The Wittenberg History Journal
2010-2011 Editorial Board

The Hartje Paper

The Martha and Robert G. Hartje Award is presented annually to a senior in the spring semester. The History Department determines the three or four finalists who write a 600 to 800 word narrative essay dealing with an historical event or figure. The finalists must have at least a 2.7 grade point average and have completed at least six history courses. The winner is awarded $500 at a spring semester History Department colloquium and the winning paper is included in the *History Journal*. This year's Hartje Paper award was presented to Ruby Daily and Gregory Harvey.

On behalf of all Wittenberg history students past and present, we dedicate this year's history journal to those who seek knowledge in all disciplines. Having Light, We Pass this on to You.

The History Journal Editorial Board

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Hartje Paper:
The Society of Separatists at Zoar: Demonstrating the American Idealism of a Commune

Ruby Daily

The traditional understanding of American ideals is formed by a collective, historical consciousness. Democracy, freedom, morality and, particularly, individualism remain customary American values. The archetype of this "American spirit" is, in theory, resourceful individualistic achievement fulfilled through the mechanisms of freedom and integrity. However, this "American idealism" as a vision of our ideological past should not be so narrow as to reject its realization in less than conventional circumstances. An interesting, and often neglected, facet of American history is the proliferation of communal utopias on the American frontiers in the early nineteenth century.[1] These idealistic groups viewed the untamed territories as an opportunity to construct societies free from the encumbrances—be they political, religious, or economic—which motivated their migration. The most successful communal societies were in fact religious sects.[2] The early nineteenth century, Northeast Ohio frontier experienced a proliferation of religious, communal enterprises such as Kirtland, Shaker Heights, Tallmadge and Zoar.[3] Their development is illustrative of a widespread trend of utopian societies across the frontier. The Society of the Separatists of Zoar, established in 1817, perhaps best exemplifies the challenge of American principles at the boundaries of civilization: to merge pragmatism with the morality and liberty cherished as the consortium of American ethics.

The Zoarites originated from Württemberg Germany, and were a strong Separatist faction in the late eighteenth century, who wished to withdraw from the Lutheran church.[4] They rejected "worldliness," church ritualism (like baptism or holidays), supporting pacifism and an individualistic connection to God.[5] Their convictions prohibited military service, church attendance, or swearing oaths to secular authority and they were consequently persecuted.[6] To escape this oppression, a large body of separatists, immigrated to the United States in 1817.[7] Separatist leader, Joseph Bäumler (colorfully depicted as a "crippled hunchback," possessing "a large protruding eye") coordinated the purchase of 5,500 acres in northeastern Ohio, costing $25,000.[8] They named the settlement "Zoar," referencing "the city to which Lot fled" after the destruction of Sodom; evoking imagery of deliverance from impurity.[9] Joseph Bäumler outlined the religious code of the community in his "Principles of the Separatists," which confirmed their commitment to personal faith, pacifism, dissent from repressive institutions, and sectarianism.[10]

Zoar was not initially communal. The Zoarites had originally intended to "hold their interests separately," and subdivide the land.[11] However, in their first year they suffered the economic hardship of the harsh Ohio frontier coupled with a hefty mortgage, and many families were unable to support themselves.[12] So, in 1819 they established the Society of Separatists of Zoar, signing a contract instituting a collective society, and relinquishing all personal property to an elected board of Trustees. The formation of a commune was a practical shift in the Zoarite objective; however communalism proved an ideal medium for a group attempting to integrate religious idealism and frontier survival. As poor, religiously oppressed German peasants they had envisioned a new land in which they could attain religious freedom, equality and economic prosperity in the context of a moral society. Encountering obstacles, and facing failure, they became a collaborative to survive and thereby ensured unity, and fiscal stability. The Zoarites developed a "cooperative economic unit," and through employment constructing the nearby Ohio Canal, raised capital to pay off their debt and furthermore established a flourishing trade.[13] By 1838 Zoar "had an estimated wealth of $2 million."[14]

The nature of their struggle reflects American ideals: flexibility, pragmatism and freedom.

Unfortunately this example of American values has frequently been demeaned, and the cooperative societies inaccurately perceived as communist political entities. Older sources on Zoar, and other contemporary communal societies, exhibit overt condescension; failing to recognize that the Zoarites viewed the commune as an expedient and convenient vehicle for both their religious model and financial security, rather than as a political stance. Although conventional American culture did eventually overtake and end the frontier of communal utopias, it does not diminish their significance as part of the multifaceted narrative of American ideals.

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Hartje Paper:
The Gordian Knot and Alexander the Great

Gregory Harvey

A knot sits, tangled and unsolved for many years in the temple of Zeus in the ancient city of Gordium. It shrunken fibrous laces are entwined together around a piece of dogwood bark, connected to a wooden wagon with a strong mythological story just as complex and disheveled as the tethered knot itself. A born leader approaches the knot's city from the east, not yet knowing about the knot's foretold secret. Hearing about the mythology and clandestine tale surrounding the Gordium puzzle, the Macedonian warlord tries his own hand to the intricate and multipart task of untying this strategically bound binding. After fiddling and much struggling ensues, as the knot remains unaffected, the dominating demi-god of Macedon starts to feel a very human sensation slither into his hands and soul, could he possibly not untie the Gordian Knot...

Alexander of Macedon, or as history knows him, Alexander the Great, was a warlord of all Asia during the early parts of the fourth century B.C. Some primary sources portray Alexander III as a great militant leader that conquered all of the Persian Empire in thirteen short years, while others see him as insane, psychotic, and lonely. Regardless of the opinions of ancient and contemporary authors and historians, Alexander was the leader among leaders, hosting thousands upon thousands of men that made up his immense army, "never in all the world was there another like him."[1] Nothing stood in his way, not people, not kings, not armies, not cities, or tasks of any sort. While Alexander was living and breathing, no earthly creature was bigger or smarter than him.

The Gordian Knot story arises from an ancient tale. A poor man named Gordius, who only had two oxen to his name, and a wooden wagon for them to pull, plough, and transport, made his way through his daily activities.[2] An eagle perched itself on top of the wagon until the day's work was finished, and Gordius took this as a sign or omen from the gods.[3] He consulted an oracle and was told that the next man who entered the city on a wagon would become the king of the Phrygians.[4] This poor man ended up marrying the oracle and had a son named Midas. Eventually Midas came through the city gates on a wagon, and after debate, "Midas was put on the throne...made and end to their trouble and strife and laid up his father's wagon on the acropolis as a thanks-offering to Zeus King for sending the eagle."[5]

When attaching the yoke to the actual wagon, a "great number of thongs, closely tangled with one another and concealing their interlacings," were placed between the two.[6] Afterwards, the oracles and seers stated that whoever untangles the knot would be, "destined to be king of the whole world."[7] Hearing about this knot made Alexander even more eager to take and conquer the town. To him, he could possibly achieve two objectives: conquer the city and expand his rule, and untie the Gordian Knot solidifying yet another reason for why Alexander should be the ruler of the known world.

Alexander stared at the knot, not seeing any ends protruding, or a possible way or path to solve the puzzle. At this point in time, the young king was at odds with how to proceed. He was simply and utterly confused. Alexander wanted to unfasten the knot so badly, and the desire, the same stubborn desire to remain faithful to his father's unfinished work and go against the biggest army in Persia, "entered Alexander's mind of fulfilling the prophecy."[8] The tension surrounding the sovereign king was so immense. Around him stood the natives of the land, the Phrygians, and also many members of Alexander's personal army, the Macedonians.[9] Some questioned the outcome of the next few short and quick minutes that lay ahead of them. Alexander would not back down from the job that lies in his war-torn hands, "as his failure might possibly lead to public disturbances."[10] While the great competitor contemplated his next move, his mixed audience, who stood circled around him as if they were the audience in the Roman Coliseum, was literally on their tiptoes waiting in anxiety,

uncertainty, and most of all suspense. Alexander then made his next and final move in this game of fame and power.

The king shouted, "it makes no difference how they are loosened," pulled out his sword and with a quick and speedy slash, cut straight through the lacings that held the knot ever so tight.[11] Instead of manually undoing the knot, as every other person figured was the correct way to solve the puzzle and become king of the world, Alexander used his creativity and cleverness and made, not found, a second route to greatness. "I have undone it!"[12]

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[4] Ibid., Book XI, 7.6.

[5] *The Campaigns of Alexander*, Book II, 3.

[6] "Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander*, trans. J. C. Rolfe (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), 69.

[7] Plutarch, *Moralia IV*, trans. Frank Cole Babbitt (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), 273. It should be stated that the oracles and seers knew that the knot was extremely hard to untie, hence stating that the person who succeeded in untangling it would become king of the entire world. This person would have to be extremely smart and clever. Also, the world at that point in time was Asia or the Persian Empire.

[8] *History of Alexander*, 69.

[9] Ibid.

[10] *The Campaigns of Alexander*, Book II, 3.

[11] *History of Alexander*, 71.

[12] *The Campaigns of Alexander*, Book II, 3.

"How are the Mighty Fallen":
Royal Marriages among the Monarchies of Europe during the Great War

Abby Cengel

Queen Victoria, the "Grandmother of Europe,"[1] had a far-reaching plan for her family and the royalty of the European powers in the nineteenth century. With her heirs, she would create an inter-dynastic family system with the great powers of Europe by arranging marriages with their royals and other

after the Great War because of the social unrest it had caused. The marriages between Tsar Nicholas II and Alexandra of Hesse, King George V and Victoria Mary of Teck, and the first-cousin relationship between King George V, Tsar Nicholas II, and Kaiser Wilhelm II (see Figure 1) all demonstrate that the

*Genealogical table showing links between the royal family of
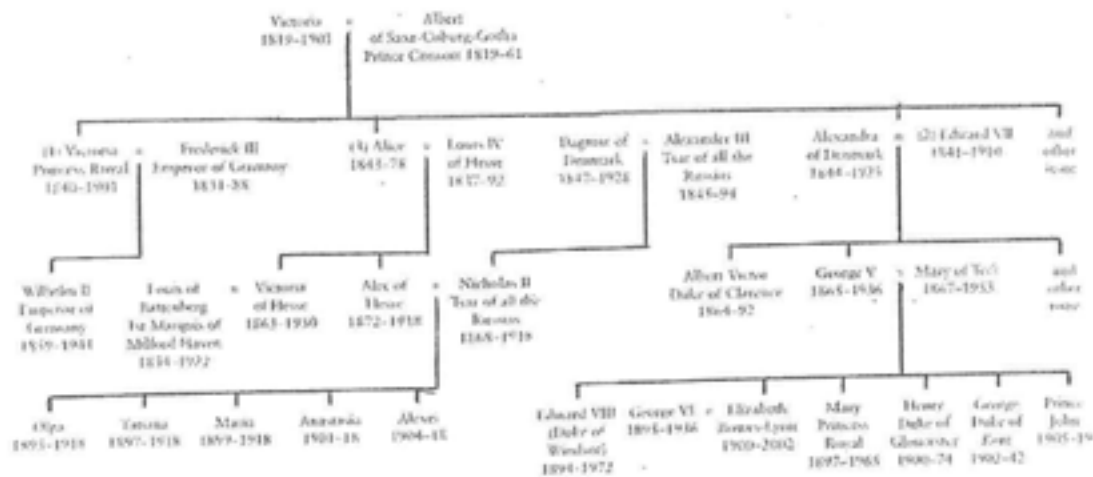Great Britain and the imperial family of Russia*

Figure 1. From Ann Morrow, Cousins Divided: George V and Nicholas VII
(Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 2006)

high-ranking nobles. As a result of her plan, many marriages between Britain, Germany, and Russia were formed (see Figure 1). However, some family ties and marriages had less of a political effect than intended because the significance of royal marriages had diminished in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Royal marriage and royal family connections between Great Britain, Germany, and Russia became antiquated during this time because the monarchs were indifferent to their family ties. In addition, monarchies were made unnecessary and obsolete

monarchs were more concerned with their own state affairs than with allowing family loyalty to dominate their policies. The royal marriages and family connections between these three monarchs did little to improve relations between the warring nations and led to only minuscule advancements for the benefit of their own states.

Industrialization in Europe in the nineteenth century caused many social and political changes, and social unrest followed. The people of Britain, Germany and Russia felt that industrialization had given them more power by means of a growing

population and increasing wealth and education. They believed that they deserved more rights from the governments of which they were subjects and more say in how the system of government functioned. The reform movements were also driven by people who were negatively affected by industrialization, such as people trapped in poverty in places such as Russia.[2] As a consequence, political groups based on the principles of socialism and democracy were formed, and these groups quickly grew in size. For instance, an English tutor for the Kaiser's daughter said in early 1908 that the Socialists were gaining strength in Germany and "threatened to be troublesome" for the future,[3] and in 1912 the Social Democrat Party was the largest political party in Germany.[4] The people of Britain, Germany, and Russia used political groups to attain more attention and better treatment from their governments. Before the Great War, the governments of Britain, Germany, and Russia were all monarchies, their kings being what Joseph Schumpeter called "divinely ordained 'centerpieces'" of European government,[5] but the old systems of power were slowly being forced to give way to the new.

In addition, industrialization caused the nations to be less dependent on royal connections for political diplomacy. The marriages that created the family relationships between Britain, Germany, and Russia, were arranged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because the monarchies retained importance. The first cousin relationship between King George V, Kaiser Wilhelm II, and Tsar Nicholas II (see Figure 1) was expected to induce political bonds of cooperation between their nations, but the monarchs were more concerned about their own nations than supporting each other through their family bonds. The royals were connected, but the nationalistic goals of the individual state governments overpowered the need for traditional connectivity with their royal extended families. For example, before the war erupted Kaiser Wilhelm tried to utilize his ties for political alliances with Russia and Britain, but the monarchies were too focused on their own nation-states and what was important to their countries to be concerned about the ties.

For centuries, family ties had bound countries together and made them more united for common progress.[6] Royal marriages and family connections between the families of dynasties used to have great significance in the political interplay between countries. The marriages were arranged by the elders of the family, who did not take personal preference into consideration in selecting a spouse for their heirs.[7] For example, Queen Victoria used marriages to enhance her dynasty, which is why George, Wilhelm, and Nicholas, even though they were of different nationalities, were first cousins. The political advancement that came from royal marriages was also more stable and easier to form than a political or military alliance, and tying one family into a network of other royal families could justify political and personal actions.[8] Theoretically, the family and marriage connections between Britain, Germany, and Russia should have fastened the countries together for a common political advancement, but the connections ultimately were politically useless.

The governments of Britain, Germany, and Russia were all monarchies, but they each had a different structure. The government of Britain was a constitutional monarchy, and consisted of a King, an elected parliament with the Houses of Lords and Commons, and an elected prime minister. During the industrial era, the government had already made parliamentary concessions to the people in a move toward democracy, so the monarch of Britain was less powerful in the early twentieth century than his counterparts in Germany and Russia.[9] However the king still retained certain influences: he was still the head of state, was a representative of his country, part of the royal connection between other European powers, and could choose diplomats, members of his council, and other advisors.[10] In addition, the monarchy was still guarded by the nobility and landed aristocracy, so the common people did not have much sway with the king.[11] Even so, King George V had no real drive to rule his country and showed disinterest in his many monotonous obligations before he was crowned. For example, he did not enjoy public appearances, and an article in the New York Times says that he was "more interested in his pheasants than in politics."[12] The last British monarch to take an active and personal part in continental politics was Edward VII, the father of George V; unlike his father, George V never became openly involved in domestic constitutional issues.[13] The marriage between King George V and Victoria Mary of Teck was not expected to bring German influence from the outset because of Britain's already diminished monarchical power.[14] Thus, the monarchy's reduced power and increased sense of nationalism isolated the monarchy from

inter-dynastic connections.

The government of Russia differed greatly from Britain's because it was an absolute autocracy before and during most of the Great War. Tsar Nicholas II headed the autocracy, but he was a weak and indecisive ruler, and a Russian diplomat stated that Nicholas never did anything to make his authority felt or respected.[15] The Tsar of Russia traditionally had a divine right to rule his people, but Nicholas took this idea too far and did not want to share power. Nicholas was under the impression that the peasants were content with their social, economic, and political conditions and had unquestioned devotion to their emperor, but in reality they were living in squalor and were not able to raise their social or economic statuses.[16] Nicholas never understood the problems the peasants had with the government because "the lifestyle of the imperial elite was indulgent, improvident, [and] reckless...", making him more removed from his people.[17] Nicholas refused to establish an unadulterated parliament, implement constitutional change, or allow an elected prime minister because these would have undermined his God-given imperial power.[18] He did establish a Duma after the 1905 revolution, which gave the people a parliament, more free speech, and more civil rights, but these gains did not last long because Nicholas did not trust the representatives elected by the people.[19] The selfish desires of Nicholas to keep imperial power strong in Russia alienated Britain and Germany even though he was connected to them by his marriage to Alexandra of Hesse.

According to past traditions, the royal marriage between Tsar Nicholas II and Alexandra of Hesse should have brought German influence to the Russian court. However, Alexandra felt more connected to Britain than to Germany because she had spent more time in Britain, so her German heritage did not influence Russian politics, contrary to what Kaiser Wilhelm had expected.[20] Alexandra's British upbringing did not carry much weight either; before the Great War the letters exchanged between George and Nicholas were affectionate but restrained, so their monarchical relationship never forced influence between the two countries.[21] In addition, Alexandra adopted many Russian customs, such as converting to Russian Orthodoxy,[22] so her German ties were smothered by her eagerness to become a part of her husband's country. A gap was also created between the Russian family and the German family because Wilhelm and his wife did not approve of Alexandra's conversion, and Alexandra did not care for the Kaiser in turn.[23]

Germany had a similar government to Russia because it consisted of a Kaiser who was the head of the entire German nation, and all people were compelled to respect him. Like Tsar Nicholas II, Kaiser Wilhelm did not want to give up his autocratic power to the new socialist and democratic movements. The structure of the German government included a parliament, but the government ministers who held the most power were appointed by the Kaiser, so Wilhelm had a large measure of control over the government's behavior.[24] The rankings of the court were based on a complex hierarchical structure, and the Kaiser based court positions on whether or not he liked people, not based on their merit.[25] Therefore, the German court was not fit to rule, but fit to please every whim of Kaiser Wilhelm, who was a megalomaniac and wanted to demonstrate his greatness to the world. The character of the Kaiser was also a bit skewed, and he may have been mentally unstable. For example, a Russian diplomat noted that some saw him as a "monster in human form" and power-hungry.[26] Also, an English tutor for the Kaiser's daughter commented that the Kaiser had strange mannerisms, saying that everything had to be exactly his way, and he opposed all opinions and beliefs that were not his own.[27] Because of these factors, the Kaiser considered socialists and democrats to be the enemies of his empire,[28] and attempts at reform in the early twentieth century by the people were unsuccessful.

The Kaiser isolated Germany from Europe because of his extreme national pride, which also kept Germany from benefiting from its connections with Britain and Russia. A fellow royal commented that it would soon be "difficult for Germany's royalties to marry outside of their own country" because the Kaiser had separated Germany from Europe so greatly.[29] However, he tried to exploit his ties with Russia with the secret "Willy-Nicky correspondence" from 1904-1907. In these letters Wilhelm tried to coax Nicholas into a secret treaty with Germany against Britain[30] because the Kaiser "exaggerated the political importance of [personal] dynastic connections."[31] Wilhelm was extremely forceful when it came to his relationship with Nicholas and discussed the need for them to unite with common interests because of their family ties.[32] Nicholas thanked Wilhelm for his help in affairs such as the Russo-Japanese War, and the sovereigns

pledged their loyalty to each other.[33] However, in the end the Russian government's interest in protecting and advancing its own nation overcame Nicholas' commitment to family ties, and Russia fought against Germany in the Great War.

The ineffective family ties between Russia and Germany caused by indifference on Nicholas' part was different from Kaiser Wilhelm's relationship with Britain. Wilhelm had a very strong love-hate relationship with Britain caused by the environment he experienced there as a child. He envied everything British, and later in his life when he was not accepted by Britain's sovereigns he tried to copy elements such as the British royal navy, and wanted to destroy Britain outright.[34] As previously noted, he even tried to utilize his ties with Nicholas to turn Russia against Britain and join his side in the beginning of the twentieth century.[35] These ties were supposed to help the monarchies with international relations in the early twentieth century, but the nations were too self-absorbed for these ties to have much of an effect. However, the monarchies of Germany and Russia were destroyed after the war, so the royal connections ceased to exist.

The marriage between Tsar Nicholas II and Alexandra of Hesse had not brought German influence before the war, but during it the people became suspicious of her German heritage. The people believed that she was a German spy and was passing secret Russian information to the Kaiser,[36] and a Russian diplomat said that Alexandra was one of the main reasons the imperial government collapsed.[37] In addition, her relationship with Gregori Rasputin during the war also angered Nicholas' advisors and the Russian people because they did not trust Rasputin's influences on Nicholas' wife.[38] She also had a difficult time with the Russian language and with the Russian high society, which caused her (and her husband) to retreat more from public appearances and furthered their isolation from the common people.[39] Ultimately, Alexandra exercised her own personal influence over the weak-minded Tsar rather than encourage influence from her native country, which was not expected from the other members of the royal connection.

George and Nicholas still retained friendly relations during the war because they were on the same side, but in the end, their national interests were more important than their family connection. When the Russian revolution broke out and Nicholas and his family were imprisoned, George promised to give Nicholas a home in Britain because he

was his cousin.[40] However, the family connection did not make George feel that he was absolutely obligated to help Nicholas, and he refused to give Nicholas asylum in Britain because he feared spread of the Russian revolution's fervor to his own nation. George was ultimately more concerned about his crown and nation than the well-being of his cousin.[41] Kaiser Wilhelm also was indifferent to the consequences of the Russian revolution for Nicholas. He did not make an effort to protect Nicholas or his family because he feared the spread of the revolutionary spirit to Germany.[42] Wilhelm also cut off his connection with George completely after the war and his exile and abdication;[43] the royal relationship would have done no good in Wilhelm's position because his monarchy was destroyed.

The monarchies of Germany and Russia were demolished by the Great War because of the elevated social unrest that the war caused. The beginning of the war was tolerable for Britain, Germany, and Russia, but by 1916-1917 clothing and food shortages caused starvation, disease, hopelessness, and low standards of living, especially during the "Turnip Winter" of 1916-1917.[44] The hardships became too much for the peoples of the war, and "throughout Europe the strains of protracted warfare finally, as of 1917, shook and cracked the foundations of the embattled old order..."[45] The disasters of the war led the people of Germany and Russia to break under the final straw of their incompetent and careless autocratic governments.[46]

A large factor that exacerbated the open wounds of destitution and starvation of the people was the flaunting of royal wealth and material goods from people who could afford luxuries. In Russia and Germany especially, where the gap between the rich and poor was large, the people were angry about the royals' standard of living. In Russia, the Tsar and his family spared no expense for their amusement and comfort; their 326 palaces, fifteen thousand servants, and expensive foreign treasures all gave testimony to the opulent life of the imperial family.[47] The Tsar continued to use Russia's treasury "as his private pocketbook"[48] even though the Russian economy was already under much pressure for war production.[49] In addition, most of the Russian population hated the military service that they were forced into, and wanted to end their suffering caused by the war.[50] Especially during the winter of 1916-1917, when conditions worsened beyond a level that the people were willing to bear,

the people formed more strikes and protests, even looting and burning manor houses of the wealthy aristocracy.[51] The people felt they were being ignored because Nicholas placed himself above a reachable level by isolating himself inside his palaces with the wealthy ruling classes.[52] The war's worsened conditions and the government's lack of motivation to fix any of the peasants' problems drove the people to a breaking point and full-scale rebellion ensued in March 1917.

The Russian Revolution of March 1917 was a direct consequence of the Great War and the incapable governance of Tsar Nicholas II, who did not realize that Russia was in desperate need of reform in order to help its people. A Russian diplomat even said that the people obviously wanted a constitutional government to replace the autocracy.[53] What began as an angry protest in St. Petersburg quickly grew into a riot, and Tsar Nicholas panicked and declared a national emergency, thus dissolving the Duma and placing more power in his hands. The ruling classes, now in addition to the peasants, were upset because they felt that Nicholas had acted too autocratically. On March 15, 1917, Tsar Nicholas II, Emperor of all the Russians, was forced to abdicate in favor of his brother Mikhail, who in turn refused his promotion. There were no other royals who would have been able to rule, so the people established a Provisional Government. The government was now based on a local level, with regional soviets governing local areas.[54] The imperial family was executed in July 1918, ending royal autocracy in Russia forever.

The German people were also extremely unhappy with the way their government handled the consequences of its disastrous war. The war left more economic, political, and social problems on top of the existing ones, and there was a stark contrast between the enthusiastic support from the beginning of the war and the angry protests near the end of the war.[55] As a result of their unhappiness, political parties opposed to the war gained more support and began to criticize the government more violently with protests and strikes.[56] In addition, life in the trenches and the plight of the soldiers caused serious morale problems by 1918, and the soldiers were not willing to sit back while their families starved. Also as in Russia, Germany was experiencing financial problems; the government had borrowed heavily to pay for the war, so the country was undergoing massive inflation.[57] In addition, the elites and the royal court were still able to afford luxuries, and the

Kaiser was kept happy with banquets and parties in the royal palaces.[58] The people of Germany could not bear the strains of the war any longer; something had to be done about the uncaring autocratic government that would not even supply them with their basic needs.

