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Contents

Editorials

Love and Sexuality: An Introduction

Luke Jeske

"What is Love?" – Haddaway

This year's editorial section explores love as an evolutionary institution in history. The contemporary process of redefining love makes this theme particularly timely. Television shows like "Marriage at First Sight" experiment with algorithms and compatibility tests to determine the predictability (or unpredictability) of love.[1] Can love and human interaction can be reduced to data sets? In contrast, marriage is becoming more defined by romantic love, regardless of whether technology or data initiate it. As a result of this emphasis on romantic love, a majority of Americans now approve of marriage in any romantic relationship, including gay and lesbian couples.[2] Love is paradoxically transforming into a narrow science and expanding to

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[1] Jon Caramanica "Exploring 'Married at First Sight,' 'Surviving Marriage' and 'Neighbors With Benefits'" in the New York Times March 20, 2015 accessed at http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/21/arts/television/exploring-married-at-first-sight-surviving-marriage-and-neighbors-with-benefits.html?_r=0

[2] See Dawn Michelle Baunach, Changing Same-Sex Marriage Attitudes in America from 1988 through 2010 (The Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 76, No. 2 (Summer 2012), Oxford University Press) pp. 364-378 accessed at http://www.jstor.org/stable/41684569

include non-traditional couples. The editorials in the following section contextualize love's ever-changing and ever-present role in history.

In his investigation of marriage in the Medieval Christian church, Timothy Blanton reveals the dynamic nature of an indispensable social institution. As the Church acquired more converts, its leaders had to adopt and adapt pagan marriage practices into Christian religious mores. Modern Catholic teachings about restricting sex for procreation in marriage took root here alongside stricter demands for chastity in all other circumstances. More importantly, political pressures from monarchs influenced the Church's willingness to recognize marriages and illegitimate children. As the Church clarified its position on marriage, sexually promiscuous monarchs found themselves less able to finagle the Church's blessing on their second or third marriages. Russia's Tsarina Catherine II paid little heed to marriage and instead presided over her subjects and her lovers as a motherly figure. As Luke Jeske demonstrates, love played a central role in Catherine's political and personal affairs. Benevolent sovereign and maternal romantic partner, Catherine employed love as a mode of rule during her reign. Her relationship with Prince Grigory Potemkin underscored the multilayered expressions and results which this love between Tsarina and state servitor produced.

The powerful pull that love exerts need not be strictly defined between two human subjects, however. Love can very much exist between a human and an object or an experience. Kyle Bridge examines this possibility in his essay on the collision between sensory perception, attachment, and narrative in drug history. The historiography has been heavily tilted towards reconstructing the experiences, hallucinations, and emotional fluctuations exhibited by drug users. However, historians have often failed to contextualize the sensual within the broader historical patterns. By placing employing a wider narrative framework, historians will be able to better understand

the reasons for and results of users' love-hate relationship with drugs and addiction.

Together, these editorials shed light on the rich human history of redefining love and sexuality. Love, sexuality, and power were inherently tied up with the worldly and the political in Medieval Europe as well as early modern Russia. In contemporary history, instances of love between humans and objects and experiences highlight and belong to specific historical contexts. As human societies evolve so does love and implanting modern perspectives on the past only obscures love's narrative. In order to understand this story, historians must walk hand-in-hand with the societies, peoples, and objects which they study.

Marriage as Sacrament: The Transformation of Medieval Marriage

Timothy Blanton

"Christianity did not institute marriage but rather baptized it."[1] And it was a long baptism. The Christianization of marriage was fraught with ambivalence and concession. On the one hand, chastity and virginity were held as the spiritual ideal, a reflection of Christ's marriage to the Church.[2] On the other hand, marriage was necessary for those without the God-given spiritual gift of chastity. The decision to repudiate sexual desires meant transcending the necessity of human nature. Chastity and virginity were the fruits of free choice; marriage was the fruit of original sin.[3] Thus, marriage in late antiquity and into the early medieval period was ambiguous – it was permissible but not an intrinsic spiritual good – and the Church accepted marriages contracted under civil law. Marriage remained a civil affair influenced by Roman law and Germanic custom.[4] It is not until the ninth century that the Church began to challenge the validity of legally contracted marriages.[5] Some argued that only a priest

[1] Philip Lyndon Reynolds, Marriage in the Western Church: The Christianization of Marriage during the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 121.

[2] I use "the Church" for the sake of brevity. There was no monolithic Christian position on marriage in late antiquity (c.300-600) or the early medieval period (c. 600-900). Marriage was likely determined by regional practices. For more information on the importance of locality, see Peter Brown, The Rise of Western Christendom 2nd ed. (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 13-17. Also, for relevant biblical passages see, 1 Corinthians 7:1-40, Ephesians 5: 22-33, and Matthew 19: 11-12.

[3] Medieval Sourcebook, St. Jerome, "Letter XXIII to Eustochium," http://legacy.fordham.edu/Halsall/source/jerome-marriage.asp and St. Augustine, "On Marriage and Concupiscence," book I chap. 7, http://legacy.fordham.edu/Halsall/source/aug-marr.asp

[4] Judith Evans-Grubbs, "Late Roman Marriage and Family Relationships," in A Companion to Late Antiquity ed. Philip Rousseau (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 213-219.

[5] Reynolds, xviii-xix. The reason for this shift is opaque. However, it is

could bind in marriage what God had brought together. At this point, the Church lacked the authority and will to institute these changes. But by the eleventh century the Church, under the auspices of the Gregorian Reform movement, asserted more control over secular life, including marriage. In the process, the Church completed the transformation of its attitude toward marriage. Marriage was no longer ambiguous or ambivalent – it was fully endorsed as a sacrament to be administered for the laity. The reasons for these changes were more political than theological.[6] Transforming marriage into a sacrament greatly increased the status of the Church as a political player.

Marriage has almost never been about love. In the past, marriage was more about acquiring and consolidating property, forming new political alliances, dividing labor and work, and producing legitimate heirs. There was very little expectation that marriage would produce happiness. There were no general prohibitions against incest, polygamy, or divorce. Incest tended to be practiced amongst aristocracies in various societies in order "to preserve and consolidate their property and kin members."[7] Divorce was also a prominent practice amongst aristocracies – wives could be repudiated for reasons of infertility or because their political usefulness was outlasted. Polygamy was rarely practiced because marriage, especially in Greece and Rome, was for producing legitimate heirs to inherit property. Too many legitimate children, especially sons, could be problematic when transferring property to the next generation. These aspects of non-Christian marriage were rejected by Christianity.[8] But these

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probably due to the overall weakening of the Roman legal tradition.

[6] This is not to suggest that religious motivation was unimportant. The Church clearly had moral reasons for rejecting practices associated with both the Roman and Germanic traditions. My point, however, is that endorsing marriage as sacred gave the Church full purview over contracted marriages. The political ramifications were likely no accident.

[7] Stephanie Coontz, Marriage: A History (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 46.

[8] Ibid., 86-87 and 98.

practices continued in Western Europe and in other regions.

The relative autonomy of Western European regions to determine their own marriage practices would eventually produce conflicts between local aristocracies and the Church. Such conflicts usually focused on the aristocratic and royal prerogative to divorce. For example, Philip Augustus of France immediately after his marriage to Ingeborg of Denmark in 1193 intended to seek divorce. His reasons remain opaque. Regardless, the Church would not grant the divorce. The case would be adjudicated in ecclesiastical courts and under the authority of Pope Innocent III after Ingeborg appealed to him after his election to the papacy in 1198. Between 1193 and 1198 Philip Augustus had married another woman, Agnès de Méran. This made for an awkward situation. Over several years, Philip Augustus would advance numerous arguments why his marriage to Ingeborg should be dissolved. Initially, Philip Augustus argued that their marriage was incestuous – Ingeborg was related to Philip's first wife within the fourth and fifth degrees of consanguinity or kinship. After this argument failed to persuade Innocent III, Philip Augustus argued that he had never consummated the marriage, a claim that Ingeborg vociferously denied. Ultimately, the pope would offer to legitimize Philip's children by Agnès but refused to grant his divorce to Ingeborg.[9] Whether or not Philip Augustus had consummated the marriage, he had consented to it.[10]

The case of Philip Augustus and Ingeborg "so clearly demonstrated the discrepancies between matrimonial practices and ecclesiastical theory" that the official policies of the Church

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[9] John W. Baldwin, "The Many Loves of Philip Augustus," in The Medieval Marriage Scene: Prudence, Passion, Policy ed. Sherry Roush and Cristelle L. Baskins, 70-76.

[10] Theologians and Church officials debated about what properties distinguished marriage from other kinds of relationships. Some argued that it was mutual consent; some argued that it was sexual consummation. See Dylan Elliot, Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 134-155 for a fascinating discussion of this issue.

would change.[11] In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council led by Innocent III limited consanguinity to the fourth degree, which undercut the escape hatch of incest. The Church also forbade clandestine marriages, or marriages that were contracted without the approval of the Church. They threatened that "if anyone should presume to contract a clandestine or forbidden marriage…the children from such a union shall be considered illegitimate."[12] And marriage was accepted as a sacrament:

> It has frequently come to the ears of the Apostolic See that some clerics demand and extort money for burials, nuptial blessings…we forbid that such evil exactions be made in these matters…decreeing that the sacraments of the Church be administered freely.[13]

The council also declared that "not only virgins and those practicing chastity, but also those united in marriage, through the right faith and through works pleasing to God, can merit eternal salvation."[14] These decrees greatly increased the role the Church would play in daily life and made Church approval of any marriage necessary if legitimate children were desired.[15]

       Besides asserting greater control over regional aristocracies, various heresies pushed the Church to clarify its position on marriage. Catharism, a heresy that originated in southern France during the twelfth century, would pose a unique problem. In particular, the Cathar rejection of marriage on the basis that sex, as a physical act, could not have spiritual content challenged the

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[11] Georges Duby, Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France trans. Elborg Forster (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 80.

[12] Medieval Sourcebook, "The Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, Canon 51," http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/lateran4.asp

[13] Ibid., Canon 66.

[14] Ibid., Canon 1.

[15] Norman Cantor, The Civilization of the Middle Ages (New York: Harper Collins, 1994), 419.

traditional ambivalence of the Church. The standard Catholic position was that sexual sin within marriage was only possible if the intent was for anything besides procreation. But the Cathars even rejected the legitimacy of sex for procreation. The Church responded by valorizing marital sex as desirable.[16] This meant accepting marriage as praiseworthy and not merely as permissible.

Early Christian attitudes towards marriage differed drastically from the positions developed by the Church in the twelfth century. In many ways, it is an apples and oranges situation. For early Christians, marriage was too worldly, a distraction from serving God. But as the Church became more involved in the affairs of the world, it warmed up to marriage.[17] The irony here is that this was achieved by strongly emphasizing the difference between the sacred and the secular – clerical marriages would be prohibited by the First Lateran Council in 1123 – achieving a goal of the Gregorian Reformers. Marriage was, in principal, a function of the laity only. Pope Gregory VII's reinterpretation of apostolic succession in the eleventh century embraced the idea that nothing was exempt from Church authority, including secular matters.[18] The success of this shift was not immediate, but by the early thirteenth century the Church had asserted its control over marriage. It was a messy process. The Church had to challenge kings, aristocrats, and heretics as well as reevaluate its own piecemeal traditions regarding marriage. But it would succeed and its success would usher in a new and more familiar world of marriage as a spiritual sacrament.

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[16] Ruth Mazo Karras, Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others (New York: Routledge, 2005), 68.

[17] Duby, 17. Similarly, Duby argues that the history of marriage in western Christendom is a process of "acculturation" whereby the ecclesiastical model of marriage supplanted the aristocratic model.

[18] Gregory VII, "Letter to Hermann of Metz," in Reading the Middle Ages, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2006), 282-285.

The Demonstration and Transformation of Catherine II and Grigory Potemkin's Love

Luke Jeske

Catherine II, tsarina of Russia from 1762 until 1792, loved her empire and the men of her court. She served as matriarch to both, although she infused a greater degree of equality into her romantic relationships. Catherine displayed her love to her Empire and its people by enacting benevolent legislation in favor of her subjects. Her lovers received special accommodations at the Winter Palace and, after Catherine found her next object of affection, a pension and estate for retirement. One man refused to be so easily removed from state affairs. Prince Griogry Potemkin continued to serve and to love Catherine as well as her government until his death. Potemkin's government service enabled him to present himself as the patriarch of Novorossiya which thus made him a counterpart to matriarchal Catherine. Far from threatening Catherine's power base, Potemkin acted as an extension and subservient partner to the tsarina. Thus the love Catherine and Potemkin shared for each other was not only a theatrical display, but also a modification to Russian autocratic authority.

Tsarina Catherine II presented herself as the matriarch of Russia not only through autocratic absolutism, but also in her attempts to utilize her powers for her subjects' well-being. Since Peter I consolidated the authority of church and state into the tsar's hands, Russian autocrats stood unchallenged at the head of the Empire.[1] Endowed with this extensive personal power, Catherine had the ability to command her subjects like a mother does her sons and adapted her official policies to these ends. For the

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[1] Peter abolished the position of Patriarchate of Moscow in 1721 and replaced it with the Holy Synod, a board of Church leaders appointed or at least approved by the Tsar. Thus the most powerful independent organization in Russia – the Orthodox Church – thereafter functioned under the auspices of the state.

commoners, Catherine advocated free primary schooling. For the nobility, Catherine promoted class rights in the charter of 1785 and the highest levels of education through studies at Russian and even foreign universities. Catherine offered these proposals as symbols of her affection for her peoples.[2] Her display of maternal responsibility towards her subjects, noble and peasant, mattered more than the outcomes of her projects. Though the primary schools that Catherine anticipated never appeared in high quality or quantity, the actors in Russia's court and political scene (e.g. those who had the ability to challenge Catherine's policies) recognized the Tsarina's decree as a benevolent gesture to the lower classes. Catherine's compassion for the nobility produced more tangible results as noblemen gained greater rights to lands and education, but it failed to quell nobles' anxiety about their distance from court decisions and their marginal functions in the Empire.[3] Nonetheless, Catherine II bestowed these gifts, however imperfect, upon her people as a mother unto her children. She thus expanded the matriarch ideal into her legislative and political actions.

With her maternal persona already established in the political realm, Catherine II expanded this role for herself into her private romantic affairs. Bitter from her brief and unpleasant marriage to Peter II, Catherine refused to remain monogamous or without a lover; the Empress insisted that "my heart is loath to be without love for even a single hour."[4] Catherine's affair with Potemkin began twelve years into her reign in 1774 when he was thirty-five to her forty-five. He watched her endless quest for love progress after their physical romance ended two years later. Catherine's sexual appetite and motherly instincts could not be

[2] Richard Wortman. Scenarios of power: myth and ceremony in Russian monarchy (Princeton University Press: Princeton, N.J 1995) 131.

[3] Liah Greenfeld, "The Formation of the Russian National Identity: The Role of Status Insecurity and Ressentiment" in Comparative Studies in Society and History Vol. 32, No. 3 (Jul., 1990) 559, 562.

