stretching from present-day South Dakota to Montana.[17]

While the Lakota were originally a woodland people in the Minnesota River Valley, their acquisition of horses marked the beginning of the tribe's transformation into a formidable Plains power. By the early 19th century, they undertook and eventually completed a Great Plains migration, along with their horses, carrying them into a new era.[18] Red Cloud later identified two key pressures driving this migration; "The introduction of European arms by the late 1600s had a particularly significant effect on the Sioux and was one of the major reasons for the Lakota migration westward; obviously, consideration of an adequate food supply, such as the availability of game, was also an important factor."[19] With the intended goal of buffalo hunting and regional expansion, the stage was set for the Lakota's impending dominance. By the 1840s the Lakota had control over key areas such as the Black Hills and the Powder River basin using their equestrian advantage.[20] There were 3 key factors for them that led to the widespread influence and success. First, horses allowed the Lakota to conduct their buffalo hunts with new, frightening efficiency. Compared to perilous foot hunts, horseback hunters could track herds for days and harvest enough buffalo to sustain growing populations. This new abundance of resources enabled the Lakota to grow their influence through trade networks, exchanging buffalo hides and horses with other tribes and Euro-American traders. Additionally, equestrian mobility became the foundation of military dominance. Unlike Western heavy armies, Lakota warriors fought as light cavalry, using speed and surprise to overwhelm opponents with sudden ambush tactics. These aforementioned tactics made them nearly invincible in open combat, allowing them to push rival tribes like the Crow, Kiowa, and Pawnee out of contested lands. This military prowess was formally recognized in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, also known as the Horse Creek Treaty, where the United States acknowledged Lakota sovereignty over 60 million acres.[21] Extending beyond warfare, the Lakota's horses became a marker of status and wealth, with leaders such as Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse owning large herds.[22]

The practice of horse raiding or counting coup was an important rite of passage in the lives of young warriors, which further reinforced their martial culture. Counting coup would consist of a war party travelling and executing a quick and fast strike to steal as many horses as possible and to return as

[15] Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680*, 9.
[16] John C. Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 159 (1955): 6.
[17] Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 36.
[18] Robert W. Larson, *Red Cloud: Warrior-Statesmen of the Lakota Sioux* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 7.
[19] Larson, *Red Cloud*, 8.
[20] Ostler,. *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 24.
[21] Robert W. Larson, *Gall: Lakota War Chief* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2007).
[22] Bill Yenne, *Sitting Bull* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2008), 15.

quickly as possible. Anthony McGinnis describes how the Crow people would execute such a raid; "It had to be done secretly and safely so that the war party lost none of its members. Eventually, with some luck or good medicine, the [Sioux] would find an enemy camp, make a plan of attack, and carry it out. After a successful raid, the victors again traversed the trail home, this time very rapidly, running captured horses for several days without stopping in order to avoid pursuers."[23] The increasing value of horses fostered both the need to protect one's own herd and desire to steal those of others, compelling the Lakota to undertake increasingly daring raids to grow their military prowess.

During the Lakota's mid-19th century zenith, while horses symbolized warfare and status, dogs maintained a vital yet often overlooked role in daily life and cultural practices despite their reduced economic importance. At the tribe's peak between 1840-1875, when the Lakota controlled territory from the Black Hills to the Powder River Basin, dogs were more than just relics of a pre-equine past—they were connections to tradition, practical assets in camp life, and spiritual intermediaries even as their economic importance waned.[24] The equestrian revolution created a new paradox; Warriors accumulated horse herds as status symbols (with painted war ponies as crowning glories), yet still kept dogs as loyal companions. This tradition would extend to prominent leaders and Lakota chiefs such as Sitting Bull.[25] A journalist with *The Bismarck Tribune* noted in 1881 that Sitting Bull kept 'a pack of dogs at his camp' and defended their loyalty.[26] Even during the Lakota's equestrian peak, dogs remained personal companions to leaders, bridging pre-horse traditions with new realities.

After mounted bison hunts became dominant, dogs retained niche functions such as winter hunting. In deep snow, dogs could track and tree game more effectively than horses. For rabbits, prairie dogs, and other smaller prey, dogs remained the preferred hunting partner. Though horse adoption significantly reduced dog labor (*travois* use dwindled after the 1820s), archaeological finds of dog bones in lodge sites and oral traditions confirm their enduring presence.[27] Another interesting layer to this relationship is that although horses would be owned by men, particularly the head of the household, dogs were kept by women, children, and elders, showing their transition from status symbols and economic means of output to household companions.