The German revolution was the direct result of social, political, and economic consequences of the Great War and Germany's eventual defeat.[59] The combined effects of the war and the spirit of the Russian revolution spreading across Europe amplified the unrest in German industrial centers.[60] By 1918 the officials of the German government, excluding Kaiser Wilhelm, now recognized that they had lost the war, and thought that Germany could receive more sympathy from their enemies if the government changed into a civilian-based system.[61] The original plan was to make the monarchy more accountable to the parliament, but circumstances forced the Kaiser to flee to Holland in October 1918. A Constitutional Assembly representing a democratic republic was created, and Wilhelm formally abdicated in November 1918.[62] The German revolution, lasting from October 1918 to March 1919, created a Council of People's Commissars, provisions for the election of a National Assembly, and made Germany into a federal state.[63] The new republic was a parliamentary democracy with elected representatives based on parties, and a president was elected for seven-year terms.[64]

In Britain, the conditions of the war were not felt as harshly as in Russia and Germany because of methods such as rationing, positive propaganda campaigns, censoring of anti-war propaganda, and better supply chains. King George V's leadership qualities were also "positively enhanced by the war",[65] and the people praised him for being such a caring and upstanding leader.[66] Unlike in Germany and Russia, the British court did not indulge in numerous luxuries throughout the war. From the beginning of his reign, George was an unostentatious ruler, and his court was not as rich as his father's had been[67] In fact, "[t]he deliberately orchestrated, quiet frugality seen at Windsor and Buckingham Palace would be the salvation of the British royal family" because the monarchy, frankly, was dull.[68] The royal family led normal middle-class lives, eating cold rice pudding, wearing tweeds, and drinking tea,[69] so the people were more connected with and grateful to their sovereign because he was sacrificing just like them. Like Germany

and Russia, there were some strikes and protests because of the food shortages and high prices, but George and the government kept the protests under control. Surprisingly, the British monarchy managed to survive the war because George knew from past experience to tread carefully in an age where monarchies were becoming obsolete.[70]

After the war, there were few monarchies left standing from the Victorian connection, save the one in Britain, so royal marriages perished when monarchies did. For example, the war made the British monarchy even less powerful, so an international marriage alliance after the war would have done little good. The abdication of Edward VIII to marry a divorcée demonstrates how royal marriages were an emblem of the diminished monarchy because Edward's marriage was for love and came with no political gains. An author from the time commented that "He knew that he could not perform his [monarchical] duties without being with the woman he loved."[71] so he felt that he had

a duty to his country to abdicate for a better ruler. He was able to do this without serious obstacles because marriages were not made for political gains anymore.

If dynastic marriage still mattered in European politics, then Britain, Germany, and Russia all should have been united in a web of family connections in the early twentieth century. Instead, the royal marriage ties and first cousin relationship between King George V, Kaiser Wilhelm II, and Tsar Nicholas II ultimately did not benefit any of these nations. The monarchical systems of Europe were greatly nationalistic before the Great War and became antiquated after it because of socialist and democratic impulses, so the royal marriages and family connections ceased to be an influential factor in international politics during the early twentieth century. With the monarchies annihilated in Germany and Russia and the king only a figurehead in Britain, the royal marriage connections perished with the power of the crowns.

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Manipulating the Magi:
The Medici's Pursuit of Power and their Usage of the Adoration Theme

Rachel Sampson

The Medici, a Florentine family focused on the banking sector, strove to break free of their class and achieve a level of legendary nobility. But in order to do so, they needed more than politically motivated marriages and alliances to succeed in the republic of Florence. By employing the theme of the *Adoration of the Magi*, the Medici pushed their status to the pinnacle of their city's social structure. They then used it whenever they felt their rank needed to be reestablished. The Medici's usage of this biblically based theme cherished across Europe remains highly unique and was one of the most dominant Medicean power icons throughout the fifteenth century. But after the Medici family's second exile from Florence, the persistence of the *Adoration* theme dwindled. Mannerism, as well as the family's eventual return to their city through force of arms changed the art associated with the Medici.

Magi Icon Development

Long before the rise of the Medici, the Magi first emerged in the realm of Christianity through the Gospel of Matthew. The text alludes to men from the East, following a star, in search of the king of the Jews. When they meet the local ruler Herod on their journey through Jerusalem, his assembly of priests and teachers suggest Bethlehem as the location of Christ's birth. Herod, fearing usurpation due to prophesies of a king rising up in Judea, deceptively asks the Magi to return with news of the child so he too can pay deference. The men depart and upon meeting Mary and the Christ Child, each bows and pays homage through the treasures of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. The sole mention of these Magi ends with them leaving Bethlehem on a different route home so they may avoid Herod and respect the warning given in their dreams of returning to the ruler.[1]

The three men's connection with royalty came later in the writings of Tertullian (c. 160-230 CE), a Christian writer, who gave such a stature to these gift-bearing individuals.[2] This third century concept most likely derived from the idea that the prophecy of Psalms 72:10-11, titled "The Reign of the Righteous King", had been realized. The text states, "Let the kings of Tarshish and of the islands bring presents; the kings of Sheba and Seba offer gifts. And let all kings bow down before him."[3] Such allusions to distant lands and treasures can clearly link to the three men who brought such exorbitant gifts and humbled themselves before Christ around the time of His birth. In the eighth century, these kings would be given names. The *Excerpta latina barbari* chronicle lists the Magi's names as Bithisarea, Melchior, and Gahaspa. Over time these evolved into their common forms of Balthasar, Melchior, and Gaspar or Casper. The Magi's popularity amassed throughout the Middle Ages and they were revered as patron saints of travel with their own feast day on July 23.

In art, the Magi were a subject of focus as early as the fourth century. In the Catacomb of Priscilla in Rome, a fresco depicting the first extant *Adoration of the Magi* lines a section of one of the chambers.[4] The dual levels of this catacomb are located two miles outside of the Italian capital and are named after Saint Priscilla[5], a martyr who allowed Saint Peter to use her home in Rome as the main location for his missionary work.[6] Originally created for the second century senatorial Acili family as a pagan tomb, early Christians expanded the site in the third century as a cemetery for their own.[7] The catacomb remained in great reverence up until the ninth century and held many early bishops of Rome as well as various saints.[8] And so it was here on this significant Christian site that fourth-century artist(s) crafted the *Adoration of the Magi*. Featured in the *cappella greca*, Greek chapel, the fresco depicting the Easterners displays itself on the arch along with

funerary inscriptions written in Greek.⁹ Three figures bearing items, one can interpret as gifts, walk toward the seated figure of Mary who holds the Christ Child in her lap. There are no apparent details and the silhouettes of the figures remain all that is visible along the arch. Nonetheless, the bearing of gifts conveyed respect for Christ and remained an early popular subject due to the theme's connection with Christ's birth.

The Magi evolved as Christianity grew in prominence and influence throughout Europe. The Middle Ages continued promoting the theme of the *Adoration of the Magi* but closer attention to figure rendering, the rank of the men, as well as their connection to the Epiphany shows a growth in the depiction of the subject matter.¹⁰ Within the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Florence, a mosaic displays both the three Magi bearing reverence to Christ and the angel Gabriel warning the kings of Herod's plan in a dream (Figure 1). In its original context, this work may have been linked to two other significant events of Jesus' life: His Baptism and the Wedding at Cana. All three of these events reveal Christ's true divinity and were celebrated on the same feast day. But in particular, the *Adoration of the Magi* in this work embodies the Epiphany,

Figure 1. The Story of the Magi in the Life of Christ
1275-1300 CE
Mosaic

the manifestation of Christ to the pagans. Viewing it as so significant an event, the Catholic Church celebrated it as an esteemed feast day on the sixth of January early on in the Church's history.¹¹ And so through the mosaic's connection to a prized social/religious affair and stylistic rendering of the work, one can see a medieval development in the depiction and meaning behind the Magi.

Early Medici History

The Renaissance, however, truly pushed the *Adoration of the Magi* theme to new evolutionary heights. One family, in particular though, spurred the transformation of the theme into a clearly

unique, ornate scheme that was enriched with social and political significance. They came from the mountain valley area known as the Mugello, twenty miles northeast of Florence. Known as the Medici, they arrived to the Tuscan city of Florence in 1216 as bankers and traders.¹² At the time, the city had already begun to shed its medieval tendencies and structures in order to cloak itself with the drapings of the coming Renaissance. The end of the thirteenth century as well as early fourteenth century witnessed new trading families tear down the feudal aristocracy. And by 1340, Florence eclipsed its former self and stood amongst prominent cities of the time in terms of wealth and size. Its shadow even blanketed the likes of Paris and Venice through its precedence in the modern world. For one, Florentine bankers, whose work often permeated into European politics, had dominated European trade and finance. But secondly, the culture of the city was shifting towards a more humanistic outlook in which the intellectual and artistic feats of the individual were embraced.¹³

As Florence grew in influence, so did its prominent banking family, the Medici. In 1418, though still one of several influential families in Florence, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici (1360-1429 CE) obtained the entire Papal account for the Medici bank and marked the beginning of the family's ascension towards dominance in Florence and beyond.¹⁴ Giovanni first began his self-made path towards power and wealth through his job at his cousin Vieri's banking branch. After success in the family's division in Rome, he eventually took over Vieri's position as the *Capo* or head of the bank and family. While known for his cautious nature, Giovanni made a risky decision early on in the fifteenth-century to support a friend as well as ex-pirate, Baldassare Cossa, to become pope. But by taking such a chance, Giovanni gained everything when Cossa was elected Pope John XXIII and Giovanni was selected to be "God's banker." When he passed away, Giovanni had helped accumulate so much wealth that the Medici ranked the third richest family in Florence.¹⁵

Cosimo de'Medici (1389-1464 CE), after the death of his father, took over the *Capo* position in midst of rival families like the Albizzi plotting against the Medici.¹⁶ But Cosimo was adept at politics and used his banking operations to obtain even greater power in Florence. With costly festivals and gifts, he bought favor with the likes of friends, clients, and even the members of the general public.

Through finances, he gained the approval from individuals like the King of France and Duke of Milan.[17] But in 1433, none of Cosimo's connections could stop his imprisonment and exile. After years of supporting lesser guilds of the poor over the wealthy aristocracy as well as using more cut-throat political tactics to gain influence, the Medici had made many enemies – the Albizzi in particular. Through various political manipulations and maneuvers, anti-Medici factions gained control of the Florentine government and sought to rid themselves of the Medici for good.

Jailed temporarily in Palazzo Vecchio and charged with treason, Cosimo escaped the Florentine city with his life and family by obtaining the lesser punishment of banishment to Padua. He did so only after bribing Bernardo Guadagni, the gonfalonier of justice, one thousand ducats. But this was far from the end of the Medici. Cosimo was asked to return to his home city one year later in October 1434 after a banking crisis and series of military defeats caused mass public resentment to the government that threw the Medici out.[18] When Cosimo reentered his city, he regained his position in society and ruled Florence unofficially, dictating both its foreign and domestic policies while maintaining his banking branches.

The Epiphany and Compagnia de'Magi

So it was in this political and social scene, where affluent families constantly vied against one another for greater influence, that the *Adoration of the Magi* theme was so vividly transformed. One reason this particular subject matter was chosen so frequently by Florentine patrons stems from city's celebration of the Epiphany and the guild that sponsored the event, the Compagnia de'Magi or Company of the Magi. Since the end of the fourteenth-century, this feast day dedicated to the adoration of the Magi was a significant and elaborate event in the city. Every January 6th, select citizens would dress up as the three Magi and members of the procession to parade around Florence. They would begin in Piazza San Marco, where the confraternity Compagnia de'Magi was located, and continue onto Via Larga. From there, the grand procession advanced onto Herod's Palace at Piazza San Giovanni and ended their march through the Florentine streets at the Duomo. Here the Magi figures presented gifts in a festive atmosphere to the Christ Child lying in a manger.[19] After this, those involved in the procession and general public would move on to witness the performance of Massacre of the Innocents in Piazza della Signoria.[20] The Epiphany, rivaled only in importance by the feast day for John the Baptist, consumed the minds and hearts of Florentines with its splendor.

The confraternity behind all of this was the *Compagnia de'Magi*, also known as *Della Stella* or Of the Star. One of the many societies in Florence, this essentially charitable organization planned and executed this elaborate parade as well as provided social welfare programs, like a financial aid project for those in need.[21] But the assemblage of men who sponsored such a beloved event had intentions other than exercising generosity. An entire set of ideological, political, and aesthetic implications came from involvement in the group. Those who assumed the positions of the Magi had their personal characters connected with the Magi's virtues, and could display a level of public ostentation never permitted within sumptuary laws of the time. Most of all, the event allowed these men to briefly act in a royal fashion within the walls of a republic.[22] The Medici, in particular, took advantage of such an organization and used the lavish procession to display power and status in the guise of royalty. Cosimo, for example, took part in many of these parades and wore ornate clothing like gold gowns and fur cloaks to show his true position in the city.[23] World power, piety, and affluence came from the Compagnia de'Magi and its political implications made it a force to be reckoned with. The Magi were no longer simply humbled men who appeared at the birth of Christ, they were now a symbol of greatness that Florentine families would replicate again and again to demonstrate their high status.

Gentile da Fabriano's Adoration of the Magi

One sees the Magi first being used as an assertion of wealth and stature in Gentile da Fabriano's altarpiece *Adoration of the Magi* (Figure 2). The artist Gentile, originally from the Marches, spent part of his career in Venice where he absorbed the International Gothic style. This European courtly approach embraced crowded picture planes, exotic elements usually from the East, and luxurious materials. The influences of Venice and Northern styles also appear in the artist's remaining work through elements like atmospheric landscapes and soft texture.[24] Due to his refined artistic approach, Fabriano was commissioned to adorn the Doges' Palace in Venice and the Church of Saint John

Figure 2. Gentile da Fabriano
Adoration of the Magi
1423 CE
Tempora on wood

Lateran in Rome.

After building a reputation, Gentile da Fabriano moved to Florence where the wealthiest man in Florence, Palla Strozzi, commissioned him to create an altarpiece boldly displaying the Magi figures.[25] The patron selected such a subject matter and an artist with a reputation for effusive, courtly style to illustrate a very certain concept within the sacristy of the Florentine Church of Santa Trinità.[26] This public work was meant to show the wealth and power the Strozzi possessed and compete with fellow banking families, like the Medici, who too commissioned various art works throughout the city. While originally friends with of Cosimo de'Medici, Palla turned on him and sided with the Albizzi and other anti-Medici factions in 1433. But this decision to consent to the Medici's exile would haunt the Strozzi family and when the Medici returned to Florence in 1434, all male members of the Strozzi clan were banished to Padua through the careful arrangements of Cosimo himself.[27] Nonetheless, the patronage behind this public artwork remains highly significant to the *Adoration of the Magi*'s evolution as a symbol of power.

Fabriano's masterpiece features scenes in the predella below the main panel displaying *The Nativity, Flight into Egypt*, and *Presentation in the Temple* – all biblical scenes relating to the *Adoration*. In the roundel of the central cusp, just above the *Adoration*, stands a half length figure of the Judging Christ to exemplify the theme of the coming of Christ.[28] At the bottom of the central work, one witnesses the three Magi presenting the traditional gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. The oldest magus kneels on all four appendages with his aureate crown lying next to his side as Baby Jesus accepts the king's kisses and lays one hand on the man's glabrous head. The middle-aged Magus prepares to bow in a similar fashion, illustrated by him taking off his crown as he kneels on one knee and bearing an ornate gold chalice of perfume.[29] The third, youngest one meanwhile takes a less reverent approach and appears to have just dismounted from his horse. While gazing amiably at the Holy Family, the Magus holds a golden pyx as a servant quickly fixes his spur.[30]

The Holy Family stands under a simple stable structure while the handmaidens of the Virgin look on with amazement at the treasures being unveiled to the Christ Child. Notably, the traditional ox representing patience and strength, appears in a cave, a shelter for the Holy Family promoted by apocryphal and devotional texts like the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew.[31] Finally, Gentile da Fabriano completes the work through the display of the departure of the Magi journeying away from Jerusalem. This corresponds to the Bible's description of King Herod's fear of usurpation from the prophesized king born in Judea, as well as the Magi following God's command of not returning to Jerusalem.[32]

Away from the immediate vicinity of the Holy Family lie the varied characters of the Magi's procession. These consist of soldiers, doctors, an astrologer, hunters, as well as what Antanas Melinkas has dubbed buffoons. Gentile da Fabriano places exotic creatures amongst the crowd – a falcon rests on the arm of one of the figures while two monkeys play on the back of a camel. A white greyhound can also be seen lying in the foreground while horses proceed by as cheetahs and hunting hounds intermix in the mass of figures.[33]

Within these well-crafted details and figural renditions of the *Adoration of the Magi* lies the intended suggestion of Strozzi power. First, the class and wealth of the family glimmers boldly in the work through the use of gold. While the Renaissance innovation of a blue sky has yet to come in effect with Fabriano's aureate sky, the ornate embroidery of the retinue and Magi demonstrates sophistication in displaying such a coveted material. Secondly, the artist included figures and symbols directly linked to the Strozzi clan. Mignosia claims the figure in the central part of the composition holding a falcon, the family's emblem, is none other than Palla Strozzi. With him stands Lorenzo Strozzi who was only

eighteen years old at the time of the painting. She further suggests that Emperor Sigismund, the Holy Roman Emperor at the time of the work, takes the form of the oldest Magus.[34] Such an inclusion of figures marks a distinct break with *Adoration* scenes of the past. No longer simply illustrating an event occurring at the site of Christ's birth, the Magi's reverence was turned into a scheme for patrons to associate themselves with worldly power, royalty, and piousness.

Medici and Development of Iconography Post-Exile

The Medici, however, would attempt to strip this icon usage from their rivals and perpetuate the theme solely for the promotion of the family's dynasty. They took notice of the Strozzi's public assertion of paramountcy and decided to use the theme their rivals had selected against contending Florentine families. Their goal was to reassociate the *Adoration of the Magi* theme as a reference to Medici power and they did not wait long to do so. After the Medici returned from exile and families like the Strozzi found themselves banished from Florence, two notable works were erected in the monastery of San Marco: Fra Angelico's *The Annunciation and Adoration of the Magi* (Figure 3) as well as Fra Angelico and Benozzo Gozzoli's *Adoration of the Magi* (Figure 4). Notably, Cosimo de Medici commissioned the building of this secluded religious place and frequented it often. He even had a cell in which he retired to on occasion.[35]

Fra Angelico's The Annunciation and Adoration of the Magi

The first work came from the hands of Fra Angelico in the early 1430s work and was a single tablet that formed part of a group of reliquaries. It features the *Annunciation* in the upper half while the lower contained the *Adoration* scene in which the oldest Magus bows completely at the feet of the Holy Family. Meanwhile, the other Magi lower their heads and clasp their hands as if in prayer, while their procession crowds in the upper right corner in front of a gold stone-block wall. One can see how soft forms as well as detailed usage of color and auric fill the work.[36] This *Adoration of the Magi* scene, while not differing substantially in presentation of the figures or craftsmanship of the surroundings, is significant based on the time of its commission. It occurs in the same period of the return of the

Figure 3. Fra Angelico
The Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi
1430 CE
Tempera and gold on panel

Figure 4. Fra Angelico and Benozzo Gozzoli
Adoration of the Magi
1440 CE
Fresco

Medici as well as exile of prominent families in Florence. The work was chosen specifically to be a marker of the reemergence of Medici power in a place beloved by the family.

The artist behind such well-defined craftsmanship was originally named Guido di Pietro. He was first documented as a lay painter in 1417 and later as Dominican friar between 1420 and 1423. He stayed at the priory of San Domenico at Fiesole where he adopted the name Fra Giovanni da Fiesole and continued to pursue painting. Fra Angelico's work in San Marco began in the early 1430s when his Order took over the Sylvestrine monastery.[37] One can see his mastery of space, refinement of materials, and attention to detail in the works he created throughout the religious community.

Fra Angelico and Benozzo Gozzoli's Adoration of the Magi

The second work created by Fra Angelico and his student Benozzo Gozzoli adorns Cell thirty-nine, otherwise identified as Cosimo de'Medici's cell. It was painted toward the end of the 1430s and occupies the entirety of the end wall. In a petrous, desert landscape, the Holy Family gathers in the lower left section while the Magi show their

reverence for the Christ Child. The oldest Magus conforms to the traditional pose of prostrating as he reaches up slightly to Baby Jesus. The artist(s) demonstrate his deference by placing his dark crown next to him in front of Mary's cream and slightly azurite-based garb. The second Magus kneels with his still crowned head bowed while the third stands with a gift in hand to present to the Holy Family. The center of the work partly contains a *Vir Dolorum* in which the artist's presented a *tromp l'oeil* effect of Christ crucified. The remaining section displays the Magi's procession that contains horses and Eastern figures bearing exotic garments and headdresses.

Ferrara/Florence Council Meeting Influence

Giovanna Damiani notes the possible influence of the 1439 meeting of the Council on the work's display of such foreign elements.[38] This Council gathering was an assemblage between the leader of the Eastern Church, John Palaeologus, and the pope of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Eugene IV, to diffuse tensions between the two branches of Christianity.[39] Originally planned to occur in Ferrara, Cosimo de'Medici used his financial power, influence, and plague that infected the originally chosen city to have the meeting moved to Florence. With this reassignment, the Medici's home city became consumed with greater economic growth as well as culture and the event spurred an interest in collecting antique manuscripts as well as learning Greek. From these incidents, the Renaissance bloomed further in the city with the appearance of Orthodox church members. While ultimately months of deliberations ended with no resolutions between the two churches, Cosimo and Florence benefited in prestige, wealth, and culture.[40] Thus it should be no surprise that such particular exotic influences would find their way into a work made primarily for the Florentine Cosimo de'Medici. It draws from the current events of the time in terms of artistic inspirations as well as political and social events involving the Medici. The two mentioned works of San Marco, thus, demonstrate the family's attempt to connect themselves with the Magi and mark the return of their power in Florence.

Medici Ascendancy in the 1440s

By the 1440s, the Medici's shadow of influence extended far beyond the walls of their Tuscan city. It crept to the north in Venice through a successful

alliance against Filippo Maria Visconti,[41] head of an influential family that dominated Milan in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He was defeated at Anghiari in 1447 and passed away in later that year – leaving an opening for the duchy of Milan.[42] From there, the Medici's ascendancy fell upon Milan through Cosimo's military support of Francesco Sforza for the duchy position. Finally, the decade concluded with the Medici aligning with Ferrante of Naples over the French Angevin claims, resulting in a triple alliance based in Florence.[43]

Domenico Veneziano's Adoration of the Magi

Due to such gains in power, it should be no surprise that this decade witnessed the production of Magi-based artwork from the patronage of the Medici family. Between 1440 and 1443, Domenico Veneziano paused his work on the choir frescoes of Sant'Egidio in Florence to begin painting the roundel *Adoration of the Magi* (Figure 5). While little has been found on the artist's life, many scholars believe Veneziano began his work in Venice and he permanently settled in Florence by 1439.[44] His work shows a procession of aristocratic figures that travel down a spiraled path from a walled city that cuts through rolling hills and fields of sheep.[45] In the foreground, one finds the Holy Family underneath a wooden structure while the Magi gather in front of them. The oldest Magus kneels as he kisses the feet of Christ while the other Magi bear gifts. The donkey and ox nestled

Figure 5 Domenico Veneziano
Adoration of the Magi 1440-1443 CE
Poplar

in the structure witness the scene while a peacock perches on the roof. Meanwhile, an African figure rides a camel in the background as birds dart about

in the blue sky for fear of the attacking falcon, which has recently been freed by the falconer in the foreground.[46]

Within this scene of deference and splendor lie numerous Medici allusions promoting the family and their goal of association with power. First, the inclusion of the peacock and falcon do not simply serve their biblical significance. While traditionally the peacock represents immortality, referring both to Christ and the Christian Church, here it also stands as Cosimo's son Giovanni's attribute. To reinforce such a connection, the artist included the figure of the family member next to his older brother Piero, who holds the falcon. This particular animal, along with its birds of prey, signifies the three Magi's nobility as well as their eminence and victory over their adversaries. The latter attribute most likely appealed to the family who still felt the stings of exile and political manipulation. But its inclusion went beyond its biblical reference: the falcon stands as Piero de'Medici's symbol, the next in line to rule after Cosimo.[47] One can see simply from these two inclusions that the Medici manipulated more than one facet of Christian-based art. The family drew from old themes and associations to legitimize their recent rise to power from their banking realm.

Secondly and finally, Medici family motto can be found lining the horses' bridles and trappings. While minute in its depiction, its inclusion in a seemingly religious artwork further demonstrates the family's pursuits of emphasizing its prominence as well as connection with the *Adoration*.

Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi's Adoration of the Magi

Another work commissioned during this decade of Medici ascension came from the hands of Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi. Born in Florence, Lippi was a member of an impecunious family. After the death of his parents, he lived with his aunt for a few years before she placed him in a convent of Carmelite monks. Lippi left the religious institution in 1432 and worked in Padua in 1434. It would only be in 1437 that the artist would return to his home city to work for patrons like the Medici.

The two artists' *Adoration of the Magi* (Figure 6) utilize the round shape of the panel by winding the Magi's entourage around the composition to end in front of the Holy Family. In front of a rocky outcropping, the oldest Magus takes his traditional pose while female figures hold gifts. A

walled city, identified by scholars as Bethlehem, has a crowd full of indeterminate figures that are anxious to pass under the wide arch and reach the end of the pathway.[48] A group of nudes among the ruins may reference the outcasts of society referenced in the gospels Mark (Mark 5:1-20) and Luke (Luke 8:26-39). These people resided outside the city walls among the remains of ancient structures but learned of Jesus' teachings.[49]

Figure 6
Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi
Adoration of the Magi 1445 CE
Wood

Familial references can be found throughout the work. One can see the familiar symbol of the peacock on the roof of the wooden structure – representing both the Resurrection and Piero de'Medici. But the shape of the work remains highly significant to the Medici. Boskovits asserts that the circular format may signify a family event and can be associated with a *desco de parto*. Known as a birth salver, it is a type of celebratory gift that was given on the successful birth of a child.[50] So in this decade of prominence, the Medici chose to celebrate the coming of a new family member with the Magi theme. They wanted their growing family to be connected with their rising ascendancy throughout Europe.