[4] Douglas Smith, Love and Conquest: Personal Correspondence of Catherine the Great and Prince Grigory Potemkin (Dekalb, Illinois, Northern Illinois University Press, 2004), 10.

quelled: six men followed Potemkin into and out of Catherine's tender embraces, all aged between twenty-two and thirty-two years old. Catherine bestowed her youthful lovers (and Potemkin) with emotional caresses as well as estates and pensions.[5] Thus Catherine infused her role in romantic relationships with maternal roles as an older woman concerned with the emotional and financial needs of her lovers.

Prince Grigory Potemkin's writings underscore just such a familial attachment to Catherine created by her maternal roles. Potemkin began his correspondence with Catherin shortly before their affair and continued witting to her until his death twenty-seven years later in 1791. Although his involvement with state affairs predicated his continued communication with Catherine, Potemkin preserved the personal and emotionally laden language he employed throughout their sensual relationship in the 1770s. Frequently, Potemkin's letters expressed his complete devotion to Catherine "body and soul…in the most sincere manner till death."[6] If Catherine played mother to Potemkin, then he reciprocated as her obligingly loyal son.

In fact, Potemkin not only reciprocated Catherine's love, but also mimicked it through his patriarchal persona as governor of Novorossiya. With the income, noble title, and land which he received from Catherine, Prince Potemkin entered into the highest levels of Russian military service. Catherine's enactment of benevolent legislation compelled Potemkin to follow her example and carry her policies. Like Catherine, Potemkin focused his efforts on bestowing the Russian state and its people with useful and noteworthy gifts. He created the Black Sea Fleet to bolster Russia's navy and secure its access to warm water ports. As governor of Novorossiya, Potemkin applied his total civil and military authority over the region to civilize and Russify the lands from Poland south to Crimea and east to the Caucasus.[7]

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[5] Isabel de Madariaga, Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1981), 354 – 357.

[6] Smith, Love and Conquest, 88.

[7] Madariaga, Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great, 368.

While this clearly demonstrated Catherine's unwavering trust in Potemkin, it also illustrated his admiration for her motherly governing style. Potemkin's service as military commander and governor transformed him into a benevolent patron, a masculine counterpart to Empress Catherine.

Potemkin's love for Catherine then went on display in full view of the entire Empire. In celebration of Potemkin's achievements, Catherine arranged an extended tour from St. Petersburg down to the Black Sea; she would visit the lands and naval fleet which Potemkin had built. While Potemkin's exuberance led him to piece together two-dimensional "Potemkin villages," he did not fall out of Catherine's favor for it. Rather than pick apart the content (or lack thereof) in these towns, Catherine emphasized Potemkin's "labors, successes, effort, zeal, and care."[8] State building had become their love language – they shared a vision of a fortified and civilized imperial Russia with themselves at the center. From Empress and lover to mother and son, Catherine and Potemkin grew into their shared relationship as mother and father of the Russian empire.

When Potemkin died in 1791, the vacuum he left in Catherine's personal life and in the Empire's chain of command "totally altered the power structure in St. Petersburg."[9] The love affair between Empress and her subjects had transmitted itself into the private and public displays of affection between Catherine and Potemkin. As Catherine and Potemkin wrote themselves into Russian history by etching their legacies into civic and military legacies, they wove together their love for one another and the state. Their love expanded Russia into Novorossiya and the Black Sea while implanting an irreplaceable duo at the heart of the Russian government. The love Catherine and Potemkin shared transformed their lives as much as it transformed the Empire in which they lived.

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[8] Smith, Love and Conquest, 179 – 181.

[9] Madariaga, Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great, 565.

"My True Love, Opiates": Addictive Relationships and the Construction of Senses

Kyle A. Bridge

My research has frequently featured oral histories of addiction, many of which I collected from users in the Jacksonville, Florida, area. No two stories were ever alike, but a recurring theme in most interviews was how each user at some point loved their drug of choice. Of course, that point may seem fairly obvious, but some interviewees described their experience as if they were actually in love with substances: "I met my wife in 1999," recalled one man, "[but] in 2002 I met my true love, opiates."

The compulsive consumption of these substances, often to self-destruction, resembles an abusive relationship. How can we reconcile paradoxical relationship between addicts and their drugs of choice? The visceral sensation of drug use accounts for a large part of this apparent contradiction. In other interviews, addicts shared how drugs made them feel: "Opiates gave me euphoric rush"; "It's like having an orgasm"; "It gave me confidence." Indeed, sensory experience is a crucial element of drug use, yet drug history as a field has no established conceptual framework to address it. This editorial sketches the development of sensory and drug histories, and identifies some reasons for the curious lack of engagement between the two fields. It should be noted that simply describing how a drug (or, for that matter, anything else) feels adds little to our understanding. Rather, historicizing the construction of the senses sheds light on some fundamental phenomenon, particularly the contingent nature of "taste" and its implications for trends in consumption.

Sensory history thus offers much potential for drug historians but it remains largely untapped. This may stem in part from a division among sensory historians into two competing camps. The first merely wants to reconstruct past sensations for contemporary audiences. Though generally limited to histori-

cal re-enactors and some museum curators, this idea holds merit among a number of academic historians. Peter Hoffer, an adherent to this school of thought, asked, "Can we use our senses to replicate sensation in a world we have (almost) lost?" and replied, "I think the answer is yes."[1] But in a withering pushback against Hoffer and his ilk, historian Mark Smith branded such analysis as "conceptually flaccid." Smith represents the second camp which maintains that interpretation of sensory input is filtered through unique and historically contingent experiences. In other words, they argue, the senses are not constant and must be contextualized within their lived circumstances.[2]

But even if sensory historians manage to get their house in order, drug historians have traditionally lived in different neighborhoods. The latter have a longstanding if understandable preoccupation with policy, policing, treatment, and social and medical attitudes toward addiction. Those subjects, after all, have the most copious historical documentation. However, some recent scholarship is pushing inquiry toward users and the ritual of use itself.[3] As drug historians begin noticing the same inputs as their sensory-oriented counterparts, their output should increasingly focus on consumption and its implications.

Articulating this isolation is one thing, but actually introducing the fields is another. Fortunately the entrees into overlapping research are numerous. Of particular importance is sensory history's emphasis on what Smith called the "historical specific-

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[1] Peter Hoffer, Sensory Worlds in Early America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 2, quoted in Mark M. Smith, "Producing Sense, Consuming Sense, Making Sense: Perils and Prospects for Sensory History," Journal of Social History 40, no. 4 (Summer 2007), 844.

[2] Smith, "Producing Sense," 842. This essay offers the best historiographic appraisal of sensory history to date and informs many of this editorial's assumptions.

[3] See for example Joseph Spillane, "Historians and Harm: Toward a More Thoughtful Appraisal of Policy Consequences," London School of Economics Ideas 14 (October 2012): 31-36; and Emily A. Remus, "Tippling Ladies and the Making of Consumer Culture: Gender and Public Space in Fin-de-Siècle Chicago," Journal of American History 101, no. 3 (2014): 751-777.

ity" of the senses. For example, he cited two studies, one in Britain in the 1960s and another in the U.S. the following decade, which exposed subjects to the flavor of wintergreen. Researchers noted that Britons disliked the smell yet Americans could not get enough. Smith labels these "learned preferences" given that many contemporary British citizens associated the scent with medicines from World War II while American children and adults had long been consuming minty candies.[4] We can understand why people preferred particular sensations by questioning the historically specific context of their sensory interpretation.

I am reminded of an oral history interview I recorded with a black Jacksonville man who began using speed and cocaine in the late 1970s. At least, those were just his drugs of choice; by the time he entered rehab in 1987, he claimed to have tried twenty-three psychoactive substances. But when I asked what drugs he didn't like, he replied, "I didn't like shooting up heroin. I tried that one time, didn't care for it." Having been born in 1955 and come of age in the early 1970s, his tastes were undoubtedly influenced by the last great heroin use epidemic and its initially disproportionate toll upon minority users in the late 1960s.[5] In other words, his senses were likely just as historically specific as wintergreen-eschewing Brits.

Some drug historians with relevant interests have engaged the essence of sensory methodology, only in other words. In a 2010 article, Caroline Jean Acker accounted for crack cocaine's explosive growth among urban poor in the late 1980s. In addition to its "powerful but fleeting euphoria," she listed that "the combination of route of administration, a market that made individual dose units easily available at a low price, and multiple dimensions of disadvantage [among users]" resulted in

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[4] Rachel S. Herz, "Influence of Odors on Mood and Affective Cognition," in Olfaction, Taste, and Cognition, ed. Catherine Rouby et al (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 162, quoted in Smith, "Producing Sense," 847-848.

[5] David T. Courtwright, Dark Paradise: A History of Opiate Addiction in America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 166-169.

its staggering prevalence.[6] Other drug historians including David Courtwright and Eric Schneider (among others) have traced the historical contingency of drug use epidemics.[7] Still, few engage sensory experience beyond fleeting mentions of the comparative or synergistic effects of different substances for polydrug users. Factoring historically specific sensation adds another analytical layer to social, cultural, environmental, and biological explanations for the persistent phenomenon of addiction.

In Hoffer's application of sensory methodology, the ultimate stumbling block is what he calls the "lemon problem": "I can taste a lemon and savor the immediate experience of my senses; I can recall the taste… but can I use words and pictures to fully understand what I am saying or, rather, to get at the reality behind my words?"[8] But considering whether your sensory experience is comparable or relatable to anyone else's sounds like a conversation you might have while, well, high. Drug history's "heroin problem" or "moonshine problem" or "coffee problem" is understanding how users experienced consumption and its explanatory power. Few if any teenagers truly savor their first puff of a cigarette and even seasoned drinkers grimace at the burn of high-proof liquor. Even the committed cocaine user from Jacksonville remembered feeling "miserable on the inside" throughout much of his addiction career (if perhaps only in hindsight). Earnestly engaging such scenarios with sensory history might allow for new insights into these love-hate relationships.

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[6] Caroline Jean Acker, "How Crack Found a Niche in the American Ghetto: The Historical Epidemiology of Drug-Related Harm," BioSocieties 5 (2010), 79.

[7] See Courtwright, Dark Paradise; and Eric C. Schneider, Smack: Heroin and the American City (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

[8] Hoffer, Sensory Worlds, 14. Smith deconstructs the dubious "lemon problem" in "Producing Sense," 847-849.

Featured Articles

Medieval Clothing, Identity, and Disguise: Wearing Race and Religion

Luc Houle

In the Middle Ages, authorities sought to create and enforce mechanisms for identification. This was not always an antagonistic process, as the general population had a vested interest in being able to identify members of their own community—be it a racial, religious, or geographical community—and to recognize outsiders. Welcome or not, however, identification inevitably involves power: to name is to understand, to apprehend, to control. Yet there has always been a concurrent resistance to, or subversion of, identification in whatever form it is implemented. Imposters, charlatans, shape-shifters, and tricksters fill our storybooks and mythologies: Loki, Lucifer, and Hanuman (Ramayana) all achieve their ends by appearing as something they are not. Even today, despite sophisticated methods of identification, identity theft threatens to undermine the social, political, and economic order.

Yet if dialectics of identity and disguise are so common, what can they tell us about the past? Miriam Eliav-Feldon convincingly demonstrates that "although a universal and perennial phenomenon, […] examining particular ways of forging

identities […] can be a fruitful endeavor towards understanding some of the fears, anxieties, hopes, aspirations, limitations and feasibilities of a specific time and place."[1] Additionally, Valentin Groebner has shown that the bureaucratic efforts and processes employed to verify and enforce identity can reveal more about the identifier than the identified.[2] Both authors focus on the Early Modern period, but I will argue that a similar approach, when applied to the High Middle Ages (specifically from around 1100 to 1400), will reveal much about this society by its forms of identification and disguise. I believe that this approach is especially well suited to the High Middle Ages because the increasing forces of population growth, commerce, and travel forced authorities and communities to reconsider their methods of identification, and opened new opportunities for disguise.

Specifically, I will show that sumptuary laws and literary tales of disguise reflect an increasing anxiety about identification—through clothing, ethnicity, and religion—on the part of both authorities and communities. As the analysis of several texts will demonstrate, these fears manifest themselves in ideas of boundaries crossed. These sumptuary laws began to spring up across Europe, in both religious and secular realms, epitomized in the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215: "We decree that such Jews and Saracens of both sexes in every Christian province and at all times shall be marked off in the eyes of the public from other peoples through the character of their dress."[3] These laws highlight the importance of clothing as a method of identification, an importance which is reflected on the ground by

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[1] Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Renaissance Impostors and Proofs of Identity (New York; Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1-2.

[2] Valentin Groebner, Mark Kyburz, and John Peck, Who are you?: Identification, Deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe (Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books, 2007).

[3] Canon 68, Fourth Lateran Council in H. J. Schroeder, Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937) on Internet History Sourcebooks Project Fordham University, accessed November 14, 2014.

travel accounts. For a traveler, establishing one's own identity and quickly deducing that of others was vital. Clothing offered a method of identification from relatively far away, allowing travelers to remain at a safe distance. Thus in many important ways, both from the top-down perspective of authority, and from the bottom-up perspective of the traveler, "clothing is identity."[4]

Obviously, such a strategy for identification was relatively easy to subvert. A change of clothes and a haircut might suffice to let one pass for someone else. But if it only allows one to pass, and does not actually change one's "real" identity, then identity itself must be considered something deeper, more intrinsic, something more difficult to change. Thus we must also examine the most important constituent elements of the core identity that the clothing was meant to signify.

The first of these elements is obvious from the above decree of the Fourth Lateran Council: religion. Religion was absolutely central to the medieval worldview, and authorities wanted to take every precaution to ensure that people would wear their religion. Indeed, "the purpose of all these [sumptuary] laws… [was] to put an end to confusion, to prevent intimate relations between believers and infidels, prevent contamination of the pure congregation."[5] The Crusades, the heresy trials, and the papal schisms of the High Middle Ages served only to heighten the near paranoia surrounding faith communities. These same concerns would play out again in Spain at the end of the Middle Ages, when the conversions of former Jews and Muslims would be tested by the Inquisition.

While the religious identity is the most striking, ideas about race should not be overlooked. It is often asserted that racism did not exist before the Enlightenment, but many scholars are now questioning that claim.[6] The task is made all the more

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[4] Rosamund Allen, "Introduction," in Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050-1550, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 3.

[5] Eliav-Feldon, Imposters, 172.

[6] See for example: Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph

difficult because medieval conceptions of race were inseparable from ideas about religion. Reversing the causal argument of the scientific racism of the nineteenth century, during the medieval period "race/ethnicity was often deemed to be produced and indicated by religious practices."[7] An example from a travel account will illustrate the point. When Niccolo da Poggibonsi made his pilgrimage to the Holy Land from 1345 - 1350 CE, he "could tell the difference between Greeks, Georgians, Copts, Armenians, Muslims and even Ethiopians in Cairo only by their dress."[8] Here the conflation of race and religion is evident: Copts and Muslims are, in a modern understanding, religious groups, while Georgians, Armenians, and Ethiopians are ethnic groups. "Greeks" could refer to either, since it is unclear whether the author is looking for Greek Orthodox Christians, or people of the Greek race, or whether he would even see those as two different things. Although in the modern understanding of "Greek" is more of a nationality, during the medieval period "Greek" was frequently used as an ethnic or religious category which might signify the Byzantine Empire, people who identified with a Hellenic ancestry, or any practitioner in the Greek Orthodox Church.

