humanities

Wendy Red Star

Challenging Colonial Histories and Foregrounding the Impacts of Violence against Indigenous Women

Virginia Barrett Hellmann

The following is an excerpt from a longer piece. For full text, please visit www.honorsjournal.com.

INTRODUCTION

WENDY RED STAR, Apsáalooke (Crow), expresses Indigenous women's voice in contemporary art through her photography, performance art, beading, and painting. Her work rejects notions of Indigenous peoples as "historic caricatures," imagery often promoted in popular culture.[1] In my thesis, I will argue that Red Star uses irony, humor, parody, and erasure in her artwork to challenge misrepresentation of Indigenous lives. In her *Four Seasons* series, Red Star uses irony and humor as strategies to reveal how Indigenous peoples have been historically marginalized and misrepresented in images and museum exhibitions, and to shift the negative stereotypes that have been the result (Figs. 16-19). In her *White Squaw* series, Red Star uses parody and erasure to reveal how sexploitation negatively impacts Indigenous women, and to challenge derogatory gendered stereotypes through self-representation and a telling of a lived-experience from an Indigenous woman's perspective (Figs. 22-31). Red Star foregrounds her own voice from a perspective of Apsáalooke culture to provide a personal take on how stereotypes have affected her own life, and through this individual view, dismantle tropes of Indigenous lives. Red Star applies her own perspective in order to speak to a discourse of colonization from within a colonial system.

[…]

CHAPTER ONE

Gendered Stereotypes, Indigenous Women, and the White Male Gaze:
Iterations of the Commodification of Indigenous Cultures and How They Influenced Stereotypes

The commodification of Indigenous cultures is closely related to cultural appropriation, and can be seen in the conceptualization of "Indian corners" within outsiders' homes during the twentieth-century (Fig. 12). Red Star uses irony to exaggerate with humor the commodification of Indigenous culture in the *Four Seasons* (Figs. 16-19). She includes plastic props and backdrops

1 Abaki Beck, "Decolonizing Photography: A Conversation with Wendy Red Star," *Aperture.com.* December 14th, 2016 accessed September 27, 2018, https://aperture.org/blog/wendy-red-star/

in her photographs to show how outsiders have tokenized and fetishized Indigenous cultures and artistic motifs by replicating artistic forms within their homes. Indian corners were a widespread home decoration fad that claimed to bring exoticism and fascination into North American domestic spaces, which further alienated Indigenous peoples as objects of speculation within settler tradition.[2] Rugs, baskets, portraits, and tribal masks were common features of these Indian corners. Images of Indigenous peoples engaging in "timeless activities," dressed in regalia, or performing activities in nature were collectible items, and often these images would be available in magazines to be cut-out, framed, and placed within outsiders' Indian corners.[3]

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CHAPTER TWO

Four Seasons

Red Star created *Four Seasons* while attending a graduate program at the University of Los Angeles, California in 2006. A photographic series, the *Four Seasons* images are archival pigment prints transposed on Museo Silver Rag and Sunset Fiber Rag, mounted on Dibond.[4] In all four, Red Star poses herself amidst what appears, at first glance, to be vast, beautiful landscapes lush with vegetation and animal life. However, on closer inspection we see that Red Star staged her landscapes with inflatable prop animals, plastic flowers, AstroTurf, and flat cardboard elements. The panoramic screens depicting the North American West in the backdrop are reproductions of mass-produced images created in the 1970s.[5] Red Star's backdrops are reminiscent of Albert Bierstadt's romantic landscape paintings of the nineteenth century, which represent notions of manifest destiny and empty Western land, available for the colonial project of settler expansion. Bierstadt often depicted North American land as void of Indigenous peoples, although there were hundreds of tribes then living in the terrain he depicted.[6] If he did include Indigenous figures, they were more as elements of the landscape, as staffage.

[…]

A Closer Analysis of Four Seasons:
Visions of an empty land

In *Four Seasons,* Red Star uses irony to subvert misrepresentations of Indigenous identity and reclaim what has been obscured through these misrepresentations, in particular focusing on the doctrine of manifest destiny and ethnographic documentation. Red Star's use of irony, in the double-sidedness described by Ryan, as I discussed in my Introduction, subverts widely accepted Western power structures and origin stories of colonization by bringing together opposites and reinserting Indigenous presence into the colonial narrative. The doctrine of manifest destiny asserted that North American land was empty, according to

2 Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890-1915,* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009).
3 Ibid., 14.
4 Four Seasons (Fall). The MET. Accessed June 23, 2018. https://metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/660751
5 Ibid.
6 Robert Enright, "The Incredible Rightness of Mischief: An Interview with Kent Monkman," *Border Crossings* 36, no. 3 (September 2017): 30

Western understandings of political and social structures, and therefore available for colonization as seen in the vast, sweeping panoramic backdrops of *Four Seasons.* Red Star creates a contrary interpretation by re-populating these apparently empty vistas with her presence. In this way, she can be interpreted as a Trickster, an Indigenous mythical being who activates political space through 'doing.'[7] In *Four Seasons*, Red Star activates the political space of the empty land and confronts the stereotype of Indigenous peoples as vanished, or primitive, in cultural evolutionist terms, by playfully shifting her audience's preconceived perspectives and political mindsets to reveal alternative perspectives, dialogues, and images.[8] The Trickster is widely celebrated for pushing boundaries and transforming thoughts, qualities that Red Star demonstrates as she urges her audience to reevaluate the result of misrepresentation and colonization through her use of irony as social critique.[9]

Closely associated with the Trickster identity that Red Star composes is the aspect of humor, which Red Star utilizes by starting a conversation with her audience.[10] The inflatable animals, plastic flowers, and AstroTurf of *Four Seasons* are outrageously comical, and Red Star purposefully creates this viewer response as a strategy of collective healing. Red Star claims that within Apsáalooke culture, teasing and humor are used as a policing system to humble or sometimes uplift tribal members.[11] Red Star says that "a little bit of laughter is healing," and universal.[12] Red Star claims that people are more receptive to humorous artwork and with the avenues of opportunity humor allows people can more comfortably begin to discuss histories of race, power, gender, colonization, and violence.[13]

[…]

Edward Curtis: stereotypes and homogeneity

Wendy Red Star asserts the power of Indigenous voice in *Four Seasons,* not only by reclaiming Indigenous presence in North American landscape, but by reinstating the diversity of Indigenous cultures, which Edward Curtis effectively erased from his portraiture of Indigenous tribes. Curtis utilized props and generic headdresses in many images of the eighty tribes he documented, despite the fact that only some tribes, those from the Great Plains, actually wore war bonnets.[14] To combat notions of authenticity, that

[Red Star] includes plastic props and backdrops in her photographs to show how outsiders have tokenized and fetishized Indigenous cultures and artistic motifs by replicating artistic forms within their homes ☙

7 Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humor and Irony in Contemporary Native Art,* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 13-92.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid., xiii.