Benozzo Gozzoli's Adoration of the Magi

The 1450s and 1460s would witness the continuous prosperity of the Medici. To commemorate an era of ensuing success and ever-growing power, the family commissioned the artist Benozzo Gozzoli to decorate their private chapel in 1459.[51] Born in 1420 as Benozzo di Lese to a Florentine tailor family, the artist began to make a name for himself through assisting Fra

Angelico with three major works in San Gimignano, Florence, and Montefalco.[52] In 1449, Gozzoli broke from apprenticeships in Montefalco to become a master. He painted the lunette *Madonna and Child between Saint Francis and Saint Bernardine* as his first independent work.[53] But Gozzoli would be best known for his wall paintings in the chapel of Florence's most infamous family.

Approved officially in 1442 by Pope Martin V, the Medici created their personal chapel from the architectural designs of Michelozzo di Bartolomeo.[54] It was an unusual structure for a home during this time period and most likely was approved by the pope due to Cosimo de Medici's status as papal banker and less upon his piousness.[55] It was built on the *piano nobile* or first floor of the residence between 1446 and 1449 and hallowed to the Holy Trinity. While it has been altered significantly since the 1659 purchase from Gabrielo and Francesco Riccardi, the chapel took on a rectilinear shape with a square room and orthogonal chancel flanked by two sacristies.[56]

Within the architectural details of the religious-oriented room lie multiple allusions to the Medici. The in-laid door of the sacristy on the right, for example, references the Medici emblem as it bears candelabra balancing on a tripod base that has ferine paws grasping a ball. Besides this, the door also includes a complete Medici coat of arms that surrounds itself with bowls of ribbons and fruit, referencing perhaps familial vitality. Another allusion can be seen in the inlaid and carved choir-stalls. Four interlaced rings, the family's coat of arms, as well as public heraldry like the shield of the Signoria and Guelph party line the seats. Even in the ceiling's blue panel with the monogram of Christ one can find a carved garland of tricolor feathers held together by pairs of diamond rings – both cherished insignia of the Medici.[57] Simply from assessing these architectural elements, one can see the unique status of the chapel and its predominant leanings towards political/social realms over the intended religious one.

Benozzo Gozzoli would, like the architect Michelozzo, weave familial pride, politics, and social references into an awe-inspiring masterpiece. A tripartite iconic scheme wraps around the room from the entrance to the altar. The procession of the Magi makes up one section of this and displays the Magi meeting beneath the star that will lead them to Bethlehem. While shepherds and herdsmen watch over their sheep unaware of the holy event taking place, the three kings travel through jagged plains and paths carved through the mountains. With them they bring groups of foot-followers and horsemen. They seem to extend from the white castle, possibly referencing Jerusalem, near the top of the east wall.[58] The procession is broken up into two cluttered, close-knit groups and only seems to break from the group in regards to the noble hunting party that contains exotic felines and falcons.[59] Each wall dedicated to the Adoration of the Magi theme features one of the Magi with his retinue carefully placed in proper ranking positions and colors within the work.[60]

On the west wall (Figure 7), the oldest Magus Melchoir looks out to the viewer in the lower left corner of the section as his page helps lead the Magus' albescent mule across a small creek. While ferocious felines attack game in the background, the procession continues to wind up the path with pages, hunters, camels and horses bearing supplies, as well as a collection of individualized figures. Some if not most of the latter group came from contemporary Florentine civic life but are now remain unidentifiable to modern scholars. They may have been diplomats, politicians, associates,

Figure 7
Benozzo Gozzoli
Adoration of the Magi, West Wall
1459-1460 CE
Fresco

allies, relatives, or other types of associations within the Medici sphere.[61] In the far distance, one sees Gozzoli's preference for the exotic with his inclusion of slave-like figures, dignitaries with Eastern garments.[62] Notably, the female figures in the high section of the fresco, who travel at the rear of the

procession group that enter the woods, may have been Cosimo de'Medici's wife Contessina de'Bardi and daughters-in-law Lucrezia and Ginerva.[63] This begins the inclusion of familial emphasis in what should have been a predominately religious work within a chapel. While the other human figures may not be able to be discerned currently, there are various animal references and detail works that allude to Medici power and influence. For example, the falcon disemboweling a recently slaughtered hare can be seen as Piero de'Medici's symbol as well as the general family's dominance over their enemies.

The southern wall (Figure 8) contains the Magus Balthazar looking to the heavens on his white steed. He wears a verdant robe with trim adorned in fur and an exotic looking crown. Scholars linked this particular Magus figure for quite some time with John VIII Palaeologus, the Byzantine emperor. Di Lese contests such a claim, however, and says the Magus lacks similarities with the Emperor's description in primary sources and other art works.[64] Regardless of argument, the Magus figure clearly references Eastern culture with his dress and physical characteristics. This may allude

Figure 8
Benozzo Gozzoli
Adoration of the Magi, South Wall
1459-1460 CE
Fresco

to Cosimo's success in transferring the ecumenical council in 1439 to Florence and its positive influence on the city.[65]

As Balthazar takes this moment for contemplation, the Magus' lightly armed personnel pause in the Tuscan landscape to look around at

their surroundings or fixate their gazes upon their spears. The two figures that would have held Balthazar's sword and gift for Christ are lost now due to alterations in the late 1600s by the Marchesi Riccardi.[66] Medici symbolism can be seen here in details like the horse's harness lined with golden Medici diamond rings.[67] It also is demonstrated in the feathers projecting from the headdresses of the three young figures, a simple play on Medici symbolism.[68]

Lastly, on the eastern wall (Figure 9), the youngest Magus Caspar gazes outwards into the realm of the viewer while his *brigata* or brigade follow faithfully behind. This type of courtly formation had been custom to the aristocracy since the thirteenth century in regards to festivals, games, and shows. It had been limited to twelve in the fourteenth century after incidents of violence so Gozzoli's procession would have been a fantastic number for the time.[69] Two mounted pages ahead of Caspar bear a sword and what appears to be a pyx. Behind the Magus is a distinct crowding of

Figure 9
Benozzo Gozzoli
Adoration of the Magi, East Wall
1459-1460 CE
Fresco

figures that walk or ride on horseback. They proceed down a rocky path that cuts through the Tuscan countryside.

The members of the procession directly following Caspar have intent and individualized faces; they were most likely valued members of the Medici sphere. Unfortunately, the majority of these forty figures who show more than half a face have become unidentifiable to modern scholars while others remain under heavy argument over their true identities.[70] Nevertheless, all were significant at

the time of the Medici's ascent in power and many represent key figures of the family. For example, the older man in blue garments who rides upon a mule is none other than Cosimo de'Medici. His form of transportation was intended to reflect humbleness and was in fact used by the infamous head of the family during one of Florence's Epiphany celebrations.

The figure in profile that leads off the group on the white horse is Piero, Cosimo's son[71] who oversaw much of Gozzoli's work on the frescoes (Figure 10).[72] His technical ruling over Florence would come in 1464 upon the death of Cosimo and span only to 1469 when Piero himself would pass away. In that short time and despite being terribly crippled by the gout, Piero's brief ascendancy to power increased the influence of the Medici. He decimated a plot made against his rule in 1466 as well as obtained Saranza and Sarzanello under the peace agreement of 1468 that arose from Venice's attempted war on Florence.[73] While the fresco was commissioned while Cosimo de'Medici still

Figure 10
Benozzo Gozzoli
Adoration of the Magi, detail
of Piero
1459-1460 CE
Fresco

maintained the position of head of the family, Piero's involvement in the artwork and rising role in the Medici clan can be seen in the artist's placement of him leading the group of figures. Besides this, Cosimo's eldest son outfit bears the insignia of the Medici in auric and crimson. The word *sempre* or always in Italian can be seen on this individual and alludes to the Medici family's length of reign.[74]

In between these two previously mentioned, influential figures might be Carlo, the illegitimate son of Cosimo de'Medici and a Circassian slave. Being treated as a member of the Medici family along with his mother, Carlo displayed his prowess when he became Bishop of Prato in 1460.[75] To the left of Carlo are the sons of the family's allies,

Galeazzo Maria (Figure 11) and Sigismondo Malatesta (Figure 11). Galeazzo wears a red cap on the white horse while Sigismondo wears an emerald vest upon the light brown steed.[76] In the center of the work, just to the left of Galeazzo's head, stands a young Lorenzo de'Medici at age ten (Figure 12) with his brother Giuliano only age six. Behind these figures with a hat bearing the words "Opus Benotii" or "The work of Benozzo" is the artist Benozzo Gozzoli (Figure 13).[77]

The most controversial figure in the work regarding true identity, however, is the Magus Caspar. Traditional views hold this figure as representative of Lorenzo de'Medici and the third dynasty of Medici rule. One issue appears due to the Magus residing in front of what appears to be an

Figure 11
Benozzo Gozzoli
Adoration of the Magi, detail of procession
1459-1460 CE
Fresco

Figure 12
Benozzo Gozzoli
Adoration of the Magi,
detail of
Lorenzo de'Medici
1459-1460 CE
Fresco

Figure 13
Benozzo Gozzoli
Adoration of the Magi, detail
of Benozzo Gozzoli
1459-1460 CE
Fresco

Figure 14
Benozzo Gozzoli
Adoration of the Magi,
detail Magus Caspar
1459-1460 CE
Fresco

evergreen laurel tree or *lauro*, Lorenzo de'Medici's personal device. It stood as a symbol of rebirth as well as the resilience of Medici rule. It also evoked the meaning of the Golden Age's return and thereby implied the benevolence bestowed by Medici authority.[78] While it may have been an eventual symbol of the *Magnifico*, the tree may have been intended to display a different meaning for the family at the time of the work's conception.

Hagen, for one, argues against such a theory about the Magus and emphasizes the fact that Lorenzo was still very much a child with immature, unappealing features. The author states, "He [Lorenzo] was unabashedly ugly, with bulging eyes and a flattened nose."[79] The clearly idealized, golden haired youth with light eyes and perfect nose (Figure 14) does not reflect the physical reality scholars know of Lorenzo de'Medici. While Lorenzo would indeed become *Magnifico* and be worthy of emphasis in artworks, the Medici did not attempt to directly make him embody the role of Caspar.

A more plausible theory would involve the youngest Magus representing the future of the Medici family regarding rule. Besides his already mentioned idealization, the figure and his horse promote various Medici symbolisms. For example, the figure's horse trappings are adorned with the family's coat of arms and the bridle contains golden balls and ostrich plumes. With his good looks, regal status, worldly influence, and Medici allusions, one can see how the figure represents dynastic hopes

more than anticipation of a specific heir reaching greatness.

The Medici's chapel, after all, was dedicated more to the family and their own power rather than the influence of Christ. For one, numerous portraits of contemporary figures were never intended to simply show individuals' piousness. They instead were included to promote the Medici's family in sacred but more importantly civic life, ever more increased by Gozzoli's positioning of the family directly behind the Magus. The Medici wanted to show themselves as a family of power, wealth, evolving dynasty, and faith.[80] If not, Cosimo would never have accepted dignitaries or influential figures like Pope Pius II, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, and Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta with their escorts or later for the young Galeazzzo Maria in a room dedicated solely to prayer and contemplation.[81] By 1459 the *Adoration of the Magi* theme clearly lacked the religious meaning born to it and had become the property of the ever-growing, influential Medici family.

Lorenzo de'Medici's Era: The Beginning of Greatness

Lorenzo de'Medici would continue the Medici's hopes for greater power after the death of his father Piero in 1469.[82] While he had been participating in the Renaissance political world since age five, Lorenzo de'Medici was now the official head of the Medici clan and would have

the beginning of his rule over Florence be riddled with turbulence. A few years before the death of his father Piero, Lorenzo had to deal with a crisis in which reformers sought to unclench Medici power over government offices and restore office rights to those banned from participating. This uprising was only suppressed through the appearance of Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano in front of the Signoria as well as the arrival of 3000 mercenaries. Leaders of the reform movement were bullied into silence or exiled. Medici power was reestablished and Lorenzo was voted to the Balìa and the Council of One Hundred.

Also amidst the early years of Lorenzo's reign were tensions between the Medici, prominent families like the Pazzi, and figures like Pope Sixtus IV that eventually reached a boiling point. Major blows occurred between the groups, particularly in the hit to the Medici's banking sector. In 1474, Pope Sixtus dismissed the Medici as their principal bankers and put a large volume of business in the hands of the Pazzi.

In order to regroup and maintain Florentine sovereignty from international players like the Pope, Lorenzo harnessed the creation of a Triple Alliance between Milan, Florence, and Venice in 1475.[83] This coalition had the potential to resist papal influence and angered the ambitious Pope, a former Franciscan friar with big ideas surrounding Rome and the Papal States. But the suspicions the Pope had around the Medici's influence on the Papal States or relationship with the French through the Kingdom of Naples did not culminate until a few years later in the Pazzi Conspiracy.[84] For the time being in 1475, the Medici rejoiced in their continued ability to exert power on the world and Giuliano de'Medici even hosted a joust to celebrate such a happening.[85]

Sandro Botticelli's Adoration of the Magi for Santa Maria Novella

With this event and the birth of Lorenzo's first son Giovanni de'Medici occurring in the same year, naturally the commission of an artwork exemplifying the Medici's continued reign of prominence occurred. It would not come from Lorenzo, however, and instead from a Florentine broker, Guaspare di Zanobi di Lami. Born as the son of a barber, this man obtained his wealth from the financial markets and trades in property. Due to his newly established position on the Florentine banking scene, however, resentment built among the old

banking families that dominated the city. Thus, one can interpret di Lami's choice of the *Adoration of the Magi* for an altarpiece theme in Santa Maria Novella as an attempt for an alliance with the most powerful Florentine banking family, the Medici.[86]

Alessandro di Mariano di Vanni Filipepi, known as Sandro Botticelli, would be asked to create the work. Born in the neighborhood of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, he was the son and fourth child of the tanner Mariano. Botticelli's early career is a bit shrouded in mystery but some scholars conclude that he apprenticed in a goldsmith workshop as a *legatore di gioie* or gem setter. In the early 1460s, Botticelli began his internship with the renowned painter Fra Filippo Lippi and remained with him until 1467.[87] In the beginning of the 1470s, the artist found himself working for those within the Medici circle,[88] and by 1475 he regularly received commissions from the prominent Florentine family.[89]

The Santa Maria Novella altarpiece (Figure 15) shows the Holy Family elevated in the center of the work within the confines of a ruined structure. The crowd assembles in two groups around Mary and the Christ Child as the oldest Magus kneels and reaches towards the foot of Baby Jesus. The other two Magi kneel with their gifts in hand while those in their procession look upon the scene.

Figure 15
Sandro Botticelli
Adoration of the Magi
1475-1476 CE
Oil on panel

The work features multiple portraits of the Medici family. While Botticelli most likely included the patron as the elderly man pointing to himself, di Lami's family altarpiece is filled with various

figures of the Medici in prominent roles. The oldest Magus has been linked to Cosimo de'Medici while the second one in a red mantle has been recognized as Piero de'Medici. Cosimo's other son Giovanni has been identified as the third Magus who is intent on addressing the latter figure. The young man on the left who leans on his sword has been linked to Lorenzo de'Medici while the two figures to his left are seen as the humanists Pico della Mirandola and Angolo Poliziano.[90] Standing on the far right in the yellow garment is the artist Botticelli, gazing out of the picture.[91]

With so many inclusions of the Medici, one can infer that di Lami intended this public work to be a declaration of his allegiance to the family and their pursuits of power. By placing members of the Medici family in the roles of the Magi, the artist illustrates dynastic rule as well as the Medici's right to continue being in a position of authority. The theme of the *Adoration of the Magi* here has clearly been ripped from its religious roots almost entirely to fit the social and political schemes of Florence.

Lorenzo de Medici's Continuation of Rule and the Pazzi Conspiracy Aftermath

Lorenzo's reign witnessed growing resentment among prominent Florentine families against the Medici. The Medici's increasing stature in the city and outside world particularly upset the Pazzi, an old Florentine family who wanted the Medici's role as papal bankers. While their loan to Pope Sixtus IV led to Francesco de'Pazzi replacing Lorenzo de'Medici as Treasurer of the Holy See, the Pazzi were not yet satisfied. Thus, they planned with the support of Girolamo Riario, the nephew of Sixtus IV, and Jacopo Salviati, an enemy of the Medici, to assassinate Lorenzo de'Medici. When one attempt failed after Lorenzo declined an invitation to journey to Rome, another plan was drafted to attack both Giuliano and Lorenzo when they were most vulnerable. On April 26, 1478, Giuliano was stabbed to death during High Mass in the Florentine *duomo*. Lorenzo managed to escape the bloody scene with only a few wounds. With murder still fresh in the minds of the Florentines and Medici in particular, the conspirators that included Archbishop Salviati were found and hanged.

Trouble for the Medici had not ended though. Pope Sixtus IV, livid at the hanging of an archbishop, the detention of his nephew Riario, as well as the failed attempt to overthrow the Medici, declared

war on Lorenzo. By not specifically challenging Florence, the Pope hoped this would cause the Florentines to unite against Lorenzo and the general Medici. But Lorenzo would not be overthrown and declared his interests were the same as the city's. He traveled to Naples where his diplomatic work secured peace between the Pope and the Medici in 1480. Marriage alliances and artistic commissions helped solidify peace with Rome.[92] Due to Lorenzo's political panache throughout all these events, he returned to Florence with the nickname *Magnifico*.

Sandro Botticelli's Adoration of the Magi (National Gallery)

During this turbulent time of Medici sovereignty and eventual victory over those who questioned their position of power, Botticelli was asked again to create a work centered on the *Adoration of the Magi*. The painting (Figure 16) contains the Holy Family in the middle of the work underneath a dilapidated structure. Crowds disperse to two sides of the work as the oldest Magus reaches up to Baby Jesus with his crown to his side while another Magus displays reverence. He lifts up his gift as the donkey and bull look on. The third Magus, meanwhile, stands off to the left with his present held out towards the Christ Child. Boskovits

Figure 16
Sandro Botticelli
Adoration of the Magi
1478-1482 CE
Tempera and oil on panel

considers this work a more stylistically advanced version of the previously mentioned Botticelli *Adoration of the Magi* as well as notes similarities in poses and figural renderings. Thus, this commission remains significant due to the timing of the work in the context of the Medici family. It would remain

one of the last *Adoration* commissions while the Medici were still at their height of power.

The End of an Era: Downturns and Exile

While the family had managed to avert many situations in the past to maintain their influence, disaster loomed in the shadows. Caliginosity crept out of the corners in Florence with the arrival of Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican orator, in 1482. He soon got accustomed to his San Marco settings and preached against the Medici family. Savonarola continued to grow in influence with his preaching in the Florentine *duomo* in 1490 and obtained the position of Prior of San Marco in 1491.[93]

The darkness grew thicker in 1492 upon the death of Lorenzo de'Medici and the rise of his son, Piero, to power. Medici banks, still attempting to recover since the Pazzi Conspiracy, fell under Piero's watch. Weakened and with no popular, skilled leader to maintain the situation, the Medici witnessed Piero agreeing to give up certain Florentine territories to the invading army of Charles VIII, King of France in 1494. The actual government of Florence protested such an action, as they felt Piero de'Medici had no authority. But it was too late and the French army entered Florence. The family took flight from Florence as a mob ransacked their home and watched the last of the light spurred by their influence be snuffed out for what seemed for good.[94]

In December, a month after the Medici abandoned Florence, the Florentine government introduced a law that abolished the Medici councils for the creation of the Great Council. Besides this, the Dominican orator who had only arrived in Florence only over a decade earlier seized control of the city. He abolished the Compagnia dei Magi, one of the last vestiges of the Medici's power,[95] and held the last Feast of the Quattrocento where he and two other Dominican friars dressed as the Magi.[96] The Medici clearly no longer held the power within Florence and their own political tactics were being manipulated against them. While Savonarola's pursuit of setting up a theocratic democracy and papal criticism led to his excommunication[97] and eventual execution, his demise would not have the people of Florence calling the Medici back to power. Piero Soderini, instead, would rise up[98] and nearly twenty years would pass before the Medici would enter Florence again.

Return of the Medici and Changes in Public View

In 1512, Giovanni de'Medici, son of Lorenzo de'Medici and future Pope Leo X, persuaded Pope Julius II to reestablish the Medici's position in Florence. While the first Medici exile resulted with the Florentines calling back the family to the city, this time it took the Spanish army to persuade the Florentines to let the Medici return.[99] This use of arms against their own citizens changed the public perception of the family and their right to rule. While Giovanni obtained the position of pope one year after and Giulio de'Medici became a cardinal in 1514, the family's influence could not be coated in the same shrouds of piousness and city-oriented pride as it had with figures like Lorenzo. Resentment clung to the walls the Medici had persuaded a foreign army to tear through and its citizens would no longer view their patronage the same.

Thus, themes like the *Adoration of the Magi* that promoted the family as affluent, worldly, regal, and above all powerful fell out of usage. Their rule was now regarded as tyrannical and the male heads of the family no longer were popularly accepted as kings among the Florentines in events like the Epiphany or on artworks.

Besides this, the artistic styles among European courts had changed since the Medici ruled. Mannerism came into being after the 1520s and was a reaction to the High Renaissance artists' approach. Emphasis to idealized naturalism, for example, was discarded often for complex and artificial poses. With the role of artists elevated during the Renaissance, Mannerist artists pushed their technical and stylistic skills to the limit. They employed intense color choices juxtaposed against one another, astringed spatial relationships, and aberrations in scale.

Jacopo Pontormo's Adoration of the Magi

One can see this shift in stylistic intent and meaning of subject matter through the Mannerist artist Jacopo Pontormo's version of the once highly reproduced *Adoration* theme beloved by the Medici (Figure 17). Commissioned by the Florentine banker and Medici supporter Giovanmaria Menintendi, the work was intended to be part of an antechamber decoration for the patron's palace.[100] It was part of a cycle of biblical episodes that pertain to the Epiphany, which were painted by multiple artists.[101] The work shows a crowd of people processing

towards the stable structure housing the Holy Family. The oldest Magus kneels awkwardly towards Baby Jesus, who seems to squirm in his mother's arms as she hunches over to show him off. The other Magi stand elsewhere with their gifts and seem more intent on mingling than demonstrating their deference.

Figure 17
Jacopo Pontormo
Adoration of the Magi
1519-1520 CE
Oil on panel

The Medici emerged from the Mugello with intent to make a place for themselves in the Florentine scene. Prospering in banking realm, the family eventually sought to strip their current class connotation for regal-like stature in a republic state. Simple alliances or maintaining high political positions

One figure of the crowd holds his hat as he leans in a contrived pose to speak with the woman who has been identified as a Hebrew midwife. While Diane Kunzelman states the procession of people journeying from afar signifies "the renewed splendor of the dynasty again ruling over Florence"[102], the lack of Medici symbolism or figures seems to negate such an ideal. While she is accurate in her idea that this showed some sort of loyalty to the prominent Florentine banking family, the artist's obvious focus with technical and stylistic over including direct Medici symbols or family figures lessens the intensity of the patron's intent, especially in comparison to ones like Guaspare di Zanobi di Lami's commission. The *Adoration of the Magi* had simply fallen out of fashion for the time of re-established Medici rule and no longer held the same intense meaning to the family or those who viewed it.

would not alone achieve them such a status. So with this in mind, the family looked to Christianity and manipulated the theme of the *Adoration of the Magi* to elevate themselves within their city. They made it a power icon reflecting regality, worldliness, piety, as well as ascendancy and would commission its rendering whenever they felt the need to emphasize their status. But the usage of such an image fell out of favor with the family after the Medici were exiled for the second time from Florence. The emergence of Mannerism as well as the family's return to Florence through military means changed the art associated with the Medici. They were no longer able to associate themselves with the Three Kings and had to look towards other means of justifying as well as promoting their rule.

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"Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?":
The Story Behind the Story of Little Red Riding Hood

Amy Walp

Once upon a time, in a land far, far away, the stories that became our modern "fairy tales" were taking shape. Factors, such as culture, fears, and ideals influenced the way that these stories were told. As societies changed, so did the stories, and eventually these narratives evolved into the familiar modern versions. A single fairy tale can often tell a whole other story, one that can be used as a window to the past. To see these other stories, aspects of the narrative, such as characters, theme, symbolism and language must be examined. In this paper I argue that by taking a closer look at the story of *Little Red Riding Hood* it is possible to trace the evolution of one of our most familiar fairy tales, as well as uncover the wealth of historical and sociological information that lies beneath the surface of this seemingly simple child's yarn.

Like most fairy tales, *Little Red Riding Hood* began life as oral tradition. As with most folklore, it is difficult to pinpoint the story's exact origins. For as long as human society has existed, stories have been told, and scholars believe that the themes that permeate the fairy tales of today have been in existence for centuries. While we may not know how a particular story came to be, "according to Father W. Schmidt's theory: *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, we have information to the effect that certain themes of tales go as far back as 25,000 years before Christ, practically unaltered."[1] This could explain how versions of the *Little Red Riding Hood* story exist in several different parts of the world, including Europe, Africa, and Asia. It is often argued that the familiar fairy tales have roots in the myths and legends of primeval human culture, and "for a long time, anthropologists, folklorists, and historians maintained that the plot of *Little Red Riding Hood* had been derived from ancient myths about the sunrise and sunset."[2] This view likens the girl to the "light" who travels to the west, then is consumed by the "dark," or the evil wolf. While the inspiration and origin of the *Little Red Riding Hood* story is up for debate, there is some documentary evidence supporting its existence at least as far back as the eleventh century. *The Richly Laden Ship*, or *Fecunda ratis* in Latin, is a poem written by Egbert of Liége between 1022 and 1024, and a section of this larger work bears a striking resemblance to the *Little Red Riding Hood* tale. The protagonist is a little girl in a red hood that was meant to be a meal for wolves. Jan M. Ziolkowski points out that "although Egbert drew extensively on the Bible and patristic writings, he also relied heavily, by his own admission, on the rich oral traditions that circulated in his region, a border zone between Germanic and Romance language and culture groups."[3] The consensus among folklorists is that the basis of the *Little Red Riding Hood* that we are familiar with today "developed in an oral tradition during the late Middle Ages, largely in France, Tyrol, and northern Italy..."[4] There, over time, folklorists have been able to gather evidence for several different versions of the tale.

