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Staking Their Claim:
The Search for Equality and Justice in History

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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 E.T. Strong.

On behalf of all Wittenberg history students past and present, we dedicate this year's history journal to Margaret Debuty, for her thirty years of service to the history department, its students and this journal.

The History Journal Editorial Board

Staking Their Claim:
The Search for Equality and Justice in History
[Table of Contents]

Hartje Paper:
Dying for the Cause: General James Wadsworth and his Legacy

Edward Trowbridge Strong

"No man has given himself up to the war with such self-sacrificing patriotism as Gen. Wadsworth"
~ John Hay

The entire flank had been crushed and his division was in full panic. He must have seemed terribly out of place, commanding general of the 4th division of the V Corps riding with his aide Lieutenant Rogers[1] trying to reorganize his troops to make a stand. A man who only a few days before had been nominated for promotion to Major General[2] now galloped along the front lines of the chaotic inferno that was the Battle of the Wilderness, rallying his men to stand and fight. He was beginning to feel his age and at fifty-six, he was nearly a decade older than any other officer in the Union Army.[3] He was on his third horse, the first two having been shot out from under him.[4] The summer's humidity could be felt even through the dense shade of the vast wilderness which he found himself in. His mind raced as he turned to see an advancing column through the smoke and dust; their grey uniforms merely confirmed the fact that had been slowly dawning on him, retreat was the only option. His thoughts oddly turned to home as he turned his horse, his sprawling estate in the peaceful Genesee Valley of upstate New York. Images of the home he had built and family he had raised passed through his mind and then, darkness. He likely did not here the shot but the ball entered into the back of his skull and smeared blood onto Lt. Roger's chest. Dazed and blood soaked, Rogers desperately fell to his generals side but, with the enemy closing on them fast he was forced to abandon him and flee.

Wadsworth had always been a rebel in his own right and unafraid to fight for what he believed in. The staunch abolitionist had supported and campaigned both the Free Soil and Republic parties. Despite his age and wealth, he offered his services in whatever capacity the Federal government wished upon the outbreak of the war. It is not surprising then, that he would fight for every second of life

that he could. There he lay, passed over and left for dead by the rebels as they gave chase to his fleeing brigades. What he must have thought and dreamed of for hours before he was discovered by a passing confederate officer. Thinking back on the glory his division had won at Gettysburg or perhaps his loss in the New York Gubernatorial Race of 1862[5]. But more than likely his thoughts must have turned to his family, to his son James who at that very moment was also fighting for his father's cause of Union and abolition.

Confederate surgeon James Claiborne[6] was the first to treat him and immediately determined the wound to be mortal. Claiborne did all he could to ensure that he was comfortable, dressing the wound and giving him water and morphine. The dying general lay resting against a tree, conscious but unable to speak or move. After being identified by Union prisoners, his presence received great curiosity from the many passing Confederates. He was reputed to have more money than the entire Confederate government.[7] Union prisoners spoke of a man who refused pay for his entire military service and spent his own money to shelter and supply his troops. He would linger on for another two days before finally succumbing to his wounds. His body was returned to the Union army and transported home to be buried in his family plot in the town he and his brother had founded, Geneseo.

His family, community, and country deeply mourned his loss but took heart from his convictions to duty and public service. His son and Grandson would both go on to become United States Senators; his great-grandson Jeremiah became a United Nations Ambassador. But it was Jeremiah's daughter, Alice Hay Wadsworth who would marry a young man who had just been discharged from the Army Air Force following World War II by the

name of Trowbridge Strong. They would have five children together, the oldest named Michael. Michael would go to law school, as General Wadsworth had, and met a woman there whom he married and had four children. The youngest of those four was named for his two grandfathers, Edward Trowbridge Strong and grew up in the house the general built in Geneseo, New York.

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1 John F. Krumviede, "Old Waddy's Coming" The Military Career of Brigadier General James S. Wadsworth (Baltimore: Butternut and Blue, 2002), 110.

2 Krumviede, 119.

3 Shelby Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative Vol. III* (New York: Random House, 1974), 171-172.

4 Krumviede, 107.

5 Foote, 172.

6 Krumviede, 111.

Framing Kingship: Directed Conceptions of Kingship in Twelfth-Century England and France

Adam Matthews

In February 1119, a dispute over the Norman castle of Ivry escalated into a major rebellion of the son-in-law of Henry I of England and ended in a personal tragedy which has long cast a dark cloud over Henry's reign. The fortress of Ivry was held by the king, but belonged, by hereditary right, to Eustace of Breteuil, who had married Henry's daughter Juliana. While Henry was not yet ready to return Ivry, he pledged that it would be handed over in the future and gave the son of Ivry's castellan, Ralph Harenc, to Eustace as a hostage and show of good faith. This gesture was reciprocated by Eustace, who provided the king with Henry's two young grand-daughters as counter-hostages.

With the terms of the agreement settled the matter might have been resolved, but on bad council Eustace blinded his hostage, the son of the castellan, and sent him home to his devastated parents. The boy's enraged father demanded vengeance on the counter-hostages, and Henry willingly gave his granddaughters to the castellan. The two girls were brutally mutilated with their eyes being put out and their noses cut off. Castellan Ralph Harenc was then compensated by the king with the castle of Ivry and gifts. Upon the return of his wounded daughters Eustace angrily prosecuted a rebellion against his lord and father-in-law, which Henry soon defeated at the siege of Breteuil. As a concluding punishment, Eustace lost his estate and his lands were given to others.[1]

For a great many, this account of Eustace of Breteuil's conflict with Henry I portrays the king as a callous and calculating man whose selfish concern for power drove him to destroy the lives and property of those closest to him. Is this interpretation fair? What drove Henry to act in this fashion and disregard the welfare of his family? While these questions are deeply personal, their answers are derived from a broader societal perception of kingship which often informed royal actions and policies.

As the chronicler Orderic Vitalis asserts, the king needed to be mindful of the sentiments and opinions of the great lords of his realm. One of his fundamental challenges was to keep them pacified. In the wake of the landing of Henry I's elder brother and rival, Duke Robert of Normandy, at Portsmouth and with the threat of a possible *coup*, Orderic provides some retrospective advice through his chronicle's speech from Count Robert of Meulan: "placate every one with promises, grant whatever they ask, and in this way draw all men assiduously to your cause. If they ask for London or York, do not hesitate to promise great rewards appropriate to royal munificence."[2] While Count Robert advised that gifts and favors were indeed effective ways of preventing discontent among the magnates, this tactic could not be maintained indefinitely. Providing a consistent and reliable source of mediation, judgment, and law would prove to be a much more secure and cost-effective way of achieving one of the most vital goals of kingship: political stability. In the simplest of terms, Henry's decision concerning his granddaughters indicated a consistency of action toward his vassals in respect to the sphere of law. As a figure of public attention, consistent and traditionally framed legal policy was a cornerstone of his reign's security. To deviate from this image was to invite rebellion and disaster. While this legal consistency was not universally observed by all twelfth-century kings, Henry's dedication to it allowed him to rule effectively for over three decades and explains why a generation later, there was a wide-spread desire to return to the policies of his reign.

As the cause of Duke Robert's abortive coup in 1101 collapsed, those barons who had conspired against the king in England now faced Henry's judgment. As Henry's attitude toward his granddaughters might suggest, these men had cause for alarm, but the king's subsequent action against them lacked the physical hostility his kin

had suffered. The judicial actions against these treasonous lords demonstrate a level of order, restraint, and control; thus "[he] charged them, not all together but individually at different times, with the offence of violating their pledged faith in many ways. He imposed large fines on some of them who were unable to clear themselves of the crime laid to their charge, and disinherited and drove into perpetual exile others."[3]

Henry's justice toward these men provides us with three important points about his approach toward law. First, cases were judged based on individual merit, rather than collectively. Second, the charges against the accused were placed within the context of lordship. Lastly, none of the magnates suffered beyond losing their lands, and exile. The punishment of the rebels in 1101 shows a Henry I who does not advocate a heavy handed or violent form of justice. This seems to be an almost different Henry than the one who gave up the reigns of law into the hands of man willing to brutalize the king's own kin. If we have two opposing Henrys then it should be recognized that the Henry of the trials of 1101 appears far more in our sources than the Henry of 1119.

Following the political conflicts of 1101, the next year saw the uprising of Earl Robert Bellême. Henry I's action against Earl Robert, again demonstrates a respect for law and judgment. After being called to answer charges against him, the earl fled from court and prepared for war. The king's response was not rash, but rather speaks to his respect for legal process, "He therefore publicly condemned Robert as a man who had been openly accused and had failed to clear himself by process of law, and pronounced him a public enemy unless he returned to do right and submit to justice."[4] Orderic's description speaks to the restraint Henry exercised in regards to his power and how his action reflected upon its perception. It was only after Earl Robert did not present himself that the king resorted to military force to bring the rebellious earl to heel. At the conclusion of the campaign against the rebel, Earl Robert was not executed, nor physically harmed. Robert Bellême received the same punishment as did many of the rebels the previous year. For his treason and rebellion, Henry stripped the earl of his lands and "allowed him to leave unharmed with his horses and arms, and granted him a safe-conduct through England to the sea-coast."[5] It is indeed telling that Bellême's revolt was the last in England during Henry's reign.[6] Four

years later, after Henry's victory at the Battle of Tinchebray, the king again displayed his policy of disinheriting those charged with treason, rather than harsher punishment. While the more dangerous ringleaders of his brother's faction (including his brother) were imprisoned, the aftermath of Tinchebray again speaks to what was becoming a pattern for Henry I: a policy of a mild and standardized form of justice.[7] What made this pattern so important and why was consistency of justice so strongly emphasized by chroniclers, like Orderic Vitalis?

What we see with Henry's use of law is the construction or fulfillment of an idealized image that carried a powerful connotation: the king as the font of justice.[8] The broader medieval conception of kingship emphasized several core values. In addition to justice, defense of the weak (and the Church), power sanctioned through God's favor, lordship (including all the associations that came with it), and military leadership were all aspects of kingship which came to define the role and value of kings in medieval society. Successful kings were ones which were able to identify the role they were expected to play, and frame their rule within this context. Unsuccessful rulers were ones who could not exhibit these qualities, and therefore fostered concern among the aristocracy and the Church over their ability to perform their expected role in society. With his displays of consistent law and judgment, King Henry I was attempting to visibly frame his kingship in these terms, and thereby strengthen confidence in his rule and insure stability. Henry I and other early twelfth-century rulers relied on rhetorical and symbolic tools to publicize their fulfillment of these qualities.

Chronicles, such as Orderic Vitalis' *Ecclesiastical History*, proved useful in conveying the attributes Henry I, and other contemporary kings wished to convey, but they were not the only tools in a ruler's arsenal. Royal charters (grants of land or privileges) were another means by which a king might communicate the ideals and merits of his rule. One king, a contemporary of Henry I, whose surviving charters demonstrate that he sought to frame the image of his rule, was Louis VI of France.

For deciphering principles of kingship in charters, identification of vocabulary and rationalizations for word choice are essential. As the charters discussed will show, these documents were often formulaic and frequently used similar language in particular places to emphasize specific points. We can safely assume that such structure

was intended to communicate specific hierarchical points about both the issuer of the charter and the recipient, serving to frame the status of the issuer of the charter(in this case: the king).

In 1129, King Louis VI issued a charter to Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, where he first scolded him over ambiguous control of several serfs in the bishop's household (which Louis claimed were actually under his jurisdiction).[9] The charter goes on to grant the bishop the control of these serfs, and provides witnesses and signatures to verify the transfer of rights. Such a document may at first seem to be a mundane exchange. It is rich, however, in royal symbolism which Louis used to increase his future authority with this Episcopal see.

The charter opens with, "In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, I Louis, by the grace of God, king of the French."[10] An illustrative example, such as this, confirms that the king (Louis in this case) is king of the French "by the grace of God" and owes his authority to God's providence.[11] This is reaffirmed in the first part of the phrase where he is appealing to God for authority in the matter of the charter's concern. In this quote, God's authority was invoked to provide strength to the king's case. Audience is an important aspect of the analysis of these documents. Louis' charter shows that he was using central tenants of the Church's perceptions toward kingship to buttress both his argument and his authority over Bishop Geoffrey. By incorporating the ecclesiastical ideology into royal symbolism, the king enjoyed a better relationship with the Church.[12] This is an example of a successfully framed reign. Orderic Vitalis provides an example from the height of the conflict between Henry I and Count Eustace of Breteuil, which complements the theologically derived sentiment of Louis' charter.

In the absence of her husband and surrounded by the king's hostile forces, Henry's desperate daughter, Juliana, planned to murder her father. A crucial line from Orderic emphasizes the theme of God's delegation of power to kings: "in the end, plotting to raise her hand against the Lord's anointed, she asked with treacherous intent to speak to her father."[13] From the example of Louis' charter and Orderic's comment about Henry's anointing, it is clear that the relationship between God and king held strong emphasis in both chronicle and charter sources, but more importantly, also in both Anglo-Norman England, and Capetian France. As the context of Louis' document suggests, invoking the sanction of God added weight to the king's message,

especially when the king sought to frame himself to the Church. Like law, the use of religion to frame kingship buttressed royal authority.

In addition to the derivative authority of God, justice and royal responsibility were also points expressed in charters. Again, the specific language of the charters is vital to understanding subtle clues to this particular king's idealized rule. A charter expressing the rights of the clergy attributes, "like the holiest of legal motions, kingly power, from the burden imposed on him [the king] by the office, he is given the defense of the church."[14] In this charter, though talking about vacant positions in the Church, Louis VI, once again states strong feelings about the derivative power of his station. The beginning of the charter, similar to the one discussed above, frames God as the source of the authority of the king. It is here, however, that he states that royal power carries legal and judicial power as well. We additionally see that there are certain responsibilities which Louis acknowledges are the providence of kingship, such as defending the church. Louis frames his own role similarly to Abbot Suger's depiction of him in *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*. The defense of churches and the helpless is a strong theme in Suger's work, as is indicated in the abbot's description of the king's defense of Saint Denis from the unlawful attack of Burchard of Montmorency.[15]

Often chroniclers provide us with their feelings about kingship, but charters uniquely show that sentiments from the king himself demonstrate that rulers did not necessarily feel entitled to do whatever they pleased. Rather, they perhaps saw a sense of duty inherent in their office. Additionally, by acknowledging a function for his position, Louis provides himself with clear and defendable rationales for him and his successors to intervene in the affairs of the Church and the aristocracy. In such interventions, kings would be interceding as judges and protectors, with divinely sanctioned authority. It is clear, therefore, that these seemingly mundane documents served as a powerful stage for royal expression and political philosophy.

Returning to the question of Henry's supposed callous disregard for his own family, we see that due to the importance of framing the role of the king, Henry did not have the luxury to deviate from the path of how he displayed his rule. The situation that led to the mutilation of his granddaughters was one with little flexibility. Any action which might have communicated a prioritization of the king's personal life at the expense of his political role would have

welcomed whole-sale revolt from Henry's vassals. If the king could not provide justice for Ralph Harenc after his son had been harmed in the castellan's faithful service to the king, then why would the magnates owing to the king have cause to trust that they would not be neglected so under similar circumstances.

To show mercy to his granddaughters would have been to break the consistency of his framed rule. This consistency was especially vital in 1119, a time when he could not afford to appear unreliable. As Norman strength increased, hostile factions had begun to grow against Henry I, who after 1106 was at once de facto duke in Normandy, while King in England.[16] With such an imbalance of power in Northwestern France, Henry had spawned many enemies. The list of the Norman King's opponents and the context of their cause was a grave matter for a king with a precarious claim to the duchy he had forcefully seized from his brother. Duke Robert Curthose had decisively lost his inheritance of the duchy to his brother at the Battle of Tinchebray in 1106, but left his son William Clito with a powerful and tradition-backed claim to Normandy. The threat of Henry's nephew is one which would plague him in the closing years of his reign, and was one that his enemies exploited to its fullest extent in 1118.[17]

Henry's lord, King Louis VI of France, with his allies, Count Baldwin of Flanders and Count Fulk V of Anjou, invaded Henry's lands and spawned a revolt that combined with the invasion of his most dangerous neighbors, threatened Henry's possession of Normandy. Matters worsened for King Henry with the deaths of three of his most trusted advisors.[18] It was in this context of invasion and internal rebellion that Henry's granddaughters were blinded. It was one of the principle rebels, Amaury III de Montfort, who convinced Henry's son-in-law Eustace to mutilate the hostage in his care, and thereby forcing a response from Henry.[19] With rebellion spawned from massed external invasion Henry's hands were tied. To survive as king and ruler of Normandy, he had to demonstrate a consistency which would buttress the legitimacy of his rule and provide stable kingship. To be inconsistent and show mercy would have been to license further rebellion as well as risking political isolation.

The granddaughters of Henry I were not victims to an inherent medieval barbarism, nor were they prey to the emotionally detached, callous whims of a power hungry madman. The suffering of these girls, while abhorrent to modern observers, represented a framed kingship which medieval Anglo-Norman and French kings used to provide stability to a political system still primarily based on custom and tradition.

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[1] The above paragraphs are paraphrased from--- Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. VI, trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: The Oxford University Press, 2004). 211-213. --- C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I*, ed. Amanda Clark Frost (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 253.

[2] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. V, trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, (New York: The Oxford University Press, 2004). 317.

[3] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. VI, trans. by Marjorie Chibnall. 13.

[4] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. VI, trans. by Marjorie Chibnall. 21.

[5] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. VI, trans. by Marjorie Chibnall. 31.

[6] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. VI, trans. by Marjorie Chibnall. 31.

[7] Referring to the imprisonment of Duke Robert--- Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. VI, trans. by Marjorie Chibnall. 95.

[8] The term "font of justice" is taken out of the *Gesta Stephani* to describe the calamities that follow in the absence of royal presence, "For, they (the Londoners) said, every kingdom was exposed to calamities from ill-fortune when a representative of the whole government and a font of justice was lacking." See--- *Gesta Stephani*, trans. K.R. Potter (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1955). 3. --- Similar statements are made in other chronicles. These quotations are often dominated by statements of absolute and highly rhetorical language. Orderic Vitalis explains that in the absence of King Stephen from Normandy, "deeds and others like them were performed by the Normans, and they devoured each other with their own teeth, as we read figuratively of the beast in the Apocalypse." --- see Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. VI, trans. by Marjorie Chibnall. 459.

[9] Charter issued in 1129 by Louis VI to Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, where he first scolds the bishop over the ambiguous control of several serfs in the bishop's household which Louis claimed were actually under his jurisdiction, see *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres d'apres les Cartulaires et les Titres Originaux*. eds. E. du Lepinois and Lucien Merlet, vol 1, (1129) no. XLV, pp. 137.

[10] This English quotation has been translated from the Latin, ""In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, ego Ludovicus, Dei Gracia, Francorum rex…" See--- *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, XLV. 137.

[11] *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, XLV. 137.

[12] Ralph Turner, Eleanor of Aquitaine (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 41-42.

[13] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. 6, trans., Marjorie Chibnall, 213.

[14] This English quotation has been translated from the Latin, "Cum, juxta sacratissimarum legum institute, regia potestas, ex injuncto sibi office, ecclesiarum defensioni." See--- *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres d'apres les Cartulaires et les Titres Originaux*. eds. E. du Lepinois and Lucien Merlet, vol 1, (1129, avant le 14 avril), no. XLIV, pp. 135.

[15] Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. by Richard C. Cusimano and John Moorhead, (Washington D.C: The Catholic University of America Press, 1992). 29.

[16] Marjorie Chibnall points out that Henry was careful not to use the title of Duke and to rule his paternal lands as a single entity under the crown. She explain how Hyde chronicler referred to him as "Res Normanglorum". She explains that his refraining from the ducal title was the insecurity of his hold on the duchy while Duke Robert and his son remained alive.--- Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. 6, trans., Marjorie Chibnall, 99 (note 3).

[17] Hollister backs Chibnall's assertion that these events could have taken place between 1116 and 1118.--- C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I*, ed. Amanda Clark Frost, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). 246.

[18] 1118: Queen Matilda, Count William of Evreux, and Count Robert of Meulan.--- C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I*, ed. Amanda Clark Frost, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). 247.

[19] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. 6, trans., Marjorie Chibnall, (Oxford: The Oxford University Press, 1978). 211.

To What Extent Do The Ballads of Robin Hood Reflect The Ideals of Political Justice In The Later Middle Ages?

Abby Cengel

For centuries, the legend of Robin Hood has circulated and evolved, shaping and reforming into what we know as the "classic" Robin Hood tale today. Since the story has had centuries to develop, there are several queries that surface about the original Robin Hood and the original Robin Hood legends. Much speculation surrounds the origins of the legends, and the "real-life" Robin Hood that existed in the Middle Ages.[1] It is virtually impossible to know the "true" significance of the Robin Hood legends as they were originally understood, but by examining the Robin Hood ballads (first printed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), one may perhaps gain a greater understanding of the legend.[2] Quite a few ballads remain intact from the Middle Ages, but the main focus of this essay will be of the "Geste of Robin Hood," which is a wonderfully preserved example of the significance of the man that Robin Hood was (or was not), and the ideals of society that he embodied. However, there is some controversy over the insight that the ballads provide. Some argue that the Robin Hood ballads can be seen as a source of entertainment, but this was not their only function; the ballads held a deeper meaning for the people of the later Middle Ages. The ballads of Robin Hood reflect the peoples' ideals of political justice through the character of Robin Hood as a yeoman and "noble robber" and through the theme of restorative justice in the ballads, which reflect the peoples' ideal views of justice in society.

The historiography of Robin Hood is quite extensive, much of which includes speculation about the original meaning of the Robin Hood ballads. Prominent historians, such as J.C. Holt., have argued that, at the time that the ballads were written down, the Robin Hood ballads lacked a deeper meaning of political justice.[3] Holt writes, "What is now pure adventure to the young or laudable social protest to the radical was at first a glorification of violence to young and old alike."[4] At first glance this argument seems to be valid, since violence is quite a prominent occurrence in the ballads. In the "Geste of Robin Hood," Little John, one of Robin Hood's men, becomes involved in a violent tussle with the keeper of the ale and the cook in the sheriff's household, just because they will not let him dine until the sheriff has returned.[5] According to Holt, this shows how violence in the story was accepted with a "casual brutality" because violence occurred quite frequently in the later Middle Ages.[6] This point falters, though, when one reads further into the ballad and discovers that the cook, deemed a worthy opponent by Little John, is asked to come join Robin Hood in the forest to use his good fighting skills in aiding Robin Hood.[7] In "Robin Hood and the Monk" as well, the violence used against the sheriff is because he has been deemed a "false felon" and an evil man by Robin Hood; therefore, the violence has purpose.[8] Thus, the violence is being put to good use, or, as some may argue, serves a higher purpose than violence for its own sake. In order to enforce and promote justice, later medieval society utilized violence, just like in the two ballads shown here.[9] This seems to be overlooked by Holt, who inaccurately dismisses the violence as only a source of entertainment.

Holt also writes that the Robin Hood ballads lack political significance because Robin Hood does not "seek to overturn social conventions" through his violent actions and presence in the forest; therefore, the stories must only be for violent entertainment purposes.[10] He also argues that there is no evidence to suggest that the ballads were linked to agrarian discontents in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, further emphasising his previous point.[11] Once again, this argument holds to a certain degree, since the ballads of Robin Hood probably originated in the North of England and the major sources of the peasant uprisings were in the South. However, the ballads do not necessarily have to be linked to

major social uprisings to be considered a part of the popular culture's ideals on political justice. One does not need to prove the story to be a motivator of rebellion in order to examine the deeper meaning behind the ballads. It is not certain if Robin Hood inspired peasants to revolt in this time period, but the ballads can still be used to explore the peoples' views on political justice and its ideals.

One of the main ways in which the ballads reflect the ideals of political justice in the later Middle Ages is through Robin Hood's character as a yeoman (and through his men's statuses as yeomen as well). At least three ballads from this time ("The Geste of Robin Hood," "Robin Hood and the Monk" and "Robin Hood and the Potter") specifically make Robin and his men out to be yeomen.[12] Yeomen were men (and women) of the "middling sort" who, after the Black Death in the fourteenth century, experienced a rise of living standards, particularly among "those who were skilled labourers in regular employment, tenant farmers, artisans, and craftsmen."[13] This is seen in the "Geste," in which Robin is identified as "a good yeoman" of whom "much good" has been heard from his activities that require the skills of his particular craft (forestry); this largely defines his identity, especially as a forest yeoman.[14] The forest is the place where outlaws could be found, so Robin Hood, as a yeoman of the forest, was independent and resistant to almost all kinds of authority.[15] This status, as A.J. Pollard argues, "is crucial to the identification of the stories with this particular social world," because yeomen comprised a large part of the audience of the ballads.[16] Thus, Robin Hood, as a yeoman, was a character with whom many people could identify because of the similarities.