11 Abaki Beck, "Decolonizing Photography: A Conversation with Wendy Red Star," *Aperture.com.* December 14th, 2016 accessed September 27, 2018, https://aperture.org/blog/wendy-red-star/
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 "Native American Headdresses," *Native Languages of the Americas Website*, accessed September 27, 2017, http://www.native-languages.org/headdresses.htm

Indigenous peoples' identity relies on them wearing outsiders' misinformed understandings of what Native dress looks like, Red Star wears, in each of the installments of *Four Seasons,* her elk tooth dress, a garment that to her embodies "the ultimate symbol of Crow womanhood"[15] (Fig. 20). An elk tooth dress represents the hunting abilities and talents of the men in an Apsáalooke family, but according to Red Star, it also symbolizes much more. Red Star was given her final version of an elk tooth dress when she was sixteen, but because of the dress' relevance and importance she recalls wearing several different versions since she was a child.[16] To Red Star, the dress represents a range of Apsáalooke traditions and encompasses Red Star's political messages.[17] Because of the honor one receives from wearing an elk tooth dress, "it changes you to have it on – you stand taller and feel really dignified, you have an experience wearing it."[18]

In the *Four Seasons,* Red Star reinstates the diversity of tribes that was and is always present, yet seemingly erased through nineteenth-century ethnographic documentation traditions. Red Star encourages her audience to "interact with and acknowledge cultural productions and viewpoints outside of dominant colonial narratives."[19] The *Four Seasons*

Figure 16. Wendy Red Star. Fall. Archival Pigment Print on Sunset Fiber Rag. 2006. Available from: Portland Art Museum Online Collections. http://portlandartmuseum.us/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=77991;type=101.

Figure 17. Wendy Red Star. Winter. Archival Pigment Print on Sunset Fiber Rag. 2006. Available from: Portland Art Museum Online Collections. http://portlandartmuseum.us/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=77992;type=101.

15 Ashley Stull-Meyers, "Interview with Wendy Red Star," *Daily Serving,* March 14, 2017, accessed September 27, 2018, https://www.dailyserving.com/2017/03/interview-with-wendy-red-star/
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Josephine Zarkovich and Sara Reisman, "Making Noise: Wendy Red Star." CUE. Last modified May 12, 2017. http://cueart-foundation.org/young-art-critics-essays/making-noise-wendy-red-star-by-josephine-

Figure 18. Wendy Red Star. Spring. Archival Pigment Print on Sunset Fiber Rag. 2006. Available from: Portland Art Museum Online Collections. http://portlandartmuseum.us/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=77954;type=101.

Figure 19. Wendy Red Star. Indian Summer. Archival Pigment Print on Sunset Fiber Rag. 2006. Available from: Portland Art Museum Online Collections. http://portlandartmuseum.us/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=77990;type=101

examines Euro-American society's fascination and obsession with its fabricated notions of what Native American lives are like. Red Star's *Four Seasons* offers ironic, biting humor and critique about the racism linked with stereotypes about Indigenous peoples, while providing her audience with her experience as an Apsáalooke woman, creating contemporary art that functions as humor, critique, and identity formation.[20]

[…]

Natural history exhibitions and museum hierarchies

In *Indian Summer* from the *Four Seasons,* the cardboard deer, mass-produced plastic flowers, and faux cow skull in the backdrop bring humor as a critique of the way Indigenous peoples and their artistic traditions are historically marginalized and invalidated within the Euro-American art canon. The staging of *Indian Summer* spoofs a diorama in a natural history museum, the usual exhibition space for historical Indigenous arts, rather than a fine art museum or contemporary gallery. The myth of the 'Vanishing Race,' of Indigenous peoples thought to be disappearing before dominant Western notions of progress, civilization, and assimilation, was the reasoning behind museum diorama displays, thought to be an act of preserving cultures and peoples (Fig. 21). Indigenous peoples become spectacles for outsiders to ogle within these settings. Red Star is portraying how Indigenous peoples are likened to extinct or vanishing animal species by posing next to a longhorn skull.

zarkovich
20 Ibid.

The longhorn skull is also made out of plastic, adding the dimension that this symbolic link of Indigenous peoples to a Vanished Race is fabricated.

[…]

Commercialization of Indigenous imagery

The humor and irony found in the cellophane 'river' and plastic crows of *Winter* are also a way to critique commercialization of Indigenous imagery and cultural objects. The mass-produced party props that inhabit the landscapes of *Winter* symbolize how Indigenous motifs and arts are being created by outsiders for their own consumption, because the plastic crows are meaningless representations of their real counterparts, and can be produced, bought, and sold anywhere.[21] Red Star is an Apsáalooke woman, known as a "Crow" within the community, and the plastic crows add a layer of meaning on how Red Star's heritage is perceived by outsiders. Outsiders refer to Red Star as a 'Crow' as if they can also speak from the perspective of the Apsáalooke tribe, which emphasizes the commodification of Indigenous cultures, and how outsiders assume authority of it. Additionally, the plastic crows can also symbolize stereotypes of primitivism and mysticism when outsiders choose 'spirit animals' as party tricks and imitation spirit quests. Since the 1970s with the emergence of hippie culture and New Age Spirituality producing a reappearance of the Indian Princess stereotype, there has been a newfound popularity and interest surrounding the commodification of Indigenous rituals for outsider pleasure.[22] As Vine Deloria Jr. writes, tribal rituals are being taken and fetishized by outsiders:

> *Sweat lodges conducted for $50, peyote meetings for $1,500, medicine drums for $300, weekend workshops and vision quests for $500, two do-it-yourself practitioners smothered in their own sweat lodge – the interest in American Indian spirituality only seems to grow and manifests itself in increasingly bizarre behavior – by both Indians and non-Indians. Manifestos have been issued, lists of people no longer welcome on the reservations have been compiled, and biographies of the most fraudulent medicine men have been publicized. Yet nothing seems to tide the abuse and misuse of Indian ceremonies. Indeed, some sweat lodges in the suburbs at times seem like the opening move in a scenario of seduction of naive but beautiful women who are encouraged to play the role of 'Mother Earth' in bogus costumes.*[23]

These generic productions of tribal ceremonies lead to stereotypes of Indigenous peoples as primitive, or existing in a simpler, nonindustrial society close to nature, which Red Star mocks in *Four Seasons* by lounging amidst lush faux vegetation. The generic stereotypes and romanticism

21 Daniel Larkin, "Rethinking American Indian Influence on Bushwick Art." *Hyperallergic.* Last modified June 25, 2016, accessed September 27, 2018, https://hyperallergic.com/214240/rethinking-american-indian-influence-on-bushwick-art/

22 Daniel Larkin, quoting Vine Deloria Jr. in "Rethinking American Indian Influence on Bushwick Art," *Hyperallergic.* Last modified June 25, 2016, accessed September 27, 2018, https://hyperallergic.com/214240/rethinking-american-indian-influence-on-bushwick-art/

23 Ibid.

associated with and fueled by commercialization of Indigenous imagery allows outsiders to select only certain aspects of Indigenous customs, those that fit into preconceptions of what Indigenous life is actually like.[24]

[…]

CONCLUSION

In the *Four Seasons,* Red Star shows the importance of including Native Arts in contemporary museum settings, and challenges misrepresentations of Indigenous authenticity. Red Star re-populates a landscape that ethnographers and settlers alike assumed to be an empty, God-given right of conquest. Encompassing a trickster identity, Red Star utilizes personal themes, experiences, and generational traditions to reflect racial histories. Irony allows Red Star to re-evaluate the political systems in society, while humor allows her to engage in conversation with her audience.[25]

24 Ibid.

25 Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humor and Irony in Contemporary Native Art,* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999): xiii-8.

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Resistance to Roman Rule
Scottish Autonomy through Feminine Agency

Meghan Dulsky

The following is an excerpt from a longer piece. For full text, please visit www.honorsjournal.com.

INTRODUCTION

WHAT DID IT mean to be a woman in the ancient world? Were all ancient women forced into societal roles of submission, or did some possess autonomy over their own lives? Throughout the historical record, women have been marginalized and continuously sequestered to positions of subservience and passiveness … It has not been until recent years that scholarship has started to question the roles that women played in ancient society. Through innovative approaches to questioning and working beyond the historical record (through the inclusion of writings beyond the scope of history including religious and creative texts, oral tradition, and archaeological material), researchers have begun to uncover evidence that women of antiquity may have in fact held power.

Ancient Scotland is a critical example of this transformation in our understanding of the historical precedent for feminine empowerment. This remote region epitomizes the furthest reaches of the Roman Empire, both geographically and culturally. The Romans were never able to fully conquer the Celtic tribes and consequently these ancient people were never fully Romanized. We now know that the native tribes of Celtic Scotland resisted the imposition of imperial expansion and maintained a deep reverence towards women in spite of Roman patriarchal pressures. However, due to the lack of a written language in Celtic Scotland and limited textual sources from the Romans, ancient Scottish women have long been omitted from the historical record.

[…]

CHAPTER 2: CONFRONTING THE PATRIARCHY

[…]

1. Representations of British Women in Tacitus' Agricola

To the dismay of researchers who focus on the history of Roman Britain and Scotland, there is no written record from the Scottish perspective until the introduction of early Christianity. One of the only surviving accounts that documents the interactions between the Roman army and the Scottish tribes

is Cornelius Tacitus' *Agricola*, circa 98 AD. This work, while preserved in its entirety and powerfully informative, hosts an inherent bias as a Roman source …When reading and analyzing *Agricola*, scholars must be mindful of the propagandized depictions of the elusive northern foe, as well as the potential for hyperbolic Roman glory.

[…]

I argue that the women within *Agricola* fulfill two functions: one of traditional female subservience and weakness, and one that emphasizes the importance of female power and Roman discomfort with gender parity. These two representations may be indicative of the roles that women did in fact hold during the Roman occupation of the northern territories but, due to the biased nature of Tacitus' work, the true societal positions and responsibilities of Celtic women are unknown.

Due to the lack of a written language in Celtic Scotland and limited textual sources from the Romans, ancient Scottish women have long been omitted from the historical record ☙

Tacitus' portrayal of submissive women is graphic and stresses the symbolic importance of passive female sexuality to the Roman paradigm. "Wives and sisters, even if they escape being raped by Romans as enemies, are seduced by men posing as friends and guests". To Tacitus, a native Scottish woman was marked by her sexual purpose and her sexual nature. A woman could be used for male pleasure and domination which, in the context of military expansion and subjugation, was common. Raping a woman could be interpreted as male domination over the female population, or as a literal and metaphorical attack on the native male population's property…In this depiction, a northern foreign woman is nothing more than an object of sexual domination and an emblem of the barbaric patterns of behavior that were no match for the sophistication of the Roman Empire.

[…]

Despite *Agricola*'s violent descriptions of female passivity and submissiveness, it does include evidence of female power rising above the "barbaric" customs and patriarchal impositions of the Roman Empire. In a speech given by the character Calgacus, women are referenced as important figures in native warrior beliefs and motivations. Celtic warriors are inspired by Celtic women, whereas "the Romans have no wives there to fire them, no parents to taunt them if they flee. Most of them have no home country, or an alien one". In this context, Celtic women are motivational catalysts for native military success.

[…]

In the aftermath of one battle, Mons Graupius, Tacitus briefly mentions the presence of women on the battlefield.

> *The Britons dispersed, men and women mingling their cries of grief, dragging off the wounded, calling out to survivors, abandoning their homes and in their rage even setting fire to them, choosing hiding-places, and leaving them again at once.*

The site of Mons Graupius, though never found, was likely surrounded by native communities. …The families from distant regions of Scotland may have accompanied their warrior husbands and fathers to the battlefield. Women would have likely held positions of familial authority while the husbands were off fighting: they would have provided community structure and supported and protected the other members of their family or tribe. If Tacitus' account is correct, these women would also have held the responsibility of retrieving their lost family members for funeral rites and burial.