While the fairy tales that we are familiar with are children's stories, the original versions of these fables, as well as the messages that they conveyed, were meant for adults and children alike. As sources of entertainment for a more mature audience, these stories contained violence, sexual situations, and other aspects that were not in the later versions. For example, there is an early version of the *Little Red Riding Hood* story from France that is known as *The Grandmother*. The wolf is actually a *bzou*, or werewolf. There is a scene where the *bzou*, disguised as the grandmother, tricks the girl into consuming parts of her actual grandmother in an act of unwitting cannibalism. Another disturbing portion of this story is a "striptease" that the *bzou* insists the girl perform before getting into bed with him. Also, after the being cornered by the *bzou*, the girl cleverly escapes by feigning the need to relieve herself. These scenes were omitted in later versions of the story. This is a demonstration of how the attitudes of society, as well as their sense of propriety, changed.

The oral versions of the narrative also

illustrate the common concerns of the societies through which they passed. These stories have the common theme of a warning tale. Realistically, it was unsafe for children to travel in the woods. They really could be attacked by animals, or even other people. Jack Zipes states in his book, *The Trials & Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood: Versions of the Tale in a Sociocultural Context*, that "one of the most common European warning tales (*Schreckmärchen or Warnmärchen*) in the Middle Ages involved hostile forces threatening children who were without protection."[5] The *Little Red Riding Hood* story's warning against evil has always been important, for there has always been "evil" present about which to warn people.

The witchcraft and werewolf craze that gripped Europe in the sixteenth century had an influence on the audience that listened to and passed on the early accounts of the story. The most obvious evidence for this is that the antagonist of the narrative is a werewolf. This is the explanation for why the girl does not recognize him in her Grandmother's bed. Rather than being the nightgown-clad canine depicted in more recent adaptations, this fellow was a shape shifter. Also, the sexual situations that he instigated would have been typical for a werewolf. During this time, it was believed that "werewolves manifested aberrant, fruitless sexuality,"[6] and any sex act that did not result in procreation was considered unnatural. The *bzou* in the story wants to "eat" the girl, and "the sexual connotations suggested in the act of eating the girl would have implied an oral sex act that most likely would have been considered so unnatural and filthy as to only be fit for devilish enjoyment."[7]

The character of the Grandmother also demonstrates some traits associated with witchcraft. The fact that she was an elderly woman living alone on the outskirts of society must be noted. During the witchcraft craze, a woman in this position was in danger because "she might be scorned, tormented, or even burned as a witch, merely for being intelligent and having the knowledge of a long life at her disposal."[8] Also, in their article "Little Red Riding Hood: Werewolf and Prostitute," scholars Richard Chase Jr. and David Teasley indicate that the wolf is familiar with where the grandmother lives in the tales, because he specifically asks the girl which path she is going to take to her house. This leads to the assumption that the wolf has a prior relationship with the grandmother, possibly even a sexual one. This sexual relationship is akin to an unnatural union

with a demon; a sure indicator of witchcraft. If the grandmother was a witch, then she would pass that trait on to the girl. Witchcraft was believed to have been passed down the generations through female lineage. The consumption of the grandmother's flesh would also be a vehicle for the transference of her so-called "witchiness." The girl would then "inherit damnation" from her grandmother.[9]

Another interesting symbol associated with witchcraft that is found in early versions, including *The Grandmother*, is the cat that admonishes the girl. When she is tricked into cannibalizing her grandmother, a small cat scolds "For shame! The slut is eating her grandmother's flesh and drinking her grandmother's blood."[10] Some scholars believe that the cat is a symbol of witchcraft, representing a witch's familiar. This is significant considering the unnatural act for which the cat is scolding the girl. Chase and Teasley believe that the presence of the cat in addition to the girl's actions clearly denote witchcraft. They argue that "Red Riding Hood engages in anti-Christian acts including sexual immorality, cannibalism of a family member, and the mockery of the mass, all while she is in possession of a demon familiar."[11] One could take a different approach and view the cat as yet another sexual symbol contained in the story of *Little Red Riding Hood*. Robert Darnton, author of *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, makes the point that cats are often used as symbols of sexuality, and that *"le chat, la chatte,* [and] *le minet* mean the same thing in French slang as 'pussy' does in English, and they have served as vulgarities for centuries."[12] The cat is especially synonymous with female sexuality. Could it be significant that the cat is addressing the young female in the story? This is, perhaps, the girl confronting her own burgeoning sexuality and questioning the acts that seem so natural to her.

There was also other significant symbolism present in early depictions of the tale. Storytellers, unwittingly or not, included symbols into their stories about what was important to their culture at the time. Different symbols existed in different versions, and while some have persisted others have been taken out. Chase and Teasley point out that "folklorists have argued that a tale's symbolic features are retained and transmitted through the centuries because they remain meaningful to their users and because they refer to features of the real world as experienced by members of the storytelling communities. If this were not the case, tales would

have no function and would be forgotten."[13]

The cannibalistic consumption of the grandmother's flesh in the early versions of the *Little Red Riding Hood* stories is symbolic of more than just witchcraft. It also symbolizes the rising of the new generations to replace the old. Since the grandmother is past her childbearing years she is replaced by her granddaughter as a fertile sexual being. For instance, when the wolf eats the grandmother there is not sexual imagery, because "it is not stated that she is that she is physically attractive or that she is in bed naked with a wolf."[14] In symbolic terms the grandmother in the tale is much more than a snack for a hungry wolf, she represents the generational conflicts that would have been a common domestic concern at the time. If a widowed mother-in-law was ousted from her domestic authority by her son's wife, she was in danger of becoming one of the aforementioned women who lived alone on the outskirts of society.

Another interesting symbol in *The Grandmother* version of *Little Red Riding Hood* is the Path of Pins. When the *bzou* asks the girl what path she was going to take to her grandmother's house, in some versions she replies the "Path of Pins." The pin has multiple symbolic meanings when related to this tale. Pins relate to the theme of witchcraft because they were used to check for the witch's mark. Chase and Teasley explain that "since the mark was a blemish on the skin that was insensitive, the discovery of the mark through the use of pin pricks became a standard feature of witch hunting."[15] There is also a more widely accepted symbolic meaning of the Path of Pins. Pins were a symbol of a girls passing into maidenhood. In rural France common girls were sent to spend the winter with a seamstress when they started puberty. In her article, "The Path of Needles or Pins: Little Red Riding Hood," Terri Winding tells of this being a rite of passage for the girls, and the seamstresses who mentored them said that "they have been gathering pins."[16] After the winter with the seamstress, and when they had turned fifteen, the girls officially entered their maidenhood, and were free to have male callers. Winding states that "it was by offering them dozens of pins that the boys formerly paid court to girls; it was by throwing pins into fountains that girls assured themselves a sweetheart."[17] By choosing this path Little Red Riding Hood is in essence choosing the innocence of maidenhood and as a result her virtue.

The girl in *Little Red Riding Hood* does not choose to take the Path of Pins in every version of the story. Like the Path of Pins, the Path of Needles represents another phase in the sexual development of young women. Needles are a symbol of sexual maturity, and the image of a needle being threaded illustrates this implicitly. Winding also makes the point that "in some parts of Europe, prostitutes once wore needles on their sleeves to advertise their profession."[18] When the girl chooses to take this path she is symbolically choosing to become a sexually active and aware being. Then the question becomes whether or not she is really a victim of the seductive wolf's advances or a willing participant in the lascivious activities.

PETIT CHAPERON
ROUGE.
CONTE.

L estoit une fois une petite fille de Village, la plus jolie qu'on eut sçû voir;

Figure 1.Illustration from a version of Perrault's *Le Petite Chaperon Rouge*[19]

Eventually the oral traditions inspired writers to record versions of *Little Red Riding Hood*, and the authors of these narratives added their own touches. The first to publish a version of the story was Charles Perrault. In 1697 his version, *Le Petite Chaperon Rouge* was published as part of his work, the *Tales of Mother Goose*. Perrault was very much a part of the salon culture during Louis XIV's reign, and he wrote down these tales to amuse aristocratic audiences, reworking them to serve this purpose. Lydie Jean asserts, in her article "Charles Perrault's Paradox: How Aristocratic Fairy Tales Became Synonymous with Folklore Conservation," that "Perrault remade popular style by keeping the structure of the stories and some typical phrases, and he created a sense of belonging with intellectuals and aristocrats by using precious vocabulary."[20] Perrault omitted some of the "earthier" aspects of the story, such as the cannibalism, the striptease, and the girl's need to relieve herself. He did this to appeal to the more sophisticated tastes of the aristocratic

audiences, who felt themselves "above" this type of commonality. The ending of Perrault's story was also much darker, with the girl actually being eaten by the wolf.

Perrault's story was still a type of warning tale, but it was not a warning of the same type of danger that was demonstrated in the previous versions. He equated the trickery of the wolf in his story to the fast talking men who ply women with charm. It must be noted that Perrault's villain is an actual wolf, not a werewolf. This new wolf however had an evil of his own. He was cast in the role of a seducer. This was an especially important warning for the young ladies, whose value was placed on their virginities. The character of the wolf in *Little Red Riding Hood* has long been associated with male lust. Scholar Sharon P. Johnson states that "by choosing a wolf to represent masculine sexuality, the wolf's brutality conflates with a male's propensity for violence. Moreover, the wolf's animality implies that male behavior also may be guided by instincts instead of reason."[21] The link between wolves and sexuality was well established at this time. Catherine Orenstein tells, in her book *Little Red Riding Hood Uncloaked: Sex, Morality, and the Evolution of a Fairy Tale*, that, "in the common slang of the day, even in the scholarly works of Charles Perrault, when a girl lost her virginity it was said that *ell avoit vû le loup* – 'she'd seen the wolf.'"[22]

These ideas are a reflection of French jurisprudence in the seventeenth century. According to Johnson "Perrault was a lawyer, an officer, and a member of the Académie Française during Louis XIV's reign."[23] He would have been familiar with the workings of the justice system of the time, and undoubtedly this would have influenced his world view. The situation that the girl in his *Le Petite Chaperon Rouge* found herself in closely resembled the crime of traditional rape, or even *rapt de séduction*. *Rapt de séduction* was an instance where the rape was perpetrated by a seducer. Women were considered partially responsible for the crimes of rape and *rapt*, and the female nature was believed to be weak and prone to sin. Johnson states in her article "The Toleration and Erotization of Rape: Interpreting Charles Perrault's *Le Petite Chaperon Rouge* within Seventeenth and Eighteenth- century French Jurisprudence," that it was "inferred that women desire to be raped; men give women what they want and thus are not guilty."[24] Male lust was often believed to be an instinct, much like the sinful nature of the female. A man's desire was considered

the motivation for these crimes, and coupled with the woman's so-called "desire to be raped," the severity of rape was downplayed. Men often were not punished for rape and "judges determined the perpetrator's guilt based on their interpretation of the female's behaviors."[25] A woman could be found responsible if she did not cry loud enough, if she was dressed inappropriately, if she was in the wrong place, or even if she was sufficiently beautiful to incite lust. The female was therefore deserving of this "crime of love." French jurisprudence of Perrault's time showed a distinct lack of justice for the female victims of rape and *rapt*. Perrault's *Le Petite Chaperon Rouge* mirrors this lack of justice for female victims when the girl is eaten by the wolf. The wolf, or male seducer, is not punished at all. It was the wolf's animal instinct (a type of lust, or hunger) that drove his actions, while the girl was guilty of enticing him with the attractiveness of her flesh.

Figure 2. Illustration by Gustave Doré for Perrault's *Le Petite Chaperon Rouge*.[26]

The story of *Little Red Riding Hood* continued to evolve after Charles Perrault's adaptation. The Brothers Grimm published yet another version of this tale in 1812 in their *Kinder-und Hausmärchen* under the title of *Rotkappchen*. While they claimed to have gathered the tales directly from the German countryside, in reality the Grimms are believed to have been told the story of *Little Red Riding Hood* by one of their middle class friends of French Huguenot blood, Marie Hassenpflug. The Grimms were not concerned about being true to the original oral traditions or Perrault's *Le Petite Chaperon Rouge*. They regularly "sanitized" the folklore they collected to

fit Victorian standards of decency. They made the girl into an innocent, and added a woodsman to save her at the end of the story. In some versions of the Grimm's tales "the hunter-woodsman is not just father-like; he actually *is* her father."[27] This male savior was added to the story to rescue the hapless females from their own bad decisions, because attitudes of the time were that women *needed* male protectors. Even though Perrault and the Brothers Grimm deviated from the original oral traditions, they helped to keep the story of *Little Red Riding Hood* alive throughout the ages.

Figure 3. Illustration from an 1823 version of Little Red Riding Hood[28]

Along with the evolution of the story, the character of Little Red Riding Hood herself has evolved to fit the ideals of the time. There are variations in her actions and the symbolism associated with her, and each version of the story, while keeping the same basic themes, differ in the treatment of this character. She is much more than the little girl that she seems to be at first glance. Robert Darnton commented on this character's transformation over time by stating, "she changed her character considerably as she passed from French peasantry to Perrault's nursery, into print, across the Rhine, back into an oral tradition but this time as part of the Huguenot diaspora, and back in to book form but now as a product of the Teutonic forest rather than the village hearths of the Old Regime in France."[29]

The girl in the tale has been made virginal or promiscuous, depending on the version of *Little Red Riding Hood*, and beyond that, her actions, and even her attire can be analyzed for symbols. Her willingness to acquiesce to the wolf's very

ungrandmother-like behavior has been taken to symbolize her promiscuity, while her innocence to the point of being blind to her peril can symbolize her virginal state. The girl's age in the tales ranges from a child of five to a girl in the full bloom of puberty. There are symbols pertaining to the maturation of the girl throughout the tales. Her escape from the *bzou* in *The Grandmother* while tied to the umbilical-esque thread is symbolic of her rebirth from the "darkness." This birth symbolism is furthered by a version of the tale in which the girl escapes the wolf by crossing a river with the aid of laundresses. Francisco Vaz da Silva believes that "this is significant because, in traditional village life, washerwomen would aid in giving birth and preparing the dead bodies for burial."[30] The red attire worn by the girl is often said to symbolize menstruation, and the flowers that she gathers on the way to her grandmother's house are symbolic as well, because "a girl picking flowers is then, according to traditional conceptions, a metaphor of puberty – for the pubescent girl is 'in flower.'"[31] There are also references to the girl's sexual maturity. When the girl removes her clothing before the wolf, and then burns them as instructed, the burnt clothing is symbolic of her virginity – they are unrecoverable once lost.[32]

Figure 4. Post card by Carlos Aponte.[33]

Below the surface of *Little Red Riding Hood*, there is a story behind the story. It was not always the children's tale with which we are familiar, warning children not to talk to strangers, or to always heed their parents. The original versions of the story were rife with violence and sexual

symbolism fit to entertain and appeal to adults. Red was not the dimpled, innocent little girl that is pictured in storybooks; rather, she was the performer of a striptease for her lupine admirer. The story had aspects of cannibalism, witchcraft, and uncontrollable male lust. *Little Red Riding Hood*

was bent to fit the norms of society over time, and continues to evolve today, with modern feminist versions depicting the girl saving herself by pulling a gun from her basket. As it has in the past, *Little Red Riding Hood* will continue to change and live on, happily ever after.

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Appendix

Selection from Egbert of Liége larger work The Richly Laden Ship or Fecunda ratis (translation from Latin):

"About a Girl Saved By Wolf Cubs"

What I have to relate, country folks can tell along with me,

2 and it is not so much marvelous as it is quite true to believe. A certain man took up a girl from the sacred font

4 and gave her a tunic woven from red wool; sacred Pentecost was [the day] of her baptism.

6 The girl, now five years old goes out at sunrise, footloose and heedless of peril.

8 A wolf attacked her, went to its woodland lair, took her as booty to its cubs, and left her to eaten.

10 They approached her at once and, since they were unable to harm her, began, free from all their ferocity, to caress her head.

12 "Do not damage this tunic, mice," the lisping little girl said, "which my godfather gave me when he took me from the font!"

14 God, their creator, sooths untame souls.[34]

The Grandmother

There was a woman who had made some bread. She said to her daughter, "Go and carry a hot loaf and a bottle of milk to your grandmother."

So the little girl set forth. Where the two paths crossed she met the bzou [werewolf], who said to her, "Where are you going?"

"I am carrying a hot loaf and a bottle of milk to my grandmother."

"Which path are you taking?" said the bzou. "The one of needles or the one of pins?"

"The one of needles," said the little girl.

"Good! I am taking the one of pins."

The little girl entertained herself by gathering needles.

The bzou arrived at the grandmother's house and killed her. He put some of her flesh in the pantry, and a bottle of her blood on the shelf.

The little girl arrived and knocked at the door. "Push on the door," said the bzou. "It is blocked with a pail of water."

"Good day, grandmother. I have brought you a hot loaf and a bottle of milk."

"Put it in the pantry, my child. Take some of the meat that is there, and the bottle of wine that is on the shelf."

While she was eating, a little cat that was there said, "For shame! The slut is eating her grandmother's flesh and drinking her grandmother's blood."

"Get undressed, my child," said the bzou, and come to bed with me."

"Where should I put my apron?"

"Throw it on the fire. You won't need it anymore."

And for all her clothes – her bodice, her dress, her petticoat, and her shoes and stockings – she asked where she should put them, and the wolf replied,

"Throw them into the fire, my child. You won't need them anymore."

When she had gone to bed the little girl said, "Oh grandmother, how hairy you are!"

"The better to keep myself warm, my child."

"Oh, grandmother, what long nails you have!"

"The better to scratch myself with, my child!"

"Oh, grandmother, what big shoulders you have!"

"The better to carry firewood with, my child!"

"Oh, grandmother, what big ears you have!"

"The better to hear you with, my child!"

"Oh, grandmother, what a big nose you have!"

"The better to take my tobacco with, my child!"

"Oh, grandmother, what a big mouth you have!"

"The better to eat you with, my child!"

"Oh, grandmother, I have to do it outside!"
"Do it in the bed, my child!"

"Oh no, grandmother, I really have to do it outside."

"All right, but don't take too long."

The bzou tied a woolen thread to her foot and let her go. As soon as the little girl was outside she tied the end of the thread to a plum tree in the yard.

The bzou grew impatient and said, "Are you doing a load? Are you doing a load?"

Not hearing anyone reply, he jumped out of bed and hurried after the little girl, who had escaped. He followed her, but he arrived at her home just as she went inside.[35]

Moral (in the form of a poem) from the end of Charles Perrault's *Le Petite Chaperon Rouge* (literal translation from the original French.)

> As one can see by this, children,
> especially pretty young girls
> well bred and refined
> would do well not to listen to
> just anyone
> in which case it would be no
> strange thing
> if a wolf should eat them.
> I say wolf, because all wolves
> are not the same sort:
> some of them are quite charming,
> not loud or rough at all,
> cajoling sweet-talkers who
> follow young ladies
> right into their homes, right
> to their bedsides.
> But alas! Everyone knows these
> smooth wolves
> are the most dangerous of all![36]

Scene from the Brothers Grimm version of *Little Red Riding Hood* where the huntsman comes to the rescue:

Then he went into the room, and walked up to the bed, and saw the wolf lying there. "At last I find you, you old sinner!" said he; "I have been looking for you for a long time."

And he made up his mind that the wolf had swallowed the grandmother whole, and that she might yet be saved. So he did not fire, but took a pair of shears and began to slit up the wolf's body. When he made a few snips Little Red Riding Hood appeared, and after a few more snips she jumped out and cried, "Oh dear, how frightened I have been! It is so dark inside the wolf." And then out came the old grandmother, still living and breathing. But Little Red Riding Hood went and quickly fetched some large stones, with which she filled the wolf's body, so that when he waked up, and was going to rush away, the stones were so heavy that he sank down and fell dead.[37]

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A Heretical Economy: The Economic Incentives for Heresyin the Languedoc

Adam Matthews

The first quarter of the thirteenth century saw the influx of northern crusaders into the Languedoc region of Southern France to remove violently the heretical threat posed by a dualistic sect known as the Cathars. The rise of this heretical movement was not a thirteenth century phenomenon, but one that had been shaped and developed in reaction against economic changes which had been redefining the medieval social structure since the mid-eleventh century. In essence, the Cathar heresy was brought on by the new and serious changes in the developing profit economy of the second feudal age, c.1050-1300.[1] The people of the Languedoc perceived these changes as rooted in the sins of avarice and greed, and they sought to reject them by embracing Catharism. This economic change did not act independently to facilitate heresy, but was aided by secular and ecclesiastical (political) decentralization in the Languedoc. Therefore, allowing for the economic abuses to continue, and left the heresy to run unchecked. The greed and avarice brought on by the changing economy was able to run unregulated in such a decentralized atmosphere. The developing world of the second feudal age was characterized by serious ecclesiastical corruption and abuses, stemming from materialism and avarice. These concepts were quite visible and helped push the advent of popular heresy, which was undermining the new culture created by the profit economy.

Most of the primary source evidence was written by members of the Church. Very few of these sources portray the Cathars in a positive light. Due to their aesthetic, and mobile nature, they did not make the extensive chronicles and records that their orthodox rivals did, therefore, we have very little to work with in terms of understanding the Cathars' behavior and mentality.[2] This is especially true of their economic viewpoints, however, from examination of the orthodox sources and sorting through the bias, it is possible to find clues which provide insight into their mindset. In addition,

we must remember that the Cathar movement branched off from the traditional orthodox culture. Making it useful to examine the moral beliefs of the general medieval society during the Gregorian reform movement of the eleventh century (which was the period in which the organized version of the heresy originated. Thus it is a cultural product of the Gregorian reforms.) These beliefs can be compared and weighed against Cathar actions and doctrine to determine if the Cathars would have endorsed or discredited them. For example, the Cathars were very concerned with the lives and examples of Christ's apostles.[3] They sought to emulate them. If we can judge a moral tenant, such as asceticism, to be apostolic in nature, then it would be acceptable to consider it a possible Cathar quality as well. From our knowledge of the perceived concern over economic corruption and abuse of the second feudal age and the qualities of Catharism; it can be determined that the Cathar heresy and the medieval economy were essentially linked as mutually responding ideologies.

Background: The Cathar Identity

The Cathars (also commonly referred to as the Albigensians) were a heretical dualistic sect prevalent in the Languedoc[4], and northern Italy[5] although they were also known in the Rhineland. This movement gained force and momentum in the eleventh century and would not cease to be a threat to orthodoxy until the fourteenth century. The Cathars essentially believed in two deities locked in constant opposition to one another: the evil god governed the material world, sex and human bodies and the good god who had created human souls.[6] The term Cathars is a Greek word meaning pure ones.[7] The definition of this word encapsulates the essence of the Cathar beliefs of asceticism and anti-materialism. Purity is a fundamental motivation for these beliefs. This was achieved through denying the material world and seeking conjunction with the good god, or Christ.

The Cathar notion of purity came in the form of rejecting the physical world and living to emphasize the importance of the soul, which was the legacy of the good god. The impure was the physical world, in which profit economics certainly played a role. Their dualistic doctrine has brought some historians to question the nature of the heresy, and where it might fit in the broader scope of European religions. Some do not think that it should be categorized as Christianity, while others believe that it is a reinterpretation of common Christian beliefs.[8] Regardless of their modern categorization, the Cathars identified themselves with the apostles of Christ.

The Economic Changes and the General Ills of Avarice, Usury, and Greed

Marc Bloch proposed a division in the central middle ages which effectively split the period into two separate feudal ages. These two periods contrast from one another in their economic mentalities, brought on by a dramatic increase in population during the middle of the eleventh century.[9] The second feudal age was characterized by the growth of a new economic atmosphere which was fundamentally different than that of the first feudal age. The later was a world in which communities were relatively self-sufficient, with low populations and limited trade. This changed in the second feudal age, which saw increased interdependence of regions due to specialization, larger agricultural yields, a population explosion and the development of long distance trade.[10] In addition, hard currency (coinage) also began to play a crucial role in commerce.[11] The Cathar heresy can be considered as a fundamentally second feudal age phenomenon, due to its solidarity in rejection to the profit economy based on its own perception of apostolic morality.

The moral attitude of medieval society in the west was fundamentally changed by the injection of coinage into the economic system. Lester K. Little explains how, "money was seen as an instrument of exchange that had devil-like, magical powers of luring people and then corrupting them. The traditional theological programme of the virtues and vices invested in avarice some of these same powers."[12] Little is referring to the corruption power of profit and the moral sins associated with it. The new economic dynamic did not leave theology behind. Theology would have to change and mold to keep up with economic progression. The quote also shows that money was increasingly being connected with the sins of avarice and greed. From the beginning, profit was considered morally dangerous, and this certainly did not abate with time. The late thirteenth century theological writer, Thomas Aquinas, wrote extensively on the dangers of usury and profit in relation to sin.[13] Realistically the Cathars probably did not read Aquinas, but his work does show us that even in orthodox culture there was a continual concern with economic sin for several hundred years, and an effort to harmonize new economic realities and Christian morality. Both the Cathars and the orthodox clergy sought to deal with this problem, yet the Cathars went to the extreme of complete profit rejection. The Cathars were a movement which was essentially encapsulated in a larger medieval reaction to the advent of new economic conditions. Therefore, both the periods before and after, the Albigensian Crusade saw the intense demonization of avarice from both orthodox and Cathar leaders. This heightened concern indicates that the regional economies of the period had seen considerable growth and development by the thirteenth century. It was certainly enough to require a need for the control of avarice. The Languedoc, in particular, had seen a great expansion of its economic activity and the incorporation of profit. John Hine Mundy explains this as evident from the example of Toulouse, "population statistics, evidence of physical enlargement and the construction for facilities for cult, charity, commerce, education and traffic."[14] Toulouse itself experienced around three hundred years of solid growth cumulating in the first third of the fourteenth century.[15] It is reasonable to assume that these economic changes might have reshaped the cultural and societal realities for the people of Toulouse and created an environment prone to accept the Cathar belief system.