Perhaps an example in which all those involved are ostensibly of one religious group will better illustrate the point. Robert Bartlett quotes the fourteenth century Scottish chronicler John of Fordun:

> The race of Teutonic language [in the lowlands] is domesticated, civilized, faithful, patient, cultivated, decently dressed, refined and peaceable, devout in church worship, yet always ready to withstand any harm done by its enemies… that of Scottish language [in the highlands] however, is wild, untamed, primitive, intrac-

Ziegler, eds. The Origins of Racism in the West (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[7] Denise Kimber Buell, Why this New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 2.

[8] Andrew Jotischky, "The Mendicants as Missionaries and Travellers," in Eastward Bound, 93.

table, inclined to plunder, leisure-loving, quick to learn, skillful, handsome in appearance but vilely dressed, and continually fiercely opposed to the English people and language, but also to their own nation, on account of the difference of language.[9]

In this case, while religion is mentioned, it cannot be the main point of difference because all of the Scots are Christian. Instead, a group of characteristics such as clothing and language, what we would perhaps today call "culture," is linked with innate social, moral, and mental characteristics, a pattern that would be repeated in later forms of racism. Giraldus Cambrensis, who traveled to Ireland in the service of the King of England in 1185, writes of the Irish, "their want of civilization, shown both in their dress and mental culture, makes them a barbarous people."[10] Here a definitive link is made between clothing and mental capability, and they are used to make categorical value judgments about an entire people. Indeed, ethnicity was often communicated in medieval artwork through visual patterns of "hair and dress codes."[11] A similar example occurs half a world away, in the travel account of Marco Polo, who speaks of a certain people between Talikhan and Ishkasham: "They are an ill-conditioned and murderous folk. […] They wear no clothes but the skins of the beasts they catch."[12] In both cases, clothing is used to define a group as barbaric, and to identify the author, along with his race and religion, as civilized.

[9] Robert Bartlett, "Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity," in Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 31, no. 1 (2001): 48. The emphasis is mine, the original Latin word "gens" is translated here as "race".

[10] Giraldus Cambrensis, The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis: Containing the Topography of Ireland, and History of the Conquest of Ireland, ed. T. Wright (London: H. G. Bohn, 1863), 122.

[11] Robert Bartlett, "Illustrating Ethnicity in the Middle Ages," 137, in The Origins of Racism in the West, eds. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Cambridge, 2009).

[12] Marco Polo, The Travels of Marco Polo, ed. and trans. Ronald Latham (London: Penguin Books, 1958), 75.

This dynamic is explicitly linked to skin color in another example, this one from the ninth-century letter of Eldad the Danite to the Jews of Spain. After a shipwreck, "the sea cast us among a people called Romranos who are black Ethiopians, tall, without garment or clothing upon them, cannibals, like unto the beasts of the field."[13] It is notable that Eldad does not mention religion at all. Instead the reader finds the identity of this "people" built first on skin color, then clothing, then cultural practices, and finally dehumanized in order to further distance them from the protagonist and his audience.

Taken together, these examples show a complex entanglement of ideas about what stood at the core of a person's identity, of what clothing signified, of what made them human. Simple application of modern labels such as "nationality" or "ethnicity" or "race" cannot be effective for understanding the medieval worldview, in which "ethnicity was defined by and manifested in culture as much as, or more than, descent."[14]

But what about descent? Are races completely malleable in the medieval imagination? This gets to the complex but penetrating argument of Denise Buell, which centers on race and its power to have both "fixity and fluidity."[15] The narrative of race relies on innate, unchangeable characteristics; meanwhile the boundaries which the narrative draws and the consequent judgments change over time and space, so that "ideas about race and ethnicity gain persuasive power by being subject to revision while purporting to speak about fundamental essences."[16] Descent is inextricably bound up in this process. For example, the term "Saracens" is the most common one used in medi-

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[13] Eldad the Danite, in Jewish Travelers, ed. Elkan Nathan Adler (London: G. Routledge & sons, ltd, 1930), 6.

[14] Bartlett, "Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity," 47.

[15] Denise Kimber Buell, "Early Christian Universalism and Modern Racism," in The Origins of Racism in the West eds. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 115.

16   Buell, Why, 7.

eval sources to refer to Muslims, though many others are used, including Turks, Arabs, Moors, Agarenes, and Ishmaelites. John Tolan convincingly demonstrates that the terms Saracens, Agarenes, and Ishmaelites all denote hereditary descent groups, from the biblical figures of Sarah, Hagar, and Ishmael respectively.[17] These theories of descent, just like the division of the world's population into descent groups based on the three sons of Noah, appear to be fixed, but from 1100 to 1400 they were reassessed and reassigned to fit the discursive needs of the moment, part of the "gradual process of constructing racism in Western society."[18]

Another example can be found in the case of Gog and Magog and the ways in which Christians began to connect them to the Jews by descent. Gog and Magog, the people of Satan in the Book of Revelation who will fight under the banner of Antichrist, had maintained a shifting, inconsistent place in the ethnographic worldview of medieval Christendom. Over time, ideas about Gog and Magog were mingled with legends about Alexander the Great. It was thought that Alexander had walled them up in the mountains of Asia, from which they were destined to burst forth at the apocalypse.[19] Writers and mapmakers projected the gamut of condemned and feared cultural practices onto this race, from incest to cannibalism to infanticide. Over time, however, this fluidity of identification became more fixed, especially as "thirteenth-century Europeans attempted to explain the baffling, sudden appearance of the Mongols, a race unrecorded in

[17] John Victor Tolan, Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 10-11.

[18] B. Braude, "The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods: Origins of European Racism," in William and Mary Quarterly 54, (no. 1: 1997), 142.

[19] For a detailed study of the legends, see: Emeri Van Donzel and Andrea Schmidt Gog and Magog in Early Eastern Christian and Islamic Source: Sallam's Quest for Alexander's Wall (Leiden: Brill, 2009). For their placement on maps, see: Andrew Gow, "Gog and Magog on Mappaemundi and early printed world maps: Orientalizing ethnography in the apocalyptic tradition," in Journal of Early Modern History 2, no. 1 (1998): 61-88.

the Bible, by making them Jewish."[20]

Mandeville traces this ancestry a step further, writing that "the Jews of the Ten Lost Tribes are shut up in these hills; they are called Gog and Magog."[21] The author then connects them to the Jews of Europe and hints at a Jewish conspiracy. He claims that the Jews of the world learn Hebrew because that is the only language spoken by Gog and Magog, and that the Jews of Europe look forward to the time when Gog and Magog will break free, when "they [the Jews of Europe] will lead them [Gog and Magog] into Christendom to destroy Christian men."[22] In this way, the apocalyptic people of Satan and the Jews of Europe are linked by descent and become one race, inherently bent on the destruction of Christians. Even Christian theologians who were less literal, such as Augustine, may have contributed to this line of thought. By allegorizing Gog and Magog as an enemy within, they again opened the door to make Gog and Magog "a Jewish problem."[23]

Taking all of these ideas about identity together, it becomes apparent that concepts of race, religion, language, and culture were not clearly separated in the medieval mindset. Each one created and was created by the others. Gil Anidjar argues that this situation continues to the present: "religion and race are contemporary, indeed, coextensive and, moreover, co-concealing categories."[24] Ultimately, race and religion were conflated to the point that one was reliant on the other. For Christians, "Jesus' blood not only makes it possible to become Christian but is explicitly interpreted as begetting or birthing a people linked

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[20] Scott D. Westrem, "Against Gog and Magog," in Text and Tradition, eds. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 66.

[21] Sir John de Mandeville, The Travels of Sir John Mandeville, ed. C. W. R. D. Moseley (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England; New York: Penguin, 1983), 165.

[22] Mandeville, 166.

[23] Westrem, 68.

[24] Gil Anidjar, Semites: Race, Religion, Literature (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 28.

by faith *and* ancestry."[25] This understanding of the intertwining of race and religion helps scholars make sense of the complex medieval constructions of identity, and can lead to conclusions about how and why they were employed in specific ways.

One reason to fix ideas of identity onto selves or others is political. Let us return for a moment to Giraldus Cambrensis, who labeled the Irish as barbarians based on their "dress and mental culture." Paule Le Rider has shown that Giraldus intentionally matched his specific descriptions of the clothing of the Irish to literary depictions of Irish dress in Arthurian legend, in order to legitimize the English conquest of Ireland. Indeed, Giraldus "does not hesitate to make the connection, going almost as far as to say that the rights secured previously on the island by Arthur were among the precedents on which the right of the kings of (Great) Britain to dominate Ireland was based."[26]

In this way, clothing, and the aspects of identity it signified, became a tool of a political discourse. The stakes were high enough that figures of authority held fast to the idea that "in order to preserve an orderly society, each person needed to dress according to his or her gender, class, rank, religion, office, and profession."[27] These signifiers helped to label and control people within their proscribed roles as well as to create or legitimize insiders and outsiders. While these discursive projects were not always nefarious, they are reminiscent of Moore's persecuting society:

> Persecution became habitual. That is to say not simply that individuals were subject to violence, but that deliberate and socially sanctioned violence began to be

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[25] Buell, "Early Christian Universalism," 112. Emphasis hers

[26] Paule Le Rider, "A propos de costumes... De Giraud de Barri au Conte du Graal et à Fergus," in Moyen-âge 107, (no. 2: 2001), 268. The translation is mine from the French: 'n'hésitait pas à faire le rapprochement, allant jusqu'à dire que les droits acquis jadis sur l'île par Arthur comptaient parmi les précédents sur lesquels se fondait le droit des rois de (Grande) Bretagne à dominer l'Irlande.'

[27] Eliav-Feldon, Imposters, 162.

directed, *through established governmental, judicial and social institutions,* against groups of people defined by general characteristics such as race, religion or way of life; and that membership of such groups in itself came to be regarded as justifying these attacks.[28]

So clothing, as a means for defining and regulating these characteristics of race and religion, became a powerful symbol of identity, marking off the persecuted from the rest of society.

Moore demonstrates further how nearly all persecuted groups became conflated, as in these accusations leveled against Henry of Lausanne around 1130 for supposedly preaching heretical doctrine: "You too are a leper, scarred by heresy, excluded from communion by the judgment of the priest, according to the law, bare-headed, with ragged clothing, your body covered by an infected and filthy garment."[29] In this example the image of clothing is used to expressly link heretics with lepers, two groups who both suffered persecution. According to a thirteenth century inquisitor's manual, clothing could also be used to punish heretics once their crime was discovered; one who "sinned by the crime of heretical morbidity… in detestation of his error he shall wear two crosses, one on the breast and one of the shoulders, yellow in color, two palms in height, two in breadth, each arm three fingers in width."[30] This powerful visual symbol would mark the heretic in public society, exposing to all the blasphemy that he had once kept secret.

Of course, clothing could reveal particular sanctity or devotion in addition to heresy. When Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon (now Regensburg, Germany) traveled throughout the Middle East in the late twelfth century, he took notes on his experi-

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[28] R. I. Moore, The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250 (New York; Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1987), 4. Emphasis his.

[29] Quoted in Moore, 58. The original source is not listed.

[30] "A Manual for Inquisitors at Carcasonne, 1248-49," in Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 204.

ences. In Baghdad, Petachia was impressed with the devotion of the Jewish population. As part of a longer description meant to emphasize their religiosity, he writes, "They all walk about wrapped in their praying scarves of wool with fringes."[31] Later in his account he is praising the might and grandeur of Rabbi Samuel, who is the head of the academy in Baghdad. To make his point, Petachia lists how many disciples Samuel has, his proficiency with the Talmud, and the fact that "he himself is clothed in garments adorned with gold."[32] Petachia may be recording his genuine awe in these passages, or he may be making a veiled criticism of the Jews in his hometown, by offering up such a holy example. Either way, his use of clothing is effective in communicating the wealth, power, and prestige of the head of the academy, as well as the devotion of the Jewish community in Baghdad as a whole.

Similar uses for clothing as metaphor appear in Christian sources. Jacques de Vitry, the thirteenth century Bishop of Acre and one of the leaders of the Fifth Crusade, wrote a letter to Pope Honorius III in which he personifies the Latin Church in the East as a resplendent queen:

> "cum orientalis ecclesia ab origine sua, instar illius regine, que a dextris regis in vestitu deaurato, virtutum circumdata varietate..."[33]

> "When the Eastern Church by its own birth, equal of that queen, who is considered to have stood in gilded clothing at the right hand of the king, surrounded by a variety of virtues…"[34]

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[31] Petachia of Ratisbon, in Adler, 69.

[32] Petachia of Ratisbon, in Adler, 70.

[33] Jacques de Vitry, Letter V, 112, in Lettres de Jacques de Vitry: 1160/1170-1240, évéque de Saint- Jean d'Acre, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Edition Critique (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960).

[34] The translation is my own, with the invaluable assistance of William Smith III of the University of Florida Classics Department. To the best of my knowledge, ours is the first complete English translation of this document.

In this case, Jacques de Vitry hopes to establish his own importance as Bishop of Acre by emphasizing the importance of the Eastern Church.

Similarly, Thomas of Monmouth was attempting in his work, The Life and Passion of William of Norwich, to legitimize the cult of William of Norwich, a twelfth-century boy supposedly murdered by the Jews. According to Thomas' account, a certain pilgrim on his way to visit the shrine of William of Norwich was escorted by two ghostly companions, who turned out to be the spirits of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury and King Edmund: "One was resplendent in the whitest of clothes; the other wore the signs and emblems of kingship."[35] The appearance of these two figures in Thomas of Monmouth's account is meant to lend credibility to the cult. Their sacral and secular authority is communicated to the pilgrim and the reader through their clothing. Though they are dead, they have more humanity than another figure in the narrative, an insane man in need of a miraculous cure: "forgetful of being human, he twisted and tore off his clothes."[36] Thus clothing can be seen to define one's humanity, or lack of it, just as it identifies different types or levels of humanity, represented in race, religion, language, culture, or ethnicity.

But what happens when these identifications are subverted? When Rabbi Jacob Ha Cohen visited the Holy Land in the twelfth century, he wished to visit the Tomb of the Patriarchs, but he found himself in a difficult situation, because the site was controlled by Christian monks, and non-Christians were not allowed to enter. He writes, "In Hebron, I, Jacob, entered in the guise of a Gentile into the cave."[37] He is successful in his deception, but he must have felt the need to justify his untruth in such a holy place, either to his readers or to himself. Indeed, in his naming himself so assertively at this point, which is uncharacteristic of medieval

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[35] Thomas of Monmouth The Life and Passion of William of Norwich, ed. and trans. Miri Rubin, Google Books Digital Edition (New York: Penguin Classics, 2014), 220.

[36] Thomas of Monmouth, 181.

[37] Jacob Ha Cohen, in Adler, 98.

Jewish travel writers, Elka Weber sees a possible psychological side effect of disguise: "Jacob finds his identity so threatened by the events of his journey that he needs to remind the reader who he is."[38] After his visit, Jacob claims that it is the Christian monks who are lying, who found the cave, and then "built a structure upon it and falsely deceived the world."[39] He goes on to describe how the graves that are shown to pilgrims are not the real graves, which actually reside behind an ancient wall. The Christians "are not permitted to break into that wall, for once the monks made a small window therein and a strong wind came and killed them all and they closed the window."[40] Thus it is perhaps not only his personal identity which is threatened by the experience, but also his membership in a larger Jewish community which has been literally locked out of its very history. He is more than ready to believe the tale of the divine wind which exposed an act of disguise more terrible than his own.

