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Letter from the Editors

Anna LePage and Trey Davis

On behalf of the MSU Undergraduate Historian, we are thrilled to present our spring edition for the 2024-25 academic year. After a long hiatus brought on by various factors, we were proud to publish Volume 10, our fall edition, in late January. The volume you hold today represents an even quicker turnaround. Our call-for-papers went out in February with a mid-March deadline, followed by our regular editing process and a second round of revisions from our wonderful authors.

We are deeply grateful for the level of interest we've received in the journal, especially as we transition off the editorial board for the upcoming school year. From writing to editing, and formatting to technical support, this is a collective effort and a testament to the expertise and dedication of the people in it—staff, faculty, and students alike.

With that said, we would like to thank our nine authors for taking a chance on us and on their own work, which we learn so much from editing and simply reading. The diversity of interests in this department is on full display in this issue, which runs the historical (and disciplinary) gamut. Many thanks to Allison O'Connor, Jonah Wiegand, Delaney Cram, Katharine Henige, Alex Reed, Luke Lassan, Kara (Ah Hyun) Hwang, Charlie Horne, and Britton Gustafson. We couldn't do this without you, and we are so proud to showcase your scholarship on behalf of the department.

There are so many people who made this issue possible and who are yet unmentioned. Dr. Ethan Segal, our faculty advisor, was again instrumental to bring this to print. We thank him for his patience and precision in the editing process and for demonstrating what goes into historical scholarship and publication. We would also like to issue a blanket "thank you" to all faculty of the department for providing students with the know-how and the opportunity to do original research and write the sorts of papers that can be submitted to our journal (or others). We are committed to the craft of history even as confidence in the humanities and in organic writing seems to wane.

We were very happy to receive approval to publish this issue in print again, thanks to the generosity of the department and Chairperson Michael Stamm. We'd also like to express our appreciation to Julie Taylor, Publishing Services Coordinator in the MSU Libraries, for helping us format our PDF file for print and getting the print run done swiftly and seamlessly. There's something special about holding a tangible product, even as we appreciate the accessibility and ease of digital publication.

On that note, we are also deeply indebted to Dr. Gillian MacDonald and Dr. Dean Rehberger in the LEADR Lab for helping us bring this issue not only to the internet, but to a permanent page on the department website. We hope that this will expand our reach and allow for continuity as we pass the torch to next year's co-editors, Katherine Dyal and Cassia Bennett. We are confident that Katherine and Cassia will keep the journal flourishing and give aspiring undergraduate authors of historical research ample opportunities to submit, revise, revise again, and get published.

It has been a joy and a privilege to edit the journal this term. We hope that you enjoy this special spring issue and that you consider submitting your work for a future edition.

With gratitude,

Trey Davis Anna LePage

Adapting to Change: Women's Contributions and Challenges in the Civil War

Alison O'Connor

This paper will examine how the role of women transformed throughout the course of the Civil War (1861-65) and the profound impact this left on a woman's place in society. During the war, women in both the North and the South took on new responsibilities to aid in the war effort and to adapt to the lack of male presence in traditional homes. However, women in the South faced greater challenges abandoning societal gender norms and embracing their essential roles in the workforce. Consequently, the way society viewed women and how women viewed themselves varied significantly between women in the North and the South throughout the war and after it ended. While progress has been made by recent scholars, the roles of women and their perspectives during the Civil War has remained underemphasized, preventing their experiences and contributions from receiving deserved scholarly attention. This paper aims to address these shortcomings in existing scholarship by foregrounding the firsthand accounts of the women in both the North and South that were instrumental to the war effort.

Literature Review

There is a general consensus that women took on roles traditionally held by men during the Civil War period, altering the way they were viewed by society and how they viewed themselves. For example, Roger Rosentreter's work *Michigan: A History of Explorers, Entrepreneurs, and Everyday People* features a Northern Woman, Evelyn Adams, who worked for the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Adams was one of the first female federal employees who made an impressive salary of $600 a year. Additionally, Rosentreter notes that during Adams' time in D.C, she visited hospitals filled with Michigan soldiers and wrote columns in the *Detroit Advertiser* and *Tribune*, reporting the soldiers' conditions and her personal experience living and working in the Union's capital.[1] That being said, Rosentreter points to

[1] Roger Rosentreter, *Michigan: A History of Explorers, Entrepreneurs,*

the fact that throughout and following the Civil War, the skills and job experiences women acquired led them to be viewed as capable and valuable contributors to society. This challenged traditional gender norms and demonstrated women's ability to achieve greater independence and active participation in public and professional spheres.

While previous scholars note that both Northern and Southern women took on new responsibilities and occupations during the Civil War, their self-perceptions and attitudes towards these new lifestyle changes varied. In her work *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War*, for example, Drew Faust claims that because it was far less common for a Southern woman to be employed outside her household than a woman in the North, the transition into the workforce was more unsettling for Southern women.[2] A quote from Southerner Lila Chunn emphasizes her discomfort with entering the workforce due to necessity as she states that "It looks funny in Dixie to see a lady behind the counter" and that "if we were in Yankeedom as it has always [been] the custom there, a custom however I do not like."[3] This quote emphasizes the cultural divides between the North and the South in terms of gender, revealing Chunn's discomfort seeing a woman behind the store counter. In the North, it would not have been uncommon to see a woman employed, even before the start of the Civil War. With this in mind, the women in the South experienced a greater cultural shock when they had to help with war efforts than did women in the North, many of whom already had occupations outside the household.

Additionally, previous scholars highlight the similar experiences of Northern and Southern women toward the end of the Civil War as they became increasingly involved in the political sphere. One author, Nina Silber, argues that because many Northern women took part in national relief efforts for

and Everyday People. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 259.

[2] Drew Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.), 81.

[3] Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 82.

soldiers during the Civil War, the line between women and the federal government became more intertwined, providing a space in the federal government for women. This allowed Northern women to feel that they could "direct their demands and their political energies toward the nation-state."[4] Similarly, Stephanie McCurry describes that women in the South became increasingly involved in the political sphere throughout the course of the Civil War. McCurry claims that the war spurred a new female identity—being a "soldier's wife"—that, when leaned into, helped Southern women (particularly those who were poor) demand protections from their government. One example of this was a petition signed by the citizens of Stanhope, North Carolina, which separated the names of citizens by gender and categories of "widows and soldier's wives."[5] This can demonstrate the tactics women used to enter the political sphere and separate their voices from men. The interpretations from previous scholars examining how women's relationship with the government and the political sphere changed throughout the course of the Civil War can show similarities between Northern and Southern women despite having very different war experiences.

Lastly, there are competing interpretations between modern-day and Civil War–era scholars regarding the role of African American women in the Union. In her 1994 book *Women in the Civil War*, Mary Elizabeth Massey describes several examples of African American women who helped aid the Union in its war efforts. One example of these women was Caroline Johnson, a former slave who worked as a nurse in a military hospital in Washington D.C. and was even invited to the White House by Lincoln himself.[6] To contrast this, a piece published shortly after the war in 1867, *Women's Work in the Civil War*, acknowledged the efforts of over five hundred white Union women on the homefront but failed to

[4] Nina Silber, *Daughters of the Union: Northern Women Fight the Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), 282.
[5] McCurry, Stephanie. *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics In the Civil War South* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012.), 140.
[6] Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Women in the Civil War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.), 269.

mention any African American women.[7] This shows the different interpretations of the roles that African Americans played in aiding the Union's war effort, with the Civil War–era scholar not mentioning any African American women among the five hundred Union women featured in the book.

Women's Roles on the Home Front and at War: Nurses, Spies, and Wives

Throughout the course of the Civil War, some brave women from both sides wanted to take a more hands-on role in providing care for soldiers, taking on the traditionally male dominated position of a nurse. In the North, Clara Barton became a well-known nurse known for her bravery and devotion to helping wounded and injured soldiers. During her time as a Union nurse, Barton collected a series of letters depicting her everyday life, displaying the raw experiences faced by the women who stepped up to play an active role in the Civil War. That being said, in one of her letters Barton explains the importance of gathering helpers when she mentions that "my duty required that I gather all I could, even if I shouted aloud to strangers for those who lay fainting and speechless by the wayside or moaning in this wilderness."[8] This highlights that Barton was not willing to give up on saving the lives of any soldier she encountered on the battlefield, even if they were in critical condition. In addition to Barton, Annie Ethridge is another example of a Union woman who offered medical care and words of encouragement to soldiers on the battlefield. Ethridge was described to have entered places where few medics dared to enter, and never turned away from a dangerous situation if it meant helping the men in battle, similar to the attitudes expressed by Clara Barton in her letters. The efforts made by Ethridge were greatly appreciated by the men in battle with a Michigan sergeant reflecting on his experience interacting with Ethridge noting that "Noble Annie is with us to the last, and her brave womanly spirit breaks down."[9] These examples

[7] Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 270.
[8] Clara Barton, *The Life of Clara Barton: Founder of the American Red Cross*, Vol. 1. (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1922), 106.
[9] Rosentreter, *Michigan: A History of Explorers*, 147.

of Clara Barton and Annie Ethridge emphasize the active role women played as nurses during the Civil War, depicting that the role traditionally held by men was greatly appreciated and necessary in preserving the lives of Union soldiers.

While women nurses in the North and the South shared some similar experiences with treating patients, nurses in the South dealt with the added struggle of treating soldiers while their government was collapsing. One Confederate nurse, Phoebe Yates Pember, shares her experience in an autobiography written after the Civil War reflecting on her experiences as a nurse at Chimborazo Hospital in Richmond, Virginia. Throughout her book, it is evident that her dedication to caring for wounded and injured soldiers was relentless, even when it was not especially safe to do so. In one section, Pember recalls her experience leaving the hospital after being granted a furlough, claiming that "It had been like tearing my body and soul apart, when necessity compelled me to leave my hospital."[10] Additionally, Pember was one of the last remaining medical professionals to remain at the hospital when it was recommended that citizens evacuate Richmond, writing that "I devoted my time" even when "our surgeons had either then left or received orders to discontinue their labors."[11] In this experience recounted by Pember in her autobiography, she displays the challenges faced solely by Confederate nurses as they had to deal with wartime casualties along with a failing economy and government. This separates the experience of Phoebe Pember from those of Clara Barton and Annie Ethridge, even though all three mentioned nurses worked tirelessly and passionately to aid the men of their respective armies.

Another more unconventional role some select women took upon themselves as a way to aid in the war effort was disguising themselves as different people to spy and provide insights for their respective armies. According to Oscar Kinchen, men were less likely to search white women, allowing them to "Hide arms, medicine, and other crucial material in hoop skirts, reticles, parasols, and

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[10] Phoebe Yates Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, (New York: London: G.W. Carleton & Co.; S. Low, Son & Co., 1879.), 138.
[11] Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, 138.

corsets."[12] This highlights that the position of a spy during the Civil War was a position more unique to women, as they could get away with more and would not be easily suspected by the opposing army. Building on this idea, the auto-biography of Sarah Emma Edmonds provides a compelling example of how women leveraged these societal assumptions to undertake daring missions. To give a brief background, Edmonds disguised herself as Franklin Thompson and enlisted in the Second Michigan Infantry to fight in battle alongside her comrades. Additionally, throughout her autobiography, she recalls her encounters in brutal battles and harsh camp life including First Bull Run, Battle of Fredericksburg, and Battle of Williamsburg. During the Battle of Williamsburg, Edmonds recounts the gory scene developing in front of her, describing the "ghastly faces of the wounded and dying"; despite this, she continued to her assigned role on the battlefield, one of which was the front lines of battle with a musket in hand.[13] Additionally, later in her autobiography, Edmonds writes that "I shall fight the rebel army with whatever force I may have", despite recently fighting in the battle of Williamsburg and being aware of the possible chance of losing her life in battle.[14] With this in mind, Edmond provides an example of a Union woman who took on an extremely unconventional role during the Civil War, acknowledging that not all women were designated to fill the same roles while men were absent in the household.

While looking at the previous women who acted as nurses and spies during the Civil War, it is important to note that a majority of women took on homefront responsibilities, such as fundraising efforts to raise money for necessary war materials, sewing clothing and flags, and forming associations to provide soldiers with food and additional resources. Looking at Michigan women in particular, a Detroit minister recalled that his wife "kept sewing machines 'constantly running' making socks, blankets, towels, and

[12] Nina Silber, *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 115.
[13] Sarah Emma Edmonds, *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army* (Hartford: W.S. Williams & Co., 1865), 110.
[14] Edmonds, *Nurse and Spy*, 124.

havelocks."[15] This shows that the woman incorporated the production of clothing items into her daily routine when the Union soldiers needed more supplies, altering their everyday lives to aid in the war effort. Additionally, an association of Michigan women formed the Michigan Soup House and traveled to the front lines of Virginia to provide soldiers with warm meals, exemplifying the efforts women would make to ensure that their husbands, brothers, or community members received the best care possible.[16] Switching to evaluate the efforts made by Southern women on the home front, Mary Elizabeth Messey details the "ladies' gunboat funds" which prioritized creating fundraising for the construction of gunboats and additional war materials. These fundraisers were advertised in newspapers and celebrations were held when enough funds were collected to launch a gunboat for the Confederate army, which happened frequently in prominent cities such as Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, Mobile, and Richmond.[17] The examples of Michigan women producing clothing and preparing warm meals, alongside Southern women raising funds for Confederate war materials, demonstrate how women significantly contributed to their respective armies' efforts even if they were not actively in battle or acting as nurses.

Women's Transformative Place in Society

The next aspect of evaluating how women transformed throughout the war is to examine how they dealt with the absence of their husbands/male family members and adapted to a new life. Though both women in the North and the South had to alter their everyday lives, women in the North generally lived an easier wartime experience than Southern women because the North was winning the war and did not experience the financial and property destruction to the extent that the South did. This can first be proven by looking at the pocket diaries written by Emilie Frances

[15] Rosentreter, *Michigan: A History of Explorers*, 256.
[16] Rosentreter, *Michigan: A History of Explorers*, 256.
[17] Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 37.

Davis, an African American woman living in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. To introduce this source, Davis's diary is considered a pocket diary due to the short summary of information written about her day-to-day life, which rarely includes her feelings or emotions towards the events going on around her. Still, by evaluating the content of her diary, it is evident that she is continuing with activities such as attending church, visiting friends, or reading, even though the war is actively going on around her. That being said, one entry writes "Very pleasant day to day. I have bin busy all day sewing"[18] and "Very fine day. I went to church this morning, herd a good sermin. I spent the afternoon in reading."[19] These notes can display that even during a period of wartime, Davis took the opportunity to promote her own sense of religious identity and education by attending sermons and reading. However, this is not to say that women in the North did not worry about their loved ones away at battle, as Davis writes about her brother after he was drafted into the United States Colored Troops, explaining that "Alfred went to Provost Marshall. They would not exempt him. I feel quite ansious about him."[20] Davis provides an example of a woman in the North who did not let the fear and uncertainty of the war disrupt her dedication to becoming more educated and active in the community without the presence of males.

To contrast this, the experience of Southern women during the war can be described as more jarring and disorienting as the life they knew was crumbling around them with the defeat of the Confederate army, causing the social hierarchy that many women relied upon to find their place in society to fall apart. In a set of letters written by a wealthy and well-educated Southern white woman, Katie Samuel describes the importance she places on materialistic goods as they signify how she is viewed in Southern Society. As shown in Katie Samuels' letters to her mother while she was away at boarding school, Samuels places significant importance on clothing, writing "I am very glad you have

[18] Emilie Frances Davis, *Notes from a Colored Girl: The Civil War Pocket Diaries of Emilie Frances Davis* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2014), September 3, 1863.
[19] Davis, *Notes from a Colored Girl*, February, 1863.
[20] Davis, *Notes from a Colored Girl*, October 21, 1863.

finished my calico dress and hope you will send it to me as you can, I need it so much."[21] In this quote included in a letter written by Samuels, she is highlighting the importance special clothing items such as the calico dress have on her social circle while she is away at boarding school and beginning to find her place in society. This demonstrates that as the Civil War was coming to an end, Southerners like Samuels who relied upon wealth and status to conduct their everyday life often struggled when their financial status changed abruptly with the loss of the war.

Similarly, in "A Diary from Dixie," elite Southerner Mary Chesnut, who is described by the author collecting her letters as a "woman of society in the best sense," writes about her experiences during the Civil War in dealing with her husband fighting in battle and social pressures surrounding the fall of the Confederacy. In one of her letters, Chesnut stresses her views about the importance of appearance when speaking about someone in her circle stating that "Her teeth are of the whitest and most regular, simply perfection," illuminating that appearance is something she notices in people of her similar social class.[22] That said, for the wealthy Southern women who relied upon wealth and status to maintain their social status and self-perception, the loss of wealth as the Civil War progressed took a toll on them. Towards the end of the war in July 1865, Chesnut's letters become more and more spread apart, and she claims that she is less motivated to write because there is nothing positive to write about.[23] Chesnut's overall attitudes toward appearance and her lack of motivation to create diary entries towards the end of the war show that the outcome of the Civil War altered the dynamics of the South, ultimately leading to Southern women changing the way they viewed their place in society.

Continuing the discussion that Southern women had a difficult experience adjusting to wartime society, throughout "A Diary from Dixie" Chesnut shares her attitude towards slavery providing the viewpoint of upper-class women shaped

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[21] Kathleen Boone Samuels, *A Civil War Marriage in Virginia: Reminiscences and Letters* (Boyce, Va.: Carr Pub. Co., 1956.), 13.
[22] Chesnut, Mary Boykin, Isabella D. Martin, and Myrta Lockett Avary. *A Diary from Dixie* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 340.
[23] Chesnut et. al., *A Diary from Dixie*, 403.

by the ideals of their high social status and norms in the antebellum South, further describing the lifestyle changes experienced by wealthy Southern women as the war went on. Starting with Chesnut, towards the end of the war she claims that slaves "can't be counted on for steady work" and "they will stop to play or enjoy life in some shape"[24], reflecting the controlling and dismissive attitude shared by many elite Southern women. Additionally, according to findings by Faust, when the war began to come to a close, the social structure of women in the South was severely disrupted, especially those who relied on property and slaves to display their wealth and status. This can be highlighted in an interview with a Southern woman from South Carolina as she discussed the differences from the beginning to the end of the war in that women in her social class underwent; "From being queens in social life," ladies had become "after the war, in many instances, mere domestic drudges."[25] This quote, along with the one from Chesnut, demonstrates the stark contrast between having the wealth and resources to be a member of the slave owning society to having to create a new identity in a post-war society.

While beginning to compile my research on the role of women throughout the Civil War, I used A.I. to brainstorm some potential websites that would provide both primary and secondary sources that I could use to answer my research question. This allowed me to search on different internet archives than we discussed in class; however, I ultimately decided to stick to MSU Libraries and Google Scholar. Additionally, I used A.I. in a similar way as a thesaurus to make the vocabulary more precise and advanced throughout the research proposal.

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[24] Chesnut et. al., 165.

[25] Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 103.

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Apprehending Gnostic Belief: Irenaeus of Lyons and the Nag Hammadi Library

Jonah Wiegand

Introduction

In the second century, when the Christian Church was small and the memory of the apostles still fresh, it faced its most dangerous internal conflict to date. The Gnostics, a sect of early Christians that imbibed ideas from many religions and Hellenic schools of thought, constituted a growing movement among the urban Christian communities of the Roman Empire. Saint Irenaeus of Lyons, one of the Church Fathers, grappled with the Gnostic groups and ultimately denounced them as heretics, extensively writing against them. His writings remained the cornerstone of modern academic understanding of Gnostic beliefs until the discovery of ancient manuscripts in Egypt in 1945. Irenaeus of Lyons shaped early Christian doctrine and defended Church unity against Gnostic challenges. This paper examines Irenaeus' response to Gnostic beliefs, particularly those of the Valentinian sect, as presented in his polemical work *Against Heresies*. By comparing Irenaeus' critique with Valentinian texts from the Nag Hammadi library, this study explores the accuracy of Irenaeus' portrayal of Gnostic cosmology. Furthermore, it argues that Irenaeus' commitment to apostolic succession and ecclesiastical unity, evident in his reliance on the Church in Rome, positions him as a towering figure in the development of orthodox Christian theology and education. The significance of Irenaeus' contributions is made clear by the discovery of the Nag Hammadi library, which not only verifies aspects of his critique but also demonstrates that he depicted the Valentinians fairly, even on their own terms, and thus grounded his disagreements with them in fact.

This paper delves into the historical and theological landscape of second-century Christianity, focusing on the internal conflict between the early Christian Church and the Gnostic sects, particularly the Valentinians. The structure unfolds methodically, commencing with a background on Gnosticism and introducing primary sources, the pivotal texts of Irenaeus' *Against Heresies*, and selected Valentinian texts from the Nag Hammadi library. Next is a close reading of these primary sources, exploring Irenaeus' anti-Gnostic perspective and scrutinizing the Gnostic texts to see where they corroborate or confound his critiques. Following that, a synthesis and comparative analysis of those differing sources seeks to draw connections and distinctions, leading to conclusions derived from the primary source analysis. The paper then explores broader implications for the evolution of Western philosophy and contemporary ideologies influenced by Gnostic thought. The concluding section offers final reflections on the significance of Irenaeus' contributions and the impact of Gnosticism on Christian history.

Defining Gnosticism

The *Oxford Classical Dictionary* describes Gnosticism as a term used by theosophical groups that broke with the Early Church. The term theosophical derives from the Greek *theos* for God and *sophos* for wisdom, roughly God-wisdom or divine thought.[1] Thus, Gnostics were a religious movement focused on divine knowledge, which they called *gnosis*.[2] The focus on discernment, or their pursuit of Godly knowledge, set them apart from mainline Jews and Christians of their period. Second-century Gnosticism had roots in and similarities with other philosophical movements of its era, with parallels in the religious and intellectual traditions of the wider Mediterranean world, specifically Platonism and the Christian elements, which it purported to be an extension of, such as the nature of God as divine bestower of renewal and new creation in the book of Revelation.[3] These similarities, rather than a point of agreement between other groups and Gnostics, tended to be a gangrenous point of contention. The neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus was aggrieved by the Gnostic sects active in Rome in the mid-third century, viewing their assertions as irrational and insufficiently based in the Greek philosophical tradition, as was proper and befitting of scholars. Specifically, Plotinus viewed their cosmology as errant for its rejection of the material world without logical argument and their

[1] For modern uses of *theosophy,* see Broek and Hanegraaff, *Gnosis and Hermeticism from Antiquity to Modern Times,* 311.
[2] "Gnosticism," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.
[3] Roelof van den Broek, "Gnosticism and Hermeticism in Antiquity," in *Gnosis and Hermeticism From Antiquity to Modern Times*, 1-2.

declarations of multiple hypostases or planes of divine existence, again without evidence or supporting logical argument.[4] The central Gnostic claim of a wretched material existence with levels of divine planes open to mortals in order to ascend to a pre-cosmic state of being was utterly unsupported by the cogent, well-meaning logic argued by the Roman Gnostics of the middle-third century, but what of the Christian Gnostics of the second?

Irenaeus of Lyons

Irenaeus of Lyons was born in Smyrna sometime around 140 A.D. By his birth, the Apostolic Age had come and gone, but the seeds planted by the apostles had begun to flower by his maturation: at roughly the age of 15, Irenaeus heard the teaching of Polycarp of Smyrna, an early bishop who himself came to the faith by the proselytization of John the Apostle.[5] This direct link to the apostles is something that Irenaeus holds to as a vital aspect of ecclesiastical unity when later frictions with the Gnostics appear. At an unknown point in time, Irenaeus traveled to Gaul and may have taken up the post of bishop of Vienne. Ongoing persecution against Christians in Roman Gaul led to the martyrdom of Pothinus, the bishop of Lyons, in 177 AD. Following Pothinus' death, Irenaeus ascended to his position as bishop of Lyons.[6] His interaction with Gnostics began at an unknown date, but, critically, he wrote his polemical work *Against Heresies* while in Lyons as its bishop. Throughout his life, he maintained connections with the Church in the Greek East from his youth. He consistently referred to the authority of the Church in Rome, aligning with his commitment to apostolic succession as a fundamental basis for canonical legitimacy.[7] Irenaeus' efforts against Gnostic groups served a dual purpose: not only did he challenge these factions, but he also played a crucial role in safeguarding a unified Church canon and orthodoxy, and the Catholic Church holds him in

[4] Ibid., 3.
[5] Robert M. Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 1-2.
[6] Eric Francis Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 4.
[7] Grant, *Irenaeus*, 157.

high regard for that reason.[8] This dedication to following the lines of the apostles led him to seek guidance from Rome while in Gaul and remained a central aspect of his beliefs, evident in his polemical writings.

Adversus Haereses

Against Heresies and the texts found in the Nag Hammadi library have been meticulously translated into English. Each translator for the Nag Hammadi text used will be duly credited for their contributions as their work is referenced. Robert Grant breaks up his translation of Irenaeus' *Against Heresies* into the original five books that come down to us, separated by section content by Grant to provide clarity. A preface by Irenaeus declares that he has read the works of the Valentinian Gnostics, met with them, and has deemed it necessary to contend with their beliefs.[9] The initial book begins with a convoluted description of the purported Gnostic beliefs concerning the origin of the world and the pre-cosmic nature of God and divinity. Following that, he describes the Valentinian assertion that their Gnostic beliefs are the true inheritors of Christ's legacy, that the stories of Genesis are fabrications from the vile Demiurge, a lesser and ignorant creator god who shaped the material world, and that Christ's message was one of enlightenment and clarity against the forces of the material world. A description of the status of becoming 'perfect' by *gnosis* follows, which Irenaeus uses as an opportunity to decry the antinomianism he sees as a natural consequence of believing in one's own perfection and inability to do wrong.[10]

The Valentinian Gnostic Texts

There are a number of important primary texts found in the Nag Hammadi library to help us understand what Irenaeus was responding to in the second century. They include the *Gospel of Philip*, *A Valentinian Exposition*, the

[8] James L. Kugel, *How to read the Bible: A Guide to Scripture, Then and Now*, 525.
[9] Grant, *Irenaeus*, 57-58.
[10] Ibid., 59-65.