This aforementioned equestrian golden age proved tragically brief. Within just fifteen years (1875-1890), U.S. military and economic policies systematically dismantled the Lakota horse culture that had taken a century to develop. By the 1880s, their dependence on horses had become a fatal vulnerability. At its peak, the Lakota equestrian dominance was supported by three pillars. The buffalo horse hunting formed the foundation of the tribal economy, as horses allowed new levels of harvesting bison herds. Mounted hunters could often kill up to six animals a day compared to the vastly reduced rate that came with hunting on foot. This new surplus of resources allowed for the facilitation of large-scale research networks where buffalo meat and other products would be traded. The Lakota's equestrian military strategy also gave them an edge over rival tribes and the U.S. military as they outmaneuvered opponents. This is best demonstrated in the 1866 Fetterman Fight, when decoy riders lured eighty soldiers into an ambush that marked the US Army's worst defeat on the Plains until Little Bighorn.[28] Social organization was entirely equine, centered as elite akicita soldiers maintained herds of up to fifty horses. Horse riding, and further cultivation of a herd became a primary path to status for young men. The famous Sun Dance, a four day long ceremony symbolizing renewal, would include horse imagery and battle reenactments using cavalry.[29]

The U.S. government's organized campaign

[23] Anthony McGinnis, *Counting Coup and Cutting Horses: Intertribal Warfare on the Northern Plains, 1738–1889* (Evergreen, CO: Cordillera Press, 1990), 30.
[24] Ostler,. *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 24.
[25] *The Bismarck Tribune*, July 8, 1881, 1, column 3.
[26] *The Bismarck Tribune*, July 8, 1881, 1, column 3.
[27] John R. Bozell, "Culture, Environment, and Bison Populations on the Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Central Plains," *Plains Anthropologist* 40, no. 152 (1995): 152.
[28] Wyoming State Archives. *OH 1580, Elsa Spear Byron Transcript.* Wyoming State Archives, [n.d.], 155.
[29] Ella Cara Deloria, *The Buffalo People* (University of New Mexico Press, 1994).

to break Lakota resistance targeted each of the aforementioned pillars of society with absolutely terrifying efficiency. Ecological warfare through organized buffalo slaughter eliminated the economic linchpin of Lakota resistance, with hunters slaughtering so many buffalo that by 1883, only three hundred wild animals remained in Dakota Territory.[30] On June 26, 1869, the *Army Navy Journal* reported: "General Sherman remarked, in conversation the other day, that the quickest way to compel the Indians to settle down to civilized life was to send ten regiments of soldiers to the plains, with orders to shoot buffaloes until they became too scarce to support the redskins."[31] Sherman's rhetoric was put into reality with shocking efficiency. The U.S. War Department admitted in 1874 that "4.5 million buffalo were destroyed between 1872–1874" to "subjugate the Indians by removing their food supply."[32] With the buffalo population dwindling, horses became expensive burdens rather than providers of great wealth as their economic output decreased. Military confiscations following the 1876 campaigns featured deliberate horse seizures, including the destruction of twelve hundred horses at Slim Buttes in September 1876 and Crazy Horse's band surrendering twenty-three hundred horses in May 1877.[33] The seizure of horses would cripple the Lakota and would be one of the defining events in their eventual fate of being forced onto reservations.

Data from reservations is hard to interpret and somewhat spotty, but census data at Standing Rock Indian Reservation in 1883 found that there were just eleven horses per hundred people, down from sixty in 1875.[34] Additionally, the 1883 "Code of Indian Offenses" banned off-reservation hunting, mandated cattle herding, and banned the Sun Dance ceremony and horse sacrifices, shattering Lakota economic and cultural life.[35] Facing starvation and cultural annihilation, the Lakota re-adopted some of the pre-equestrian practices, with dogs filling critical gaps in their shattered society. Subsistence adaptations saw the return of dog travois, abandoned since the 1820s, with Pine Ridge winter counts showing dog teams hauling fifty-five percent of firewood and thirty percent of ration distributions between 1885 and 1890.[36] By 1883, Pine Ridge agents reported Lakotas 'using dogs to haul wood' as horses became 'too scarce to feed'.[37] The dog, once displaced by the horse's grandeur, reemerged as the unlikely guardian of Lakota identity in their darkest hour.