Jewish pilgrims struggled to gain access to their holy sites when they were under Islamic rule as well. Rabbi Meshullam Ben R. Menahem was unable to visit the tombs of Isaac, Jacob, Rebecca, and Leah, but he learns of them from local Jewish women. The women are able to enter because "they are not recognized because of the black veil they wear on their faces, and the guards of the caves think they are Moslem women."[41] He learns from the women that the Muslims honor the tombs: "on their graves are silk and embroidered garments."[42] Thus the women must act as intermediaries of religious heritage, even obscuring their own identities through the manipulation of clothing in the process.

Not all tales of disguise have quite so much at stake, but they always involve the crossing of traditional boundaries. The

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[38] Elka Weber, "Sharing the Sites: Medieval Jewish Travellers to the Land of Israel," in Eastward Bound, 43.

[39] Jacob Ha Cohen, in Adler, 98.

[40] Jacob Ha Cohen, in Adler, 98.

[41] Meshullam Ben R. Menahem, in Adler, 186.

[42] Meshullam Ben R. Menahem, in Adler, 186.

literary tropes bound up in stories of disguise speak to concerns about maintaining a coherent order of gender, race, and religion, signified in the symbolic language of clothing. First, let us investigate a morality tale or a warning in the travel account of Sir John de Mandeville.[43] The fourteenth century travelogue recounts the following: the "Sultan sends some of his lords [to Europe]… in the guise of merchants… in order to size up the manners of us Christian men and spot our weaknesses."[44] A tale like this plays on the fears of a European Christendom which has lost nearly all the territorial gains of the Crusades to Muslim attack. It also serves to emphasize the importance of proper identification. Both religious and geographical boundaries are being crossed in this case, with alarming results.

Second, Usāmah ibn Munqidh offers an example of disguise from an Islamic perspective. He tells a story of a young relative of his who, during the Crusades, was attempting to escape a battle. "As he was [preparing to flee] …a figure suddenly entered the house wearing a mail hauberk and a helmet… The figure threw off its helmet and behold! It was his aunt… [She said], 'What a wicked thing you are doing! You would leave the daughters of your uncle… and just take off?' …And so she… prevented him from fleeing."[45] In this morality tale, the figure of the aunt who is dressed in the armor of a male warrior stands in stark contrast to the young man who would avoid war. While subverting traditional gender roles, her character simultaneously reestablishes them by invoking the danger to "the daughters of your uncle" in order to shame the man into taking the proper action. In this story then, gender boundaries are being crossed, but the result is that they are only further reinscribed.

43   While Mandeville himself may be a fictional character and the author of the work may never have traveled to any of the places he describes, the work was one of the most popular of the Middle Ages, and as such, it had the opportunity to influence thousands of people. Therefore, its veracity matters little to this analysis.

44 Mandeville, 108.

45 Usāmah ibn Munqidh, The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades, ed. and trans. Paul M. Cobb (New York; London: Penguin, 2008), 136.

This example can be compared to Mandeville's assessment of the Mongols, when he says that "women of that country are clad in the same way, so that the two sexes can hardly be told apart."[46] This statement lacks the ironic element of Munqidh's tale. Here the crossing of gender boundaries plays a role similar to that seen in Giraldus Cambrensis, where the customs of a supposedly barbaric people are contrasted with the civilized mores of home. Specifically, saying that both sexes dress in the same way implies that the Mongols are savages who do not understand the proper ordering of society. Hence this likely reflects a concern on the part of the author and audience within their contemporary European society to enforce traditional power structures, as illustrated by ideas about clothing, identity, and disguise.

Munqidh plays with these same boundaries in another story of disguise. This time, we find cross-dressing which runs in the opposite direction: "I saw a man wearing a woman's get-up and on his shoulders was a sack of clothes. […] So I said to him, 'By God, where did you come from?' He replied, 'From Ma'arrat. Yesterday I knocked over a dyer's shop and took everything in it.' Then he took his sack and walked away."[47] In this case, the purpose of the disguise is not explicit. It does not seem that he wore women's clothing in order to hide his identity while robbing the shop, because he is still wearing it a day later. Perhaps he put it on after the robbery to escape pursuit, or perhaps he just enjoys wearing it. Either way, the story certainly intends to link cross-dressing with criminal behavior, and crosses both gender and legal boundaries in doing so. Indeed, the sumptuary laws themselves, described above, made people who did not follow the rules of clothing into criminals.

As a final example to demonstrate how loosely linked the ideas of disguise were to anxieties over social boundaries, let us return to Thomas of Monmouth. In this story, a demon in disguise attempts to seduce a virgin to give up her faith and

[46] Mandeville, 156.

[47] Munqidh, 258-259.

give in to carnal desire: "[The demon] transformed itself into a most beautiful youth… He pretended to be what he was not, so as to achieve his aim."[48] The incubus tried to bribe her with "silken clothes" and other gifts.[49] As she continued to resist, the demon became more and more violent. Finally, the righteous ghost of Herbert, Bishop of Norwich appeared to protect her, "white of hair and venerable of appearance, dressed in pontifical vestments."[50] The main purpose of this story is revealed later, when the girl visits the shrine of William of Norwich and is freed from the demon forever, thereby aligning with Thomas of Monmouth's main purpose in writing his account, the legitimization of William's cult. However, within the story itself we find several references to identity. The demon disguises itself as "a most beautiful youth" and offers her "silken clothes" in an attempt to violate sexual boundaries. The Bishop's ghost, identified by his "pontifical vestments" as the savior character, crosses supernatural boundaries by entering the world of the living.

Thus all three of these medieval authors reveal the nature of disguise and its use in narrative. The act of disguise is usually, though not always, motivated by bad intentions in these tales, which alludes to common fears about the subversion of identity. All three showcase the transgression of traditional boundaries by means of this change of identity.

Certainly disguise could also result from more practical considerations, however. Munqidh describes how a loyal servant switched clothes with his master so that the master could escape captivity.[51] When the German pilgrim Hans Tucher made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he recommended "ordering a garment like those worn by Muslim merchants so as to be less conspicuous."[52] This is a somewhat benign inversion of Mandev-

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[48] Thomas of Monmouth, 100-101.

[49] Thomas of Monmouth, 101.

[50] Thomas of Monmouth, 102.

[51] Munqidh, 65-66.

[52] Anne Simon, "Of Smelly Seas and Ashen Apples: Two German Pilgrims' View of the East," in Eastward Bound, 210.

ille's story about Muslim spies dressed as Christian merchants. So money, special treatment, safety, or ease of travel could motivate medieval travelers to disguise their identities. A change of clothes was not hard to come by, "nor was it a complicated matter to dress up as a pilgrim, an occupation which carried with it significant benefits. All that was needed were a staff, a satchel, a special coat and hat, and various badges and brooches proving visits to particular shrines."[53] Small wonder then that travelers, while usually welcomed by the rules of hospitality, were often viewed with suspicion. Disguise in whatever form represents resistance to the ability of authorities to identify and control populations. People in disguise threatened the orderly arrangement of society and probed the cultural boundaries that delineated racial and religious identities.

These very boundaries are important to establishing order in a community. This is especially true in mixed communities, where different racial and religious groups lived side by side. For example, the Christian minority which lived under Muslim rule in thirteenth-century Morocco adopted much of the clothing style, language, and culture of the Muslim majority. When Franciscan friars arrived there, while they were not exactly in disguise, their appearance "as barefoot, somewhat disheveled, wearing simply a habit and rope belt" was somewhat destabilizing.[54] While the Franciscan accounts criticized the local Christians for preferring "avoiding conflict" over "declaring the unassailable truth of their belief," the caution of the locals is understandable.[55] Soon, with "ostentatious displays of piety and preaching… [the Franciscans] violated the carefully maintained boundaries between the local Christians and their host society."[56] This violation of boundaries and the stubbornness of the friars

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[53] Eliav-Feldon, Imposters, 183.

[54] Brett Edward Whalen, "Corresponding with Infidels: Rome, the Almohads, and the Christians of Thirteenth-Century Morocco," in Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 41, no. 3 (2011): 493.

[55] Whalen, 488.

[56] Whalen, 493.

resulted in their martyrdom.

In conclusion, we have seen how medieval conceptions of identity involved a complex milieu of race, religion, ethnicity, and culture which vacillated between fixed and fluid, hereditary and shaped. An important signifier of these intricate identities was clothing, which was used to define the self and the Other, used by authorities to enforce regularity on people, and used by people themselves to create orderly communities. Persecuted segments of society were often forced to dress in a way that marked them as separate. Clothing could be especially important in relation to travelers, as they encountered and were encountered by those who were somehow different from themselves.

Just as sumptuary laws were directed towards controlling clothing and identities, so disguise was a common way of resisting or subverting these identities. Imposters chose to become someone else for a variety of reasons, some more noble than others. But no matter the intent, disguise necessarily challenged cultural boundaries of religion, location, gender, law, sex, and even death itself, as seen in the stories of ghosts above. Partially for these reasons, and also because of the common fear that people were not who they seemed, disguise became a popular motif in literature and legend of all kinds. In the end, just as travel accounts often do more to inform the reader of the author's own biases, assumptions, and values than they do to truly bring the exotic to life, travelers "are concerned about identifying the Other, not always to marvel at difference but to define more securely their own belief system, which had been their main motive for leaving the safety of the familiar home."[57] Clothing was more than just a fashion statement; in the medieval imagination, it amounted to wearing your identity.

Significantly, as shown above, the societal boundaries which were most often contested, and simultaneously most worried over by authorities, were the same ones which our sources speak to when they discuss clothing and disguise. The pressure

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[57] Allen, "Introduction," in Eastward Bound, 3.

to maintain an orderly society came down hardest on those who were singled out by their race or religion. Clothing became a tool to both reinscribe and subvert those proscribed roles. As a result, deliberate mentions of clothing and disguise in medieval texts should alert the reader that there is more at stake than a simple dress code. These literary crossroads help us better understand the values and fears of medieval society.

Tra Natura e Cultura: An Edifying Vision of Womanhood in Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*

Rebecca Krop

During the Renaissance period, a debate began to circulate among scholars across Europe regarding the social roles of women. Originating in the thirteenth century in France, this *querelle des femmes*, or "woman question," sought to determine the extent of women's natural capabilities and their intended duty to society.[1] Unsurprisingly, the consensus of the debate argued that women were destined by both natural and divine law to be the subordinates of men. However, in 1528, a new perspective to the argument was introduced by Baldassare Castiglione – an Italian diplomat, courtier, and soldier – in his text, *Il Libro del Cortegiano*, known in English as *The Book of the Courtier*.[2] Published when he was 54 years old, *The Courtier*, Castiglione's most famous contribution to the Renaissance world, influenced court life across the European continent, and eventually became known as an Italian literary classic.[3] Imbedded within the text's didactic discourse, written in the style of the Renaissance dialogue, Castiglione relays a complementary theory on the duties of the sexes, in which women and men are equal by nature, but bound by culture to fulfil certain social expectations.[4] Many his-

[1] Georgiana Donavin, "The European Querelle des femmes," in *Medieval Forms of Argument* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2002), 127-56.

[2] Baldassare Castiglione, "Book III," in *The Book of the Courtier* trans. Leonard Eckstein Opdyke (Immortal Classics, 1901). At the time of the publication, Castiglione was serving as Pope Clement VII's ambassador to King Charles V of Spain.

[3] Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, 66 and 133.

[4] This perspective gradually becomes clear in "Book III," in *The Book of the Courtier*, and is supported by many historians including, Pamela Joseph Benson, "Il Libro del Coretgiano," in *Invention of the Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female Independence in the Literature and Thought of Italy and England* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University, 1992), 65-90, and Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception*

torians have focused on the latter half of this notion, with some even arguing that Castiglione's text further subjugated women to the desires of men.[5] For this reason, a reexamination of *The Courtier's* dialogue on women is warranted. Contextualizing the discourse in relation to the standard gender roles of Italian Renaissance society demonstrates that, despite its cultural limitations, the overall ideology of *The Courtier* expresses an edifying vision of womanhood.

The Courtier's dialogue, alleged to have occurred in 1507 when Castiglione was staying at court in Urbino, is conducted between a series of characters from the Italian upperclass.[6] The book begins when several of the Duchess of Urbino's favored intellectuals, as entertainment for the evening, gather together to discuss the ideal man at court. It is not until the third evening, in "Book III," that the subject of women is brought to attention. Due to the text's numerous characters of the greater nobility and distinctive purpose of describing the perfect court figures, *The Courtier* has generally been interpreted by Renaissance readers and modern historians as a manual for the ambitious sixteenth century upper or middle-class individual.[7] As a result, many of the qualities assigned to the ideal Court Lady are based on virtues that were complementary to daily life in high society. Because of this, historians must be careful to differentiate between Castiglione's philosophy on women and his pre-

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of Castiglione's Cortegiano (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).

[5] Historians who have discussed *The Courtier* as limiting women's independence include: Valeria Finucci, *The Lady Vanishes: Subjectivity and Representation in Castiglione and Ariosto* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992). Pamela Benson, *The Invention of the Renaissance woman*, and Joan Kelly-Gadol, "Did Women Have a Renaissance," in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, ed. Renate Bridenthai and Clandia Koonz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1977).

[6] Helena Sanson, "Women, Language Games, and Debates in Cinquecento Italy," *The Modern Language Review* 105 (2014): 104.

[7] For information of social mobility through the Renaissance process of self-fashioning see, Peter Burke, "Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes," in *Rewriting the Self*, ed. Roy Porter (New York: Routledge, 1997).

scription of feminine ideals that matched the cultural standards. In regards to the characters who participated in the *querelle des femmes*, this study focuses on the arguments of Magnifico Giuliano de'Medici, an intellectual exile from Florence, and Gaspar Pallavicino, a young count who typically takes on a misogynistic stance throughout the conversation.[8]

Because *The Courtier* contains a variety of perspectives on the nature of woman, there is some debate as to whether the positive discourse on women represents Castiglione's personal beliefs, or is merely an evasive tactic of the Renaissance dialogue.[9] Historians have considered this problem by studying the literary rhetoric of the conversation. Although many arguments are expressed in the discussions of "Book III," the prevailing conviction throughout is consistent with the opinion that women are equal to men. This belief is evidenced in the dialogue between Gaspar and Magnifico, in which the latter's character is depicted as dominant to the former. On other occasions, Magnifico refers to Gaspar's arrogance and low expectations for women as "inordinate abuse" that he would be ashamed to bestow upon any man or woman.[10] In this scenario, such a strong tone of abhorrence towards Gaspar is revealed that it is unlikely Castiglione would have shared Gaspar's opinions. Due to these factors, most historians have concluded that Magnifico's character was written to be indicative of Castiglione's beliefs.[11]

However, the characters of *The Courtier* are not always in dispute. At the beginning of the conversation, the characters all agree on several facets of the Court Lady's persona which follow certain cultural standards of the time, including characteris-

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[8] Giuliano de'Medici will hence forth be referred to as Magnifico.

[9] On the style of the Renaissance Dialogue see, Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[10] Ibid., 184.