One such similarity was that Robin Hood and his men were quite familiar with the workings of the local government (i.e. relations with the sheriff and abbot), like the yeomen of the later Middle Ages were.[17] The yeomen of the later Middle Ages showed their familiarity with the parliamentary process in the manifestos that some substantial villagers drew up in different areas around England, beginning in 1450, which asserted that "the king was not above his laws...and that he could not tax his subjects at will without the consent of parliament."[18] Paul Hyams also writes that those involved in local politics (i.e. yeomen) tried to keep authority and the amount of money paid to the government to a minimum.[19] This is not unlike Robin Hood, who also protested the unjust collection of money in

the "Geste," and was able to help a knight deeply (and wrongly) in debt by giving him four hundred pounds, clothing, a horse, and other goods.[20] Thus, the ballads of Robin Hood reflect the political ideals of the later Middle Ages through Robin Hood's status as a yeoman, who corrected the injustices of society as real yeomen attempted to do.

This tendency to act on a basis for the "common weal" (or good) is also a large part of Robin Hood's character, and defines him as a "noble robber."[21] Eric Hobsbawm describes the noble robber, writing that he or she is the most famous and popular type of bandit because he or she rights wrongs and restores justice.[22] As demonstrated previously, the act of seeking justice to "right the wrongs" of society was a large part of the dedications of yeomen to their political involvement. Bernard Lumpkin also writes that the noble robber's community, much like the communities of yeomen that sought justice, "enforces a code of conducts, values, and beliefs which contains his subversive and transgressive power."[23] A code of higher principles and standards guided Robin Hood; he always held to these principles and standards in the ballads, much like the yeomen who also wanted to keep certain standards of justice within their communities. Thus, Robin Hood's identity as a noble robber that seeks restorative justice in the ballads largely reflects the ideals of the society that listened to his story.

In the "Geste of Robin Hood" alone, there are several instances in which Robin Hood provides ways to correct what he sees as injustices of his society. He is able to provide a knight "in a sorrowful state" with enough money to pay back his debt to a cruel abbot, allowing the knight to begin fashioning his livelihood again.[24] Robin also provides justice for society by taking money from the cruel monks who held the knight in debt, leaving "but little behind" for them, and giving the money back to the knight, whom he deemed more worthy of possessing the wealth.[25] Also, in "Robin Hood and the Butcher," Robin criticises the sheriff of Nottingham for the unfair way in which he would "rob a man of all he hath,/And send him naked home," and threatens to kill him for this behaviour.[26] These instances are different from the "classic" version of the Robin Hood story in which Robin robs from the rich to give to the poor – the original ballads seem to have more significance since they show Robin Hood robbing the undeserving to give to the deserving, regardless of social status.

Society in the later Middle Ages also desired

government officials whom they could trust and rely upon to provide them with justice (as expressed from the aforementioned manifestos). It seems that what they could not do to royal officials in reality, they projected onto the story, administering justice as they saw fit. In addition to punishing the corrupt monks, Robin Hood brings an end to the Sheriff of Nottingham in the "Geste," poetically reciting, "'Lie there, proud sheriff,/ Evil, meet thy death./ No man could trust you/ While you drew breath.'"[27] He intends to kill the sheriff in other ballads (like in the "Potter" and the "Butcher"), but stays his hand due to the sheriff's wife's hospitality.[28] Ideally, to the people of the later Middle Ages, corrupt officials should be removed from their offices so that they could not oppress their subjects any longer, which is expressed in the ballads.[29] However, Holt would possibly argue that Robin killed the sheriff in quite a violent (and therefore entertaining) manner (by beheading), which makes the story lack political significance. The characters did use violence, but, it must be remembered that violence was the principal means of dispensing justice in the later Middle Ages. Pollard writes that "Robin Hood celebrates... righteous violence to maintain true justice precisely when the officers of the law failed," showing the significance of his use of violence to maintain justice within his world.[30] Even though yeomen at the time could not administer justice in this way, their ideals of who was deserving of this justice are reflected in the ballads of Robin Hood, in which "Robin Hood's greenwood kingdom [was]...a place where the impossible [could] happen" and presented "a paradigm of society as it should be."[31]

The ballads of Robin Hood are one of the many ways in which the observer may glimpse part of the popular culture of later medieval England. The people who lived then were not simple to define, and doubtless cannot be entirely described through the study of simple ballads, but they seem as good a place as any to begin. One cannot truly claim to know how the ballads were used or what significance they held for the people of the later Middle Ages, but it is quite fascinating to speculate. The ballads hold a unique and special place in the popular culture of this time, and their importance to the people that lived then can still be seen today. In the words of A.J. Pollard, "We cannot know whether those who rose in arms in defence of the common weal shared that dream of an ideal order... It is not inconceivable, however, that they were also sustained by the hope of a better world emerging from their actions; a better world...which was closer to the ideal which found its expression" in the ballads of Robin Hood.[32]

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SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN ICELAND THROUGH CHRISTIAN CONVERSION

Kristin Wright

Through a study of Medieval Europe, one can find an underlying theme of religious struggle, most of which deal with conversions to Christianity. As Christianity began to lay claim over most of Europe, styles and traditions of conversion began to develop. The impression left on society by such a change should not be ignored, but also should not be over-exaggerated. An interesting case for examining these societal changes is the conversion of Iceland in the late tenth and early elevngenth centuries. For Iceland, the general process of conversion seemed to follow three steps: infiltration, mission, and organization. The assimilation process was long, though largely peaceful with a few exceptions, and it was foremost a political decision, not a religious fervor. The primary sources for this period all come from after conversion, so they contain Christian bias, yet some offer insight into life before conversion offering the opportunity to compare. The juxtaposition of society before and after conversion, through the comparison of religion, politics, and culture, reveals the impact of Christianity on life in Iceland.

The Conversion

The conversion story of Iceland has numerous parallels to other conversion stories such as the presence of Christian missionaries and Christian faith prior to conversion, yet the unique legal nature creates interesting repercussions which are felt throughout the culture and society. One of the common aspects of the conversion is the missionary effort; some missionaries came by order of the Norwegian King Olaf. For this reason, many say that King Olaf Christianized not only Norway, but also Iceland. It is important to note that while many give credit to Norway's king, due to the nature of Iceland's mixed population and from archaeological evidence, there were most likely Christians in Iceland already around the ninth century. This discrepancy is important because if there were

already numbers of converts, then conversion cannot be considered through the common trickledown theory with Olaf as the leader. The *Saga of the People of Vatnsdal* shows an example of these pre-conversion converters. The Saga details how Bishop Frederick and Thorvald Kodransson travelled to Iceland and began to proselytize, gaining some early converts. It claims that all of the people of Vatnsdal were eventually converted. These missions are important in showing a Christian presence prior to official conversion. However, despite some limited success, Frederick and Thorvald's larger mission failed, as did Olaf's missions by the violent Stefnir and Thangbrand in 999. These failed missions are what led to the official conversion story of 1000 for which the king of Norway is largely given credit.

After the Icelandic people refused to accept Christianity from numerous missionaries, King Olaf became impatient with them. In response he held a group of Icelanders hostage, resulting in a split between those favoring ancient customs and Christianity. This left Iceland teetering on the edge of civil war. In one of the saga accounts, it is said that, "The next morning the king called a meeting and summoned all the Icelanders. When they had assembled he stood up and thanked all those men who were his loyal friends and had converted to Christianity for answering his summons to the meeting. He ordered the Icelanders to come before him and asked whether they wished to be baptized. Not really they replied." This story glorifies Olaf's role, but what about the actual political conversion of Iceland? A meeting of the *Althing* in the summer of 1000 C.E. resulted in the official conversion of Iceland to Christianity. This seems quite simple and peaceful, and one source even states, "…Iceland is remarkable for its voluntary, peaceful, formal, and immediate acceptance of Christianity in the year 1000 by the *Althing (albingi),* the legislative and juridical body of the country. The event is referred to as the *kristnitaka* (literally, the taking of Christianity)." This shows how the political world

was vital to conversion, and shows why conversion would undoubtedly affect society. The history of this conversion like many others of the time: "is the history of fledging state structures taking form through association with the Church and by overcoming organized opposition to the new religion." Due to this legal aspect of conversion, an interesting mixing of the secular and Christianity began to develop within society. This led not only to law mixing with religion, but also to Christianity seeping slowly into every aspect of life, setting up a society which can be compared and contrasted against the prior state and new state. The changes detailed below took place over a longer period of time and not immediately after the mass conversion of 1000.

Religion before Christianity

Religious life preceding Christianization was characterized as a polytheistic spirituality commonly referred to as Norse religion. Before explaining, it is important to note that all of our writings on Nordic religion are from post-conversion. Catharina Raudvere even explained that much of what is known of their ancient customs comes from Christians writing about the fallacies of these previous beliefs. Notions such as dwarfs, elves, and giants appear but mainly as counterpoints to correct Christian behavior. Though these writings were against old practices, some give insight into what these customs entailed, so as to create a clearer picture of these ancient customs. Despite these issues much can be learned of the Nordic faith. As in other polytheistic religions, the belief system focused on supernatural ideas, different deities, and mythical creatures. The supernatural also played a large role in life through spirits, whose abilities were not taken for granted. One poem exemplifies these mystical and supernatural aspects of their polytheism. The poem "Volupsa" makes references to mythical creatures such as trolls, dwarfs, and dragons. In the concluding stanza the poem reads, "Comes the Darksome/ dragon flying, / Nithhogg, upward/ from the Nitha Fells." This source offers an interesting look into the mindset and values of the pagan world. However, polytheism and the supernatural were not the only aspects of their pagan beliefs.

The pagan faith also offered a much more tolerant society for those on the island which encompassed different ideas and notions. One source even states that "…the Pagan faith – a term referring to the Nordic religion…has usually been regarded not only as pluralistic but even as compounded of plural worships." This tolerance led to an extremely open society, which allowed for a diversity of pagan systems to survive and intertwine. Due to the closeness and variety of beliefs, religion became hard to distinguish from culture. This is the reason for the large impact Christianity would leave on the people. The pagan religion began to become a formality in society more than an actual belief which set up an environment where Christianity could take root. This is the pagan atmosphere that Christianity infiltrated in the late tenth century and took control of in 1000.

Religion after Conversion

The new religion of Christianity brought in a number of new ideas and concepts, yet much compromise went into the initial adoption of the faith. Before delving too far into the new, it is important to recognize that because of the interconnectivity of religion and society before conversion, as well as the controlling nature of Christianity, there is a wide overlap between the religious, political, and cultural changes which occurred. "…The change to a new religion was very profound, probably the biggest mental and social change Scandinavia has seen in history, that is, concerning policy, society, economy, art, gender relations, etc." For this reason, many of the changes which occur in one area will ultimately affect the other as is evident with the first points of baptism and burial.

Baptism is possibly the most important tradition brought because it was necessary to be baptized to be considered a Christian at this time. The Christian laws section of the *Gragas*, states: "Every child that is born is to be brought for baptism at the first opportunity, however deformed it may be." This showed the integration of Christianity into the earliest stages of life and showed the importance of baptism. Along with baptism the *Gragas* refer to the necessity of corpses being taken for burial. As a result, traditions such as material preparation and ship burial for warriors began to fade in practice though not in memory. This denotes another shift in which burial started to resemble Christian practices. An excerpt from *Egil's Saga* describes how these changes affected people, through an anecdote about a man named Grim. "Grim from Mosfell was baptized when Christianity was made the law in Iceland and he had a church built at Mosfell. It is

said that Thordis had Egil's bones moved to the church." Grim was baptized after it was made the law showing the influence of mixing religion and law. However, he also moves his friend's bones to a church for proper burial perhaps showing recognition of the importance of burial in the new religion.

Another key part to the religious change was the mixing of the old and the new. From the actual conversion, a compromise was made which said that "everyone should be Christian and those in this land who had not already been baptized should undergo baptism. But the old law governing infanticide and the eating of horsemeat would stand. People could sacrifice to the old gods secretly if they wanted to, but they were to be liable for lesser outlawry if witnesses were present." This shows how the old and new were brought together through compromise, and how Christianity was at first flexible to the old ways. People took the example of this compromise and applied it to the other new aspects. Many rulers and other important players in Nordic conversion became members of the Christian cult of saints. The importance of this combining of Icelandic people with the cult of saints is that these early saints offered a familiar intercessor to God, and the idea of relics and shrines for saints would be similar to certain pagan practice. This cult of saints also allowed a way for women to be integrated into the new religion as it offered the goal of being made either a virgin saint or woman saint of some other importance. Along with these new aspects, the concepts of churches, priests, and bishops also had to be added to the society, though over a much longer period of time. Since the presence of the high church was not directly felt, the early church's organization and structure was largely independent and developed along with the secular, so friction between the two did not arrive until the presence of the high church was felt. As is evident from the assimilation of the two belief systems, much of the new faith began to infiltrate not only the religious realm, but everyday life.

Politics before Conversion

As mentioned above, there was a strong political nature to the conversion of Iceland, making it important to understand the legal structure before and after 1000. A crucial aspect which separates Iceland from most other conversion tales is the lack of a government based on a central figurehead. Icelanders were generally law abiding

citizens organized as a commonwealth. This meant they had no supreme ruler and were not living in anarchy, but rather lived under rules established through consensus of numerous chieftains who gathered at the *Althing*, a parliamentary like system. Around 930 thirty-some men were made *godi*, the name for chieftains, based on kinship and on local prominence, though later the number of *godi* decreased significantly. They held both religious and secular roles in their respective areas, as suggested by their name *godi* meaning God. Each *godi* relied on their farmers, and their farmers relied on them for both religious and secular purposes. This led to a familiarity with mixing religious and political leaders.

Perhaps even more important than these chieftains are the *Althing* and *Lawspeaker*. The *godi* would meet at the *Althing*; the purpose of this meeting was to recite and edit the laws. The recitation was done by the *Lawspeaker* who was an elected official of the commonwealth. Miller notes that: "in a prominent place on the thing grounds stood the Law Rock. It was there that the *Lawspeaker* recited the body of law. In preliterate and oral culture, he was the society's statute book." The members of the body who were allowed to vote were the main six *godi*. This legislative body was a separate entity from the judicial aspects of the *Althing* which decided the outcome of those who broke laws. While this separation was revolutionary, due to the lack of any centralized power, the enforcement of decisions was impossible without backing from the entire community. This lack of unity, writing, and unique political structure would all be influenced and influential in the post-conversion world.

Politics after Conversion

Christianization brought many important additions to Iceland's politics, some of which would eventually lead to the disassembling of the commonwealth. The biggest shift for Icelanders was the unity which came with everyone under one religion. It should also be noted that due to Christianity's hierarchical structure, the conversion opened new doors for powerful men to gain more power. This meant that Christianity led to unity because people were either with the Christians or against Christianity; secondly, this offered *godi* and other leaders the opportunity to gain political power and economic growth through the backing of the church. Since chieftains exerted control over their

particular lands and the high church authority was not present yet in Iceland, most leaders just became the priests in their area. Leaders would become priests, establish churches, and then own the church lands. The land and ability to make churches lavish offered concrete proof of the person's power and was the first stage in creating more complex power structures on the island. This switch created a possibility for more centralized power to develop. That is not to say that a monarchy of some sort developed, but that a more unified people resulted from Christianity under the more powerful Christian leaders.

Along with unity and power struggles, Christianity also brought changes to the law itself. With conversion came the important contribution of a writing system. This allowed the Icelanders to write about the past through literature such as the sagas, and, more specifically for the political progress, a way to record the law. The *Gragas*, referred to above with baptism and burial, offered both Christian and secular laws. Christianity brought in the possibility for unity through new laws, and for a stronger political environment. Most of the old laws did not need changes, but new laws had to be instituted to accommodate the new religion. This meant a new political identity, which is evident in the *Gragas*. The entire first section deals with Christian practices; such as the duties and roles of priests and bishops. After the new religious rules are the laws dealing with assembly procedure, homicide, *Lawspeaker*, and the law council, many of which were the recording of old spoken laws.

Despite this new writing system, law was still recited at the *Althing*. Ecclesiastical law was administered and recited by a sect of the *Althing*, not by the church. At the same time, criminal and civil cases were still heard by a separate sect who did not answer to a church authority. This exemplifies the mixing of the secular and religious, and the keeping of old ways despite a new faith. In spite of these early attempts to assimilate the old and new, Christianity grew and certain old ways were dismissed or changed. Merely six years after conversion, a law was instated prohibiting the old practice of dueling in the hopes of decreasing violence. While not adhered to, it showed the mixing of Christian ideas into the legal world. Actions such as these and others led to much turmoil and conflict within Iceland. Eventually changes needed to be made to address these issues. The old laws were unable to offer stability

or organization; "the people in general saw the Church and the Norwegian crown as their only salvation." A law was then passed which said that any law contradicting church law was invalid, giving the Church power over the chieftains. This shift resulted in the dissolution of the commonwealth, and a larger submission to the Church. The politics of Iceland were completely altered from the old *Althing* and oral recitation, insinuating radical change in other areas of society; such as values, marriage, and women.

Other Cultural Repercussions

While the political and religious realms of society were deeply affected by the conversion, other cultural repercussions resulted from the presence of Christianity. By becoming Christian, Iceland opened itself up to the Latin West and the ideas and consequences which accompanied this, many of which ended up being cultural. One of the cultural changes was the adoption of the writing system mentioned earlier. This allowed Iceland to write of their past and present for the first time through literature, such as the sagas. Nevertheless, since writing came with conversion, Christian bias seeped into the writings, which is evident when talking about the deaths of old heroes. Christianity brought a new concept into the process of dying, which was repentance in hopes of salvation. This is seen in sagas which show the prayers and morals of heroic men close to death, despite no previous inclinations towards Christian practices. The devout deaths of those in the sagas are the coloring of the church, not likely the actuality of the last moments for these men. This proves the effects of Christianity on the values of the period.

Another of these cultural areas impacted concerns gender and marriage. Conversion was slightly different for women, and many believe that for women Christianity was extremely restrictive. The case of Iceland shows both freeing and restrictive consequences. One author notes that: "the conversion period was everywhere a time of great freedom for women, opening up opportunities and allowing them to act alongside men in missionary work." This was not the only power women gained early on; as a result of conversion women also gained familial power. While many say that Old Icelandic Literature proves women were resistant to conversion, it can be argued that women were vital to conversion as they held control domestically and would be the people raising the future generations

of Christian leaders, missionaries, and priests. This is supported by a piece written about St. Olafr around the time. In reference to his younger brother Olafr says, "In him you are likely to bring up a king, mother." This shows the importance of women in the family, politics, and religion. This example shows the role a mother played in raising the children, and how a Christian influence would affect a child's life. Both the religious and domestic power gained by women show some changes and benefits of religion for females, yet marriage after conversion seems to show a different consequence.

The affects on marriage and relationships were seen as restrictive to both parties involved. An important change made to the process of matrimony dealt with the language of the process. 'Festa' means to bind a female prior to the marriage with a contract, which before Christianity meant it was made without external authorities, though afterwards dealt with a contract between families and external authorities and had less to do with consent of both. Though a compromise was made, the Old Norse honor of a woman was slowly pushed out and the religious aspect took precedence in the marriage. Now that a couple's marriage was Christianized, relations were also affected. These notions were met with reluctance on the part of Iceland as is evident through a parable about a man who commits adultery and refuses to give what is asked of him as punishment. Icelanders were initially reluctant to accept these new interferences in their private lives, showing the effect cultural change was taking on the people. This reluctance brings up an important factor in all of the changes. Kathleen Self argues that the periods before and after conversion were wrought with conflict. She attributes this to the aggressive nature of Iceland when it came to problems. She says they accepted and expected conflict to occur within humanity. This is evident through the reluctance to certain marriage practices and the numerous compromises which characterize the times.

Conclusion

This Icelandic conversion created interesting circumstances under which the new and the old clashed, in some cases resulting in conflicts, and in the best cases resulting in a combination of the old and new into an original society. Day to day life may not have been immediately affected, but Christianity still had a profound influence. Over time Iceland traded in their pre-Christian world for a place in the interconnectivity of a Christian world system. This switch is evident through the religious changes which brought new ideas such as baptism and burial. Also the combination of the old and new political systems, as evident in the *Gragas*, shows the impact left by conversion. Lastly, the other cultural consequences which affected areas such as values, marriage, and women, show the force with which Christianity penetrated the core of Iceland's society. All three areas, religion, politics, and culture, underwent numerous changes which exemplify the societal ramifications of the political conversion of 1000.

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TOIL AND TROUBLE: REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND ACCUSATIONS OF WITCHCRAFT DURING THE EUROPEAN WITCH CRAZE

Amy Walp

Introduction

Beginning in the fifteenth century, the height of the European witch craze was a time of fear and accusation. With the Reformation heightening the ideas of evil within the culture, all evidence seemed to prove that the Devil was walking among them, and witches, as his human agents were wreaking havoc in his name. Belief in witches had existed since antiquity; however the idea that a witch was the agent of Satan was relatively new in the fifteenth century. Pope John XXII allowed the inquisition to punish witchcraft as a type of heresy beginning in 1320, and The Council of Basel (1431-37) helped to strengthen the idea of diabolical witchcraft. Epidemics, famine and political fragmentation helped to perpetuate the idea that evil forces were at work on Earth. Leading up to the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Church was seen as corrupt and was criticized for practices such as the sale of indulgences. During the Reformation, and the resulting Catholic Counter-Reformation, there were debates about theology and the dogma of the Church, and this caused a heightened awareness of the sin and evil in the world. The Catholic Church, as well as the new Protestant sects all had a similar focus on Satan. In fact, "Luther, it was said, was so obsessed with the devil that he mentioned the devil more often than Jesus Christ in his Small Catechism."[1] With Satan supposedly controlling their actions, witches were accused of raising storms, killing livestock, and most importantly, impeding the ability of married couples to produce children. In the *Malleus Maleficarum*, or The Hammer of Witches, a witchcraft treatise written in 1486 by Dominican inquisitors Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, Part II, Question One, Chapter Five, the authors comment on how witches may impede fertility:

And as such to men, first, how they can cast an obstructive spell on the procreant forces, and even on the venereal act, so that a woman cannot conceive or a man cannot perform the act. Secondly how that act is obstructed sometimes with regards to one woman and not another. Thirdly, how they take away the virile member as though it was all together torn away from the body. Fourthly, if it is possible to distinguish whether any for the above injuries have been caused by a devil on his own account, or it has been done through the agency of a witch. Fifthly how witches change men into beasts by some prestige or glamour. Sixthly, how witch midwives in various ways kill that witch have been conceived in the mother's womb; and when they do not do this, offer the children to devils.[2]

In an age and society where the successful production of offspring was vital, the possibility that one might be bewitched into being infertile was a crippling thought. This issue was of utmost importance to theologians, witchcraft theorists and the lay population of the time, albeit for different reasons. Theologians were concerned with the way infertility impacted the sacrament of marriage, while witchcraft theorists explained the methods by which witches could impede the production of children. Married couples dealing with reproductive difficulties looked to the clergy and authorities for help in warding off the witches who were hindering their efforts. For the suspected witches, some of which were only considered guilty for their positions as midwives, this issue was literally a matter of life and death. The witchcraft theory set forth in the popular treatises of the times explained how witches may impede fertility, but the question

remains; where did the notion of infertility based on witchcraft originate? With further examination, it is possible to determine that these accusations of witchcraft based on reproductive failure were a product of both sacramental theology and popular folklore.

Historiography: Midwives (Literally) Under Fire

When considering the problems with conception, pregnancy, and childbirth between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, one cannot overlook the role of the midwife. These particular wise women were in essence the "gynecologists" for approximately ninety percent of European women of the time.[3] The physical work of delivering children was done by midwives, as male physicians believed this to be "women's work" or a skill that was "beneath them," like surgery. As a result, these women had a practical working knowledge that the university educated physicians did not. Therefore midwives were privy to information that was unknown to men, and they dealt with an aspect of the world that was strictly feminine in nature. While their much needed skills earned them a respected place among the communities they served, the witchcraft treatises and literary evidence of the time indicates that midwives were more likely to be witches than the average woman. What characteristics could be associated with midwifery or its practitioners that made these women more likely to be suspected of witchcraft? There are differing opinions among historians about whether or not midwives were accused of witchcraft with more frequency than average women, and why this may have occurred, and this historiography must be addressed when considering reproductive health during the European witch craze.