[…]

Boudicca, the queen of the Iceni who led a revolt against the Roman legions in Britain, is the final representation of women in Tacitus' *Agricola*. Her revolution, culminating with native unification and the mass destruction of Londinium, occurred just twenty years prior to the battle of Mons Graupius and shook the Roman Empire to its core. The unprecedented female authority in the British province permeated Roman consciousness, and Tacitus' *Agricola* is no exception. Tacitus includes the history of Boudicca's revolt in order to display the barbaric nature of the native British tribes: a formidable enemy, no less a woman, had inspired terrible destruction in Romanized territory:

> *Stirred up by mutual encouragement of this kind, with Boudicca, from royal stock, a woman, as their leader - for they do not distinguish between the sexes when choosing commanders - the whole people launched a war…No form of the savagery common to barbarians was omitted: they were enraged, and they had conquered.*

[…]

The forthright portrayal of Boudicca's power, coupled with the propaganda concerning the heightened savagery of the northernmost tribes, likely assisted with the militarization of unconquered terrain…The emphasis on female leadership is powerful. For Tacitus, Boudicca's almost complete success in Britain may have inspired the native unification that gave rise to the battle of Mons Graupius.

Tacitus' *Agricola*, while sparse in its recollection of Scottish women, is an important source for understanding the Roman conception of native and barbaric femininity. The imperial paradigm of understanding a woman as a submissive member of society is felt throughout Tacitus' account. But his work offers insights to the potential existence of respected and perhaps powerful women in Scottish society. These women could serve as cultural mediators through the possibility of marriage, offer inspiration to their warring male counterparts, provide support and protection for their communities in the absence of a male presence, and incite fear in their Roman enemies.

[…]

Chapter 3: Pictish Resilience through Feminine Agency

1. The Roman Withdrawal

[…]

After Caracalla's official decision to remove the Roman army from the Antonine Wall in 211 AD, the northern tribes did not halt their fight against the imperial oppressors, and they continued to threaten provincial stability throughout later antiquity. Through subsequent military encounters, the northern warriors were dramatized as a barbaric foe, one worthy of imperial military intervention. The people north of Hadrian's Wall were often portrayed as a cohesive cultural, religious, and linguistic group, and their ferocity informed a stereotype that was applied to all those beyond the grasp of Rome. Those who warred with the Romans were described as "extremely savage and warlike, they are armed only with a spear and a narrow shield, plus a sword that hangs suspended by a belt from their otherwise naked bodies".

[…]

2. The Emergence of the Picts

Generations after the initial withdrawal from Scotland, the northern warriors were still considered to be one ethnic group. Those who continued to fight the Romans are first cited as "Picts" in the *Panegyric of Constantius* from 297 AD. The *Panegyric* describes Constantius Chlorus' military success in Great Britain, "a nation which was then primitive and accustomed to fight, still half-naked, with only the *Pict* and Hiberni, easily succumbed to Roman arms and standards".

[…]

After the Romans had removed all forces from Britain, the indigenous population that remained faced an intense social and economic decline. The end of Roman governance destroyed Britain's economic system including urban trade and manufacturing. "The whole structure of Roman life and the provincial hierarchy failed, very suddenly and irrevocably". Through this tumultuous period, the Picts were often viewed as icons of a derelict, dark age society, a society that could not foster a rich culture or an enlightened population.

[…]

In actuality, the Picts cultivated a society that confounded the preconceived notions of brutality and ignorance left in the wake of Roman influence. They were a diverse group of northern tribes with a multifaceted culture, one held in intense respect for its military strength, art, and religion. One of the strikingly progressive aspects of Pictish society during the early medieval period was its legacy of female empowerment. Native women in northern England and Scotland had been celebrated throughout the historical record, extending from the foundations of civilization through the Roman occupation. The Pictish period was no different: Pict women transcended the patriarchal stan-

Pictish women resisted the patriarchal standards of the Romanized world both by upholding ancient values and by championing adoption and reformation of Christianity ☙

dards that were prevalent in imperialized provinces. Women functioned as leaders in Pictish communities and became champions of religious reform through the institution and enforcement of Christianity in Pictish society.

3. Representations of Pictish Women in the Historia Ecclesiastica

[…]

Despite the oppressive use of religion in the life of [some Pictish women], Christianity was a critical component of female empowerment in Pictish society. Women were supported by ecclesiastical doctrine and were able to become leaders and champions for the implementation of Christianity, both at its inception and during its reformation. Women in royal households were able to become political and religious figureheads for the adoption of Christian doctrine. Ruling women sometimes offered protection to missionaries and church leaders in areas that had not yet been converted to Christianity, areas where they may have been faced with violent resistance to the new religion. By garnering support from queens, "the most prominent priests in early Christian Britain and Ireland were probably chaplains attached to royal and noble households".

[…]

4. The Representation of Pictish Women in Relief Sculpture

Whether perfectly preserved or fragmentary, art is a powerful tool for understanding early medieval society in northern England and Scotland … The Hilton of Cadboll, a Pictish relief sculpture, is one of

Figure 4. Hilton of Cadboll c. 800 AD. Hilton of Cadboll Stone. Digital image. National Museums of Scotland.

the most potent examples of artistic representation for cultural and religious transition in northern society, and how the power and influence of women persisted in the face of intense social change.

[…]

The central panel on the Hilton of Cadboll (Figure 4) is an evocative depiction of the coalescence of Pictish and Christian ideals. The panel portrays a deer hunt, both as the traditional representation of hunting in Pictish art and possibly, Psalm 42. The hunt, or perhaps the search for salvation depicted on the relief, is led by a woman.

[…]

This female figure represented the power that women main-

tained throughout Pictish society, both through the ancient traditions as well as and the adoption and enforcement of Christianity. Through the Pictish gaze, the presence of a woman, no less one who is leading a hunt, could symbolize the ability for women to hold positions of authority in the Portmahomack region. A woman may have commissioned the stone to serve as a boundary marker, and her physical presence on the relief may have been recognizable to the contemporary, local community.[1]

[…]

The Picts have often been characterized as an emblematically obscure and unenlightened group in dark-age society. However, as I have tried to demonstrate, the persistence of native traditions and belief systems suggests that life in northern England and Scotland following the Roman withdrawal was not plagued by barbarism … The coalescence of Pictish traditions with Christian ideology highlights the continuation of the native voice. The new religion did not eradicate the Pictish perspective. Rather, the two cultures came together, allowing the northern community to maintain its ancestral roots and belief in powerful women, while gaining a religious connection that fostered inter-cultural relationships … Pictish women resisted the patriarchal standards of the Romanized world both by upholding ancient values and by championing adoption and reformation of Christianity.