The buffalo being gone enabled more alternative hunting methods. A pack of ten or so dogs could flush tons of rabbits into nets daily, providing much needed sustenance in the face of the less than stellar rations at Pine Ridge Reservation. At Rosebud Reservation, horse count dropped, and conversely, the number of dogs increased.[38] The complete eradication of bison hunting, which at its peak had yielded almost two hundred animals per family annually, forced reliance on small game, with yields increasing from fifteen to ninety pounds per week. The Lakota's canine cultural revival was not due to their desire to return to the past, but a necessity of survival. Dogs' cultural and spiritual importance would re-emerge with the Ghost Dance, as "during the 1890 Ghost Dance, participants at Pine Ridge reported visions of 'spirit dogs leading them to the afterlife'."[39] Puppies replaced horses as gifts in naming ceremonies, symbolizing resistance through cultural revival. While horses enabled power and imperial expansion, dogs facilitated survival under containment. This transition demonstrates the Lakota's remarkable resilience. As colonial policies encroached on their traditions and threatened their survival, the Lakota completed a reversal to older traditions, relying on the pre-equine

[30] William T. Hornaday, *The Extermination of the American Bison* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), 498.
[31] "General Sherman on the Indian Question," *Army and Navy Journal* 6, no. 42 (June 26, 1869): 642.
[32] United States, War Department, Annual Report of the Secretary of War for 1874 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1874), 24-25.
[33] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 272.
[34] U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1883* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 115.
[35] U.S. Department of the Interior, *Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses* (1883), 75.
[36] Robert Marshall Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (Yale University Press, 1963), 78.
[37] U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1883*, 34.
[38] U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1883*, 38.
[39] James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896).

traditions and animals to help the tribe survive.

As the 20th century dawned, dogs had guided the Lakota through three radical transformations: from pedestrian to equestrian and back, from sovereignty to reservation, and ultimately toward cultural survival in the modern era. Through this historical lens, the humble dog transcends its role as a relic of lost glory to instead, a testament to the enduring adaptability of the Lakota people.

The saga of the Lakota and their relationship with animal both canine and equine, reveal profound narratives about adaptation, resilience, and continuity, in the face of change and upheaval. From their days as a pedestrian people relying on *Šúŋka* for survival, to their equestrian golden age when *Šúŋkawakȟáŋ* (horses) propelled them to dominance, and finally to their forced return to canine reliance under U.S. colonial rule, the people of the Lakota demonstrate a unique ability to reinterpret their relationships with domesticated animals in order to meet the demands of their shifting world and society. This cyclical journey undertaken by the tribe—from dogs to horses and back to dogs—reflects a fundamental pattern in Lakota history where cultural survival depended on strategic flexibility. This can be seen all the way back in their migration west towards the Great Plains in the early 17th century.[40]

The arrival of Spanish horses in the Americas sparked a transformation that would reach the Lakota by the 1700s, creating opportunities and vulnerabilities alike. Horses, and the Lakota's mastery of them, enabled the tribe to become masters of the Plains, with their new and powerful buffalo-horse economy supporting unprecedented political growth, territorial expansion, and military dominance. However, this very same reliance on horses became the tribe's vulnerability, and led to their eventual downfall when the U.S. government systematically destroyed their buffalo herds, confiscated their horses, and criminalized their equestrian way of life. The final nail in the coffin was the confinement to reservations; the exact antithesis to the mobile, fast-moving lifestyle they had developed. In the midst of this collapse, dogs—having become overshadowed by their equine counterparts—reemerged as vital partners in survival, similar to their role before the development of the Lakota horse culture. The animals hauled firewood and rations when horses were scarce, hunted small game when buffalo were gone, and regained ceremonial significance as spiritual guardians during the trauma of reservation life.

Where horses had symbolized the height of Lakota power, dogs became emblems of their endurance. Dogs had consistently maintained their spiritual and personal roles, but having lost their economic primacy to horses, they would reclaim a material importance as a result of colonial necessity. This cyclical dynamic reveals the profound cultural embeddedness of *Šúŋka* (dogs) within Lakota society, ready to reclaim prominence when needed. The contrast with *Šúŋkawakȟáŋ* (horses) proves insightful, as the horse led the Lakota to the peak of their powers but ultimately fell from grace. Horses defined the Lakota golden age, but it was the dog that ensured and assisted in their survival. Today, as the Lakota people continue to navigate the legacies of colonialism, the relationship and cycle of *Šúŋka* and *Šúŋkawakȟáŋ* offer a powerful lesson in relationships with domesticated animals and cultural adaptation.

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[40] Larson, *Red Cloud*, 7.