Montague Summers, a notable scholar of witchcraft, who was also responsible for the first English translation of the *Malleus Maleficarum* in 1928, addressed the issue of midwives and their likelihood of being witches. He theorized that since the sacrifice of children was a common part of the witches' Sabbat, midwives, because of their access to infants, would have been the most likely people to procure them. In his 1926 book, *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, Summers states "since a witch not unseldom was the midwife or wise woman of the village she had exceptional opportunities of stifling a child at birth as a non-Sabbatial victim to Satan. 'There are no persons who can do more cunning harm to the Catholic faith than

midwives' says the *Malleus Maleficarum*."[4] Summers used the actual text of the *Malleus Maleficarum* as the basis for his position, as well as other sources by theologians such as St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. This is fitting when one considers that he was a scholar of Latin and studied theology himself. However, there is an issue of bias when considering the opinions of Montague Summers. Firstly he was writing before the onset of the feminist movement, and his work is sometimes seen as quite sexist today. Also, he was a member of the clergy, and he unashamedly defends the actions of the Catholic Church during this time. Perhaps the source for most of his bias was the fact that he actually believed in the existence of witches. He scathingly gives his view of these women:

> In the following pages I have endeavored to show the witch as what she really was – an evil liver; a social pest and parasite; the devotee of a loathly and obscene creed; and adept at poisoning, blackmail, and other creeping crimes; a member of a powerful secret organization inimical to Church and State; a blasphemer in word and deed; swaying the villagers by terror and superstition; a charlatan and a quack sometimes; a bawd; an abortionist; the dark counselor of lewd court ladies and adulterous gallants; a minister to the vice and inconceivable corruption; battening upon the filth and foulest passions of the age.[5]

The official position of the Church was explained in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, which was sanctioned by Pope Innocent VIII and written by Kramer and Sprenger, both members of the Dominican order. Summers accepts the theories in the work along with the rest of the official Church position of the time.

With the rise of social history, or "history from below," historians of the witch craze began to take a closer look at the people and ideas of the time. Examining the societies affected by the witch crazes responded to the more traditional literary and theological studies. For example, Jeffrey B. Russell, a respected professor of medieval European history and the history of theology holds that midwives were targeted as suspected witches because of their standing in society. In his 1980 book, *A History of Witchcraft: Sorcerers, Heretics, and Pagans*, Russell states that midwives were accused of witchcraft

simply because they had attained a bad reputation from documents like the *Malleus Maleficarum*. A bad reputation then singled them out from the rest of the population. Russell holds that:

> The two groups most susceptible to accusation were people of unusually bad reputation and people of unusually good reputation. Thieves, sex offenders, brawlers, midwives (unfortunately but inevitably these had a bad reputation), and quarrelers were likely to be accused. On the other hand magistrates, merchants, and teachers were also likely to be accused, though the nobility, physicians (oddly), lawyers, and students were not.[6]

This bad reputation was also exacerbated by anger directed at the midwife when things went awry during childbirth. Russell explains that "husbands felt guilt or anger at the death of a wife or a child and readily projected these feelings upon the midwife, who was charged with negligence or, if no physical reason for disaster could be found, with sorcery."[7] Because he is a scholar of medieval Europe, Russell is able to examine European society in the proper historical context. He has an understanding of the period, and he is familiar with primary sources, and able to properly examine them. This is important because the ideals and opinions of this society offer insight as to why these midwives might have been targeted.

In their 1987 article, "On the Trail of the 'Witches:' Wise Women, Midwives, and the European Witch Hunts," Ritta Jo Horsley and Richard A. Horsley look at cultural reasons and superstition as the causes for these accusations. Horsley and Horsley explain:

> Besides the general aura of mystery and awe which surrounded birth, there were superstitions connected with particular parts of child birth such as the placentas, the umbilical cord, and the caul (the piece of amniotic membrane which may still cover the infant's head at birth). Thus numerous regulations were published which forbade midwives to carry off or bury the placenta or to keep the caul— lest they be used for sorcery.[8]

It was also common knowledge that "midwives used charms, spells, and incantations to assist women in labor."[9] Perhaps these superstitions led to the numerous mentions of midwives and midwifery in the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Horsley and Horsley comment that "certainly in the documents that reflect the official views of the Church and learned opinion, the midwife is an obsessive concern."[10] The authors definitely study this topic as a cultural history looking at the superstitions and folklore of the society and the ways that they effect the population. This fits with their backgrounds as Ritta Jo Horsley teaches courses about women in German and European culture, as well as Women's Studies, and Richard A. Horsley studies Religion and social history. By examining the folklore and superstitions in society during the witch craze they are able to offer a logical explanation as to why these particular opinions of midwives may have formed in the first place, and why the populace would have been apt to listen to the official Church stance regarding these women.

Not all historians argue that midwives were specifically targeted during the witch craze. Robin Briggs, in his 1996 work Witches and Neighbors, holds that this common belief is an illusion, and that in reality midwives were not targeted any more than other women. To the contrary, he states "no statistical evidence of any significance has been produced to support it; where figures have been established they show that midwives were rather under represented among the accused."[11] Briggs also has a simple explanation for the numerous mentions of midwives in later witchcraft treatises. He states that the reason was because the *Malleus Maleficarum* mentioned midwives in several places, and the authors of the later writings took their statements from this work. In the *Malleus Maleficarum*, midwives were considered to be good candidates for accusations of witchcraft because they had access to the infants who were supposedly needed for spells or consumption. However, Briggs explains this is an example of an ideal that is not actual reality. He makes a strong counter-argument by stating that "it is easy to understand why midwives were rarely accused: they were selected precisely because they were regarded as trustworthy persons by the community, so that it must have taken a catastrophic drop in their standing for them to become suspects."[12] Briggs writes a social history as well, because he claims that it was the midwives' very position in society that protected them from accusations of witchcraft. He supports the fact that

midwives were not targeted by statistical data and public records. However, the fact that consistent record of the accused and executed 'witches' were not always maintained could affect his argument. With literary sources it is often difficult to determine whether or not they influenced society or just reflected the society when they were written.

Some historians have a view that falls between the two previous theories. Brian Levack, in his book, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, written in 1993, argues that midwives were suspected of witchcraft, but probably not as many that were at once believed. For example, he uses records from Lucerne to demonstrate that only one woman out of forty five that were tried for witchcraft was a midwife. However, he elaborates that "midwives remain virtually the only female occupational group that receives any mention at all in the records."[13] Levack holds that "the main reason for their susceptibility to charges of this nature was that they could easily be blamed for the death of infants."[14] Due to the high infant mortality rate of the time, where as many as twenty percent of children died at birth or within the first few months of life, Levack argues that "the charge that a midwife had killed a child by sorcery was both functional and plausible, and it offered the bereaved parents a means of revenge."[15] Furthermore, a midwife accused of witchcraft was of greater importance to the judges than the common people, because demonological theory could be affirmed. Levack points out that in witchcraft theory, "witches, it will be recalled, were eager to obtain unbaptized babies so that they could sacrifice them to the devil, feast upon their flesh at a sabbath meal, and use their remains in the production of magical ointments."[16] Levack studies witchcraft prosecution in early modern Scotland and demonic possession in Reformation Europe. He uses several primary sources in his work and as a historian; he has the ability to analyze the credibility of these sources.

An aspect of social history that plays an important role in the study of witchcraft is feminist theory. As a response to more traditional witchcraft histories that were written before the rise of feminism, feminist historians make a point to examine the roles of misogyny and control that permeated the witch craze. Anne Llewellyn Barstow, in her book, *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts* written in 1994, uses a feminist perspective on why midwives were targeted as witches. Barstow chalks this up to male fear and professional jealousy. Because men were excluded from the birthing room, there was a mystery surrounding what was happing inside. Barstow states: "a deep male jealousy pervades this story, fed by the exclusion of all men (including fathers) from the birthing room left to imagining what went on inside, they sometimes responded with wild imaginings, as the authors of the *Malleus* did."[17] Barstow also comments on some of these "wild imaginings" telling of the popular belief that witches who acted as midwives would dedicate the unbaptized newborns to Satan. This was a problem because the midwife-witch who offered a newborn infant to the devil was usurping the role of the parish priest. She states: "because of her favored position as female healer, she was able to seize the child first and 'baptize' it in the name of the devil, while the priest ran from the rectory, arriving too late."[18] Barstow is a historian and a feminist, so bias can be an issue in her work. She has written many works centered on the notion that the witch hunts were a way to control women, and this interpretation many skew her perception of the evidence. However, as the use of primary sources and research demonstrates, her work cannot be over looked.

With the rise of social history, many sociologists began to examine the witch craze, and they are able to offer a perspective of this period that is different than those of the traditional historian. For example, Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English offer another theory as to why midwives were targeted during the European Witch Craze in their 1973 essay "Witches, Midwives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers." They argue that the midwives were beset with accusations of witchcraft so that the professional, university-educated male doctors could surpass and replace the traditional female folk healers and midwives. Ehrenreich and English state that healers of that day, and especially midwives were more skilled than they were made out to be. For example:

> They used ergot for the pain of labor at a time when the Church held that pain in labor was the Lord's just punishment for Eve's original sin. Ergot derivatives are the principle drugs used today to hasten labor and aid in the recovery from childbirth. Belladonna – still used today as an anti-spasmodic – was used by witch-healers to inhibit

uterine contractions when miscarriage threatened.[19]

The same could not be said about the university trained male physicians of the time. Ehrenreich and English detail the medical training of these physicians by saying that "medical students, like other scholarly young gentlemen, spent years studying Plato, Aristotle, and Christian theology. Their medical theory was largely restricted to the works of Galen, the ancient Roman physician who stressed the theory of 'complexions' or 'temperaments' of men."[20] Male physicians also did not examine female patients, and they especially did not perform manual gynecological or obstetrical exams on women. Midwifery, like surgery, was considered a menial craft by these physicians. However, this was hardly the case. Midwives practiced a more sophisticated type of medicine. They received hands on training from other midwives, who passed on tested, effective methods. They also experimented, and developed fairly advanced treatments on their own, some of which are the basis of practices used today.

Furthermore Ehrenreich and English make the argument that not only were the male physicians attempting to take over medicine in Europe, they were taking part in some of the trials and helping to convict some of these midwives for witchcraft. For example "the doctor was held up [as] the medical "expert," giving an aura of science to the whole proceeding. He was asked to make judgments about whether certain women were witches and whether certain afflictions had been caused by witchcraft."[21] Ehrenreich and English used a gendered history to look at a larger social history. This is not surprising considering that they are both feminists, and Ehrenreich is a sociologist. The feminist bias at times can overshadow the underlying sociological analysis, and without actually being historians, one has to question their sense of historical context. With that being said, Ehrenreich and English make an impassioned argument that not only were midwives persecuted because of their profession, but they were persecuted for their gender as well. However, one must question their sources, and their analysis of them. Neither one is a trained historian; they are both more known for their feminist writings.

In his 2006 book *Söhne und Weltmacht: Terror im Aufstieg und Fall der Nationen*, Gunnar Heinsohn takes quite a different position on the targeting of Midwives during the European witch hunts.

Heinsohn holds that the midwives were specifically targeted after the devastating outbreaks of the Plague because of their knowledge of contraception. After this ruin, there was a need to build the population back up to pre-plague numbers. Heinsohn holds that this repopulation was achieved partially by the execution of midwives that had knowledge about birth control. The authorities that controlled the witch hunts could then essentially control the ability of women to learn about contraception by removing their source of information. Heinsohn furthers his argument by stating "Clerical and secular authorities, and the Catholic and non-Catholic churches of Europe took the killing of wise women in the same direction, the reason being that the witch hunt was the most effective, and at the same time the most formidable means of repopulation. Only the conjugal act of intercourse for procreation was allowed as the solitary unpunished sexual desire."[22] Without the knowledge of birth control made readily available to them, women gave birth with more frequency, and Heinsohn holds that "by banning all contraception, people were unable to exercise fine-control over their family planning. There were many more births than Europe needed."[23] Heinsohn's main focus seems to be a political history because he theorizes there was an agenda by the powers that be to control population expansion, or lack thereof. However, there is an aspect of social history as well because he deals with the family planning of the society at large, and the effect that this society's loss of birth control had on the population. Gunnar Heinsohn is a German sociologist, and he has done research into genocide and sub-replacement fertility, or a total fertility rate that is not high enough to replace an area's population. With his areas of study he is in a position to examine some aspects of the witch craze from a new perspective; however, Heinsohn is a sociologist, so obviously he looks at the witch craze as a social issue. When this article is looked at as a historical work, it must be noted that he uses mainly secondary sources. While this may be an interesting sociological perspective, with a lack of primary sources one has to question the validity of Heinsohn's history.

The common thread of all of these histories is the fact that they are all social histories in some way, shape or form. That is to say, they all study the relationships of groups in a society. Whether these relationships are between the Church and women in general, midwives and male physicians, the group of midwives and its place within society as a whole,

or even the relationship between men and women, with the exception of Summers, who relied on literary and theological evidence, these historians used aspects of social history to examine midwives in relation to their place in society. This makes sense, because the Witch Craze was very much a social phenomenon. The various ecclesiastical and secular authorities may have played a large part in these witch hunts, but in the end it was the population of Europe as a whole that drove the Witch Craze. They did the accusing for the majority of the cases, for a plethora of reasons.

The Sacrament of Marriage: God's Guarantee of Fertility

In order to understand the weight that was put on the problem of impotence and infertility during the witch craze, it is important to understand the role that consummation and the production of children played in the holy sacrament of marriage according to the Church, especially in an age when the Church reigned supreme. Using the Bible as a reference, the Church Canon held that matrimony was a holy sacrament, blessed by God. Genesis 2:24 reads that "a man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh."[24] To further this, Ephesians 5:25-33 states;

> Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her, in order to make her holy by cleansing her with the washing of water by the word, so as to present the church to himself in splendour, without a spot or wrinkle or anything of the kind—yes, so that she may be holy and without blemish. In the same way, husbands should love their wives as they do their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself. For no one ever hates his own body, but he nourishes and tenderly cares for it, just as Christ does for the church, because we are members of his body – 'For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two will become one flesh.' This is a great mystery, and I am applying it to Christ and the church. Each of you, however, should love his wife as himself, and a wife should respect her husband.[25]

Catholic belief holds that a sacrament causes divine grace, therefore God's commands regarding marriage would automatically be fulfilled when a couple was joined in holy matrimony.

Married couples therefore needed to become "one in flesh" and consummate their marriage with the physical act of intercourse. Walter Stephens, in his book *Demon Lovers: Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief*, elaborates that "Catholic matrimonial theory already reflects as literalizing interpretation of the first two chapters of Genesis, the nineteenth chapter of Matthew, and the fifth chapter of Ephesians. And the scriptural passages themselves describe matrimony as a kind of external sex act that literally conjoins husband and wife, making them 'two in one flesh.'"[26] The reason why successful intercourse was vital was because the purpose of marriage was to produce children. The Book of Genesis also states "so God created humankind in his image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them. God blessed them, and God said to them, 'Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it. '"[27] In the eyes of the Church, it was a command from God that man and wife were to produce children, and theologians wrote on the matter extensively. St. Augustine wrote in his *On Marriage and Concupiscence* (419-20 CE) that "the union, then, of male and female for the purpose of procreation is the natural good of marriage."[28] Furthermore, St. Augustine states "with respect, however, to what I ascribed to the nature of marriage, that the male and the female are united together as associates for procreation."[29] St. Thomas Aquinas states that sexual relations between married people for the production of children are necessary. In his Summa Theologiae, he states that "now just as the preservation of the bodily nature of one individual is a true good, so, too, is the preservation of the nature of the human species a very great good."[30] The thoughts of these two theologians were especially influential due to their status in the Church.

Augustine was a Church father and he was considered one of the most important figures in the development of Christianity, so much so that he is the patron saint of theologians. Augustine influenced many theologians that came after him, including St. Thomas Aquinas, who was important in his own right. St. Thomas was such an influential theologian that the Catholic Church holds him to be the model for those studying for the priesthood. He is often considered the Church's most important theologian. This tradition influenced the way that witchcraft

theorists, church officials, and authorities thought during the witch craze. The existence of witches and the severity of their sins, as well as evidence that they were in league with devils were all logically laid out in these earlier works with the authority of the Bible behind them. Matrimony is mentioned as a sacrament as early as 1208 by Pope Innocent IV, so "it is, therefore, historically certain that from the beginning of the thirteenth century the sacramental character of marriage was universally known and recognized as a dogma."[31] Canon law, along with the original Biblical references and the writings of these important theologians helped to concrete these notions into the collective mind of the fifteenth century. Moira Smith furthers, "to many fifteenth-century Christians (among whom we must count Dominicans and inquisitors), Biblical accounts were not myths or fictions, but historical fact. Further the fact that they and other literary texts were fixed in written form enhanced trustworthiness."[32]

Infertility and impotence added a whole new dimension to the idea of the sacrament of marriage. If a man was impotent he would be unable to consummate a marriage ordained and blessed by God. Likewise if a married couple had fertility issues, they could not produce offspring as God commanded all married people. This presented a problem to the Catholic Church. How could a sacrament fail? This was especially troubling, because the sacrament of marriage was firmly based in scripture. If this sacrament could fail, than surely the other six could fail as well. Walter Stephens furthers: "infertility and impotence menaces the entire sacramental construct, because the biblical notion of incorporation that subtends Catholic marriage was the basis for theorizing about all the Church's sacraments. Marriage is the only Catholic sacrament that has any scriptural authority at all."[33]

In order to protect the validity of the sacrament of marriage, the Catholic Church had to explain why, when marriage and procreation was ordained by God, infertility and impotence occurred to married couples. There had to be a reason why the will of God was being usurped. This reason had to be evil, and evil was of course, the work of the Devil. The reasoning of theologians then turned to how the Devil was acting against this sacrament. Since the Devil was a spirit and not flesh and blood, it was believed that he needed human agents to work for him if he were to effectively have contact and cause harm to a human body. So it stood that "only by enlisting human cooperation can demons

subvert the sacramental privilege."[34] Enter the witch, who willingly makes a pact with the Devil and agrees to do his bidding.

Essential to protect the sacrament of marriage, witches became necessary to explain impotence and infertility when no physical reason, as allowed by medical knowledge of the time, could be determined to explain it away. St. Thomas Aquinas, in his *Quaestiones quodlibetales* (1256-9), addressed the question of whether impotence is the result of sorcery in *Quodlibet* XI. He states: "I respond that the Devil himself, as well as matrimony, is the work

Figure 1. Brauysegen im Bett. Woodcut from The Fair Melusina (15th C.)[39]

of God. And among the works of God some are stronger than others. One of them may be impeded by another which is stronger. Whence, since the Devil is stronger than matrimony, nothing prevents that through his agency matrimony may be impeded."[35] This explained how one of God's sacraments could be undermined by the Devil, even if God was all powerful. This was essential for the Catholic Church. The failure of a sacrament could not be overlooked, and neither could the power of God be questioned, for "unless devils and witches are actively preventing the consummation of sacramental matrimony and the procreation of children according to God's command to be fruitful and multiply, then the sacrament is imaginary."[36]

Therefore, theologians concluded that witches, in league with the Devil and his demons ,were able to produce evil deeds, or maleficium to work against the sacrament. However these *maleficia* could also be countered by the power of the sacrament at times. Stephens explains the balance by saying "*Maleficium is a countersacrament, just as the sacrament and sacramentals are counterdemonism.*"[37] This means that a battle against the *malificum*, and witches who impeded fertility in general, could be waged. Witches had to be identified and brought to justice. After all, in Leviticus 20:27, God orders that "A man or a woman who is a medium or a wizard shall be put to death; they shall be stoned to death, their blood is upon them."[38] If they renounced their ways and repented before their executions, then there was a chance that fertility and sexual potency could be restored to their victims. That is, if the victims confessed their sins and God found favor with them.

Prevention of the Power of Procreation: Impotence and Infertility in Men

For men, the ability to produce children was more than just a matter of pride. During this time, not only was the ability to consummate a marriage vital, but the production of children was essential. Important family ties were made by marriage, and Stephens furthers that "marriage was an economic arrangement far more than a romantic ideal. Childless marriages could have profound effects on inheritance and alliances among families or even countries."[40] With this pressure to father children, a man suffering from infertility or impotence could find himself in a dire situation. Not only did his impotence cause him distress, but infertility on a husband's part could cause the wife distress as well. More often than not, infertility was blamed on the wife herself, and even her husband's impotence could be a source of shame for her. When there was no known physical ailment that caused these problems, witchcraft offered afflicted men and their wives a way to cast the blame on others. Stephens furthers that "witchcraft could be a convenient explanation for both spouses; it preserved the male self-esteem by identifying an external cause for his inability to fulfill his personal and economic duty. For the wife, as well, self-esteem was at stake: even if an impotent husband did not blame his wife, she could feel that the impotence impugned her sexual desirability."[41]

Furthering the idea that witches could cast spells to rob a man of his ability to produce children,

the *Malleus Maleficarum* also asserts that men were more easily bewitched in this way than women. In Part I, Question 8, it is stated that "more men than women are bewitched in respect of that action."[42] This notion led to the fear that the sexual potency of men was something that was specifically targeted by these female witches. Part II, Question I, Chapter 6 of the *Malleus Maleficarum* explains the involvement of witches in male infertility:

> First when they directly prevent the erection of the member which is accommodated to fructification. And this need not seem so impossible, when it is considered that they are able to vitiate the natural use of any member. Secondly when they prevent the flow of vital essences to the member in which resides the motive force, closing up the seminal ducts so that it does not reach the generative vessels, or so that is cannot be ejaculated, or it is fruitlessly spilled.[43]

The *Malleus*, through use of the scholastic method and evidence provided by earlier Church fathers is then able to explain that witches, with the aid of demons, are able to overcome the sacrament of marriage.

While the *Malleus Maleficarum* discusses the matter of impotence at great length, it is hardly the first instance where impotence was blamed on sorcery. In her article, "The Flying Phallus and the Laughing Inquisitor: Penis Theft in the *Malleus Maleficarum*," Moira Smith states that "Kramer did not invent the notion of magically induced impotence, for this fear is widespread in folk belief from antiquity to the present day."[44] Throughout time, there have been spells and hexes that were purported to interfere with a man's sexual potency. Smith elaborates that "the technical name for the practice in English is *ligature* (French, *nouer l'aiguette*, German, *Nestelknüpfen*), because the most common method for casting this spell involved tying knots in a cord or a string, sometimes accompanied by the pronunciation of various spells."[45] These spells were all a part of so-called "love-magic," a common occurrence in many societies. Love spells were sought after to win the affection of an elusive suitor, or in some instances the relationship of a sought-after love was sabotaged by the spurned. This sabotage often times was meant to prevent the desired party from having any physical relations with their partner. In his book, *European Witch Trials:*

Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300-1500, Richard Kieckhefer furthers that "incitement of love was not the only sot of manipulation of affection sought by sorceresses. In a few cases the goal was to arouse hatred, or bring about impotence."[46] Sometimes these seemingly harmful practices could lead to the very real danger of an accusation of witchcraft.

Because of the widespread belief of spells, such as ligature, various counter spells and remedies existed to cure impotence brought about by witchcraft. In De praetigiis daemonum, written in 1583 by Johann Weyer, a German physician and demonologist, gave advice as to the cure for impotence in the chapter "What must be done when Coition is Prevented by Malificum":

> The man (legally called the maleficium, or victim of an evil-doer, or frigid, impotent) should first be examined by doctors to see whether he was harboring some other, natural, cause of impotence. Secondly the wife should continue to live with her husband for three years while he makes trial of his potency. They should give alms with more than usual generosity, and practice fasting, so that God, the author of matrimony, might design to take away this misfortune.[47]

In 1671, Jane Sharp, a midwife, told of a cure for impotence in her 418 page book *The Midwives Book of the Whole Art of Midwifery Discovered, Directing Childbearing Women How to Behave Themselves in Their Conception, Breeding, Bearing, and Nursing of Children*. By Mrs. Jane Sharp, Practitioner in the Art of Midwifery above Thirty Years. Printed for Simon Miller, at the Star of the West End of St. Pauls, 1671. She states "the French in such case advise a man to thread the needle, as much as to say, to piss through his wife's wedding ring and not spill a drop and then he shall be perfectly cured. Let him try it that pleaseth."[48] Similar cures recommend the afflicted man urinate through "the keyhole in the door of the church."[49] Folk remedies like these, that were meant to counter the work of witches casting "love magic," would have undoubtedly been known to Kramer while he was writing the *Malleus Maleficarum*. This would have further proven his assertion that impotence was caused by the evil acts of witches. Robin Briggs, author of Witches and Neighbors further states, "The early Church fathers, inquisitors, and later witch hunters were all well aware of folk

belief in ligature, both its practice and the various countermeasures taken (especially by newlyweds) to prevent it."[50] Previous Canonical writings also offer cures for impotence, and this goes even further to prove the authenticity of witch-induced impotence. Of course, a more preferred cure for impotence, at least in the eyes of Kramer, and other witchcraft theorists would have been the successful capture and confession of the guilty witch. Impotence, along

Figure 2. Francesco Mazzola, called Parmigianino, Witch Riding a Phallus, c. 1530 (engraving) British Museum, London.[51]

with other ills caused by charms, was believed to be cured with the execution of the witch who perpetrated the evils.