[…]

CONCLUSION

[…]

By questioning the transmission of the historical narrative and analyzing evidence from sources other than the literary records written by oppressive forces throughout history, minority communities, such as ancient women, can be reinterpreted and possibly restored to the modern historical record. In the case of Scotland, closer examination of religious iconography gives credence to representations of femininity and female power in eras of history that lack a native written record. Further, by questioning biases of Roman and Greek authors when brief mentions of Scottish tribal women are made, theories of true societal roles, without the implicit bias against the northern "barbarians" can be formulated, giving power to the women of the northern, unconquerable territories. And finally, by examining the Pictish period through a holistic lens that includes religious texts and archaeological remains, the acceptance of women's transformative power and authority can be understood.

1 "Hilton of Cadboll Stone." National Museums Scotland, www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/stories/scottish-history-and-archaeology/hilton-of-cadboll-stone/.

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The Protestant Conflict in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*

Claire Johnson

The following is an excerpt from a longer piece. For full text, please visit www.honorsjournal.com.

From the time of Charlemagne until the 14th century, Europe stood united in Christendom under the Papacy. Beginning in the 14th century, however, the power of the Pope began to decline and religious dissent against Catholic teachings grew, starting with the English Lollard movement, which argued for a departure from the clerical state and a return to the simplicity of the 1st century Church. This dissent, which grew to include Bohemia and came to a head in Germany, was fueled by the invention of the printing press in 1450. The printing press enabled the mass production and distribution of translated vernacular Bibles, allowing any literate layperson to read and interpret Scripture for themselves without the heavy-handed guidance of a priest. The resulting dissension came to a boil in Wittenberg in 1517, when Martin Luther posted his "95 Theses Against the Sale of Indulgences," which argued not only against the sale of indulgences, the exchange of money for time served in purgatory, but also for much more radical breaks with Catholic tradition. These breaks included arguments against the necessity of the priesthood, the authority of the Pope, and even the very existence of Purgatory. It was these breaks with Catholicism that became the focus of the Protestant Reformation in the years after Luther's Theses were posted.

By Shakespeare's time, the Reformation had already taken hold in England and religion was a deeply contentious topic. After the creation of the Anglican church in the 1530s by King Henry VIII, England was Protestant for almost 20 years until Queen Mary violently reinstated Catholicism after her ascension in 1553. When Elizabeth I became queen in 1558, hundreds of Protestants had been burnt at the stake. Elizabeth returned England to Protestantism with her 1563 issuance of the "Thirty-Nine Articles", declaring that "The Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Relics, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, […] grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God," a rejection of all Sacraments except Baptism and Communion, and an acceptance of predestination.[1] These official declarations represented an explicit, official rejection of Catholicism and acceptance of both Lutheran and Calvinist Protestant beliefs. Nevertheless, Elizabeth refused to prosecute Catholics still living in England. It is in this shaky Protestant peace following decades of religious turmoil that Shakespeare

1 "Articles of Religion." Anglicans Online | The Thirty-Nine Articles. Accessed December 12, 2017. http://anglicansonline.org/basics/thirty-nine_articles.html.

wrote *Hamlet*, the tragedy whose eponymous protagonist embodies the anxieties of the time. The profound conflict and confusion present in the Christianity of Shakespeare's England is mirrored in Hamlet's own internal angst.

Throughout the play, it is evident that Hamlet is strongly influenced by the Protestant Reformation. Early on, the King asks Hamlet not to return to university in Wittenberg, where Hamlet had been a student before the death of his father, the previous king.[2] Hamlet's time in Wittenberg indicates that he has likely been heavily influenced by the Protestant Reformation. Martin Luther himself was a professor there, and it is in Wittenberg that Luther posted his "95 Theses" which began the Reformation and articulated its fundamental principles. Additionally, throughout the play, Hamlet is able to reference specific Bible verses and apply them to his situation. For instance, Hamlet references Matthew 10:29 when Horatio confronts him on his decision to dual Laertes.[3] Hamlet applies the verse to claim that death only comes when God wills it, suggesting a belief in predestination, an idea championed by the reformer Calvin and rejected by traditional Catholic teachings. On this account it appears that Hamlet leans toward Calvinism, but his initial Protestant bent is quickly called into question by the events of the play.

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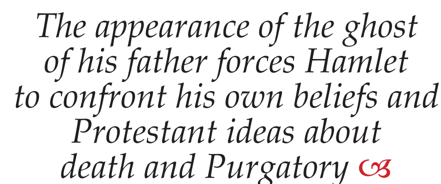
The appearance of the ghost of his father forces Hamlet to confront his own beliefs and Protestant ideas about death and Purgatory. When Horatio, who was also educated in Wittenberg,[4] tells Hamlet of an apparition that looked like the late king, Hamlet refers to the figure only as a likeness of his father. He declares that "if it assume [his] noble father's person, / [He]'ll speak to it though hell itself should gape,"[5] implying that he believes the figure to be not the spirit of his father but rather a separate entity assuming his father's visage. Yet as soon as he is alone, Hamlet muses, "My father's spirit—in arms? All is not well."[6] When in the presence of a Protestant peer, he maintains his disbelief and depersonalizes the apparition, but as soon as he is alone, Hamlet becomes agitated and concerned for his father's soul. This shift in how Hamlet refers to the ghost reveals that he has not completely bought into the Protestant rejection of Catholic superstitions. The Catholic tradition maintains the existence of Purgatory and of spirits that roam the earth at night. In this scene, Catholic and Protestant belief confront each other directly, forcing Hamlet to face his doubt and igniting the internal conflict that follows him through the play.