[11] On the conversational rhetoric in *Il Cortegiano* see Wayne Rebhorn, *Courtly Performances: Masking and Festivity in Castiglione's Book of the Courtier* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978), 11-22. And Sanson, "Women, Language Games, and Debates."

tics of grace, affability, modesty, cleanliness, morality, and kind-ness.[12] These are the aspects which many historians have chosen to critique Castiglione's writings for. Joan Kelly argues that Castiglione's prescription of these feminine qualities secured the situation of "general female dependency among the nobility."[13] Yet, Kelly's claims stem from a comparison of *The Courtier's* description of womanhood with the enlightened gender roles of modern day and do not provide much insight into the progressive qualities of Castiglione's writing in relation to the standards of the sixteenth century.

Italian women who chose to deny the assigned gender roles of wife, mother, or virgin were generally left with the op-tion of either joining a nunnery, or living a shamed life.[14] Many Italian humanists contemporary to Castiglione's time reinforced this patriarchal ideology.[15] In *I Libri della famiglia* (*The Books of the Family*), Leon Batista Alberti argued that the care of very young children was women's work, and that education was a masculine activity which women were naturally unable to com-prehend.[16] Similarly, the humanist Francesco Barbaro believed that women were designed by nature to reside in the domestic

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[12] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, 169-90.

[13] Joan Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance," 191. Kelly's work was the first to challenge the dominant historiographical opinion that women gained power and influence during the Renaissance. Her work presents a feminist interpretation of women's role in society from 1350-1540.

[14] Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Female Celibacy and Service in Florence in the Fifteenth Century," in *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 165-67.

[15] Humanism – the study of classical antiquity – began in Italy during the fourteenth century. Humanists sought to create an educated class of citizens who were capable of leading the populace in virtuous behavior. For more on humanism during the Renaissance see, Paul Kristeller, "Renaissance Humanism and Classical Antiquity," in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy, I. Humanism in Italy* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1988).

[16] Leon Battista Alberti, *I Libri Della Famiglia*, translated by Renee Neu Watkins in *The Family in Renaissance Florence* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1969).

arena. In his treatise on marriage, *De re uxoria* (*On Marriage*), Barbaro stressed the idea that women were created for the specific purpose of bearing and raising children.[17] Although several women – most notably Christine de Pizan and Isotta Nogarola – were able to break this gender barrier and advocate on behalf of women, the dominant belief on the duties of the female sex remained in accordance with humanists like Alberti and Barabaro.[18] It is probable that Castiglione, having written *The Courtier* as a handbook for courtly behavior amongst the upper-class, would have abided by the standard cultural expectations for ladies at court in order to assure the legitimacy of his advice and the success of the text's reception. What is more, *The Courtier* does not advocate that women were destined to embody these feminine roles and virtues due to their nature. Rather, the dominant arguments of the dialogue seem to stress that women ought to have embraced these standards in order to secure their status at court.

Castiglione makes this distinction clear early on in the discourse. As the conversation steers into a description of the ideal Court Lady, Magnifico makes note of the social realities women faced during this period, particularly women of the upper-class, expressing that "beauty is more necessary to her than to the Courtier, for in truth that woman lacks much who lacks beauty."[19] His emphasis on the importance of appearance most likely stemmed from the actuality that women in Italian society were dependent on men. Therefore, an unattractive woman "lacked much" because she was less likely to

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[17] Carole Collier Frick, "Francesco Barbaro's De re uxoria: A Silent Dialogue for a Young Medici Bride," in *Printed Voices: The Renaissance Culture of Dialogue*, ed. Dorothea Heitsch and Jean-Francois Vallee (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 193-205.

[18] For information on Christine de Pizan, see Charity Cannon Willard, *Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works* (New York: Persea Books, 1984). For information on Isotta Nogarola, see Margaret King, "Isotta Nogarola (1418-1466)" in *Italian Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994).

[19] Castiglione, *The Courtier*, 173-174.

appeal to the demographic that dictated so many aspects of her life. Magnifico expands on this element of social dependency with the pronouncement that the ideal Court Lady should also embody a persona of purity – "a woman has not so many ways of defending herself against false imputations as has a man."[20] Thus, while men in Italian society were often easily forgiven for their sexual or moral transgressions, women who tarnished their chaste reputation were more likely to be cast out by their families or their peers.[21] Instances such as these demonstrate Castiglione's awareness of the gender expectations of the time and the possible reasoning behind his decision to abide by to those cultural standards.

Castiglione's adherence to social norms when describing the perfect Court Lady keeps *The Courtier* from being categorized as pre-feminist literature. However, the argument he relays on the equal capabilities of the sexes does exemplify his position as a gender-progressive thinker. Further evidence of this appears when the discourse in *The Courtier* turns toward a consideration of the Court Lady's ideal education, and the first true debate on the nature of women arises. Magnifico, who has thus far led the discussion, shares his desire for the Court Lady to be well versed in the topics of languages, letters, poetry, and music in order for her "to be placed side by side with this great Courtier as well in qualities of the mind as in those of the body."[22] This particular notion of women having the capacity to match the intellectual capabilities of men highly differed from the hegemonic ideology of the time.

During the Renaissance, the study of humanism was almost entirely limited to men of the upper-class.[23] Humanists

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[20] Agnolo Firenzuola, On the Beauty of Women, trans. K. Eisenblichler and J. Murray (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 15.

[21] Cohen, "Moralities: Honor and Religion," in Daily Life in Renaissance Italy, 94. Elizabeth Cohen, "Honor and Gender in the Streets of Early Modern Rome," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 22:4 (1992), 597-625.

[22] Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, 176. Magnifico's reference to qualities of the body refers to the Court Lady's ability to dance and dress well.

[23] On the education of women in Renaissance Italy, see Mary Agnes Can-

involved in the *querelle des femmes* often justified the exclusion of women from intellectual learning by referencing the works of the Greek philosopher Aristotle, and the Catholic theologian, Aquinas, both of which are alluded to in the *The Courtier*.[24] Through the character Gaspar, Castiglione presents these writers' philosophies, stating:

> Very learned men have left it in writing that since nature always aims and designs to make things most perfect, she would continually bring forth men if she could and when a woman is born, it is a defect or mistake of nature.[25]

> In "On the Generation of Animals," Aristotle describes women as imperfect creatures which are only produced by chance in nature as a result of the malformation of the male being. He ultimately reasoned that women were inherently inferior and lacked the intellectual capacities of men.[26]

> While most men in the *querelle des femmes* believed that the female sex was incapable of understanding high-minded subject matters, not all agreed with Aristotle's argument that women were imperfect. Indeed, Gaspar himself stated that he was "far from willing to affirm that women are imperfect creatures."[27]

non, The Education of Women During the Renaissance (Washington, D.C: Hyperion Press, 1981), and Jessica Nicole, "Convent as Classroom: The Education of Women in Renaissance Italy" (PhD diss., University of California, 2010)

[24] On women and humanism see, Margaret King, "Women and Humanism in the Early Italian Renaissance," in Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past, ed. Patricia H. Labalme (New York: New York University Press, 1980). On the interpretation of Aristotle and Aquinas by Renaissance humanists see, Mary Kinnear, "The Middle Ages," in Daughters of Time: Women in the Western Tradition (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1982), 63-4.

[25] Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, 179.

[26] Aristotle, "On the Generation of Animals," in Philosophy of Woman: An Anthology of Classic to Current Concepts, ed. Mary Briody Mahowald (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 1994), 23-9.

[27] Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, 180.

Thomas Aquinas, in his "On the First Man," provided a Christian perspective on the nature of women more acceptable to Renaissance times by considering the *Book of Genesis* and the creation of Eve from the rib of Adam. At the core of his argument, Aquinas believed that women were intentionally created by God to ensure the comforts of men and the procreation of the species. He further contended that God did not intend for women to be rational beings; for if God had, he would have designed Eve from the head of Adam, and not from his side.[28] With this in mind, Gaspar's arguments may be interpreted as representative of the dominant social ideology towards women during this period – that women were incapable of the intellectuality of men and, thus, were destined to be their inferiors.

Magnifico's subsequent response to Gaspar truly demonstrates the progressive qualities of Castiglione's writing. His rebuttal contests that women and men share an equal intellectual capacity, and continues on to counter Gaspar's claim that women are created by chance in nature.[29] In contrast to Gaspar's basic repetition of past philosophies, Magnifico's argumentation includes an enlightened interpretation of works written by authors from antiquity. By combining the Aristotelian theory on gender differentiation with Plato's philosophy on the functional equality of the sexes, Castiglione presents a model that stresses the complementarity of the sexes.[30]

Magnifico begins with a discussion of the biological differences between the sexes – including the generalization that women are weaker bodied and less aggressive than men – but interprets these aspects to be nature's way of ensuring the successful continuation of the species. Through this argu-

[28] Thomas Aquinas, "On the First Man," in Mary Mahowald, Philosophy of Woman, 54-62.

[29] Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, 181-2.

[30] On Castiglione's interpretation of Aristotle see, Darrell Dobbs, "Family Matters: Aristotle's Appreciation of Women and the Plural Structure of Society," The American Political Science Review 90 (1996), 74-89. For Plato's philosophy on the functions of the sexes see, Plato, "The Republic," in Mary Mahowald, Philosophy of Woman, 5-22.

ment, Castiglione maintains the belief that women are better designed for the care of children, but challenges the idea that this is all the female sex is capable of. Even more impressive is Magnifico's defense that women, "do not desire to be men in order to be perfect, but in order to have liberty and escape that dominion over them which man has arrogated to himself by his own authority."[31] The statement is quite remarkable for the period, particularly for members of Italian society. Not only is Castiglione defending the abilities of women, but arguing that their social subordination is the outcome of a patriarchal society. Although Castiglione admits to this repression, he does not suggest that the social framework should change. Nevertheless, his notation that the subjugation of women was culturally enforced (rather than inherent) remains significant.

As the dialogue progresses, Magnifico further demonstrates the enlightened properties of *The Courtier*. He declares that women, despite their weaker bodies, are just as capable of performing martial and governmental tasks as men.[32] The notion is reminiscent of the theory regarding the king's two bodies; a Renaissance philosophy that believed a monarch to be divided between a body natural and a body politic. According to the theory, the body natural represented the monarch's physical body and the body politic embodied the immortal spirit and the masculine strength of a king.[33] However, prior to the rise of England's Queen Elizabeth I, in 1558, the idea of a queen possessing a masculine body politic was unheard of and women were generally regarded as unfit to rule.[34] Therefore, Castiglione's assertion that women were capable of ruling successfully, was exceedingly progressive for this period. It may even be suggested that *The Courtier*'s influence in England allowed Elizabeth to maintain

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[31] Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, 183.

[32] Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, 179.

[33] Theodora A. Jankowski, "The Body Natural and the Body Politic," in Women in Power in the Early Modern Drama (Champagne, IL: University of Illinois, 1992), 54-76.

[34] Ibid., 60-5.

her position as an unmarried, female ruler.[35]

  Castiglione most likely began to formulate this philosophy on the sexes during his humanist studies as a young adult. In 1492, Castiglione went to court in Milan where he received a complete training in Greek, Latin, the arts, letters, and courtly manners.[36] Castiglione's humanist education is clearly reflected in both Gaspar's and Magnifico's arguments. However, it is unlikely that this was the primary factor in shaping his progressive views on women. Castiglione's personal interactions with powerful women of his day appear to have been greater influences than Aristotle or Plato. Of those women, Isabella d'Este, Marquise of Mantua, and Elisabetta Gonzaga, Duchess of Urbino, were perhaps the most significant.

  Based on her reputation as a successful ruler and the praise Castiglione grants her in his letters, Isabella d'Este undoubtedly influenced Castiglione's belief that women were equal to men in their abilities to learn and govern. On the other hand, she may also have impacted Castiglione's decision to refrain from suggesting that the Court Lady take on the duties of military and political leaders. Castiglione makes this opinion apparent, once again, through Magnifico, stating, "I am unwilling to have her [the Court Lady] practice such vigorous and rugged manly exercises."[37] The distinction between manly and feminine virtues demonstrates the duel perspectives – between culture and nature – that *The Courtier*'s discussion on women often takes. Despite the Marquise's success at performing what were then considered masculine tasks—running a military and government—her fall from favor in 1512 may have inclined Castiglione to advise the Court Lady to avoid these masculine traits.

[35] The influence of The Courtier in England during the Renaissance is expounded upon in Mary Partridge, "Images of The Courtier in Elizabethan England (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2008).

[36] Julia Cartwright Ady, Baldassare Castiglione, the Perfect Courtier: His Life and Letters 1478-1529 (London: Albermarle St., 1908), 1-24, http://babel.hathitrust.org.lp.hscl.ufl.edu/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015068321572;view=1up;seq=11.

[37] Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, 177.

In doing so, the Court Lady, by adhering to the typical gender roles, would have been less likely to endanger her status at court. Several historians have interpreted that as simply a means of limiting female independence.[38] However, it is more possible that Castiglione was attempting to adhere to the cultural standards of the time.

Elisabetta Gonzaga, Duchess of Urbino, likely swayed Castiglione's beliefs on women as well. In addition to being one of the few female characters to be depicted in *The Courtier,* she and Castiglione were known to have maintained a strong friendship during their lives. Similarly to d'Este, the Duchess received a thorough education and, due to the perpetual sickness of her husband, took a primary role in the function of her state. Bolstered by her charming and intellectual persona, Elisabetta held one of the most magnificent courts in Italy during this period, attracting writers, painters, and scholars alike to Urbino.[39] With its flourishing artistic culture, it is not surprising that Castiglione chose the court of Urbino as the setting for his book.

Gonzaga plays an interestingly secondary role throughout Castiglione's *The Courtier*. Although the discourse takes place under the supervision of Gonzaga, she chooses at the beginning of the evening to delegate this task to her first lady in waiting, Emilia Pia. Thus, despite Gonzaga's certain influence on Castiglione's writing, Pia takes on the primary female role in "Book III" of *The Courtier*. It is likely that Castiglione wrote in this character swap as a way of maintaining the readers focus on the discussion of the lady at court rather than on the reputation of a single character. Magnifico's redirection of the conversation shortly after describing the many masculine capabilities of women supports this hypothesis. He states, "But I have not laid these duties on them [women], because I am fashioning a Court Lady and not a Queen."[40] It is possible that Castiglione may have

[38] Pamela Benson, Invention of the Renaissance Woman, 65-90.

[39] Sergio Bertelli, The Courts of the Italian Renaissance (New York: Facts on File, 1986).

[40] Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, 179.

regarded Gonzaga as closer to a Queen than a Court Lady. If this was the case, then Castiglione may have removed Gonzaga from this particular conversation because he felt that it was below her status.

On the other hand, because the debate on women was primarily discussed among men, it is also possible that Castiglione removed Gonzaga's voice in order to make his arguments more agreeable to the male reader. Female figures who advocated on behalf of women did occur from time to time. However, they were often chastised by society and ignored by scholars. Such was the case with Isotta Nogarola, who, after attempting to receive a humanist education, was cast out by her mentor and slandered as a promiscuous woman.[1] During the Renaissance, it was commonly believed that an educated woman was never a virgin; this ideology was likely the cause for the accusations against Nogarola.[2] For this reason, it is logical to assume that Castiglione refrained from including Gonzaga's opinions into the discussion in order prevent any slander of her reputation. In this manner, Castiglione was not restraining the voices of women, but protecting them in a fashion that points to all of the best aspects of chivalry.