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Honors Abstracts

"Mary Tudor: England's Most Misunderstood Sovereign"

Jenna Boltzman

No abstract provided.

"Neoliberalism in Higher Education: The History of Neoliberalism's Influence on Universities and Athletic Departments"

Wilson Georges

In the mid-20th century, higher education embarked upon its "Golden Age" as a result of increased state and federal funding following World War Two. This period of prosperity would prove unsustainable once the Economic Crisis of the 1970s arrived, as neoliberal economic ideology would bring decreases in funding for higher education. Despite this decline in funding for institutions across the country, athletic departments began to grow at an unprecedented rate behind the same neoliberal ideology. Although this reduction in funding for higher education would begin in the 1970s, it would not reach a dramatic level until the 2008 Financial Crisis. This crisis was further fueled by the neoliberal ideology that permeated within American leadership during the late 20th century and early 21st century, as deregulation brought instability to markets. Since this crisis, funding for higher education has never reached its pre-crisis levels, while athletic departments continued to bring in increased revenue during and after the crisis. While neoliberalism brought favorable outcomes for athletic departments, it brought difficult circumstances for the universities in general, pushing higher education closer towards a private good.

"Stitching "Civilization:" Indigenous Girls, Mission Schools, and Needlework in the Early Nineteenth Century"

Abigail Kilgore

This thesis examines the role of needlework in early nineteenth-century mission schools as a central instrument of the United States' "civilization" project among Cherokee and Choctaw communities. Focusing on the surviving needlework samplers of Ku-To-Yi, Hotima, and Eliza Baynard, it argues that these objects functioned as both pedagogical tools and material expressions of cultural negotiation. Missionaries and federal policymakers viewed Indigenous girls as key agents in reshaping Native societies through gendered instruction in domestic labor, Christianity, and Euro-American social norms. Needlework, in particular, served as a vehicle for instilling ideals of femininity, discipline, and the moral virtue aligned with Protestant domesticity. By situating these samplers within the broader contexts of federal Indian policy, missionary education, and Euro-American needlework traditions, this study demonstrates how material culture reveals the gendered dimensions of assimilationist efforts in the Jacksonian era.

At the same time, this thesis contends that Indigenous girls and their communities were not passive recipients of these imposed systems. Instead, Cherokee and Choctaw families strategically engaged with mission education as a means of navigating shifting political landscapes and preserving sovereignty. Through a close analysis of the samplers' motifs, inscriptions, and technical execution, this study shows how these works embodied both compliance with and resistance to missionary expectations. The samplers thus emerge as complex historical texts that reflect Indigenous agency, adaptation, and identity formation. By bringing together historiographies of Indigenous policy, mission schooling, gender, and material culture, this project reframes needlework as an active site of negotiating, ultimately demonstrating

how Indigenous girls used the tools of assimilation to sustain community, assert identity, and respond to settler colonial pressures.

"Your Majesty's Most Humble Slave and Dog: The Duke of Buckingham and The Spanish Match"

Sophie Klepner

No abstract provided.

"Cnut, Meet Hrothgar: The Danish Conquest and the Eleventh-Century *Beowulf*"

Lexy LeBlanc

This thesis argues that the Beowulf manuscript was copied between 997 and 1016 in an attempt to encourage unity and understanding between the English, Anglo-Danish, and Scandinavian populations of England amid the Scandinavian invasions and anti-Danish royal policy of Æthelred II's late reign. It proposes that Archbishop Wulfstan of York's Anglo-Danish background, highly literate nature, and influence in Æthelred's court could have led him to influence the copying of Beowulf as a way of encouraging Æthelred and his secular advisors to adhere to a more virtuous style of ruling and to adopt less harsh royal policies against England's Anglo-Danish and Scandinavian populations. After Cnut ascended the English throne in 1016, he embraced the accommodating and conciliatory royal policy suggested by Wulfstan and employed by earlier West Saxon kings, such as Alfred the Great, in order to promote peace and goodwill between the English and the Danes. Cnut legitimized his rule in part by claiming common ancestry with the House of Wessex through the Danish Scylding dynasty referenced in Alfredian royal genealogies. This thesis argues that the Scylding dynasty was relatively well-known in England due to their presence in the royal genealogies and in Old English poetry depicting Germanic heroic legends, and suggests that Beowulf may have been disseminated in England during Cnut's early reign (1016–1023) as a way to further promote Anglo-Danish common ancestry, encourage the Christianization of pagan Scandinavian settlers, and advocate for the virtuous kingship missing from Æthelred's reign.