Tripartite Tractate, and another piece that religious scholar and historian Elaine Pagels calls the *Interpretation of Knowledge*.[11] All of these pieces are Valentinian Gnostic texts. That is, they were written by members of the sect that Irenaeus was most vehemently opposed to. The layout of the works varies, but they appear written in a broadly similar fashion to the Gospels, yet they contain wildly different content, with expositions on the creation of the world and the planes of existence that separate mortals from God. Pagels makes the case that the primary justification for Irenaeus' disagreement and polemics is due to the Valentinian assertion that bishops and the Church as a whole are merely intermediaries between the Demiurge and the unintelligent masses, and that Irenaeus sought to protect his position as bishop by decrying the Gnostics as heretics.[12] While interesting, this argument does not focus on the veracity of Irenaeus' claims regarding the legitimacy of the heirs of the apostles and serves to wave off discussion of the Valentinian claims, which were novel and poorly supported in their writings.

A more thorough comprehension of second-century Gnosticism not only deepens our understanding of Early Christianity, but also clarifies the beliefs of the Gnostics themselves, beyond the polemics of their opponents. Nearly two millennia later, the foundational doctrines of Christian belief and structure continue to bear the imprint of the era of Church Fathers, and Irenaeus' defense of Church unity stands out as an important moment in ensuring the survival of a united Church as a whole, particularly the Western Latin Church. Irenaeus' writings against the Valentinians are of paramount significance, offering the most extensive and detailed collection of sources on Gnostic beliefs from a Christian perspective.[13] In breaking down Gnostic doctrines and denouncing it as heresy, Irenaeus played a pivotal role in shaping the parameters of orthodox Christian doctrine. The significance of Irenaeus' contributions becomes even more pronounced with the discovery of the Nag Hammadi library, a treasure trove of texts. Its discovery heightened Irenaeus'

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[11] Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels*, 31-33.
[12] Ibid., 38.
[13] Grant, *Irenaeus*, 11.

role as a primary source, as various Valentinian manuscripts found in the Nag Hammadi library affirm his depiction of Gnostic beliefs. The connection between Irenaeus' writings and the recently discovered[14] texts highlight the importance of his work in elucidating the impacts of Gnostic thought in Christian history.

Valentinian Cosmology

In *Against Heresies*, Irenaeus lays out his understanding of the Valentinian view of creation. Their belief, he asserts, is that God came before all existence and that from him were generated variations of himself called Aeons. Thirty Aeons were generated before creation, and it was from these devolutions of the ultimately divine God that new forces developed with their own independence, one of which was the Demiurge, the lesser creator god who shaped the material world. The Demiurge then forged its own creation to trap divine emanations from God into the mortal world. Humanity is, therefore, an aspect of God, as all things have emanated from him, and the Demiurge is keeping the Godly emanations imprisoned in its realm, the material world.[15] The Valentinian Gnostics maintained that they were in line with Christian teaching and accepted Christ's teachings but held that they secretly hid their message in the Gospels, which only their own understood. In Book 1 of *Against Heresies*, Irenaeus writes:

This is what they say about their Pleroma[16] and the formation of their Aeons, eager to adapt things well said to things they have badly invented. They try to draw their proof not only from the Gospels and the writings of the Apostle, changing the interpretations and twisting the exegesis, but also from the law and the prophets. Since they encounter many parables and allegories which can be taken in various ways, they adjust what is ambiguous to their fiction through exegesis and lead captive, far from the truth, those who do not preserve a firm faith in one God

[14] If 1945 can be considered recent.
[15] Ibid., 59-61.
[16] Pleroma: denotes the entirety of that which is God and divine.

the Father Almighty and in one Jesus Christ the Son of God.[17]

His indignance is palpable, and he is appalled at their exegesis to integrate Gnostic beliefs into the Christian Gospels (the Gospel of Mark in this case). What follows is a rhetorical refutation of the Valentinian cosmology as Irenaeus seeks to mock of the illogical assertions employed by the Gnostics:

There exists a certain royal Pre-principle, pre-unintelligible, pre-insubstantial and pre-prerotund, which I call Gourd. With this Gourd there coexists a Power which I call Supervacuity. This Gourd and this Supervacuity, being one, emitted without emitting a Fruit visible in all its parts, edible and sweet, which language calls Cucumber. With this Cucumber there is a Power of the same substance, which I call Melon. These Powers, Gourd and Supervacuity and Cucumber and Melon, emitted the whole multitude of Valentinus' delirious Melons. For if one must accommodate ordinary language to the first Tetrad and if each one chooses the terms he wants, who would keep him from using these last terms, much more worthy of credence, in ordinary usage, and known by all?[18]

The example is noxious but pertinent. Irenaeus holds that Valentinus and his sect fabricated terms like Pleroma, Aeons, Demiurge, and others associated with the pre-worldly existence to intentionally complicate, mask, and mislead devout Christians, leading them into a trap of false wisdom.

Irenaeus' writing is emphatic, but how accurate is it to what the Valentinians believed? In the Nag Hammadi text *A Valentinian Exposition*, the anonymous author provides an almost identical cosmology as Irenaeus, with the Pleroma or God generating Aeons and new forms that eventually become created matter. However, there is one key difference between Irenaeus' explanation and the author of the *Exposition*: of the original forces that emerge from the Pleroma, or God or sometimes called logos, in the pre-cosmic existence, first is Monad, second is Dyad. That in itself is not an issue, as

[17] Ibid., 62.
[18] Ibid., 74.

Irenaeus notes.[19] However, Irenaeus attributes to Valentinus the position that all existence follows from Dyad. That material could exist in the first place required God to perceive himself in the form of coequal emanations from which the Aeons generated, which eventually led to the Demiurge's world.[20] The author of the *Exposition* takes the opposite claim, instead asserting that the foundations of the world came from Monad:

I will speak my mystery to those who are mine and to those who will be mine. Moreover it is these who have known him who is, the Father, that is, the Root of the All, the Ineffable One who dwells in the Monad. He dwells alone in silence, and silence is tranquility since, after all, he was a Monad and no one was before him.[21]

This dense explanation portrays the "Father" as the "Root of the All," highlighting that the Father exists within the Monad. Consequently, both God's emanations and the Demiurge originate from the Monad, and the entirety of created existence ultimately stems from it.

Apostolic Succession and Gnostic Origins

Irenaeus' central attack of Gnostics comes from his view that they completely lack a connection to Jesus through his disciples and apostles. He identifies Simon the Magician, otherwise known as Simon Magus, as their founder in the first century.[22] Irenaeus asserts that Simon Magus claimed to be Christ and that he sought to establish a parallel church usurping the place of God and seeking to pawn off magical tricks as divine power. He writes of the Simonians:

The priests of their mysteries live in debauchery and practice magic, as much as each one of them can. The employ exorcisms, incantations, love-philters, charms, familiar spirits, dream-

[19] Ibid., 72-73.
[20] Ibid., 62.
[21] John D. Turner, "A Valentinian Exposition," in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English. 3rd ed*, 482.
[22] Grant, *Irenaeus*, 12.

inducers, and every other magical practice. They venerate images of Simon as Zeus and Helen as Athena.[23]

Helen was Simon's mistress in life. Their veneration as Zeus and Athena is of interest as it indicates that they were a Hellenic sect as much as they were early Jewish Christians. Irenaeus then goes on to list the leaders of Simon's cult, starting with a man named Menander followed by a schism that saw a Syrian group led by one Saturninus and another in Egypt headed by a man named Basilides.[24] These groups multiplied in the nearly two centuries that followed Simon. Another Gnostic leader named Carpocrates rejected the Virgin Birth, a position taken up by a Cerinthus in Asia.[25] Gnosticism came to Rome by a certain Simonian named Cerdo and grew under his successor, Marcion.[26] From all these disparate places, Irenaeus claimed there was much discord, but from them came the Valentinians, who were the heart of his frustration:

Such are the doctrines of these people, from which, like the Lernaean hydra, a beast with multiple heads, is generated the school of Valentinus . . . From such mothers and fathers and grandparents have come Valentinus and his disciples, as their own doctrines and systems show them to be. It was necessary to provide clear proof and bring their teachings to light.[27]

In the eyes of Irenaeus, exposing the origins of the Valentinians was a decisive blow to their credibility, if not to convince his contemporary Gnostics, then certainly to warn his fellow Christians of the dangers of consorting with those outside the Church hierarchy recognized by the heirs of the apostles. The ultimate safeguard to staying away from heresy was to associate with those who were inside an official Church structure that opposed heresy and punished errant members for not aligning with Church doctrine.[28] He

[23] Ibid., 89.
[24] Ibid., 89-91.
[25] Ibid., 92-94.
[26] Ibid., 95.
[27] Ibid., 104-105.
[28] Pagels, *Gospels*, 21.

ridicules Valentinian cosmology, highlighting what he sees as incoherent and contradictory claims. For Irenaeus, Gnostic leaders like Valentinus were not merely mistaken, but deliberate deceivers who cloaked falsehoods in complexity to lure the faithful away from the truth.

While Irenaeus concentrated primarily on the issue of apostolic succession, many Gnostics either disregarded it or, like Valentinus, pursued alternative lines of succession.[29] One method of sidestepping the significance of adhering to Church leaders was prioritizing personal revelation and the attainment of *gnosis* rather than merely serving as custodians of the truths revealed to the apostles. An episode in the *Apocryphon of James* indicates the importance Gnostics placed on divine revelation compared to all else, "the twelve disciples were all sitting together and recalling what the Savior had said to each one of them, whether in secret or openly, and [setting it in order] in books."[30] Later, upon the arrival of Christ, he specifically selected Peter and James, taking them aside from the others to share information reserved exclusively for them, not meant for the knowledge of the rest.[31] Elaine Pagels reasons that the Gnostics rebuffed the orthodox claims of apostolic tradition in favor of personal revelation and *gnosis* and that this episode reflects that as "it asserts the superiority of gnostic forms of secret tradition—and hence, of gnostic teachers—over that of the priests and bishops, who can offer only 'common' tradition."[32] For God to impart wisdom and revelation on someone is to elevate them to enlightenment, the highest form of being, and therefore to elevate their position of authority among men over that of the successors of others who have achieved *gnosis*. If the apostles achieved *gnosis* and any Gnostic can achieve it too, then why follow only the apostles when a living man can experience divine revelation?

Looking at our sources, Irenaeus expresses anger at the Gnostics' attempt to inject Gnostic beliefs into the Christian Gospels, particularly the *Gospel of Mark*. Another,

[29] Ibid., 22.
[30] Francis E. Williams, "The Apocryphon of James," in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English. 3rd ed*, 30.
[31] Ibid., 31.
[32] Pagels, *Gospels*, 23.

A Valentinian Exposition, found in the Nag Hammadi text, aligns closely with Irenaeus' cosmology but diverges in the origin of forces; it posits that Monad precedes Dyad, indicating that Irenaeus may not have a full grasp on Valentinian belief, or else the Gnostics have not come to a consensus on the matter. Irenaeus challenges the Valentinian connection to Jesus through apostolic succession and traces their roots to Simon Magus, who, in the first century, claimed to be Christ and founded a parallel church. Unveiling the Valentinians' origins becomes, in his eyes, a decisive blow to their credibility, a warning to Christians about consorting with those outside the Church hierarchy. The crux of Irenaeus' argument hinges on apostolic succession as a safeguard against heresy, urging association with an official Church structure recognized by apostolic heirs. However, Gnostics prioritize personal revelation and *gnosis*, challenging the significance of adhering to traditional Church leadership. The Gnostic author of the *Apocryphon of James* holds that divine revelation, imparted by God, elevates individuals to enlightenment, questioning the exclusive authority of apostles when any Gnostic can experience such revelation.

Accuracy of Irenaeus' Claims

Irenaeus' *Against Heresies* has a surprising level of accuracy for a polemical text written nearly two millennia ago. Gnostic texts from the Nag Hammadi library corroborate many key aspects of his work, including his descriptions of the extremely dense formation of existence in Gnostic belief. He remains undoubtedly biased: a Christian bishop writing argumentative books against those he thought were usurping the place of God. Yet, despite his biases, the voracity of his claims appears to hold regarding Gnostic disregard for the authority of the priesthood and heirs of the apostles. Even still, his arguments do not appear to be directed at Gnostics themselves but rather as a tool for other clergy to stand up to heresy. This binding of the Church into a closer bond through the work of a Greek Church Father utilizing rhetoric and logic along with the usual theological arguments, especially at so early a period, is of great importance as the Church faced challenges from within and without. The Gnostics, for their part, do not hold back in expressing the complexity of their own beliefs. Irenaeus mocks the Gnostic view of the cosmos and the origins of the material world, and yet the Gnostic tradition shares much of the Pythagorean ideas regarding the origin of all things in monadic and dyadic terms.[33] Beyond polemics, much can be learned from Gnosticism, perhaps not as a reliable doctrine (especially given how little remains of the movement and its texts), but as an early attempt to make sense of divine transcendence and human suffering. Gnostic texts explore hidden meanings in scripture, personal revelation, and the broken nature of the material world. Even though the Church rejected them as heretical, Gnostic ideas still offer philosophical value by raising serious questions about evil, freedom, and the inner life.

Descendants in Western Philosophy

Understanding Gnostic beliefs has a few implications. The first point is that Gnosticism, despite its ancient origins, likely has distant counterparts in more recent history. The political scientist Eric Voegelin saw in modern political ideologies such as Communism and Nazism a way of thinking that went back to the Gnostics. Voegelin identified the rejection of a positive world discernible by way of reason because of the existence of God with a form of ideological *gnosis* where political thought leaders would invent a way of thinking that, if bought into, could guarantee a salvific apotheosis of one's class or race (in the context of Communism and Nazism).[34] He places Hegel as the origin for the re-emergence of Gnostic thought in the West and comes to the ultimate conclusion that "the nature of gnostic speculation can now be understood as the symbolic expression of an anticipation of salvation in which the power of being replaces the power of God and the parousia[35] of

[33] Osborn, *Lyons*, 70.
[34] Eric Voegelin, *Science, Politics and Gnosticism: Two essays*, 18-23.
[35] Parousia refers to the Second Coming, which entails a salvific restoration of life on Earth.

being, the Parousia of Christ."[36] According to Voegelin, adherence to a Gnostic-based political ideology entails prioritizing a higher political good above other moral principles in pursuit of a form of *gnosis* or immanent divine fulfillment, a complex, quasi-religious vision notably lacking a traditional conception of God.

The rise of Gnosticism and the contributions of early Church figures like Irenaeus have had a great impact on the intellectual orientation of the Church, shaping its trajectory in alignment with Greek and Roman philosophical traditions. This shift, explored in Jeffrey Bingham's chapter "Paideia and Polemic in Second-Century Lyons," began a transformational process in Christian theology and paideia, influencing the Church's intellectual landscape for the next millennium. Bingham focuses on Irenaeus' Hellenic education and experience with music theory, physical theory, and literary training, as he critiques heretical interpretations by encouraging reliance on religious catechesis combined with classical Greek pedagogy.[37] Further, Irenaeus not only utilized his Greek education and synthesized it with his religious beliefs, but he also led Lyons as an early bishop and wrote widely during an era of persecution. Pagels' assertion that Irenaeus was motivated to debate the Valentinians based on their opposition to episcopal authority does not hold up to the fact that his position rested on a knife's edge, as evidenced by the death of his predecessor Pothinus at the hands of Rome.[38]

Areas of further study undoubtedly include the Pythagorean origins of many Gnostic beliefs regarding the cosmos and the material world. Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophers, such as Plotinus, are immensely interesting, particularly in their relation to Gnosticism. Platonism and Gnosticism appear in many ways similar, mirrored yet directly opposed to each other. While Gnostics revile the material world, Platonists view creation as a blessing. The Demiurge is a central idea in both; the Gnostics perceive it as

[36] Ibid., 48.
[37] Jeffrey Bingam, "Paideia and Polemic in Second-Century Lyons: Irenaeus on Education," in *Pedagogy in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, 352.
[38] Osborn, *Lyons*, 4.

a devil, while the Platonists see it as a giver of life. Beyond Greek philosophy, the other Patristic works are highly promising. Tertullian and Origen wrote extensively against heresy and Gnosticism in a manner similar to that of Irenaeus. Regarding Irenaeus, his writings go beyond heresiology and focus extensively on the intersection of music and art combined in Christian religious philosophy. The extent of the Nag Hammadi library is rather impressive, with enough texts to fill volumes. Further exploration of each Gnostic sect that Irenaeus mentions and finding texts in the Nag Hammadi library that correspond with their views would be very intriguing. Combining all of this for a fuller view of Western philosophy and taking it from Antiquity through to the modern period would be highly interesting as well. Political science research such as Eric Voegelin's may be a stretch, but then again, so were Hegel's beliefs.

The Legacy of Irenaeus

In the formative years of Christianity during the second century, the fledgling faith grappled with its identity. With the passing of the last apostles, their legacy persisted through the burgeoning episcopacy. Despite the Church's infancy, it faced external pressures, enduring persecution that perpetuated crisis. As Christianity expanded, the infusion of Hellenic philosophy into Christian communities gave rise to the Gnostics, posing a significant challenge to Christian orthodoxy. Amidst this, Saint Irenaeus of Lyons emerged as a crucial figure. Recognizing the potential threats to the Church's future, he undertook the task of condemning the Gnostics, particularly the Valentinian sect, as heretics. Irenaeus shaped early Christian doctrine and vehemently defended Church unity against Gnostic schismatics. Irenaeus' response to Gnostic beliefs is encapsulated in his polemical work *Against Heresies*. By scrutinizing his critique alongside Valentinian texts from the Nag Hammadi library, the accuracy of Irenaeus' portrayal of Gnostic cosmology becomes evident. His commitment to apostolic succession and ecclesiastical unity, rooted in his upbringing in Smyrna and his denunciation of Gnostic figures like Simon Magus, solidifies his position as a towering figure in the development of orthodox Christian theology and education. Irenaeus' legacy endures as a great thinker, polemic, and defender of the faith during a difficult period in the Church's history.

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Their Place Here: The Politicization of Gender and the Involvement of Women in the Spanish-American War and the Vietnam War

Delaney Cram

In the United States, calls for war have traditionally been calls for the reinforcement of idealized masculinity both within American society and on the global stage. Just before the turn of the twentieth century, on the precipice of war with Spain, House Representative Albert S. Berry of Kentucky echoed the attitudes from both the U.S. government and the media of the time: that Americans needed "a little blood-letting" as he believed it "would advance manhood and honor."[1] Congressman Berry did not treat violence as an unfortunate byproduct of war in his statement, but rather as something which was welcomed and even sought out as a means of promoting ideals that had been associated with manhood. This language emphasized how engagement in conflicts was capitalized on to assert a national identity—specifically, one that reinforced traditional gender hierarchies through placing power in masculinity and associating weakness with femininity. Gendered rhetoric used in relation to the Spanish-American War and the Vietnam War demonstrated societal anxieties about a shift in gender norms. Though these wars were separated by more than half a century, both conflicts demonstrate how war was used to reinforce gender hierarchies and attempt to combat the perceived feminization of American society. However, despite this attempt to undermine femininity, women proved themselves as individuals invaluable and integral during wartime, whether as advocates, nurses, or war correspondents, making their exclusion an unacceptable oversight in understanding the nature of these conflicts.

On the brink of war in April of 1898, world-famous circus entertainer Annie Oakley wrote to President William McKinley that she would supply him with "fifty lady sharpshooters" for use in the war effort who would "furnish their own arms and ammunition," but her offer was dismissed and patronized in newspaper publications.[2] This

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[1] Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2000, 36.
[2] *Document 4: Annie Oakley to President McKinley, 5 April 1898.* Included in *How Did Women's War Relief in the Spanish-American War*

condescending dismissal of women combatants in the Spanish-American War further strengthened American society's belief in the gendered rhetoric that war was solely an expression of masculine ideals. This rhetoric was in response to a fear of societal change that had arisen with the New Woman of American society. The New Woman was an image developed of women in the late nineteenth century that presented women as having the same capabilities as men, affording some American women, primarily young, white women, more opportunities for independence and agency in society than had been considered appropriate in the past. This image emerged several decades after the Civil War and soon fueled the fears that the New Woman ideal would usurp societal gender roles and feminize American society.[3] This fear came from a combination of aversion to change and a perception that femininity was inherently weak and would in turn weaken the United States as an emerging global power. This perception that a nation had to be "manly" and well-acquainted with war to expand its influence was likely influenced by observations of the British Empire.[4] War was seen as a way to combat the broadening of accepted roles for American women in the late nineteenth century by bringing the nation together in opposition to a suggested threat and emphasizing not only the necessity of men, but also the exclusion of women in political and military spheres. Even military nurses, a position historically famous for being predominantly occupied by women, was at first restricted to men within the army until the suffering from illness and injury became too great during the Spanish-American War.[5]

The limiting of war to being a male space, at least in its presentation to the public, is not unique to wars of the nineteenth century. During the Vietnam War, though gender roles had to a certain extent progressed in the United States since the 1890s, the inclusion of women in any aspect of war

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Alter Traditions of Female Benevolence and Pave the Way for Women's Formal Military Service?, Documents selected and interpreted by Carolyn Strange. (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 2011).

[3] Hoganson. *Fighting for American Manhood*, 12.

[4] Hoganson. *Fighting for American Manhood*, 11.

[5] Mullenbach, Cheryl. *Women of the Spanish-American War*. Lanham, MD: Lyons Press, 2022, 17-18.

was still subject to scrutiny and controversy. Pulitzer-Prize winning reporter and major Vietnam War correspondent Peter Arnett admitted that he and other male reporters "were uninterested in helping" their female counterparts and would "disparage the abilities of women," with the justification that "the war was being fought by men against men and women had no place there."[6] On the surface, war was presented to the American people as a manly endeavor, one that women had no place in unless the nation was in the most grave of straits. As in the Spanish-American War, the Vietnam War was emphasized as being a war fought by and for men, with the influence of femininity and women often overlooked. Yet, in both the Spanish-American War and the Vietnam War—two wars with imperialistic intentions and the contradictory, masculinized notions of conquering and heroism—women not only asserted their own voices and agency, but were themselves politicized and symbolized to incite action toward the war effort from the American public.

In spite of war being perceived in both the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries as being distinctly masculine, women were engaged in roles alongside, and sometimes superior to, men in both the Spanish-American War and the Vietnam War. During the Spanish-American War, those in favor of the war advocated for it in part due to the desire to emphasize a masculine culture in the United States. Yet even before the war began, women were mobilizing to take part in it. In April of 1898, Vice President of the National Society for the Daughters of the American Revolution, Ellen Hardin Walworth, demanded that "patriotic women" come together "to aid and encourage" the war effort as volunteer nurses. While Walworth stipulated that married women could only volunteer if they did not have other household or child-caring duties, she emphasized that "auxiliaries may include women of all ages and condition and also patriotic children."[7] While the specification that women

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[6] Becker, Elizabeth. *You Don't Belong Here: How Three Women Rewrote the Story of War*. New York, NY: PublicAffairs, 2022, 28.
[7] *Document 3A: "She Calls for Nurses," Chicago Tribune, 2 April 1898, in Women's National War Relief Press Clippings, Walworth Memorial Museum Archives, Saratoga Historical Society, Saratoga Springs, N.Y.*

could only volunteer if they did not have domestic obligations—implicitly restricting an otherwise broad call to action—Walworth's call further breaks the bounds of the already expanding gender roles of the time when she specified that there is no age limit or requirements around marriage among volunteers. Though the New Woman ideal, which was just beginning to emerge, emphasized independence and agency only for young, unmarried women, Walworth drew no such boundaries in her advocacy for women volunteers.[8]

Despite initial skepticism toward female involvement in a war supposedly elevating manhood and rejecting American feminization, the need for nurses soon became too critical to bar women from the field. As the tolls of sick and wounded soldiers continued to climb in camps that "were dirty, disorganized, short of supplies, and breeding grounds for deadly diseases," women entered the war as both contract and Red Cross nurses.[9] Women even took on roles of leadership in war-related medical care. In July of 1898, graduated nurse Esther Voorhees Hasson was chosen to head a sixty-bed ward on the military hospital ship *Relief*, where she "was assisted by two male nurses and two army hospital corpsmen."[10] Hasson exemplified the general shift in attitude toward female nurses in the Spanish-American War as the months wore on. Though she remarked that in the beginning of her service "army physicians were much opposed to having women on board" she reported that soon "they would take twice as many if they could only find quarters for them."[11] The work of female nurses in the Spanish-American War would have long-term implications for the future of women in military service. In charge of the recruitment of nurses into the war, a graduate from what would become

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Included in *How Did Women's War Relief in the Spanish-American War Alter Traditions of Female Benevolence and Pave the Way for Women's Formal Military Service?*, Documents selected and interpreted by Carolyn Strange. (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 2011).

[8] Lisa Fine, lecture for History 314, 16 January 2024, Michigan State University.

[9] Mullenbach. *Women of the Spanish-American War*, 20.

[10] Mullenbach. *Women of the Spanish-American War*, 45.

[11] Mullenbach. *Women of the Spanish-American War*, 46.

Georgetown University's medical school, Dr. Anita Newcomb McGee, provided testimony in favor of the continued presence of female nurses in the military after the conclusion of the war. This advocacy led to the creation of the Female Army Nurse Corps in 1901. McGee testified in 1900 that many of the women nurses "had a better training than the vast majority of the men available for the Hospital Corps" and that women nurses permanently employed in armies such as Britain's "have been very satisfactory."[12] The contributions of women nurses in the Spanish-American War provided the foundations for an established inclusion of the representation of women in military medicine in the United States.