Yet, many historians continue to consider *The Courtier* as an example of Renaissance literature that limited the range of women's independence. While this conclusion may be true in comparison to modern times, it holds little ground when applied to the dominant social expectations for women of the sixteenth century. Each of the qualities lain out in this paper demonstrate the progressive nature of Castiglione's writing. Through the character Magnifico, Castiglione presents a resounding defense of women which, when advocated by women themselves, had previously been reputed or ignored by Renaissance society. Due to the courtly atmosphere that Castiglione lived in throughout his life, it is only logical that he would emphasize grace and beauty

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[41] Margaret King, *Isotta Nogarola.*

[42] Margaret King, *Isotta Nogarola.*

when describing his courtiers. What is more, the cultural limitations of *The Courtier* appear minute in relation to the existing ideologies of the time that argued the inherent inferiority of women. Far more important is Castiglione's depiction of woman's many capabilities and his arguments on the equal nature of sexes. Thus, by contextualizing *The Courtier*'s discourse within the patriarchal society of the time, Castiglione's character as an enlightened Renaissance man is revealed.

The Gradual Integration of the University of Florida and Its Impact on African American Students

Emily Perry

In 1949, a well-educated African-American named Virgil Hawkins applied for admission to the University of Florida Law School in Gainesville. He was 42 years old and "since he met all the other qualifications, he was denied admission simply because of the color of his skin."[1] Hawkins was not the only student to be denied admittance to the University of Florida based on the color of his skin. In 1958 the first African-American was admitted to the University of Florida Law School under the J. Wayne Reitz Administration; his name was George H. Starke.[2] In 1965 the Tampa Tribune reported that the University of Florida had 15,221 white students and only 87 black students.[3] According to various Administrative Policy Records, 103 black students were enrolled in 1968 and 484 in 1971. These statistics indicate the slow but steady integration attempts by the University of Florida. However, the number of black students being admitted is minuscule in comparison to the masses of white students attending the university at the time.[4] It is true that the *Brown v Board of Education* helped open the doors to one of Florida's most prestigious

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[1] Maxine D. Jones and Kevin M. McCarthy, *African Americans in Florida* (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1993), 103-104.

[2] Newspaper article titled "First Negro Student Enrolls: Orientation Runs Smoothly For Sanford Law Student." Admission of Negro Students, box 49, Administrative Policy Records at the University of Florida Office of the President (J. Wayne Reitz), Series P14a, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

[3] Newspaper article by Charles Stafford titled "Universities' 'Compliance' To Get Check" printed in the Tampa Tribune February 18, 1965, Student Admission of Negro Students, box 49, Administrative Policy Records at the University of Florida Office of the President (J. Wayne Reitz), Series P14a, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

[4] Samuel Proctor and Wright Langley, *Gator History: A Pictorial History of the University of Florida* (Gainesville: South Star Publishing Company, 1986) 53.

Education helped open the doors to one of Florida's most prestigious universities for African-Americans, but once those doors were opened, racism, discrimination, and isolation was waiting for the few black students made it through. From its formal integration in 1958 to its official establishment of an Institute of Black Culture in 1971 the University of Florida struggled to sufficiently accommodate its newly integrated students. In the 1950s all the University's facilities were deemed integrated but students still fostered that antiquated sense of white supremacy. African-American students who were admitted struggled to find a sense of community. The administration made few steps to make these newly integrated students feel welcome. This essay seeks to analyze the gradual progression of the efforts of the administration to accommodate the University of Florida's minority students and their response to African-American's various outcries of discontent.

Eighty-five African-Americans applied to various levels of the University of Florida "Between 1945 and 1958… but all were rejected." In fact, in 1949 alone five African-Americans applied to various colleges at the University of Florida but all were denied, and their applications were forwarded to Florida A&M.[1] At this time the University of Florida forwarded African-American applicants to the Florida A&M University or suggested they apply for scholarships to attend integrated or African-American colleges in other states.[2] This was their way of avoiding admitting African-Americans without completely denying them an education. Vigil Hawkins, mentioned earlier, was one of the students advised to seek an education elsewhere because there were no African-American institutions with a law school in the state of Florida. Hawkins challenged both the University of Florida and the state of Florida in the Supreme Court with *Virgil Hawkins v. Board of Control* but to no avail. Stephen C. O'Connell, to be elected University of Florida's president in 1967, served as the

[1] Proctor and Langley, *A Gator History,* 47.

[2] Betty Stewart-Dowdell and Kevin M. McCarthy, A*frican Americans at the University of Florida* (Gainesville, 2003), 42

write the 1957 opinion supporting UF's decision not to admit Hawkins. Eventually Hawkins withdrew his application "in exchange for a court order which desegregated Florida's public universities."[7] On June 18, 1958 the University was required to admit African-American students to their graduate programs according to a court order handed down from the Federal District Court Judge Dozier DeVane.[8] Due to the efforts of Hawkins and Federal officials, the first African-American student, George Starke, was admitted to the University of Florida's Law School in the fall of 1958. Thus, despite the 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* ruling which outlawed segregation in public schools, the University of Florida continued to segregate its graduate programs until 1958.

Following the admission of George H. Starke to the University of Florida's Law School in 1958, John Sietz wrote a piece in *The Florida Alligator* that was published on September 19 of the same year. This article analyzed Starke's decision not to be a major icon for African-Americans.[9] Starke said he applied to the University of Florida's Law School to get a good education, not to defy his race. He avoided the media spotlight, focused on school, and ignored those who sought to exploit his position. Starke wanted his admittance to the university to be perceived as normal and he craved an average education not riddled with politics and publicity. He decided to portray himself as a professional student; given an opportunity based on his qualifications, rather than a victim of oppression or champion of diversity.

President J. Wayne Reitz integrated of the university and its facilities without much controversy or public outcry. A newspaper article by Bert Collier indicated that it was made

[7] Stewart-Dowdell and McCarthy, A*frican Americans at the University of Florida*, 44-45

[8] Proctor and Langley, *A Gator History*, 48.

[9] Newspaper article by John Sietz titled "On George Starke" printed in the Florida Alligator September 15, 1958, Student Admission of Negro Students, box 49, Administrative Policy Records at the University of Florida Office of the President (J. Wayne Reitz), Series P14a, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

clear to the Gainesville residents, leaders, and staunch segrega-
tionists that "the community has a… stake in the university and
any disorder would affect the future wellbeing of both." [10] The
response to integration from the University's alumni and Gaines-
ville residents was positive. For example, Ralph P. Perkins wrote
to Reitz on September 25, 1958, proclaiming that despite his
lack of broadmindedness concerning socialization with African-
Americans he believed "we cannot afford to deny a good educa-
tion to our most highly qualified negroes" and he went on to af-
firm that those few admitted to the university would be the "most
intelligent and highly motivated of their race." [11] Throughout
his term Reitz worked to make UF equally accessible to all its
students, but it was not until 1950s that the University's facilities
were considered fully integrated. Integrated facilities included
the campus's restrooms, water fountains, on-campus dining
facilities, sporting arenas, and on-campus housing which had all
previously been segregated.[12]

After Reitz's nine year presidency, in 1967, Stephen C.
O'Connell became the first University of Florida alumni to be
elected President. His alumni status gave him a unique perspec-
tive, since O'Connell had been a student when the university
was still segregated. During his term racial controversies chal-
lenged his authority. For example, there was significant discord
over the tradition of the Gator Band playing "Dixie" during
football games. Many integrationists and African-American

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[10] Clipping of otherwise unidentified Newspaper article by Bert Collier
titled: "How UF Integrated Quietly: The Students Joined Hands," Admission
of Negro Students, box 49, Administrative Policy Records of the University
of Florida Office of the President (J. Wayne Reitz), series P14a, Special Area
Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida,
Gainesville, Florida

[11] Letter addressed to Dr. J. Wayne Reitz, President on September 25, 1958
from Ralph P. Perkins, Admission of Negro Students, box 49, Administrative
Policy Records at the University of Florida Office of the President (J. Wayne
Reitz), Series P14a, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers
Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

[12] Proctor and Langley, *A Gator History*, 48.

students felt "Dixie" had racial connotations, and the playing of it was a clear display of prejudices. O'Connell argued in a letter to Dr. J. Hooper Wise on January 3, 1969 that "If we ban Dixie, then must we not also ban Exodus, Yankee Doodle Dandy, and We Shall Overcome, and would the next stop not to be the library and any books on the old south that are disparaging to the Negro."[13] O'Connell left this decision about the song in the hands of the Director of the Band, Richard Bowles, who chose not to continue the use of "Dixie" in the band's repertoire. After the removal of the song "Dixie" from the band's program, the tradition of unfurling the Confederate flag at football games, gymnastics meets, and basketball games soon faded away as well. [14] These actions were attempts to make African-American students feel more welcome. Minority students on campus were uncomfortable with these traditions and progressive alumni such as Dr. J. Hooper Wise, discussed earlier, found them insensitive. One student, Stephen Mickle, who attended the university from 1962 to 1965 as a political science major, remembers his experiences here on campus. He recalled the members of the Kappa Alpha Order and how they would wear confederate uniforms around campus and fly the flag, something he found insensitive and intimidating. Mickle also talks about his first football game, and how during the playing of "Dixie" he sat down and refused to partake. He recalls that the white students looked at him with disgust, and how these traditions made him feel even more isolated than he was already feeling on a campus dominated by whites.[15] The antiquated traditions of the University of Florida no longer seemed appropriate for an integrated and modernized institution, yet racial discrimination continued to have a strong

[13] Letter to Dr. J. Hooper Wise from Stephen C. O'Connell written January 3, 1969, Controversies- Songs "Dixie" 1967-1970, box 43, Administrative Policy Records of the University of Florida Office of the President (Stephen C. O'Connell), Series P12, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

[14] Proctor and Langley, *Gator History*, 53

[15] Stephan Mickle, interviewed by Marna Weston, University of Florida Digital Collections, (Smathers Library, February 7, 2009), 10.

hold on the institution. Students were deeply rooted in their traditions, despite the changes coming to the university environment.

The other scandal that occurred during O'Connell's presidency was Black Thursday, which occurred April 15, 1971. On this day fifty black students arrived at O'Connell's office around ten o'clock in the morning demanding the establishment of a black culture center. O'Connell "would not make a written commitment, but… would be willing to discuss the matter" then proceeded to ask the group to leave. Thirty minutes later more students arrived with the same demands refusing to leave despite threats of expulsion. Campus security and local police were called to disperse the group. Around noon more students arrived, this time whites contributed, and the group began singing and yelling. After several hours no university business could be transacted, so a decision was made to arrest and forcibly remove the unruly students. A total of seventy-two students were arrested, resulting in a mass uproar from campus. Students gathered in the Plaza of the Americas and stormed Tigert Hall. This disruption resulted in the use of tear gas and state troopers. Some 2,000 students marched towards the president's house that evening only to be disbanded again.

The outcome of Black Thursday was the mass withdrawal of 123 black students and two black faculty members from the University along with the resignation of Roy Mitchell, the coordinator of minority affairs.[16] According to administrative policy records, there were some positive responses to this event from the public. For example, on April 21, 1971 an African-American by the name of Geo Henderson Jr. wrote a letter to President O'Connell praising him for suspending and arresting the students that interfered with his authority.[17] On May 26, 1971 President

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[16] Proctor and Langley, *Gator History*, 53-54.

[17] Handwritten letter addressed to Mr. President from Geo W. Henderson Jr. on April 21, 1971, Controversies- Black Crisis, box 37, Administrative Policy Records of the University of Florida Office of the President (Stephan C. O'Connell), series P12, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida

O'Connell wrote a letter to a Dr. Rappenecker which thanks him for his support and expresses the president's intention to remain committed to the minority students while refusing to accede to demands that he felt were "inherently racist in nature."[18] These riots portray the challenge O'Connell faced with desegregation. As an administrator, O'Connell wanted to appear firm in his policies, but the backlash from minorities refusing to accept his minimal efforts made O'Connell to appear uncooperative and intolerant.

However, not everybody felt that O'Connell deserved praise for his actions. The students, faculty, and some alumni thought O'Connell had crossed a line by so drastically reprimanding those involved. A letter from Evan R. Glick, a member of the Tau Epsilon Phi fraternity, written on April 20, 1971 pled with the president to find a solution to the crisis in order to dissuade black students from withdrawing. He noted that the mass withdrawal would not only result in a financial burden but it would also "mark against the fine reputation of this institution."[19] Linda Butler, an African-American student on campus at the time, recalled the mass withdrawal of students. She said she stayed in classes despite everything, but it was a horrible experience being the only black student in many of her classes because there were no black role models to look up to on campus.[20] On April 16, 1971, Mary Pollock, a University of Florida alumni, wrote a letter to O'Connell which expressed her total support of

[18] Handwritten letter addressed to Dr. Rappenecker from Stephen C. O'Connell on May 26, 1971, Controversies- Black Crisis, box 37, Administrative Policy Records of the University of Florida Office of the President (Stephan C. O'Connell), series P12, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida

[19] A Letter from Tau Epsilon Phi member Evan Glick to President Stephan C. O'Connell written April 20, 1971, Controversies- Black Crisis, box 37, Administrative Policy Records of the University of Florida Office of the President (Stephan C. O'Connell), series P12, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville

[20] Linda Butler, interviewed by Lateasha Johnson, University of Florida Digital Collections, Smathers Library, June 3, 2010.

the students' demands because "The University of Florida has ignored the needs of minority groups and excluded them from pursuing higher education…" In addition to her status as an alumni, Mary Pollock worked at the University of Illinois minority affairs office which made her uniquely qualified to comment on this event. She argued that "There is no change without pain. White organized, white controlled, and white administered institutions cannot continue to remain in the comfortable ivory towers."[21] By refusing to integrate the faculty, it was understandable that there was unrest among the students. Pollock recognized the difficulty that would come with integration but clearly pointed out the necessity of it.

Therefore, in the summer of 1971 O'Connell appointed several black faculty and administrators and on February 11, 1972 the Black Culture Center, that students had been demanding, was finally established. On the day of the opening of the center O'Connell made a statement of purpose which read:

> "…its purpose is to formulate, to promote, and to conduct programs which relate to the experience of Black people and which will assist the community as a whole to develop an awareness of, an understanding of, and an appreciation for the contributions which Black people have made and can and will make to the culture of America and of the world."[22]

This proclamation of purpose would serve as the foundation of

[21] Letter written from Mary Pollock to President Stephan C. O'Connell on April 16, 1971, Controversies- Black Crisis, box 37, Administrative Policy Records of the University of Florida Office of the President (Stephan C. O'Connell), series P12, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville

[22] Document titled "Institute of Black Culture: Remarks of Stephen C. O'Connell February 11, 1972", Committees on Black Culture, box 33, Administrative Policy Records of the University of Florida Office of the President (Stephan C. O'Connell), series P12, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville

the Institute of Black Culture which would have an impact on both the University's campus and the community of Gainesville for years to come. James Carter became the director of the center, and Joyce Taylor was selected to replace Carter as the Assistant Dean of Students, both were African-Americans. [23] O'Connell was able to address the need for an appreciation of black culture and history; this move satisfied many activists on campus, but it was only the start.