The extent to which avarice's characteristics can be seen are visible in medieval art. Sin is personified and given human form, perhaps as a symbol of its connection. Little describes the medieval image of avarice as a "crouching figure, his distorted mouth open, at the ready to devour."[16] He goes on to explain how Pope Innocent III saw Hell as related in character to avarice.[17] Such a comment directly from the papacy explains that anxiety over the changing economy and its effects on religious morality permeated even the highest levels of the clergy. The Church was aware of this, but laypeople were as well. The Cathars sought to take advantage

of the visibility of Church abuses and use this to their advantage. Bernard of Gui describes the Cathar claims, "Moreover they talk to the laity of the evil lives of the clerks and prelates of the Roman Church, pointing out and setting forth their pride, cupidity, avarice, and uncleanness of life."[18] Such ideas were probably the sort of arguments which would have been made by the Cathar perfects as they preached throughout the Languedoc. Perhaps the people would have recognized the abuses the more the Cathars brought attention to them. The Cathar preaching had lasted for nearly a century and a half by the time of the Albigensian Crusade. Its roots laid in the dynamic of the Gregorian reforms.

R.I. Moore explains how popular heresy did not rise until after the Gregorian reforms of the eleventh century.[19] This was a period when the whole society was changing, not only the Cathars.[20] It is also interesting to note that this period was the same as the advent of the profit economy. Therefore, in terms of the preoccupation the art and primary sources show with economic sin, the Cathar heresy was a response to the new economy.

Society tended to record economic dealings in varying degrees of detail. A development, such as this, was facilitated by a rise in literacy among the merchant class. This economic diligence was a wise business practice, but it has inadvertently aided historians in seeing what sorts of interactions and abuses characterized the period. This abundance of evidence also unintentionally shows the moral character of the culture and how this crumbling economic morality (avarice, usury, greed, pride) might have affected the Cathars. These elements of sin and the economic repercussions can be seen in the example of Lucca.

The city of Lucca saw such abuses that it was needed to post an inscription on the outside of the Church of St. Martin so that people in the market square outside the Cathedral would take note of it. The inscription states its purpose, "so that all men can exchange, sell, and buy with confidence."[21] The inscription further warns that if money changers and spice dealers wish to trade in the market place they must take the inscription's oath.[22] The inscription might at first support a positive moral view of medieval Lucca, but the important question in regard to this source is why was it needed? It seems likely that this particular trading center was having serious issues with declining economic morality in its citizen's business dealings and had to take such measures to prevent a loss of business to the town.

This loss of economic confidence could have helped merchants and others to better resonate with the Cathar message. They might have used the Cathar doctrine of asceticism and humility to embody their disgust with the profit economy. Thus, the general trend which the above examples express is one of a declining economic morality and a growth of urban avarice and greed. A society such as this one must have certainly looked favorable to those wishing to lead an apostolic life.

The Abuses of Toulouse

The major European centers of commercial wealth were often the areas likely to have the most established forms of Catharism.[23] This is perhaps because developing urban centers were the ones which would have had to deal with serious economic moral questions which may not have been present before the financial growth. Catharism was in a good position to provide these answers. Toulouse itself was a city which had experienced growth throughout the twelfth century[24], which provides an important example for the economic study of the Cathars. The city was simultaneously a center for clerical and economic corruption and had been a city long prone to heresy. Urban centers were often the sources of the worst abuse, or at least the most visible. In fact, Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay commented on heresy and Toulouse, "this was a place which, since its foundation, had rarely if ever been free of this detestable plague."[25] Troubadour and poet, William of Tudela mentions the pope's description of Toulouse as a city of the "ungodly" (though he does not specify how) and that armies should be sent against it.[26]

John H. Mundy explores a particular series of cases which display the character of Toulouse's changing social order. The economic power of the count had declined prior to the Albigensian Crusade, while the city counsuls controlled much of the economy. The Gregorian reforms of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries coincided with changes in the economy of the city. They also saw the expansion of major monastic houses. One such house was that of Cluny, the abbey of Moissac in particular, which began to aggressively expand its influence into the county of Toulouse during the reform period.[27] By the mid-twelfth century this had created a major sense of monastic competition between the monks of Moissac, the parishes of Toulouse, and the rising military orders. They were

essentially competing over the economic privileges associated with religious authority in the city and its environs. The way in which these houses acquired money was through a gift based economy (characteristic of the first feudal age,) while the way in which they used this capital was to gain profit (an element of the second feudal age.) As an example, 800 Toulousan shillings were paid by the parish of Daurade to the Hospitallers to gain partial control of the Dalbade church and other notable privileges; the bishop of Toulouse was instrumental in organizing and mediating this transaction.[28] This was a visible transaction of wealth within the Church. This shows division in the Church by the exchange of capital from one section of the Church to another. For the medieval people of the Languedoc, such practices would have shown the Church to be involved in the petty material concerns of the economic world while neglecting their spiritual responsibilities. The Church did not appear as a collective whole in this sense. It closer resembled merchants buying and selling goods for economic gain.

Such a transaction was very common during this atmosphere of competition. In essence, it shows that the institutions of the church were active participants in the profit economy. Avarice might be seen in another example. Multiple monastic houses competed over the right of burial, due to the lucrative financial profit involved with the ceremony.[29] Certain monastic houses were even involved in usury. The Hospitillar house of Roncesvalles in Toulouse owed a significant amount of money to Jews as a result of usury.[30] If reform-minded ecclesiastics or conservative laymen saw such displays of outward avarice they might interpret this as a major contradiction on the part of the clergy who were supposed to be moral leaders. Those who were supposed to be protecting the people from sin were deeply involved in it. This would certainly explain the intense anti-clericalism characteristic of the Albigensian movement. Perhaps they were directly reacting to the abuses seen in Toulouse. Such cases would certainly boost support for the Cathar message, and explain why a substantial community of Cathars would be established in Toulouse by the time of the Albigensian Crusade. It is thus easy to conclude that such ecclesiastical corruption and monastic investments might be associated with the already negative aspects of the profit economy. Laypeople would see the monks as more active in gaining capital than performing their social function of

prayer.

The message we are given by crusader forces is one of a relatively large Cathar presence in Toulouse. Malcolm Barber describes an anonymous source as explaining that the issue of heresy in Toulouse was so severe, that the crusader, Foucaud of Berzy, in 1218, suggested that they should destroy the city and kill all those living there to start anew with a 'New Toulouse'.[31] A detailed list of Cathars in the city comes from Renaud of Montpellier who lists "between 219 and 222" heads of heretical families, which provides an estimate of seven hundred Cathars, or Cathar sympathizers.[32] This is a large number of Cathars, but only a fraction of the population. It is important to note that certainly not everyone in the city was a Cathar, which demonstrates that Foucaud was not eager to save the orthodox citizens of Toulouse. Perhaps the orthodox economic and religious abuses were severe enough to be recognized outside of the Toulousan community with considerable negativity. The Song of the Cathars, states that Simon de Montfort (appointed leader of the Albigensian Crusade) had intended on destroying the city.[33] One point which can be drawn from this is that Montfort saw severe enough moral problems with the city that even its orthodox community could not be saved.

Dualist Reaction to the Profit Economy: Resistance to a Failing Morality --- Asceticism and Anti-Clericalism

Dualism was an organic philosophy. It could mold and re-shape itself to better fit the culture which had embraced it. In the case of the Cathars dualism was able to comfort them from the rising threat posed by the changing economy. The Cathars reacted to the perceived ills of Toulouse and other urban centers by developing a system of belief firmly rooted in the apostolic example, asceticism, and communal living. These elements can be seen in their actions and Catholic descriptions of them. The Cathars venerated the apostles and the apostles were certainly not living for profit. Therefore their message contrasted from the profit economy, which is evident from the Cathar philosophy toward economics.

The Cathar economic mentality incorporated a radical rejection of wealth and avaricious qualities. This was carried into the extreme. They sought to emulate the lives of the apostles and follow their example. Little provides an example from the city

of Arras, and shows the extent of the spread of the Cathar's apostolic reverence even to the north. He explains their claims at the synod of Arras, 1025, "These people of Arras claimed to live exclusively by the precepts of the Gospels and the Apostles... What troubled the authorities was that these people denied the validity of all established religious institutions and practices."[34] What we may be able to interpret from Little's explanation is that the Cathars of Arras were seeking to remove themselves from the authority of what they perceived as a sinful and avarice ridden Church and go back to Christianity's roots by directly emulating the lives of the apostles. Even their enemies gave them credit for their asceticism; however, these orthodox clerics claimed that the Cathars took it to the levels of vice. Little discusses how the orthodox sources explain the practice of *endura*, "which was suicide by starvation", as a "form of exaggerated asceticism."[35] No reliable primary source evidence exists to substantiate such an action actually occurred in Cathar communities, but for the Catholic clergy to admit the ascetic principles of the heresy, misguided as they may have been, certainly means something for the Cathar's economic perspective and its outward appearance. Even their enemies saw their fervor in opposition to avarice. Indeed their piety was visible and recorded, even if possibly biased chroniclers like Raynaldus discredited it. This is evident because he did mention it. Raynaldus describes how the Cathars saw themselves as chaste, honest, and abstaining from the consumption of meat.[36]

Less biased sources, however, do show that the Cathars did live communally with their economic goods, and were certainly organized. As early as 1028, the Cathars in northern Italy were holding all "their goods in common, in imitation of the Apostles."[37] Malcolm Barber describes, "believers provided a ready means of economic support with gifts and legacies of money, clothing, and food, and the conservation of needed resources."[38] Such a statement might suggest that the Cathars sought to maintain the ideas of the gift economy of the first feudal age. The two above descriptions show that the radical economic lifestyle was supported by a deeper belief among the Cathars. In fact, Eberwin quotes a Cathar in his chronicle, "We and our fathers, of apostolic descent, have continued in the grace of Christ".[39] Such a statement shows the extent of their devotion to the apostolic example. They were so dedicated to this theme, because

they see themselves as direct descendents of the apostles themselves. Therefore, they perceive that they alone have carried the true message of Christ, not the Church. These elements are connected to economics. The Cathar mindset related asceticism with the apostolic example and descent. The Cathar economic philosophy was based upon the economic example of the apostles, and the communal sharing of goods. They were carrying on the legacy, which is why they so harshly rejected avarice and personal wealth, which is a stark contrast to the perceived sins of the profit economy.

Another central element of Cathar doctrine was anti-clericalism. It is easy to see why this Cathar position was adopted, for the abuses of the clergy were substantial. Monique Bourin explains the central medieval view of the clergy in relation to economics. She does not describe this in relation to the Cathars, but what she does discuss had common relevance for the people of the Languedoc and even outside the south. Therefore, it would be safe to develop a possible connection.

Much of the resentment against the established Church resulted from the anger over tithes and the economic mismanagement. Bourin describes how the tithes were too heavy and this contributed to lay discontent, but there was little that the community leaders could officially do in protest.[40] Barber explains that simony was an issue. This was particularly true in the case of Raymond of Rabastens, who entered his office and used ecclesiastical resources to engage in warfare with his vassals.[41] The thirteenth-century chronicler, William of Puylaurens, describes the attitude of the laity in the region, "Parish priest were held in such contempt by the laity that their name was used by very many people in oaths."[42] These examples provide two essential points. First, that people commonly might have resented the Church's clergy for their wealth and greed, but secondly because the Cathars might have been able to use such abuse as incentives to gain converts from jaded laymen. With the sort of discontent among the laity towards the clergy, William of Puylaurens explains that anti-clericalism was certainly driving orthodox parishioners into the ranks of the Cathars.

The view of the Cathar's apostolic decent was an attempt to undermine the authority and need for the Church itself. This was most likely in response to tithes and abuses similar to those seen in Toulouse's ecclesiastical leaders. One particular case of clerical distrust was recorded in

Soissons.[43] This example, however, is at odds in that the distrust of the clergy is from their orthodox parishioners. It stands in support of the claims of William of Puylaurens, quoted above. Chronicler Guibert of Nogent describes how in 1114 the dualists of the city were tried and condemned for heresy. But, "the faithful people, fearing clerical leniency, rushed to the prison, seized them, built a fire outside the city, and burned them to ashes in it."[44] This is an important event to mention because it shows that the people of Soissons, orthodox or not, no longer trusted the clergy to perform their function. Neither the Cathars who preached against the clergy or the Catholic citizens could tolerate the status quo. Change was needed. The orthodox and Cathar responses were essentially different, however, the Cathars withdrew from the Church to establish their own, while the orthodox laymen decided to form a commune. Little further discusses this case, "This kind of popular violence was probably not unconnected with agitation for a commune, because the first communal charter for Soissons was signed within about a year of the time when the heretics were burned there."[45] This shows that anti-clericalism was intense and caused particular problems in relation to heresy. The Cathar movement came during the period of the eleventh century reforms when simony was an issue.[46] If such practices went un-altered in the south they would certainly be visible to both the Cathars and the laity. It would further fuel the fires of the economic tension generated by the abuses of the Church.

The Geography of Dualism: Economic Incentives within the Languedoc of Southern France

Economic changes were the reason for the advent of the heresy, but the reason why the Cathar message resonated so quickly was because of economic and political decentralization. When discussing the Cathar heresy economics and politics are essentially linked.

A key question is why some areas were more economically prone than others to become centers of Catharism? The Languedoc was one of the major regions affected by a high concentration of Cathars in Western Europe. This primarily had to do with the economic situation of the region and its political structure. The economic growth of the region had created a sense of avarice and economic abuses which brought Cathar preachers and the political

uncertainty ensured their security in their new role.

The Languedoc was in a precarious position during the central Middle Ages. The centralized rule of the Capetain monarchy had not yet extended into the region, and the nominal counts of Toulouse could offer little organization and control to the region in the face of the growth of the new powerful merchant class. Therefore, there was not an effective voice in opposition to heresy in the region. Chronicler William of Puylaurens comments with an allegory, "While those who should have stayed awake were asleep, the old Enemy brought into these wretched lands the sons of perdition, having the form of godliness but denying the power thereof."[47]

The territory was under nominal rule from the Capetains in the North, the Angevins (English by the thirteenth century) in Gascony in the West, the king of Aragon in the south, and the emperor of the Germans in the East.[48] This created a deal of uncertainty within the region and proved a huge problem to the counts of Toulouse, who were the principle rulers of the region. On the eve of the Albigensian Crusade Count Raymond V of Saint-Gilles found himself fighting for his autonomy with the rulers of Aragon and Catalonia on his southern borders.[49] As a result of this the economic leaders of the city of Toulouse thought of themselves as able to govern the city independently and created an embarrassing problem for Raymond, as he had to struggle to regain his position.[50] It is in the relationship between the count and the wealthy merchants were economics merge with politics. Without the economic prosperity of the Languedoc these merchants would not have had the finances and power to oppose the established nobility. The economic power of the count had declined prior to the Albigensian Crusade, while the city counsuls controlled much of the city's wealth and they relied less on the count's administration.[51] It is likely that there was a fundamental change in social patterns. The nature of the class structure in relation to economics and political power was considerably different than it had been before the centuries of economic increase discussed above. Such examples prove that there was an ambivalence of power in the Languedoc and resentment of even domestic lords because the economy had changed the playing field. The central Middle Ages saw the increase of the wealth merchant class and their ability to rival the lesser nobility. Combined, the merchants of Toulouse might have seen themselves

as more capable and better able to rule than the count, who had been away and was not as involved in the prosperity of the city: economics and trade. In this political-economic confusion and instability, Catharism could offer structure, free from persecution, as an outsider to both profit economic dealings and governmental politics. The Languedoc was an ideal place for the Cathar movement to flourish.

The Cathars were certainly organized as Joseph Lynch explains, "They were highly organized, indeed a counter-church to the Catholic Church, with their own dioceses, clergy, ascetics, theology and rituals."[52] Malcolm Lambert's description of the mission of Pope Nicetas (respected dualist leader) from Constantinople shows that the dualist church was structured and more unified than we might have initially imagined. In 1167 Nicetas presided over a Cathar council in the Languedoc. Lambert believes that the community of Cathars in Toulouse had asked for Nicetas to come and help organize the dualist dioceses in the region, and to appoint new bishops.[53] This is crucial to note in relation to the Languedoc's political structure. It shows that the Cathars were able to restructure and strengthen their organization and the Catholic Church or secular lords could not stop them. Nicetas held his council without worry of retribution or interference. The Cathars could even provide free education for children.[54] Such an idea shows that the Cathars were conscious of the power of education in creating a centralized religion.[55] The orthodox community would not make a serious effort to stop the Cathar movement for half a century. This shows that the region was not at all centralized and is why the Languedoc became such a stronghold for the Cathars.

Like the issue with education, the conversion rate in the Languedoc was essentially tied to economics. Catharism demanded a great deal from its adherents, yet it was hugely popular, even among the landed elite. William of Puylaurens explains that it was the lesser nobility (he refers to them as knights) who banged on their doors to hindered Bernard of Clairvaux who was preaching in the streets of Verfeil against heresy in 1145.[56]

It might seem to be a sort of contradiction for the wealthy to give up their economic status and live communally with those whom they had ruled, but the designation of nobility is deceptive when discussing the Languedoc. The great magnates of the region certainly benefited from their status and

connection with the Catholic Church, therefore it is not surprising to see that they were not eager to openly convert to a heretical movement, even if they sympathized with the movement. They would lose their base of power and respect. The lesser nobility often willingly converted in large numbers. The explanation for this adds to the economic incentives for becoming a Cathar. A higher proportion of nobles joined the heresy in the Languedoc as compared to the percentages in other Cathar centers because of patterns of economic inheritance. Riley-Smith provides the figure of thirty-five percent.[57] Bernard Hamilton explains that divisible inheritance was common among the lesser nobility in the Languedoc. "In several generations this could lead to the existence of a multiplicity of lords in a small fief, as happened at Mirepoix where, in 1207, the lordship was shared between thirty-five co heirs. Consequently the lesser nobility was impoverished by division of revenues and lands."[58] Therefore, we may conclude that the economic sacrifice to become a Cathar (asceticism was encouraged) was not as great as in other regions due to the devolution of the economic status of the minor nobility. This created the paradigm of the high nobility remaining orthodox, while lesser nobles were more likely to convert. Economic incentives once again played a role in politics by pushing a portion of the nobility toward the Cathar Heresy. Such a point shows that economics could play a role in motivations to convert outside of the Cathar rejection of the profit economy.

Connected to this point is that the move toward asceticism was a gradual process for the individual. The Cathar religion was split into two categories: believers and perfects. The ascetic obligations of a believer were not as stringent as those of a perfect, but the more one gave up the closer one would have been to going through the consolamentum; which was the ceremony to become a perfect.[59] Perhaps a lesser noble would have been more willing to sacrifice for this transition than a powerful individual. Hamilton suggests that the normal noble family would have had a mixture of both Catholic and Cathar family members.[60]

In addition people of a variety of socio-economic classes and occupations sought to convert to Catharism. Renaud's list mentioned above lists, "one noble (baronus) and four doctors, and a range of craftsmen, including five hosiers, two blacksmiths, two pelterers, two shoe-makers, a sheep-shearer, a carpenter, a weaver, a saddler, a corn-dealer, a cutler,

a tailor, a tavern-keeper, a baker, a wool-worker, a mercer, and a money-changer."[61] This shows that the Cathar movement incorporated people from all walks of life within a single city. Perhaps as part of an urban community these individuals had similar religious aspirations. Or they might have seen their spiritual community threatened by economic sin of which they would all have been aware of as former participants in the profit economy. As citizens of the same economic and social center they would have also been impacted by the same urban Cathar preachers. Economics and profit had led these individuals to urban centers to make a living. These cities formed communities based on similar urban experiences and a joint economic interest in the prosperity of their town, and it was perhaps this communal character which helped lead them to the Cathar movement. As we saw with Soissons in the north; communities often acted together. It would not be a stretch to imagine that they believed together as well. By the early thirteenth century, when the northern crusaders attacked the Languedoc, the region was firmly entrenched with a Catharism which had been in place for generations.

Conclusion: Understanding Heresy through Economics

The reasons and motivations for the popularity of the Cathar heresy stemmed from their disgust with the ills of the changing economic situation of the second feudal age which served as a catalyst for many conversions. The advent of the profit economy had brought more than economic diversity; it had brought a changed culture, which could no longer be contained by the secular and ecclesiastical models of the first feudal age. As a result the sins of avarice and greed developed into major problems for medieval society, and drove people from all walks of life into heresy. Late in the eleventh century medieval people recognized the relevance that the concept of profit had to sin, and how the Church was unable or unwilling to end it. There were individuals who sought to correct the economic problems of avarice and greed, but their failure to do so initiated the need for an outside intervention. As a result there were a variety of responses. Some were interpreted as reform while others, like the Cathars, were seen as heresy. The Cathars would certainly not have viewed themselves as heretics. Actually it was quite the contrary; they pictured themselves as the legacy of the apostles. It was the economic sins of Western Europe which were false. The Cathars were rejecting a heretical economy.

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Endnotes

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3. Lester Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe,* 136.
4. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History,* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2005), 165.
5. Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1988), 81.
6. Joseph H. Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (New York: Longman, 1992), 222.
7. Joseph Lynch, *The Medieval Church,* 222.
8. Joseph Lynch, *The Medieval Church,* 222.
9. Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society,* Trans. L.A. Manyon, 2 vols, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), vol. 1, p. 69.
10. Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society,* vol. 1, p.65-71.
11. Lester Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe,* 15.
12. Lester Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe,* 35.
13. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica,* trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, (London: R.T. Washburne, Ltd., 1918), 1. (http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/aquinas-usury.html).
14. John Hine Mundy, *Society and Government at Toulouse In the Age of the Cathars,* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute; 1997), 9.
15. Ibid
16. Lester Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe,* 36.
17. Lester Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe,* 36.
18. Bernard Gui, *The Inquisitor's Manual in Readings in European History,* Trans. J.H. Robinson, (Boston: Ginn, 1905), 881-883. (http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/gui-cathars.html).
19. R.I. Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 8.
20. Although, the Cathar interpretation of the needed change would present itself both similarly dissimilarly to that of the Gregorian monastic reform.
21. "Oath of the Money Changers" in, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents Translated With Introductions and Notes,* Trans. Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, (New York: Columbia University Press), 418.
22. "Oath of the Money Changers," *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents Translated With Introductions and Notes,* Trans. Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, (New York: Columbia University Press), 418.
23. Lester Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe,* 113.
24. John Hine Mundy, *Society and Government at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars,* (Michigan: Edwards Brothers Incorporated, 1997), 9.
25. Quoted in, Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 64.
26. William of Tudela and Anonymous Successor, *The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade,* trans. Janet Shirley, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), 14.
27. John Hine Mundy, *Studies in the Ecclesiastical and Social History of Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars,* (Cornwall: Ashgate, 2006), 15.
28. John Hine Mundy, *Studies in the Ecclesiastical and Social History of Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars,* 17.
29. John Hine Mundy, *Studies in the Ecclesiastical and Social History of Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars,* 18.
30. John Hine Mundy, *Studies in the Ecclesiastical and Social History of Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars,* 56.
31. Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages,* 64.
32. Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages,* 65.
33. William of Tudela and Anonymous Successor, *The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade,* trans. Janet Shirley, 117.
34. Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe,* 136.
35. Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe,* 143.
36. Raynaldus, *Annales in History of the Albigneses and Waldenses,* Trans. S.R. Maitland, (London: C.J.G and Rivington, 1832), 1. (http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/heresy1.html).
37. Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe,* 136.
38. Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages,* 68.
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40. Monique Bourin, "Village Communities of the Plain and the Mountain In Languedoc C.A. 1300," in *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000-15000,* eds. Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 148.

[41] Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages*, 58.

[42] William of Puylaurens, *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens: The Albigensian Crusade and its Aftermath*, Trans. W.A. Sibly and M.D. Sibly, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 8.

[43] This city is outside the Languedoc, which shows that the early heresy of the eleventh and early twelfth century had strong roots even in the north.

[44] Quoted in, Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, 137.

[45] Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, 137.

[46] Joseph Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A brief History*, 108.

[47] William of Puylaurens, *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, 7-8.

[48] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 164.

[49] John Hine Mundy, *Studies in the Ecclesiastical and Social History of Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars*, 161.

[50] John Hine Mundy, *Studies in the Ecclesiastical and Social History of Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars*, 161-62.

[51] John Hine Mundy, *Society and Government at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars*, 226.

[52] Joseph Lynch, *The Medieval Church*, 222.

[53] Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars*, 46.

[54] Rev. H.J. Warner M.A., *The Albigensian Heresy*, 2 vols, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), Vol 1, 12.

[55] Education was an important part of life for urban merchants in the central Middle Ages. It helped traders keep records of their business dealings.

[56] William of Puylaurens, *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, 10.

[57] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 165.

[58] Bernard Hamilton, *The Albigensian Crusade*, (London: Cox & Wyman Ltd., 1974), 11.

[59] Stephen O'Shea, *The Perfect Heresy: The Revolutionary Life and Death of the Medieval Cathars*, (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 2000), 23.

[60] Bernard Hamilton, *The Albigensian Crusade*, 16.

[61] Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages*, 66.