At the end of the nineteenth century, women were able to enter war in an official capacity through the nursing field, a profession associated with caregiving and thus supported by traditional gender roles. However, one of the other positions women took on was working as war correspondents. The Spanish-American war featured female war correspondents, however their work did not have the same level of impact for women and war as nursing did, with women reporters being treated as little more than a curiosity in the eyes of the public, with Americans being "often surprised to see female bylines attached to articles" in newspapers detailing the war.[13] However, the position of women war correspondents in the Vietnam War differed significantly from the Spanish-American War since war in Vietnam had never been officially declared by the United States Congress. This meant that usual war procedures were not always enforced. In the past, a law heavily enforced in World War II prohibited women unaffiliated with the military, including journalists, from being on certain grounds

[12] *Document 20A: Testimony of Dr. Anita Newcomb McGee, Report of the Commission Appointed by the President to Investigate the Conduct of the War Department In the War With Spain, Vol. 7 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), pp. 3170-3171, 3179*. Included in *How Did Women's War Relief in the Spanish-American War Alter Traditions of Female Benevolence and Pave the Way for Women's Formal Military Service?*, Documents selected and interpreted by Carolyn Strange. (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 2011).
[13] Mullenbach. *Women of the Spanish-American War*, 115.

of war. However, during the Vietnam War, this law was "left dormant" due to the technicality of the nature of America's involvement in Vietnam.[14] This not only meant that women had no restrictions on their movement in battlefields, as did their male counterparts, but they also had no restrictions on what they could record and publish. With the conflict being essentially on display to the public, war correspondents flooded Vietnam.

The usual competition between reporters became even more zealous when more women entered the field. As Arnett had suggested, many male war correspondents neglected to treat their women colleagues with the same standards and respect that they otherwise demonstrated in their field. War photographer Catherine Leroy struggled to earn the respect of her peers and faced attempts to have her press credentials stripped from her. She was accused of being "pushy, ambitious" and "a hothead" when she "was expected to be ladylike."[15] Women were held to different standards than men, even while they held the same job, and the different expectations based around gender were held up as an excuse to remove women like Leroy from the war and lessen the competition. One of Leroy's colleagues told her outright that she was intruding on "a boy's job" and rumors were spread about her character damaging the reputations of other journalists and photographers in the eyes of the military, though "a male reporter engaging in such behavior would have generated no protest whatsoever."[16] The legal freedom that women war correspondents had in the Vietnam War was threatening to their male colleagues who were already competing amongst themselves. In retaliation, male war correspondents exploited the breaking of gendered barriers that women like Leroy were engaging in to garner opposition toward women in these perceived masculine spaces.

Although the fear of the feminization of American society was not as overt in the Vietnam War era as it was in the Spanish-American War, this anxiety was still implicitly present and manifested in similar ways. As in the Spanish-

[14] Becker. *You Don't Belong Here*, 18.
[15] Becker. *You Don't Belong Here*, 25.
[16] Becker. *You Don't Belong Here*, 26.

American War, women were by no means welcomed openly into the conflict, especially in capacities that were not considered conducive to established gender roles. Leroy's photo editor first suggested that she "concentrate on the Vietnamese and life in Saigon" rather than reporting on the militarized aspects of the conflict, because he perceived her as "a timid, skinny, and very fragile young girl" who did not seem fit to work in the same conditions as male photographers.[17] To counteract these ascribed perceptions of her and her capabilities, Leroy had to prove herself to be not only equal to the men in her field, but even more daring and adept than them. For instance, Leroy's photographs stood out because of her tenacity to get as close to the action as possible. Early in 1967, she jumped out of a plane alongside the 173rd Airborne Brigade, documenting "the only airborne U.S. assault of the Vietnam War" and being "the only accredited journalist to jump."[18] Women proved themselves invaluable and irreplaceable in American wars. To be included in the first place, they had to.

In both the Spanish-American War and the Vietnam War, women not only took on various roles within the conflicts, but used their positions to bring details of the battlegrounds and military camps to light for the American public. In 1972, after years of reporting on the war and civilians in Vietnam, journalist Frances FitzGerald published a book entitled *Fire in the Lake*. This work disclosed the details of the war to the public, but from the perspective of Vietnamese history and colonization. FitzGerald emphasized that American involvement in Vietnam served no meaningful purpose, and the war remained a futile endeavor for Americans since she saw the war as unwinnable.[19] The decision to market her book toward the larger public rather than an academic audience was crucial in gaining publicity and in adding kindling to the turmoil that had already been rising against continued American involvement in Vietnam. Though other books on the war had been released in the same year, including one by a previous Pulitzer-Prize winning male journalist and seasoned war correspondent, FitzGerald's book

[17] Becker. *You Don't Belong Here*, 13.
[18] Becker. *You Don't Belong Here*, 3-4.
[19] Becker. *You Don't Belong Here*, 202-203.

was the only one honored with major accolades, including the 1973 Pulitzer Prize.[20] FitzGerald's work was integral in exposing the public to the true nature and context of what the United States was involved in and became a driving force for withdrawal. Though the inclusion of women on the battlegrounds was highly contested and criticized during the Vietnam War, their voices remained influential in the conflict regardless.

FitzGerald's vocal protest of the war of her time was not achieved easily, however. Her ability to write the book in the first place was the result of having access to an education and the field itself—privileges that women living during the Spanish-American War likely did not have, as they would not have come easily in an environment that was more overtly masculinized and patriarchal such as the United States during that time. In the *Boston Times* April 1898 issue, just weeks before war was declared against Spain, an article claimed that "It required no great amount of courage for the man to open wide his vocal machinery" in favor of the war, because a man who supported the war "had no enemies nearer than Havana." A woman who wanted "to raise her voice for peace," on the other hand, was at risk of encouraging wrath or ridicule from her husband "and most of the remainder of his sex."[21] American women of the late nineteenth century faced greater retribution for opposing the Spanish-American War than women who opposed the Vietnam War in the 1970s, and were not even necessarily able to express their honest opinions about it to their own homes and families. However, this article's emphasis on the acknowledgement of the difficulties women faced in advocating against the majority, and particularly against the men in their life, seemed to praise women for remaining resolute on the side of peace, perhaps

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[20] Becker. *You Don't Belong Here*, 204.

[21] *Document 3C: "Patriotic Women for War," Boston Times, 10 April 1898, in Women's National War Relief Press Clippings, Walworth Memorial Museum Archives, Saratoga Historical Society, Saratoga Springs, N.Y.* Included in *How Did Women's War Relief in the Spanish-American War Alter Traditions of Female Benevolence and Pave the Way for Women's Formal Military Service?*, Documents selected and interpreted by Carolyn Strange. (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 2011).

because this advocacy for peace further reinforced established gendered proclivities in regard to war. As such, the public discord of the era was not devoid of the voices of women seeking to incite change, and, in some regards, they were successful. In July of 1898, Red Cross nurse Janet Jennings approached the press and reported on the lack of preparation and supplies for ill and injured soldiers aboard the *Seneca*, the transport ship from the *Relief* to New York. She justified speaking out with the rationalization that "To fail to do so would be to fail in my duty to our soldiers."[22] Jennings had to contextualize her reprimands from the perspective of a caregiver in order to be taken seriously, but her accusations were heard. Her allegations were published in the *New York World* in the news section, rather than the women's section, which prompted the government to investigate the situation.[23] The first-hand account Jennings gave of the suffering of soldiers and the government's failure to provide them adequate care was not only seen by the American public, but contributed to changes in state policy on care for soldiers and provided the opportunity for Jennings' insights to sway public opinion on the war.

Though women fought to have their voices heard and to serve in various roles in both the Spanish-American and Vietnam War, during both conflicts the female body was sexualized and politicized as a representation of the conquest and defense of foreign nations. Leading up to the Spanish-American War, newspaper publications "depicted Cuban women as pure and virtuous victims" and "Spanish soldiers as 'effeminate aristocrats' and 'savage rapists.'"[24] This gendered juxtaposition of the involved countries was used to reduce the impending conflict to a story of a damsel in distress, in which Spain was a villain taking advantage of the

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[22] *Document 10A: Janet Jennings, "Some One Blundered–-Wounded Suffer," New York World, 25 July 1898, p. 3.* Included in *How Did Women's War Relief in the Spanish-American War Alter Traditions of Female Benevolence and Pave the Way for Women's Formal Military Service?*, Documents selected and interpreted by Carolyn Strange. (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 2011).
[23] *Document 10A: Janet Jennings, "Some One Blundered—Wounded Suffer,"* Included in *How Did Women's War Relief in the Spanish-American War Alter Traditions of Female Benevolence*, Strange.
[24] Hoganson. *Fighting for American Manhood*, 11.

purity of the helpless colonial woman. Portraying Cuban-Spanish relations in this light also gave the United States a heroic and noble pretext for getting involved.[25] The motives for the war, as illustrated in public political spaces, berated and belittled femininity as weak, using the characteristic and its feminine associations to simultaneously scorn Spain and pity the plight of the pure and powerless Cubans.

Though entering conflict with Spain was meant to draw Americans away from femininity and other aspects related to womanhood, the war orbited around these ideals and perceptions ascribed to women. The Vietnam War upended the myth of the American soldier as a noble, gentlemanly figure, disrupting previous masculinized justifications for war. Far from the depicted honorable heroism of American soldiers saving the virtues of Cuban women in the Spanish-American War, as hundreds of thousands of American soldiers flooded Vietnam in the mid-to-late 1960s, sexual encounters between the American military and Vietnamese women increased dramatically. These sexual encounters and attachments led to fraying relations between the countries. The Republic of Vietnam saw the practices "as a risk to traditional life," whereas the United States did not see the behavior as being of particular concern, at least initially.[26] Women were again at the center of the moral questions around war—this time as a tension in continuing alliances, rather than attraction. In fact, relations between American soldiers and Vietnamese women would be an ongoing issue throughout the conflict, due to Vietnamese cultural beliefs proclaiming prostitution to be immoral, the overwhelming rise of children born out of these relationships, and the cases where an American soldier and a Vietnamese woman wanted to get married and more often than not could not enter the United States together.[27] The understanding that Vietnamese women would not actively participate in or comment on these wars, but merely act as representatives of conquest (and sometimes immorality) demonstrates the

[25] Hoganson. *Fighting for American Manhood*, 61.
[26] Boczar, Amanda. *An American Brothel: Sex and Diplomacy during the Vietnam War*. Ithaca New York, New York: Cornell University Press, 2022, 49.
[27] Boczar. *An American Brothel*, 133.

falsity of Arnett's aforementioned statement, both in the context of Vietnam and generations before. These wars were fought predominantly by men, but they were motivated, documented, and complicated by women.

In both the Spanish-American War and the Vietnam War, women actively participated in traditional and non-traditional roles, persevering in the face of discriminatory opposition and finding ways to voice their opinions and exert their influence. Women were not able to participate in all of the same capacities that their male counterparts could, nor could they enter any aspect of war with ease. During both wars, women could only enter from the perspectives and skill sets assigned by traditional gender roles, and even then, regularly faced dismissal and derision. However, their personal voices, actions, and even representations were so integral to both wars that leaving out their involvement would spectacularly fail to truly understand either conflict.

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The History of Wet Nursing in the Western World: Societal Views on Domestic Medicine and the Value of Motherhood

Katharine Henige

Introduction

Domestic medicine is one of the most commonly overlooked aspects of the medical field. This is especially true of medical history, with domestic medicine often being practiced by mothers and enslaved women in the home. An essential component of women's practice of medicine in the home is childcare and nursing. A wet nurse is a woman who breastfeeds another woman's child, continuing to lactate due to uninterrupted nursing of a child. Despite changing societal views on the practice of wet nursing throughout history, it remained an ever-present form of medicine within the home for thousands of years. This paper will outline the history of the role of wet nurses throughout the Western hemisphere from approximately 2000 BCE to the present day, explain the changing societal views of the practice, and emphasize the value of domestic medicine and treatment of motherhood as a commodity, both in the medical community and within familial structures.

Ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome

Evidence of wet nursing can be found in Israel as early as 2000 BCE. While breastfeeding by the mother was standard practice, wet nursing was utilized when the infant's mother died during childbirth or experienced difficulty lactating.[1] In ancient Egypt, in the midst of high maternal and infant mortality rates, wet nurses were honored for providing life-saving nutrition to orphaned infants. Depictions of wet nurses include headdresses similar to that of Hathor, the goddess of fertility, emphasizing their near God-like status in Egyptian society. While the lower classes only used wet nurses if the child was orphaned or the mother could not produce milk, wet nursing was standard practice among

[1] Emily E. Stevens, Thelma E. Patrick, and Rita Pickler, "A History of Infant Feeding," *Journal of Perinatal Education* 18, no. 2 (January 1, 2009): 32–39, https://doi.org/10.1624/105812409x426314.

royalty.[2] *The Papyrus Ebers*, a medical encyclopedia written in Egypt in 1550 BCE, suggests remedies for lactation failure, but wet nursing was the recommended alternative.[3] The ideal wet nurse would breastfeed one child at a time, adhere to a strict diet, and not become pregnant.[4] Emphasis was also placed on the quality of the milk, which would be evaluated by smell.

By around 950 BCE, women of high social status in Greece frequently used wet nurses, marking the transition from wet nursing as needed when the mother's milk wasn't available to a lifestyle choice determined by status. In the Roman Empire, the wealthy often purchased unwanted or abandoned infants to work as slaves in the future, entering into written contracts with enslaved women to feed the child in exchange for pay.[5] During the Classical Era in both Greece and Rome, these wet nurses were usually responsible for childcare until the child reached adulthood.[6] Ancient physicians, such as Galen and Oreibasius, wrote about the necessary qualifications for wet nurses, including age, physical fitness, and breast milk quality.[7] Women were only allowed to work as wet nurses if a drop of breastmilk dropped on a sweet bay leaf retained its form, as this was considered nutritionally superior to more watery milk. Additionally, pregnant and menstruating women were not employed, as their breast milk was also believed to be compromised.[8] One of the best sources outlining ancient Greek views on wet nurses and the selection of a wet nurse comes from a twenty-three-chapter treatise on gynecology by Soranus of Ephesus, a Greek physician born in the first century AD.

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[2] Kelley L Baumgartel, Larissa Sneering, and Susan M Cohen, "From Royal Wet Nurses to Facebook: The Evolution of Breastmilk Sharing," *Breastfeeding Review : Professional Publication of the Nursing Mothers' Association of Australia* 24(3), no. 25–32 (2016).
[3] Stevens, et al., "A History of Infant Feeding," 33.
[4] Baumgarte, et al. "From Royal Wet Nurses to Facebook," 3.
[5] Stevens, et al., "A History of Infant Feeding," 33.
[6] Baumgarte, et al. "From Royal Wet Nurses to Facebook," 3.
[7] Stevens, et al., "A History of Infant Feeding," 33.
[8] Baumgarte, et al. "From Royal Wet Nurses to Facebook," 8.

To be sure, other things being equal, it is better to feed the child with maternal milk; for this is more suited to it, and the mothers become more sympathetic towards the offspring, and it is more natural to be fed from the mother after parturition just as before parturition. But if anything prevents it one must choose the best wet nurse, lest the mother grow prematurely old, having spent herself through the daily suckling.[9]

The Greek view on wet nursing is illustrated by Soranus' explanation: the mother's milk is ideal, but wet nursing is acceptable if the mother is unable to produce. He also describes in detail the selection of a wet nurse, which he summarizes in a passage:

One should choose a wet nurse not younger than twenty nor older than forty years, who has already given birth twice or thrice, who is healthy, of good habitus, of large frame, and of a good color. Her breasts should be of medium size, lax, soft and unwrinkled, the nipples neither big nor too small and neither too compact nor too porous and discharging milk overabundantly. She should be self-controlled, sympathetic and not ill-tempered, a Greek, and tidy.[10]

He goes on to justify the necessity for these traits, emphasizing physical health in particular:

She should be in her prime because younger women are ignorant in the rearing of children and their minds are still somewhat careless and childish; while older ones yield a more watery milk because of the atony of the body. In women in their prime, however, every natural function is at its highest. She should already have given birth twice or thrice, because women with their first child are as yet unpractised in the rearing of children and have breasts whose structure is still infantile, small and too compact; while those who have delivered often have nursed children often and, being wrinkled, produce thin milk which is not at its best. Because healthful and nourishing milk comes

[9] Soranus, *Soranus' Gynecology*, trans. Owsei Temkin (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956), 82.
[10] Soranus, *Soranus' Gynecology,* 82.

from a healthy body, unwholesome and worthless milk from a sickly one; just as water which flows through worthless soil is itself rendered worthless, spoiled by the qualities of its basin.[11]

Many medical writings on wet nurses, such as the above, were produced during the Classical era and beyond, largely due to the expansion of wet nursing as a profession and a viable option for infant feeding for upper-class women. The upper class became selective about the women chosen to nourish their children as motherhood became an economic commodity.

Middle Ages and Beyond

Medieval friars like Bartholomeus Anglicus wrote similar treatises to those of the ancient scholars that approved of the use of wet nurses, yet recommended specific qualities and duties expected of them.[12] Similar to the sweet bay leaf test, the most common practice for evaluating breast milk in the Middle Ages was to perform the same evaluation on a rock or sword, with the milk ideally holding its shape. Physicians defined the ideal wet nurse as young and brunette, having birthed only one son, and demonstrating good habits regarding diet, exercise, demeanor, and sexual activity, all of which were believed to impact the quality of the milk, and therefore the health of the child. Wet nurses were selected by the father and lived with the family in the home.[13]

Significant objections to wet nursing appeared in the Middle Ages, with a common belief that physical and psychological characteristics could be transmitted through breast milk. Objections persisted through the Renaissance, with concern surrounding whether the practice would make a child experience more love and attachment to their wet nurse than to their mother. While feeding by the mother was viewed as far superior, wet nursing remained acceptable as the best option for infants who had no mother or a mother with an inability to lactate, and wet nursing was a legitimate and well-

[11] Soranus, *Soranus' Gynecology,* 82.
[12] Stevens, et al., "A History of Infant Feeding," 33.
[13] Baumgarte, et al. "From Royal Wet Nurses to Facebook," 4.

paying job for many lower-class women.

Many women during the Renaissance would birth a child and then get rid of it in order to find work as a wet nurse, so regulations were put in place to prevent this practice. In France, wet nurses had to register with a municipal employment bureau and were prohibited from working as a wet nurse until their own child was nine months old. Wealthy women often hired wet nurses so that they could maintain their figure, attend social events, and wear fashionable clothing.

By the late eighteenth century, the Industrial Revolution led to more women working outside the home. Without the ability to be with their infants all day, working-class women began hiring poor women as wet nurses. Wet nurses were required to obtain a license and report the death of an infant in their care, but this brought little change to the high infant mortality rate. Additionally, some practices attributed to wet nurses were controversial, such as the use of opiates to quiet crying children.[14]

Slavery in the United States

In the United States, enslaved women were often forced to breastfeed the infants of their owners. Even as the practice of wet nursing began to decline throughout the western world, it remained common in the American South as African American women were forced to compromise their own motherhood to nurse other children. Enslaved women were often forced to wean their own children off of breastfeeding by around six months of age, while they fed white children often until the age of two. While the scope of such practices within the institution of slavery can be hazy, the custom of enslaved women weaning their own children early is supported by primary sources such as Harriet Jacobs' account of her childhood, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl.*

My mother's mistress was the daughter of my grandmother's mistress. She was the foster sister of my mother; they were both nourished at my grandmother's breast. In fact, my mother had been weaned at three months old, that the babe of the mistress

[14] Stevens, et al., "A History of Infant Feeding," 34.

might obtain sufficient food. They played together as children; and, when they became women, my mother was a most faithful servant to her whiter foster sister.[15]

Wet nursing was so relied upon by slave-owning families that new mothers would seek out enslaved women to nurse their children if there were no lactating women under their employ. By forcing Black women to nurse their children, white slave owners reinforced the idea that the needs of their children were to be prioritized over a woman's care of her own child. Wet nursing contributed to the development of the demeaning "mammy" stereotype, the racist amalgam of enslaved women who served as surrogate mothers for white children. Through the exploitation of their labor, enslaved women often performed all the work of childcare but were still considered far inferior to the child's actual mother.[16]

Decline in Wet Nursing

By the turn of the twentieth century, wet nursing was no longer common, partially due to the idea of breastfeeding by the mother as a religious obligation. Following the Reformation, mothers who hired wet nurses were accused of doing so for selfish reasons, including maintenance of a social life, vanity and the preference for fashionable clothing, and lack of love for her child and God.[17]

The nineteenth century saw dramatic advancements in artificial feeding technology. Animal milk, particularly cows' milk, became a more easily accessible alternative to breastmilk, and food preservation technology also offered

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[15] Harriet A. Jacobs and Evie Shockley, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: Written by Herself*, version Second Edition (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1860), https://gel.sites.uiowa.edu/sites/gel.sites.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg_uploads/jacobs_incidents_in_the_life.pdf.

[16] Emily West and R. J. Knight, "Mothers' Milk: Slavery, Wet-Nursing, and Black and White Women in the Antebellum South," *Journal of Southern History* 83, no. 1 (2017): 37–68, https://doi.org/10.1353/soh.2017.0001. [17] Baumgarte, et al. "From Royal Wet Nurses to Facebook," 4.

[17] Baumgarte, et al. "From Royal Wet Nurses to Facebook," 4.

more food options for infants, namely evaporated, powdered, and condensed milk. Chemist Justus von Liebig developed an infant food in 1865 made of milk, wheat and malt flower, and sodium bicarbonate that was considered the perfect sustenance for infants. In 1845, the first rubber nipple was developed, which was a drastic improvement from previous artificial feeding devices and allowed the use of the baby bottle to mimic actual nursing.[18] These viable alternatives to breastfeeding meant that wet nursing was no longer the standard option.

Modern Prevalence

Wet nurses are rarely, if ever, used in developed nations in the twenty-first century. Low infant and maternal mortality rates have reduced the demand for the feeding of orphaned children, and the availability of more affordable, accessible, and nutritious infant formula is a more convenient alternative when the mother cannot lactate. While women no longer nurse other children, those who overproduce often donate their milk to breast milk banks. Donor milk is often used for premature infants, who benefit greatly from human milk, and whose mothers' milk is often in short supply. Breast milk donors undergo similar tests and must meet similar qualifications to those required in previous eras, although modern standards are based on more empirical research. Donors must test negative for diseases including HIV, HLTV, hepatitis B/C, and syphilis, not smoke or use illegal drugs or tobacco products, not have had an organ transplant or blood transfusion within the past year, and not regularly consume more than two ounces of alcohol per day.

Peer-to-peer milk sharing is another modern adaptation of wet nursing that can be used by mothers who underproduce milk but whose infants are not premature. Women can sell their milk directly to other mothers without the intervention of a third-party milk bank. While the direct sale of milk allows for more accessibility, it also poses numerous health risks due to the unknown origins of the milk without the safety measures practiced and tests performed by

[18] Stevens, et al., "A History of Infant Feeding," 35.

legitimate milk banks. Interestingly, milk donors today have more education and higher reported incomes than milk recipients, which is the reverse of historical wet nursing, in which lower class women would nurse the children of upper-class mothers.[19]

Conclusion

The history of wet nursing in the western world exemplifies the changing societal norms and cultural views regarding motherhood and illustrates the importance of medicine practiced within the home. The practice has been a common thread through various eras, cultures, and societies in the raising of children. A custom beginning in ancient societies and existing in Europe through centuries, its practice continued in the Americas with the colonization of new territory by European powers, eventually becoming increasingly exploitative as wet nursing was demanded of enslaved women. While not commonly practiced in Europe or the Americas today, breastmilk continues to be a valued commodity, emphasizing both the cultural and monetary value of motherhood and domestic medicine.

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Plot or Paranoia? Conspiracy in New York

Alex Reed

On April 5, 1741, the streets of Manhattan, New York, were laid to waste as block after block went down in flames. The once proud Fort George had similarly been reduced to rubble a few months earlier.[1] A string of inconspicuous fires originally thought unrelated now seemed part of a much darker venture. Fear consumed the people of Manhattan as talk of a slave rebellion spread throughout the city. Paranoia blossomed as a simple rumor evolved into an elaborate plot. The effort to uncover and foil the alleged conspiracy would result in a hundred and fifty arrests, thirty-four executions, and nearly eighty people exiled.[2] The New York Conspiracy of 1741 had begun. Although localized acts of larceny and conspiracy did occur, the existence of a grand scheme as described by the New York Supreme Court was not inspired by evidence and rational thought but rather by a damaging confession reward system and a climate of fear and paranoia.

This paper will leverage legal documents, newspaper articles, private letters, and existing scholarly work to demonstrate that the court's conspiracy theory was not in line with reality. To achieve this goal two areas must be considered: how the trial was conducted and why history played out in such a manner. To answer these questions, we must pay special attention to the broader historical context in which the 1741 trial occurred. By understanding the events leading up to the trial, we can grasp how the people of Manhattan were willing to judge so many based on so little. Additionally, the conduct of the court must be analyzed within the appropriate eighteenth-century legal standards. A recurrent critique facing historians reviewing bygone legal cases is that many scholars possess neither the requisite knowledge nor experience to make sweeping judgments

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[1] Horsmanden, Daniel. *The New-York conspiracy, or, A history of the Negro plot, with the journal of the proceedings against the conspirators at New-York in the years -2*. New-York: Printed and published by Southwick & Pelsue, no. 3, New-street, 1810. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/01014322/., 17.