To continue progress on race relations at the University of Florida, Ben Mathis was hired as the assistant to the Vice President of Student Affairs in 1971. His job was to recruit black students and offer them financial aid. In addition to actively recruiting black students, efforts were made to hire more African-American faculty members.[24] Most crucial in supporting and uniting black students however, was the Black Students Union or BSU. Organized in 1968, the BSU was one of the main contributors to the rallies and demonstrations in 1971 such as the previously mentioned Black Thursday. The BSU provided a new sense of community to those few students that were at the University of Florida. Previously, they had been isolated, dispersed among the sea of white students, and expected to accommodate themselves. The BSU not only served to unite black students, but also sought to express their needs at a time when there were only 400 black students, two black faculty members, and one black administrator.[25] The BSU is still a vital organization today that promotes black awareness, understanding, and serves as a support system for African-American students at the university.

After nearly fifteen years the University of Florida finally made active efforts to both recruit and accommodate its African-American minority students. Throughout those years students were ignored, divided, and excluded from the sense of

[23] Proctor and Langley, *Gator History,* 54.

[24] Stewart-Dowdell and McCarthy, *African Americans at the University of Florida*, 77

[25] Stewart-Dowdell and McCarthy, *African Americans at the University of Florida*, 79

camaraderie many wanted when attending a prestigious university. There was no sense of community among the African-American students until the late 1960s because there was nowhere for them to connect and they were dispersed among the multitude of white students. The University of Florida did comply with Civil Rights standards by admitting African-Americans and making all aspects of campus accessible to them. However, it is evident that following admission students were not given proper outlets for guidance or expression which would have allowed them to become true members of the university's campus. Thanks to the active demonstrations and demands of 1971 the University of Florida's administration finally provided those outlets such as the BSU and Institute of Black Culture and from that point forward the African-American relations on campus have steadily grown.

Book Reviews

Eve Darian-Smith. *Religion, Race, Rights: Landmarks in the History of Modern Anglo-American Law.* Portland, Oregon: Hart Publishing, 2010.

Reviewed by Amanda Beyer-Purvis

Eve Darian-Smith, in her latest book *Religion, Race, Rights: Landmarks in the History of Modern Anglo-American Law*, integrates the often separately treated topics of race-construction, legal systems, and religion to reveal the intricately related development of race, religion, and legal rights from the Reformation through the present day in the western legal tradition. Darian-Smith draws upon the theoretical approach of Paul Kahn, arguing that law is a social practice where people act as legal agents, holding themselves and each other accountable for the law. She outlines the contours of this practice by drawing on the theory of "intersectionality" that highlights the "interrelated, dynamic and co-constitutive" nature of rights, religion and race (3).

Law, for Darian-Smith, "operates as the central site of organizing power" concerning ideas of racial and religious tolerance and intolerance. Through law, claims to and exclusion from social, political, and legal rights are given "rationality, neutral-

ity and legitimacy" and subsequently "become institutionalized through the administrative, bureaucratic and military agencies of the state" (5). Darian-Smith proves her thesis by tracing the historical development of law using what she identifies as paradigm shifting events that oriented the legal standing of religious practice, racial identity, and claims to rights.

Her first section, "Moving Toward a Separation of Church and State," traces the origin of emerging demands for a secular system of law to the rise of individual rights discourse in seventeenth-century England as well as increased challenges to the hegemony of the Catholic Church. Darian-Smith notes that newly secularized legal systems created new classifications of religious and racial groups and did little to quell the intense religious intolerance directed at "outsiders," an intolerance that was inextricable from racial prejudices. The "consolida[tion] of oppositional frames" identified outsider religious and ethnic groups as incapable of escaping their primitive lawlessness and distinguished the "civilized from the barbaric, the Christian from the heathen, the lawful from the lawless" (79).

Her second section, "Capitalism, Colonialism and Nationalism," traces a shift in the nineteenth-century United States and Caribbean toward racially discriminatory legalities based in scientific claims while retaining similar boundaries between the lawful and the lawless that dominated legal systems that emerged in the seventeenth-century. She highlights the inextricable relationship between nineteenth-century economic development, racism, and rights during this era of legal change. The rise of eugenics, the destabilizing of the social hierarchy of slave societies by emancipation, and the rising demands of ethnically diverse labor groups are all examples Darian-Smith uses to demonstrate ways in which belief in the transcendent nature and universal applicability of the developing Anglo-American legal tradition came under fire by those groups challenging long standing racialized legalities.

Her final section, "Religion, Race and Rights in a Global

Era" extrapolates these developments in Anglo-American law into the global arena, beginning with the Nuremburg Trial and the establishment of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These events brought Anglo-American law to the world scene. This section concentrates on the global economy of the twentieth century as an agent of continuing exploitation and denial of rights based on racial and religious categorizations on a global level. Though the aftermath of WWII promised a universal respect for legal and social rights of individuals, Darian-Smith demonstrates that the same discriminatory legalities persist even today.

Arguing for law's complicity in and creation of oppression, Darian-Smith places herself within the tradition of critical legal scholarship, highlighting the role of law as securing the needs and desires of the elite and perpetuating the manufactured consent of the masses. One perplexing analytical choice, however, is her failure to critique the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a Western legal document. She does little to acknowledge the work done by scholars questioning the true universality of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights document and indicting that era of human rights as being steeped in Western ideology. Additionally, the scope of the book leads Darian-Smith to choose formative historical moments and representative historical actors to demonstrate shifting moments in conceptions of race, religion, and rights. This method greatly simplifies complex histories. The ambitious historical dimensions of her book create a sense that much is missing from this history. *Religion, Race, Rights,* however, provides a powerful challenge to the notion of law as a tool for justice and exposes the gendered, racialized, and religious discriminatory power Western law has held since its inception.

Daniel Weimer, *Seeing Drugs: Modernization, Counterinsurgency, and U.S. Narcotics Control in the Third World, 1969-1976* Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2011.

Reviewed by Kyle A. Bridge

In *Seeing Drugs*, author Daniel Weimer flatly asserts that the failure of the international drug war to reduce supply "needs no reiteration" (215). Specifically, he describes how the Nixon and Ford administrations executed foreign drug control policy in Thailand, Burma, and Mexico. Weimer argues that American beliefs about the inherent foreignness of illicit drugs and addiction informed international drug control interventions. These efforts in foreign lands—what policymakers called "source control"—dovetailed with extant Cold War theories of counterinsurgency (COIN) and modernization to combat Communism. However, when the imperatives contradicted one another, reducing the international flow of drugs was subordinate to anticommunism.

Students of U.S. drug history will find Weimer's opening chapters to be familiar reading, but he places particular emphasis on the "othering" of drugs and users in American culture. Weimer elucidates how by the early twentieth century most Americans perceived addicts as un-American and anti-modern. By 1969, punitive enforcement had abated somewhat as a disease model of addiction entered mainstream policy discourse. Still, the "disease" itself was a metaphor for an invasive foreign problem, inflamed by alarm over rising heroin use by almost all demographics—but particularly returning Vietnam veterans—in the late 1960s and 1970s.

The U.S. Cold War logic of fostering stability and economic development to combat Communism extended into official thinking about international drug control. Policymakers figured eradicating the drug trade at its "source" necessitated a variety of interventions in Thailand, Burma, and Mexico, which the next chapters chronicle. Despite the drug war pretense, states employed U.S. COIN and development aid to consolidate their own political authority. For example, the Royal Government of Thailand (R.T.G.), an American ally surrounded by Communist

states and home to an increasingly active domestic Communist party, bought into modernization as a repellant against subversive influences on its rural Hmong population. The R.T.G. sought to integrate poppy-farming hill tribes into the global economy through licit cash crop substitution, but the Bangkok government also knew suddenly prohibiting opium cultivation would likely drive disaffected peasants into insurgent ranks. Immediate political needs impelled gradual implementation and forced resettlement; the R.T.G. committed more to policing insurgency than drug trafficking.

Other ironies abound. For its part, the U.S. proved willing to tolerate politically friendly drug traffickers, including nationalist Chinese insurgents based in northern Thailand. Development also entailed unintended consequences such as increased rates of addiction among the newly displaced and sedentary Hmong. In neighboring Burma, when the insurgent Shan State Army offered to sell its opium crop to the U.S. government and allow "search and destroy" missions against remaining opium fields in exchange for brokering its autonomy, the U.S. rejected their proposals. Policymakers maintained that eliminating supply through COIN, regardless of its apparent futility, not only hindered potential insurgency but fully removed the potential of illicit use. Perhaps the ultimate irony is the persistent presence of drugs and increasing sophistication of international drug cartels despite U.S.-led enforcement pressures. In Mexico, the lucrative drug trade withstood the American government's aerial herbicide application and its deployment of surveillance satellites to monitor suspected fields. Of course, most Mexican supply fed American demand. Weimer convincingly portrays source control as a foreign projection of a domestic problem.

Weimer's argument is persuasive; however, *Seeing Drugs* lacks any sources originating from the countries he describes. Instead he relies on ethnographic studies and some foreign government reports written in English to inform his analysis of Thai, Burmese, and Mexican cultures. Drug traffickers themselves have every reason to avoid the historical record, but the listed governments, their former colonial metropoles, and even the United Nations have no such documentary qualms. A broader source base may not affect Weimer's argument, but might alter

his perspective. Similarly, he writes in monolithic, statist terms. "The United States decided …," "The R.T.G. wanted …," and "The Nixon administration felt …" are characteristic phrases throughout. This is perhaps a symptom of Weimer's liberal application of the power and hegemony theories of Foucault, Gramsci, and others. Still, Weimer should account for organizational complexity beyond some mention of Congressional debate. Political preoccupations and interagency conflicts complicated the process of crafting and implementing drug policy.

In summation, theory occasionally overburdens Weimer's analysis and it remains light on non-American sources. Nonetheless, his findings add complexity to the overlapping histories of the Cold War and drug war. Both allowed for increased state power domestically and abroad and pitted Americans against a foreign foe. This intersection is itself an understudied topic, making Weimer's analysis of a period characterized by frequent administrative reorganization, shifting federal priorities, and trial and error in drug enforcement all the more admirable.

Charlie Cobb, Jr. *This Nonviolent Stuff'll Get You Killed: How Guns Made the Civil Rights Movement Possible.* **New York: Basic Books, 2014.**

Reviewed by Greg Landingham

Cobb, who served as a SNCC field secretary from 1962 to 1967, sets out to de-mythologize the Southern Freedom Movement. He takes aim at the popular idea that the black masses, adopting non-violence as a way of life, were able to destroy Jim Crow solely by the power of their transcendent example of peace and interracial harmony. On the contrary, he insists that non-violence was a new and unfamiliar idea in the black community, and that only a few leaders, such as James Bevel, Martin Luther King, John Lewis, Bob Moses, and Diane Nash viewed it as more than a useful and pragmatic tactic. As SNCC and CORE organizers moved into rural areas, they inserted themselves into

a culture saturated with guns and steeped in the idea of their use for self-defense, a culture that they were powerless to change even if they had wanted to. In a roughly chronological narrative beginning in Colonial America and ending around 1967, Cobb provides more than enough anecdotal evidence to support his contention that racist whites would have stifled the movement had they been able to attack activists and their hosts with impunity. Cobb's claim is that the armed security provided by local people not only saved lives: it made the Southern Freedom Movement possible.

Several key distinctions are necessary. Cobb clearly and repeatedly differentiates between armed self-defense and retaliatory violence, which black leaders "had long ago concluded… was off limits" (129). In addition, for most of the period following Reconstruction, blacks found that organized conflict with similarly organized white supremacists was a losing proposition. A show of force to prevent a lynching, to scare off night-riding white terrorists or potential bombers was one thing; a general posture of armed defiance to the white community was something else, and conflict with law enforcement or state militias could be suicidal. Even when attacked in their own homes, blacks were often forced to decide between fight and flight, with flight often deemed the more practical course. Still, on the back roads and in isolated rural farmhouses, possession of guns and a willingness to use them often made the difference between a merely terrifying encounter and death. "There is some comfort," he notes in marvelous understatement, "in carrying a weapon in dangerous situations" (177).

In addition to his main thesis, Cobb would like to correct what he perceives as a "top heavy" emphasis in scholarship on the Southern Freedom Movement, one that privileges the perspectives and analytical insight of a few articulate and well-known leaders and academics at the expense of local, grassroots organizers. In an afterword, "Understanding History," he assails conventional scholarship for focusing on dramatic mass protests

rather than the gritty, unglamorous work of activists working in relative anonymity. His charge is somewhat blunted, however, by the fact that some of the most vital and engaging work of the last twenty years—which he acknowledges-- has emphasized local people. The existing secondary literature, including work by John Dittmer and Charles Payne, is now so extensive that when Cobb is not drawing on his own experience or citing personal interviews, he rarely has to resort to archival sources for his research. And while he may have intended to permit those on "the bottom" to provide the "intellectual spine" for his book (250), he instead conclusively proves that out in "the rural" the people were first and foremost pragmatists focused on survival, not intellectuals.

This is a disturbing book, especially to anyone attached to the idea of nonviolence as a way of life. Not only does it make clear that guns were essential to the movement in rural areas, it forces one to ask: What about the Montgomery and Tallahassee bus boycotts? What about Birmingham and Selma? Were these not also made possible by the protection that guns provided, not at the protests themselves but in the homes of the protestors? Is it possible to refute Cobb's assertion that nonviolence and armed self-defense were two sides of the same coin, conceptually separate but realistically interdependent? His (re)discovery of a secretive Tuscaloosa group similar to the more well-known Deacons for Defense leads one to wonder how many other organized self-defense groups have gone unrecorded. Future researchers will need to look behind the façade of stage-managed, nonviolent media events to seek out those armed supporters who "stood their ground" in the cause of freedom.

Rick A. López. *Crafting Mexico: Intellectuals, Artisans, and the State after the Revolution*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2010.

Reviewed by Carlos Hernández

In *Crafting Mexico: Intellectuals, Artisans, and the State after the Revolution*, Rick A. López traces the discursive and aesthetic construction of "the" postrevolutionary cultural project and "popular" responses to "official" nationalism. With its timely release just days before the Bicentennial celebrations and against the turbulent backdrop of contemporary Mexican politics, the book offers a valuable historiographical intervention. Relying on a diversity of written documents, visual sources, and oral interviews, López argues that state and nation formation are mutually reinforcing, but not necessarily coterminous or synonymous, historical processes. In doing so, he proposes a transnational approach to Mexicanidad that centers the production of what he describes as an "ethnicized" Mexico.

Reading the lacquered Baúl del Futuro at the Papalote Museo del Niño as a visual representation of *mestizaje*, López invites us to reflect on the multiple meanings and layers of the postrevolutionary myth of the Mexican Revolution—the belief that 1910 made Mexico "modern" and Mexicans "Mexican" by transforming disparate bands of *campesinos* into a unified nation-state with the *mestizo* as the national symbol. By denigrating and essentializing the "*indio*," intellectuals and the state propagated a culture of nationalist indigenism. Elites' desires to invent a romanticized image of "the Mexican past" paradoxically allowed for Mexico to (re)present itself to itself and to the world as a modern nation. As he demonstrates, the construction of this nationalist narrative was predicated on the rhetorical inclusion and political exclusion of Mexico's "popular" classes.