Collapse of Maya City-States:Environmental, Economic, and Cultural Conditions

Kara Blakley

Whether nestled deep within the forests or buried underneath modern Mexico City, the ruins of the Maya and Aztec civilizations have inspired fables, folklore, and fact-seeking. Human sacrifice, colossal temples, and self-mutilation have become synonymous with both the Maya and the Aztecs. Great ruins stand as testament to Maya and Aztec existence—vastness, enormity—but how did they become *ruins*? It seems almost as though the same people who mastered astronomy, built planned cities, perfected language and writing, and worshipped an entire pantheon of long-lived deities vanished into the night. The Maya case was different than that of the Aztec, but the outcome the same. The Maya civilization appears to have collapsed amid proliferation while the young Aztec Empire was vanquished by the sword (and gun) of Spanish invaders. Environmental and population stresses served as the catalyst in weakening both civilizations: to preface a more detailed discussion, "There must have been many more people in Mexico[1] during the Classic[2] than formerly. There were forty times as many inhabitants of the area than in the Middle Preclassic."[3] In addition to environmental and agricultural pressures, an increasingly stratified society placed economic burdens on non-elites. Religious institutions justified the existence of a detrimental hierarchy: a supposedly mutually-beneficial 'contract' existed between rulers and the ruled that exchanged the king's ability to communicate with the gods (to request rain) for all others supporting and perpetuating his lifestyle.[4]

This paper will explore how the coupling of human-caused stresses on the environment with internally increasing economic pressures contributed to the downfall of the Maya civilization. Several sites will be examined because of the diversity of problems that existed in specific geographies. The Maya will be given focus from many angles: first, the geography and climate will be considered, followed by a section on the city Teotihuacan.

Teotihuacan's collapse will be deconstructed from both sociological and agricultural perspectives. Likewise, the institutional and environmental factors for Copán's parallel collapse will be investigated. Finally, the droughts that both Teotihuacan and Copán, among other cities, were subject to are examined as a cause of collapse. Although this paper focuses on the anthropocentric forces that caused the downfall of the Maya, the Aztec, whose empire was very short-lived compared to the longevity of the Maya, will be referenced for colloquial comparisons. The Aztecs offer perhaps a more famous example of how human institutions helped bring about collapse, so when appropriate, they will be referenced to illustrate the problems the Maya both faced and created.

Along with cultural stereotypes come geographic stereotypes. This essay may have ominously begun, *Deep within the Jungles of Mexico*, but that would have been inaccurate. Indeed, many Maya ruins have been swallowed by 'jungle,' (i.e. vegetation run amok) but as Diamond points out, 'jungle' is another term for 'tropical rainforest.'[5] Maya sites, however, are more than a thousand miles from the equator, and were never wet year-round.[6] The classification for these sites, based upon latitudes between 17° and 22°N, is 'seasonal tropical rainforest'; this entails a rainy season from May to October, and a dry season from January to April.[7] Taking this into consideration, "If one focuses on the wet months, one calls the Maya homeland a 'seasonal tropical forest'; if one focuses on the dry months, one could instead describe it as a 'seasonal desert.'"[8] Furthermore, Maya sites are scattered along both the Mexican highlands, dotted with mountains and volcanoes, and the coastal lowlands. The Maya experienced "All the climatic extremes of our globe,"[9] meaning that "no region…was…truly self-sufficient."[10]

This diversity of climate both geographical and temporal, created agricultural strains once population expanded and population density

intensified. Because population problems began to escalate during the Classic Period, examination of human-caused stresses will begin there. The span of the Maya Classic Period is typically given as AD 250-900. However, construction of the Classic urban center Teotihuacan began long before AD 250, and had been abandoned before the decline of the last Classic cities.[11]

In order to understand what befell the Maya, it is imperative to understand what role Teotihuacan and its citizens played. At its height, Teotihuacan's population may have been 125,000 people, and in AD 550, would have been the sixth-largest city in the world.[12] The metropolis was a planned city: the grid was laid out in the first century by "sophisticated surveyors,"[13] and the urban center covered 8 sq. miles. The major axis, the Avenue of the Dead, is bisected by another, equally-long avenue, dividing the city into quadrants.[14] Along these avenues are the monumental structures the Pyramid of the Sun, the Pyramid of the Moon, and the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, all of which conform to the orientation of the axes.[15] The interior of the Pyramid of the Sun is filled with more than 41,000,000 cu. ft of sun-dried brick and rubble.[16] These three massive buildings only serve as examples of the type that saturated Teotihuacan.

All religious concerns aside, the sheer amount of this type of architecture weakened the ability for Teotihuacan to sustain itself. As Mary Ellen Miller, a Mesoamerican art historian at Yale University, succinctly observes:

> Constant rain and water crises at Teotihuacan probably exacerbated the difficulty of building and maintaining the city. The preparation of lime for mortar and stucco requires vast amounts of firewood to burn limestone or seashells, and the more Teotihuacan grew, the more the surrounding forests were depleted. With deforestation came soil erosion, drought, and crop failure. In response, Teotihuacan may have erected ever more temples...thus perpetuating the cycle.[17]

Chris Harman adds that although these structures "would have been ever-present symbols of the power, the permanence and the stability of the state,"[18] they "allowed the ruling class to believe its power was eternal and unquestionable as the movement of the sun and the stars, while reinforcing feelings of powerlessness and insignificance among the mass of people."[19] Indeed, the self-perpetuating cycle of construction and environmental devastation stemmed from the elite, the commissioners of temples and pyramids. The reasons for these commissions were political: "competition among kings and nobles...led to a chronic emphasis on war and erecting monuments;" these monuments were built "rather than solving...underlying problems."[20] The proliferation of conspicuous, propagandist architecture also led to economic malaise by inefficiently allocating both materials and labor.

The rich lords and nobles were not only preoccupied with building the grandest monuments (Not unlike our own society, to put one's name on the biggest or best of something is to make a statement about one's own social superiority). Many Teotihuacanos lived in walled residential compounds, which were further divided into apartments.[21] These compounds are telling of both social stratification and some kind of commercial segregation: "The differences in construction, decoration, and room size indicate a rather large range of wealth and status...it seems that the compounds were grouped into something like wards based upon kinship and / or commercial interests."[22] Coe and Koontz suggest that economic specialization (further implying division of labor) and social planning would have been necessary to coordinate so many compounds. One may further argue that it would have been the monarch that decided a family's trade, as males typically stayed with the family's compound. Perhaps this imposed specialization limited the exchange of information and products.

The nobility, though, ever-interested in self-propagandizing (to legitimate their wealth and power), lived in "larger and more richly decorated resides mainly found grouped around the Avenue of the Dead."[23] Some of these murals are adorned with depictions of the so-called Teotihuacan Spider Woman—the "supreme deity of the Teotihuacanos" and the creator of the universe.[24] These depictions may be absent from others' housing for several reasons. First, the nobility may have taken 'ownership' of her, thereby disallowing others from portraying her. Second, the nobility favored depictions of this particular goddess because they aligned themselves with her power. It may have simply been 'inaccurate' for lower classes to paint her. (We think of particular groups aligning themselves with certain patron saints in a Judeo-Christian society.) Because the nobility aligned

with her—and therefore with the origins of their universe—they attempted to affirm their power through the goddess.

The afore-discussed social stratification[25] was especially disadvantageous in agriculture and resource allocation for two reasons: first, extreme stratification removed potential farmers from the labor pool, increasing the stress on each farmer to produce enough surplus, and second, the growing bureaucracy intensified population density since these members of society would have no need to leave a particular location to find land suitable for farming. The repercussions of the former problem are numerous.

With pressure to produce adequate surplus, farmers resorted to slash-and-burn (or swidden) agriculture.[26] While this was not their only means of production, this technique quickly devastated the future use of the land. Maya swidden agriculture involved several destructive measures: "forest is cleared and burned, crops are grown in the resulting field for a year or a few years until the soil is exhausted, and then the field is abandoned for a long fallow period of 15 or 20 years until regrowth of wild vegetation restores fertility to the soil."[27] Under 'optimal' conditions, "most of the landscape… is fallow at any given time."[28] However, because population density was much higher than what swidden agriculture can support, other measures were undertaken. Some sites employed irrigation systems, terraced hill slopes to retain soil, or fertilizing fields; others, however, including the cities of Copán and Tikal, did not employ these methods.[29] Instead, one component of their agricultural approach was "in the extreme omitting the fallow period entirely and growing crops every year, or in especially moist areas growing two crops per year."[30] The inhabitants of such cities, to their detriment, discounted the future use of fertile soil too highly because of stresses for immediate production and consumption.

One may argue that agricultural land was treated as a commons. Despite a vaguely understood residential division, the Maya failed to enforce a system of private ownership of this agricultural property. A noble's probable *claim* to the land was not successful as more and more inhabitants encroached upon fertile soil. That the proper owner—if there even was one—failed to enforce his property rights would have contributed to the land being used inefficiently. This is because "An owner of a resource with a well-defined property right…has

a powerful incentive to use that resource efficiently because a decline in the value of that resource represents a personal loss."[31] When the soil ceases to be excludable, and is treated as a commons, "stability may be the exception rather than the rule, particularly in the face of heavy population pressure."[32] This would have been problematic for the Maya because they coupled undiminished population growth with exploitation of fertile land. As a result, less and less fertile land was brought into production and each yield thereafter was less and less valuable in terms of nutrition. Land would be exploited because no one individual, and therefore society at large, would have any incentive to conserve. Unrestricted access would also mean that no one individual would face the opportunity cost for exploiting and exhausting fertile soil, so no one individual (and therefore nobody) considers it when choosing their course of action. The situation results in the Garrett Hardin-described 'Tragedy of the Commons,' in which each person drives net benefits to zero—the opposite of optimization.[33]

It would be inaccurate to suggest that the Maya were purposefully neglectful of agricultural consequences. Indeed, intercropping ("growing several complementary species such as maize and beans together"[34]) supplemented swidden output. Additionally, hydraulic modification of the landscape allowed for irrigation and drained "excess water from saturated soils to allow for better growth."[35] The unpredictability of rain made this technique especially valuable. Ultimately, however, "continued population increases eventually could be accommodated only by intensification."[36] The need for intensification was also partly the fault of the Maya diet. Elite and non-elite alike relied on maize as a dietary staple, but it is low in protein (especially relative to Old World wheat and barley).[37] Maya maize agriculture was also less productive than the Aztecs' chinampas (also referred to by the misnomer 'floating gardens'), or raised-field agriculture. Mesoamerica lacked large animals (such as cows, pigs, and goats) to supplement maize's lack of protein, and the humid climate made it impossible to stockpile maize for over a year[38]—in case of an especially long drought, the previous year's surplus would be useless.

This monarchical system failed to achieve an efficient allocation of resources in the face of population surges and scarce fertile land. The population pressures meant that lands previously set aside to lay fallow were brought into use too soon

or too frequently. Greed among the aristocracy led to peasants needing to farm more in order to satisfy both their own needs and the demands of rulers for tribute. Intertemporal inefficiency is evident in the quick abandoning of acidic hillside soils. As Tietenberg and Lewis note, "Dynamic efficiency balances present and future uses of a depletable resource by maximizing the present value of the net benefits derived from its uses. This implies a particular allocation of the resource across time."[39] However, future demand was not considered when bringing all possible land into use.

In disregarding future uses of and demand for fertile land, the 'sustainability criterion' was also not met. The 'sustainability criterion' states that "future generations should be left no worse off than current generations. Allocations that impoverish future generations, in order to enrich current generations, are, according to this criterion, patently unfair."[40] It is safe to assume that the later generations were neglected (no matter if it was intentional or not) because at any given moment, at maximum populations, no land was left out of production in order to preserve its inherent net benefits for later use. Disregarding a resource's future net benefits to the detriment of future uses indicates inefficient intertemporal allocation.

This may have been the result of government inefficiencies. A monarchical system would not necessarily seek to harmonize marginal cost with marginal benefits, particularly in the presence of a potentially rent-seeking noble class. Afterall, the basis for government failure is improper incentives.[41] Inefficient allocation of resources did not affect the ruler the same way it would the farmer exploiting the land. In a stringently separated social order, the monarch would not have the proper incentive himself bother enforcing property rights so long as he was fed. Unaware of the long-term repercussions of ignoring soil exploitation, he may have viewed *maximum*, as opposed to *optimal*, planting and harvesting as the most appealing.

The environmental consequences of exhaustive agriculture are especially evident in Copán.[42] Copán's ruins lie in western Honduras; during the Classic period, its geography was divided into five areas of flat land which was surrounded by steep hills.[43] Between the fifth century and AD 750-900, population grew steeply,[44] forcing inhabitants from fertile valleys to the hills by 650. However, hill sites were cultivated for only a century because hill slopes eroded and leached nutrients, and because, "those

acidic infertile hill soils were being carried down into the valley and blanketing the more fertile valley soils, where they would have reduced agricultural yields."[45] The reasons for hillside erosion were not entirely agricultural. Entire pine forests were cleared: most felled trees were "burned for fuel, while the rest were used for construction or for making plaster."[46] It was the vogue among the elite to use copious amounts of plaster to coat buildings.

The tale of the elite at Copán sounds very similar to that of the elite at Teotihuacan. Incidentally, written records indicate that as early as AD 426, relatives of Teotihuacan elites came to Copán;[47] between 500 and 650, Teotihuacan's central temple precinct was burned and the city sacked[48]—incidents surely not unrelated to the inability for the elite to provide security and prosperity. Relatives of these elites, then, fled to Copán just in time to repeat their habits elsewhere. Indeed, just as at Teotihuacan, "Construction of royal monuments glorifying kings was especially massive between A.D. 650 and 750,"[49] and after 700, nobles erected palaces of their own. This is important because these nobles (and the stratification they represented) and their palaces (which could accommodate up to 250 people[50]) only inflicted more pressure on the productive non-elite. By 800, the last monumental structures were built, a brief 100 years since nobles began the practice. That incessant building and problematic erosion occurred simultaneously is not coincidence, as the elite's demand for luxury products (such as plaster for buildings) furthered deforestation.

It appears that Copán's elite did not exploit the environment without personal consequence: the repercussions of their consumption indirectly brought about their exodus. Because of the poor condition of agricultural fields in the hills, along with the dramatic decrease in rainfall caused by deforestation, people returned to farm the valleys. However, total populations were higher than when the valleys alone were occupied, so this left peasants fighting for the best land, if any land.[51] Like in Teotihuacan, the king's luxuries were justified because he promised to bring rain and prosperity[52] through his communication with the gods. But because the king and nobles failed to provide, the elite were ousted: "the last we hear from any Copán king is A.D. 822,"[53] by 850, the royal palace was set aflame.

This example of Copán's collapse is more correctly described as the collapse of Copán's elite

and the collapse of a lifestyle enjoyed without regard to the non-elite or the environment. Although the deforestation that caused upwards of 41% of the peak population[54] to move back into the valley resulted in somewhat of a Malthusian population crash, Copán did not experience complete abandonment until A.D. 1250. Indeed, in 950, long after the end of a highly stratified society, the population was about 15,000, "or 54% of the peak population of 27,000."[55] These numbers suggest that it was the demands of the elite for both agricultural surplus and luxury items that sent people to exploit the infertile hills. Second, they also suggest that once the elite were ousted, the population in the valley returned to the optimal number of people that the land could healthily sustain. Coe and Koontz suggest a combination of causes for the depopulation of Maya sites. Some people would have been famine casualties. Some simply left the city, abandoning organized society and seeking refuge in other regions. Further yet, depopulation was realized because of high infant and child mortality.[56] After 1250, "The reappearance of pollen from forest trees thereafter provides independent evidence that the valley became virtually empty of people, and that the forests could at last begin to recover."[57]

To preface the discussion on water sources and droughts as protectors from and catalysts for collapse (respectively), it must be noted first what an intricate system of cities—independent entities—Maya sites have proven to be. There was no one unified 'Maya Empire' so the exact parameters of collapse(s) are somewhat amorphous. In some instances, "What collapsed quickly during the Classic collapse was the institution of kingship,"[58] as evidenced by Copán. Additionally, the vastness of the Classic period meant that some cities, like Teotihuacan, had begun the process of depopulation before other cities had been settled. However, what is known is that after AD 800, Mesoamerica saw "the disappearance of between 90 and 99% of the Maya population…and the disappearance of kings, Long Count Calendars, and other complex political and cultural institutions."[59] No matter the soil-exhausting agricultural techniques, the deforestation, or the social tensions, there were other geological features and events that contributed to Maya collapse.

The Maya heartland frequently cycled between wet and dry conditions. Although the beginning of the Early Classic period is determined by the proliferation of social and political phenomena (i.e. royal dynasties and complex calendrical systems), the cause of said proliferation may be attributed to the return of non-drought conditions, which also occurred around 250 AD.[60] Indeed, drought conditions returned around the beginning of the Late Classic period, 600 AD, when rulers from Palenque sought to expand their borders. As previously mentioned, 800 AD witnessed the beginning of the population crash that would last for approximately the next century and a half. Based on radiocarbon-dated layers from lake sediment cores and other paleoecological and climatological data, the myth of 'The Drought' of 800 was actually four droughts, with the latter three occurring in the decade of 810-820, again in 860, and finally, in 910.[61] Inscribed dates on stone monuments indicate that collapse dates coincide with these drought dates,[62] and in terms of specific cities, "It would not be at all surprising if a drought in any given year varied locally in its severity, hence if a series of droughts caused different Maya centers to collapse in different years, while sparing centers with reliable water supplies such as cenotes, wells, and lakes."[63]

In drought scenarios, geological variation plays an important role. The Maya region was divided into the highlands in the south and flatlands further north. Although there is a supply of freshwater under much of the Maya region, only the northern cities would have low enough sinkholes, or cenotes, to access this water.[64] Even in northern cities where cenotes did not exist, wells could be dug up to seventy-five feet deep.[65] The southern cities were disadvantaged not only for their lack of wells and cenotes but also because the topography is littered with karst, "a porous sponge-like limestone terrain where rain runs straight into the ground and where little or no surface water remains available."[66] Although the southern Maya ameliorated this unfortunate terrain by plugging it to create reservoirs, this method would be for naught in the face of repeated droughts. Although the city of Tikal created reservoirs ample enough to sustain 10,000 people for eighteen months,[67] starvation would have been problematic because crops would require rainwater, not reservoir water; additionally, the second drought lasted for a decade, during which time these immodest stores of water would have been consumed before the drought began its second year. As Diamond notes:

The area most affected by the Classic collapse was the southern lowlands, probably… [because] it was the area with the densest population, and it may also have had the most severe water problems because it lay too high above the water table for water to be obtained from cenotes or wells when the rains failed. The southern lowlands lost more than 99% of their population in the course of the Classic collapse.[68]

Although no data is available to compare Classic withdrawal rates of surface water and groundwater versus rainfall and recharge rates, it may be inferred that the population strains led to greater exploitation of already-scarce water supplies. Reservoirs may also have been treated as an open-access resource, meaning each member of society has equal access to the water but with every incentive to use as much as possible for himself—thus causing an inefficient allocation of water. Tietenberg and Lewis note, "Tapping an open-access resource will tend to deplete it too rapidly."[69] Using cenotes and reservoirs as open-access resources would exacerbate the severity of droughts, leading to quicker onslaught of drought-induced famine and thirst and ultimately, depopulation.

Depopulation never resulted in the complete disappearance of the Maya. However, by the time of the Mexica (Aztec) emergence several centuries later (Tenochtitlan was founded approximately in the mid-fourteenth century), the grandeur of Maya city-states survived as nothing more than a myth. One song began, "And they called it Teotihuacan / because it was the place / where the lords were buried."[70] No matter its deforestation and exploitation of reservoirs and agricultural land, Teotihuacan served as a model city, albeit an abandoned one. However, more than ruins survive. Teotihuacan, along with the numerous other Maya city-states (both known and unknown), is a didactic ghost: Malthusian population crashes have been attributed to human activity. Once the pressures exerted on the environment become too great, it is the societal and institutional structures that must be sacrificed.

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Endnotes

[1] While Maya and Aztec excavations span present-day Mexico, Belize, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Honduras, this paper discusses primarily sites in Mexico.

[2] The Classic period is broadly defined as 250-900 AD. Some scholars further divide the period, with 250-600 being the Early Classic, and 600-900 the Late Classic. However, use of the term 'Classic' correlates to when the Maya were inscribing Long Count dates on monuments which pertains to a well-defined, systematic calendrical system). The widespread use Long Count dates, architecture with corbelled vaults, and ruler portraiture constitute the beginning of the Classic period Around 600, rulers in the western city of Palenque furthered the scope of Maya territory, marking the transition to Late Classic. For this paper's intents and purposes, the term 'Classic' will suffice. More specific dates are provided as relevant.

[3] Michael D. Coe and Rex Koontz, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*, 5th ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, Inc., 2002), 102.

[4] Jared Diamond, *Collapse*. (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 167.

[5] Ibid., 160.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Michael D. Coe and Rex Koontz, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*, 5th ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, Inc., 2002), 12.

[10] Ibid., 13.

[11] Ibid., 101.

[12] Mary Ellen Miller, *The Art of Mesoamerica: From Olmec to Aztec*, 4th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2006), 70-71.

[13] Michael D. Coe and Rex Koontz, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*, 5th ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, Inc., 2002), 106.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., 106-107.

[17] Mary Ellen Miller, *The Art of Mesoamerica: From Olmec to Aztec*, 4th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2006), 70-71.

[18] Chris Harman, *A People's History of the World*. (London: Verso, 2008), 32.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Jared Diamond, *Collapse*. (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 160.

[21] Michael D. Coe and Rex Koontz, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*, 5th ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, Inc., 2002), 111.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., 112.

[24] Ibid., 113.

[25] Although Teotihuacan's stratification in particular was examined, social hierarchy was not limited to that city.
Therefore, this section will look at social stratification in general as it pertained to all Classic-era Maya sites.

[26] Jared Diamond, *Collapse*. (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 163.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Tom Tietenberg and Lynne Lewis, *Environmental and Natural Resource Economics*, 8th ed. (Boston: Pearson Education, Inc., 2009), 66.

[32] Ibid., 74.

[33] Dr. David Wishart, Class lecture, February 16, 2009.

[34] Robert J. Sharer with Loa P. Traxler, *The Ancient Maya*, 6th ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 642.

[35] Ibid., 647.

[36] Ibid., 649.

[37] Jared Diamond, *Collapse*. (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 164.

[38] Jared Diamond, *Collapse*. (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 164.

[39] Tom Tietenberg and Lynne Lewis, *Environmental and Natural Resource Economics*, 8th ed. (Boston: Pearson Education, Inc., 2009), 93.

[40] Ibid., 98.

[41] Ibid., 82.

[42] Teotihuacan's dominance pervaded the kingdom of Copán, which adopted Teotihuacan stele and monument symbolism, to minimally cite the metropolis's influence. (Coe 119)

[43] Jared Diamond, *Collapse*. (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 168.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid., 169.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., 168.

[48] Mary Ellen Miller, *The Art of Mesoamerica: From Olmec to Aztec*, 4th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2006), 86.

[49] Jared Diamond, *Collapse*. (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 168.

[50] Ibid., 169.

[51] Ibid., 170.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid., 169.

[55] Ibid., 170.

[56] Michael D. Coe and Rex Koontz, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*, 5th ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, Inc., 2002), 120.

[57] Jared Diamond, *Collapse*. (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 170.

[58] Ibid., 171.

[59] Ibid., 172.

[60] Jared Diamond, *Collapse*. (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 173.

[61] Ibid., 173-174.

[62] Ibid., 174.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid., 162

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid., 175.

[69] Tom Tietenberg and Lynne Lewis, *Environmental and Natural Resource Economics*, 8th ed. (Boston: Pearson Education, Inc., 2009), 227.

[70] Michael D. Coe and Rex Koontz, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*, 5th ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, Inc., 2002), 120.

The Story of the Havasupai:
A Look at their Claim to the Grand Canyon National Park

Kristen Miller

I. Introduction

The removal and relocation of thousands of Native Americans is one part of the American past that is often overlooked or misunderstood.[1] The push for westward expansion in the nineteenth century brought land, money, and glory to the United States and some of its people. However, this time also brought confusion, anger, and a misunderstanding of those individuals who had lived on the frontier for hundreds of years.[2] Outside of the academic world, most individuals are introduced to minimal history of the American West, specifically the removal and relocation of Native Americans. Most Americans are given a brief overview of past U.S. interactions with Native Americans, while scholars explore these interactions more in-depth. Nevertheless, one thing is certain – the history that they are introduced to has been passed down by those descendents of European settlers who began to populate the western frontier. More often than not, Native American stories and interpretations of westward expansion are either completely left out or are so minimal that there is no real understanding or knowledge of their culture and the impact of westward expansion.

The American West was a "land of opportunity" where many settlers believed they could start anew. Many were driven by the popular belief in Manifest Destiny.[3] Early scholars of the American West focused solely on the idea of Manifest Destiny and the mission that "white" men possessed.[4] However, many scholars began by the mid 1960s to 1970s to include the Native American side – history is no longer one sided. By incorporating the once overlooked Native American interpretation of westward expansion, there is a more profound understanding of America's past actions as well as the steps that are being taken today to remedy those actions. There are some authors that are even taking this inclusion a step further and are arguing that the injustices against Native Americans need to be repaid. This paper will

not only provide the United States' government's reasons for westward expansion and the removal and relocation of Native Americans, but it will focus on the Havasupai people, their struggles to reclaim their traditional lands, and the evolving government policies towards the Havasupai and the Grand Canyon National Park.[5]

The words "I am the Grand Canyon" were spoken by Havasupai Tribal Chairman Lee Marshall following the 1971 government proposal to incorporate more Havasupai land into the Grand Canyon National Park.[6] This speech helped lay the foundation for a return of thousands of acres of traditional lands back to the Havasupai people. Nonetheless, they have undergone an epic struggle to lay claim to their traditional lands in the Grand Canyon National Park. The Havasupai, whose numbers reached an all-time low of 166 members in 1906, were displaced from their traditional lands of the Grand Canyon, in particular Havasu Canyon, beginning in 1880.[7] From that point on, they have struggled to maintain their traditional culture and way of life. In the following pages, the story of the Havasupai, their struggles, and their interactions with early settlers and the government will be outlined. This includes initial moves to put them on reservations, Indian Affairs, and the specific executive orders that affected them. A better understanding of past and current actions will provide a new interpretation of the Havasu and their effort to lay claim to their once isolated lands. The Havasupai became dependent on the park system for economic survival, but they also wanted to include their culture in the shaping of the Grand Canyon National park. Eventually, Havasupai attitudes changed and they desired a return of their traditional lands.