[2] Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "New York Slave Rebellion of 1741." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, September 26, 2020. https://www.britannica.com/New-York-slave-rebellion-of-1741.

about the legality of a past trial or conviction.[3] By rectifying the possible shortcomings of past accounts of the trial, this paper will further expand upon past works by taking the historical legal environment into account.

The most extensive primary source documenting the trial is an account by Daniel Horsmanden. Horsmanden provides a lengthy telling of the trial, clocking in at almost four hundred pages. Horsmanden was one of the lead investigators during the trial and many suspect his scholarship was a retrospective vindication of his actions.[4] While this source is indispensable in deciphering the events of 1741, it must be used critically.

One must understand who is claimed to have conspired and for what purpose before deciding the merit of said conspiracy. Thus, a succinct summary of the most salient events precipitating the trial is warranted. On February 28, 1741, the home of a local merchant, James Hogg, was robbed. Two enslaved people, Ceaser and Prince, were accused of committing robbery and selling the stolen goods to tavern owner John Hughson and his wife Sarah. The Hughsons and their white indentured servant, Mary Burton, were arrested in connection with the crime. Nearly two weeks later, on March 8, Fort George caught fire. The leveling of the provisional governor's residence and a crucial military structure was unnerving for the populace, to say the least. The inferno was blamed on a clumsy plumber who had improperly used live coal while working on a gutter. Throughout the rest of March, two more houses caught fire, with one razed completely. Neither fire was attributed to arson at the time.[5]

The start of April brought more than May flowers for the people of Manhattan. On April 4 and 5, four new fires

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[3] Davis, Thomas J. "Conspiracy and Credibility: Look Who's Talking, about What: Law Talk and Loose Talk." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (2002): 167–74. https://doi.org/10.2307/3491646., 167.

[4] "The New York Conspiracy of 1741 | Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History." n.d. https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/spotlight-primary-source/new-york-conspiracy-1741.

[5] Szasz, Ferenc M. "THE NEW YORK SLAVE REVOLT OF 1741: A RE-EXAMINATION." *New York History* 48, no. 3 (1967): 215–30. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23162951. 219.

ravaged the city. Unlike the past conflagration, which was viewed as an unwelcome gift from Mother Nature, this fresh wave of fire was accompanied by rumors of malice. The near-constant state of burning throughout the city cultivated panic. Whispers of live coal being planted in haystacks in a deliberate act of arson caused dread among the populace. Many began to suspect that something greater than a simple climate was in motion. Those that could chose to pack up and leave. Those who remained demanded the authorities take action.

With Manhattan ablaze, investigators continued to question those arrested for larceny in February. Of particular interest was the Hughson's indentured servant, Mary Burton. Burton had teased the fact that she might know what had caused the series of unrelenting fires. To say this excited the magistrates would be an understatement. After the authorities promised her inordinate riches if she cooperated and threatened God's Wrath if she refused, Burton relented.[6] These were no ordinary fires, nor had they been caught committing a typical home invasion. According to Burton, both the ruinous flames and break-in were part of a grand scheme. An enslaved rebellion encompassing the entire city was unfolding. The enslaved were to overthrow their enslavers, massacre their allotment of White people, sack the city, and crown John Hughson king! Burton's initial statement can generously be described as absurdity fueled by desperation. Burton informed the investigators of the key players behind the conspiracy: according to her: two enslaved people, Ceaser and Prince, and a prostitute named Peggy were the chief offenders. The brains behind the operation was alleged aspirant king, John Hughson.[7] Burton's testimony may appear nonsensical, but to the authorities grappling with twin crises of larceny and hellfire, Burton was a blessing.

An examination of Burton's and enslaved people's testimony demonstrates the lack of credible evidence for a grand conspiracy. Inconsistency and contradiction plagued Burton's stint as a star witness. For example, Burton claims the fires were all to be set at night. However, all but two were

[6] Horsmanden, *The New York Conspiracy*, 38.
[7] Szasz, *The New York Slave Revolt*, 219-220.

lit during the day.[8] Additionally, Burton implicated three White people among the conspirators, only to amend that figure several times.[9] Furthermore, there was a roughly one-week delay between the "*first three major fires*."[10] This time gap would be counterproductive for an organized rebellion trying to destroy a city. Why start a single fire one week at a time providing plenty of respite to the people you are allegedly trying to massacre? Finally, the goal of making Hughson king seems especially puzzling. Are we to believe that a reasonable man capable of operating a business genuinely thought the road to monarch-hood was massacring scores of white people and sacking a city? Despite these inconsistencies, the magistrates were eager to embrace Burton's ever-evolving tale.

There were few more surprised to learn about the conspiracy than the alleged conspirators themselves. When the magistrates questioned the Hughsons and their enslaved people about the plot, all of them denied any knowledge of such a scheme. It may seem obvious that criminals would deny their crimes, but these criminals had nothing to lose. They had already admitted to larceny, a capital offense at the time, and were being offered a possible lesser sentence by confessing. They had every incentive to confess to such a conspiracy, even if it did not exist, yet they never did. Prince and Ceaser were found guilty of larceny, not rebellion, and sentenced to death on May 11. Horsmanden wrote that they died *"stubbornly, without confessing anything about the conspiracy*."[11] John Hughson was similarly found guilty and executed for larceny on June 12. John reportedly "*denied he knew anything*" about the purported conspiracy until the end, despite saying he deserved death for committing larceny.[12] Despite the desperate denials of the accused, not to mention the lack of evidence save Burton's contrived confession, Horsmanden and the other investigators were confident not

[8] Ibid., 220.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Plaag, Eric W. "New York's 1741 Slave Conspiracy in a Climate of Fear and Anxiety." *New York History* 84, no. 3 (2003): 275–99. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23183369. 281.
[11] Horsmanden, *The New York Conspiracy*, 60.
[12] Ibid.

only that the plot was real, but that its full scope remained undiscovered.

The tension in Manhattan was palpable. This environment of fear showed itself in another string of devastating rumors. A "*suspicious remark*" by an enslaved person coupled with tales of Black men looting and dancing outside burning buildings throughout the city was the final straw.[13] For a city in crisis, downtown gossip was all it took to justify a mass arrest of enslaved people. Investigators managed to extract a number of confessions following this fresh wave of arrests. The nature of these confessions is worth discussing. Horsmanden details the various pieces of evidence to support his theory of a grand conspiracy. One example worth mentioning is the testimony of two enslaved witnesses. During the end of May, two enslaved men, Quack and Cuffee, had been arrested for their suspected role in the scheme. The problem was these men had no such knowledge of any conspiracy. A tragic comedy of sorts went on for days back and forth, with Quack and Cuffee pleading their innocence and investigators demanding they confess. It was not until the magistrates tied the enslaved people onto a stake and threatened to light the flame that the two finally agreed to tell them the "truth." On May 30, Quack and Cuffee confessed under duress in a vain attempt to avoid the death penalty. However, despite confessing, both were burned at the stake because the authorities were worried that the "*disposition observed in the spectators*" prohibited a pardon.[14]

Here lies the Achilles heel of Horsmanden's attempt to defend the trial's conduct. Throughout his four-hundred-page chronicle, no solid evidence beyond corrupted confessions is presented. Horsmanden had ample opportunity to provide supporting evidence to substantiate the court's conspiratorial claim but was forced to rely on testimony to prosecute his arguments, no different from the court. The New York Supreme Court overwhelmingly relied on testimony from confessions of a dubious nature, like those of Quack and Cuffee, to prosecute its case.[15] As historian Ferenc

[13] Ibid., 29.
[14] Horsmanden, *The New York Conspiracy*, 109.
[15] Plaag, "New York's 1741 Slave Conspiracy," 279.

M. Szasz, author of "The New York Slave Revolt: A Re-Examination," writes "*all key witnesses except Mary Burton confessed only when faced with imminent death*."[16] Records of these confessions do not reveal criminals sharing the details of a sinister calculated plot. Instead, we see the desperate rambling of confused people, disclosing whatever "truth" they believe the magistrates want to hear to save themselves from death.[17] The contents of a confession obtained through coercion can hardly be relied upon. Doubly so when their contents immediately appear nonsensical upon scrutiny. The people of Manhattan had been subjugated by fear, causing them to ignore every absurdity contained within the trial in pursuit of security.

Despite the malign methods used to obtain them, Quack and Cuffee's confessions proved to be a boon to the prosecution. Their testimony gave the authorities further insight into the fabled plot and a new list of supposed collaborators.[18] However, despite the high number of arrests and the ever-expanding suspected scope of the conspiracy, the fires continued to ravage Manhattan. With lackluster progress being made and the number of confessions starting to slow, pressure began to build on the authorities to do something to solve the problem. On June 19th, just two weeks after John Hughson's execution, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New York, George Clarke, issued a proclamation in a misguided attempt to uncover the truth behind the conspiracy. Governor Clarke's proclamation created a confession-reward scheme in which those who confessed the truth about their involvement in the conspiracy would either be pardoned or expelled from the province rather than sentenced to death.[19] It did not take a genius to know that this was a good deal. Clarke's scheme had the intended effect and promptly elicited sixty-seven confessions.

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[16] Szasz, *The New York Slave Revolt*, 222.
[17] OND, RICHARD E. "Shaping a Conspiracy: Black Testimony in the 1741 New York Plot." *Early American Studies* 5, no. 1 (2007): 63–94. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23546545. 70.
[18] Horsmanden, *The New York Conspiracy*, 107-109.
[19] E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany: New York State, 1855) 6:187-88, 195-203.

While this may seem like a triumph for justice, getting so many to admit wrongdoing is exceptional after all, the confession-reward system had an unintended, or perhaps intended, side effect. Those jailed on false charges with little hope of fair legal recourse would jump at an opportunity to receive a lesser sentence such as that promised by Clarke's proclamation, even if it meant giving a false confession.

The homogeneity seen throughout the enslaved people's confessions points toward an effort to obtain their freedom through storytelling, rather than an actual admission of guilt. It is tempting to think that the presence of shared details across countless confessions supports the existence of a coordinated city-wide revolt. Horsmanden and his fellow judges certainly did. The testimony that flooded in after Clark's proclamation was loosely related.[20] The script was always similar. The enslaved person would kill their enslaver and then set their section of the city ablaze. However, one must remember the motivation for confessing and the environment the confessors were in. The authorities had arrested such a staggering number of enslaved people and free men alike that there were serious worries about a plague outbreak.[21] In these overcrowded cells, rumors spread quickly. As time passed, the incarcerated enslaved people began to realize the key to their freedom. Clark's proclamation simply spoke the quiet part aloud: tell the authorities what they want to hear, and you will be set free. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that baseline details are consistent across confessions, as it would have been common knowledge in the prison that was one's ticket out of there.

The absence of rudimentary details one would expect when organizing such an elaborate conspiracy further undermines the New York Supreme Court's theory. Through the many confessions recorded in Horsmanden's writings, there is a questionable lack of answers to key questions.[22] For example, no mention was made of where the plotters would congregate. Are we to assume Hughson met with over a hundred enslaved people individually? In a city where the ratio of freemen to enslaved people is five to three, it seems

[20] Ibid., 72.
[21] Szasz, *The New York Slave Revolt*, 221.
[22] See Horsmanden, *The New York Conspiracy*.

unlikely.[23] Did they all meet at a single location, John's tavern, perhaps? No mention of such a meeting place is made either. Who recruited this diverse cast of conspirators into the plot, and for what purpose were they recruited? No crucial details beyond the standard arson and enslaver killing are provided. The underwhelming testimony, while consistent across confessions, fails to support the theory of conspiracy advocated by the court.

As June drew to a close, the conspiracy diverged farther from reality.[24] With Catholic Spain and Protestant England at war, the people of Manhattan, an English colony, were made acutely aware of the Spanish threat by the press.[25] The Spanish threat was heightened when Lieutenant-Governor James Oglethorpe of the Province of Georgia sent a letter to Clarke in May 1741, warning him about a Spanish plan to infiltrate and burn down English cities with disguised Catholic priests.[26] Horsmanden first used the word "*popery*" on June 24, underscoring the courts shift toward a different enemy.[27] Four months after James Hogg was robbed, and two weeks after Hughson's execution, the New York Conspiracy began to enter its final form. A new subversive element had introduced itself. Manhattan pivoted its mania from its enslaved population to a Latin teacher and priest, a man named John Ury.

The people's fear of Catholic Spain and Catholicism had now trumped their fear of enslaved people. The magistrates leaped into action, acquiring testimony from Burton and two other witnesses implicating Ury as the mastermind behind the whole conspiracy. It is worth emphasizing again that the testimony against Ury, excluding Burton, was obtained under duress.[28] What was the newly alleged conspiracy? Well, Ury was to infiltrate the city and incite rebellion amongst the enslaved population. To do this,

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[23] Trials Relating to the New York Slave Insurrection 1741, *The Historical Society of the New York Courts* https://history.nycourts.gov.
[24] *The New-York Weekly Journal,* New York N.Y. 1733-1751. https://www.loc.gov/item/sn83030211/.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Horsmanden, The New York Conspiracy, 350/351.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Plaag, "New York's 1741 Slave Conspiracy," 280.

he elicited the services of the Hughsons, promising to absolve them of their sins and guilt during a Mass. Ury and his Catholic bandits would set fire to Manhattan, causing chaos so that the Spanish, whom England was at war with, could sneak in and take it without a fight.[29] What a plan! The whole part about making John Hughson king? Burton must have misremembered the finer details of the plot, or this is just another example of how Burton strategically altered and invented new details of her story to keep the magistrates on her side. Regardless, the court and Horsmanden were sold. Horsmanden wrote of the Catholic plot that "*upon priests and no other footing*," the plot "*can be accounted for*."[30] With this new round of proof, Ury's fate was sealed.

It is important to note the strength of anti-Catholic sentiment in Manhattan at the time. If the magistrates were disposed to overlook flimsy testimony incriminating enslaved people, Ury faced even worse odds. All seven available public prosecutors volunteered to press the case against Ury. There were no lawyers equally eager to defend Ury, who was tasked with representing himself. One would assume that the case against Ury was a foregone conclusion for it to evoke such a strong response from the legal community. Yet, the prosecution opened their arguments with a lengthy denunciation of the Catholic doctrine, making little mention of the defendant's actions.[31] With a defense strategy of criticizing circumstantial evidence and pleading to God for aid mid-trial, Ury hoped to prove his innocence.[32] His hope was in vain: Ury was found guilty and executed.

Fortunately, this marked the beginning of the end of the New York Conspiracy of 1741. The tale of a Spanish invasion at the hand of a Latin teacher, while failing to arouse substantial opposition, did lead some to question the merit of the trials. The bigger contributor to people's disillusionment, however, was the increasingly erratic conduct of the court's star witness, Mary Burton. The trial and accompanying investigation would continue until early August 1741.

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[29] Horsmanden, The New York Conspiracy, 39/40.
[30] The letters and papers of Cadvallader Colden in the *New York Historical Society Collections*, LI, 222/.
[31] Ibid., 290.
[32] *Boston News Letter*, September 3-10, 1741.

Ultimately, it was not a sudden appreciation for evidence or even a sudden mental clarity among the populace that spurred a change in heart. It was, instead, due to a grave mistake on Burton's part: accusing the unaccusable of being among the plotters. As soon as Burton began to oust upper-class New Yorkers as conspirators, including Clark's wife, the trial was shut down. Burton's scandalous accusations caused Horsmanden to state that "*the things She Says, cannot but Stagger ones belief in Some measures*."[33]

But we would be remiss not to establish what constitutes a conspiracy. The Oxford Dictionary defines eighteenth-century conspiracy as "*an agreement between two or more persons to do something criminal, illegal, or reprehensible*."[34] While there is certainly evidence in Horsmanden's writings to prove that the actions of the Hughson's and their enslaved accomplices—put to death for larceny—fulfill this definition of conspiracy, one cannot say the same for the grand plots described by the court, as demonstrated by the lack of rebellion or conspiracy convictions. This paper does not seek to dispute that some of the fires were deliberate acts of arson. Nor is it argued that limited conspiring did not take place among the enslaved. What is being claimed is that no grand conspiracy to sack Manhattan and slaughter its citizens, as alleged by Horsmanden and Burton, existed in actuality. By relying solely on testimony, which was obtained primarily from enslaved people under duress, the conspiracy is propped up not by factual evidence but by the paranoid minds of the citizens of 1741 Manhattan and the magistrates looking for predetermined answers.

If the notion of an enslaved uprising encompassing hundreds of people with the goal of sacking a city and making a white tavern owner king seems fanciful, then the plan detailing a young educator's mission to sow the seeds of chaos at the behest of his Popish masters is doubly so. What both conspiracy theories have in common besides the lack of supporting evidence is that they appealed to the fears Manhattan citizens had at the time. To understand why the

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[33] Colden, *Letters and Correspondence* 2:227.

[34] Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "conspiracy (n.), sense 1.b," June 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/1088325662.

justice system and wider public enthusiastically embraced conspiracy theories despite lackluster evidence at best one must study the broader historical context. The conduct of the investigation and subsequent trial was marred by hysteria. Numerous historians have compared the New York Conspiracy of 1741 to the Salem Witch Trials.[35] Both Salem and Manhattan sported a climate of paranoia during their respective trials. In both cases, the main instigator was a woman, Elizabeth Hubbard in Salem and Mary Burton in Manhattan. Ultimately both cases, which overwhelmingly relied on hearsay and questionable confessions, ended when the lead accuser took aim at powerful local officials.[36] However, the events of 1741 did not happen in a vacuum.

Four external factors were in play that require our attention. It is important to note how religious tensions influenced the 1741 trial. The dominant religion in Manhattan was Protestantism, like its colonial overlord England. The outbreak of war between Catholic Spain and Protestant England loomed large over New York, creating an ever-present threat to its people.[37] With that context, it is easier to understand how John Ury was accepted as the mastermind behind the plot with little question. Did he possess the means or intent to carry out such a plot? Unlikely. But he was without a doubt guilty of one thing: being a Catholic. That was more than enough to seal his fate. The trial proceedings demonstrate this. There was no lengthy presentation of evidence from the prosecution. Instead, we were treated to a lengthy presentation on the evils of Catholicism. By recognizing the existing religious tensions between the colonial Protestants and Spanish Catholics, we can understand why many were eager to pin the blame on Ury.

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[35] Plaag, "New York's 1741 Slave Conspiracy," 275 & Cadwallader Colden, "Additional Letters and Papers, 1715-48," vol. 8 of *The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden* (New York: AMS Press, 1973), 270-72.

[36] For insight into the comparisons between the 1741 trial and Salem, see Plaag, 275.
For a primary source that highlights how residents at the time of the trial were also making that connection see *Cadwallader Colden*, "Additional Letters and Papers", 1715-48, vol. 8 of The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden (New York: AMS Press, 1973), 270-72.

[37] See *The New York Weekly Journal*, 1731-1755.

In addition, the people of Manhattan were suffering the effects of a historic winter. The winter of 1740 was worse than any in recent memory, according to Eric Plaag, author of "New York's 1741 Slave Conspiracy in a Climate of Fear and Anxiety."[38] The consequences of said winter were far-reaching. The winter weather hurt the colonial economy, reducing the city's ability to conduct repairs and harming citizen's livelihoods.[39] This had the twin effects of lengthening the impact of future fires' destruction and making the people more vulnerable to further hardship. Additionally, the harsh climate bred the perfect conditions for fire. With drier air and ice-cold temperatures, people stayed densely packed inside for longer periods. This meant greater opportunities for fires to start with candles and fireplaces often lit.[40] The cold temperatures also made firefighting harder, not an ideal combination. This made residents more economically and emotionally vulnerable to fires at a time when it was easier for flames to spread. It is hardly surprising that when an opportunity arrived to stop the onslaught of fire, the people of Manhattan were eager to go with it even if that solution meant punishing innocent people on the basis of fear-induced conspiracy theories.

Activism among Manhattan's disproportionately large, enslaved population increased fear of enslaved people. The enslaved across colonial America were not treated the same way. Slave codes varied from city to city, with some more lenient than others. These laws could change, typically because of a notable event, like an enslaved uprising or court case. One such example of this occurred toward the end of 1730, when a preacher named George Whitefield led a new religious movement that railed against the system of slavery and advocated for enslaved people to protest their enslavement.[41] Whitefield toured across the colonies, boasting enthusiastic and agreeable crowds. Many white people, especially enslavers, began to fear that Whitefield's rhetoric would inspire enslaved people to revolt against them. This fostered anxiety across the colonies, including

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[38] Plaag, "New York's 1741 Slave Conspiracy," 280-283.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Plaag, "New York's 1741 Slave Conspiracy," 282.
[41] Ibid., 279.

Manhattan, leading to a series of new laws restricting the movement of enslaved people.[42] These events were not forgotten by the people of Manhattan in 1741, and for many, the alleged conspiracy described by the court was the uprising Whitfield had long argued for.

Finally (and perhaps most significantly), the knowledge of previous enslaved uprisings meant the formation of another enslaved conspiracy was not hard to believe. One such rebellion was the New York Slave Rebellion of 1712.[43] To briefly summarize, an uprising was initiated by a group of enslaved people from Africa. This group gathered other enslaved people to fight Christians. Fires were set to a local house as a signal to start the uprising. A group of about twenty enslaved people armed with guns, axes, and swords, attacked several people in the streets before they were stopped. The result of the uprising was a harsh crackdown on the enslaved population and the passing of a set of draconian laws to control the enslaved population.[44] Interestingly, a number of key players in this revolt also played major roles in the 1741 trial. While there is speculation that this is more than a coincidence by some scholars, that is outside the scope of this paper. What matters here is that to those who heard Burton's tale of conspiracy, history was simply repeating itself. They had lived through an enslaved revolt before, why could it not happen again? The same goes for the public at large. If one is frequently hearing through newspapers, officials, or lived experience about enslaved revolts, it is not difficult to believe that one is happening. This context helps explain why so many people were willing to afford Burton and the magistrate's conspiracy greater credence than the evidence would suggest.

The effects of the 1741 New York Conspiracy continued to be felt long after the trials concluded. The trial further exacerbated racial and social tensions in the city, with white people jumping in fear at the slightest rumor of

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[42] Ibid., 282-283.

[43] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. 2014. "New York Slave Rebellion of 1712 | Causes, Impact & Legacy." Encyclopedia Britannica. September 12, 2014. https://www.britannica.com/event/New-York-slave-rebellion-of-1712.

[44] Ibid.

unrest.[45] Additionally, greater restrictions were imposed on enslaved people which reduced their already finite freedom. The trial was also felt in citizens' private lives. Drinking British tea became taboo as it was reportedly the drink consumed by the enslaved plotters.[46] Nonetheless, the fact remains that because of Horsmanden's witch hunt, thirty-four people lost their lives and nearly eighty people were exiled. Some of them likely were guilty of arson or larceny, but, like Ury and countless other people, most were innocent men and women caught in the crossfire of insanity.

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[45] Doolen, Andy. "Reading and Writing Terror: The New York Conspiracy Trials of 1741." *American Literary History* 16, no.3 (2004): 377-406. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3568057 401.
[46] Ibid., 401-402.

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Angolan Independence and Civil War: A Case Study in Decisive Action

Luke Lassan

In 1975, Angola gained its independence. This came after a thirteen-year war of independence and a relatively bloodless coup in Portugal in 1974. The ensuing leftist control of the Portuguese government ensured that their involvement in overseas holdings was now minimal, continuing the trend of the loss of European colonies after the age of colonialism. As such, Portuguese withdrawal in 1975 and transfer of power to Angolan groups were essentially simultaneous. However, this independence was more a result of Portuguese internal discord than the ability of the many Angolan factions to unite against the colonial government. The conflict between these Angolan factions endured beyond Angolan independence and was fueled by Cold War power politics. Neither side was willing to act decisively or with determined force. Both proxy actors were hesitant to pursue outright military operations, afraid of the consequences of their actions, and thus could not bring about a conclusive end to the conflict. Executive Outcomes, a private military company, would intervene on behalf of the Angolan government, controlled by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), a left-leaning nationalist organization. The actions of this firm would provide the most pragmatic, opportune, and moral grounds for peace, a moment squandered by the United Nations and the broader international community.

The Angolan War for Independence began with an incursion from Zaire into northern Angola by the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) in early 1961. They would follow a scorched earth policy, destroying infrastructure as they went.[1] This organization was essentially a paramilitary group, with youth and female wings by this time. It had existed earlier under the name of the United People of Northern Angola (UPNA) or the United People of Angola (UPA) as a nationalist, worker's rights organization, but since had been militarized. Zaire was sympathetic to the Angolan cause, especially after the fleeing of civilians to Zaire from Angola, and the two countries were linked

[1]Aharon de Grassi. *Rethinking the 1961 Baixa de Kassanje revolt: Towards a Relational Geo-History of Angola.*

through their leadership. 1000 white and as many as 6,000 black civilians were killed in the process, the majority being colonial officials or contract workers for colonial purposes.[2] This event would later be known as the Baixa do Cassange Massacre. The initial Portuguese response was equally ruthless, killing up to 20,000 civilians.[3] Subsequent Portuguese attempts to reassert control were haphazard and slow to mobilize. Portuguese settlers were forced to fend for themselves or form ersatz volunteer groups to combat FNLA attacks. On June 9th of the same year, the UN would declare Angola a non-self-governing territory and call for Portugal to stop repressive measures against the Angolan populace. Such measures included forced labor, the use of secret police, economic exploitation, and the implementation of a racial hierarchy, among others. France and Britain, still maintaining a certain degree of colonial influence in Africa, abstained from voting on the resolution.