Hamlet is again forced to confront his beliefs concerning the afterlife when he goes to kill his un-

2 William Shakespeare, Hamlet, ed. Sylvan Barnet (New York: Signet Classics, 1998). 1.2:112-117.
3 Shakespeare, 5.2:220-221
4 Shakespeare, 1.2:168
5 Shakespeare, 1.3:244-5
6 Shakespeare, 1.3:255

cle. Acting on suspicions of King Claudius' treachery, Hamlet sneaks into Claudius's chambers in order to avenge his father. He hesitates, however, when he sees that Claudius is in the midst of prayer. Hamlet believes that if he kills Claudius as Claudius is praying and confessing his sins, Claudius's soul will be immediately sent to heaven. Hamlet vows instead to kill Claudius while he is sinning, presumably believing that this will do the opposite and send Claudius' soul straight to hell.[7] This scene reveals the depth and complexity of the religious uncertainties within Hamlet and Shakespeare's world. Hamlet's reluctance to kill the king "in the purging of his soul, / When he is fit and season'd for his passage"[8] reflects the Catholic belief that Confession has the ability to change a soul's postmortem fate. Claudius, having just confessed, has a clean soul that would be able to progress immediately to heaven without even serving penance in Purgatory. However, with no priest present, the King's confession cannot constitute the Sacrament of Confession, and so would not save his soul from the mortal sin of murder. Hamlet's belief in the power and validity of the King's private repentance is very clearly a Protestant point of view, even though a Calvinist Protestant would argue that his soul's fate had been predetermined, regardless of how he was to die. These overlapping, contradictory justifications for Hamlet's decision not to kill Claudius as he prays show the deep confusion present in Hamlet's mind regarding religion and life after death.



The appearance of the ghost of his father forces Hamlet to confront his own beliefs and Protestant ideas about death and Purgatory

Hamlet's anxiety is further provoked when the sinful nature of suicide is called into question. After Ophelia dies in what is presumed to be a suicide, the grave diggers are shocked that she will be buried in the churchyard[9] because it is the Catholic teaching that suicide victims are damned and therefore not allowed to be buried on consecrated ground. Ophelia's brother Laertes rails against this and declares that the priest, who refuses to give Ophelia a full service, will end up in hell while Ophelia will be "a ministering angel".[10] This scene introduces the deep divide concerning suicide that the Reformation opened up. The Catholic priest takes offense to Ophelia being given even the few rites she is and believes she is definitively damned. Laertes, on the other hand, believes that the goodness of Ophelia before her death will ensure her place in heaven. Hamlet confronts his own doubts regarding this issue in the famous "To be or not to be" soliloquy. In this passage, Hamlet questions whether it is better to suffer through inner pain and turmoil or to refuse them by ending his own life. He believes that death will be like sleep, but "in that sleep of death what dreams may come / When we have shuffled off this mortal coil, / Must give us pause".[11] Hamlet cites uncertainty over the fate of his soul as reason for not committing suicide. In both Catholic and Protestant doctrines, however, there is no uncertainty. According to Catholi-

7 Shakespeare, 3.3:73-95
8 Shakespeare, 3.3:85-86
9 Shakespeare, 3.1:1-26
10 Shakespeare, 5.1:243-244
11 Shakespeare, 3.1:66-67

cism, one who has committed suicide is damned and thus barred, as Ophelia is, from a proper Christian burial. According to Protestantism, the manner of a person's death is irrelevant to their fate. It is Hamlet's uncertainty which reveals his anxiety over the nature of Christianity and his internal conflict between Catholic and Protestant teachings.

Hamlet's deep anxiety centers around this constant confrontation between his Catholic and Protestant influences and beliefs throughout the play. His anxiety mirrors that of Shakespearean England. After decades of growing Protestant influences in their traditionally Catholic world and wild swings in official religious policy, the English people were left unsure as to the nature of Purgatory, salvation, and sin. In a society as religious as 16th and 17th century England, this uncertainty permeated everyday life, creating an underlying cultural instability not unlike Hamlet's "madness."

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Walking the High Ground

The Manned Orbiting Laboratory and the Age of the Air Force Astronauts

Will Holsclaw

The following is an excerpt from a longer piece. For full text, please visit www.honorsjournal.com.

INTRODUCTION

THE CELEBRATED HISTORIAN Bernard Bailyn, when reflecting on the historical memory of the American Revolution, endorsed the notion that "the earliest historical writings that follow a great and controversial event are still a significant part of the event itself…attempts at explanations of what happened tend to be *heroic* in character…individuals count overwhelmingly."[1] Bailyn, addressing his own subject with the benefit of two centuries of hindsight, was able to perceive – and participate in – several generations' worth of historical reinterpretation. By comparison, historians of the Space Age are a somewhat nascent breed, only just embarking on the unending process of putting their subject into an interpretive framework. While the history of our species' space endeavors encompasses unprecedented technological and cultural high points and has produced artifacts that will perhaps endure for billions of years,[2] it nevertheless presents unique challenges to the historian. At first glance, we seem to be presented with a blinding abundance of primary source material published by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), permitting the study of past space flights in exhaustive detail. Yet this cornucopia of fascinating and invaluable minutiae only helps to conceal stories from the Space Age that have been, by design, kept wholly or partly covert. But the curtain of secrecy has begun to be pulled back; one such story, that of the U.S. Air Force's Manned Orbiting Laboratory, is now largely declassified.

The Manned Orbiting Laboratory (MOL)[3] was a semi-secret Air Force space station program that was first publicly, if quietly, disclosed by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara in December of 1963. It was more formally and loudly authorized by President Lyndon B. Johnson in an August 1965 press conference, in which he vaguely outlined the mission of the MOL: "This pro-

1 Bernard Bailyn, *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), viii.

2 Many spacecraft are expected to survive in space nearly indefinitely, subject only to solar and cosmic radiation and micrometeoroid collisions. In 2011, NASA established guidelines for the historical preservation of the Apollo 11 & 17 moon landing sites; the Voyager interplanetary probes each famously included a "Golden Record" intended explicitly as a historical artifact for the hypothetical benefit of non-human audiences. See Leonard David, "NASA Sets Buffers for Apollo Moon Landing Sites," *NBC News*, October 21, 2011; Carl Sagan et al., *Murmurs of Earth: The Voyager Interstellar Record* (New York: Random House, 1978)

3 MOL is usually pronounced not as an initialism but as an acronym, like "mole."

gram will bring us new knowledge about what man is able to do in space [and to] enable us to relate that ability to the defense of America." He announced that the station itself would be built by the Douglas Aircraft Company, while the contract for the accompanying "space experiments" would be fulfilled by General Electric.[4] The "experiments" that Johnson alluded to were largely wrapped up in a single mission module: the KH-10 "DORIAN" photographic reconnaissance system, developed by the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO),[5] a successor to its early series of KH ("Key Hole") unmanned spy satellites. This suite of telescopes and cameras would occupy more than half of the MOL station's orbiting volume. The remainder would consist of a modified NASA Gemini capsule and a habitable laboratory module (see Figure I.1).