II. Historiography

The study of the American West and the relationship between the United States government and Native Americans has not always been a

priority in the academic world. Before the study of Native American interactions became part of mainstream scholarship, the prevalent view focused on the "winner" between Native Americans and the government. The "winner," of course, would be the United States' government and, in particular, the "American" settlers.[8] These accounts of the interactions were dominant until the mid-twentieth century and focused on the idea of Manifest Destiny. Nevertheless, with new waves of scholars focused on the American West, scholarship has drastically changed. Many authors look past the history of the "winners" and understand the past through multiple accounts. Currently, there are scholars (and others) who have taken this new approach to Native American history one step further and are arguing for U.S. apologies and reparations for the actions taken during America's westward expansion.

The early works that examine Native American interactions with the federal government and American settlers are mainly intellectual histories that focused on the "white" man's view of history and, in particular, Manifest Destiny. Intellectual history is the study of ideas and what those ideas can tell us about a given society. These authors argue that although the history of the United States may have had a few blemishes, the overarching principle is that Americans who took part in westward expansion were influenced by Manifest Destiny or the belief that expansionism was "prearranged by Heaven" and had no set boundaries.[9] To one American it could be expansion to the Pacific, to another it may mean expansion over the entire North American continent.[10]

In the 1935 work entitled, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History,* Albert K. Weinberg focuses on Manifest Destiny and the belief that it was the white race's inherent responsibility to expand.[11] Weinberg's key objective is to explain that the white race believed they "had the superior right to the land because they 'used it according to the intentions of the CREATOR.'"[12] One of the most important points that Weinberg highlights is that expansionist societies do not believe they are doing anything that is immoral. He argues that Americans believed that it was their right to expand west because God had given them the ordained right because they were the superior culture.[13] Weinberg argues that white men, in particular, Americans, believed they had the right to remove Native Americans from their land without any regard for the culture and traditions of those

who they removed. As an early work on American expansion, Weinberg shows that early scholarship focused on the "white" reasons for expansion.

Like Weinberg, Edward McNall Burns also uses intellectual history to explain that the sense of mission that dominated early American westward expansion was not a new development. In fact, Burns' 1957 work, *The American Idea of Mission: Concepts of National Purpose and Destiny,* is a testimony to the belief that "because of [our American] virtues we have been chosen by God to guide and instruct the rest of the nations in lessons of justice and right."[14] Burns' work, a work that examines both Manifest Destiny and the American Mission, is a reevaluation of westward expansion. Burns argues that American settlers were a "conquering people" and did not let anything stop them or get in their way.[15] Those who did happen to get in the way of the American Mission were removed "on the grounds that the Indians were an inferior people and that the progress of civilization required them to give way to the more richly endowed Caucasians."[16]

Frederick Merk also points out in his 1966 work entitled, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History,* that there was another goal that coincided with the belief that Americans had the right to westward expansion. The goal stated that Americans had the duty to "regenerate backward peoples of the continent."[17] Those Native Americans who were forced off of their land because it was the white man's "destiny" also faced a desire by some to assimilate them into American society. Of course, as Merk points out, the thought that Native Americans had their own culture did not exist, but the dominating thought was that the "Indian was a heathen" and needed to learn the ways of the American culture.[18] Merk uses intellectual history to view the idea of Manifest Destiny. What is even more noteworthy is that Merk argues that this overriding theory was not based on expansionist or imperialist ideas, but on the idea that the American people had a Mission – a belief and "dedication to the enduring values of American civilization."[19] However, what is conveniently absent from Merk's work is the Native American perspective on westward expansion. In fact, Native Americans are only mentioned in conjunction with assimilation into American culture. The combination of a conscience effort and an inability to perceive Native American traditions as beneficial led early Americans to cover up the customs and values of

Native American civilizations in pursuit of Manifest Destiny.

More and more scholars are beginning to take a new interest in the interactions and relationships between Native Americans and the United States' government because they see the gap in history that has developed. This new, more balanced view of the American West is considered "New Western History." It is about opening up and considering "the old and familiar in new ways."[20] New Western History acknowledges the importance of understanding Native American culture on its own and not as a product of American interpretation. It is about including "failure as well as defeat; defeat as well as victory; ... [and] varied ethnic groups and their differing perspectives as well as white Anglo-Saxon protestant" perspectives.[21] New Western historians, unlike previous scholars that focused only on the white American perspective of the past, place emphasis on multiple points of view and give a voice to those who have been silenced or ignored through the years.

New Western History developed in reaction to Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 thesis entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History."[22] Turner, a presentist historian, only looked at the past through the eyes of "English-speaking white men" and he saw the past as a clear-cut sequence.[23] William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin's article, "Becoming West: Toward a New Meaning for Western History," argues that Turner's view of the American frontier "explained American history only by erasing the legitimacy of Indian claims to the continent."[24] He had no regard for other ethnicities and their role in westward expansion, no regard for those things that were not "agrarian settlement and folk democracy."[25] Turner's thesis has had a lasting impact on the study of the American West. Many subsequent generations of historians have reevaluated his thesis and have made it a point to include those voices he overlooked. As Patricia Nelson Limerick points out in her 1987 work, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*, "Turner's frontier rested on a single point of view; it was required that the observer stand in the East and look to the West."[26] However, scholars of New Western History stand in the West and just look around.

To look around the American West, one must learn that the "one skill essential to the writing of Western American history is a capacity to deal with multiple points of view."[27] Patricia Nelson Limerick, in her revisionist work, *The Legacy of Conquest*, argues that to truly understand the American West one must move beyond a one-dimensional analysis of expansion and entertain multiple theories, myths, and traditions.[28] Limerick's overall opinion of westward expansion and the interactions between Native Americans and the U.S. government is not one that focuses on the idea of Manifest Destiny, but in fact, focuses on the idea that the American West is what it is today because of the constant interaction of multiple cultures and individuals. Limerick argues that "every human group has a creation myth – a tale explaining where its members came from and why they are special, chosen by providence for a special destiny."[29] Obviously, the white American creation myth focuses on Manifest Destiny. Limerick ends her work by stating that "it is a disturbing element of continuity in Western history that we have not ceased to be strangers."[30] The goal of Limerick, and New Western History in general, is to try and bridge the gap between strangers and by doing that create a more detailed and accurate description of the American West.

As Richard White points out in his 1991 work, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own:" A History of the American West*, "long before the first Europeans reached what is now the western United States, Indian peoples shaped this land," but until recently their voice has been silenced in the history of the American West.[31] White argues that the history of the American West has been created by including and excluding certain elements. White acknowledges the importance of understanding Native American history in conjunction with "white" history. He argues that the west "was a product of conquest and of the mixing of diverse groups of people."[32] To understand the current interpretation of the west is to understand the importance of those conquests, who was involved, and that the west did not instantly emerge. One important point that White touches upon is how there was a misconstrued notion that Native Americans were willing to give up land and become assimilated into the American culture.[33] In reality, White points out that Native Americans were not happy or thankful that the United States was expanding west.[34] The overarching point that Richard White is trying to make, and one that is prevalent in my own argument, is that there is a misconception about the attitudes and interactions of the American West.

The study of history is not one-dimensional. As it pertains to the American West, author George

Miles points out that ignoring multiple points of view "impoverishes our understanding of American history by erasing its Indian component."[35] Miles, the author of the 1992 work entitled, "To Hear an Old Voice: Rediscovering Native Americans in American History," argues that historians of the American West often "failed to integrate Native Americans into their accounts."[36] Historians have overlooked vital information that pertains to the American West because it comes from a source different than white Americans. In his article, Miles states that beginning in 1828, Cherokee peoples began to circulate a newspaper that was written in both English and Sequoyan – symbols based on sounds developed by Sequoyah (known as George Guess).[37] The newspaper, the Advocate, was an overwhelming force, until it was stopped by U.S. government officials.[38] The main point that Miles is trying to make is that American historians have put little, if any, effort into reviving the Advocate and he argues that this occurs because "so many of our studies of federal Indian policy focus more on the history of white ideas than on the lives of Indians."[39] Miles' goal for his article is clear-cut. Not only does he show what you can learn from looking at Native American sources, but he also argues that by examining multiple points of view one discovers that there is still much to be said and taught.[40]

New Western History is a revisionist attempt at rewriting the American past. Each scholar has his or her own way of trying to bring justice to the American West by introducing the idea of multiple points of view and even using those views as the basis for their work. One scholar in particular, Paula Mitchell Marks, has taken the revisionist ideology to a new level and in her work, *In a Barren Land: The American Indian Quest for Cultural Survival*, 1607 to the Present, each chapter is devoted to a quote from a Native American leader. Marks' objective for this 1998 work is "to emulate some of the best modern historians by looking at events with the primary focus on the population being displaced – the ones who didn't write the history – and by acknowledging Indians as active, resilient, and varied *people* pursuing strategies for survival, not as passive and somehow less-than-human pawns."[41] This work, without hesitation, fits into New Western History because she attempts to let Native Americans speak for themselves and argues that this can be done once people are willing to listen.[42] However, this objective is not easy and due to a lack of written sources, is truly difficult to obtain. Marks, like many other

New Western historians, understands the value that is placed on multiple points of view and moves beyond the history of the "winners."

The study of the American West comes full circle with Richard White's 2009 work, "The American West and American Empire." In this work, White takes on Albert K. Weinberg's interpretation of Manifest Destiny and argues that the "Indian peoples who were largely invisible in Weinberg's account have become visible [and] they have become visible as more than simple victims."[43] White points out that Weinberg "saw expansionism as a product of American innocence and believed that it yielded little tragedy."[44] However, White continues on to say that this "veil of innocence" that Weinberg developed has recently been removed by historians.[45] White focuses on the railroad corporations and their tangled relationships with Native Americans and the United States' government.[46] But beyond the content of the article, White's main purpose is to use a combination of multiple sources to create a new interpretation of westward expansion. He goes beyond Weinberg's intellectual idea of Manifest Destiny as the cause of westward expansion and argues that "railroad corporations wanted to break Indian power over Indian territory" and expand westward.[47]

New Western History developed out of the desire to include Native American cultures and interpretations of westward expansion. Nevertheless, some scholars, even though they acknowledge the importance of including Native American history, do not think that this is enough. These scholars, who have allowed current changes in scholarly opinion and public opinion on human injustices to shape their work, argue in a very presentist way for more than including the Native American voice; they push for reparations and apologies for those injustices against Native Americans.

This current call for apologies and reparations is apparent in the 1999 article "Native American Reparations: Five Hundred Years and Counting" by Laurence Armand French. French, when discussing Native Americans, argues that "no other group within the United States has been subjected to such cruel, harsh, and deceptive exploits at the hands of the dominant society."[48] The position that French defends is that Native Americans have been at the receiving end of injustices throughout American history because many believed that "Manifest destiny provided the justification for

running roughshod over the American Indian."[49] For mainstream scholarship this call for reparations and apologies is a new argument. The main argument that French presents is that the United States has often ridiculed and criticized other countries' violations and human injustices, but they tend to not look at their own injustices towards Native Americans.[50] French brings to light numerous situations in which Native Americans were treated inhumanely including times in which treaties were revoked because of the discovery of gold and times in which the allotment policy was revoked and land was given to white Americans and not Native Americans.[51] The final point is that because of the past injustices there is a need for apologies and reparations because the future relationship between the United States' government and Native Americans is at stake.[52]

The call for restitution and reparations are gaining momentum, not just in the academic world, but also in the political world. In the 2000 work, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*, by Elazar Barkan, a new interpretation of history examines "the new global trend of restitution for historical injustices."[53] Barkan not only sees the need for apologies and reparations, but also understands that in some cases they have occurred. Most restitution is being asked for because Native Americans are challenging "those agreements that were reached between unequal powers and led to a submission of Indian rights."[54] Native Americans rights' often were overlooked so that the government could obtain the most beneficial terms. Barkan points out that there have been a small number of cases in which restitution was given to Native Americans. But the argument is that these reparations will not only help mend the relationship between the United States' government and Native Americans, but they "can become the major hope Indians have for building anew."

The study of the American West and the relationship between white Americans and Native Americans has undergone transformations throughout the years. Early works focused primarily on the white interpretation of westward expansion and Manifest Destiny. These works examine the relationship between the Native Americans and the United States' government mainly from the white American opinion and view. However, mainstream scholarship has begun to adopt new interpretations of the past which includes multiple points of view and more than just the white interpretation. This

New Western History focuses on the accounts of Native Americans and the multiple points of view that have been overlooked in the past. Even more recently, scholars are moving beyond just incorporating the Native American voice and have argued for apologies and reparations for the human injustices that occurred during westward expansion. The study of the relationship between Native Americans and the United States' government has undergone a transformation and new voices have been heard, new interpretations have been studied, and an overall better understanding of the past has emerged.

III. Research

To have a better understanding of the American West, one must consider the Havasupai presence in the Grand Canyon and the resulting interactions with the United States' government because of their desire to incorporate traditional lands into the Grand Canyon National Park. The Grand Canyon has some of the most majestic and breathtaking scenes in nature; yet there is minimal knowledge about the Native Americans who have inhabited these lands for over seven hundred years.[56] The Havasupai were removed from their traditional lands by the federal government beginning in 1880; nevertheless, they remained on the small acreage they were allotted and began to help develop the Grand Canyon National Park into what it is today. The Havasupai helped turn their traditional lands into a national park because of their economic need and their desire to include a Havasupai element in the Grand Canyon; however, as the federal government moved to incorporate more Havasupai land, the Havasupai peoples demanded restoration of their traditional lands.

The connection between the Grand Canyon and the Havasupai stems from the first wave of settlers who arrived hundreds of years ago in North America who spoke a Hokan dialect.[57] The Havasupai of today continue to speak a language of the Hokan group which has been passed down by many of those peoples who originally settled on the rims of the Grand Canyon.[58] There were multiple waves of settlers which included peoples from the Southwest that spoke Uto-Aztecan languages and settlers who spoke tonal languages.[59] The Havasupai have had ties to the North American continent, and in particular, the Grand Canyon, for hundreds of years.[60]

Prior to the push for westward expansion and

the decisions by the United States' government, the Havasupai lived in the canyons and on the plateaus of what is now known as the Grand Canyon National Park. Before their confinement to the Havasupai Reservation, the Havasu would live in the canyons during the summer months near Havasu Creek, and on the plateaus during the winter months.[61] They could neither live in the canyon nor on the plateaus during the entire year due to weather and climate. The canyons provided fertile ground for crops, but during the winter months these same canyons received little sunlight. As a result, the Havasupai spent winter months on the plateaus hunting game and the summer months growing crops in the canyons.

Before discussing the relocation of the Havasupai, it is necessary to understand the peoples of one of the oldest Native American tribes. The term Havasupai comes from the native *Havsuw 'Baaj* which means the "Blue Creek People" and is what the tribe refers to themselves as.[62] This name comes from the particular and peculiar color of the Havasu Creek that runs through the Havasu Canyon. The Havasu are the only Native Americans "who make their homes in the park proper."[63] Havasupai legend and mythology aligns with this belief that they found their home in the Grand Canyon. As Stephen Hirst explains, "Havasupai tradition does tell of a northeasterly migration" that eventually ended in the canyons and explains that the Havasupai followed the Colorado River until the terrain was too difficult to continue.[64] Here, in the Canyon, they began to settle. For years, the peoples stayed in the Canyon until some elected to migrate farther north due to overcrowding. Those who stayed and accepted the term *Havsuw 'Baaj*, worried that they also needed to continue their migration. However, as legend states, on the day they were to begin their move, "a child began to cry. When the group stopped, the child quieted and remained calm until they began moving again. The child had spoken; their migration was over. The Havasupai were home."[65] The Havasu numbers are relatively low compared to more prominent Native American tribes. During the early twentieth century the numbers hovered close to 200 members; however, in recent years, numbers have grown to 435 members.[66] Until the 1930s, they remained mostly independent and self-sufficient because they were able to live off of their land and grow varieties of corn, melons, beans, squash and pumpkins.[67]

Before the 1860s and the end of the Civil War, the Havasupai were relatively unknown and relatively independent of European settlers. Prior to the 1860s, they had only encountered Europeans on relatively few occasions. The first occasion occurred in the early sixteenth century.[68] This first encounter led to more numerous explorations by the Spanish explorers and in 1540 the Hopi and the Havasupai discovered the Spanish in Tusayan.[69] However, the Hopi were the dominant force in this interaction. Explorers attempted to find the Havasu home, but were unable to find it within the canyons. The Havasu ultimately remained isolated except for the introduction of the horse by the Spanish.[70] The horse would eventually become a mainstay in their way of life. During these early encounters, many Native American tribes fled to the Grand Canyon and Havasupai homes because of their relative isolation. The Hopi often spent time in the canyons avoiding Spanish explorers.[71] In all reality, the Havasupai were a relatively isolated tribe who remained a mystery to explorers. In 1776, they were formally visited by the Spanish priest Francisco Garcés.[72] He did not stay long before they showed him on his way. The Havasupai did not see a need to allow Garcés to stay among them. There were several instances, including early contacts that reveal the connection between these two Native American tribes. The Havasupai were undoubtedly influenced by the Hopi culture and vice versa. Each learned new ways of the land, each shared their experiences, and each introduced new and different foods into their diets. As mentioned, the Hopi often sought protection and refuge on traditional lands of the Havasu during these early encounters with white settlers.[73] Former Grand Canyon National Park Superintendent, M.R. Tillotson, noted that the Havasupai often were the "least touched by civilization from the outside" and often continued their traditional way of life.[74] Because of this often uninviting presence and lack of exploration, many argue that the Havasupai are greatly misunderstood.[75]

There may have been a lack of exploration on the frontier, but in the eastern part of the United States, skirmishes between white settlers and Native Americans had been taking place for decades. Bill Yenne points out in his work, *Indian Wars: The Campaign for the American West*, that "throughout the eighteenth century, various tribes had been edged out, bought out, wiped out, and pushed out of various places" and overall, the impact of the 1830 Indian Removal Act was disastrous for Native Americans.[76] The Havasupai do live in the

Southwest United States; however, the 1830 Indian Removal Act passed by President Andrew Jackson was the inaugural step in the relocation of all Native Americans. On May 28, 1830 with the passage of the Indian Removal Act, Congress empowered "President Andrew Jackson to negotiate removal treaties with American Indians."[77] This act allowed President Jackson to remove Native Americans from their traditional lands in exchange for land that belonged to other Native American tribes west of the Mississippi by stating that "as [President Jackson] may judge necessary, [land of the Mississippi] will be divided into a suitable number of districts, for the reception of such tribes or nations of Indians as may choose to exchange the lands where they now reside."[78] However, many Native Americans were not given the option to choose to relocate or not to relocate west of the Mississippi. The act also allowed President Jackson to regain control of land given to Native Americans if it proved to be beneficial or if there had been value added by those occupants.[79]

The Indian Removal Act was the basis for further actions by the government and the President in regards to the removal and relocation of Native Americans. The passage of this act laid the precedent for further actions against Native Americans across the entire country. One reason that President Jackson fought for this piece of legislation is that he believed "that the Indians could only find peace and happiness across the Mississippi River" and he argued that those tribes who were already living in the Southwest could become "a member of the United States, as Alabama and Mississippi [had] 'after their children received sufficient education.'"[80] This initial attitude and belief that Native Americans were uneducated and uncivilized played a role in ongoing government policies.

Those Native American tribes who originally inhabited traditional lands west of the Mississippi often experienced little interaction with white settlers until those white settlers were given a reason to expand into the western frontier. There were two immediate events that transformed how white Americans perceived the United States and more importantly, the part of the continent where the United States had sporadic and limited access.[81] Beginning in 1848, the western frontier became the epicenter for "one of the largest voluntary mass migrations in human history" in reaction to the discovery of gold in California. This eventually turned into the California Gold Rush of 1849.[82] This

mad rush to the American West was one reason that white Americans were willing to pack up and leave the eastern United States. However, despite this sudden expansion, the Havasupai and their traditional lands still remained relatively isolated. The second reason was a conglomeration of land purchases by the government starting in 1812.[83] The expansion began with the Louisiana Purchase, moved on to incorporate Texas in 1845 and Oregon in 1846, and because of the final acquisition of previously Mexican held territories and the Gadsden Purchase, "the United States spanned the continent and encompassed an area roughly equivalent in size of all of Europe."[84] However, the United States did not take into account that there were thousands of Native Americans, including the Havasupai, living on these recently acquired purchases.

The decades between the 1840s and 1890s, which included the California Gold Rush and subsequent land purchases, were also marked by conflicts in both military and government departments. Beginning in 1789, the United States began to define "Indian Affairs" and began charging the Department of War with the responsibility.[85] Indian Affairs continued to move between different departments and offices before finally settling in 1849 in the newly created Department of Interior under the title Bureau of Indian Affairs.[86] This new Bureau was responsible "for establishing formal relations with the Indian 'nations,' and for administering the evolving and shifting U.S. government Indian policy."[87] However, as Mark Felton points out in his work, *Today is a Good Day to Fight*, these formal relations and agencies "ruled like a king with a strong mandate from Washington."[88] He also argues that those government officials who worked at the Bureau of Indian Affairs were often "incompetent, disinterested or downright corrupt" and had a "purported fear of 'the Indian' and [were ignorant] of their customs."[89] These attitudes shaped how government officials dealt with Native Americans. One component of the Bureau's job entailed providing payments for those Native Americans who remained peaceful during westward expansion. The responsibility of "security and enforcement" of the decisions made by the Bureau fell to the U.S. military; however, one problem remained.[90] Part of the military's job included passing out firearms to Native Americans for the use of hunting.[91] However, this often resulted in disastrous consequences as Native Americans learned that firearms could be used for more than hunting, and

turned the weapons against the U.S. military.

This systematic change in security prompted the United States government to begin building a policy of "Indian reservations."[92] In 1868, the United States' government officially implemented the Indian reservation system. This system, as defined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs "is a specific area of land which has been reserved, set aside or acquired for the occupancy and use of an Indian tribe."[93] Following the Civil War and the mass migration due to the Gold Rush and U.S. land purchases, the United States saw it necessary to distinctly define the boundaries in which Native American tribes were required to stay. The Havasupai would continue to freely roam the canyons and plateaus for the next decade, but the reservation system was eventually implemented in the Grand Canyon. The reservations were the lands Native Americans "purchased" for themselves once they surrendered traditional lands to the United States.

The reservation system eventually led to the formation of the Indian Peace Policy.[94] Between the years of 1873 and 1877, the United States adopted a policy towards Native Americans which argued that the reservations were a way to keep Native Americans together and away from settlers and were a place in which they could be "civilized."[95] As mentioned before, becoming "civilized" included accepting the "American" way of life and customs. Under President Ulysses S. Grant, the United States' Peace Policy sought "to place the Indians upon reservations as rapidly as possible [where] humanity and kindness may take the place of barbarity and cruelty."[96] Native Americans were divided into two groups – the first included those who were "friendly" and were the responsibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs because those individuals stayed on the reservations.[97] The second group, those who were "hostile," were the responsibility of the U.S. military.[98] However, these labels were often ambiguous and were the root of numerous problems surrounding Native Americans that went off their reservations purely for hunting trips or visits to friends and families.[99]

During these rapid changes in United States policy toward Native Americans, the Havasupai were beginning to see the repercussions of westward expansion by white American settlers. As early as the 1850s and continuing into the 1860s and 1870s, government officials, surveyors, and explorers, "had begun to move through Havasupai territory searching for a transcontinental railroad" route.[100]

However, due to relatively small numbers, the Havasupai were usually not the peoples that resisted the ever increasing westward expansion of white Americans. In reality, the Havasu were only able to retain control of Havasu Canyon against small bands of explorers. For example, a Mormon missionary by the name of Jacob Hamblin, entered Havasu Canyon in 1863, only to be escorted out by the Havasupai with the warning that another "visit might be repeated only under penalty of death."[101] Overall, the Havasupai (along with other smaller tribes) played a minor part in the Indian Wars of the Southwest. More prominent tribes including the Navajo, Apache, and the Yavapai, played more substantial roles in some of the most "notorious raids" aimed at white settlers.[102]

The Havasupai continued to remain a relatively isolated peoples and General Orlando B. Willcox, the commander of the Department of Arizona, observed in 1877 that they had "never been under control."[103] This, along with the ever increasing presence of white settlers in the Grand Canyon, formulated into the development of the Havasupai Indian Reservation.[104] The Havasupai continued their traditional seasonal migrations to and from the plateaus during the winter months. However, according to Havasupai member Billy Burro, they began to encounter white settlers who "would some time come, would bar the Supais from the water holes, the grazing lands, all of that…homesteaders and cattle owners put in lines, saying that [the Havasu] are not to roam that country anymore."[105] The final straw that led to the development of the reservation occurred in 1880 when Arizona Territory Governor John C. Frémont and General Willcox presented the discovery of silver bearing ore on lands occupied by the Havasupai.[106] The only suitable alternative to gain access to the ore was to place them on a reservation away from the discovery site.