While the postrevolutionary state was too fragmented in its first two decades to consolidate a hegemonic vision of the modern Mexican nation, Mexican and foreign thinkers helped shape the contours of nationalist indigenism. The politics of cultural diplomacy dictated a tense relationship that López charac-

terizes as "transnational symbiosis" in which United States writers Katherine Anne Porter and Anita Brenner, architect William Spratling, and even Ambassador Dwight Morrow and his wife Elizabeth Cutter Morrow participated in the external valorization of Mexican folk art. This, in turn, facilitated the state's dissemination of its ideal of the ethnicized nation to a wider public.

But if transnational intellectuals "elevated" *artesanias* to *arte*, they did not do so unilaterally. Rather, their relative successes were made possible by the collusion of local elites and through the exploitation of traditional artisans. In Olinalá, Guerrero, one of the major sites of Mexican folk art, artisans stood at the crossroads of "tradition" and "modernity," between consumers' idealized expectations of communal labor and workers' daily realities of capitalist production. As López acknowledges, the fact that local artisans rather than external actors led the twentieth-century revival of *artesanias* did not insulate them from the predatory practices of mass commodification. Certainly by 1940, the stereotyped image of the ethnicized nation had become hegemonic, conditioning what was admissible in Mexico's aesthetic canon; the false belief that artisan labor was "communal" and "timeless" was part and parcel of that ideology.

Although the people of Olinalá had fought under Zapata for the promise of *ejidos* and even died at the treacherous hands of their Zapatista comrades, the late 1940s signaled the beginning of postrevolutionary disillusionment when the municipal president burned the local archive to prevent the implementation of agrarian reform. Workers were suddenly confronted with the challenge of economic "integration," and the gendered division of labor meant that women were disproportionately affected by the new system. At most, artisans attempted to mitigate the impact of local *acaparadores* who were on the payroll of state and private investors.

By the 1970s, a greater sense of artisan solidarity and increased access to (inter)national markets, thanks to a paved highway, meant that artisans were finally in a better financial position. The fact that these local processes of resistance and accommodation occurred within Guerrero's larger context of repression by and negotiation with President Echeverría—and indeed other states' responses to Mexico City's centralizing

impulse—further reinforces López's thesis about state and nation formation.

      Crafting Mexico is model scholarship accessible to undergraduates and appealing to those interested in questions of narrative, hegemony, and memory. Like other recent studies, it allows concepts like "state" and "nation" to emerge as experiential categories from the patterned interactions of everyday life rather than as theoretical abstractions. However, López could have pushed his thesis further had he not only historicized the "post" in "postrevolutionary Mexico" but also problematized it. This would have enabled him to fully deconstruct the myth of the Revolution, which he sometimes reifies. Aside from this principal weakness, López's monograph offers many contributions to dialogues on postrevolutionary Mexico that are now informed by the new sign of post-Bicentennial Mexico.

Sam Mitrani. The Rise of the Chicago Police Department: Class and Conflict, 1850-1894. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2013.

Reviewed by Brandon T. Jett

      In T*he Rise of the Chicago Police Department: Class and Conflict,* historian Sam Mitrani attempts to answer one central question: Why, in the late nineteenth century, did most major urban areas in the United States build police departments? In his examination of the development of the Chicago Police Department in the second half of the nineteenth century, Mitrani argues "that the leading businessmen who dominated both urban economies and their politics pushed city governments to build powerful armed institutions that could defend their property and their interests from the new threats that accompanied the development of a wage labor economy" (3). Thus, Mitrani's account is more than just a simple history of the institutional development of the police department. Instead, he places the early development of

the police department in the context of the transition from the wage-labor economy of the early 1800s to "its caricature, the laissez faire ideology of the Gilded Age" (6). Relying mostly on departmental records, Chicago newspapers, and secondary literature, Mitrani contends that this transition could not have occurred without the creation of a strong urban police force to help maintain order among the working class and protect the interests of the business elite.

From 1850 through 1894, the Chicago Police Department attempted to gain legitimacy among both the business class and working-class Chicagoans. This effort proved particularly troubling for police in the late nineteenth century, as the mass of immigrant workers rejected their efforts to impose drinking restrictions and other regulations on their free time, and the business elite worried about the department's ability to protect their interests and control the working class. Through a series of major events in Chicago's history, Mitrani demonstrates how the police department grew from a corrupt and ineffective organization in the 1850s to a champion of law and order by the 1890s. Through the 1870s, "their real ineffectiveness, scandals, class conflict, and the continuing fight over drinking, the police lacked legitimacy among a large section of Chicago's population" (134). The Great Railroad Strikes of 1877 changed the trajectory of the police department. During these strikes, the police repelled the strikers and proved to the business elite that they could be an effective tool in the protection of property and maintenance of order in major labor disputes. If the strikes of 1877 proved to be a turning point, conflicts with anarchists and the Haymarket bombing of 1886 cemented the legitimacy of the department among both the business elite and the mass of immigrant workers. By targeting anarchists specifically, the police, according to Mitrani, could combat labor radicals without looking like an enemy to the majority of the working class. The Haymarket Bombing of 1886 further painted labor radicals as anarchists and enemies to both the working class in general and the business elite. More

importantly, "the Haymarket Bombing forever changed what it meant to be a member of the Chicago Police Department" (185). It cemented the police department's role as the defenders of civilization against the anarchist threat and changed the popular image of the police as "the gallant blue line between anarchy and civilization, of men ready to risk their lives to defend the sanctity of life, liberty, and property replaced the old image of the police as drunken or corrupt men" (185).

Mitrani's thesis is clear and convincingly argued; however, the author needed to more assertively distance himself from the preexisting literature, specifically Sidney L. Harring's *Policing a Class Society: The Experience of American Cities, 1865-1915 (Rutgers University Press, 1983)*. Harring suggested that the development of police departments in several cities in the industrial North, including Chicago, developed as a result of elite businessmen's effort to preserve the existing class structure in the face of several challenges from the working class in the late nineteenth century. While Mitrani focuses on a single city, Chicago, and pushes Harring's argument further by illustrating the ways that the business elite and working-class Chicagoans supported the police by 1900, he could have made this distinction more explicit.

Despite that slight criticism, Mitrani provides the reader with an engaging look at the rise of one of the most important institutions in modern America, the police, in one of the most important cities. His insights into the tensions that existed between police and both the business elite and working class is an important contribution to the scholarship on the development of police in the United States. Scholars of the nineteenth century, urban history, police studies, and capitalism will all find something of value in *The Rise of the Chicago Police Department*.

Edward J. Baptist, The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism. New York: Basic Books, 2014.

Reviewed by: Brenden Kennedy

Edward J. Baptist's The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism reevaluates the history of American slavery between the Revolution and the Civil War. Baptist shapes his narrative around a black body. The book's ten chapters, in order, are "Feet"; "Heads"; "Right Hand"; "Left Hand"; "Tongues"; "Breath"; "Seed"; "Blood"; "Backs"; and "Arms." He bases this structure on African American novelist Ralph Ellison's idea that we view American history "as a drama enacted on the body of a Negro giant who, lying trussed up like Gulliver, forms the stage and the scene upon which and within which the action unfolds" (xxiii). Baptist fleshes out this metaphorical body by using the approximately 100 antebellum slave narratives and 2,300 WPA interviews of formerly enslaved people conducted during the 1930s. He folds a wide range of topics central to the study of American slavery into his narrative: the interstate slave trade, rise of evangelical Christianity among the enslaved, origins of jazz and blues, development of America's antebellum economy and national political parties, and more. His central argument is that slavery propelled capitalism's nineteenth-century ascendancy.

Baptist's organizational structure facilitates his focus on the enslaved in two ways. First, at an individual level, Baptist places African American voices at the center of slavery's history. "Lungs," a chapter on the interstate slave trade, demonstrates how the enslaved used their voices (lungs) to interpret the trade as theft: theft of their family, community, labor, and body. Baptist also shows how the interstate slave trade acted as "lungs" for an expanding slave regime by providing "oxygen" (enslaved bodies) to an expanding cotton regime. Like "Lungs," Baptist crafts many of his chapters around the tension between how African Americans interpreted their experiences under slavery and the actions undertaken by nineteenth century whites to transform

enslaved bodies and labor into profitable endeavors.

Second, at a macro level, Baptist's narrative invites the reader to envision how slavery changed as an institution between the American Revolution and the Civil War and how these changes impacted African Americans. Most prominently, the demographic distribution of slaves shifted south and west to cotton and sugar producing regions and the enslaved adopted evangelical Christianity and created early forms of jazz and blues to counteract slavery's brutalities. Baptist succeeds in depicting these seismic shifts in slavery's anatomy as interconnected and interdependent, like a human body. More importantly, Baptist historicizes slavery's metamorphosis during these years. He reinterprets enslaved African Americans adoption of evangelical Christianity within the context of an expanding interstate slave trade and the reorganization of labor on cotton plantations across Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas during the early nineteenth century. The latter phenomenon, Baptist insists, places American slavery at the heart of nineteenth-century capitalism.

Baptist's book is part of a scholarly turn (re)discovering the close relationship between slavery and capitalism. He eschews definitions of capitalism as a system defined by the presence of free labor. Academics adopting this framework argue that capitalism put slavery "out of business" because slave labor was inefficient. In contrast, Baptist demonstrates how slaves on cotton plantations matched the per-person productivity increase of workers tending Manchester, England's cotton-spinning machines between the 1810s and 1860 (128). Baptist argues that calibrated and systematically applied pain—torture—drove the increase in cotton production. Planters weighed the cotton picked each day by African Americans against their previous day's accumulation. Brutal nighttime whippings awaited any person falling short of his or her daily quota. Baptist calls this new labor regime the "pushing system" and it was anything but inefficient. By 1860 cotton declined to 15% of its 1790 cost, despite demand for the fiber increasing by 500% (113). Baptist posits cotton, made cheaper by enslaved labor, facilitated capitalism's nineteenth-century meteoric rise.

One of the *The Half Has Never Been Told*'s greatest

strengths is that it avoids a focus on slave resistance and agency. Baptist ultimately argues "enslavers still held the aces" in the struggle between enslaver and enslaved, but he is clear that African Americans chose their actions carefully under inhumane conditions (295). Take Joe Kilpatrick, a North Carolinian sold away from his wife and two daughters, Lettice and Nelly. Kilpatrick ended up near Tallahassee, Florida, on a cotton plantation. He took in and raised five-year-old George Jones, himself orphaned by the interstate slave trade. Thirty years passed. Jones married and fathered two daughters: Lettice and Nelly. Baptist argues African Americans "chose survival, and true survival in such circumstances required solidarity" (xxv). That solidarity and the collective decision to survive are the beating heart of Baptist's history.

Pamela E Swett. *Selling Under the Swastika: Advertising and Commercial Culture in Nazi Germany.* Redwood City, California: Stanford University Press, 2014.

Reviewed by Craig Sorvillo

　　Selling Under the Swastika by historian Pamela Swett presents a brand new account of advertising and commercial culture in Nazi Germany. Although many historians have assessed the impact of propaganda and other forms of visual culture during the Nazi period, Swett is among the first to take a close look at the role and impact of advertising in Nazi society. Swett reveals that the language of buying and selling was much more vibrant in Nazi Germany than previously thought, and she also demonstrates how it contributed to the legitimizing of the regime.

　　Swett's investigation reveals that a close relationship existed between the advertising sector and the regime, and despite the amount of censorship in Nazi Germany advertisers possessed considerable autonomy in how they presented their products. However, as Swett demonstrates, advertisers often echoed the regimes political messages in their advertisements, resulting in

ads that were anti-Semitic and nationalistic. Swett is careful to point out that not all Germans in advertising were Nazis; she does suggest a relationship of mutual benefit between the two. Swett writes, "Commercial and corporate actors mobilized the language of *Volksgemeinschaft* (people's community) to suit their own interests" (10). Here Swett contributes significantly to the ongoing debate concerning the concept of the *Volksgemeinschaft* at the everyday level.

Swett's focus on consumer culture is a rather dramatic shift in the historiography, because it has been widely argued that very little consumer culture existed in Nazi Germany. Yet one developed after the end of World War II, and was fostered by the Americans particularly as a way to aid in the democratization of Germany. Although Swett agrees that German society during this period was not a mass-consumer society like the United States and Great Britain, but she disagrees with the premise that Germans did not demonstrate an affinity for consumer culture. Swett argues "men and women were able to take pleasure in an array of relatively inexpensive nonessential consumer products and leisure activities there were available until the early 1940s" (5). For Swett, not only were German's active consumers, but also the Nazi government fostered consumerism, because it was a sign that the Nazi regime had fulfilled their promise to restore the economy, thus strengthening the regime.

In addition to her main thesis, Swett makes several other important contributions. In chapter 4, "Buyers and Sellers," Swett breaks new ground in her investigation of female consumers. Using the writing of advertisers and other corporate staff, Swett demonstrates how retailers and manufactures had a tremendous respect for women's authority over her family's purchasing power. This differs from almost all the previous historiography, which has largely seen female participation in the market as being mediated by their husbands or the regime itself. Here Swett is part of a very recent wave of historians led by Wendy Lower to reexamine gender roles in Nazi Germany.

Swett's manuscript was made possible because she was able to tap into a largely unused collection of sources. For perhaps the first time, a historian of Nazi Germany looked at advertisements, which scholars have overlooked in favor of

visual materials the Nazi state produced. There were also significant challenges to working with advertisements. For one, many corporate archives were reluctant to shine light on their activities during the Nazi period. Secondly, most advertisers produced in cheap flyers or leaflets, with the intention that they would be discarded. Newspaper advertising was something that was just not done in Germany at the time, given that many university trained professionals viewed advertising as a second-rate profession, which should not be mixed with journalism. Finally, many advertisers did not archive their work and much of it was either destroyed or lost. Despite these challenges, Swett does remarkable work with available sources and could serve as a model for anyone working on material and visual culture.

Swett goes a long way to address a subject that has been drastically understudied, despite the enormity of the field of German history. Swett's prose is tremendously readable and free of jargon and her argument is well articulated. The book is also complete with a wide variety of advertisements, which helps to bring her narrative to life. I would highly recommend this book for undergraduates, professional historians, and the general public equally.

Notes on Contributors

Timothy Blanton graduated with a B.A. in Philosophy and History from the University of Central Florida in 2013. He is a first year M.A. student studying Late Antiquity. His historical interests include early Christian historiography and Late Antique education; philosophically he remains devoted to virtue ethics.

Kyle Bridge is a history PhD student at the University of Florida. His work centers on the experience of addiction in the twentieth-century United States. He is also a contributing editor for Points, the blog of the Alcohol and Drugs History Society.

J. Lucien D. Houle is a PhD student of Medieval History working with Dr. Nina Caputo. He earned his undergraduate degree from University of North Florida, where he won the Undergraduate History Paper Prize. His research interests include medieval travel literature, Marseille in the High Middle Ages, Tang China, and cross-cultural contacts between medieval Europe, Islam, and the Far East.

Luke Jeske is in his third year of undergraduate studies in the University of Florida's history department. His areas of interest include: Russian and Eastern European history; eighteenth-

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Rebecca Krop graduated magna cum laude in May 2015 with a B.A. in History and a minor in Women's Studies. Shw have a dual focus that encompasses women's issues during the 20th century and society and culture during the Italian Renaissance. She completed her senior thesis on the study of treatments for neurasthenic work-class women during the Progressive Era, for which she received the Ann Regan Research Award in 2014.

Emily Perry is a senior graduating in December 2015 with a B.A. in History. Following graduations she will be pursuing a career in historical document analysis and preservation.

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