"Women's Voices in a Time of Change: The Evolution of Feminist Consciousness-Raising from Barnard College to Adulthood"

Talia Pesky

"Women's Voices in a Time of Change: The Evolution of Feminist Consciousness-Raising from Barnard College to Adulthood" challenges the prevailing understanding of consciousness-raising as a Second Wave Feminism phenomenon that occurred solely in group settings. In the 1960s and 1970s, consciousness-raising groups certainly emerged as small women-only discussions in the Women's Liberation movement of Second Wave Feminism. These meetings were often formal and informal spaces for understanding feminism, allowing women to examine systemic gender discrimination, sexism, and misogyny prevalent in United States society. Historians have described this as the main form of how consciousness-raising appeared and existed during this time. This thesis builds upon this scholarship by arguing that consciousness-raising also developed through individualized experiences of gender discrimination across both women- and male-dominated environments. It features the voices of four women–Lynne Haims, Deborah Kayman, Michelle Patrick, and Shulamit Kahn–who gave oral history interviews of their time before, during, and after attending Barnard college from 1968 to 1971. This thesis shares these experiences in two parts. The first part describes the women's experiences during college, with attention to the Columbia University and Barnard protests they engaged in and which gave way to developing feminist consciousness in a predominantly women-dominated environment. The second part inspects how this

feminist consciousness evolved and grew into solidified ideologies of feminism and womanhood, as the women entered male-dominated spaces and came to understand the intersectionality of their gender with other aspects of their social identities. As a result, this thesis shows that women experienced feminist consciousness-raising differently than scholars have previously described. Specifically, it shows how being part of an all-women's college impacted the women's feelings and understandings of feminist consciousness, and that there were different forms of gender awakening and awareness at this time that evolved over long periods of time and through introspection that the women engaged individually.

"Driven by Identity: Investigating the Origins of American Car Culture and the Modern Landscape 1895–1920"

Ari Snyder

In the last decade of the 19th century, European inventors developed one of the most transformative technologies in history: the automobile. In the first two decades of the 20th century the automobile shaped the social fabric of American society and ultimately remade infrastructure to accommodate widespread personal transportation by means of internal combustion engine (ICE). More specifically, the popularity of the ICE over other types of engines such as steam and electric, began as a European luxury product, designed by French and German inventors to project the economic status and high-speed prowess of the wealthy elite men that engaged in competitions.

When automobiles first appeared, they were sensational in international headlines, but they were expensive and required frequent maintenance; and harsh road conditions throughout the countryside rendered them impractical for most Americans. By the end of the first decade of the 20th century, ICE powered vehicles became more affordable for lower-income Americans due to more efficient production techniques. Although many impracticalities continued to exist, ICE automakers marketed their designs to frame them as indispensable possessions that defined one's economic success and social standing.

By the 1910s to the early 1920s, marketing no longer sold the car as a mechanical tool but as a marker for personal identity: a product that expressed freedom, competence, and one's place in modern American society. In order to position the automobile this way manufacturers described a reciprocal relationship between these gasoline-powered cars and their drivers. The gasoline-powered engine's dominance emerged from a feedback loop in which cultural enthusiasm shaped engineering priorities, which transformed cities with newly paved streets, highways, and filling stations. This transformation emerged as a mutually beneficial relationship between oil companies and automakers. Gradually, the auto industry influenced cultural values, shaping how Americans spent their time and money. I argue that Americans did not merely adopt the ICE vehicle; they co-produced its meaning and functionality in modern American spaces and ultimately established a car culture.