Angolan independence is better understood within the broader context of Portuguese colonial holdings in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique at the same time. Portuguese casualties in all three zones mounted, creating popular dissent at home regarding the conflict. Combine all of these factors with reports of cannibalism by FNLA fighters, and the result was a Portuguese army unwilling to fight.[4] Portugal abandoned its overseas holdings after the Carnation Revolution, a left-leaning coup in Lisbon.[5] Left-leaning governments are usually more anti-imperialist than right-wing governments, but the difficulties resulting from the revolution were the cause for the relinquishing of colonies, not any explicit intention to lose them. Armed conflict between the Angolan factions had already taken place during the war of independence. Without a common enemy, the scene was set for them to turn on each other, already distrustful and unwilling to cooperate in the interim government.

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[2] Edward George. *The Cuban Intervention in Angola.*
[3] Ibid.
[4] Natalia Telepneva. *Triumph to Tragedy: Revolution in Portugal and the Angolan Civil War, 1974–1975.*
[5] Ibid.

The independence of Angola was granted through the signing of the Alvor Agreement in January of 1975. The MPLA would quickly place their claim on the Angolan government. This faction was the one that the Portuguese left the Angolan government with; the MPLA would be the main legitimate government faction to fight against rebels and insurgent forces. In July of that year, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) pushed the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) out of Angola's capital, Luanda, and took control of 11 of the 15 provincial capitals in the state.[6] The MPLA had *de facto* control of the country, especially in the north and along the coast. The Portuguese had left the country more or less in their hands, as well as the capital, Luanda. Soviet material assistance was also useful. In response, South Africa mobilized military forces to contain the left leaning MPLA, protect the hydroelectric dam at the Namibia/Angola border town of Calueque, and prevent any further promotion of the ideas of Namibian independence.[7] Namibia maintained an apartheid government, as South Africa did. Namibia's government was a puppet one, controlled and influenced by South Africa. A change in Namibia could upset the government in South Africa. Jamie Miller, in the *Journal of Cold War Studies*, puts it best:

> Apparent defeat at the hands of forces bearing the black nationalist standard made a deep impression on opponents of the regime at home and abroad, reviving at a stroke the possibility of real change in southern Africa.[8]

Fearful of a communist regime in Angola, the U.S. would also begin to authorize covert aid to the FNLA as early as 1961 before reconsolidating their aid in 1975 to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and its leader, Jonas Savimbi.[9] Such action would suggest that the US was more interested in combating an enemy than supporting an ally. US international assistance

[6] Ibid.
[7] Jamie Miller. *Yes, Minister: Reassessing South Africa's Intervention in the Angolan Civil War, 1975–1976.*
[8] Ibid.
[9] Jake C. Miller. *America and the Angolan Civil War.*

after WWII was provided under the belief that failing countries would revert to communism, and this made them at least temporary allies. UNITA, alongside the FNLA and MPLA in 1966, was a nationalist organization that was against Portuguese involvement in the country. UNITA was briefly aligned with Maoist ideology before reorienting itself as a nationalist, anti-communist society. Cuba would supply troops in support of the socialist leaning MPLA on November 5th, 1975, which proved to be well timed.[10] South Africa launched Operation Savannah on October 14th of the same year; by November 26th, the Cubans halted the South Africans' northward advance from Namibia.[11] Subsequent arrivals of Cuban troops, intended for direct combat operations in Angola, allowed the MPLA to control much of the country, effectively defeating all South African military assets that had been mobilized in the operation. Yet when asked of the situation, General Geldenhuys, the Chief of the South African Defense Force (SADF) from 1985 to 1990, stated:

> We need to ask whether we lost militarily, politically, or strategically. In military terms we certainly did not lose. There's no doubt about that at all. The order to withdraw was not given because South Africa was having problems with the military situation.[12]

South Africa was not defeated militarily. It was paralyzed due to the political situation and domestic unwillingness to fight. This quote would foreshadow the reasoning for the actions to come. The SADF would regroup and re-engage in May of 1978 during Operation Reindeer, resulting in direct air and ground attacks on Cuban forces, forces directly allied with the Soviet Union. The invasion was criticized virtually worldwide, apart from the U.S. and U.K., unwilling to totally alienate a Cold War ally. The United Nations passed Resolution 428, condemning the invasion. Fearing escalation of hostilities amidst the Cold War geopolitical situation, hostilities ceased. Direct attacks existed

[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Hilton Hamann. *Days of the Generals.*

outside the realm of plausible deniability and were not conducted through proxy. The fear of escalation prevented the two sides from engaging in any decisive conflicts and potentially ending the war. Refugees from Namibia and Angola sought refuge at the South African border, creating a humanitarian crisis that South Africa had to deal with on its own. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) would deny aid for fear of taking sides.[13] The U.N. is only allowed to act within a purely humanitarian capacity, outside of any political issue. The U.N. had already enacted a laundry list of legislation against apartheid and South Africa, including Resolution 1761 of the year 1962, which explicitly labeled apartheid a crime against humanity. In addition, the U.N. recognized the MPLA government as legitimate in 1976. United Nations' intervention at this time would implicate it politically.

The resurgence of conservatism in the United States under the Reagan Administration brought about a determined response to communism and the influence of the Soviet Union. As a result, U.S. officials and conservative groups increased their assistance to Savimbi and UNITA. On June 2nd, 1985, American conservatives headed and funded by Rite-Aid founder Lewis Lehrman held the "Democratic International" at Jamba, Angola, the headquarters of UNITA.[14] The meeting was a conglomeration of radical anti-communists, including the Nicaraguan Contras and the Afghan Mujahideen, among others.[15] It would serve as foreshadowing for what was to come. President Reagan invited Savimbi to the White House in January 1986. Two months later, UNITA received $25M in military aid from the United States. Stinger anti-aircraft weapon systems would be among the items sent, the weapon being a significant token of support that could reduce South Africa's influence in the region.[16] The Soviet Union sent $1B in aid to the MPLA government in 1986, and Cuban authorities would build up

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[13] Lennart Bolliger. *Fleeing the Wrong Way: Black Angolan Refugees and Apartheid South Africa's Military Humanitarianism at the Angolan-Namibian Border, 1975–1978.*
[14] Jake C. Miller. *America and the Angolan Civil War.*
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.

additional troops around the Chevron, (i.e. American) oil platforms that were critical to funding the war effort.[17] Savimbi threatened Chevron executives with rebel attacks on their platforms if they kept blocking aid bills. Chevron was inclined to maintain the MPLA status quo in order to protect their profits. While Reagan and the US government generally supported UNITA, Chevron and their lobbyists did not. The diplomatic ties that were strengthened between Savimbi and Reagan heightened American interest in the Angolan conflict, as did increased Soviet and Cuban involvement in the area. To bring about an end to the war, US and MPLA governments began negotiating in June of 1987. UNITA was not allowed in the negotiations, as the MPLA refused to negotiate with them. The negotiations failed to produce any results, but further negotiations in 1988, explained later, would.[18]

Cold War escalation would result in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale, which ended up being the second largest battle in African history. On 4 August 1987, the SADF launched Operation Moduler, beginning the conflict.[19] Despite the SADF's earlier withdrawal, the South African position was becoming increasingly untenable. Sanctions were mounting, and their only ally in the region, UNITA, was under threat. US negotiations threatened an unfavorable resolution. South Africa felt that it needed to act. The battle began with a People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) offensive heading south from the city itself, targeting the UNITA stronghold at the nearby town of Mavinga. It should be noted that FAPLA was originally the armed wing of the MPLA before becoming the official state military under the MPLA government. FAPLA, put simply, was the MPLA. The offensive was countered by a combined UNITA/SADF force. Armor and vehicles provided by the South Africans would prove critical to the coalition's successes. Early on, the UNITA/SADF force stopped the FAPLA attack, forcing them to halt and take defensive positions. In all engagements, the UNITA/SADF unit dealt

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Peter Polack. The Last Hot Battle of the Cold War: *South Africa vs. Cuba in the Angolan Civil War.*

far more casualties than they took. In early November, the combined force had the FAPLA force cornered, demoralized, and without any functioning armor or artillery. Victory here very well could have ended the Angolan Civil War.

Peace was not to be. On November 15th, the MPLA government requested aid from Cuba.[20] Fidel Castro responded by sending 15,000 elite troops and approximately 200 advisers, officers, and special forces personnel.[21] These troops saved the FAPLA forces from certain destruction, fashioning fixed artillery pieces out of knocked out tanks. In the ensuing firefights in the latter parts of the battle, the Cuban/MPLA forces continued to take heavy casualties when compared to the UNITA/SADF, but the SADF began to take considerable casualties as well. They held off the MPLA attacks, but they could not advance or maneuver sufficiently to completely rout their enemy. Minefields that would become notorious for killing and injuring civilians in the years to come were particularly effective in hampering SADF assaults. It is prudent to note here that the South African public was especially sensitive to casualties involved in foreign interventions.[22] The government ordered conscription for the war effort, controlled information regarding the war, and many considered the conflict as one that did not have a clear end goal. It is useful to think of Angola as South Africa's Vietnam. Considering that apartheid would end in the next few years, willingness to intervene in foreign affairs had been at an all-time low. The age of imperialism was over, and the writing on the wall was beginning to get hard to ignore. In fact, Namibia, the thorn in the side of South Africa, became independent from them the same year that Cuito Cuanavale ended in 1988.[23] Incursions by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the Namibian nationalist group, presented a threat to South African sovereignty and greatly concerned their intelligence authorities.[24] Ultimately, the result of the battle at Cuito

[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Apartheid South Africa. *Namibia: Armed Incidents between South*

Cuanavale was inconclusive. The MPLA advance was stopped and suffered heavy losses, but they also held their ground once established.

Even though the battle itself may have been inconclusive, it was by no means unimportant. The sheer scale of the battle and the ensuing casualties made Angola and especially South Africa less inclined to continue hostilities. Ongoing U.S.-brokered attempts at facilitating negotiations were successful. The Tripartite Accord would be signed almost exactly nine months after the final days of Cuito Cuanavale in New York at the U.N. headquarters on December 22nd, 1988.[25] The only Angolan faction involved was the MPLA. It ended direct foreign troop involvement in the Angolan Civil War and ensured the independence of Namibia. On the same day, the U.N. also created an outline for a peacekeeping mission, the United Nations Angola Verification Mission I, or UNAVEM I. This mission was very limited in scope; it was only to oversee Cuban withdrawal from Angola. It seemed that the Tripartite Accord and the U.N. would force some foreign influence out, particularly the Cubans, while allowing new foreign influence—the U.N. and its member states—in. The document dampened foreign intervention in the region, but it did not establish peace. Subsequent agreements fared no better.

The Bicesse Accords would be signed in the Portuguese city of the same name on May 31, 1991, providing an outline for a multi-party democracy under the watch of UNAVEM II.[26] The second mission was far more comprehensive than the first. The first allowed a whopping 70 "military observers" into the country to oversee the Cuban withdrawal from Angola. This was their only objective. The second mission was far more hands on. It involved facilitating nationwide elections. Jonas Savimbi of UNITA and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of the Angolan government would personally sign, and the negotiations would be mediated by Portugal's foreign minister. The talks

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West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and Angola and South African Forces (Folder 1).

[25] Jake C. Miller. *America and the Angolan Civil War.*

[26] Christopher Pycroft. *Angola - The Forgotten Tragedy.*

would be overseen by both U.S. and Soviet officials. This, combined with the fact that the MPLA renounced its Marxist-Leninist ideology for social democracy in 1990, suggests that the Cold War tensions that had limited Angolan independence were cooling.[27] This would fundamentally shift the Angolan Civil War. The war was no longer one of pro-Western rebels against a communist regime if the Cold War was effectively over. UNITA, along with any remaining supporters, lost the moral advantage.

The Bicesse Accords led to the 1992 presidential election between dos Santos and Savimbi. As one might expect, the campaigns for both parties were contentious, and voter turnout was high. An estimated 4.8 million people registered to vote out of the 5.3 million people eligible.[28] The U.N. played a crucial role in both overseeing the electoral process and the logistical challenge of getting voters to the polls. UNAVEM II made 45 helicopters and 15 fixed-wing aircraft available to support this effort.[29] The U.N. also provided 400 electoral observers, who operated in two person teams. Voting occurred on two days: the 29th and 30th of September, 1992.[30] Of the estimated 6,000 polling stations, only 4,000 were visited by the observers—an insufficient number given the circumstances.[31] As a result, there were widespread allegations of voter fraud. In one case, 500,000 UNITA voters were disenfranchised.[32] In another instance, 100 clandestine polling stations were said to have been active during voting.[33]

Despite this, the U.N. maintains that the elections were "generally free and fair."[34] Upon counting the votes, it was found that dos Santos received 49.57% of the vote, and Savimbi had received 40.6% of the vote, at least according to the UN.[35] The remainder was split between several other

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[27] Ibid.
[28] United Nations. *UNAVEM II.*
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] United Nations. *UNAVEM II.*
[35] John A. Marcum. *Angola: War Again.*

parties. As neither party received 50% of the vote, a runoff was needed. Savimbi sent the vice president of UNITA to negotiate this second round of voting. On October 31st, violence began against UNITA and other non-MPLA parties. Government police forces, along with pro-MPLA civilians, raided homes, looking for UNITA supporters. Any that were found were shot and buried in mass graves. Immediately after the election results were collected, Savimbi and other non-MPLA parties stated that the election had not been free or fair, but Savimbi still sent his VP for the second round. His vice president was then killed on November 2nd by pro-MPLA and government mobs.[36] It was only after these killings that he refused to participate and effectively went back to war. In a startling turn of events, UNITA managed to gain control of about 80% of the country. Reasons for their rapid sweep included the use of propaganda and guerilla warfare. UNAVEM II had only 350 military observers, 89 police monitors, and 14 military medical personnel, the rest being civilians.[37] Such a force could not and did not uphold the ceasefire. The U.N.'s distinct lack of personnel, along with the killing of UNITA support, created an excuse for Savimbi. The extremely limited number of electoral observers and lack of armed personnel allowed Savimbi to act. The MPLA government scrambled to find a solution.

As tensions mounted between UNITA and the MPLA, Executive Outcomes (EO), a South African-based private military company, entered the conflict. They first set foot in Angola in the middle of March 1993 under the request of Sonangol, the MPLA-controlled Angolan state petroleum firm, contracted through the CEO of Heritage Oil, Tony Buckingham.[38] They were there to secure oil drilling equipment in the hands of UNITA at the city of Soyo with a combined EO/Angolan army force; the rigs brought in about $700 million a year for the war effort.[39] This operation was successful, and EO was hired again in September 1993 for one year to combat UNITA. They were paid between $40 and

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[36] Ibid.
[37] United Nations. *UNAVEM II.*
[38] Eeben Barlow. *Executive Outcomes: Against All Odds.*
[39] Time Magazine. *Savimbi's Shadowy Struggle: A Continuing Civil War Threatens the Luanda Government.*

$60 million, but half of that was for equipment requested by EO. Additionally, the company acted in a limited humanitarian capacity. The ongoing conflict rendered basic infrastructure, commodities, and utilities, including water, nonexistent or expensive. At EO's original training base at Rio Longa, recruits were treated for myriad diseases and up to 60,000 liters of water were purified per day.[40] As MPLA-aligned Angolans grew less skeptical of South Africans who had once fought against them, Rio Longa would expand its services to the general public. Exact figures for the number of civilians assisted are not available.

EO would be the reason for MPLA success in the 90s. The firm would train up to an estimated 5,000 troops and 30 pilots while providing around 550 of its own troops and personnel.[41] The MPLA were trained in several aspects of modern warfare, including motorized infantry tactics, artillery, and sabotage.[42] In addition to vehicles, EO provided its own air support through a subsidiary company: Ibis Air. Helicopter and fighter jet air support provided by Ibis Air proved critical in driving back UNITA.[43] By November 1994, the government had taken back control of 60% of the country; the precious diamond fields in Cafunfu were among their gains.[44] Securing and cutting off UNITA's funds was highlighted in EO's plans.[45] As a result, Savimbi was forced to negotiate, leading to the signing of the Lusaka Protocol on November 20th, 1994. The terms reiterated those of the 1991 Bicesse Accords, but with the additional mandate that all foreign personnel, including EO, leave the country. The company was subsequently forced out of Angola. The other terms were largely ignored, and full-scale fighting resumed in 1998. A few hundred former EO personnel remained in Angola, and they took jobs in other private security firms.[46]

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[40] Ibid.
[41] Herbert M. Howe. *Private Security Forces and African Stability: The Case of Executive Outcomes.*
[42] Eeben Barlow. *Executive Outcomes: Against All Odds.*
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.

By 1998, the international community regarded the MPLA as Angola's legitimate government, while viewing UNITA as a threat to the nation's legitimacy. On September 23rd, 1993, Bill Clinton, President of the United States, renounced UNITA and signed an executive order prohibiting the export of weapons or aid to the organization.[47] The UN also acted against UNITA by sanctioning the travel of their leaders, limiting their diamond exports, and freezing their bank accounts. As mentioned before, the Cubans and Soviets withdrew. There was no longer a communist threat to fight; the MPLA renounced Marxism-Leninism. Due to the end of Cold War-era tensions, the world was now against UNITA and had accepted the legitimacy of the MPLA government.

Despite such unity, the international community favored a peace treaty instead of complete victory over UNITA on the battlefield. Even if one subscribes to the balance of power theory, there must be a mechanism to enforce order. UNAVEM III, ostensibly designed to maintain ceasefire and safely quarter UNITA rebels after disarmament, failed to do so *and* to restrict the import of arms, despite U.N. sanctions. Given that the UN was actively pushing for the withdrawal of EO in favor of its own peacekeeping force, UNAVEM III's failure to achieve their goals further underscores the mission's failure. In addition, the U.N. mission was far more costly. Between 1994 and 1998, the U.N. spent $1.5-1.6 billion in Angola, a figure that comes to around $300 million per year for five years, conservatively.[48] On the other hand, EO was paid $40-60 million for one year.[49] Therefore, the U.N. *spent* five to seven times as much money as EO was paid, and they did a less effective job at peacekeeping. Fighting in Angola continued with some degree of intensity until Savimbi's death in 2002 by government troops. UNITA would reclassify itself as a political party and disband its armed forces, some of whom would join the government's army. There were still some isolated pockets of resistance, but large-scale aggression against the government had ended. Despite the end of war,

[47] Jake C. Miller. *America and the Angolan Civil War.*
[48] United Nations. *UNAVEM III*
[49] Herbert M. Howe. *Private Security Forces and African Stability: The Case of Executive Outcomes.*

the situation in Angola was still dire. An estimated 10 million landmines had been planted during the conflict. Only a quarter would be cleared by 2008. It was only in 2020 that an estimated 85% of mined areas had been cleared. In addition, Angola was in shambles from the fighting. Infrastructure had been destroyed, and there were very little opportunities for economic growth.

The use of mercenaries is typically a last resort, done only when all other options have been exhausted. However, EO was introduced at a time that made sense and contributed positively to the Angolan situation. Despite their actions, they were not allowed to play a peacekeeping effort once they were booted from the country. Foreign nations had already intervened, fought, and abdicated. The United Nations had intervened, failed to achieve its objectives, and shambled on by handing out humanitarian aid. While theoretically benevolent in motive, such action did not improve the situation in the long term. Both the MPLA and UNITA were reliant upon international aid for their subsistence, and such intervention increased the likelihood of both groups' survival and continued hostilities. It does not appear that there was much prudence in the distribution of aid. In one case, UNITA members, instead of civilians, had received as much as 50% of total aid delivered to the city.[50] Civil war had lasted for around eighteen years (1975-1993), preceded by another fourteen years of a war of independence and instability (1961-1975). Another attempt at a solution was in order. The situation was declared as "unwinnable" by outside observers if no outside intervention was to be carried out. A clear presence of the "us vs. them" mentality is demonstrated by a UNITA soldier:

> Those who are with the MPLA are in the environs of the city – beyond that is the bush, thirty kilometres away – anyone there is the enemy. Even if he doesn't have a gun, he's one of the enemy people.[51]

Reconciliation between the two factions seemed unlikely, especially after multiple failures to do so.

[50] Ibid.
[51] Jennifer J. Ziemke. *From Battles to Massacres.*

Escalation of warfare is not usually considered as a step in the peace process, but when the situation has already gotten out of hand, it seems that it is the only option to resolve the conflict. As explained by Jennifer J. Ziemke in her doctoral dissertation on Angolan war crimes, *From Battles to Massacres*, battlefield failures can result in increased civilian casualties:

> My research shows that during civil wars, belligerents abuse civilians most often when they are losing. Failure to hold territory after large conventional battles leads to escalated violence as the losing side retreats. Escalated civilian targeting therefore occurs in the context of territorial loss. Combatants use violence to deter would-be traitors from defecting to the winning side. Indeed, such violence may actually signal the impending defeat of the perpetrating actor.[52]

Justin Pearce of Oxford's *Journal of African Studies* corroborates this idea:

> When UNITA lost its external linkages and was forced onto the defensive militarily, its behaviour towards local people became more violent and predatory as the short-term survival of the rebellion became a more urgent concern than the nurturing of political support.[53]

Timid and unmotivated military strategies artificially prolong conflicts, ensuring higher counts of civilian casualties. Aggressive war strategies may increase combatant casualties, but combatant casualties are a given in any conflict. At least with an aggressive strategy, civilians are more likely to be spared the wrath of disgruntled soldiers. Besides, victory, brought about by aggressive strategies, ends conflicts, not ceasefires. Soldiers who are actively focused on their enemy and place all of their energy into their targets are less likely to focus on civilians.

Additionally, the forced abdication of EO from Angola was not purely because of their status as a private military company. After their forced exit, another private

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[52] Ibid.
[53] Justin Pearce. *Control, Politics and Identity in the Angolan Civil War.*

military company actually *replaced* them. Military Professional Resources Incorporated, or MPRI, was an American firm that took the place of EO.[54] However, MPRI's contract was never fulfilled. The reasons for this are unknown. Regardless of the exact causes for MPRI's failure, the important part is that tangible military support to dos Santos ended with their entry. The rug was essentially pulled out from under the Angolan government. Yet another opportunity for peace failed.

When considering a comprehensive response to a threat, one might expect that all resources would be dedicated solely to combating that threat. In the case of EO in Angola, they repeatedly found themselves in circumstances where other nations were not only abandoning their previous allegiance with the MPLA, but actively assisting UNITA. EO was concerned with the bringing of relative peace and stability no matter what organization was in power, but not all parts of their governments were apparently on the same page. The South African government (not EO) was one of the most egregious examples of this. While EO was operating in Angola, attempting to end the UNITA insurgency, the South African government was shipping arms to this very same organization. Shipments not only included Chinese Type 56s, reproductions of the ubiquitous AK-47, but also German made, state-of-the-art, G3 rifles, the latter in even greater numbers than the former.[55] The UK also acted against EO, especially against Eeben Barlow, the leader, both in print and in on-the-ground operations, of the organization. British Ministry of Intelligence (MI) personnel and individuals representing diamond firms repeatedly spoke to Barlow, requesting EO's leave from Angola. Without EO in Angola, illicit diamond mining could continue, as could the firms' profits. Barlow was offered $20 million if the request was fulfilled—he refused.[56] If one recalls the $40-60 million price point for EO's services in Angola, half of which was allotted for equipment, the $20 million sum could have covered the entirety of EO's profit from the contract, not to mention the personnel costs saved by cutting the job short. On another

[54] Eeben Barlow. *Executive Outcomes: Against All Odds.*
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

occasion, a pistol-toting hitman attempted to assassinate Barlow on his own turf in Pretoria, South Africa.[57] He emerged unscathed. It was clear that quite a few people had something to gain from the war in Angola, but despite the risk to himself, money was not Barlow's only motive.

The actions of EO did not give them a better reputation among the international community. In fact, they *lost* contracts and money as a result of their intervention in Angola. Prior to taking the Angolan job, EO had been providing security for the Debswana Diamond Company. In 1994, the diamond firm terminated EO's services.[58] When Barlow attempted to speak with Debswana's security head, the latter failed to provide an explanation for the termination, despite the fact that they had been "highly satisfied" with EO's services before.[59] With regards to diamond-related activities among EO in Angola, any individuals found smuggling the stones were removed from the private military company. De Beers, another South African based diamond firm, was also active in Angola and tried to persuade Barlow and his firm to leave South Africa. Sean Cleary, a South African who once served as an advisor to Savimbi, would write to dos Santos:

While I do not know all the facts and have no desire to interfere in the workings of government, I am deeply concerned by what I have learnt. I understand that the Government of Angola may take a formal decision on 26 June on the award of prospecting rights for primary (kimberlite) deposits in the upper drainage area of the Cuango river ... prospecting rights ... in this area have been the object of negotiations between the GRA and ... De Beers ... If these rights are now awarded to another party ... it would be impossible to persuade South African companies and financial institutions to invest on a meaningful scale in Angola ... such a decision would be seen here as evidence of bad faith ... It would have negative repercussions that I would much prefer to avoid. Your assistance in ensuring that no decision prejudicial to the rights De Beers believes it has ... will greatly assist in preparing the way for the constructive efforts we may agree that

[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

I should take to help in consolidating peace and development in Angola.[60]

It would appear that the South African government was more interested in the diamond trade than peace.