In essence, the MOL would thus serve the unprecedented role of a crewed, high resolution reconnaissance satellite. During its six-year developmental lifespan, the MOL program would see only one unmanned launch, but the long-term impact of the program on American space policy – both military and civilian – would be immense. With the help of directives from McNamara and others, the program saw a cooling of the somewhat tense early rivalry between the Air Force and NASA, and the two agencies were brought into much closer cooperation with each other. Seventeen MOL "aerospace research pilots" would be selected and trained, ending NASA's monopoly on professional American astronauts. Upon the program's cancellation in June of 1969, eight of these men would transfer to NASA and help to lead the largest joint effort ever undertaken between the Department of Defense (DOD) and NASA: the Space Shuttle.

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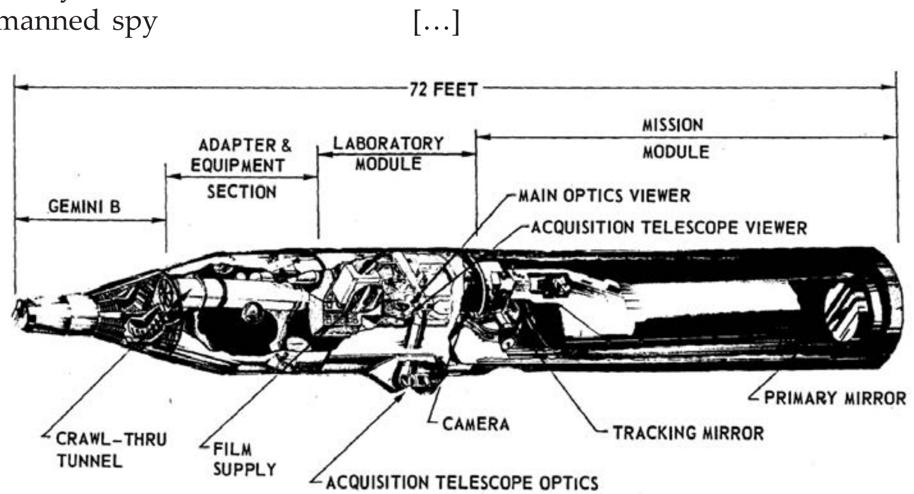

Figure i.1. MOL Baseline System. From "The Roles of Man in MOL, Vol. 2" (Washington, D.C.: Manned Orbiting Laboratory Program Office, 1969). Declassified by National Reconnaissance Office, October 2015, MOL Document 735.

CHAPTER 2: A MILITARY MAN IN SPACE

Whence the MOL?

Compared with most space programs (with the possible exception of the Space Shuttle) the name of the Manned Orbiting Laboratory (MOL) is so blandly descriptive that its precise origins are hard to pin down. The Air Force project that formally bore the name was authorized by Air Force Secretary Eugene Zuck-

4 Lyndon B. Johnson, Presidential News Briefing, August 25, 1965, White House.
5 Remarkably, even the existence and name of the National Reconnaissance Office were not officially declassified until 1992. For the story of its declassification, see John L. McLucas, *Reflections of a Technocrat* (Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Air University Press, 2006)

ert to proceed with development on August 25, 1962, with Douglas Aircraft and General Electric selected as contractors to build the "laboratory" (space station) and "mission module" (photographic reconnaissance system) respectively. General Bernard Schriever, the father of the Air Force space program himself, was named as its director.[6]

In spite of all its political entanglements, though, we space enthusiasts may still take a step back to admire the sheer ambition and Space Age adventure of a story like the Manned Orbiting Laboratory and ask the tantalizing 'what ifs'

But the idea of a "manned orbiting laboratory" (often "manned *orbital* laboratory," even in official program documents) had been bandied about in aerospace circles for years, and the idea of orbital reconnaissance stations with crews looking back at Earth with telescopes was even older. Hermann Oberth, one of the conceptual fathers of modern rocketry and von Braun's former teacher, had by 1923 already envisioned orbiting "observation stations" equipped with "precise instruments" to be used by its crew for reconnaissance and communication. Many of his proposals for the practical applications of such a station were distinct to the concerns of the day – among them the ethnographic study of "unexplored countries and unknown peoples" and watches for sea ice to prevent a recurrence of the still-recent *Titanic* catastrophe. But he also imagined that space travelers could make military observations in regions with low cloud cover.[7] In 1950, von Braun presented a paper echoing his mentor's observation post idea and endorsed its use for "civilian and military purposes." By 1956, Oberth had refined his ideas and tied them explicitly with the Cold War reconnaissance game. He surmised that a manned space telescope in a polar orbit could offer "an almost terrifying power of observation which would make any kind of 'Iron Curtain' completely senseless."[8]

[…]

The Icarus Syndrome

Many of the essential threads of the MOL's story – and the larger story of the Air Force experience in human spaceflight which comprises the scope of this thesis – have to do with its institutional culture. What was it that led to the overriding obsession of the Air Force – or powerful factions within it – to pursue its own human spaceflight program? Why did the phrase "military man-in-space" remain preeminent in Air Force space planning for over three decades? We can glimpse the answer through a brief tour through the history and culture of the service. Unsurprisingly, this culture was dominated heavily by the airplane.

6 Eugene M. Zuckert to Bernard Schriever, "Authorization to Proceed with MOL," memorandum, August 25, 1962 (Washington: Department of the Air Force, Declassified by National Reconnaissance Office October 2015, MOL Document 1); Eugene M. Zuckert, "Director of the Manned Orbiting Laboratory (MOL) Program," Secretary of the Air Force Order #117.4, August 25, 1962 (Washington, Department of the Air Force, Declassified by National Reconnaissance Office October 2015, MOL Document 130).

7 Hermann Oberth, *The Rocket Into Planetary Space*, trans. by Trevor C. Sorensen et al. (Munich: De Gruyter, 2014), 82-3.