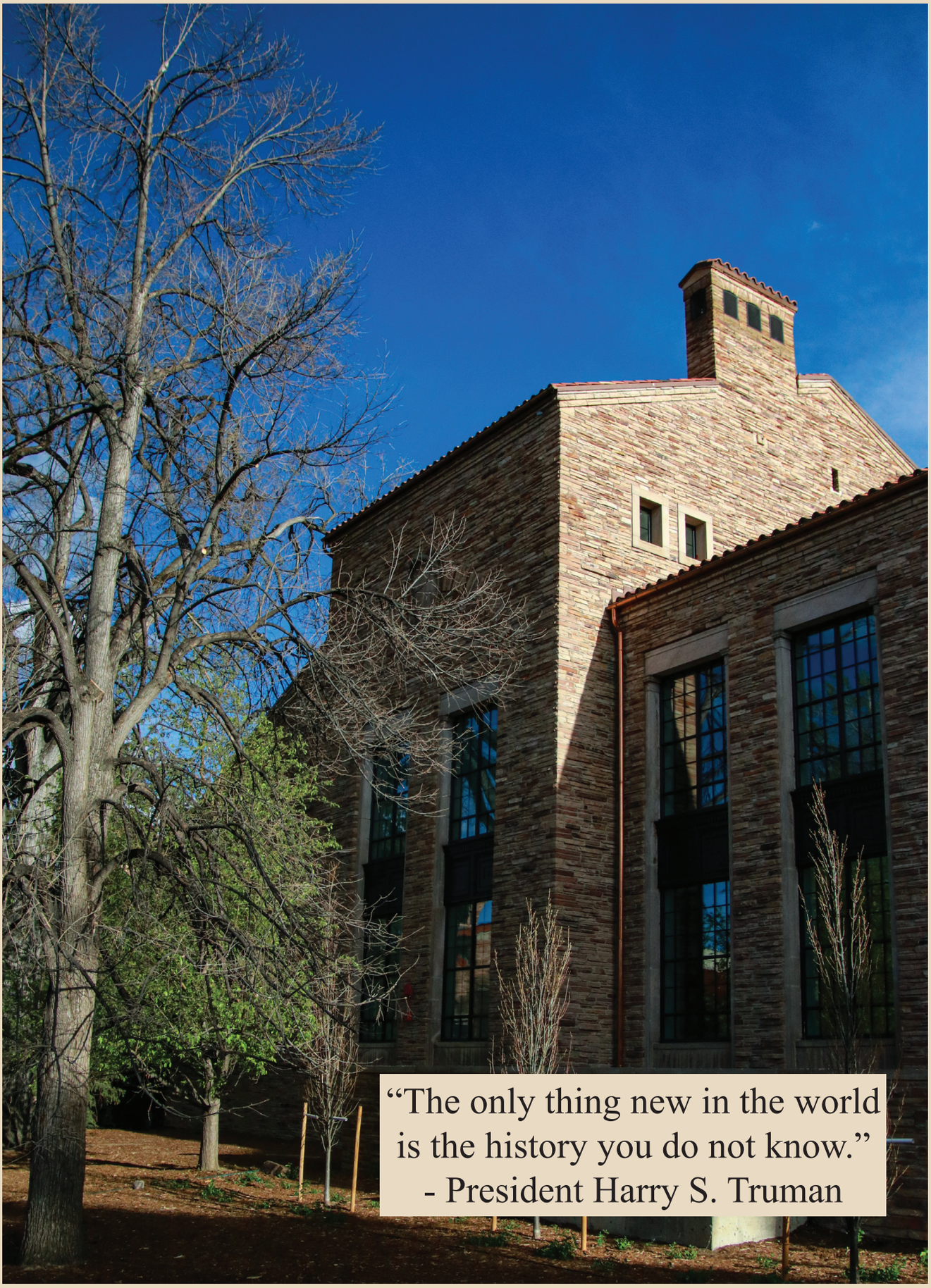
"The British Public's Perceptions of Transjordan: 1907–1951"

Daniel Valitt

After the First World War the United Kingdom and France acquired territories from the former Ottoman Empire under the new Mandate system outlined in the Treaty of Versailles. Under the League of Nations supervision, the mandates were ostensibly provisional custodianships for the betterment of the Arab societies in their growth to becoming independent States. Utilizing the British press, literature, and published Government reports, this thesis investigates how different layers of British society perceived the fulfillment of such legal imperatives in the Transjordan Mandate, and from those perceptions, created differing arguments to explain Transjordan's perceived stability and loyalty.

This thesis argues that Transjordan's shifting stories of race, class, regality and British exceptionalism were far more palatable to the British public than the material changes within Transjordan's borders. Furthermore, this discourse operated in reaction to the changing social and political realities of the British Isles while it was secluded to the upper levels of English society through 1934. In reaction to the other British possessions destabilizing and bringing Transjordan into regional conflicts from 1935 onwards, other British demographics drew interest in Transjordan's narratives as well.

2026 Editing Team. Top row, left to right: Asher Myers, Lucas Alejandro Sardiña, Katelyn Smith, Maggie Bacchus, Dr. Honor Sachs. Middle row, left to right: Abigail Kilgore, Hailey Nagel, Max Iranmanesh, Sdyney Bihm, Grace Weitzel. Bottow row, left to right: Jo Axel, Ella Madden. Not pictured: Laena Strait, Quen Hansen, James Fullager.



Hellems, Spring 2026