The actions of EO were appreciated by all who saw the firm for what it was and who were fortunate enough to see its contributions to Angola. General Philip Sibanda of Zimbabwe, commander of the UN peacekeeping force upon the abdication of EO, had this to say:

You might have made many enemies in South Africa for what you did here, but you have undoubtedly made many good friends in Angola. Even amongst UNITA there are many good men who believe that you were the catalyst that brought the war to a close. As one soldier to another—I commend you and your men for a job well done.[61]

Angola's chief of staff, General Joao de Matos, also offered his thanks: "We are eternally grateful and we will help you anytime you need us." He would also say that EO was "fighting alongside the Angolan Armed Forces for the preservation of our independence."[62]

The war ended as it would have if EO had been allowed to continue its operations in Angola: with UNITA defeated and the MPLA government in power. The forced exit of EO decelerated what ended up occurring anyway—a return to warfare—and cost lives in the process. South African confidential correspondence from the time suggests that Henry Kissinger viewed an MPLA victory as unavoidable as early as 1976 and was more inclined to disregard the nation than concern himself further with it, seeing the situation as resolved.[63] Even the United Nations would swing itself in favor of the MPLA in 1993, the same year that Clinton would decry UNITA. Through the U.N., an arms embargo was placed on UNITA in September 1993, a

[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Apartheid South Africa. *Angola: United States Policy on Angola.*

travel ban was imposed on senior UNITA members in October 1997, and UNITA financial assets were frozen in November 1997.[64] Such sanctions were a step in the right direction, but were of limited efficacy, as UNITA still managed to sell around $4 billion worth of diamonds in the 1990s.[65] Sanctions were circumvented through third parties in Eastern Europe as well as Lebanese and Zairian diamond dealers.[66] The MPLA, i.e. Angolan government, did not receive any sanctions during the Angolan Civil War. Such circumstances would imply that the U.N. no longer recognized the legitimacy of UNITA against the MPLA-controlled Angolan government and could no longer claim impartiality. Relatively recent literature on the conflict seems to approve of this perspective, referring to UNITA as an insurgency and the MPLA as a counter-insurgency force.[67] It was only through choosing sides that the U.N. was able to consolidate its efforts against UNITA and facilitate tangible action against it.

The story of the Angolan Civil War is one of half-hearted intervention, failed attempts at peace, and indecisive humanitarian aid that all too often found their way into the hands of the soldier rather than those of the civilian. The only anomaly found within the 30-some year time frame was Executive Outcomes—decisive, competent, positive action. They intervened at a time when UNITA was universally declared as the rebel enemy of the Angolan government, found deleterious to the state of Angolan affairs, and responsible for attacks on U.N. humanitarian, not military, entities.[68] An American observer once reported UNITA as responsible for preventing economic development in 70 to 80 percent of the country.[69] EO operated with professionalism,

[64] Quint Hoekstra. *Conflict Diamonds and the Angolan Civil War (1992–2002).*
[65] John Prendergast. *Angola's Deadly War: Dealing with Savimbi's Hell on Earth.*
[66] Philippe Le Billon. *Thriving on War: The Angolan Conflict & Private Business.*
[67] Paul, Christopher, Colin P. Clarke, Beth Grill, and Molly Dunigan. *Angola (UNITA), 1975–2002: Case Outcome: COIN Win.*
[68] Victoria Brittain. *Savimbi, Bloody Savimbi.*
[69] Karl Maier. *Angolan Civil War: Air Power is Key: ANGOLA.*

and acted with general humanitarianism. EO even played a minor role in protecting a species of antelope, called the giant sable, that had been hunted to near extinction in Angola. With assistance from academics in South Africa secured by Barlow, a foundation for their preservation was established.[70] When would-be poachers offered to incorporate EO into the business of selling hunting licenses, Barlow refused and threatened them with the same treatment as UNITA.

The use of mercenaries is generally not a state's first option, and it was not in the case of Angola, either. However, the term mercenary assumes that said individual has no loyalty to anything except the purse. This was not the case. EO was loyal to Africa, self-determination, sovereignty, and peace on the continent. Naturally, Africa is diverse, but are countries on the same continent not uniquely allied or connected to each other? The European continent has its own Union. When was the last time that borders mattered in Africa? Did they stop people from scrambling away from the Rwandan genocide? Did they stop the FNLA from crossing into Angola from Zaire? Why do the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States, and the South African Development Community exist? The fact of the matter is that EO helped. They were not the mercenaries involved in the Luanda Trial—not the "Colonel Callans" who shot people for fun.[71] Soldiers are paid for their service, as are all people who provide something of value. Additionally, EO cost far less than their UN counterparts.

EO was ultimately a net positive. Their actions were not black and white, as very few actions are. Their actions must be considered in context and with respect to the alternatives. In Angola, the alternatives to EO were costlier peacekeeping, ineffective peacekeeping, and war. All alternative options and scenarios, especially those actually taken, were more expensive, whether in terms of resources, money, or human lives. In this context, EO was a positive actor. Without EO, Angola continued to regress, ranking 160th out of 174 on the Human Development Index in 2000,

[70] Eeben Barlow. *Executive Outcomes: Against All Odds.*
[71] Geraint Hughes. *Soldiers of Misfortune: The Angolan Civil War, The British Mercenary Intervention, and UK Policy towards Southern Africa, 1975–6.*

just six years after they left.[72] UNICEF has declared Angola, along with Sierra Leone, as the worst countries for children to grow up in.[73] Repeated efforts to stop the bleeding and triage the situation can be traced back to the forced withdrawal of EO.

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[72] Joris Wijk. *Angola, War Crimes and Transitional Justice.*
[73] Ibid.

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Asia in the U.S. World History Textbook: Japan in AP World History

Kara (Ah Hyun) Hwang

Introduction

One way by which a typical student in the United States would learn about Japan during their K-12 education is through secondary school world history courses. Because the American school curriculum tends to teach history in three regional groupings—world history, European history, and United States history—any information a student would acquire about Japan would likely come from world history courses. Although specifics of each course vary for each educational institution and school district, most students take at least one year of world history during their middle and high school education, whether it be through regular, honors, or AP-level history classes. The class curriculum is designed to transfer several millennia of human history within the course of one year, making contemplated selection, condensation, and omission in course textbooks inevitable. The process entails setting criteria by which the contents will be measured, and for the case of Japan, the most important criteria seem to be the extent to which the path of the country's history crosses with that of the "Western world," especially the United States.

Daniel Berman and Jeremy Stoddard, in their study on how the events of Pearl Harbor and 9/11 appear in the history textbooks published in the U.S. for the eight years after each event, observed that despite the inadequacy of the contention, the two events are often compared with one another in many of the textbooks. They observed that the textbooks' narratives on the events of Pearl Harbor and 9/11 were very succinct, focusing on the themes of patriotic nationalism and the United States' fight against universal threats in the protection of democracy. Although the depictions rely heavily on emotions and memories of devastated U.S. citizens, Berman and Stoddard point out that the textbooks "highlight Japanese imperial expansion in Southeast Asia" as the root cause leading up to the "attack on

Pearl Harbor" and similarly treat 9/11 in a simplistic way that fails to contextualize.[1]

Textbooks reflect the perspectives of the country in which they are published, which is true for many American secondary school world history textbooks. However, it is crucial to realize that such perspectives can easily manipulate how students perceive historical events that shape current issues and global interactions. Simply choosing to include the history of a country in the world history textbook, for example, may suggest that the country had enough significance to make an appearance when discussing the history of the world. A concept of global history has been recently introduced to explain history through the process of globalization that extends beyond national borders. According to Bruce Mazlish, the traditional notion of world history has been primarily concerned with the distinction between "civilized and uncivilized," with emphasis on events and phenomena that had an impact on the world scale—though the definition of the "world" remains contestable.[2] The concept then serves to scrutinize what qualifies to be worthy of mentioning in the limited space of the world history textbooks.

Putting Berman and Stoddard in discourse with Mazlish, American world history textbooks' depictions of Japan raises the question of whether they do justice to the country's presence in the broader world history. In recognition of the limited amount of space that each country or nation would receive in an American world history textbook, it is not hard to assume that Japan's appearance would have been intentionally or unintentionally shaped in a certain way, that explains its impact on the world as a whole, but with special emphasis on the country's interaction with the U.S., such as Pearl Harbor. As I identified in an earlier review of published monographs, many agree that the

[1] Daniel Berman and Jeremy Stoddard, "'The Pearl Harbor of the Twenty-First Century'?: A Comparative Analysis of Pearl Harbor and 9/11 in History Textbooks," *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 14, no. 2 (September 1, 2022): 91–113, https://doi.org/10.3167/jemms.2022.140205.

[2] Bruce Mazlish, "Comparing Global History to World History," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28, no. 3 (1998): 385–95.

"authoritative and definitive nature of textbooks" and their unique ability to foster unified nationalistic ideals in young and malleable minds of students have historically made history textbooks prone to manipulation by governments to serve the interests of a nation.[3] In the following pages, I will examine how Japan is portrayed in AP World History educational publications and what impact they have on the students who are gaining their historical knowledge from the written curricula.

Method

I looked at a full textbook, a prep book, a preliminary textbook (the first half of a full textbook), and an online learning resource platform for AP World History in order to analyze and better understand how Japan is described in different educational texts. I will identify some similarities and differences each text shares along with the overarching themes through which Japanese history appears in the U.S.-published world history textbooks. I will also attempt to determine the implications of such depictions, the possible reasoning behind the ways in which Japan appears in the texts, and the impact the narratives will have on students and their comprehension of the world. I will then suggest the directions to which the textbooks could move to better address Japanese history.

Understanding AP World History and Japan Background Information

A Brief Overview of AP World History

Advanced Placement World History: Modern (APWH) is one of the many standardized exams offered by the College Board once a year for students to prove their ability to comprehend college-level curriculum. Originally called AP World History, the College Board altered the course during the

[3] Derived from a paper I submitted for another class the previous semester. Kara (Ah Hyun) Hwang, "Reframing Narrative in History Textbooks and Its Impact" (TE150 Honors Option Research Proposal Essay, Michigan State University, 2023).

2019-2020 school year, limiting the time frame to the centuries from 1200 to the present.[4] Many high schools in the U.S. offer a year-long class dedicated to preparing students for the exam, which is conducted in May of each year. The exam comprises four parts: a 55-question multiple choice section, three short answer questions, and two essays. Students receive a score of 1 to 5, with 3 being the passing score and 5 being the highest, and a number of higher education institutions in the U.S. offer college credits for respective courses for scores of 4 or 5. There are two other tests in the subject area of history other than APWH: AP European History and AP United States History.

The course content of APWH is divided into nine units, covering the following four different periods in chronological order: 1200-1450, 1450-1750, 1750-1900, 1900-present (see Figure 1).[5] Although not explicitly included within the course material, historical knowledge beyond the time period—especially that from years leading up to 1200—could be used to demonstrate the students' ability to contextualize historical phenomena or events when writing the essay parts of the exam. The content is categorized into six different themes, which are spread across the units, and the exam itself is focused on assessing students' ability to demonstrate six historical thinking skills (see Figure 2).[6] Under APHW's geographical framework, Japan is located within the East Asian world region. (see Figure 3).[7]

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[4] Valerie Strauss, "College Board restores 250 years to AP World History course after outcry over plan to cut 9000 years," *Washington Post*, July 20, 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2018/07/20/college-board-restores-250-years-to-ap-world-history-course-after-outcry-over-plan-to-cut-9000-years/.

[5] *AP® World History: Modern Course and Exam Description*, College Board, 2023, accessed March, 2024, https://apcentral.collegeboard.org/media/pdf/ap-world-history-modern-course-and-exam-description.pdf, 18.

[6] Ibid, 22.

[7] Ibid, 31.

Units	Chronological Period*	Exam Weighting
Unit 1: The Global Tapestry	c. 1200 to c. 1450	8–10%
Unit 2: Networks of Exchange		8–10%
Unit 3: Land-Based Empires	c. 1450 to c. 1750	12–15%
Unit 4: Transoceanic Interconnections		12–15%
Unit 5: Revolutions	c. 1750 to c. 1900	12–15%
Unit 6: Consequences of Industrialization		12–15%
Unit 7: Global Conflict	c. 1900 to the present	8–10%
Unit 8: Cold War and Decolonization		8–10%
Unit 9: Globalization		8–10%

Fig. 1. "Course Content."[8]

HISTORICAL THINKING SKILLS
Historical thinking skills spiral across units.

1 Developments and Processes
2 Sourcing and Situation
3 Claims and Evidence in Sources
4 Contextualization
5 Making Connections
6 Argumentation

THEMES
Themes spiral across units.

ENV Humans and the Environment
CDI Cultural Developments and Interactions
GOV Governance
ECN Economic Systems
SIO Social Interactions and Organization
TEC Technology and Innovation

Fig. 2. "Historical Thinking Skills" and "Themes."[9]

[8] Ibid, 18.
[9] Ibid, 22.

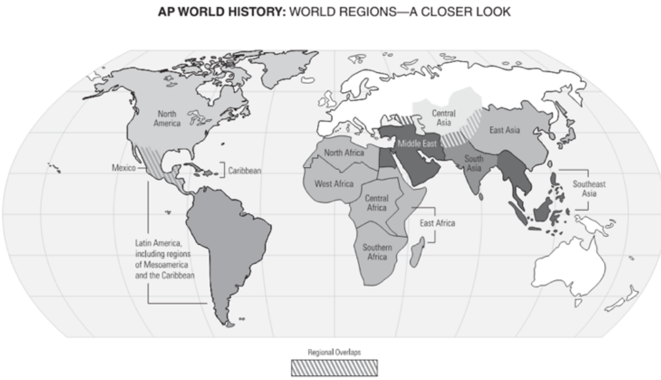

Fig. 3. "AP World History: World Regions–A Closer Look."[10]

A Brief History of Japan

The time period from the year 1200 to the present in Japanese history could be broken down into four chronological periods, each named for significant developments that shaped the period: Kamakura (named for the capital of the first warrior government, the Kamakura Bakufu or Shogunate, 1185-1333), Muromachi (aka Ashikaga Shogunate, 1336-1573), Edo (aka Tokugawa Shogunate, 1600-1868), and Modern (1868-present)——the first part of which is more famously known as the Meiji Period (1868-1912).[11]

The land of modern-day Japan demonstrates archeological evidence of human life as early as 10,000 B.C.E., during the Paleolithic era. The period immediately preceding Kamakura is known as Heian (794-1185), a period that takes credit for the establishment of Japan's first permanent capital, Heian-kyō (modern-day Kyoto), a decisive divergence from previous, mobile imperial courts.[12] This is

[10] Ibid, 31.

[11] Derived from class content and material of the Spring 2024 class HST 369 "Japan in the Age of Samurai" at Michigan State University. Materials include (but are not limited to) Mikiso Hane, *Premodern Japan: A Historical Survey* (Westview Press, 1991).

[12] Ronald P. Toby, "Why Leave Nara?: Kammu and the Transfer of the

also the period where the uniquely Japanese system takes its shape, the system that marks the opening of the next historical period in Japanese history and will remain as the governing structure for the next 700 years: the bakufu.

A bakufu was a government established by the military ruler, who generally took the title of "shōgun." The first such ruler, Minamoto no Yorimoto (1147-1199), rose to power during the Kamakura period; it was his decision to make his headquarters at the city of Kamakura in the early 1180s, which gave the period its name. During the Kamakura, Muromachi, and Edo periods, Japan was run by a system of dual-administrative governments, with an aristocratic court ruled by an emperor (who often wielded little real power) and a bakufu ruled by a shogun. The court and bakufu each had their own domain of governing concerns as well as regional powers, although a shogun often had an increasingly wide range of leverage over the matter of governing the country as a whole. The warrior class, famously known as the samurai, rose not only as a military but also as political power. Each time period had its own unique and elaborate organization of administrative systems that involved samurai, landowning government, civil officers, and aristocrats. There also existed an intricate legal system, including not only laws and reform movements that transformed over time but also the formal organization of trials based on witnesses and reliable evidence.[13]

Japan began its move into early modernity with the social, political, and economic changes enacted by the early Tokugawa shoguns at the start of the seventeenth century. The Tokugawa shogunate and its powerful central government exerted control over three of the four major islands that comprise modern Japan. Its first contact with the European and Western world began in the sixteenth century, and starting in the second half of the nineteenth century, the country engaged in a series of efforts to adopt Western

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Capital," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40, no. 3 (1985): 331-47. https://doi.org/10.2307/2384764.

[13] For more on that legal system, see Jeffery P. Mass, "The Kamakura Bakufu," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, ed. Kozo Yamamura, (Cambridge University Press, 1990), 46–88.

influence and "modernize" Japan as part of a series of reforms known as the Meiji Restoration. Rising as one of the world powers through industrial, economic, social, and military accomplishments it was able to achieve through the reforms, Japan participated in WWII, which ended with the country on the losing side. Despite the turmoil, the country is now one of the top world economies, with its GDP per capita ranking fourth in the world in 2024.[14]

Textbook Selection and Examination

Textbook Selection

AP World History study materials from the following four publishers were examined during this research: Cengage Learning, Perfection Learning, Bedford, Freeman & Worth Publishers, and Khan Academy. The examination included identifying the number of appearances Japan makes in each text—not to make any hasty criticism for the seemingly few appearances Japan makes within the entirety of the text, but to help locate and analyze such instances. I recognize that high school world history textbooks like those examined for this paper are limited in page length and volume of content suited for one academic year, which prevents the writers from delving into every country on the globe and discussing its detailed history. Understanding their logistical limitations, however, I seek to identify how those restrictions have affected American writers' narratives of Japanese history and how that might alter the learning students' perception of Japan in one way or another. Although the four examined texts (see Table 1) are very distinctive in their coverage and organization, they all serve to assist high school students during their course of studying for the APWH classes as well as the standardized exam.

[14] "The Top 10 Largest Economies in the World in 2024," *Forbes India*, February 7, 2024, https://www.forbesindia.com/article/explainers/top-10-largest-economies-in-the-world/86159/1.; Japan, for a long time, used to be the 3rd largest economy in the world. With the recent recession, however, the country's ranking fell to 4th.

Publisher	Title	Year of Publication	Author(s)	Notes
Cengage Learning	The Earth and Its Peoples: A Global History, AP® Edition, Sixth Edition	2015	Richard Bulliet, Pamela Crossley, Daniel Headrick, Steven Hirsch, Lyman Johnson, David Northrup	Most recent version: 7th Edition, 2019
Perfection Learning	Advanced Placement World History: Modern	2019	**Senior Reviewers:** Phil Cox, Charles Hart, David Drzonek, John Maunu **Writers and Reviewers:** Jody Janis, Jamie Oleson, David Lasher, James Sabathne, Amie Porte-Lewis, Thomas Sakole, Kevin Lewis, Clara Webb	Copyright 2021 version
Bedford, Freeman & Worth Publishers	1200 Update Ways of the World with Sources for the AP® Modern Course	2020	Robert Strayer, Eric Nelson	Fourth Edition; Preliminary Volume: Chapters 1-7
Khan Academy	World History Project AP®	--	--	Website copyright 2024

Table 1. Examined APWH Texts

Cengage Learning

The first text is a full textbook published by Cengage Learning in 2015, which is the sixth edition dedicated to APHW (there is a more recent seventh edition, published in 2019, that was not reviewed in this study). The textbook is organized into 32 different chapters with topics and themes in chronological occurrence in world history, from the year 8,000 B.C.E. to the present—which is most likely because this text was published before the change in APHW coverage itself, which limited the time period to 1200 to the present starting in the 2019-2020 school year. For the sake of APWH, however, educators and students would still find the textbook useful by focusing on chapters 12 to 32—what this paper will also be doing.

Out of 923 pages of content, excluding the appendices, this paper identified roughly 23 independent mentions or descriptions dedicated to certain aspects of Japanese history (appearances that are significant enough to take note of, not merely Japan's inclusion in maps or listings of country names, for example), one of which was in the period before 1200. The index provided at the end of the book identified around 10 incidents in which Japan was described in relation to China, and four headings and nine subheadings included the word Japan(ese).[15] Out of all four texts examined for this paper, this text was the most comprehensive, not only in its coverage of the contents but also in including many visual representations as well as written descriptions to deliver the content. The text was detailed enough to explicitly label a number of periods and principal incidents in Japanese history, including Taika Reform, Nara and Heian Periods, Emperor Go-Daigo's short reign, and the names of all three shogunates, including Kamakura, Ashikaga, and Tokugawa. Although it may appear natural for the texts to contain such information, not all texts were able to do so.

Perfection Learning

The second text is a 766-page APWH prep book published by Perfection Learning in 2019. Although originally published in 2019, the physical copy of the text used during this research had a copyright signed in 2021. Since it is an exam prep book, the text is organized almost identically to the APWH test, with nine different content units and four chronological periods. It also was the most content-heavy text of the four, with distinctly succinct descriptions of each historical event covered followed by a list of "key terms by theme" at the end of each topic.

The text also included a short chapter on the history of the world from the year 600 B.C.E. to 1200 C.E. to help readers better contextualize the course material of APWH that starts in the year 1200. Excluding that and other appendices, the text dedicates 721 pages to cover APHW-specific contents, and within those, I was able to identify 18 instances where Japanese history was discussed in a relatively independent manner and focus. Prior to the Tokugawa

[15] Richard W. Bulliet, *The Earth and Its People: A Global History* (Cengage Learning, 2015), I-25.

Shogunate, the only period name this text specified was the Heian Period (794-1185).

BFW Publishers

The third text is a preliminary volume of a full APWH textbook published by Bedford, Freeman & Worth (BFW) Publishers in 2020. Although the copy examined during this research only contains chapters from 1 to 7, covering the periods 1200-1450 and 1450-1750, it was not an abbreviated or altered text from the original textbook, which made the scrutiny of its contents possible at least for the first two time periods covered in APHW. This text also started with a chapter dedicated to the history of the world before the year 1200.

The physical copy examined for this paper covered the first 335 pages of the full textbook, while the full hardcover version is 1024 pages in length. Each chapter opens with a timeline of historical events covered in the chapter, and Japan appeared in 4 out of 7 of the timelines. This text was relatively less descriptive and had minimal elaborations compared to the first two texts. Japan, in particular, made roughly four appearances in the first 7 chapters, all of which were under the broader category of "East Asia." This text also didn't provide any names of prominent time periods until the Tokugawa Shogunate; all else prior to it was simply described as what happened in "Japan."

Khan Academy

The last text under study was APWH course material on Khan Academy, a free, online platform that many students use to aid their learning. The webpage provides a mix of video lectures and readings to organize the content knowledge divided into nine content units with the same typology outlined by the College Board. Khan Academy follows the broad guidelines of the APWH curriculum but does not go into much detail on each unit. It appears to cover only a minimal amount of content needed to pass the APWH exam, mostly descriptions for key terms without in-depth analysis—which arguably is how and why many students tend to choose to utilize the website.

Japan makes appearances in units 1 and 5 through 8. Out of all its coverage of Japan, only the Meiji Restoration and accompanying industrialization received two dedicated articles along with an additional article on a significant historical figure during the time. Every other description of Japan in this text was done in congruence with other countries or historical events that are not always relevant to Japan, often under the broad umbrella of "East Asia." However, it is important to recognize that this text covers a limited amount of content information across all areas of interest.

Examination

The four texts seem to describe Japan through six major themes or patterns: Early Japanese History and Chinese Influence, Confusion over Shogunates and Presumed Feudalism, Western Contact and Meiji Restoration, Imperial Japan, the Atomic Bombs, and Japan Today.

Early Japanese History and Chinese Influence

It seems that the history of Japan until the Kamakura period is almost always described in relation to China, emphasizing the Chinese influence on early Japan. As a result, Japan appears alongside two other countries often also considered to have been under Chinese influence: Korea and Vietnam——the three countries inevitably posed against one another. Cengage Learning, for example, had a section called "Chinese Influences," followed by sections on Korea, Japan, and Vietnam[16], while BFW Publishers had a section with a subheading "Interacting with China: Korea, Vietnam, and Japan,"[17] and Perfection Learning with "Comparing

[16] Ibid, 310-314.
[17] Robert W. Strayer and Eric W. Nelson, *(1200 Update) Ways of the World with Sources for the AP® Modern Course* (Bedford, Freeman & Worth Publishers, 2020), 58-63.

Japan, Korea, and Vietnam."[18] They all highlight the importance of Chinese influence in developing the early Japanese state, including Confucianism, Buddhism, the Chinese writing system, and administrative bureaucracy, as well as art and architectural motifs. In comparison to Korea or Vietnam, however, the texts appear to find it necessary to assert that Japan "was separated from China by a sea rather than land, [thus having] more ability to control its interactions with China than Korea or Vietnam could."[19]

For the period before 1200, Cengage Learning, Perfection Learning, and BFW Publishers mentioned Prince Shōtoku as a key figure in the early Japanese state-building process that was successful in incorporating Chinese influence into Japanese court, especially the Confucian ideals. *The Tale of Genji*—the story of prince Genji's journey through life, often considered the world's first novel—also made an appearance in all three texts as an important cultural landmark for Japan.

Confusion Over Shogunates and Presumed Feudalism

With APHW starting from 1200, the first period of Japanese history that is included in the course content is Kamakura Shogunate (1185-1333), which starts 15 years earlier. The Kamakura Bakufu, or Shogunate, is often referred to as the first of three military governments. The Heian period before that took the form of a traditional monarchical empire, but the three shogunates afterward had a system of dual-administrative governments, a unique feature of Japan. Presumably due to this, all four texts appear to have some confusion over how to describe the social and governmental structure of Japan. As a result, the three shogunates were mostly described in unison.

The texts examined often simply stated "[f]or hundreds of years, Japan had been a feudal society without a centralized government."[20] Presumably, to make it easier for

[18] *Advanced Placement World History: Modern (1200-Present)* (Perfection Learning, 2019), 9.
[19] Ibid.
[20] *Advanced Placement World History: Modern (1200-Present)* (Perfection Learning, 2019), 9.

Western audiences, many of the texts incorporated a comparison of the Japanese Shogunate to European Feudalism that attempted to structuralize Japanese society.