Missing Members: Witches and Penis Theft in the *Malleus Maleficarum*

Witchcraft-induced impotence in itself was a terrifying thought to men during the witch craze, but Heinrich Kramer told of an even more disturbing way that witches could impede men from fathering children in the *Malleus Maleficarum*. In Part I, Question IX, Kramer states that "there is no doubt that certain witches can do marvelous things with regard to male organs. For this agrees with what has been seen and heard by many, and with the general account of what has been known concerning that member through the senses of sight and touch."[52]

The "marvelous thing" that witches could do to the male organs was to steal them, or cause them to appear to be missing. The subject of penis theft by witches is given considerable examination in the *Malleus*, including three specific examples of cases where this occurrence supposedly happened. Perhaps the most well known account is told in an anecdote in Part II, Question I, Chapter 7:

> And what, then, is to be thought of those witches who in this way sometimes collect male organs in great numbers, as many as twenty or thirty members together, and put them in a birds nest or shut them up in a box, where they move themselves like living members, and eat oats and corn, as has been seen like many and is a matter of common report? It is said to have all been done by the devil's work and illusion, for the sense of those who see them are deluded in the way we have said. For a certain man tells that, when he had lost his member, he approached a known witch to ask her to restore it to him. She told the afflicted man to climb a certain tree, and that he might take which he liked out of a nest in which there were several members. And when he tried to take a big one, the witch said: You must not take that one; adding, because it belonged to a parish priest.[53]

Kramer reported that these instances really occurred, and said they were reported or "narrated by a certain venerable Father from the Dominican House of Spires, well known in the Order for the honesty of his life and for his learning."[54] Perhaps the idea of a stolen penis seemed a bit unbelievable to Kramer himself, because throughout the sections where he discusses the issue in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, he makes a point of saying that the organ itself most often is not physically removed, but only bewitched to seem as if it were gone. The inclusion of penis theft in the *Malleus Maleficarum* has been a topic of debate among witchcraft historians for years. It is often credited as being the first mention of phallus thievery recorded in writing, and this fact often leads to speculations about the mental faculties of Kramer. Perhaps the most logical explanation of them all is that while there are no actual written records of penis theft before the *Malleus Maleficarum*, the notion of penis theft would have existed in popular

Figure 3. *Castration Sorcery; A Spell Against and Earwig; The Use of Axe Magic to Steal Wine*. In Hans Vintler, *Buch der Tugend*, Ausberg: Johann Blaubirer, 1486.[55]

culture of the time.

The ideas of penis theft in the *Malleus Maleficarum* may have been influenced by ideas related to the popular folklore of "love magic." It was often believed that body parts, fluids, and clothing removed from a hanged criminal possessed magical power. Everything from semen, hair, and menstrual blood was used in various potions. The idea of a witch having a collection of penises in a container may have come from practitioners of love magic that offered love charms and various instruments for self pleasure when these charms failed. Smith states that "a common tradition that plays upon the ribald implications of the traditional witch as a purveyor of love philters and charms."[56] Dildos have existed since antiquity, and no doubt were in use at the time of the writing of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Even Montague Summers, one of the pioneers of modern witchcraft history makes a mention of these devices in his 1926 work, *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology*:

> It is demonstrable, then, that artificial methods of coition, common in pagan antiquity, have been unblushingly practiced throughout the ages, as indeed they are at the present day, and that they have been repeatedly banned and reprobated by the voice of the Church.[57]

Certainly, the sight of a container of phallic shaped objects in the possession of a practitioner of "love magic," who may have practiced midwifery as well, could lend itself to the story of the witch in possession of a nest full of disembodied phalli.

In her article "The Flying Phallus and the

Figure 4. *Taking Body Parts from a Hanged Thief,* woodcut, in Hans Vintler, Buch der Tugend, Ausburg: Johann Blaubirer, 1486.[58]

Laughing Inquisitor: Penis Theft in the *Malleus Maleficarum,*" Moira Smith contends that the nest imagery in the penis theft story told in the *Malleus Maleficarum* can be explained by folklore. Smith holds that associations between male genitalia and birdlife have been made since antiquity. Artistic examples of this association can be found in Roman art. Smith states that "The winged phallus was very common in ancient Rome; the image was incorporated into rings, pendants, and finger-rings that were commonly worn by boys as good luck charms. Like other phallic objects, these were probably designed to counter the evil eye."[59] Not only are these images present in various forms of visual art, but the parallel between male organs and birds also exists in the vernacular, even to this day. There are numerous slang terms for the penis that are drawn directly from bird imagery, for example, in English *cock* (which has been in use since the early seventeenth century), and *pecker*. Also, "the same association continues in slang terms for male masturbation, such as *choking the chicken*."[60] Smith also points out that "verbal associations between the human male genitalia and birdlife are not restricted to English, as witnessed by the Spanish *paloma* (pigeon or dove), Italian *uccello* ("bird"), and the German verb *vögelin* (meaning literally "to bird," or to fuck)."[61]

Penis theft is one of the most popular topics of discussion from the *Malleus Maleficarum,* and many theories exist when it comes to the interpretation of these aspects of the work. While the accounts seem to have a bit of ribald humor to them, the truth remains that the inclusion of penis theft in the *Malleus Maleficarum* as a crime committed by

witches sealed the fate of those women accused of these actions. To these suspected witches this was anything but a laughing matter. In the context of the *Malleus,* penis theft was an illusion created by the Devil, carried out by his witchy human agents, all for the purpose of attacking God's sacrament of marriage.
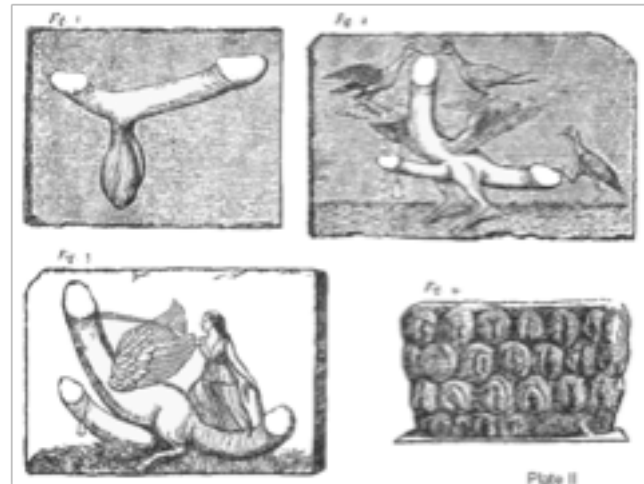

Figure 5. Plate of the Phallus sculptures on the Roman Amphitheatre at Nimes, in the south of France[62]

Midwives: A Portrait of the Accused

In Part I, Question 12 of the *Malleus Maleficarum,* Kramer states that "no one does more harm to the Catholic faith than midwives. For when they do not kill children, then, as if for some other purpose, they take them out of the room and, raising them up in the air offer them to devils."[63] These words cast a shadow of doubt over countless midwives of the time. Their expertise in matters pertaining to reproductive health, along with their access to unbaptized newborns made them prime suspects for witchcraft. Unfortunately, these stereotypes were furthered by the aura of mystery that surrounded their profession.

Often times there was speculation about the abilities of the midwives. Physicians viewed midwifery as a menial craft and the women who practiced this skill were more valuable for their reassurance to a laboring mother. For example, Johann Christoph Ettner, a male physician, wrote *Trusty Eckharth's Carless Midwife* around 1715. He states that a good midwife must offer comfort to her patients:

> since women, especially laboring women
> often are of little courage when they
> are afraid, it is necessary that a midwife

address them with beautiful sayings or other cheerful appropriate comfort and funny speeches or stories with well wrought examples, urge them on with joyful courage and good hope to a quick and successful birth… which often helps more than all toil and trouble.[64]

Regardless of the views of physicians, the vast majority of women turned to midwives for their gynecological and obstetrical care.

Without formal education, midwives developed many skills that were relatively sophisticated. They were able to examine women and diagnose various ailments. Midwives were also able to educate women about contraceptives that were available at the time. For example, chewing the seeds of Queen Anne's Lace had worked as birth control, as well as using "fenugreek, mallow, pennyroyal, rue, birthwort, cyperus, arum root, cassia, reed, valerian, calamint root, and myrrh."[65] These methods were tested over time and passed from one midwife to another. However with all their professional experience, midwives also employed a great deal of superstition when practicing their trade. Barstow elaborates that "In addition to empirical methods, these women depended also on rituals based on magic. Incantations, the wearing of amulets, and the repeating of charms were universal practices. In order for herbs to be efficacious, as one gathered them, one must say five Lord's Prayers, five Hail Marys, and the Creed."[66] The use of superstitious charms helped to concrete the idea of the witch-midwife in the eyes of the Church and inquisitors.

Perhaps the aspect of midwifery that led to the most accusations of witchcraft was the participation in childbirth. Childbirth was risky for both mother and child at this time, and "while it could be seen as the ultimate emotional and social fulfillment of a woman's life, it also made her exceptionally vulnerable."[68] The high mortality rate during childbirth, coupled with the fact that the birthing room was strictly the domain of women, led to much speculation about the activities of midwives, and the possible evil that they might be perpetrating behind closed doors. Even male physicians were not present during childbirth. In her article "Speculum Feminarum: Gendered Perspectives on Obstetrics and Gynecology in Early Modern Europe," Lynne Tatlock states that "male medical practitioners did not usually touch or even view the private parts of

Figure 6. Jacob Rueff. *De Conceptu et Generatione Hominis* (Frankfurt: 1580).[67]

their female patients and were therefore as a rule barred from the birthing room."[69] In most instances, the only time that a doctor was summoned was when either the mother or the child died, and surgical intervention was needed to save the life of the other.

Midwives employed many superstitious rituals while assisting in childbirth. For example, a midwife might recommend "opening doors or chests to open the womb in prolonged labor."[70] Some practices that had a legitimate medical basis led themselves to ideas of witchcraft when combined with superstition. Instead of waiting for God to bring on labor, midwives could induce contractions through breaking the amniotic sac or employing herbs. For instance, "pepper was the common drug used to induce labor."[71] Midwives could alleviate some of the pain of labor by employing plant-derived narcotics and wine. Also, the benefit of superstitious charms to quell labor pains and speed delivery cannot be overlooked. No doubt these practices could comfort a laboring mother; employing a type of a placebo effect.

Unfortunately for the midwives, it was commonly believed that these superstitious charms could be used for darker purposes. For example "as late as 1772, Scottish midwives were believed to have the power of transferring labour pains from women to animals, or from the 'good wife' to her husband."[72] This was particularly troubling in a time when the Bible was considered not only historical fact, but also the literal word of God. Genesis 3:16 outlines the punishment that Eve received for her sins. God said: "I will greatly increase your pangs in childbearing; in pain you shall bring forth children, yet your desire shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you."[73] Relieving the pains of childbirth went directly against the punishment for the original sin of Eve. This punishment is a consequence of this first sin, "the hereditary stain with which we are born on account of our origin."[74] This, along with the use of superstitious charms, and the matter of contraception did not please religious authorities, and helped to perpetuate the stereotype of the midwife-witch.

Loss and the Myth of Sacrificial Infants: Miscarriage, Abortion, Infanticide and Infant Mortality

The high mortality rate during childbirth, coupled with fact that the birthing room was strictly the domain of women, led to much speculation about the activities of midwives, and the possible evil that they might be perpetrating behind closed doors. It was commonly believed that the bodies of unbaptized infants were needed for Witches' Sabbats, either for sacrifice, cannibalism, or the production of magical ointments. It was said that "with the ointment, they changed themselves into animals, rendered themselves invisible or rubbed their bodies in order to obtain the power of flying through the air."[75] Along with the children that the witches themselves gave birth to, midwife-witches were thought to be the source for these unbaptized infants. This belief often times led to accusations of witchcraft for those unfortunate midwives who lost patients. Grieving parents or a husband who lost his wife in childbirth could seek revenge by casting suspicion on the midwife. Furthermore, with the pressure on to produce children, "women who had difficulties bearing children, with frequent miscarriages or stillbirths, were liable to blame these on witchcraft, perhaps displacing their worries about their own failure to meet expectations."[76] With the belief that witches acting as midwives were seeking unbaptized infants for diabolical purposes, the

possibility of something going awry in the birthing room, or even afterwards in some cases, was a cause for concern. Accusations of witchcraft following one of these unfortunate events was a distinct possibility. A 1587 demonological work by Sebastian Michealis, titled Pneumanologie, included a passage containing the sentence passed at a 1582 witch trial in Avignon:

> (Fie, for very shame) with the greatest reverence you did kiss with sacrilegious mouth his most foul and beastly posterior; and did call upon him in the name of the true God and invoke his help; and did beg him to avenge you upon all who had offended or denied your requests; and taught by him, you did wreak your spite in spells and charms against both men and beasts; and did murder any newborn children, and with the help of that old serpent Satan, you did affect mankind with your curses, loss of milk, the wasting sickness, and other most grave diseases. And your own children, many of them with your own knowledge and consent, you did with those magic spells suffocate, pierce, and kill, and finally you dug them up secretly by night from the cemetery where they were buried, and so carried them to the aforementioned synagogue and college of witches. There you did offer them to the Prince of Devils sitting upon his throne, and did draw off their fat to be kept for your own use, and cut off their heads, hands and feet, and did cook and stew their trunks, and sometimes roast them and at the bidding of your aforesaid evil father did eat and damnably devour them.[77]

This account shows the ideas of witchcraft contained in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, as well as popular folklore, in the form of a guilty verdict for an unfortunate woman.

Despite their usefulness, the superstitious practices used by midwives could be perceived as evil when there was a death in the birthing room. One must remember that "miscarriages, hemorrhaging, and stillbirths were frightenly common, so expectant mothers anxiously called on midwives for charms or superstitious ceremonies."[78] However any misunderstood chant or herb could have been taken as an act of sorcery when things

went wrong. Robin Briggs explains:

> High infant mortality rates were general across Europe, with many babies languishing then dying for no obvious reason. These deaths inevitably formed one cause for suspicion; difficulties with breastfeeding, another very common problem, were often blamed on witchcraft too. Older women, who usually provided the normal source of advice in such cases, could easily find themselves in ambiguous positions.[79]

Not only could an accusation of witchcraft arise from problems related to the birth itself, but it could also arise from the death of the child over a period of time.

The authorities tried to combat the evil activities of witches by regulating the practices of midwives, as well as passing statutes that held women accountable for infanticide and abortion. For instance "an English midwives' oath of 1567 has midwives pledge that they 'will not use any kind of sorcery or incantation in the time of the travail of any woman; and that they will not destroy the children born of any woman...'"[80] In sixteenth century Germany, midwives were not allowed to "administer medications, perform diagnostic analyses of blood or urine or use instruments such as forceps; they were required to report abortions, infanticide, and childbirth outside of marriage to the authorities, and to submit themselves to the authority of doctors."[81] Strict laws against infanticide and abortion were also instituted; although these were implemented against all women, not just midwives. Anne Llewellyn Barstow relates that "so concerned were the French about abortion and

infanticide that in 1556 the Parlement passed an extraordinary edict: every expectant mother must register her pregnancy and have a witness to the birth. If she did not, and the infant died, she was liable for the death sentence on a murder charge."[82] Charges were similar in Luxembourg; however, there was a distinct gender bias. Women were dealt a more severe punishment than men, because "women condemned for doing away with their newborn children, for example, were buried alive, whereas fathers, if known were either fined or let go free."[83] These regulations demonstrated the severity of the accusations that could be leveled against a midwife accused of witchcraft. The laws, paired with the superstition about the use of unbaptized infants in Witches' Sabbats led to the persecution of midwives when things went awry during birth and the postpartum period.

Conclusion

Witchcraft theory was a combination of sacramental theology and superstition that existed in the folk culture of the time. Ideas about sorcery, fertility, and the miracle of birth had existed since antiquity. However, ideas about who a witch was, or what magical arts they practiced underwent a change during the witch craze in Europe. Wise women and healers had existed in various forms in cultures throughout time, but sacramental theology added demonic aspects to these notions. Witch-midwives were now thought to be on a quest for unbaptized infants to make magical ointments. They were believed to attack God by sabotaging His holy sacrament of marriage. No longer were they performing beneficial rites. Witches were now the

<div style="text-align:center">**Bibliography**</div>

human agents of the devil on Earth, freely doing his bidding. With this frightening twist on established ideas in popular folklore, and the stress of infertility, reproductive dysfunction could easily lead to accusations of witchcraft.

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Reclaiming Jezebel

Amber Lopez

"In the portion of Jezreel shall dogs eat the flesh of Jezebel. And the carcase of Jezebel shall be as dung upon the face of the field; so that they shall not say, this is Jezebel."[1] With these words, the fate of Jezebel has been sealed for nearly three millennia. There can be little ambiguity about the symbolism behind this judgment, as Jezebel is transformed from queen, to dog food, and finally to excrement. Conventional sources tell us many things about Jezebel: that she was a Phoenician princess, the wife of Ahab king of the Israelites, and the mortal enemy of God's prophet, Elijah. In all of these roles, she has tradition[2]ally been presented as evil. But in recent decades a change has been brewing for Jezebel as feminist scholars have sought to reclaim her, if not as a heroine, at least as a strong (but flawed) female biblical character. This paper will examine the story of Jezebel in several parts: first, the biblical account of her life and death (using the King James version of the books of Kings in the Old Testament); second, the traditional view of Jezebel through the ages in extra-biblical sources, sermons, and books; third, Jezebel in pop culture; and finally, the specific ways that feminist scholars are seeking to reclaim Jezebel from the bone pile and the dung heap.

Jezebel in the Bible

To understand Jezebel one must start at the beginning of her known story, which was told as part of a larger narrative of God's prophet Elijah's activities in the books of Kings in the Bible. The first mention of Jezebel comes as she is married to Ahab, heir to the Omri dynasty, and a man already in trouble with Yahweh for "walk[ing] in the sins of Jeroboam,"[3] a reference to idol worship. After marrying Jezebel, Ahab builds a temple and a shrine to the gods that she worships, Baal and Asherah, as part of the religion that she was brought up with as a Phoenician princess. The daughter of a priest (as well as a king), Jezebel is zealous in her religion and sets about immediately persecuting the prophets of Yahweh. But Ahab is open minded, and he continues to seek council from time to time with God's

prophet, Elijah the Tishbite, who tells him that "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word."[4]

A drought and famine did in fact ensue, as the prophet had predicted, until finally, according to the command of God, Elijah went to Ahab and challenged him to assemble the prophets of Baal for a contest to see who could end the years-long drought. These 850 prophets tried unsuccessfully to bring rain, until "Elijah mocked them, and said, 'Cry aloud: for he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or he sleepeth and must be awaked'."[5] When it was Elijah's turn, he spoke softly to God, who answered with a bolt of lightning, soon followed by the life giving rain. Elijah then ordered the awe-struck onlookers to round up the prophets of Baal, all 850, who were promptly killed. When Jezebel, back home in Jezreel, learned of what had transpired, she did not tremble in the face of defeat. Instead, she "sent a messenger unto Elijah, saying, 'So let the gods do to me, and more also, if I make not thy life as the life of one of them by tomorrow about this time'."[6] Apparently taking this threat seriously, Elijah fled to the wilderness.

We next hear from Jezebel in the context of the story of the vineyard of Naboth. In this part of the tale, King Ahab, wishing to obtain a new plot of land, has been rebuffed by Naboth, a land owner with a vineyard adjacent to the king's palace at Jezreel. Ahab sulks and refuses to eat, but Jezebel says "Dost thou now govern the kingdom of Israel? Arise, and eat bread, and let thine heart be merry: I will give thee the vineyard of Naboth."[7] In order to fulfill her promise, Jezebel writes letters falsely accusing Naboth of blasphemy against God and king, a crime which is punishable by death. When Naboth has been thus removed from his land, Ahab takes possession of it, where Elijah finds him and issues proclamations against him, saying "in the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood,"[8] and "the dogs shall eat Jezebel by the wall of Jezreel,"[9] for Ahab had sold "himself

to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord, whom Jezebel his wife stirred up."[10] Ahab humbled himself before Elijah and God, and was given a reprieve of the punishment for his sin. This is the last direct contact between Elijah and the royal couple.

Upon Elijah being taken up to heaven in a whirlwind, his successor Elisha took over his prophetic duties. Under the guidance of Elisha, Jehu, a soldier, was secretly anointed the king of Israel and set about to claim the throne from the descendants of Ahab, who had died. When Ahab's son, Joram (Jehu's commander), asked him "Is it peace," Jehu answered "what peace, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?"[11] He then killed both of the sons of Ahab, and turned his sights to Jezebel in her palace at Jezreel. Knowing that Jehu was coming for her, Jezebel "painted her face, and tired her head, and looked out at a window,"[12] and when Jehu approached she taunted him by saying "Had Zimri peace who slew his master?"[13] Jehu was unmoved and ordered several of Jezebel's servants to throw her down, and they did so, causing her blood to splatter on the wall before she was trampled by Jehu's horse. Jehu then neglected to bury Jezebel, and by the time soldiers went to take care of that business (since she was, after all, the daughter of a king), all that was left of Jezebel was "the skull, and the feet, and the palms of her hands."[14] Jehu was satisfied that this was the fulfillment of Elijah's earlier prophecy.

Traditional Interpretation

Jezebel's story is told in a few verses, intertwined with the stories of the men who affected her life, but it seemingly gives enough information to condemn her for all time. Readers of the story have found in Jezebel some of the worst qualities that can be ascribed to a woman: manipulation, masculinity, boldness, seductiveness, and more. These traditional sources begin with the earliest biblical commentaries found in the Talmud and are continued by subsequent commentaries by Thomas Aquinas, Jerome, and others. The idea of Jezebel as evil seductress has also been used in countless sermons, often to describe any destructive or negative outside influence, but also as a warning to women about the limits of their power. And finally, in current written sources one can find negative portrayals of Jezebel ranging from mild condemnation to a fear that the "Jezebel spirit" is actively seeking the downfall of Christianity even today.

The earliest extra-biblical sources set the stage for Jezebel's image through the ages, beginning by laying the blame for Ahab's sins at Jezebel's feet. As Janet Howe Gaines notes in her book *Music in the Old Bones: Jezebel through the Ages*, "Talmudic legend amplifies biblical accounts of Jezebel's active role in causing Ahab's apostasy."[15] So it is not just her own sins for which she has been condemned, but for the sins of Ahab as well. According to Gaines, this is because of the line in Kings that says "But there was none like unto Ahab, which did sell himself to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord, whom Jezebel his wife stirred up."[16] R. Levi understood the importance of the second part of this line after Ahab appeared to him in a dream and complained that he had overlooked Jezebel's influence.[17] So, while Ahab is clearly seen as a villain in this tale, it is understood to be through the work of Jezebel that he has strayed from strict Yahwhism. In keeping with this theme, a Talmud scholar notes "Jezebel is portrayed as a wicked woman (*Sifrei on Numbers* 133), who represents the negative influence of Gentile women who turned Israel's heart to idolatry; an evil woman who causes the king of Israel to stray from the ways of the Lord (*Sifrei on Deuteronomy* 159)."[18]

Jezebel's representation as a harlot, while not seemingly founded in the text itself, has taken root in the traditional interpretations of her tale. In the biblical text the word "whoredoms" (or harlotries in other versions besides King James) is used only once, by Jehu to describe the ruling practices of Jezebel. As Gaines points out, this is not because she displayed the activity of a harlot, but because "a country desiring false gods is symbolically represented by a woman lusting after additional sexual partners. Therefore, the concept of unlawful sex and unlawful idol worship are linked in the Bible."[19] So if Jezebel does not display the actions of a harlot, then from where does this notion come?

It is within the Talmudic sources that one first finds the insinuation that Jezebel was a harlot. Gaines notes that "In the Talmud (Sanhedrin, 39b), Raba recounts that Jezebel draws pictures of prostitutes on Ahab's chariot. Ahab, the rabbi concludes, is "frigid by nature [passionless], so Jezebel painted pictures of two harlots on his chariot that he might look upon them and become heated'."[20] While modern day Christian preachers may not know this story from the Talmud, its influence is still felt in the popular understanding of Jezebel as a woman of loose morals. In addition to

this, Jezebel's behavior leading up to her death has also been used against her to insinuate that she was willing to use seduction to save herself. In Rashi's commentary it is said that Jezebel "adorned her head in order to have charm in Jehu's eyes so that he would marry her."[21] Later interpreters would find fault with this reading, but the rabbis found Jezebel to be a harlot and a seductress in life, and this verdict has stuck.

In sermons Jezebel has been reviled throughout the history of the Christian Church as well. It is impossible to know how often and to what extent Jezebel has been used as a cautionary device to warn churchgoers of the dangers lurking around them: dangerous women, temptation to sin, idolatry, etc. However, there are some sermons that have been recorded which give an idea of the way in which Jezebel's image has been maintained throughout time. In one famous sermon called *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, the Protestant reformer John Knox, said:

> And who doubteth but Iesabel, and Athalia, before their miserable end, were conuicted in their cankered consciences, to acknowledge that the murther, which they had committed, and the empire whiche the one had six yeares usurped, were repugnant to iustice: Euen so shall they I doubt not, whiche this daye do possesse and mainteine that monstriferous authoritie of women[22], shortlie be compelled to acknowledge, that their studies and deuises, haue bene bent against God: and that all such as women haue usurped, repugneth to iustice, because, as I haue saide, it repugneth to the will of God expressed in his sacred worde. And if any man doubte herof, let him marke wel the wordes of the apostle, saying[23]: I permit not a woman to teache, nether yet to vsurpe authoritie aboue man.[24]

In this case, Knox uses Jezebel as a warning against the rule of women, which he sees as "repugnant to the will of God." It is the very act of a woman taking an authoritative role over men that is so concerning to Knox about Jezebel, and reflects a general animosity toward Catholic queens of the time. It is very interesting that Jezebel, who was clearly a commanding presence, should be used as an instrument of oppression for women, in the sense that her memory could be employed to keep people in fear of the rule of women.