On June 8, 1880, President Rutherford B. Hayes issued an executive order which established the Havasupai Reservation "twelve miles long and two-and-a-half miles on each side of [Havasu] creek."[107] The executive order stated that the land would be "withdrawn from sale and settlement, and set apart for the use and occupancy of said Suppai Indians."[108] The order was carried out by the U.S. military who marked the boundaries of the new Reservation in Havasu Canyon.[109] However, the situation for the Havasupai only worsened in the coming years. The United States government had forcefully removed

other Native American tribes from their designated reservations upon the discovery of materials beneficial to the United States. In 1882, Chief Navajo of the Havasupai, agreed to an even smaller plot of land at the bottom of Havasu Canyon.[110] Lieutenant Colonel W.R. Price had reported in 1881 that the Havasu Chief "had evidently been informed that the discovery of mines in [his] country would necessitate the abandonment of [his] lands as the whites would take them for their own use."[111] Apparently, the Havasupai leader explained to his people that opposition "would be foolish for the reason that it could cause my children to be exterminated."[112] It is relatively reasonable to infer that the Havasupai leader did not completely understand what his actions were going to cost his people. Chief Navajo signed over more land to the U.S. and accepted a smaller plot of land in the hopes that the smaller land would be outside the boundaries of the mines. By decreasing their amount of land, he decreased the chance of losing all of their land at a later time. Nonetheless, President Chester A. Arthur reversed the executive order of President Rutherford B. Hayes on March 31, 1882.[113] This new executive order placed the entire Havasu tribe on 518 acres.[114] This "new" reservation only had "land enough to protect the Tribe's water supply and [was] easily marked off" (See Figure 1).[115] As the years passed, the Havasupai were still presented with new problems by the federal government. They had lost much of their traditional grounds; however, they had still been able to relocate during the winter months to the plateaus of the Grand Canyon. This all changed in 1893. In 1893, President Benjamin Harrison issued an executive order which established the plateaus of the Grand Canyon as the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve.[116] Havasupai member, Lemuel Paya, stated that "[the Havasupai] had more land up there to use, but the government claimed it and got tight with it, and we found we had nothing left to use up there."[117] Apparently, the Havasupai "presence in this area, which included a large part of their forage base and several agricultural sites…became problematic."[118] The government now had possession of the lands that the Havasu had lived on for hundreds of years.

The Havasupai peoples may not have had the numbers to play a significant part in the Indian Wars, nor did they have the ability to turn away many of those who settled in the Grand Canyon. Nonetheless, they did not relinquish their rights to their traditional lands without a fight. Their initial reactions to the reservation system included

recruiting advocates for the Havasupai cause and petitioning the government to return traditional lands. Six years after the 1882 executive order of President Chester A. Arthur, the Havasupai worked with Lieutenant Colonel G.N. Brayton to petition the government stating that "the Suppai Reservation is too small for the support of even this small band" and that it was his recommendation that the reservation boundaries expand.[119] Unfortunately, this recommendation fell on deaf ears and once the report was given to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, there was no change. Beginning with this 1888 petition, the Havasupai continued to urge the government to reexamine the boundaries of the Havasupai Reservation. In response to the 1893 executive order of President Benjamin Harrison and a proposal to remove and transport the Havasupai hundreds of miles away, the Havasu turned to an unlikely ally – the new superintendent of the national parks, Henry P. Ewing.[120] Ewing wrote numerous strongly worded reports to the federal government which stated the need for the Havasupai Reservation to be expanded because as "so sure as the sun shines they will never be peaceably removed from it…and should force be used, then every man and boy, who could carry a rifle must first be killed."[121] Again in 1897, Ewing urged that the government reevaluate the boundaries of the reservation because "they [were] the most industrious Indians [he had] ever known" and deserved a title to their traditional lands.[122] Between the years 1896 and 1902, H.P. Ewing wrote many letters in objection to the government and the prospectors who were outlining the Havasupai lands. One can speculate that the Havasupai had found such a staunch supporter in Ewing because he understood the injustices that were occurring and understood that the Havasupai would not be able to survive without these necessary changes. However, the government, in an attempt to quiet the Havasupai, removed Ewing from his position in 1902.[123]

There was a difference in opinion among the Havasu on how to deal with the federal government and the many individuals who were beginning to take over the canyons and plateaus. Within the Havasupai there were individuals who were willing to accommodate these new visitors, but there were also members who chose to stay true to their beliefs and traditions. Either way, Havasu members could not deny the ever expanding presence of government and park officials in the Grand
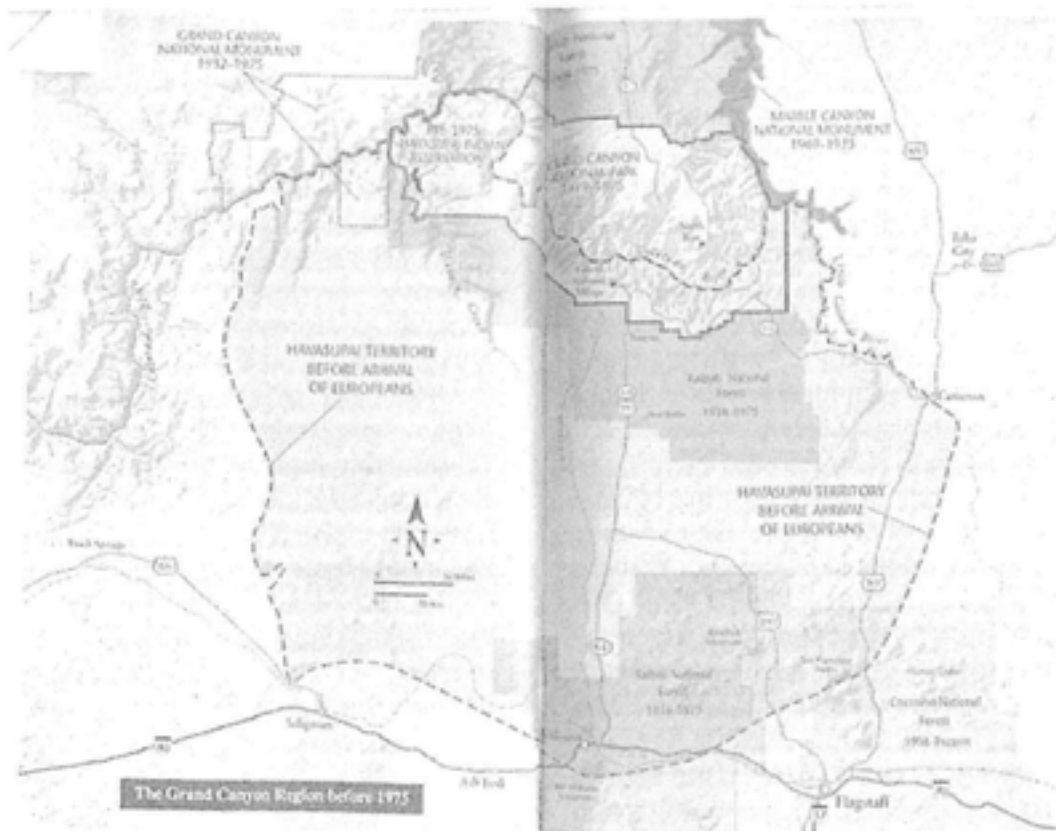
Figure 1. This map outlines the Havasupai traditional lands before the establishment of the Grand Canyon National Park and the Havasupai Reservation pre-1975.

Canyon. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the traditional land of the Havasupai became a forest preserve and national monument. President Theodore Roosevelt recognized the Grand Canyon as a national monument in 1908.[124] This decision restricted where the Havasupai could grow crops and where they could graze their animals. They were required to obtain permits from the parks department.[125] Apparently, for the parks department, the benefits of introducing this permit system outweighed the benefits of providing the Havasu with their *own* land to grow crops on and graze animals. By 1917, the government began to formulate legislation that would categorize the forest preserve and national monument as a United States' National Park. As Hirst points out, "the government had committed itself strongly to the idea of a national park in the area by this time without any knowledge of or even interest in prior claims to the areas. The Havasupai had as their home what the government saw only as a scenic marvel to be opened up to the public."[126] With the beginning stages underway, the Havasupai faced one of the most detrimental encroachments on their way of life. On February 26, 1919, the United States'

Congress established the Grand Canyon National Park.[127]

The Havasupai encountered numerous advances during westward expansion and the development of the national park; however, after the 1919 legislation, they encountered even more hostile advances as they continued to try and use their traditional lands. The Havasu, who worked on the construction of numerous park projects, built temporary homes on the plateaus instead of returning to the canyon every night.[128] However, park officials tore down and burned these homes and replaced them with housing that the Havasupai had to *pay* to live in.[129] One Havasupai member, Mack Putesoy remembers that "[the park officials] just burned them, with things inside. They're no good!"[130] Based on these actions, it is obvious that the parks officials carried out this order because they knew "by moving the Havasupai families into rented cabins, the park transformed them into tenants and erased their aboriginal status."[131] The result was that once they began paying the monthly rent, "they entered into a contractual relationship that implied recognition of the park as landlord."[132] However, despite the parks department's best efforts, the

Havasu have taken over and turned those same cabins into what park officials call an "illegitimate reservation" on the plateaus of the Grand Canyon.[133]

The cabins on the plateaus were built because the Havasupai eventually had to turn to the parks department for a living. Initial reactions which included petitioning the government for a return of traditional lands continued, but Havasupai members "had discovered the wage economy as another means of making ends meet."[134] There were social and environmental factors including drought, flood, and an influenza epidemic that led Havasupai members to rely on the park for a living.[135] The lack of farm acreage led many members to turn to menial wage earning jobs because even that money was more than the "16 cents" they were earning trying to develop their own farms.[136] Havasupai men worked for "three to four dollars a day" and were performing manual labor jobs, including helping to construct the sewer line and a new water line along with the building and maintenance of trails, bridges and the railroad.[137] To park officials, the Havasupai appeared to be the logical choice to hire for work in the park due to their long history and close connection to the lands. For example, many of the trails that the Havasu had originally constructed were now being turned into recognized park trails for tourists.[138] Havasupai members also began to take jobs in "visitor services such as the lodges, the laundry, and the kitchens."[139] Many men and women went to work for nearby families and ranches and many women embarked on the tourism bandwagon and began to sell their art and basket weavings near the railroad and stores.[140] As other forms of living deteriorated the National Parks Service gave preferential hiring to Havasupai members because park officials saw that they were "honest, industrious workers."[141] However, the Havasu were also hired "to fill subordinate jobs" which many white settlers would not accept because they included manual labor.[142] As Stephen Hirst points out, the park services wanted to transport cable for the Kaibab Suspension Bridge to the bottom of the canyon and "they decided against using mules for fear of injuring them and hired forty-two Havasupai men to bear the 450-foot cables weighing 2,200 pounds each."[143] The parks department chose to use Havasu labor – human labor – instead of using mules for fear of hurting the animals; yet, there was no fear of injuring Havasu workers. The traditional way of life, seclusion, and independence that had once dominated the Havasupai way of life began

to be replaced by an obvious reliance on the Grand Canyon National Park, even if that reliance meant unsafe working conditions.

Over the next decades, the relationship between the Havasu, the federal government, and the parks department remained relatively stagnant. The Havasu continued to fight for a rightful claim to their traditional lands and the parks department continued projects and expansion in the Grand Canyon. It was a time of relative consistency and the Havasupai began a new way of life on their reservation and became less and less connected with their old way of life.

However, this time of relative stagnation ended in the mid-twentieth century. Despite the efforts by the federal government and the parks department, the Havasupai continued to petition for a return of their traditional lands. Beginning in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, Grand Canyon National Park officials began to develop legislation that would begin to incorporate more Havasu land. On May 18, 1971, park services held a hearing at Grand Canyon Village where Havasupai members retaliated with their own plan – "A Master Plan for Grand Canyon Village by the Havasupai Tribal Council" – which called for a return of Havasu land.[144] As debates continued on, tribal members recruited Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater and as Stephen Hirst points out, "for the first time since the days of Henry P. Ewing…a government official was speaking as an ally."[145] The Havasu had won over Senator Goldwater during a meeting in which they presented him with their case. He made it clear he understood the Havasupai need for more land. Senator Goldwater introduced S.1296 to the United States' Senate in March of 1973. This original bill called for a return of acreage to the Havasupai and access to traditional, sacred, and religious places in the Grand Canyon.[146] However, by August of that same year, instead of returning land, the new version of S.1296 passed with the acceptance of a land use study of the Havasu to monitor the need for land.[147]

Just as these changes were taking place in the Senate, Arizona Representative Morris Udall introduced a bill to the House of Representatives that included returning land to the Havasu.[148] This bill was H.R. 5900 and it brought new life to the Havasupai cause.[149] The Arizona Sierra Club, which had staunchly disapproved of a return of Havasupai land, switched their position and began to support the return of traditional land.[150] This change boosted the Havasupai cause in the House

and with a winning vote of 180 to 147, bill H.R. 5900, which included the return of Havasu land, passed.[151] However, due to the extreme differences in the Senate and the House bills, a committee was set up to find common ground.[152] Congressional committee approval and the president's signature were necessary to pass the combined bill into law. On December 18, 1974 the committee approved a combined bill. On January 3, 1975 President Gerald Ford signed P.L. 93-620 which states that "the lands generally depicted as the 'Havasupai Reservation Addition…'and consisting of approximately one hundred and eighty-five thousand acres of land and any improvements thereon, are hereby declared to be held by the United States for the Havasupai Tribe."[153] The new law gave the Havasupai rules and regulations, but P.L. 93-620 also states that the "lands may be used for traditional purposes, including religious purposes and the gathering of, or hunting for, wild or native foods, materials for paints and medicines…and any areas historically used as burial grounds may continue to be so used" (See Figure 2).[154] The Havasupai struggle had come full circle.

The Havasupai, the once isolated Native American tribe, faced numerous challenges to their claim to land in and around the Grand Canyon. Outside of the academic world little is known about these Native Americans who have inhabited the lands for hundreds of years. However, the government's desire to incorporate more traditional lands into the Grand Canyon National Park has been hindered by the Havasu presence. Beginning in 1880, the Havasu began to experience pressure by the United States to remove themselves from their lands. In the following decades, they petitioned to keep their claim to their lands, but they were ever increasingly reliant on the Grand Canyon National Park for survival. Given their choices, the Havasu helped turn their traditional lands into a national park; however, in recent years they have continued their struggle to legitimize their claim to their once isolated traditional lands.

IV. Conclusion

The relationship between the Havasu, the federal government, and the parks department has gone through distinct stages. The Havasupai voice has often been ignored and overlooked due to their relative isolation and small numbers. However, to assume that the Havasu voluntarily gave up their traditional lands in the Grand Canyon because of these reasons is not a valid assumption. In fact, they continued to petition for their legitimate claim to the lands inside the canyon and lands on the plateaus.
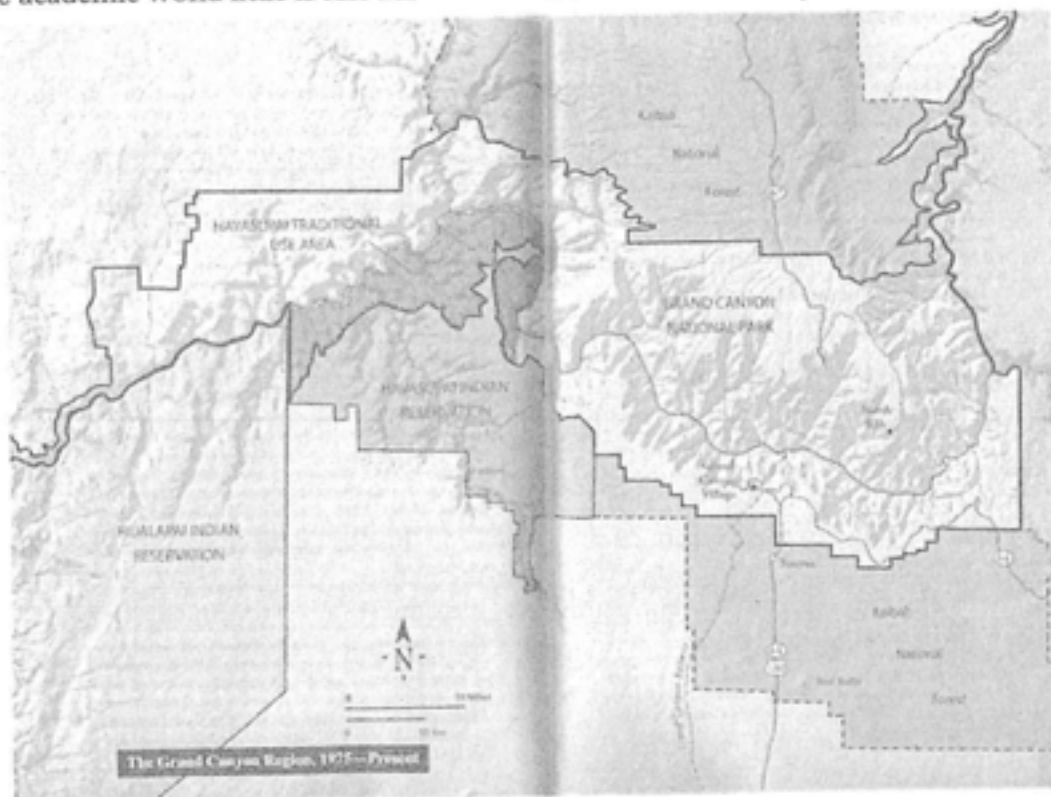

Figure 2. This map outlines the current (post-1975) Havasupai Reservation in conjunction with the Grand Canyon National Park.

Nonetheless, the once isolated tribe eventually had to turn to the Grand Canyon National Park for a way of living.

Scholarship of the early nineteenth century that focused on the white interpretations of the American West has undergone numerous changes. Scholarship now focuses on multiple accounts of westward expansion and the need for apologies and reparations for the injustices that occurred during that expansion. Early scholarship provided the history of the "winner" of the American past and most works were intellectual histories that focused on a specific idea and how the past could be explained through that idea. However, as times have changed, the focus has shifted off of the "winners" and onto the bigger and more accurate interpretation of the history of the American West. This new interpretation consists of multiple points of view and allowing the previously untold story to emerge. This study of the Havasupai tribe clearly aligns with New Western History. As stated, this is not enough for some modern scholars. Not only does the story need multiple points, but it also needs to acknowledge the injustices against Native Americans.

To put it simply, the Havasupai needed the wages that they earned from the parks department because other ways of living were deteriorating. The once isolated members lived off of the land and were free to roam the canyons and the plateaus. However, the increase in westward expansion brought more and more settlers to Havasu traditional lands and because of this, tribal members faced an uncertain future. Havasu members tried to continue their old way of life, but with the drastic change in their surroundings, they had no other option but to accept a new way of life. Nonetheless, they continued their fight against the park and continually petitioned the government for a return of their rightful land. Their connections to the land strengthened this desire to stay because they did not want to see their land lose its Havasupai element. Their determination eventually paid off in the middle of the twentieth century with the return of thousands of acres.

This story of the Havasupai is new because it moves beyond the generic and historical government reasons for expansion. It moves beyond the federal government's desire of the land in and around the Grand Canyon, the reasons for westward expansion, Manifest Destiny, and a previously one-sided interpretation of the past. The Havasupai story is one example of Native American history that has been left out of mainstream and popular interest. However, they have continually fought back and the deeply desired Havasupai element remains in the park to this day. The Havasu story may still be unknown to many, but their interactions with the U.S government are a part of the history of the American West and can never be erased. The Havasupai have had a lasting impact on the United States both politically and culturally and they have shown that the American desire for the western frontier has also had a lasting influence on the relationship between Native Americans and the United States.

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Endnotes

1 Throughout this paper the author has chosen to use the term Native Americans instead of "Indians" or "American Indians." There has been discrepancy over the politically correct terms and it is a matter of choice.

2 Frontier refers to the land west of the Mississippi that was unoccupied by settlers of European descent.

3 Manifest Destiny will be referred to repeatedly in this paper. It is the idea that European settlers had the right to expand west because they were the chosen individuals who had been given the right by God.

4 "White" in this context refers to a generalization of settlers who were of European descent who pursued westward expansion.

5 The Havasupai are also referred to as the Havasu, Supai, or Suppai. There has been an inconsistency on what the Havasupai tribe prefers to be referred to. All names including Havasupai, Supai, Suppai, and Havasu have been used in different sources referenced during this paper. Throughout this paper the Havasupai will be referenced mainly as Havasupai and Havasu unless directly quoted.

6 Stephen Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon: The Story of the Havasupai People* (Grand Canyon, Arizona: Grand Canyon Association, 2006), 207.

7 Henry F. Dobyns and Robert C. Euler, *The Havasupai People* (Phoenix, Arizona: Indian Tribal Series, 1971), 2.

8 The "winner" in this context is the United States' government because they were able to fulfill their ideals of westward expansion. "Americans" in this context refers to the general stereotype of white settlers of European descent who were both culturally and racially different from Native Americans.

9 Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), 24.

10 Ibid.

11 Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1935), 73. Weinberg is a political scientist and not a historian, but he applies intellectual theory to historical events. Weinberg uses the term "white race." However, depending on the wording of the original author, the description of settlers from European descent will differ. Within each paragraph the wording will change to accompany and fit with the original author's intention.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Edward McNall Burns, *The American Idea of Mission: Concepts of National Purpose and Destiny* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1957), vii.

15 Ibid., 189.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., 33.

18 Burns, *The American Idea of Mission*, 33.

19 Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History*, 261.

20 Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin, preface to *Trails: Toward a New Western History* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1991), xii.

21 Ibid., xi.

22 Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), 20.

23 Ibid., 21.

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25 Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest*, 21.

26 Ibid., 25-26.

27 Ibid., 39.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., 322.

30 Ibid., 349.

31 Richard White, "It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own:" *A History of the American West* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 3.

32 Ibid., 4.

33 Ibid., 85.

34 Ibid.

35 George Miles, "To Hear an Old Voice: Rediscovering Native Americans in American History," in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, ed. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), 63.

36 Ibid., 54.

37 Ibid., 56-59.

38 Ibid., 60.

39 Ibid., 61.

40 Miles, "To Hear an Old Voice," 70.

41 Paula Mitchell Marks, *In a Barren Land: The American Indian Quest for Cultural Survival, 1607 to the Present* (New York: Perennial, 2002), x.

42 Ibid.

43 Richard White, "The American West and American Empire," in *Manifest Destinies and Indigenous Peoples*, ed. David Maybury-Lewis, Theodore Macdonald, and Biorn Maybury-Lewis (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 2009), 204.

44 Ibid., 203.

45 Ibid., 204.

46 Ibid., 206.

47 Ibid., 213.

48 Laurence Armand French, "Native American Reparations: Five Hundred Years and Counting," in *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, ed. Roy L. Brooks (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 241.

49 Ibid., 242.

50 Ibid., 246.

51 Ibid., 244.

52 Ibid., 246.

53 Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000), x.

54 Ibid., 176.

55 Ibid.

56 Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 33.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid. There is some discrepancy over when exactly the Havasupai appeared in the Canyon. Some archaeologists and research done by linguists argue that the Havasupai could easily be descendents of the first humans on the North American continent who were here over 20,000 years ago.

61 Ibid., 7.

62 Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 7.

63 M.R. Tillotson and Frank J. Taylor, *Grand Canyon Country* (California: Stanford University Press, 1929), 30.

64 Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 37-38.

65 Ibid., 40.

66 Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., *The Havasupai: Prisoners of the Grand Canyon* (New York: Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., 1977), 1.

67 Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 7-8.

68 Ibid., 42. The first Spanish exploration to the Grand Canyon occurred in 1527.

69 Ibid., 44. Tusayan is a set of villages on Hopi traditional land.

70 Ibid., 45.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 Dobyns and Euler, *The Havasupai People*, 11.

74 Tillotson and Taylor, *Grand Canyon Country*, 31.

75 George Wharton James, *In & Around the Grand Canyon: The Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1900), 275. As of 1900, there were less than fifteen individuals who had ever visited a Havasupai village.

76 Bill Yenne, *Indian Wars: The Campaign for the American West* (Yardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme Publishing, 2006), 24.

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78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

80 Ronald N. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*, rev. ed. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 11.

81 Yenne, *Indian Wars*, 39.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid.

85 Yenne, *Indian Wars*, 46. Indian affairs deals with maintaining formal relationships with the different Native American tribes and helps decipher the ever-changing U.S. Indian Policy.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

88 Mark Felton, *Today is a Good Day to Fight: The Indian Wars and the Conquest of the West* (Great Britain: The History Press, 2009), 194.

89 Ibid., 194.

90 Yenne, *Indian Wars*, 46.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid., 114.

94 Robert M. Utley, "Wars of the Peace Policy, 1869–1886," in *American Indians in American History, 1870 – 2001*, ed. Sterling Evans (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 17.

95 Yenne, *Indian Wars*, 114.

96 Secretary of the Interior Summary (1873) quoted in Yenne, *Indian Wars*, 115.

97 Utley, "Wars of the Peace Policy," 18.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid.

100 Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 53.

101 Ibid., 54.

102 Yenne, *Indian Wars*, 73.

103 General Orlando B. Willcox (1877) quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 58.

104 Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 59.

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109 Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 59.

110 Ibid., 64.

111 Lieutenant Colonel W.R. Price (July 1, 1881) quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 64.

112 Chief Navajo (July 7, 1881) quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 64.

113 Executive Order, March 31, 1882, in *Laws*, ed. Kappler, 809.

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115 Ibid.

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121 Henry P. Ewing (November 17, 1896) quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 74.

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123 Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 79.

124 Dobyns and Euler, *The Havasupai People*, 30.

125 Ibid., 30-33.

126 Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 99.

127 Ibid., 101.

128 Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000), 284.

129 Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 163. Emphasis added by author.

130 Havasupai member Mack Putesoy (1934) quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 163.

131 Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 163.

132 Hirst, "A Havasupai Homeland Becomes a National Park," 51.

133 Burnham, *Indian Country*, 284.

134 Hirst, "A Havasupai Homeland Becomes a National Park," 48.

135 Ibid., 50.

136 Ibid.

137 Dobyns and Euler, *The Havasupai People*, 43.

138 Hirst, "A Havasupai Homeland Becomes a National Park," 50.

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid., 48.

141 Dobyns and Euler, *The Havasupai People*, 40. The Parks department became the National Parks Service after 1919.

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149 Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 214.

150 Ibid., 223.

151 Ibid.

152 Ingram, "Enlarging Grand Canyon National Park," 33.

153 *Grand Canyon National Park Enlargement Act*, Public Law 93-620, *United States Statutes at Large* 88, pt.2 (1974): 2092.

154 Ibid.