Both featured very little social mobility, and both systems were built upon hereditary hierarchies. In Japan, peasants, known as serfs, were born into lives of economic dependency, while samurai were born into their roles as protectors and daimyo were born into lives of privilege. In Europe, the three groups were serfs, knights, and nobles.[21]

For such analogy, key features of Japanese Shogunates are identified as the "force of warriors called samurai", the "powerful landlords called daimyos" and the "military general [called shogun]."[22] All texts describe that Japan was under the form of a decentralized military government called the Shogunate and that the military personnel would identify themselves as samurai who highly valued *bushidō*, a code of honor that supposedly was the equivalent of the European knights' chivalry, at least according to the texts. There was no further elaboration on the development of the social structure of warriors or shogunates, not to mention an explanation of how dual government functioned with there being one governmental center in the capital with the emperor and another in the bakufu with the shogun. It was with the emergence of the Tokugawa Shogunate, brought about by the three great unifiers, Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu, that centralization seemed possible in Japan.[23]

Western Contact and Meiji Restoration

One key feature emphasized by all four texts was Japan's contact with the Western world, most importantly the European imperial powers, and the spread of Christianity. While all four texts discuss the importance of the country's

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[21] Ibid, 10.
[22] Ibid, I vii.
[23] Cengage Learning, Perfection Learning, and BFW Publishers all mentioned the three unifiers, although only the first two included the names of each daimyo.

first contact with the Portuguese missionary Francis Xavier, it is worth noting that the description of the Japanese reaction to the interaction differs by text. The following three excerpts are from Cengage Learning, Perfection Learning, and BFW Publishers, in order:

Japanese responses to Xavier and other Jesuits were mixed. Many ordinary Japanese found the new faith deeply meaningful, but the Japanese elite more often opposed it as disruptive and foreign.[24]

Japan had tolerated the first Portuguese and Dutch traders and missionaries in the mid-16th century.[25]

When Portuguese traders and missionaries first arrived in that island nation… Japan was plagued by endemic conflict among numerous feudal lords, known as daimyo…. In these circumstances, the European newcomers found a hospitable welcome; their military technology, shipbuilding skills, geographic knowledge, commercial opportunities, and even religious ideas proved useful or attractive to various elements in Japan's fractious and competitive society.[26]

While Cengage Learning reveals the ambivalence of the interaction between the Europeans and the Japanese, Perfection Learning indicates Europeans did not receive much of the welcome BFW Publishers propose. Although they describe the same event, each textbook suggests different perceptions.

All the texts appear to agree, however, on the events that followed the initial interaction. The Christian missionaries had success in Japan to some degree, but were soon cast out as the vigilance grew against the possible disorder that the spread of a new religion could bring. As a result, expulsion edicts were issued against Europeans, and

[24] Richard W. Bulliet, *The Earth and Its People: A Global History* (Cengage Learning, 2015), 554.
[25] *Advanced Placement World History: Modern (1200-Present)* (Perfection Learning, 2019), 219.
[26] Robert W. Strayer and Eric W. Nelson, *(1200 Update) Ways of the World with Sources for the AP® Modern Course* (Bedford, Freeman & Worth Publishers, 2020), 256.

Japanese people were banned from traveling abroad. "For more than two centuries, Japan was practically isolated from the rest of the world."[27] The texts suggest through their narratives that Japanese continuation of trade restrictions with the "rest of the world" until the late nineteenth century was undesirable—despite the neglected fact that Japan continued its relations with Korea, China, and Dutch merchants in limited capacity.

Then comes the Meiji Restoration, during which the Japanese readily adopted European influence and became "modernized" and "Westernized." Learning from its neighbor China's mistake of fighting against Western pressure, according to texts, Japan accepted Western industrialization to protect itself. Reform-minded samurai overthrew the shogunate in support of the Meiji emperor, and together they modernized Japan with the technological advancements introduced by the West. Japan soon achieved a dramatic economic growth that asserted its place in world politics by the twentieth century. With the growth of industry, the texts also highlight the development of *zaibatsu*, the conglomerates.

Imperial Japan

In comparison to China, which experienced great embarrassment from its failed confrontation against Western expansion, Japan learned from the precedents and readily adopted Western industrialization. Once Japan stepped foot into modernization, it appears that the nation embraced the Western ideology of "New Imperialism" and started exerting its power over the rest of the world, making itself one of the world's "major industrial and military power[s]" amongst other western countries like England, France, Germany, and the U.S.[28] Japan's imperial reach extended to China, Korea, and Southeast Asia, as well as the Pacific, acquiring colony after colony. When Japan won wars against China in 1895 and Russia in 1905, it put the Western world in shock but

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[27] *Advanced Placement World History: Modern (1200-Present)* (Perfection Learning, 2019), 219.
[28] Richard W. Bulliet, *The Earth and Its People: A Global History* (Cengage Learning, 2015), 746-747.

gained the country the respect of the rest of the world for its power as well.

Around the time of World War II, the texts describe that Japan—the country that did not make an appearance when World War I was being discussed—was in the midst of expanding its imperial grip on the Indochina region, to which the U.S. responded by putting sanctions on shipments. According to the texts, the Japanese “knew they could not hope to defeat the United States, but they calculated that the shock of the attack would be so great that isolationist Americans would accept the Japanese conquest of Southeast Asia as readily as they had acquiesced to Hitler's conquests in Europe.”[29] Hence, Japan initiated the “surprise air attack” of Pearl Harbor, and then “seized the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, British Malaya, Burma, and numerous Pacific islands.”[30] “The United States, however, quickly began preparing for war,”[31] and with the previous luxury of not being directly involved in the total warfare, the U.S. homefront “started with the strongest industrial sector of any country in the world and it added stringent government planning to provide factories what they needed.” Contrary to that, in Japan, “efforts on the home front were confused,” although contradictingly, it was “successful in rationing food throughout the war.”[32]

The Atomic Bombs

Two atomic bombs were dropped on Japan by the United States, on Hiroshima (August 6, 1945) and Nagasaki (August 9, 1945), and the Japanese surrendered, ending the war. Some of the texts evaluated the necessity of the bombing that claimed numerous lives. The following are excerpts from Perfect Learning and Cengage Learning, in order.

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[29] Ibid, 822.
[30] *Advanced Placement World History: Modern* (1200-Present) (Perfection Learning, 2019), 513.
[31] Richard W. Bulliet, *The Earth and Its People: A Global History* (Cengage Learning, 2015), 822.
[32] *Advanced Placement World History: Modern (1200-Present)* (Perfection Learning, 2019), 514.

Were these atomic weapons necessary? At the time, Americans believed that the conquest of the Japanese homeland would take more than a year and cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of American soldiers. Although some believed the Japanese were determined to fight to the bitter end, others thought they would surrender if they could retain their emperor. Winston Churchill wrote: “It would be a mistake to suppose that the fate of Japan was settled by the atomic bomb. Her defeat was certain before the first bomb fell.”[33]

The dropping of the atomic bombs certainly sent a clear message to Japan. Americans had new weapons of war that led to horrific consequences. But the Japanese had also become somewhat used to the constant bombings of their cities and military targets. For many Japanese, the atomic bombs were more of a continuation of these bombings. The atomic bombs were not acts that led to the eventual and unconditional surrender of the emperor. On August 8, the Soviets invaded Manchuria. This came just two days after the bombing of Hiroshima. When combined with the bombings and the Soviet declaration of war against Japan, the Japanese knew that they must surrender.[34]

The morals and ethics of the atomic bomb are considered while narratives of the texts leave the question for the readers to evaluate the situation themselves. All texts are in agreement, however, on the content information that the atomic bomb was what brought victory for the U.S. and the ending of WWII, although it left a devastating effect on the people of Japan.

Japan Today

After losing the World War, Japan's economy experienced great hardship. However, strenuous efforts aided

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[33] Richard W. Bulliet, The Earth and Its People: A Global History (Cengage Learning, 2015), 824.

[34] “Read: Nuclear Weapons (Article),” *Khan Academy: World History Project AP® | Arts and Humanities*, n.d., https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/world-history-project-ap/xb41992e0ff5e0f09:unit-7-global-conflict/xb41992e0ff5e0f09:7-5mass-atrocities-and-the-effects-of-global-conflict/a/read-nuclear-weapons.

by "traditional Japanese cultural characteristics […] contributed to Japan's rapid economic recovery and global eminence since the end of World War II."[35] Today, Japan is once again one of the leading economies in the world, with global companies like Toyota and Sony. More recently, Japanese popular culture also spread across the globe, including manga and anime.

Analysis and Implication

The examination of the texts drives a conclusion that a large part of Japan's appearance in the U.S. APWH textbooks were to explain the country's confrontation with the U.S. during the World War and the prominence of Japanese cultural influence in the modern day. Despite varying in depths of details, and despite the inevitable alteration and selection made during the process of constructing a textbook within its page limit, I recognize that the texts examined dedicate a considerable amount of their contents to the history of Japan. However, that is not to say that all mentions of Japanese history in the texts were great representations of Japanese History.

First, in order to position the history of Japan in relation to the rest of the world, the text narratives appear to have chosen two main pivotal points, China and the West. The first half of Japanese history relates to a great degree with the Chinese influence and its impact on Japan in comparison to the other countries also influenced by China, specifically Korea and Vietnam. The latter half of the country's history is outlined by its contact with the Western world, how the West has changed Japan, and vice versa. The fact that Japan, Korea, and Vietnam all have a history of military encounters with the U.S. also makes the subjectiveness of the American textbooks questionable. Although acknowledging that the pages are limited in textbooks and that discussion of a country's history in relation to other countries seems to suit the nature of world

[35] Richard W. Bulliet, *The Earth and Its People: A Global History* (Cengage Learning, 2015), 920. The text explains the "traditional Japanese cultural characteristics" as "respect for hierarchy, the importance of group over the individual, and solid work ethic."

history, it is also important to point out that such an approach could both intentionally and unintentionally induce the readers to make a judgment on a country's worth or importance only in relation to other countries, not necessarily the appreciation of the country's historical development and culture.

Second, Japanese history prior to European contact is presented with limited content details and elaboration in comparison to its interaction with the Western world. For one, the three shogunate periods of Japan were oversimplified into just a seemingly continuous warrior government with samurai, daimyo, and shogun as its components, whereas in reality, each shogunate, the Kamakura, Muromachi, and Tokugawa, had different governmental and societal structures that changed over time. The social classes of Jito and Shugo, in fact, were the main social groups in Kamakura,[36] while the Shugo continued and dominated through Muromachi,[37] and the Daimyo was a group of the warrior class that emerged the latest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and could even be divided into four different sub-categories based on the process of the class development.[38] The texts also fail to explain how bakufu and the dual government functioned or the emergence of a wide range of townspeople, especially the merchants who gained wealth through the Tokugawa monetary economy. Most disappointing, however, is that none of the text mentioned the *shōen*, an important landholding institution which arguably contributed to the development of the warrior class in the first place. "Given the useful ways in which they illustrate key political and economic issues in each age, it seems hard to imagine that students might learn about premodern Japan without developing an appreciation of the landholding system" of *shōen*—and yet the APWH textbooks are supporting just

[36] Mass, "The Kamakura Bakufu," 46–88.
[37] Ethan Segal, "Kamakura and the Challenges of Governance," in *Japan Emerging: Premodern History to 1850*, ed. Karl Friday (Westview Press, 2012), 203-212.
[38] John W. Hall, "Foundations of the Modern Japanese Daimyo," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 20, no. 3 (May 1961): 317–29, https://doi.org/10.2307/2050818.

that.[39] This would lead students to simply view “medieval” Japan as a feudal society resembling that of Europe—which, by itself, is a very Euro-centric understanding that does not do justice to explain Japan in context of Japan.[40]

Third, the narratives of Japan’s contact with the Western world imply that Japan, especially during the Meiji Period, benefited greatly from the West’s generosity in bringing modernization despite Japan’s resistance. They seem to suggest that it was only because of Westernization that Japan was able to succeed despite it being in the far-away and exotic Eastern half of the world, which reflects the concept of the white savior complex to a certain extent that still is unconsciously prevalent in many aspects of today’s society.[41] The textbooks being published in the U.S. undoubtedly would contain bias for the U.S., whether it be deliberately narrated to implant certain perspectives to the growing minds of children who would be consuming the textbooks or not. However, it still would be worthwhile to point out that the natural authority of textbooks despite their innate limitations is what endows the simple text with such a potential to manipulate how students shape their worldview after reading the textbooks.

Fourth, the inclusion of Japan in the U.S. world history textbooks mainly seems to focus on contextualizing the event of Pearl Harbor. Just like Berman and Stoddard discovered in their study of comparing the descriptions of Pearl Harbor and 9/11, Pearl Harbor in the four examined texts also explained the events in chronological order, often attributing its cause to Japan’s imperial desire. The texts emphasized the surprising nature of the event, suggesting that

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[39] Ethan Segal, ““Teaching Japanese Estates: Old Challenges and New Opportunities,” In *Land, Power, and the Sacred: The Estate System in Medieval Japan*, ed. Janet R. Goodwin and Joan R. Piggott (University of Hawai’i Press, 2018), 442.
[40] John W. Hall, “Foundations of the Modern Japanese Daimyo,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 20, no. 3 (May 1961): 317–29, https://doi.org/10.2307/2050818.
[41] Colleen Murphy, “White Savior Complex Is a Harmful Approach to Providing Help-Here’s Why,” Health, August 17, 2023, https://www.health.com/mind-body/health-diversity-inclusion/white-saviorcomplex#:~:text=The%20White%20savior%20complex%2C%20also,of%20color%E2%80%94community%20or%20person.

the damage the U.S. experienced was because of the unexpected attack by a presumed ally or neutral country. The descriptions of events were very succinct, simply listing what had happened and the number of casualties. The same applied to two other events: the Battle of Midway and the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Atomic Bombs. Even briefer-to-no mention was made of the forced Japanese internment camps that the U.S. government created in response to Pearl Harbor. In a section for war atrocities, for example, the Rape of Nanjing and sexual labor conducted by the Japanese were included along with other wartime genocides and the Nazis—the U.S. was nowhere to be seen, not to mention the Japanese internment camps.[42] Out of all the countries in the world, it seems clear why the United States would be interested in including Japan in its world history curriculum, and in what light the country would be portrayed.

Lastly, the lack of cultural aspects of Japanese history may make the country appear flat and unrelatable. In all the texts, Japan's appearances were mostly centered around the discussion of early state-building or modern world politics. Although the textbooks did celebrate the "traditional values" of Japanese society as well as the works of literature such as *The Tale of Genji*, noh and kabuki plays, and some paintings and architectural works, a significant number of descriptions were dedicated to political events rather than a cultural aspect of Japanese history. This holds true for other countries that appear in history textbooks. Japan is a rather unfamiliar country for average U.S. students, however, and the lack of cultural portrayal could serve to create more experienced distance between the students and Japan. While breaking away from the traditional historical narrative of listing chronological events is important, it would be even more crucial for foreign countries like Japan to be included as the beneficiary of such efforts, for it could possibly foster a closer link between the students and the foreign country—what could encourage the students to conceptualize and adopt a different country and culture with much more open and accepting mindset.

[42] *Advanced Placement World History: Modern* (1200-Present) (Perfection Learning, 2019), 524.

Conclusion

Taking a look at four APWH textbooks and study materials, this paper identified that many such texts, despite having relatively more coverage of Japanese history in their content, represent Japan in a rather disproportionate way that serves to benefit the U.S. and its perspective. While understanding the restrained length and depth that each content area can hold in a world history textbook that covers a vast amount of events from the year 1200 to the present, there still are ways in which portrayals of Japan could be changed to better represent the country. The texts should be aware of their tendency to place Japan only in relation to "other powerful countries" and emphasize the country's interaction with the U.S., not about the development and consolidation of the nation itself. Understanding the possible unintended manipulation the textbooks could cause in the malleable minds of the students should prepare future textbook publishers to always be conscious of its inevitable restrictions yet seek to limit the restriction itself to create a more comprehensive and well-rounded representation of a country other than the U.S.

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Economic and Ecological Effects of Afforestation in the New Forest

Charlie Horne

Introduction

In the entry for 1087, one of the authors of the historical annals called the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* recorded a poem eulogizing William the Conqueror. It was not a generous assessment. Of the authors' many grievances, one of note is his account of William's introduction of the Forest Law:

> His rich men bemoaned it, and the poor men shuddered at it. But he was so stern, that he recked not the hatred of them all; for they must follow withal the king's will, if they would live, or have land, or possessions, or even his peace. Alas! that any man should presume so to puff himself up, and boast o'er all men.[1]

But how true was this, and what reason did the author have to resent it so?

The establishment of royal forests in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest certainly represented a shift in land ownership and rights, denoting the rights of people to hunt the game and use the resources within demarcated land as they did. The restrictions and the penalties for breaking them were more stringent and encompassing than what had existed before King William implemented the Forest Law. But the consequences outstretched crime and punishment alone. The social landscape changed, the economic landscape changed, and—where the ecosystems of the Royal Forests themselves were concerned—it may have even been that the land *itself* changed.

I will be using the area of the New Forest as a case study of the effects of afforestation, which in this instance refers to the introduction of forest law by King William. Located in southwest England—specifically, the counties of Hampshire and Wiltshire—the New Forest is one of the most well-preserved Royal Forests, with an interesting geological makeup. The earth is mostly composed of gravel, clay, and sand overlying chalk. The combination of these

[1] "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Eleventh Century." Avalon Project. Accessed December 1, 2024. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/medieval/ang11.asp.

factors results in acidic soil that drains poorly. The area is prone to flooding.

My hypothesis is that afforestation and the introduction of new deer species for the purposes of recreational hunting negatively impacted peasants because they exacerbated the economic state of an already impoverished region. The geological region which the New Forest is located in—the Hampshire basin—is an area that is hostile to agriculture in what was then an economy defined by it. The soil, acidic and poorly draining as it is, cannot sustain agriculture. Its eleventh-century residents were likely aware of this: geological surveys of the area have found that the soil quality deteriorated in the centuries after it was first put to agricultural use during the Bronze Age, and by the Middle Ages, the basin had largely been abandoned for arable use.[2]

The primary uses which peasants could put the land to in the absence of farming were pannage—grazing their livestock in the wood—and foraging. These were not very lucrative pursuits. It would not have taken violence on behalf of the conquerors to bring an end to many of the villages there. And beyond the experience of peasants, this change in the status quo would have proved negative for the landowners and elites who had previously called those lands their own.

In order to explore the question of how afforestation impacted people and the environment, I will examine a few factors of interest, namely, the degree of environmental impact, economic impact, and social impact. Can we determine how wildlife populations and the land itself may have been affected? What can records tell us about the effects on the economy? And what does material culture tell us about the social function of hunting, and by extension, the restriction of hunting?

I will be primarily focusing on the hundreds of county divisions of Redbridge, Boldre, Rowditch, and Fordingbridge within the Domesday Book for the county of

[2] Sue Davies, Karen Walker, and Linda Coleman. "The New Forest Historical Landscape." *New Forest Knowledge*, December 1998. https://nfknowledge.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/WA-NFHL-NFK.pdf., pg. 20.

Hampshire. The Domesday Book is a survey outlining the resources which were possessed by these settlements in the times of King Edward and King William. To inform my conclusions about the geographical context of these Domesday entries, I am referencing a multi-methodical historical landscape survey carried out by Wessex Archaeology in 1997.[3] I will be keeping this recent research, as well as archaeologist Naomi Sykes' analysis of zooarchaeology[4] and various essays from medieval historians Julia Crick and Elisabeth Van Houts' collection on English social history,[5] in mind for my analysis of the primary sources. These sources help determine the likely makeup of fauna in different parts of Hampshire, and the extent to which the livelihood of peasants would have suffered from the introduction of forest laws.

2.1 | Environmental Impact: Effects on Human-Wildlife Interactions

One of the major concerns of the forest laws was game: namely, boar and deer. Only the king and those he permitted were allowed to hunt these species so long as they remained within the extensive limits of his land.

During the eleventh century, Britain had two species of deer: Roe deer, a small species which prefer areas with dense ground cover where they can take shelter in thick brush, and red deer, a large species more adapted to open heath and wetlands, closely related to elk. Regarding their behavior, red deer are preferable targets for recreational hunting on horseback such as that the Normans engaged in, as they are easier to pursue on open terrain and have greater stamina.[6]

Fluctuations in the number of individuals found in the remains of settlements before and after the conquest

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[3] Davies, Walker, and Coleman, "New Forest Historical Landscape."
[4] Naomi Jane Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: A Zooarchaeological Perspective*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports Publishing, 2016.
[5] Julia Crick and Elisabeth Van Houts, eds. *A Social History of England: 900-1200*. Cambridge: University Press, 2011.
[6] "Red Deer - Deer Species." The British Deer Society, July 2, 2024. Accessed November 22, 2024. https://bds.org.uk/information-advice/about-deer/deer-species/red-deer/.

reveal changes in how people interacted with these different species. While roe deer are rarely found in assemblages of animal remains at rural, urban or elite sites dating to before or after the twelfth century, in pre-Conquest ecclesiastical assemblages, they are by far the most commonly found remains of wild mammals. The reason for this is unclear. Roe deer are depicted more frequently than other species of deer in medieval religious art, but was this a happenstance consequence of roe deer being common in ecclesiastical settings, or were they intentionally brought in because there was already a religious association? Interestingly, after the Conquest there appears to have been a steep drop-off in the number of roe deer consumed, most dramatically on religious sites. From the mid-eleventh to mid-thirteenth century, they went from nearly 60% of all mammal remains on ecclesiastical sites to less than 10%.[7]

What was the reason for this? It might be related to symbology. If the reason for the monks' preference was due to *cultural associations* concerning roe deer, a cultural shift like the influx of Norman elites might have resulted in a desire to signal new cultural associations. It might also imply damage to the roe deer population in general. A contemporary study of wildlife in Poland has indicated that dense populations of red deer resulting from hunting bans can have negative effects on the distribution of roe deer.[8] If hunting restrictions produced a more uncontrolled population of *red* deer, their browsing may have resulted in the destruction of the brush on which roe deer feed and in which they make their habitats. But this was an England that still had natural predators which could manage populations of red deer—and assemblages of animal remains in pre-Conquest sites in rural England indicate that wild game was consumed not out of necessity, but as an expression of status. Perhaps a reduction in the number of roe deer corresponds to different

[7] Sykes, *The Norman Conquest*, 67.
[8] Borkowski, Jakub, Rafał Banul, Jolanta Jurkiewicz-Azab, Czesław Hołdyński, Justyna Święczkowska, Maciej Nasiadko, and Dariusz Załuski. "There Is Only One Winner: The Negative Impact of Red Deer Density on Roe Deer Numbers and Distribution in the Słowiński National Park and Its Vicinity." *Ecology and Evolution* 11, no. 11 (May 18, 2021). https://doi.org/10.1002/ece3.7538.

preferences of an increasingly Norman church leadership, or perhaps it indicates a reduced involvement of English clergy in elite social life. They certainly were not *dependent* on wild game to survive, and neither were people of other social classes.

In Sykes' analysis of animal remains found in fifth- to ninth-century sites, cattle are the most common, followed by sheep and pigs. Whereas hundreds of these animals can be found in the waste produced by individual villages, it is unlikely for either species of deer to be present at all; in cases where they are found, there are rarely more than ten. In the sites examined within Hampshire county, none were found at all.[9] The proportions of domestic to wild mammal remains found in Anglo-Saxon sites suggest that their residents primarily subsisted on domestic animals such as cattle and sheep, with animals such as deer being consumed only on rare occasion—all in the absence of the sort of formal hunting restrictions introduced with the Forest Law.

However, if the cause of the reduction in roe deer was because of a *proliferation* of red deer resulting from reduced predation, then one might expect to find evidence of that proliferation. What the zooarchaeological findings actually indicate, however, is an increase in the number of red deer being hunted and consumed. Why was that?

Red deer are a species that had strong cultural associations with power and prestige long before the arrival of the Normans, and they are found time and time again in archeological contexts associated with high social status. Sykes notes that their likenesses and remains have been found alongside hunting paraphernalia in high-status Anglo-Saxon burials such as those of kings.[10] A figurine of a red deer was discovered atop a scepter and whetstone among a treasure trove of other expensive grave goods at one of the most famous Anglo-Saxon burial sites, Sutton Hoo.[11] There is also a connection drawn between red deer and power in Anglo-Saxon prose: *Beowulf* describes its King Hrothgar

[9] Sykes, *The Norman Conquest,* 127.
[10] Sykes, *The Norman Conquest,* 66.
[11] Sceptre; Whetstone | British museum. Accessed December 10, 2024. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1939-1010-160.

naming his 'mead-hall grander than men of the era ever had heard of' after the hart's antlers which he decorates it with.[12] The context of these is notable: A deer crowning an object of high status like a scepter, or of martial use like a whetstone? A king's monument to his power and the object of a heroic battle being called *"Heorot"* and described as being *'crested with horns'?* It is interesting that Anglo-Saxon artists used the visual language of deer when depicting objects, people, and places of power—and in the case of the social elites commissioning these artworks, with themselves. The consistency suggests an Anglo-Saxon cultural association between red deer, physical domination, and high social status.

Animal remains found in Anglo-Saxon sites also support the existence of an association between red deer and the social elite. While red deer are rarely found at rural sites, they are far more common at elite sites dating to the same period. At the site of Portchester Castle, east across the estuary from the land that would become the New Forest, over three hundred remains of individual red deer were discovered dating from the fifth to ninth centuries.[13] The animal remains discovered at Portchester Castle and similar sites indicate that while Anglo-Saxon social elites also did not consume *as* many wild mammals as they did livestock like cattle or sheep—there were five thousand more cattle than deer dating to the same period in Portchester, for instance—venison was hardly the once-in-a-blue-moon rarity that it was in rural contexts.[14] Again, it seems that people in eleventh-century England did not *subsist* on wild game. Hunting was primarily a social activity of the wealthy and powerful, especially the kind of hunting on horseback which would have been better suited to pursuing red deer. Restricting hunting to the king and those he favored may

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[12] Hall, Leslie, trans. *Beowulf*. DC Heath & Co. Publishers, 1892. Accessed December 9, 2024. https://www.gutenberg.org/files/16328/16328-h/16328-h.htm (Pg. xv)
[13] Naomi Jane Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: A Zooarchaeological Perspective,* 127.
[14] Naomi Jane Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: A Zooarchaeological Perspective,* 127.

have been done to protect the population of deer for their sole use, but the low frequency of deer remains at pre-Conquest sites do not indicate that overhunting would have been a concern. It is more likely that these hunting restrictions were issued not with the intention of preservation, but primarily of exclusivity.