It is not just at the pulpit that Jezebel has been denounced before a Christian audience. Edith Deen wrote in her biography of Jezebel (as part of a larger collection of biographies of biblical women) that the queen "was neither a good wife and mother nor a just ruler."[25] In saying this, Deen manages to render Jezebel a failure in feminine and masculine terms, reflecting the multiple dimensions that Jezebel inhabited as both a woman and a ruler. In fact, Deen finds something in Jezebel that is inherently destructive to men and women, saying "her elaborate, sensuous entourage introduced into Israel the lewd Baal worship which tended to destroy manhood and drag womanhood into shame."[26] Along these same lines, Deen finds shadows of Jezebel in later examples of "evil" women: Lady Macbeth, Mary, Queen of Scots, Marie Antoinette, and Catherine de'Medici, who, like Jezebel, was "an outstanding example of what a woman ought not to be."[27] The author apparently finds no mitigating circumstances that help to explain Jezebel's behavior, as she roundly condemns her, saying "no woman's name in history has become so commonly accepted as a synonym for wickedness."[28] Edith Deen's appraisal of Jezebel is in keeping with the established dogma that has become so comfortable to readers in regards to this biblical queen.

Jezebel's negative image extends to academic writers as well. Writing in 1992, William E. Phipps, self-proclaimed feminist and Professor of Religion and Philosophy at Davis and Elkins College in West Virginia, gives another less-than-forgiving view of Jezebel in his book *Assertive Biblical Women*. In this book, the author appreciates assertiveness as "a central concept of the women's movement in the past generation."[29] But in Jezebel he apparently finds something beyond assertiveness, as he places her story under the collective heading "Bold and Unscrupulous Rulers."[30] Calling her "Hurricane Jezebel," Phipps goes on to accuse the queen of "pressur[ing] prince Ahab to erect a sanctuary for Baal,"[31] and finally of being a contemptuous wife toward Ahab when he was angry and petulant regarding the vineyard of Naboth.[32] In his analysis of Jezebel, Phipps does include some information which may help to understand her label of whore/harlot: that the religion to which Jezebel adhered included devotion "to orgies of slaughter and sex."[33] The author does not offer corroboration of his assertion, but if it is true it could go a long way toward understanding Jezebel's legacy as a harlot.

For some modern Christians it has become natural to speak of a "jezebel spirit." It is not clear how widespread this notion has become, but there is a vast amount of information to be found on the internet regarding the jezebel spirit. Many books have also been written on the subject, one of which is John Paul Jackson's *Unmasking the Jezebel Spirit*. In this book, the author explains the jezebel spirit to be "a diabolical spiritual force that seeks to deceive, defile, and destroy God's authorities."[34] It seems that the jezebel spirit is believed to be some sort of demonic influence, because Jackson says that "at the moment [that a person comes under the influence of a Jezebel spirit], the individual's rational reasoning process begins to deteriorate. His or her thoughts and actions become distorted."[35] If it were just one book and a few websites it would be easy to ignore this incarnation of the Jezebel myth, but there are many other titles to choose from in exploring this epithet: *The Jezebel Spirit, Confronting Jezebel: Discerning and Defeating the Spirit of Control, Overcoming the Spirit of Jezebel, Jezebel in our Midst*, and many others. So it seems that, at least for some people, Jezebel is not simply a wicked queen of antiquity, and not just a pile of bones, but a permanent source of evil in human society.

Pop Culture

In spite of, or perhaps in part because of, her evil image, Jezebel has become a recurrent theme in American pop culture, with examples that alternately uphold and destroy the traditional view of the painted queen. Within our language, the word Jezebel has been transformed from a woman's name to a descriptive term, an epithet to be hurled as a weapon against any woman whose behavior is deemed inappropriate. In fact, the word has been used in this way so extensively that it has found a place in the Oxford English Dictionary, where the entry for Jezebel reads: "Name of the infamous wife of Ahab king of Israel; hence used allusively for a wicked, impudent, or abandoned woman." This reference volume traces the etymology of the word in its allusive form to the 1558 sermon by John Knox, previously referenced, entitled *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, and to various other sermons, and includes the adjective forms Jezebelian, Jezebelical, and Jezebelish. It is also acceptable to use the word in lowercase, as included in Merriam-Webster's online dictionary: "*often not capitalized*: an impudent, shameless, or morally unrestrained woman." One

thinks nothing of the remark, used in an off-hand way, in a popular movie like *Steel Magnolias*, when the character played by Dolly Parton jokingly calls her younger friend, played by Daryl Hannah, Jezebel for staying out late, drinking, and smoking.[36] In this way, the legend of Jezebel as a woman of loose morals is perpetuated in our daily lives.

In the American south, the insult takes on a more sinister racial undertone. It is no secret that in the days of slavery a man could exploit his female slaves for his own sexual gratification. But what is not always remembered is that these captive women were often blamed for the acts of their captors, and given labels to make this exploitation seem justified. As Tina Pippin writes, "Jezebel was the designation of the sexually dangerous African American slave woman. The jezebel is sexual; provocative; promiscuous; rebellious; a whore. The white masters created these images to control and dominate the female slave. White women blamed the jezebels in order to deny the rape and oppression of slave women."[37] Knowing this, it is perplexing that author Jacquelin Thomas, a writer of African American Christian fiction, would pen a book called *Jezebel*, in which the protagonist, Jessie Belle is a seductive and manipulative young black woman who schemes and does evil to get her way. The book is styled as a modern day retelling of the biblical story of Jezebel, with Jessie Belle meeting a similar fate when she is thrown from a balcony. But unlike the biblical Jezebel, Jessie is given a chance to redeem herself before she dies. In looking back on her life and her situation, Jessie Belle asks her nurse "Did you know that there's a Jezebel spirit? There is. Anyone who worships money, earthly treasures or power is vulnerable to this spirit."[38] As previously noted, this idea of a "jezebel spirit" reaches across modern Christian teaching, and continues the tradition of relating the name Jezebel with temptation and sin.

One of the best known examples of Jezebel in pop culture is the 1938 movie "Jezebel," in which Bette Davis plays a willful and demanding young southern belle named Julie Marsden who schemes and manipulates men to get her way. This is an interesting portrayal of a character loosely based on Jezebel, since Julie is never depicted as being sexually immoral, and in many ways is shown as a good person who is simply spoiled and impetuous. Julie is gracious toward her friends, kind to her slaves (all of whom appear unrealistically happy and content in their lives), and in the end repentant and sacrificing to save the life of her true love, Pres Dillard (played

by Henry Fonda). But before her redemption, Julie uses her feminine whiles to bring about the downfall of two of her friends: men who are brought to a duel over false implications regarding the lady's honor, and one of whom is killed in the event. When Julie is left to finally face the results of her actions, she emotionally asks her aunt what she is thinking, and receives the reply, "I'm thinking of a woman called Jezebel who did evil in the sight of God."[39] This line echoes the line repeated in the Bible regarding the Kings of Israel (Omri, Ahab, and the sons of Ahab), who "did evil in the sight of the Lord." The closing scene of the movie shows Julie, riding atop a cart loaded with yellow fever patients, one of whom was her love Pres, headed to "plague island" where people were quarantined. On her face is a look that one could imagine on Jezebel's face as she awaited her certain fate: a look of determination, courage, and self assuredness. It is not likely that the makers of this film were interested in paying homage to Jezebel in anyway, but it is a striking end to the film nonetheless.

In music, Jezebel has been made a staple of the jilted lover song genre. Frankie Laine's 1950's dramatic song, "Jezebel," included the line "if ever the devil was born, without a pair of horns, it was you, Jezebel, it was you."[40] Throughout the song, the singer laments the evil object of his self-destructive love, and Jezebel's image as caustic woman is maintained. In a twist on an old theme, the 10,000 Maniacs song "Jezebel" employs the word as a self-deprecating remark used by a guilty lover who no longer feels the love: "I know your feelings are tender; And that inside you the embers still glow; But I'm a shadow, I'm only a bed of blackened coal; Call myself Jezebel for wanting to leave."[41] Yet another "Jezebel" song depicting the traditional usage of the word is by Depeche Mode. In this song, a man speaks in defense of his lady, who others call Jezebel: "They call you Jezebel; Whenever we walk in; You're going straight to hell; For wanton acts of sin" (Depeche Mode). In all of these songs, the time-honored rendering of Jezebel as seductive, evil, and sinful is upheld in one way or another, either by explicit or implicit acceptance.

However, not all pop culture portrayals of Jezebel are negative. In Isaac Asimov's 1953 book, *Caves of Steel*, there is a woman named Jezebel who goes by Jessie. She is quite enamored of her name, thinking that it makes her very exciting and risqué. In an argument one day, her husband (named Elijah, of all things) tells her that the Jezebel of the Bible was not nearly as bad a woman as her reputation would suggest. In the following narrative, Asimov presents a view of Jezebel that modern day feminists might appreciate, saying "the Jezebel of the Bible was a faithful wife, and a good one" and that the reason she is viewed in such a negative light is because "her enemies wrote" the chapters about her.[42] Lije goes on to tell Jessie that Jezebel's actions in persecuting the prophets were no worse than the actions of Elijah who killed the Baalists, and that this was "the usual method of proselytization in those days."[43] Asimov cannot as easily explain away Jezebel's actions against Naboth, which he concedes were wrong, but he mitigates the behavior by saying, "the only excuse for her was that Ahab was sick and unhappy over the situation and she felt that her love for her husband came ahead of Naboth's welfare."[44] Overall, this was a very progressive view to be found in a book written in 1953. Perhaps Asimov was channeling the future, looking ahead to the first decade of the twenty-first century, the time frame in which the story in *Caves of Steel* was set, when a different view of the Jezebel story would be more commonplace.

Non-traditional representations of Jezebel, or non-traditional uses for her name, can be found in other pop culture formats as well. For example, a recent song by Iron and Wine, from the 2005 album "Woman King," lends a more sympathetic voice to the chorus. The sentiment is fairly well summed up in the line, "Who's seen Jezebel? She was born to be the woman we could blame" (Iron and Wine). This song is part of a collection of songs that all deal with aspects of women and spirituality, and Jezebel is given an uncharacteristically compassionate treatment, along with Lilith, and women in general. With the rise of the internet in the last ten years or so, it has become understood that almost any view is represented on the vast network of the internet. For this reason, one really shouldn't be surprised to find a woman's online magazine called Jezebel. com, with the tagline: "Celebrity, Sex, Fashion, for Women. Without Airbrushing."[45] The trend toward more accepting portrayals of Jezebel in pop culture may be due in part to the next important topic of this paper: the reinterpretation of Jezebel and other Bible stories by feminist scholars.

The Reinterpretation

Ever since women have been studying history and religion, they have been finding new meanings behind the stories that they read. Jezebel's tale is

no exception. Feminist scholars of the Bible have often found in Jezebel something different from tradition. At times, they have found her to be smart, courageous, a caring wife, and fervently religious. At each point in the story where Jezebel has been condemned, a feminist voice now speaks up to explain, if not to excuse, her actions. A look at just a few of these areas of interest will suffice for the purposes of this paper.

To begin with, reinterpreters have made much of the fact that *Kings* was written under the Deuteronomistic tradition, and that this automatically puts Jezebel at a disadvantage in the telling of her story. The Deuteronomistic History is the "theological framework that shapes the books of *Deuteronomy* through *Kings*" and "declares that obedience to Yahweh brings reward and disobedience brings punishment."[46] Ahab's marriage to Jezebel would have been a problem, even if they had not built temples to Baal and persecuted prophets of Yahweh, because "it was believed that foreign women would lure their Israelite husbands away from God to their gods."[47] It seems that part of Jezebel's predicament is that she got caught up in the problems between the Israelites and their God. She was not the cause of this problem, as her story takes up only a small part of the two books of *Kings*, but "the theme of these two books is Israel's failure to live up to God's expectations."[48] Her story is simply a small part of this larger idea that the Israelites were to face punishment for being unfaithful to their jealous God.

In fact, not only were the Israelites already in trouble with Yahweh, they were already familiar with the gods that Jezebel worshipped so fervently. Researchers have found that "Baalism was already in the land when the Israelites moved there."[49] As people who made a living doing agriculture, the Israelites would probably have appreciated having a god such as Baal, who was supposedly a fertility god who could control the weather. But that doesn't mean that the Israelites wanted to worship Baal to the exclusion of other gods. In fact, "a large number of Israelites were probably ambivalent and content to serve two deities."[50] This can be seen in Elijah's question to the Israelites gathered at Mt. Carmel on the day of the prophet's contest: "How long halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him" (1 Kings 18:21). If Baal worship already existed in Israel before Jezebel's arrival, this could go a long way toward mitigating her influence on the apostasy of Ahab

and the Israelites, but it may not help her much with strict traditionalists who have already made up their minds about her.

Another important way that feminists have sought to reclaim Jezebel is by reinterpreting the Naboth incident with the understanding of Jezebel's different cultural upbringing. It would be hard to completely excuse her actions, since she did lie and cause the death of an innocent man. However, by understanding Jezebel's own culture we may begin to see why she thought this course of action would be justified. Barbara Essex takes a particularly sympathetic view when she writes that "Jezebel is misunderstood: she was from another culture and worldview trying to adjust in a new and strange land."[51] She goes on to say that "Jezebel was a princess in a culture where royalty knew great power and privilege. Insubordination was a capital offense punishable by death as far as she is concerned."[52] So, while not exactly forgiving Jezebel for having Naboth killed, Essex and other writers at least acknowledge that her natal culture would have influenced her actions. Some interpreters have even suggested that "the Deuteronomic historian may have blamed Jezebel for Ahab's deeds"[53] in an effort to place the blame for evil on the shoulders of the foreign woman, in keeping with the policy of vilifying all outside influence.

Another focus of feminist scholars is the relationship between Elijah and Jezebel. Phyllis Trible, in her essay "The Odd Couple: Elijah and Jezebel," creates a diptych in which she illustrates the two powerful figures at odds in each of the important scenes from Jezebel's story. After examining both side by side in this way, she finds that "they [both] have power, and they use it to get what they want. [They] both…manipulate, scheme, and murder."[54] In a similar vein, Barbara Essex finds that "both Elijah and Jezebel were active, fanatical, violent, stubborn – and all in the name of their deities."[55] This shows a double standard, common in the Bible, whereby any action may be excused as long as the end result is in the favor of Yahwhism and the Israelites. If, in an age of supposed enlightenment, readers can begin to discern this double standard, Jezebel may yet have a chance for redemption.

There is one final insult that has been leveled at Jezebel (and subsequently at countless women by the mere insinuation of their being like her): that she was harlot, a whore, a temptress. Since there is never any mention in the Bible of Jezebel committing any

act of adultery or sexual impropriety, this simply cannot be corroborated. In fact, many people find evidence of a strong and healthy marriage between Jezebel and Ahab. Barabara Essex says "their marriage seems to have been one of mutual caring, respect, and commitment"[56] and that "she was a caring and concerned wife."[57] These assertions are usually connected to her display of concern and her desire to make her husband happy in the Naboth incident. In this light, Jezebel's actions, though misguided, are done out of love for her husband and a desire to see him happy.

Furthermore, the one word in the text, "whoredoms," which could be construed to connect Jezebel with sexual misdeeds, can also be explained. As Tikva Frymer-Kensky notes regarding this label, "Jezebel's 'whoredoms' are not sexual. They are her acts of worship to her own gods, which from Israel's point of view are 'whoredoms,' acts of faithlessness to Yahweh."[58] It is strange that, of all of her indiscretions, real and imagined, this is the one that has stuck most strongly in the collective conscious of casual observers. Anyone who has not read the story, but has heard the term, has almost certainly heard it in this context, denoting a woman of loose character. However, the final verdict for many new interpreters of the story is that "despite popular interpretation, she is not a harlot, seductress, or temptress."[59] One must wonder if simply clearing up this misconception might change the way Jezebel is viewed by the majority; since this seems to be the one crime for which people have found the most reason to condemn her.

Conclusion

A conspiracy of sorts has been uncovered, lurking in the shadows of this little understood parable of Jezebel; a conspiracy involving the men who wrote her story, and the numerous generations of men who have since used it as a way to subvert the power of women. In the continued use of "the cursed woman's" name as a pejorative, Tina Pippin finds "the continuation of the 'curse' for all women who claim autonomy – sexual, religious, or political."[60] Across the ages, this name has been used to refer "to countless women from political queens including Mary Tudor, Mary Stuart, and Isabela I to movie queens such as Bette Davis, Vivian Leigh, and Elizabeth Taylor."[61] A recurring theme in studies of women's history finds that many spaces are gendered male or female, and that the spaces which women are permitted to occupy are the interior spaces. Jezebel, like so many of the women who have come after her and been labeled with her name, overstepped her boundaries as a woman. By trying to influence the world beyond her prescribed space, she created trouble for herself.

However, even as she lived in condemnation for her transgressions beyond the accepted female space, Jezebel remained a captive. In "Jezebel Re-Vamped," Tina Pippin writes that "Jezebel is a prisoner in her own palace. She never leaves or confronts men on the outside."[62] Even in the final scene, as she faces her own death, "Jezebel talks to Jehu from her high window within female space. When she enters the male world, she is thrown to her death."[63] Jezebel's major crime may have simply been that she was too powerful for a woman, since "it seems that [she] enjoyed an exceptional position within society, although biblical writers are loath to admit it."[64] This could only have been seen as unacceptable, so that the authors of the story felt compelled to correct the matter. Brenner points this out when she finds that "the claim that a woman can act in a priestly capacity – especially a foreign woman who worships a foreign god – was probably considered by those who wrote down our stories, and those who later edited them, as bizarre and ridiculous."[65] Such is the case with much of women's stories, which have been told by men throughout recorded history; but the times indeed are changing.

As women are empowered to take control of writing and interpreting their own history, they are not content with allowing Jezebel to remain a pariah. There is a real sense of indignity in the words of feminist writers seeking to reclaim Jezebel. Trible says of Jezebel's time in Israel that "this land not only obliterates her but it defecates on her identity and memory." For many of those who seek to reform the queen's image, there may be a personal motivation, a feeling of solidarity with Jezebel, because, like her, they may have felt "captive to male power," and finding solidarity is a remedy to this feeling of powerlessness. Whatever the reasons, it is clear that Jezebel has been resurrected in many ways, and although the fight for her image continues, it is no longer such an unbalanced fight; no longer the ghost of a single woman against the entire body of Judeo-Christian patriarchy speaking in one voice against her. Accepting of all of her human faults and failings, women are standing beside their lost sister, Jezebel, and reclaiming her story as part of their own.

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[3] 1 Kings 17:1.

[4] 1 Kings 18:27.

[5] 1 Kings 19:2.

[6] 1 Kings 21:7.

[7] 1 Kings 21:19.

[8] 1 Kings 21:23.

[9] 1 Kings 21:25.

[10] 2 Kings 9:22.

[11] 2 Kings 9:30.

[12] 2 Kings 9:31.

[13] 2 Kings 9:35.

[14] Janet Howe Gaines, *Music in the Old Bones: Jezebel Through the Ages* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999), 13.

[15] 1 Kings 21:25.

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[23] Ibid., 126.

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[27] William E. Phipps, *Assertive Biblical Women*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992), 69.

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[29] Ibid., 75.

[30] Ibid., 71.

[31] John Paul Jackson, *Unmasking the Jezebel Spirit* (North Sutton, NH: Streams Publication, 2002), 2.

[32] Ibid., 3.

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[48] Ibid., 75.

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59 Ibid., 42.

60 Ibid., 39.

61 Athalya Brenner, *The Israelite Woman: Social Role and Literary Type in Biblical Narrative* (Great Britain: JSOT Press, 1985), 21.

62 Ibid., 26.

63 Phyllis Trible, "The Odd Couple: Elijah and Jezebel," *Out of the Garden: Women Writers on the Bible*, ed. Christina Buchmann and Celina Spiegel (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1994), 177.

64 Ibid., 177,

For the Love of a Child: The Care and Protection of Feudal Wards in Medieval England

Lauren Cengel

Orphans fascinate. The tragic story of an orphaned child somehow always captures our attention and sympathy. Whether this has always been the case throughout history remains a debate, particularly when modern scholars analyze the Middle Ages. Some historians like Philippe Ariès, most prominently, believe that pre-modern society did not have a concept of childhood, and that it therefore did not differentiate the treatment of children as opposed to adults.[2] Considering that legal concepts such as "the best interest of the child" were not in place for most of pre-modern Western history, including medieval England (circa 1066-1485 AD) it is possible to see how Ariès argued his theory. However, just because the legal concept of "the best interest of the child" was not in place in medieval England does not necessarily mean that orphans as feudal wards were not cared for or loved by the society around them. Feudal wards had the general compassion of society and were provided for through legislation customs of the time; this support shows that medieval English society did, in fact, have a deep and invested concern in the care of its wards.

In medieval English society family life was not a simple matter, and tossing the issue of wardship into the mix did not help with the complications. Wardship in the feudal system was an institution that, in the event of the death of the lord of an estate (the father), delivered the heir (his child, or "orphan") of the estate to the guardian named by the family for protection and support, or guardianship.[3] According to Peter Fleming, the intention of feudal wardship was to support and protect fatherless children and their inheritances. Using primary sources such as royal rolls and secondary sources on feudal wardship in medieval England, he discusses that, from about the twelfth century onward, the crown operated a market of sorts for the dealings of wardships, since wardships could also be bought and sold. It would be difficult for the wardship to be sold (legally),

however, to a guardian who was not connected to the child's family or did not have the family's interests as a primary concern, because the wardship usually went to a family friend. The possibility of profit from a wardship actually made guardianship a privilege rather than a burden, so it was usually not difficult to find a suitable guardian for the ward. The inheritance of the ward, in this respect, secured his or her well-being.

The other children who were not heirs were sent to live with family friends and relatives (even the mother), keeping them as close to the family was possible.[4] In this respect, the children's best interests were at heart because of the general way that the wardship system worked. Within family life as well, as Barbara Hanawalt argues, social networks from familial ties and higher-ranking godparents supported the child from birth.[5] She also discusses the care of poor orphans as well as wealthier ones, saying that the laws of the city provided for even the poorest child. She writes, "No citizen's child, therefore, should have been without a home," which shows the high level of investment and care the city of London showed for its orphans and wards.[6] Her work focuses on city wards of London, which is a somewhat different political situation than that of feudalism, so her research cannot necessarily be entirely applied to feudal wards. However, it seems quite probable that family life in the feudal system operated in a similar manner in regards to the compassion for children and orphans.

Unfortunately, the care of fatherless children was very common in medieval England because high mortality rates from illness and warfare caused many children to experience the loss of a parent in feudal society.[7] The frequency of orphans and wards in medieval England made it almost inevitable for society to create a means to support the fatherless children. However, many scholars have argued against the idea stating that, because death was a much more common occurrence in the Middle Ages, the intensity of its impact on the people was much

less, and therefore that there was less emphasis on providing for orphaned children. Shulamith Shahar argues against this understanding, writing that medieval society did have a large degree of empathy for the orphaned child.[8] The death of a parent could be just as traumatic for a child living in medieval England as it can be today; the frequency of death did not have the impact some believe it did on their emotions.

The people living in the Middle Ages knew that losing a parent could be profoundly affecting, and therefore made many provisions and concessions for the orphaned child so that he or she could be comforted and supported for a period of time before he or she became an adult. Shahar writes that "The very mention of the fact that a boy or girl was orphaned at an early age (*patre orbatus, matre orbatus*) [in medieval biographies]...shows that the author considered this event to be significant, and not only when, in consequence, the child was condemned to poverty and want."[9] Poor orphans as well as orphans in the aristocracy, then, had the compassion and support of society in their situation, much like Hanawalt's argument. These children were considered to be under the protection of the law and the Church because the death of a parent could completely turn a child's world upside-down, as many adults in medieval England no doubt knew.

Because wardship was such a frequently-handled issue, there were many legal institutions in place as well that enabled the orphaned child to grow up in not just a supportive, but in a caring environment. In the aristocracy, where wardship largely figured, feudal wards received a greater level of support from the laws than just from compassion of society and in social networks. The feudal system that they were involved in had many legal concessions for the child who had lost a father. In feudal society, the family was a very complex issue at times because of the deaths of military fathers, and with the deaths of fathers came a need to manage the affairs of the heirs of the estate that he had managed.[10] If the heir was still a minor and could not inherit the estate, other provisions needed to be made in order to properly care for the land and the affairs tied to the estate. Since women could not be the official guardians of the heir, there was a need to provide a male guardian for the child before he could claim his or her inheritance.[11] Thus, wardship came into play; a male guardian would come into the wardship of the child if the parents named him so. There were very many complications

that came with wards and inheritance as well; there was no single age listed as the age of majority or responsibility, and the ward was subject to be taken advantage of because of the inheritance he or she held.