8 Carl Berger, "History of the MOL," 4-16.

[…]

As the MOL program progressed in the late 1960s, the necessity of having humans aboard would come under ever greater scrutiny as unmanned reconnaissance satellite technology advanced. Its Air Force defenders would frequently invoke the history of aviation in response. Retired Army Air Force General Ira C. Eaker, one of the architects of the strategic bombing campaigns during World War II, would editorialize along these lines in the July 14, 1965 issue of the *San Antonio Express*:

> *Building blocks from civil air transports did not produce the B-52 bomber. We had to build and test 51 earlier bomber models. Effective space weapons will never come solely from the fall-out from the* NASA *program…* MOL *is said to be held up until the Air Force can precisely define and defend a military mission which* MOL *can be certain to accomplish. To require anyone to visualize and indicate definitely and in detail now, all that man may ultimately do in space, would be like having asked the Wright brothers in 1910 to lay down the specifications for a supersonic transport.*[9]

The pervasiveness of the "military man-in-space" dogma among Air Force airmen was not lost on outsiders. John McLucas, a Navy veteran who became undersecretary of the Air Force in 1969 with the incoming Nixon administration, would later recall that when he expressed any skepticism of the MOL his opinions were perceived as "sort of heretical."[10]

McLucas would indeed have a minor hand in the demise of the Manned Orbiting Laboratory, but by the time he arrived on the scene the program had already developed considerably from its early days. By 1969 the MOL had a well-defined reconnaissance mission, a prodigious secret optical machine with which to accomplish it, and a launch facility from which to loft it. It also had a much closer and warmer relationship with NASA. Perhaps most importantly, it had its own astronauts – men who would eventually make the "military man-in-space" a reality. They wouldn't prove the idea of manned space reconnaissance, however – the Russians would beat them to that.

[…]

CHAPTER 4: HIGHS AND LOWS

Have Space Suit – Will Travel

The Manned Orbiting Laboratory survived over five years before its cancellation, and considerable investments in U.S. spaceflight technology and infrastructure were made by the program during this time. Many of its achievements would be unrealized or short lived. The incoming Nixon administration's space policies would lead to a substantial diminution of American spaceflight resources and priorities, both for NASA and the Air Force. The MOL program would be the first to fall under this axe, but several of its astronauts

9 Quoted in National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Scientific and Technical Information Division, *Astronautics and Aeronautics, 1965: Chronology on Science, Technology, and Policy*, ed. by Science and Technology Division, Library of Congress, NASA SP-4006, 1966, 330.

10 John L. McLucas, *Reflections of a Technocrat* (Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Air University Press, 2006), 195.

would find a new home in the civilian space agency, where they would contribute to the largest joint venture yet between the military and civilian space programs: Space Shuttle.

The peak year for the MOL program was 1968, both in terms of funding and activity, but the program's days were numbered. McNamara's budget request for FY 1968 was $157 million lower than the MOL Program Office had hoped. The greatest culprit for the decrease was the Vietnam War, which was descending into its bloodiest and costliest stage just as MOL's first manned launches were being planned in earnest. The MOL was by then the single largest line item in the entire defense budget, making it a tempting target for cancellation.[11] General Harry Evans, then Vice Director, characterized the situation as a "Pearl Harbor" moment for the program. The schedule for MOL flights continued every year to slip in roughly 15-month increments, so the goal kept receding further and further out of sight.[12] McNamara continued to make big promises for FY 1969, but the pattern was repeated and the House appropriations committee further reduced MOL funding by $85 million.[13] One of the MOL astronauts, Gordon Fullerton, later reminisced about "three-years-to-launch parties," which became an annual tradition for the program."[14]

But tangible hardware was being developed. Perhaps the most visible museum-worthy historical artifacts of the MOL were its space suits. At the outset of the program, the Air Force dictated that, unlike NASA, the MOL pressure and EVA suits would not be custom-made for each astronaut but manufactured in a set of eight sizes to accommodate its astronaut corps. The requirement was for them to be less expensive yet more compact – a necessity given the confined dimensions of the Gemini-B heat shield hatch and access tunnel. For initial training and testing, left-over pressure suits from the canceled Dyna-Soar were used, but bids for a new MOL suit began to come in from suit contractors.[15]

[…]

CONCLUSION

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The historian Dwayne Day has argued that this era of NASA-Air Force partnership –wrought by the MOL and ending with and the Space Shuttle – was engineered not by either agency's own personnel but rather by a succession of civilian leaders who imposed it on them from above. As a consequence, the "institutional memory" of the Air Force was left with an enduring suspicion of enforced coalitions. "The situation," he says, "was akin to what Mark Twain once said about a cat that sits on a hot stove top: it will never sit on a hot stove top again, but neither will it sit on a cold one… despite the change of the civilian political leadership at both DOD and NASA from both the change of administrations and simple personnel turnover, the institutional mem-

11 Dwayne Day, "Invitation to Struggle," 262.

12 Carl Berger, "History of the MOL," 251-4.

13 Robert McNamara, Fiscal Year 1969-73, 162; NASA, *Aeronautics and Aerospace, 1968*, 166.

14 C. Gordon Fullerton, interview by Rebecca Wright, NASA Dryden Center, CA, May 6, 2002, NASA Oral History Project, Houston.

15 Kenneth Thomas and Harold McMann, *US Spacesuits*, 212-21.

ory of the Air Force – its uniformed officers – remained highly distrustful of any cooperative agreement foisted on them by civilians."[16]

[…]

In spite of all its political entanglements, though, we space enthusiasts may still take a step back to admire the sheer ambition and Space Age adventure of a story like the Manned Orbiting Laboratory and ask the tantalizing "what ifs." What if those men had been able to climb atop the Titan rockets and ride their cherished machines, for weeks at a time, over unknown terrain and through the auroras? What if it was the U.S. and not the Soviet Union who won the race for the first space station? What if the Air Force astronauts had been able to turn their state-of-the-art telescopes away from their Soviet adversary and look at the planets and stars? In the context of its day, the MOL was an impressive, audacious machine. It was not a toy. Bernard Schriever would look back on the program from the close of the last century and remark: "you know, after all, we were involved in something brand new, and it wasn't just a plaything that we were dealing with."[17]

16 Dwayne A. Day, "Invitation to Struggle," 269.

17 Bernard Schriever, interview by Carol Butler, April 15, 1999, transcript, NASA Oral History Project, Johnson Space Center, Houston

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