This does not mean that the ward was not protected by the laws, however. Laws pertaining to inheritance and marriage generally supported the best interest of the child, without explicitly stating so in such direct terms. Legislation protected wards' inheritances and their well-being with their guardian to ensure that their future would be secure in inheritance, in support from a marriage partner, and in the guidance of a father-figure from the guardian. There were common practices laid out in the laws for the procedure of ward inheritance; moreover, these "Customs were by definition very regularly followed" according to the court cases of the time, so there is legitimate evidence that the laws generally reflected the reality of the procedures in the courts of medieval England.[12]

Legal sources are consistent when they discuss customs of feudal wardship in medieval England, which were in common practice by the twelfth century. These laws generally stated that if a child's father were to die, the property and the child both went into the custody of the liege, or superior, lord, and the child inherited when he came of age (if it was a boy) or when she married (if it was a girl).[13] According to a treatise on the laws and customs of England (the first textbook of the common law) written by Ranulf Glanvill in the twelfth century, when "lords take into their hands both fee and heir, it ought to be done so gently that they do no disseisin to the heirs."[14] This law provides that the inheritance in question cannot be wrongfully removed from the heir who has rightful possession and possibly given to another contestant. Thus, the law had concern for the heir and his or her inheritance, and had measures in place to protect the heir's inheritance to the greatest extent possible. There was great concern for preserving the ward's inheritance because it was essentially the means of livelihood for the rest of their life. When abuses of the wardship system became a controversial matter during the reign of King John (1199-1216), his opponents added clauses about wardship to the Magna Carta. According to the Magna Carta, "If... the heir of any one of the aforesaid has been under age and in wardship, let him have his inheritance without relief and without fine when he comes of age."[15] This shows the protection of the inheritance

the law provided for and the standards the inheritance must be kept to until the ward came of age to inherit. Also, by limiting the inheritance age to the age of majority, this custom ensured that the ward would not be burdened with the responsibility of controlling the affairs of his or her estate at too young an age. This left the estate in the protection and management of the guardian, who, as an adult, generally had better experience in running affairs of an estate, and so kept affairs in good order for the ward to inherit.

Also, the law required the guardian to keep the land and affairs of the estate in good condition for the ward to inherit when he or she came of age. If the guardian did not do so, the wardship could be taken away from the guardian. In sections four and five of the Magna Carta, it is written that "The guardian of the land of an heir who is thus under age, shall take from the land of the heir nothing but reasonable produce, reasonable customs, and reasonable services, and that without destruction or waste of men or goods."[16] Also, "The guardian, moreover, so long as he has wardship of the land, shall keep up the houses, parks, fishponds, stanks, mills, and other things pertaining to the land, out of the issues of the same land," showing the concern for the ward's estate.[17] Glanvill writes to the same accord, saying that "Guardians must restore inheritances to heirs in good condition and free of debts, in proportion to the duration of the wardship and size of the inheritance."[18] These laws clearly show an interest in the child's welfare and in the protection of his or her inheritance, which was the basis for the ward's life in the future.

The law also protected the ward in terms of having a guardian who would look out for the child's best interests, and not his own. Glanvill writes, "For, by law, wardship of a person never goes to anyone who might be suspected of being able, or of wishing, to claim any right in the inheritance."[19] If the ward had a guardian who could possibly also claim the inheritance that rightfully belonged to the child, there was a possibility of the guardian harming the ward in order to acquire the inheritance. A famous incident pertaining to this abuse of wardship is of King Richard III and his nephews in 1483, when Richard was charged with the guardianship of his boy nephews after their father (King Edward IV) passed away. There was a question of who had rightful claim to the throne between Richard and Edward's eldest son, and the boys were placed in the Tower of London for

safekeeping. Whilst in the Tower, they mysteriously disappeared, leaving Richard with a clear path to inherit the throne of England. Whether Richard was guilty of their murder or not, this circumstance shows how the guardian had the potential to harm heirs for their inheritance. The law prevented incidents such as this from happening and more fully secured wards' well-being and inheritance for their future use when they could inherit.

In return for all of the services that a guardian provided for the ward, the law required the ward to do services to his or her guardian. In fact, according to Glanvill, "the lord of the fee has no right to wardship of the heir or of the inheritance until he has received homage of the heir."[20] The purpose of this custom was to establish a good and stable relationship between the guardian and the ward, since the ward no doubt needed a father figure to look up to with the absence of his or her own father. Glanvill writes, "The bond of trust arising from lordship and homage should be mutual, so that the lord owes as much to the man on account of lordship as the man owes to the lord on account of homage, save only reverence [to the crown]."[21] Thus, the laws even show a concern for the ward in providing and establishing a good relationship with his or her guardian, which was most likely done in order to lessen the impact of the traumatizing event of the death of a parent.

Inheritance was not the only wardship issue that the laws and customs of medieval England included. Marriage was also an important aspect of a ward's life that needed to be taken care of in the absence of a parent; with marriage came increased security for the rest of the ward's life. This was due to the fact that marriage generally provided more connections in the familial network and it was the foundation for the ward's future family. So, it was a very important matter that needed to be handled delicately. By law and custom, the ward's guardian arranged the ward's marriage in place of a parent, who would have usually arranged the marriage.[22] Also, female wards could only inherit if they married, so marriage had an even greater significance for them. To prevent abuses in the arrangement of wards' marriages, laws were set in place to ensure that the ward did get married (if they did not choose a religious vocation), and to prevent any possible disadvantageous marriages set up by the guardian. The marriage of wards was also addressed in the Magna Carta which stated that "Heirs shall be married without disparagement, yet so that before

the marriage takes place the nearest in blood to that heir shall have notice."[23] This protected the wards from being married to a social station beneath them (which was highly undesirable), and allowed their families as well as their guardians to approve of the marriage before it actually took place. In securing a profitable marriage for the ward, the law secured means for the ward to build a stable future.

Glanvill also writes on the matter of marriage, but he explicitly mentions marriage pertaining to the protection of female wards, writing, "when [female wards] have come of age their lord is bound to marry them off, each with her reasonable share."[24] This law protected the heiresses from losing part of their dowry (quite a valuable bargaining chip in a marriage negotiation) to a claim made by another family member or even the guardian. Glanvill also writes that, in the case of female heirs' marriages, "the woman can be married freely on the advice of her father and at her pleasure, even against the will of the lord."[25] Female heirs, then, including wards, could have a say in their own marriage, and even prevent a marriage from happening that they did not believe was suitable. While also showing that women's opinions were, in fact, respected in medieval England, these laws show that female wards were very well-protected by the laws and customs set in place. By securing a good marriage for them, the laws secured a sound future.

In addition, the law gave female wards reasonable protection against exploitation by the her guardian. While the female ward was unmarried, the guardian would keep control of all her lands and wealth until she became married. The guardian could take advantage of this situation and keep control of her lands and wealth by keeping her unmarried for as long as he pleased. In doing so, he would keep control of her land and wealth for an indefinite period of time. Laws like the Statute of Westminster in 1275 "provided that the guardian would lose his right to his female ward's marriage if he had not married her off by her sixteenth birthday," according to Peter Fleming.[26] This prevented the occurrence of a guardian claiming a female ward's wealth as his own, and ensured that the heiress would, in fact, come into her inheritance by marrying. The law did not entirely prevent the abuse of wards' marriages in this way, but there was certainly legislation in place that gave them provisions in marriage and inheritance.

Secular laws were not the only means by which a ward's marriage could be protected and secured. The greatest support of the ward in matters such as these came from the Church, which was very powerful at the time, especially when it came to child marriage. Nicholas Orme cited the *Decretum* of Gratian, a handbook of canon law, which says that "'Where there is no consent by both parties... there is no marriage,'" demonstating great concern for the children who might be unwillingly forced into marriage at such a young age.[27] Noel James Menuge also references the *Decretum* in her essay on female wards, writing that this canon allowed a ward to bring his or her guardian to court (royal courts would refer cases such as this to Church courts) if there was anymatter in doubt about the marriage, and that the canon law allowed for the ward's refusal to the marriage the guardian had arranged.[28] This shows the Church also had concern for wards' marriages, and it was careful in passing measures that prevented abuse of the guardian's rights of arranging the ward's marriage. Thus, in both Church and secular law of the time, there were provisions in place to protect the ward's interests in both inheritance and marriage, the foundations of their secure future.

In the larger study of childhood, medieval English wards only provide a cursory glance of the lives of children in the pre-modern world. The fascination with the many aspects of the study of children (including their history) has led to the emergence of new fields of study, such as adoption studies. Although adoption itself is a modern legal construct that was not explicitly in place until the mid-nineteenth century, feudal wardship in the Middle Ages can be included in the field of adoption studies because it shows the foundation of modern adoption laws and practices, and how they initially began to take shape. By studying and interpreting the ways that wards were treated in medieval England, one gains a better sense of how the legal concept of adoption emerged as customary practice in modern times. It is difficult to imagine a world that did not love its children enough to provide for them in their dire hour of need. Even though there was no legal concept of adoption in place in medieval England, this did not automatically condemn every child without a parent to be left to the streets without any means of support. The past and the present, then, are not so dissimilar as one would initially suspect; the emotions that modern people feel today were just as real to the people living in the Middle Ages. The emotions felt by wards and the compassion society had for them are

no exception.

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Endnotes

1   Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood,* trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 9-11.

2   Feudalism was a political system that involved a liege lord and his vassals, who owed their homage and certain services to him in exchange for protection.

3   Peter Fleming, *Family and Household in Medieval England* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 102-110.

4   Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 48.

5   Ibid., 97.

6   Fleming, *Family and Household in Medieval England*, 102.

7   Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 155.

8   Ibid.,156.

9   Sue Sheridan Walker, "Widow and Ward: The Feudal Law of Child Custody in Medieval England," *Feminist Studies* 3, no. 3/4 (Spring-Summer, 1976): 104.

10   Ibid., 105. Also, although women could not be "official" guardians of their children, their children sometimes stayed with them instead of their guardian, and younger children who were not heirs often did stay with the mother until the age of majority.

11   S.F.C. Milsom, "The Origin of Prerogative Wardship," in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy*, ed. George Garnett and John Hudson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 244.

12   Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 326 and Ranulf de Glanvill, *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England Commonly Called Glanvill,* ed. and trans. by G. D. G. Hall (1965; repr., Holmes Beach: W. W. Gaunt, 1983), 82.

13   Glanvill, *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England Commonly Called Glanvill,* 82. Disseisin is defined as the wrongful dispossession of a freehold interest in land (in this case, this would be the land of the heir).

14   Reginald Trevor Davies, ed., *Documents Illustrating the History of Civilization in Medieval England (1066-1500)* (1926; repr., New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1969), 40-41.

15   Ibid., 41.

16   Ibid.

17   Glanvill, *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England Commonly Called Glanvill,* 83.

18   Ibid., 84-85.

19   Ibid., 107.

20   Ibid.

21   Orme, *Medieval Children,* 334-5.

22   Davies*, Documents Illustrating the History of Civilization in Medieval England (1066-1500),* 41.

23   Glanvill, *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England Commonly Called Glanvill,* 85.

24   Ibid.

25   Fleming, *Family and Household in Medieval England,* 107.

26   Orme, *Medieval Children,* 335.

27   Noel James Menuge, "Female Wards and Marriage in Romance and Law: A Question of Consent," in *Young Medieval Women,* ed. Katherine J. Lewis, Noel James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 155.

"To Make Others Happy"[1]
The Changing Perspectives on Childhood in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Abigail Cengel

The concept of childhood is centuries old, and people throughout history have recognized that children cannot become adults at the moment they are born. One of these periods was nineteenth-century America, which, under the influence of the Romantic movement's idealization of childhood, increasingly focused on its innocence, sentimentalizing it and upholding it as the purest stage of life. This notion transferred from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century and modern times and strongly influenced adoption policies from both eras, but ideas about the best way to mold the young innocents and how they were treated by their adoptive families changed. The Children's Aid Society's "Orphan Train" program demonstrates the dominant mid-nineteenth century belief that children should grow up working in "good Christian homes" as part of the family to build their character and to preserve their innocence. However, as time progressed into the twentieth century, children were increasingly seen as a way to complete an ideal family, preferably by biological reproduction, or by adoption if necessary.

Both of these periods recognized the purity and innocence of childhood as idealized in some versions of Romanticism in the nineteenth century, but "child savers," social workers and adoptive parents have, at various times and places, sought to shape and uphold childhood in different ways. While, the nineteenth century appraised children for their economic role and adults sought to build their character through work as part of an ideal Christian family in the Romanticized frontier, the twentieth century saw them become increasingly sentimentalized, and they were wanted for their emotional value and for their role in completing an ideal family. In both cases, the child was serving a function the adults needed, and to some extent they were seen as a means to an end, rather than a being that exists for themselves. Thus the child was commodified and marketed in both eras, though the reason behind the marketing changed.

The "Orphan Train" program was initiated by the Children's Aid Society (CAS) of New York City. Charles Loring Brace, the founder of the CAS, said that the goal of the program was to send what they saw as vagrant city children "to friendly homes [in the country], where they would be removed from the overwhelming temptations which poverty and neglect certainly occasion in a great city."[2] The CAS wanted to "draw them under the influence of the moral and fortunate classes, that they shall grow up as useful producers and members of society."[3] The CAS was abhorred by the way some street children lived; they survived by begging, stealing, selling newspapers, and prostituting for the girls.[4] They were arrested for their illegal activities such as prostituting and stealing and confined to jail, but as their numbers grew, they became increasingly difficult to keep track of, and jail was not a suitable place for the children to stay.[5] Brace used various propaganda methods such as news articles and speeches to tell the people of New York City that the children were going to spread vice over the city. This confirmed what the people wanted to believe about the dirty street urchins, giving credit to their idea that city crime rates would decrease if the children were dealt with properly.[6] Brace also appealed to the sympathies of the rich to gain money for his program, saying that "these little ragged outcasts, in their loneliness and bitter poverty, battling for a hard living in the snow and mud of the street, pressed by every foul temptation, are still children of our common Father."[7] However, Brace believed that children were mainly "victims of social evils" of the time; such as poverty, poor living and working conditions, but also that the vice was inherited from their impure ancestors.[8]

The CAS tried programs such as lodging houses and orphanages that provided the children

with meals, a place to sleep, and honest work. Unfortunately there was not enough money nor staff to keep the program running for the large amount of children they wanted to address.[9]

The lodging houses and orphanages were also compared to factories and were criticized for their rigid routines, harsh discipline, and their failure to produce independent hard-working children.[10] Remarkably, Brace said himself that "the machinery of an 'institution' does not prepare for the thousand petty hand-labors of a poor man's cottage" and that "these experiments [workshops], of which we made at many different times, were not successful."[11] The programs removed many of the children from the streets, but reformers believed the workshops were not transforming the children into the good workers and citizens they were supposed to be developing into, as they retained many of what Brace called "street morals." The CAS needed a program that truly transformed these "street Arabs" into good Christian American citizens, and Brace himself said in a CAS report that he believed that the children needed to be "drained" from the city like raw sewage that had stagnated too long.[12]

Brace and his colleagues thought of the ideal place to send the children: out West to small country towns and farms. Brace, like many people of his time, harbored a Romanticized view of the country and its inhabitants; he had a "vague promise of a pure western frontier" that was going to mold the city "vagrants" into upstanding, respectable Christian citizens.[13] His fantasy about western farm life included a domestic notion of the West as a place full of friendly homes, and a romantic notion of the West as a place for the children to gain independence.[14] This placing-out system embodied the CAS' philosophies of self-help, the gospel of work, education, and raising a child in a good environment.[15] Brace firmly believed in the "superiority of the Christian family" to train and educate the city children,because he thought that family homes were the best environment to raise a child, a notion influenced by his Romantic view of the Western family.[16]

His work emphasized turning these children into sociable, independent and industrious citizens, and the CAS' program clearly reflects this belief.[17] The children would provide their new families with labor in return for room, board, an education, and character-building.[18] The CAS workers felt confident and safe sending these children to small country towns because many of them had come from small-town backgrounds themselves, so they placed a great amount of trust in these frontier families. They thought that this was the best way to save the children from their "immoral vices" and preserve the innocence of childhood. A newspaper article wrote that the children needed to "be given a fair chance to develop into a useful man or woman," which demonstrates the primary goal of the relocations was to make useful members of society.[19] The CAS also saw this as a good way to build the children's character, because the work the children received on the farms was a useful way to expend their energy and develop a sense of unselfishness and family solidarity.[20]

Though the children were being placed "for their own good," the system was simultaneously practical and convenient. It was not only cheaper than boarding the children in the city lodges, but the cities had a way of deporting what they saw as a large cause of the city's high crime rates and providing the West a supply of cheap labor at the same time. When children were selected from their stops along the rail line, the new family had a sort of employment contract with the CAS as the child agreed to work as part of the new family and the adult would educate them and lodge them. However, the child's position within the family was ambiguous because of the program's resemblance to indentureship, so the child could be treated as a servant, as part of the family, or somewhere in between. Even though the child may have been confused about assimilating themselves into their new family, one thing was for certain in most cases: the goal was not to complete the family. The new parents often already had children of their own, so the motivation for bringing home a new child was to have another cheap farmhand. The child was not supposed to be filling some hole that made the family complete and socially acceptable. In addition, many children who were sent out in the early years of the program chose employment arrangement rather than familial relationships, which shows that the children initially expected to be sent out West for work and saw the CAS primarily as an employment agency, but did not expect to become part of a family.[21] This demonstrates that the children were typically seen as workers, quite possibly part of the family, but still pulling their own weight. However, there are reports of children that were loved by the families they were placed with, so not all of them experienced a strict employer-employee relationship.

The fact that the children were mainly wanted

for their manual labor and not for the emotional attachment led the new parents to choose older, more capable boys over younger girls. The useful child was older than ten and a boy, and three times as many boys were placed as girls by the CAS.[22] Families took in older boys for economic reasons: they needed the physical labor to help keep their farmland profitable.[23] Girls in general, no matter what age, were not wanted for these farm chores because they were considered to be incapable of performing hard labor and intensive agriculture like the boys. There was also a moral dilemma and the girls' reputations to consider; many families did not want to see their girls ruined if they were sent away to strange farms to do domestic work.[24] In addition, the girls could usually earn higher wages in the city than in domestic work, so they would be more of a help to their families if they worked in the city.[25] In this sense children were seen as more an economic asset to their families than a sentimental asset in the nineteenth century, and there is little evidence that portrays the "Orphan Train" program providing a complete family for a childless couple, making boys the obvious economic choice.

In addition, the manner in which the program was conducted commodified the children because they were often put on display and inspected like goods at a market to see if they would be well-behaved additions and workers to their new families. Some surviving adults recount their experiences in a documentary film called "The Orphan Trains:" one person describes marching down an aisle of a church, another had a farmer inspect her teeth, and a boy's muscles were tested by a man looking for a good farm hand.[26] These people were effectively "shopping" for the best-behaved children and strongest workers of the bunch. The children were often put up onto stages or platforms, and the prospective parents came around and inspected their qualities. One "Orphan Train" rider recalls an adult saying "I'll take that one," as if he were selecting an animal from a pen.[27] Like damaged or imperfect goods, they also could be sent back to New York City if they caused problems;[28] a newspaper article even proclaimed that "should the child prove unsatisfactory it will be taken back by the society."[29] While the new family or the child could theoretically terminate the contract at any time if they were dissatisfied, since these small children were leagues away from home living with perfect strangers, this was easier said than done.[30] Children could find themselves in abusive

situations but be afraid to leave because they felt that they had nowhere to go and no one to contact. This treatment of the children was comparable to slavery in these situations, and the children were hot commodities to be had because they were useful farmhands free of charge, and virtually free of any obligation to treat them well.

Like any popular market item, the children even came with their own marketing strategy, as formulated by the CAS, who used marketing ploys to "sell" the children to the "good Christian people" out West. They were marketed as impoverished, immoral city children in need of Christian salvation and loving farm families willing to take them in. The CAS' advertisements emphasized the good homes that the children needed and the children's potential for work, and did not mention that the children might have criminal pasts and come from less than reputable backgrounds. Want ads were placed in papers out West advertising the children, and newspaper articles announced what children had arrived and who had taken them home, like announcing who had brought home the prize animals.[31] This was the exact opposite marketing strategy that Brace used to earn donations from city people to help "drain" the children to the West. He sold the city people the image of dirty immigrant children that needed to be removed because their crime rates were making the city an unpleasant place to live, a far cry from what he tried to sell the farmers out West.[32] The children needed to be "drain[ed]" from the city, as Brace said, and the best way to do it was to convince the "good Christian homes" that the children were a good investment. Taking children out of the city would result in "so much expense lessened to courts and prisons" and "so much poisonous influence removed from the city."[33]

The children were also sent to the country because Brace thought that he was doing the work of God by placing the children (many of whom were not Protestant) in Protestant homes and saving them through these families. Religion was the most powerful force in humankind in Brace's eyes, and he used Protestantism and its morals as a foundation for the program and the CAS,[34] and he said himself that, "we would not breathe a word against the absolute necessity of Christianity in any scheme of thorough social reform."[35] Brace had a belief in preparing children and adults for salvation, and asserted that the family was the best way for God to shape people, which is clearly seen in his work with the

CAS and the "Orphan Train" program.[36] However, his early religious reform attempts did not work right away; he tried to place the orphanage children in church, but they would fidget and become distracted, so he realized that sermons would not reform children who had to choose between theft and starvation.[37] Instead, he decided that living with Christian families every day would allow the children to experience the saving power of God through family.

Even though the "Orphan Train" program of the CAS gained popularity over the course of its duration, people began to criticize the methods of the CAS because of the program's close resemblance to slavery and the failure of the agents to perform consistent follow-ups with the placed children. The CAS workers were notoriously lax with their follow-ups, resulting in abused and lost children in some cases. In addition, in the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, the mindset of America began to change about the values of work versus the benefits of play for children; it was thought that nurturing would be better for the children as a method for preserving their innocence rather than reforming them through labor.[38] The new Progressive Era of the early twentieth century also ushered in a new focus on the family and an emphasis on preserving it, which reduced the focus of helping displaced children by finding completely new families to keeping the families together.[39] There were also growing obstacles to the "Orphan Train" program itself because of new laws against the interstate trafficking of children, and new mandatory education laws that "discouraged the use of dependent children as indentured labor."[40] Increased specialization in the child welfare system caused social work to become more professional and people began to research better ways to help dependent children.[41] America began to frown on adoption for a short time because there was such a strong emphasis on keeping blood ties intact, and children who were adopted were viewed as unnatural and tainted. Keeping the natural family together was therefore emphasized over the needs of the children.[42]

However, American views shortly changed again after World War II into the 1950's; the number of illegitimate births increased, and wartime prosperity allowed people who could not have children of their own to adopt babies that were given away by unwed mothers.[43] There was a "deep cultural shift in the valuation of children,"[44]

and children became "economically 'worthless' but emotionally 'priceless.'"[45] This shift and the reasons for it are discussed in Viviana Zelizer's book *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children*, where the author argues that children became increasingly sentimentalized and "sacralized" as the twentieth century progressed, and explains how Americans changed their views of children through various shifts in American society. This book allows for the close examination of how the marketplace world affects the adoption of children, and Zelizer's research has uncovered some surprising facts about the commodification of children through the adoption process.

One of the aspects of commodification that Zelizer discusses is the nineteenth century's valuation of children for their work during the industrialization boom; they were a useful asset to the family income,[46] which applied to farm labor as well. While some types of child labor came under attack, such as factory work, "farm labor... was almost blindly and romantically categorized as 'good' work" and was not considered a social problem, even though children could be injured by large farm animals and equipment.[47] However, as children became increasingly sentimentalized, even some farm labor was considered unacceptable because parents might be exploiting their children for economic productivity. Parents could use their children for house chores, but there had to be limits as to how much they were allowed to do. Moreover, with the growing economic prosperity, parents were increasingly likely to to see more worth in their children's education than in their labor, because with an education, children could have higher-paying jobs in the future.[48] So, "as children's labor value disappeared, their new emotional worth became increasingly monetized and commercialized."[49] There was a "new demand for infants [that] coincided with the rise of the 'compassionate' family, the end result of the marked transformation in the family's social role over the course of the nineteenth century from performing 'economic, educational, and welfare functions' to providing emotional and psychological contentment for its members."[50]

Adoption for the sake of having a child to love increased as a result of this shift toward sentimentalization, and compounded with the need for parents to complete their "ideal" families, the adoption business was booming in the twentieth century. The new emotional benefits that children

supplied led to a change in the demand of the types of children for adoption. So couples, "imbued with new ideas about the emotional benefits of parenting...began rejecting adoption as a charitable gesture and framed it instead as a way to indulge in the rewards of a family life."[51] The parents' main goal was not to have to a worker who could help around the house, but to have a cute, cuddly, emotional investment to raise as their own. Therefore, there was an increased demand for pretty little girls under the age of three.[52] Because babies were now judged by their physical appearance and personalities, child life became increasingly "sacralized," and this contributed to a fad-like adoption demand. Girls had more sentimental value than boys, and since the parents were not looking to supply their household or farm with a strong yet cheap farmhand, girls became the obvious choice. With the new sentimentalization came a new view of the mid-twentieth-century household's ideal family. Since the parents wanted to have the baby as their own for its entire life, infants became more popular to adopt, and the babies were even matched to the parents to make sure the family looked as normal as possible.[53] One woman who gave up her baby during this time said that she knew her baby's adoptive family was "sort of like [her own] family...conservative, Catholic, Italian."[54] It was like parents were picking out a couch to match the rest of the decorations and furniture in their house, and agencies were the dealers that sold the only acceptable commodity, a perfect couch if you will, to complete the house. In this way, the ideal situation was created because both the birth mother and adoptive parents received a stigma-free life by either relinquishing or adding a child.

Thus, in the twentieth century children came to be viewed as the way to make a family complete and whole, and most importantly, normal.[55] "Normality" was the most sought-after quality for parents across America in the twentieth century, and having a baby was expected of any couple who was married.   This notion caused "the desire to parent, and to conform to the normal social and family expectations of the time, [and] imposed substantial strain on couples who could not conceive."[56] This shift toward the desire to have the perfect normal family also contributed to the increase in the number of babies available for adoption; young, unwed mothers in most cases could not keep the babies they bore out of wedlock because it went against societal norms, and society dictated that a baby belonged with a family. As a result, many babies that would have otherwise stayed with the birth mother were sent away to have a "better life" with a complete nuclear family. This idea was also seen in the nineteenth century because the "Orphan Train" children were sent away from what society saw as "bad" parents to whole families so their lives could be influenced by the goodness of a Christian family. However, unlike the CAS program, the twentieth century did not want to save the babies from their vices because they were not old enough to have any yet; the parents wanted them as an emotional asset saved from the "immoral" birth mother.

Because of this, the emphasis on religion and saving the child from its immoral habits were periphery concerns in these twentieth century adoptions. The babies were a pure, perfect, package delivered from the adoption agency, with a past that was largely ignored by adoptive parents. So the birth mother's relinquishment allowed herself and her baby to be "cleansed of stigma and [the baby] made into a highly marketable commodity," which adoptive parents took advantage of.[57] The new adoptive family usually had no interests in where the baby came from, as long as the birth parents were healthy and did not interfere with any of the adoption arrangements. In the CAS program, however, children arrived partly grown, so they were supposed to be taught to forget their past and "immoral street ways." There were some children that came from a certain religious background and were given to parents of that same religion in the twentieth century, but the placement of the child was not a religious effort to save it from its own sin, only from the stigma of being a baby with a single mother in an extremely judgmental society.

Adoption practices have changed drastically since the CAS and the nineteenth-century "Orphan Train" placement program, and they are still changing today. However, continuity still exists with the change and many adoptive parents still want the perfect little boy or girl to complete their nuclear family dream and to have a child to love and raise as their own. Even today parents are one-third more likely to adopt a baby girl than a boy, so the sentimentalization of children persists.[58] There is also still a societal stigma against having children out of wedlock and married couples failing to be reproductively fruitful, but the stigma is not as strong as it used to be. Adoption agencies will still be marketing babies because Americans grow up in a hyper-commercialized world; we want what we

want and we will often pay anything to get what we think will completely fulfill our lives. Because of this, there is a risk of unregulated and "black market" adoptions when parents do not want to wait as long or think they can acquire a "better" baby through illegal means. There is also the danger of believing that one is acting strictly in the "best interests of the child," even though one is truly commodifying the child, so people might be reluctant to face the fact that we are commodifying children through adoption. Because of our "sacralized" view of children, we may be tricking ourselves into thinking that this charade all for the "best interests of the child," when its really also, always for the benefits of the parents.

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Defective Men:
Shell-Shock and the Individual British Soldier During World War I

Loren Higgins

Today when a soldier returns from being deployed, he or she is evaluated for psychological trauma. If they are found to need any further evaluation or treatment, there are many options already in place for them. In fact, according to Fiona Reid, this is true for many traumatic events: natural disasters, terrorist attacks, and even smaller scale events such as car accidents, "we now routinely provide counseling, we recognize grief and we encourage the expression of anxieties."[1] However, this has not always been the case, during World War I, psychologists and the general public in Britain and the United States sought to explain shell-shock in terms of the defective individual rather than in the context of the environment, placing the blame on men themselves rather than on the war.

During the First World War, psychologists and physicians struggled with categorizing and explaining the newly widespread psychological disorder termed "shell-shock", and came to the conclusion more often than not that it was the individual's own weakness to blame for his condition. In a compilation and analysis of 589 presumed shell-shock cases based on war literature, and published in 1919, E.E. Southard gives great insight into how the medical field viewed and sought to explain shell shock. The interesting thing about this book, however, is that the first eleven sections and 196 cases are focused on other conditions that could cause shell-shock like symptoms. Some of these other categories of explanation include: epilepsy, feeblemindedness, focal brain lesion psychoses, manic depressive and allied psychoses, and alcoholic, drug, and poison psychoses. To preface his explanation of these groups, Southard writes: "[I]n the terms of available tests and criteria, open to the psychiatrist, does not every putative Shell-shock soldier deserve at some stage a blood test for syphilis? Should we not verify…the facts of epilepsy and epileptic

taint? Of alcoholism? And so on?"[2] With these words Southard shows the feelings of the medical field toward shell-shock victims—the diagnosis of shell-shock was an absolute last resort. What is so interesting about all of these offered explanations for shell-shock like symptoms is that these conditions are not a result of the war, but instead were either genetic, prewar, or in the case of alcoholism and syphilis, brought on by individual actions.

In the early firsthand accounts and descriptions of shell shock and shell shocked soldiers, the language, including several loaded terms of the time such as hysteria, can give a better understanding of how doctors and civilians thought of men suffering from shell shock. Due to the commonalities in conception between the condition termed "shell-shock" and the often interchangeable term, hysteria, soldiers who suffered from shell shock came to be seen as less masculine because they were unable to handle the "masculine" practice of war. It is important to understand the implications and societal reactions to such a loaded term as "hysteria". In the 1878 edition of Webster's Unabridged Dictionary hysteria is defined as: "A species of neurosis, or nervous affection…the principal characteristics of which consist in alternate fits of laughing and crying, with a sensation as if a ball set out from the uterus and proceeded through the stomach, chest, and neck, producing a sense of strangulation…"[3] This definition is shortly followed by the term hysterics, which is defined as a condition which women alone can suffer.[4] In fact the medical procedure of a hysterectomy, which is a removal of the uterus, is also derived from the word hysteria. In the 1903 version of the same dictionary, the feminine reference is not as explicit, yet the word "womb" still appears in the definition of "hysterics".[5] Hysteria and other like terms had clear feminine implications, yet during and after World War I the term is used very frequently in the

description of shell-shock and shell shocked victims. In fact the term is used at least sixty three times in the titles alone of Southard's 589 cases; this does not even include the actual descriptions themselves. The term is also used extensively in newspaper articles and other literature from the time about shell-shock.

This notion of men becoming more feminized was further carried out by treatments that were considered traditionally feminine activities such as basket weaving.[6] The men were then expected to progress from their acquired feminine state back to manhood through a gradual reintroduction of wartime practices. In her book *Broken Men,* Fiona Reid writes: "War is ostensibly and historically, the most masculine of activities, yet men have often been represented as emasculated or feminized by war. . ."[7] By categorizing and labeling shell-shocked men as having become more feminine, psychiatrists, doctors, and others were once again focused on the individual rather than on the extreme environment of the war. Women, at this time, were considered much weaker in body and mind than men, so by identifying a man as feminine he was being labeled as weak. Instead of recognizing the psychological effects caused by being in the trenches under fire for hours and days at a time—the sound of continuous artillery and screams from fallen comrades, the mud, the smells and visions of death and destruction playing over and over again in one's mind—would have affected most anyone, yet, men who were affected by these extreme conditions were labeled as feebleminded or feminine and were clinically treated, not to restore sanity but to restore masculinity.

Several terms which were used both interchangeably with shell-shock or to describe it further convey the common use of the word "hysteria". In his book *The Poetry of Shell Shock* Daniel Hipp writes that the phrase "hysterical disorders of warfare" was used synonymously with shell-shock.[8] There are also two medical terms that were used to define different types of shell-shock that use "hysteria" as a descriptor, they are: conversion hysteria, which affects the senses and locomotion—mental affection is converted into its physical equivalent; and anxiety hysteria, which produces dread, anxiety, and fear.[9] Both of these terms were used during and after the war and continue to be used in literature about shell-shock today.

Two cases in particular that demonstrate the lack of knowledge about shell-shock came in the form of two very popular British poets and their wartime experiences. Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon wrote of their experiences in the trenches, also, throughout the course of their time in service, each man spoke out against the continuation of the war and both were also hospitalized for "shell-shock". Sassoon witnessed and had to endure the loss of a dear friend in battle, an experience which haunted him into the post war years. Because of this occurrence and other traumatic experiences during the war, Sassoon came to the conclusion that war was evil and that the war they were fighting was unjust; he sent a letter to his superiors conveying his sentiments and shortly found himself sent away from the war to recover. Sassoon was sent to a "resort like" hospital called Craiglockhart where he was treated by reintroduction into masculinity as previously described.[10]

Wilfred Owen, another rising young poet, found himself in a very similar situation to his colleague, Sassoon. Like Sassoon, Owen suffered from significantly traumatic experiences; at one time Owen was flung into the air by an enemy mortar and when he landed, he found himself lying in the remains of a comrade. The second experience that affected Owen was when he found himself trapped in an enemy trench, surrounded by the dead, and unable to escape for several days.[11] Also like Sassoon, Owen openly disagreed with the war and was sent to Craiglockhart psychological hospital for recovery. If either of these men were suffering from psychological stress or trauma, the first cause to consider would be the wartime experiences each had—instead the reason that Sassoon and Owen were actually hospitalized was because of their open disagreement with the war. While Owen did suffer from psychological trauma, Sassoon was not suffering from shell-shock, instead he was merely questioning the reasoning behind millions of young men, including some of his own family and friends, being sent to their death. But if one thought the war was wrong then they were passed off as mad and sent away to be reacquainted with the idea of fighting and the war.[12] Questioning the war, to doctors of the time, meant that a man had once again become less masculine. These two young men can serve as an example of how individuals were treated during the war— in both of these cases the individual was found to be defective instead of the war found to be unjust. This reflects not only the way shell shock was treated but in the case of Siegfried Sassoon also the way shell shock was used

as a label to treat individuals who spoke out against the war.

According to historians such as Fiona Reid, the post war years saw a great improvement in the way that men with shell shock were treated and introduced back into society. Reid's book, *Broken Men: Shell Shock, Treatment and Recovery in Britain, 1914-1930,* focuses on the postwar period. Reid writes that men returning from war service were not ostracized from society and unable to find medical care for any psychological trauma that they might have. Instead, men during the postwar years were provided with appropriate medical care by both the government and military and were, for the most part reintroduced back into society without incident.[13] So why during and shortly after the war was there a very different climate in both medicine and society where the individual was often blamed for suffering from being placed in a very traumatic environment?

While shell-shock like cases had been seen before the war they had not been termed shell-shock and were never as widespread as during the First World War. In fact, "'Shell shock' as a clinical diagnosis was a term introduced by Doctor Charles Myers of the Royal Army Medical Corps into the military lexicon during the First World War, specifically in September 1914 when the first cases of men suffering from what was thought to be an odd type of physical, rather than psychological, trauma began to arrive at casualty clearing stations."[14] It was not that shell-shock-like symptoms had not been seen before, they had just most commonly been diagnosed as hysteria, which, as already discussed was considered a "woman's" disease.[15] Something else that it is important to note is that in prewar Britain, among many social reforms, reforms in the area of mental health were very much left out. "When it came to ravaged minds," in prewar Britain, "there was no semblance of equality, neither in professional attitudes nor in treatment regimes."[16] The psychologists and other medical staff who, during the war, were charged with treating shell-shocked soldiers undoubtedly carried their prewar notions of mental illness as well as the mentally ill into the wartime hospitals with them.

During the war there was a great deal of medical attention to shell-shock and shell-shocked soldiers which grew out of the necessity to treat and rehabilitate these men both for social and military reasons. But treatment methods themselves show lack of understanding about the trauma these men were suffering from. Electroshock therapy being one of the most extreme and severe treatments used—men unable to walk as a result of almost constant tremors and unable to sleep because of terrible nightmares, shocked over and over again as a supposed treatment. A *New York Times* article from 1918 titled, "Shell Shock Mastered, Physician Reports; Tells Neurological Association That Surgeons at the Fighting Front No Longer Dread It," hails the effectiveness of electroshock therapy. But even in recovery, expectation is placed on the individual not on the doctors or techniques. The article states: "The rapidity of recovery, Dr. Russell said, depended entirely upon the mental capacity of the patients…"[17] Therefore, men were not only seen as lacking mental capacity if they were diagnosed with shell-shock, but also if they did not have a quick recovery—even when subjected to electroshock therapy as a treatment.

Other men who avoided electroshock therapy were subjected to testing and experimentation at the hospitals where they were supposed to be receiving help for their conditions. An example of this testing and observation took place on film when a French soldier who was very frightened of a red officers hat was placed in a chair while the hat was waved in front of him by the doctors.[18] His terrified reaction was observed and recorded on film and included in a documentary about shell shock in World War I. Prescribed treatments for shell-shock reflected the lack of knowledge about this condition, and based on the nature of shell-shock, in many cases could have harmed suffering men more than it helped them.

During the war the public understanding of shell-shock was very limited, which can be seen in the information that the public was given in newspapers from, during, and shortly after World War I. The information the public was given in the form of popular media shows a lack of understanding about shell-shock, its causes, and implications. In fact the information available to the public reflects many of the same themes and conceptions that were common in the medical community. One very common theme in newspaper articles is the idea that the army could and should weed out individual soldiers who would be predisposed to mental illness or shell-shock. One 1918 *New York Times* article explained the conclusions of British and French soldiers who had been working with shell-shock; the article first states that they claim shell-shock is no longer a concern on the front line because, ". . .shell shock is not suffered

by the best, physically sound soldiers…those who are afflicted either have neurotic tendencies or are otherwise suffering."[19] Another article from the same year titled "Drop Unfit Soldiers: Those Subject to Shell Shock Being Weeded Out," discusses the same topic, claiming that, "systematic examinations of recruits," to discover mental soundness would, "greatly increase the efficiency of the American fighting forces in Europe."[20] Based on the claims of these articles it was the mental unsoundness or feeblemindedness of individual soldiers that caused not only widespread shell-shock but also inefficiency in the army as a whole.

Another frequently discussed issue in the *New York Times* was the discussion of hysteria. Keeping in mind the implications of the use of this term, it is interesting that it shows up several times in articles about shell-shock. A 1917 article titled, "War's Amazing Effect on Nerves of Soldiers: Distinguished Neurologist Tells from Personal Observation of Remarkable Cases of Hysteria That Have Resulted at the Front," discusses the fact that when an entire nation is mobilized, some mentally ill men are inevitably mobilized and deployed as well, but the use of the term hysteria in the article and even in the title brought about very specific ideas in the minds of the 1917 reader; so even men who might have had legitimate psychological issues were given diagnoses of shell-shock or hysteria which carried the weight of preconceived public ideas and prejudices. [21] The use of the term hysteria to describe men was not the only way soldiers with shell-shock were portrayed as feminine and weak to the public. Another article published in 1918 describes a civilian woman as suffering from shell-shock after an explosion near her home in New Jersey.[22] Using the newly coined term "shell-shock" to describe a housewife who would have

previously been described as hysteric, further shows how the terms came to be seen as interchangeable by the public in addition to the medical field. Now, shell-shock was not confined to the front line but, a woman thousands of miles from any front of the war could be described as having shell shock.

Despite any changes in how shell-shock was addressed medically and by society after World War I, the wartime years were marked by a misunderstanding and wrongful categorization of shell-shock, usually at the expense of individual men. This misunderstanding can be seen in newspaper articles, popular prescribed treatments for shell-shock, use of loaded language such as the word, "hysteria", as well as an overall societal attitude that those suffering from mental conditions were, in some way, more weak or feebleminded than the average person.

During World War I Britain and the United States sought to more fully explain and gain control of the increasingly common psychiatric condition of shell shock. In both individual and systematic conclusions the overwhelming explanation for shell shock was placed on the individual and specific weaknesses the individual possessed, instead of on the war and its traumatic, violent, and seemingly endless nature. When the war as a whole is examined, particularly the way that each nation involved had to strive for total war and a continuous state of nationalism, the reason for blaming the individual is evident: no nation could openly, on any level, acknowledge the war as destructive. If shell-shock had been portrayed as a condition caused by the horrors of war, the British or American governments would have been hard pressed to find a single mother who would willingly subject her son to that environment for the sake of "God and Country".

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Globally Connected, Locally Developed

Amanda Trepanier

The world we live in, as Americans, is much different from how the rest of the world lives, economically and culturally. Although regions are globally connected, they are not all globally equal. By the twenty first century, many people are taught that there is no more slavery or inequality, that there is equal opportunity for everyone, and that just by working hard anyone can make it in life. But how true are all these ideas? In reality, when one looks at the world outside of America, this picture may be somewhat incorrect. Today, officials have created the politically correct terms of "developed" nations and "less developed" nations to describe the different regions of the world. The richer countries are generally the "developed" countries and the poor countries, mostly located in the southern hemisphere, are categorized as "less developed." After colonialism, the world was changed, but the effects of colonialism never fully disappeared. Globalization was positively seen as something that could turn things around, and balance the world. Then development agencies became the organizations that would help achieve this equalizing. However, development projects in "less developed" nations became a popular trend that had alternative hidden political purposes, and possibly had other hidden intentions that will be discussed later. Lastly, government funding, and development projects would greatly impact public health campaigns, but the success of these campaigns would be determined by the presentation, and how well plans on paper are implemented in the real world. It will be shown how globalization, colonialism, and current development work actually connect full circle, in that each is affected by the previous, and the cause of the next.

While globalization contributes positive and negative aspects to the world, it is now one of the most debated issues on an international scale. Among the debate is the question of whether or not market and democracy go hand-in-hand. Depending on which side of the hemisphere one is referring to, globalization may be very beneficial, but the benefits of economic globalization play favoritism. Amy Chua, author of *World on Fire* agrees by arguing that "the spread of global markets in recent decades has unambiguously widened the gap between developed and underdeveloped countries," thus showing which side of the hemisphere globalization favors[1]. Economic globalization uses the free-market as a tool of exploitation in which the profits are put into the pockets of only a handful of individuals, who keep the system working in their favor, and do not address the needs of the majority. Chua points out that there is a noticeable relationship between ethnic violence and free market democracy, a negative relationship that has developed from globalization. The violence is borne from the rise of market dominant minorities. These minorities grow wealthy, educated, and live a good life while the ethnic majority struggles with poverty, illiteracy, and humiliation. The situation almost always results in bloody confrontations, but very little changes are being made to try to solve this problem.

In places around the world, including many countries in Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, South America, and Asia, a minority ethnic group controls the majority of the economy. In the case of China and its ethnically Filipino minority, 60 percent of the private economy is owned by Chinese Filipinos, equaling one percent of the population[2]. The situation is not unfamiliar around the world, "whites are a market-dominant minority in South Africa… Brazil, Ecuador, Guatemala. Lebanese are a market-dominant minority in West Africa… Croats were a market-dominant minority in the former Yugoslavia. And Jews are almost certainly a market-dominant minority in post-Communist Russia"[3]. In these areas, the majority ethnic groups suffer from ranging levels of poverty, lacking education systems, and do not always have electricity, heat, or access to clean water and food. With insufficient options these majority ethnic groups turn to violence. The violence is targeted at the ethnic minority groups who control all the wealth, but it not only is a fight against

the group, but also a rebellion against the market. Politicians quickly feed on the fury of the majority; a prime example is the President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe. Zimbabwe's land is responsible for most of the wealth that comes into the country. However, seventy percent of the best land, "largely in the form of highly productive three-thousand-acre tobacco and sugar farms," has been owned for generations by just one percent of the population[4]. Every election President Mugabe promises to take land away from the foreigners and redistribute it to the real Zimbabweans: the ethnic majority. For years now, Mugabe has been the enthusiast advocating land seizures of "10 million acres of white-owned commercial farmland," which elucidates another phenomenon of globalization. The simultaneous implementation of market and democracy creates unstable, and often combustible, conditions. In cases of market-dominant minorities, the majority of the wealth and power goes to the minority ethnic group. Once the ethnic majority tires of their misfortunes, they search for outlets to solve the problems. Thus, democratically, they elect a politician who will give them what they want. Clearly this is a formula of disaster in which the economy becomes suspect and the political system corrupt. Surely economic globalization has not equally benefited all the people who contribute to the market in these countries. In fact, in most cases a very small percentage of people actually receive enough wealth to prosper in life. Amy Chua theorizes that Americans have become the market-dominant minority of the world, cautioning that if American's do not practice "tolerance" there will be uproar from the rest of the world.

As a country established by immigrants, America has become the world's leading hyper-power thanks to its resourceful agricultural land, raw materials, free market democracy, and most importantly its human capital[5]. The United States was able to collect valuable human capital by practicing religious tolerance. People would come to America to escape prosecution and injustices. The influx of great scientists, engineers, businessmen and lawmakers from all over the world are responsible for the extraordinary success America has profited from. However, when one looks at the accumulation of wealth in America, it is clear that not all Americans benefit from economic globalization. Bill Gates is a multibillionaire, owning as much as "40 percent of the American population put together"[6]. If Bill Gates wasn't a white American however, more Americans would not be satisfied about this detail, but since he

is, Gates does not get bothered too much. In another light however, this shows how economic globalization favors the few over many. The unequal distribution of wealth is a major flaw to the current system. Conclusively, the sole fact that America remains the superpower of the world shows that economic globalization has not benefited everyone in the world, including Americans. The other flaw to economic globalization is found within the environment, which supplies important raw materials needed to make products.

International trade has existed throughout history, centuries before globalization became a cliché in everyone's vocabulary. After the Industrial Revolution, America was searching for a mass quantity of raw materials to produce their products. The countries dubbed "developing" experienced this effect first hand. Alexander Hamilton explains the error in this trade arrangement by stating "producers of natural resources might get trapped… thereby delaying or blocking the improvements in industry necessary for economic development"[7]. Given the name "dynamic Dutch Disease," it occurs when a country exports one natural resource, or specialized trade, inhibiting the ability to develop other economic outlets. There is a "long-term loss of growth coming from the specialization in primary goods rather than manufactured products," which makes these countries uncompetitive in manufacturing sectors[8]. Therefore, the trade arrangement between "developed" countries and "developing" countries leaves one economy on top, and keeps the other on the bottom, dependent on the latter. In this way, economic globalization does not benefit the "developing" countries. While it may improve some conditions for workers and regular civilians in these parts of the world, economic globalization oddly can inhibit the continued advancement of living conditions, and job opportunities. Some of the more unfortunate countries are trapped in a vicious cycle defying the assumption that globalization eliminates poverty. For instance, in a few countries in Africa, a worker has the choice of either starving or surviving by being exploited and barely making enough to satisfy basic needs. While America is a country built by the arms of many ethnicities, it has visibly manipulated the system and taken advantage of the developing world and its ethnic majorities.

There is one last defect found within economic globalization in that it erodes at societal traditions, and then begins to diminish cultural diversity. All the available easy-access information, global transporta-

tion options, mass media, and communicational outlets has not only allowed for businesses to prosper but has introduced alien values and beliefs to societies with different cultures. As indicated by Peter Berger, "if there is economic globalization, there is also cultural globalization," which has become more and more evident with each passing year[9]. Right from the beginning, as products are being made and sold to places that have never before used or needed that product, the country unknowingly adopts a part of another culture. Generally, the global culture is the "western" culture. America also passes along its values and agenda onto the international world, for example, the entire anti-smoking campaign. While it was relevant to Americans, other countries would have benefitted more if the World Health Organization had offered support to address other serious health issues. Lastly, along with the spread of multiculturalism, cultural globalization causes there to be clashes between generations. This also leads many youths to find themselves in an identity crisis, producing more frustration and conflict within the community. Even though the severity of these results are not as serious as the other effects of economic globalization, still the struggle with multiculturalism, and the pains of disappearing language, traditions, and cultures linger in the minds of civilians.

Globalization is a force in motion that doesn't seem to be slowing down. These market-dominant minorities control much of the economic means in their respectable regions. On the global scale America has become the market-dominant minority, but colonialism played a powerful role in placing America in its position. Granted there are other events throughout history that unfolded to secure America's global dominance, but amid colonialism, colonial powers took what they wanted without regards to the people, created cash crop societies, and suffocated economic options that could have benefited the colony. To show the impact of colonialism, the story of the Congo narrates the negative effects very well. It has become clearer that the "third" and "second" world countries have been forced into a vicious cycle by a system that strategically keeps them "less developed."

During the age of exploration, the Europeans found many desirable resources in the African continent, but they also came across a different kind of functional civilization, one that they labeled as "savage." Even still, it did not deter them from viewing Africa as a "magnificent piece of cake" for Europe to consume[10]. In the Congo specifically, the Belgian King Leopold saw the region as his chance for major power and wealth. First he fooled the other major powers into thinking his presence was for humanitarian aid, religious missions, and to introduce more trade to the international world. The "issues" that were laid out by foreign powers were not only ignorant of other cultures, but also were not entirely true, and racism played a major factor in designing the list of problems. The initial profitable export from the Congo was ivory. The following cash crop came to be rubber, which had to be extracted from vines in the forests. With the exportation of these resources, the Congo became engaged in the economic capitalist system of globalization. Quickly the Congo's economy developed into a cash crop society which proved problematic for the population. The Congo had no options to export other products and instead was stuck with exporting natural resources, in which they became specialized. The problem with specialization in one trade is reliance on the market demand, and over time it becomes the only crop people know how to produce. Besides the unquestionable brutal barbarianism practiced by the Belgians and the Force Publique, a police unit of Africans meant to enforce policies, there was also a lack of education options for young Africans. In his book, Hochschild hints that the Belgians intentionally withheld schooling from the Congo in order to keep them producing rubber, thus keeping them dependent on the colonial power. It is obvious that, along with becoming a cash crop society, the lack of educational outlets contributed to the stunt in advancement. The people of the Congo were able to rebel against King Leopold's rule with the help of reports and personal accounts of the slavery, and brutality taking place against the Congo people. Unfortunately when the new government was established, nobody in the country had the know-how to run a country successfully. Without the knowledge to govern, and lack of money to support political changes, the Congo and other countries in similar scenarios were forced to succumb to capitalism. Gaining independence was an accomplishment to be proud of; however political independence was not enough to gain total freedom from the colonial powers who maintained control over the economies.

There are few countries in Africa today that are not labeled "underdeveloped," and it is evident that their economies are unable to support the population. Other troubles exist that stem from insufficient funds, such as poverty, violence, and corruption. Interestingly, one theory that exists sug-

gests that people who live in tropical areas are lazier than others, and that explains why countries in the southern hemisphere are less developed. Author of *The Three Worlds*, Peter Worsley, disagrees with this theory, and argues that it "makes it difficult to explain why the great civilizations of the ancient world – Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley, or later Mayan and Chinese Empires all flourished in mainly tropical regions which are now the most underdeveloped parts of the globe."[11] However, it is more likely that the underdevelopment of these countries is due to colonialism, which created cash crop societies, robbed the country of their natural resources, and exploited labor forces. In other words the former colonies "are underdeveloped in relation to the 'advanced,' industrialized countries" that created a system that destabilized functioning societies[12]. Instead of realizing the truth, other people are apt to believe "less developed" countries are that way because of inferior values and traditions. Sadly the solution to help "less developed" countries has been to industrialize. Evidently, industrialization keeps developing countries dependent on the West for technology and manufactured goods. As the West modernizes these countries, they impose Western ideals, values, and culture, but it is clear that industrializing does not address the initial problem: those developing countries remain dependent on the West for economic means. With control over income, the foreign powers hold control over many aspects of living, all of which require money. Lastly, there have been few legitimate efforts to improve domestic conditions, rather than economic and market assets. Modern colonialism seeps its way into humanitarian organizations, foreign aid, and projects of awareness, such as HIV/AIDS prevention.

Organizations, like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, assess conditions in other countries to determine the amount of aid needed, and what form it comes in. Direct Foreign Aid Investments are prime examples of Neocolonialism. They prove that developing countries do not have control over their own economy, and it is because the people who "[own] the mines, the plantations, the factories and the banks [are] not even in the country, but outside it: in the First World."[13] A problem that arises with foreign aid is that, more often than not, the aid is for an issue that is not relevant to the country; however, a government will not turn down the money. Also, multinational companies who claim to help conditions manipulate and "exploit internal divisions in the Third World," which

creates violence between ethnicities.[14] Today, there are Common Wealth States, like Puerto Rico, which are independent states who are economically tied to another, wealthier, "advanced," country. While humanitarian projects and foreign aid investments could be helpful and useful to developing countries, the way that missions are carried out does not do much to improve circumstances. Instead, these programs do not actually amend problems facing the countries, and sometimes do not address the serious issues at hand. Additionally, foreign aid keeps developing countries dependent on the "First World."

Since people still suffer from extreme poverty, hunger, exploitation, lack of education, and disease, it is obvious that colonialism did not help these countries, but rather underdeveloped them. After the separate worlds were constructed from colonialism, development work, ironically, became the next step in the process of "underdevelopment." Certain views commonly followed in the West created the discourse of development agencies, which seemingly were proven to be self-serving, but harmful to the countries who housed their development projects. By looking at the specific case of Lesotho, one can begin to imagine how development work in other countries can actually be unconstructive due to false assumptions and ignorance of cultural differences.

The tiny landlocked country in the heart of South Africa hints to the many problems that can originate during developmental work programs. Between the years of 1974 and 1985 Lesotho was receiving assistance from twenty seven countries, and over forty other international organizations. These numbers are strikingly disproportionate for the, then, populated country of just 1.3 million. In retrospect, when one now looks at the attempted development projects in Lesotho, it is clear that many things attributed to their downfall. However the main cause of failure is because development institutions came in assuming that the country was "backwards" and "primitive," so they generated their own ideas of understanding Lesotho's situation then constructed their analysis of Lesotho's problems. The projects were created from the agencies' own discourses instead of consulting the Lesotho community, and therefore rarely succeeded. James Ferguson, author of *The Anti-Politics Machine*, evaluates the development work in Lesotho. In his book it is evident that Lesotho is an example for future development programs to learn from. It serves as a model that explains why development projects fail. In the case of the Thaba-Tseka region in Lesotho the

first complications emerged when program directors claimed that agriculture could be transformed into means of significant profit for a society that makes most income from migrant labor in mines located in South Africa.

Lesotho is a region with unique terrain and climate. Most of the country is highlands, with mountains, and some plateaus. Roughly 10% of the land is arable, and its greatest, and only true, natural resource is water[15]. Intriguingly enough, agriculture was the first area that the Canadian International Development Agency, or CIDA, pursued for development. The project started in the lowlands, but the first thing to be done was road construction due to the belief that people "have never had the opportunity" to access "the wider market economy"[16]. Program workers believed that once Lesotho's farmers could travel easier to markets a light bulb would turn on and they would realize they could sell their surplus of crops for a subsistent profit. Road construction, however, did not address the real problem and in fact ended up doing the opposite of its initial intentions. The arable land in Lesotho is very limited, and it has suffered from soil erosion, therefore, no surplus of crops existed. Also, the roads allowed for easier access to cheaper goods produced in South Africa, and Lesotho became "the market" instead of the producers[17]. It is evident that the goals of this project were not accomplished, but instead of changing the project CIDA just changed the location; to a less likely agricultural domain up in the highlands. Ferguson explains that "the mission considered the unexploited mountain areas to be rich agricultural resources" but again they concluded development scarce because of poor access to markets. It is curious as to why the development agency believed that success could be reached in the highlands when the project failed in the lowlands. There seems to be a self-serving scheme by the development program because after "extreme pressure on the land, deteriorating soil, and declining agricultural yields… many able-bodied men were forced from the land in search of means to support their families," which lead about 60% of these men to become migrant workers in South Africa[18]. Since the mine wages are controlled by the South African government the development agency could not develop the migrant labor economy, and instead by following their own discourse that all the Basotho are farmers, made the problem something they could fix: agriculture and market infrastructure. The most expensive parts of the project would be those concerned with roads

and infrastructure, but to the agency they were also viewed as the most important for mountain development[19]. Again, however, the development projects were based on the assumption that a surplus of crops existed when in actuality there was a deficiency in food production. Ergo this form of development was unsuccessful.

Following roads and infrastructure, another important component was in reference to livestock and range management, but this was confronted with social pressures that would guarantee another failure. Raising herding animals in Lesotho is very common among the people. Cattle have multiple uses in Lesotho, including labor and bridewealth payment, but the social status and implications go beyond what the development agency could picture. The social benefits of owning cattle discouraged the Basotho from selling their livestock. This is why when the agency began the push to commercialize livestock it was doomed to fail. One of the issues that CIDA recognized in Thaba-Tseka was overgrazing, which is why range management became crucial to mountain development. In order to control overgrazing, they experimented with a sectioned off area of grazing land, allowing farmers with "improved" stock, who followed recommended management practices, to bring their cattle on these sites[20]. Each person, however, was to pool their herds into a single unit. This was something that most people felt uncomfortable doing because cattle serve as stored income, only to be sold under certain circumstances, for instance when there was a "serious need for money which cannot be raised any other way"[21]. Culturally, the men own the herding animals, and the wages he makes at the mines, or elsewhere, are spread amongst the family. The men will spend money buying more cattle because it acts as their retirement fund, which his wife and family cannot squander[22]. Cattle can also serve as a sense of pride. A man who owns many cattle in Lesotho has a social status because he can help the rest of the community, for example, by lending out his cattle to less fortunate families. Men with a lot of money, however, are viewed as selfish. With these social standards in mind, it is easy to see why commercializing livestock was a difficult task for CIDA to accomplish. The development team went into this project without the knowledge of the social connotations attached to cattle and they could not realize that "livestock and cash are not freely interconvertible" in the society[23]. There are other aspects of the project that also caused its downfall, mainly that the "im-

proved" stock couldn't survive in the conditions of the environment, including the lack of grazing lands. Also the fodder that was needed to feed the "improved" stock was expensive and would take up the land that people were using to grow their own food. So it would seem that the Basotho people, who were experienced cattle raisers, had more knowledge and knew better than to follow along with the recommendations of the project. A cycle began as the development agency realized that the land was being exhausted through use and overgrazing, but that people were not going to sell their cattle. So they would again retry to develop agriculture and would only become more frustrated as programs suffered from lack of support from the community and failed. Unfortunately, their own discourse kept them from changing their development program, and the true issues in Lesotho remained unaddressed. As CIDA wasted money on agriculture and livestock development, they saw the government as another possible mean of transformation.

Traditional politics in Lesotho were centralized under rule of a chief. The development agency's plan was simple: to de-centralize Lesotho's government in order to create a "neutral" state apparatus[24]. Creating a neutral state government would prove to be an impossible task since a particular government party is going to do whatever benefits them the most and keep them in charge. In the case of Lesotho, being so closely tied with South Africa, the National Party was not popular among the majority of Basotho. Development projects became a mechanism used by the National Party to propagate policies and inflict fear in those who opposed them. The government was corrupt and would favor party supporters in different aspects of society. Then CIDA created a slightly complicated system of department chairman, ministries, and committees to oversee certain districts. The idea was to be able to deal with matters in Thaba-Tseka "without having to go through the bureaucratic tangle in Maseru," which created hassle for the local government due to frequent delays[25]. By the time the program grew to full size, little support existed within the Basotho community. The process of decentralization, Ferguson explains, "was couched in the idiom of resistance to 'the Canadians' and 'their project,' seen as trying to 'push everyone else around'"[26]. Eventually CIDA directors became frustrated with the lack of "effort" and "support" of the community, and decided to leave as elegantly and swiftly as possible. Their ministries already in place came under the power of the

government. The Basotho came to their own realization that "politics is nowadays nicknamed 'development,'" thus explaining why people would vandalize as well as ignore advice and recommendations made by the Canadian development agency[27]. The built-up frustration of the Thaba-Tseka community, due to the many project failures and the increased of power given to a biased government, ultimately caused the development projects' fail.

Ferguson expresses in his book that "development projects in Lesotho do not generally bring about any significant reduction in poverty, but neither do they characteristically introduce any new relations of production, or bring about significant economic transformations," which is essentially arguing that not only is there no development occurring, but also that the society is neither "backwards," or "primitive"[28]. The principle reason for CIDA's failures in agricultural development, commercializing livestock, and de-centralization is so simple, but rarely observed. It set itself up for disaster in the beginning by creating its own dissertation instead of discussing with the Lesotho community about their actual problems and needs. The lack of knowledge over Lesotho's environmental conditions, political system, and social standards contributed greatly to the failure of many development projects. The same problems that arose during the development projects in Lesotho found their way into HIV/AIDS awareness throughout Africa in the 1980's and 1990's. By seeping into health development, arguably the most deadly disease has continued to spread throughout "less developed" countries with no avail; but somehow, in "developed" countries the spread has been relatively silenced.

Most Western HIV/AIDs programs fail because of simple mistakes that materialize from the Western view and the discourse of program directors. When HIV/AIDs programs are set up throughout Africa, the culture and social practices are ignored which ultimately leads to the failure of these projects. Also, it seems that many health clinics that take their studies to Africa treat Africans like test subjects rather than real human beings, counting on them as statistics for their "numbers-driven" reports. Relying on the quantitative results lets companies mask the reality of their programs' quality and actual affect on HIV/AIDs victims. This tactic allows many innocent-minded, sympathetic Americans to donate their money that ends up mostly serving as a salary for directors and other employees. Interestingly, not all HIV/AIDs programs are doomed to fail. In fact,

programs and organizations created by Africans, who understand their culture, practices, and the average person's reaction to AIDS information, have built successful HIV/AIDs projects. Unfortunately the successes of these projects were not long-winded because soon these organizations succumbed to the influence of Western money. The biggest problems that faced Western HIV/AIDs programs in Africa was that their western influenced goals could not successfully address the African people, even though on paper the ideas seemed on point, and the targets seemed legitimate. By looking in depth at certain HIV/AIDs institutions, the emphasis of ABC's, the presentation of condoms, and analyzing why AIDs programs in Uganda were successful over programs in Botswana, Helen Epstein explains in her book *The Invisible Cure*, why the fight against AIDS in Africa is shamefully being lost.

The AIDS virus is one of the most efficient viruses in the world, it is perfectly deadly. Variations of the virus exist, and scientists have divided them into subtypes A, B, C, and D. In the United States, most people with AIDS have the subtype B variation, and in the 1990's health organizations were being encouraged to find a cure for subtype B because it would be a major breakthrough. Much of the medicine trials were taken to Africa, in countries with high rates of HIV/AIDs, such as Uganda, Botswana, Mozambique, and South Africa. While it was already suspect that these medicine testing trials were not even attempted in the United States, Epstein discovered another issue with these tests. After testing almost two hundred blood samples from Uganda she quickly began to realize that HIV patients in the area were victims of subtypes A, C, and D, and most even had antibodies to protect them from subtype B[29]. For Epstein, this would mean that the subtype B based vaccine "would have to be redesigned if it was to be tested in Uganda. It would have to include a cocktail of HIV strains, including A, C, D," and her comment points to something some people may overlook[30]. Essentially these trials were not actually going to help the local people, and it became evident that the HIV vaccine was being created solely for profit, and only for Americans who could buy them. Ugandans, and just about everybody else infected with AIDS in Africa, would not have the funds to buy the medicine. So the first reason as to why AIDS programs failed is because "health development" was geared towards profit, and not meant to help people living in Africa.

The Community Health Initiative to Prevent Sexually Transmitted Diseases, or CHIPS, was meant to treat patients with STDs and promote condom usage in order to decrease the spread of HIV/AIDS. Millions of dollars was given to CHIPS in order to accomplish these goals, but eventually the program was shut down because its clinic was hardly being used, and it is likely that the directors lost interest[31]. It is odd that $1.5 million was given to CHIPS and they decided to refurbish one clinic instead of putting some money towards "cheap drugs for malaria and other infections" that were prominent in Uganda[32]. It is shameful that the money was carelessly wasted when many could have benefited from those cheap drugs. Programs like LoveLife, formed by public health experts sponsored by a U.S.-based foundation, took another approach to the AIDS crisis in South Africa[33]. The experts realized that HIV/AIDS information was so depressing and upsetting to Africans that most would not stay around to hear about AIDS information. Thus, they decided to have LoveLife approach the crisis in a positive light. By cheerfully showing what AIDS does to people, they promoted abstinence, fidelity, and the use of condoms. This may seem good on paper, but internationally both abstinence and fidelity propaganda fail to influence people. Condoms are beneficial in the process of stopping the spread of AIDS however they cannot stop it alone. But it will be discussed later how the presentation of condoms, unfortunately, ruined the chance they had at positively impacting communities. While LoveLife was directed at young people, the positive manner in which they discussed AIDS ended up, actually, denying its existence. Since the disease was presented as something that resulted from immoral behavior, it was shameful to admit that someone close had AIDS, and furthermore, deterred youths from seeking health treatments and talking about personal issues related to HIV/AIDS. CHIPS and LoveLife are just a few examples of organizations established by the West to raise awareness of HIV/AIDS, but all of the West's institutions fall under the same spectrum of arrogance.

The economy in South Africa is heavily reliant on migrant labor in mines, which comes from many regions of Africa. People noticed that along the paths to the mines, towns began to see an increase in the prevalence of HIV/AIDS. Westerners predicted that it was due to the erotic sexual behavior of migrant laborers and prostitutes, despite that "the HIV rate was just as high among migrants as among nonmigrants," but this belief has developed from the old

stereotype that Africans are promiscuous people[34]. Even though this assumption is false, it did not stop the way that the organization would present HIV/AIDS to migrant laborers and communities along the way. Health advisers would recommend that men not visit prostitutes while they were away from their families, but if they did, advisers recommended that they use condoms with the prostitutes. In this way, AIDS was presented as a disease of prostitutes and promiscuity which made it a disease of certain immoral behaviors, but not a disease of everyone. Another dilemma was that the purpose of condoms was obscured, and they started to gain negative connotations. Condoms were then seen as something only to be used with prostitutes; therefore men would not use them with their wives or girlfriends. Relationships in most of Africa are different from the United States, where there are monogamous relationships, and multiple throughout life. In many communities in Africa, the relationships are concurrent, in that a man and woman may have a few relationships at one time. As one can see, this was a major flaw in the presentation of both HIV/AIDS and the use of condoms, but it was tainted by the West's own view of life and culture, and the ignorance of other cultures. Not to mention, the haphazard effort by organizers of National Condom Week, "during which free condoms [were] stapled" to brochures, just echoes the negligence that was common throughout most HIV/AIDS campaigns[35].

Throughout the failures of Western organizations, there are few success stories that came from Uganda. The major reason that these programs worked is that Ugandans created the institution the projects would be built on, and obviously they understood their own culture and social structures which helped them greatly to reduce the rate that HIV was spreading. President Museveni of Uganda took charge by initiating AIDS awareness propaganda on the radio which had a traditional African drumming pattern that signified a "warning." Upon hearing the drum beat, it is known that caution should be taken. This on top of a policy cleverly titled, "Zero Grazing" which effectively promoted faithfulness among concurrent relationships, helped reduce the amount of partners. Most importantly the idea of "collective efficacy" truly encouraged the community to help each other. Collective efficacy made Ugandans realize that HIV/AIDS could affect all people, and not just certain people who did promiscuous things. This was something that the West could not master, and even though the rate of

HIV/AIDS was declining in Uganda "officials from the WHO, USAID, and other development agencies largely dismissed Uganda's AIDs program" because it was not targeting "high-risk" groups, such as prostitutes and migrant laborers[36]. Uganda was able to successfully address the entire spectrum of HIV/AIDS by talking about it in multiple forms. By not stressing the so called "high risk" groups Uganda was able to get everyone on the same page. An interesting comparison to Uganda's success is Botswana's failure. Uganda is a much poorer region than Botswana, but they were not fortunate to have the same results. The West had many programs and public health campaigns in Botswana promoting abstinence, fidelity, and condoms. Ultimately however, these campaigns could not produce the same results as Uganda because their programs never stirred the conscience of Batswana people. West campaigns presented HIV as a disease of certain people and not everyone. By identifying these "high risk" groups, programs were able to provide a technical solution to these conceived technical problems, and eventually resulted in major failure. As a country struggling with poverty as well, Uganda was quick to accept the money donated by the United States. Once the West stepped into Uganda and imposed its morals and values, the HIV/AIDS rate began to increase again, but Epstein points out that "there may be other reasons why Zero Grazing had not been revived. For one thing, there was no multimillion-dollar bureaucracy to support it"[37].

George Bush received $15 billion from Congress in 2003 to fight AIDS in developing countries, and $1 billion of that money would be managed by PEPFAR, which stands for President's Emergency Plan for HIV/AIDS Relief[38]. The organizations that were contracted by PEPFAR were right-winged, church affiliated organizations, and their campaigns would proclaim that the solution to AIDS was abstinence. Even though abstinence would almost guarantee that one would not get AIDS, as stated earlier, abstinence campaigns consistently fail around the world. There are obvious reasons as to why former President Bush would donate the money to PEPFAR, mainly because the money would end up in the hands of his own supporters, who would in return, support him for the next reelection. While Bush has been praised for the money he donated to AIDS, Epstein challenges the acclaim by noting that "at least 60% of U.S. foreign-aid funding never leaves the United States, but is instead spent on overhead, travel… and other equipment, as well as salary-and-

benefit packages," and observes that much of the money is "wasted on ill-conceived projects"[39]. So if this is true, of the $1 billion donated, only $400 million would be dispersed among the many "ill-conceived projects" throughout Africa, meant to help the hundreds of millions of people affected by AIDS, 12 million of which are orphans[40]. All the institutions that were fighting AIDS, such as UNAID, PEPFAR and its churches, began to disagree on certain procedures, and ended up confusing Africans and worsening their situation. UNAID was promoting condoms, and while it has been said that condoms are not the sole solution to AIDS, it is proven that they directly impact the rise or decline of HIV/AIDS. PEPFAR was preaching abstinence while UNAID was promoting condoms, but the churches that PEPFAR supplied were all denouncing condoms. For their own religious beliefs, these churches, by condemning condoms, caused unnecessary deaths, and "threatened to derail what little progress had been made" in fighting AIDS[41]. Another reason why these organizations were not producing the desirable results is because of the emphasis on meeting target goals. The United States has always placed a lot of value on statistical information, believing it to be an easy way to evaluate success or failure. Throughout history people have started to learn, not necessarily in America, that results cannot always be measured in stats, or quantitative figures. Meeting target goals does put stress on organizations, which is proving detrimental on U.S. funded AIDS programs because "in order to receive ongoing funding from PEPFAR, organizations… must meet their targets - however superficial"[42]. For men, women, and children, including orphans, this is not good news because they are just being viewed as a number, and depersonalizing their situation will not result in the real help that they need.

To conclude, there are many cases in Africa that can be seen as the direct result of colonialism, globalization, and imposed cultural views through development work. Curiously, it does not seem coincidental that globalization, colonialism, and development all fit together; market-dominant minorities, neocolonialism, and development projects are all pieces of the puzzle that have formed the world as it is today. Each piece is essential for the future, development projects and all. Even when a "less developed" nation boasts a rise in their economy, things need to be evaluated from a much grander scale. For example, Epstein observes that although "South Africa's powerhouse economy, based on gold, diamonds, commercial farming, and services, is growing rapidly, it produces very small numbers of highly skilled jobs," and this captures the big issue at hand[43]. "Developing" countries around the world are told that if they follow the example of the West in one sector of economy, and another sector of cultural values, they will prosper like Americans. Somehow, though, these countries resources are exhausted, the money by-passes people who need it, and America remains on top of a material world. Poverty is not a natural occurrence, but the result of exploitation, greed, and carelessness. Development work is supposed to make globalization more possible and more positive. But what it is doing in actuality is serving as an entity that keeps countries "less developed" because of the way development agencies go about their implementation, whether or not the discourse and arrogance is intentional. The only true way development projects can actually be successful is if they are managed locally, or by people who know and understand the social and cultural norms of the region. It seems now that development projects, although they could be useful, are being used as a mask, covering the evil face of the real neocolonialism that is occurring on the global scale. A face that remains in control of the money, and ultimately the system that keeps some people dependent, and "less developed." Global equality is lacking in the world economy, but nothing is changing except that the rich are getting richer, the poor are getting poorer, and the sick are, inexcusably, dying.

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[14] Ibid., 304.

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.,31.

[19] Ibid., 77.

[20] Ibid., 78.

[21] Ibid., 147.

[22] Ibid., 158.

[23] Ibid., 146.

[24] Ibid., 194.

[25] Ibid., 199.

[26] Ibid., 203.

[27] Ibid., 247.

[28] Ibid., 16.

[29] Epstein, Helen. *The Invisible Cure*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 31-4.

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[33] Ibid., 127.

[34] Ibid., 90.

[35] Ibid., 110.

[36] Ibid., 167.

[37] Ibid.,197.

[38] Ibid., 186.

[39] Ibid., 215.

[40] Ibid., 213.

[41] Ibid., 187.

[42] Ibid., 221-2.

[43] Ibid., 224.