The zooarchaeological record after the Conquest supports this hypothesis. Whereas consumption of roe deer fell drastically in the centuries following the arrival of the Normans and the introduction of the Forest Law, consumption of red deer skyrocketed—at least in proximity to Royal Forests. Returning to the example of Hampshire, which is in the vicinity of the New Forest, there were three hundred cattle, three hundred sheep, four hundred pigs, and *six hundred* red deer found at the site of Faccombe Hetherton, dating from the mid-eleventh and mid-twelfth centuries.[15] The red deer far exceed the number of any other mammal, representing a decisive departure from the patterns of taxa representation preceding the Conquest in the same area. The total number of deer consumed among the elite greatly increased while peasants continued to consume little deer at all, as indicated by the lack of any deer remains dating to the mid-eleventh to mid-twelfth century in Hampshire.[16]

Perhaps the most extreme change to the ecological landscape of England related to the Royal Forests was the introduction of a *third* species: fallow deer, a species native to the area of the Mediterranean. A few decades after the Conquest—roughly around 1100—they were imported from Turkey to the British Isles.[17] Fallow deer had been popular for use in game parks in the Roman Empire, and unlike red and roe deer, were semi-domesticated. Sykes hypothesizes that the first few generations of these deer introduced *after* the Conquest would have been commodities, exotic animals to be 'observed and admired' in menageries rather than hunted. While some specimens predating the Conquest have been found in association with Roman game parks, there is

[15] Naomi Jane Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: A Zooarchaeological Perspective,* 129.
[16] Naomi Jane Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: A Zooarchaeological Perspective,* 129.
[17] Rackham, Oliver. *A Social History of England: 900-1200.* 50.

little evidence that they had been roaming wild. The post-Conquest population of fallow deer was not nearly as restrained, and they would go on to become the most common species of deer in Britain.[18]

From the deer parks they were introduced to, fallow deer soon escaped and proliferated throughout the rest of England. To get a picture of what this may have looked like, one can look to the contemporary example of British Columbia, where a very similar scenario occurred after fallow deer escaped game farms in the 1960s. Unlike more solitary species—like black-tailed deer, or in the case of England, both red *and* roe deer—fallow deer live in large herds and reproduce in great numbers. Deer sustain themselves by 'browsing'—eating small plants and saplings—and excessively large deer populations will browse past the point at which the ecosystem can sustainably support them. When fallow deer outcompeted solitary native deer species and formed a superabundance in British Columbia, the result was the development of a 'browse line.'[19] It is true that fallow deer were not *entirely* alien to the ecosystems of Britain like they were to those of British Columbia: there is evidence that they were present in prehistorical Europe. However, they went extinct in all but parts of Turkey during the last glacial period sometime between 70,000 and 10,000 years ago.[20] The ecosystem of Britain at the time of their reintroduction in 1100 C.E. would have been enormously different. And while they have since been naturalized to that ecosystem, without contemporary observations as to the effects of their introduction, it is difficult to say what their impact might have been when they first began to proliferate. The potential consequences are interesting to explore, however. Might a similar browsing line have developed in

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[18] Naomi Jane Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: A Zooarchaeological Perspective,* 78.
[19] Metcalfe, Zack. "Deer Eradication on Sidney Island: Restoring Natural Growth on Canada's Southern Gulf Islands Wasn't Pretty." Sierra Club, July 8, 2024. https://www.sierraclub.org/sierra/deer-eradication-sidney-island.
[20] Naomi Jane Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: A Zooarchaeological Perspective,* 76.

England's woodland pastures, imperiling the foraging and pannage of the Royal Forests' residents?

The proliferation of fallow deer also might serve as an explanation for the reduction in the number of roe deer found in post-Conquest assemblages of animal remains. Fallow deer did not become the most common deer species in *all* British landscapes: being reliant on browsing of forest undergrowth, they failed to establish a strong foothold in moorlands.[21] As previously discussed, red deer—who are well-suited to moorlands—do not show any reduced representation in assemblages dating to the period after the introduction of fallow deer. But roe deer, who are deeply dependent on forest undergrowth, *do*. Other contemporary studies comparing deer species have found that fallow deer may display aggression towards and displace roe deer from feeding sites,[22] and that while they share the same woodland environments, roe deer avoid areas where fallow deer are abundant.[23] If the reduced representation of roe deer remains found in human settlements after 1100 represents not a change in preferences but a change in *availability*, then a sudden proliferation of fallow deer outcompeting them in their natural environments seems to be a likely cause. Without more firsthand evidence as to the effect this introduction may have had on the ecosystem and the resources at people's disposal, it is difficult to say exactly how such an event might have affected peasants. The reduction of one species of deer and the proliferation of another would not in and of itself have made an impact on the life of the average person.

As for the question of how and when wild boar were hunted and consumed, it is far more difficult to answer. It is possible that many of the remains and records we *do*

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[21] Rackham, Oliver. *A Social History of England: 900-1200.* 50.
[22] Ferretti, F., A. Sforzi, and S. Lovari. "Intolerance amongst Deer Species at Feeding: Roe Deer Are Uneasy Banqueters." *Behavioural Processes* 78, no. 3 (July 2008): 487–91. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.beproc.2008.02.008.
[23] Ferretti, Francesco, Gabriele Bertoldi, Andrea Sforzi, and Lorenzo Fattorini. "Roe and Fallow Deer: Are They Compatible Neighbours?" *European Journal of Wildlife Research* 57, no. 4 (January 12, 2011): 775–83. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10344-010-0487-5.

have of boar were not actually boar at all. During the eleventh century, domestic pigs were common animals in Southwest England. While they do not produce byproducts like cattle and sheep, they require little maintenance and are keen foragers, which makes them a reliable and relatively low-cost source of meat. They were consumed by peasants and by the elite alike. Of the assets listed under holdings in the New Forest in the Domesday Book, swine were by far the most common other than the land itself. This makes sense when considering the environment. Because the soil quality of the Hampshire Basin is poor and best suited to supporting forests, keeping pigs would be a sensible way to make a living.

But why might this prevalence bring the number of boar being consumed into question? The skeletons of wild and domestic pigs are notoriously difficult to differentiate: the most telling difference is their teeth, and it is rarely the case that an individual set of remains dating back as far as the eleventh century will have a fully intact jaw.[24] This dilemma brings any identification of wild boar remains in medieval sites into question, and while zooarchaeological evidence of wild boar *does* exist, it is usually inconclusive.

It is interesting to note, however, the difference in butcher marks between pigs and other mammals. Marks on the bones of deer found in medieval sites are consistent with butchery done with hunting knives, most likely carried out by hunters or their kitchen staff. Livestock show signs of far more professional butchering, with chop marks from butcher's knives—*except* for pigs. Like deer, their bones also exhibit more knife marks than cleavages.[25] Why might livestock like cattle and sheep be professionally butchered before being brought to a wealthy house, and not pigs? Perhaps it was a difference between the resources available to the peasants raising them: pigs require less maintenance and investment than cattle and sheep and therefore may have been more common in poor settlements lacking professional butchers. But the similarity of the butcher marks on the bones

[24] Naomi Jane Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: A Zooarchaeological Perspective,* 66.
[25] Naomi Jane Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: A Zooarchaeological Perspective,* 19.

of pigs to those of wild animals may also indicate that these were not *domestic* pigs at all. Either way, there is too little evidence to draw strong conclusions about which scenario is more likely, and without a solid baseline before and after the Conquest, it is difficult to say what its effects might have been on boar.

2.2 | Economic Impact: Effects on the Livelihoods of Forest Residents

The New Forest is in a geological region of England called the Hampshire Basin. The soil is primarily composed of sand and clay. Coupled with poor drainage and high acidity, this makes agriculture in the area unsustainable. The settled areas had been cleared for use by the Bronze Age, and by the eleventh century, what fertility they possessed would have already been exhausted.[26] The residents of the New Forest had few resources other than land for grazing swine and for agriculture. That agricultural land would have had poor yields compared to other areas of England. Even grazing pigs would not have been an entirely reliable source of food; pannage—the grazing of swine in woodland—was only productive when the trees in wood pastures dropped acorns in the autumn, and this was only in limited quantities.[27] In its valuations of settlements, the Domesday Book measures swine as part of woodland, and I suspect this is because the wood pastures themselves would have been of greater material concern. The number of swine may have fluctuated in the short term but was always capped by the suitability of the land they were grazing on. Pannage makes keeping swine more cost-effective than other livestock which cannot digest the same woodland debris. However, for swineherds to take advantage of this, they would be reliant on access to wood-pastures during the season.

Becoming part of a Royal Forest did not necessarily put an end to all of these activities. As Oliver Rackham puts it, "deer were added to and did not displace whatever was already going on in the Forest." He further

[26] Sue Davies, Karen Walker, and Linda Coleman, *The New Forest Historical Landscape*, 9.
[27] Rackham, Oliver. *A Social History of England: 900-1200.* 48.

notes that the shapes of Royal Forests share patterns consistent with commons, and specifically wood-pasture commons. Pannage continued in some of these.[28] But afforestation carried with it heavy restrictions on the *kinds* of activities residents were permitted to engage in.

The land in this particular corner of England would likely have had relatively little value in an economy that was dependent on agriculture, and the valuations in Domesday Book further suggest that this was the case. Valuations of settlements contained within the New Forest listed in the Domesday Book indicate that the area was already poor—by the time of the survey, the value of many holdings had dropped even further. Consider the hundred of Boldre, for instance, most of which was located in the Forest (fig 1). The information on the valuation of these settlements is spotty, likely because so much of it was annexed by the forest. Many of the settlements of Boldre, especially those with no valuation, are listed as not paying tax. If the purpose of Domesday was to better estimate *taxes*, it would also make sense that surveyors might not collect estimates of current valuations for land that was then in the king's forest, and therefore the king's own property. But interesting to note about the settlements which *do* have recorded valuations for both timeframes is that their values fell—and fell hard. In the twenty-year timespan between the end of King Edward's reign and the survey, something must have happened to negatively impact most of the settlements within this hundred. Afforestation, and the restrictions on land use that accompanied it, seems to be a likely culprit.

Another interesting detail in Hampshire Domesday Book is the entry for the settlement of Eling in the hundred of Redbridge, which was valued at £38 in 1066 and had 69 households. It seems to have been a relatively large and prosperous village, at least relative to the area, but there is one description in the entry which few in the survey share: "In the Forest 16 villagers and 3 smallholders' dwellings were appropriated; also woodland at 280 pigs from pasturage and 3 sesters of honey all of which are now missing. These

[28] Rackham, Oliver. *A Social History of England: 900-1200.* 50-51.

are assessed together at £26."[29] These properties were specifically those which were in the bounds of the newly established Forest. The authors of the Hampshire Domesday survey do not specify the reasons why this loss may have occurred, but as King William held Eling directly under his lordship, it seems the appropriation was likely carried out under his direction. Afforestation then seems to be the cause. Considering the already poor state of this region's agricultural production and the acute loss of so many resources, one can imagine that this additional loss of so many residents' homes might have led to worsening material conditions. And given that this sacrifice was made in the name of the Royal Forest, it is unlikely that this incident and any others like it would have generated positive feelings.

The monks who authored the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle seemed to have no great love for King William's new royal forest. In their entry for 1087, while recounting the general 'covetousness and greediness' of the late king, they make multiple references to afforestation and the state of the 'deer-parks'. They claim of the ban on hunting deer that 'rich men bemoaned it, and the poor men shuddered at it'. The monks go so far as to claim that the punishments for defying this ban—and the king—would entail one being deprived of their sight, lives, land or peace.[30] This first claim is a bit of embellishment on the part of the monks; there is nothing else to indicate that William was in fact gouging poachers' eyes out. But as evidenced by the Eling entry, he *did* deprive at least some people of their property for the sake of his forests, and landowners lost much of the value of their lands.

While I doubt the Chroniclers' exact words as to the effect of the forests on William's subjects, I don't doubt that there *was* a 'hatred of them all' directed against his afforestation policies. Even if they were not severely affected by the hunting bans, the peasants living in affected areas had plenty of reason to resent the commandeering of their dwellings and loss of resources. However, I think it is worthy to ask: Why should the authors of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, men of a much higher place in society, care about

[29] Hampshire 1:27, 38d.
[30] "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle : Eleventh Century." Avalon Project.

the concerns of some unfortunate peasants living in the vicinity of these massive new deer parks? If punishments such as blinding were not actually taking place, then why did the author claim that they were? I believe the Chroniclers' exaggeration about afforestation was politically motivated, precisely because afforestation was a deeply political issue.

2.3 | Social Impact: Hunting as an Expression of Dominance

Royal hunts already existed, but hunting was an activity that many landowners participated in, not just the king. What was *not* a concept that existed in Anglo-Saxon England was the idea of a Royal Forest. When they were first established in England after the Conquest, their ownership was exclusively reserved to the king—England's conqueror.[31] On this land, only the king and those he permitted were allowed to engage in what had previously been an activity that had been enjoyed by, if not "the people," at least some smaller landowners. This coincided with a shake-up in the social hierarchy, with England coming under the purview of Norman lords. Many English church leaders were replaced with Frenchmen, the English language was phased out of official capacity, and kings had greater power to grant and forfeit estates.[32] The already-established elites had suffered a humiliating defeat and found their influence waning. Afforestation may not have directly affected most of them, but I believe that it very well may have felt like salt in the wounds of their humiliation.

William the Conqueror's love for deer in and of itself was not alien to Anglo-Saxon England. As discussed previously, red deer were associated with high status, power, and physical domination. Consider then the *symbolic implications* of a conquering king sectioning off areas of the land as deer parks, appropriating property within them, and declaring exclusive ownership over the deer, which he freely kept on what had been others' land. It was this authority that was alien. While clergy and nobility were still permitted to hunt with his permission, they could *only* do so with his

[31] Rackham, Oliver. *A Social History of England: 900-1200.* 50.
[32] Garnett, George. *The Norman Conquest.* 87.

permission. To the embittered Anglo-Saxon elites, it could be taken as a microcosm of the Normans' authority over them. Afforestation may have been perceived as an expression of dominance over a powerful class, just as hunting was an expression of dominance over a powerful creature.

This may be a reason why distaste for the Forest Law had reached the level it had for the author of William's obituary in the Anglo Saxon Chronicle, who declares himself as having "dwelt in [William's] court."[33] Beyond the impiousness of profiting at the expense of the poor that the author decries, there is the simple fact that this change was in service of an ostentatious display of power and status on behalf of the Norman ruler he was beholden to. Might other men of his status have been similarly outraged?

3 | Conclusion

In terms of the ecological effects, the Norman Conquest saw a shift in the representation of deer species in Britain. I hypothesize that—due to their grazing habits and reproduction rates—the introduction of fallow deer in the century after the Conquest may have resulted in acute damage to the roe deer population through overbrowsing and displacement. If this did in fact take place, it may have been a contributing factor to another change: namely, the reduced economic value of settlements within and in the vicinity of Royal Forests. Records of swine in Hampshire Domesday imply that residents may have been dependent on pannage, an already unreliable and seasonal practice which would have been made more precarious by overbrowsing.

The area of the New Forest was already poor before the Conquest, likely a consequence of poor soil quality. The reduction in value and appropriation of residents' resources, in addition to any environmental changes which may have occurred and the imposition of punishments for breaching Forest Law, likely resulted in poorer material conditions for commoners living in the vicinity of the New Forest.

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[33] "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle : Eleventh Century." Avalon Project.

Landowners and elites were also angered by the establishment of Royal Forests, likely due to the seizure of their land, but more generally because of the insulting connotations of the conquerors' narrow hunting restrictions. Hunting the 'tall deer' which King William loved so much, as the author of that section of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle put it, was a practice associated with high status, dominance, and power. I believe that the restriction thereof may have served as a powerful and humiliating symbol of the Anglo-Saxon elites' subordination.

The afforestation of England in the eleventh century and onwards is a practice that is often associated with the greed and injustice of the king and his men—one might recall stories about Robin Hood and Little John defying the authority of the sheriff. This cultural association is not without cause. From their onset, the Royal Forests had consequences for those who lived within them. However, those consequences were more far reaching than simply the image of a sheriff unjustly apprehending a peasant. There were environmental impacts, economic impacts, and social impacts on commoners, landowners, and elites alike. The Royal Forest was established by King William, for King William, and for all of the kings that would follow.

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Figures

Created by Charlie Horne

Fig. 1: **CHANGES IN VALUATION OF HOLDINGS IN BOLDRE**
Information sourced from Hampshire Domesday, accessed via Munby, Julian, ed. *Domesday book: Hampshire*. Chichester: Phillimore, 1982.

Location, *(ordered by greatest to smallest number of households)*	*Combined* ***value*** *of all landholder's listings within specified settlement;* ***1066***	*Combined* ***value*** *of all landholder's listings within specified settlement;* ***1086***	***Difference in valuation*** *between 1066 and 1086*
Sway	£ 2, s 19	2 £, 9 s	- s 10
Brockenhurst	£ 2	4 £	+ £ 2
Minstead	£ 8	1 £	- £ 7
S. Baddesley	*unknown*	3 s	*unknown*
Beceslei	s 15	4 s	- s 11
Lesteorde	£ 2	3 s	- £ 1, s 17
Lyndhurst	£ 6	10 s	- £ 5, s 10
Allum	£ 5	*unknown*	*unknown*
Andret	*unknown*	*unknown*	*unknown*
Battramsley	£ 3	*unknown*	*unknown*
Bile	£ 4	*unknown*	*unknown*
Bolderford	£ 10	*unknown*	*unknown*
Boldre	£ 3	*unknown*	*unknown*
Brookley	£ 1	*unknown*	*unknown*
Cildeest	£ 8	*unknown*	*unknown*
Coxlease	£ 3	*unknown*	*unknown*
Gritnam	£ 2	*unknown*	*unknown*
Hincheslea	£ 1	*unknown*	*unknown*
Mapleham	£ 1	*unknown*	*unknown*
Nutlei	£ 1, s 5	*unknown*	*unknown*
Oselei	£ 2	*unknown*	*unknown*
Pilley	£ 2, s 15	*unknown*	*unknown*
Sanhest	£ 1	*unknown*	*unknown*
Sclive	£ 10	*unknown*	*unknown*
Througham	£ 13	*unknown*	*unknown*
Wigarestun	s 5	*unknown*	*unknown*

African Resistance to European Conquest During the African Rinderpest Panzootic of 1887 to 1897

Britton Gustafson

From smallpox's aid in the genocide of the indigenous peoples of the Americas to the recent COVID-19 pandemic that shut down the entire world, diseases have shaped the human experience and continue to do so. Diseases have been a scourge throughout human history. Epidemics and pandemics have erupted across the world, causing severe consequences for those affected. Disease outbreaks are often caused by and fuel ongoing events and conditions. For much of human history, diseases and disease outbreaks have had a particular influence on warfare. Diseases aid and impede the efforts of militaries, as in the Spanish Influenza Pandemic (1918-1920) during World War I. This pandemic's supposed origin among American troops in Kansas and resulting deaths of tens of millions of people spurred from global military migrations highlights the connection between diseases and warfare.[1]

Zoonotic diseases, or those spread through animal vectors, are also part of the link between disease and warfare. During the late nineteenth century, when Europe conquered most of Africa (save for Ethiopia and Liberia), the African Rinderpest Panzootic of 1887 to 1897 ravaged the continent. From the disease's introduction to Africa from the Eritrean port of Massawa, the panzootic began and continued to be connected to Europe's conquest of the continent.[2] Europe's military takeover of nearly all of Africa by the beginning of the First World War was not without African resistance. Many African peoples fiercely resisted European conquest through rebellion and war. With the spread of the rinderpest across the continent, Africans also resisted militarily to European methods of disease control. Often the arrival of rinderpest led to the collapse of societies across Africa, which aided in Europe's rapid colonization of the continent. This

[1] Barry, John M. "The Site of Origin of the 1918 Influenza Pandemic and its Public Health Implications" in *Journal of Transnational Medicine*. 2 3, 2004.
[2] Rowe, John A., Hodnebo, Kjell. "Rinderpest in the Sudan 1888-1890: The Mystery of the Missing Panzootic." *Sudanic Africa* 5 (1994): 149-78. ; 3 Spinage, C.A. "The Italian Occupation of Massawa and the Supposed Origin of the African Rinderpest Panzootic." *African Journal of Ecology* 55, 4 (2017): 705-709.

phenomenon will be analyzed in case studies from various African countries. The African Rinderpest Panzootic of 1887 to 1897 is inextricably bound up with Europe's "scramble for Africa" and African military resistance to it, as well as European disease containment methods.

Virology and Global History of Rinderpest

Before discussing the impact that the introduction of the rinderpest had on Africans and warfare, a brief primer on virology and epidemiology is necessary. Rinderpest, derived from the German language, is sometimes known as cattle plague. Rinderpest virus is a *Morbillivirus* closely related to viruses that cause measles, canine distemper, and *peste des petits ruminants* (PPR). Strains of the virus vary in virulence for cattle and differ genetically. A vaccine developed using a single strain of rinderpest is effective against all strains. The virus is shed nasally and ocularly. Rinderpest is spread during the incubation period, which happens one to two days before fever can be detected. Direct or close indirect contact between infected and healthy populations allows transmission of the virus. Once contracted, an animal has lifelong immunity. In enzootic, meaning areas where an animal disease regularly occurs, young cattle inherit maternal immunity before losing it and becoming infected with rinderpest prior to vaccination.[3] Endemic is the term for human diseases. A regional or local outbreak of a disease is called an epidemic for human diseases and an epizootic for animal diseases. A global or widespread outbreak of a disease is called a pandemic and a panzootic for animal diseases.

Rinderpest was not limited to cattle but could infect all wild and domesticated species of the order Artiodactyla or cloven-hoofed animals. Spread of the virus was often dependent upon constant spread among domesticated cattle, buffalo, and yaks. Because of its similarity to *peste des petits ruminants*, it was often

[3] Saliki, Jeremiah T. "Rinderpest (Cattle Plague)." Merck Veterinary Manual, 2020. https://merckvetmanual.com/generalized-conditions/rinderpest/rinderpest.

underdiagnosed among goats and sheep.[4] Misdiagnosis of rinderpest posed a serious problem for public health authorities. Fred Smith, a professor in the British Army Veterinary School from 1886 to 1893, noted how with "…different diseases, mycotic affections of the intestinal canal of all kinds, and even rinderpest, have been designated dysentery, and it is therefore difficult, indeed impossible, to recognize with certainty that form which is here described as red dysentery.[5] Symptoms of rinderpest included lymphoid necrosis, gastroenteritis, fever, necrotic stomatitis, and a very high mortality rate. Rinderpest morbidity remained low with mild clinical signs in endemic areas whereas morbidity was typically 100% and morality 90% in epidemic form. Effective disease control in endemic regions involves immunization, quarantine, and sometimes slaughter. For epidemics, the quarantine and slaughtering of exposed animals is necessary. Controlling animal movements is critical, as the interaction of sick animal populations and healthy populations is responsible for many rinderpest epidemics.[6]

Rinderpest had plagued Europe and Asia for centuries. The disease was endemic through much of Eurasia and often erupted into epidemic and pandemic form. For example, the rinderpest pandemics of the 1850s to 1870s in Europe resulted in cattle deaths in the hundreds of millions.[7] For most of history, Africa was safe from the onslaught of rinderpest. Africa's safety can be attributed to the continent not engaging in widespread infected-cattle movements. This practice was, however, common within and between Europe and Asia for centuries. When European empires began to penetrate and colonize more of Africa in the late nineteenth century, the continent's historical insulation from rinderpest came under threat. Italian troops' arrival at the port of

[4] Ibid.

[5] Smith, Fred. "General Articles". *Journal of Comparative Pathology and Therapeutics*. 1892. Edinburgh & London. 1892. 105.

[6] Saliki, Jeremiah T. "Rinderpest (Cattle Plague)." Merck Veterinary Manual. Merck Veterinary Manual, 2020. https://www.merckvetmanual.com/generalized-conditions/rinderpest/rinderpest.

[7] Roeder, Peter L. "Rinderpest: the end of the cattle plague." *Preventative veterinary medicine* 102, 2 (2011): 98-106.

Massawa in 1887, which was part of a military campaign against Ethiopia, were carrying cattle from India that were infected with rinderpest. The virus spread rapidly across the continent and became a decade-long pandemic. It is estimated that the African Rinderpest Panzootic of 1887 to 1897 resulted in catastrophic numbers of wild and domestic animals dying, leaving only about 5% alive after its rampage.[8]

The first school of modern veterinary medicine in Lyon, France, arose in 1762 from the necessity of combatting rinderpest. After decades of successfully fighting the virus in Europe, it resurfaced again in 1920 in Belgium.[9] Rinderpest's resurgence in Europe galvanized a global eradication campaign. The creation of the World Organization for Animal Health in 1924 and Agriculture Organization in 1946 led to official cooperation beginning in 1952 to finally eradicate rinderpest but this lofty goal was only realized in 2011. The declaration of its eradication was possible after ten years of thorough international surveillance after the disease's last reported case in 2001, which was in Kenya. Rinderpest joined smallpox as the only viral diseases to be successfully eradicated throughout the world.[10] With its eradication, the nightmare rinderpest caused for both animal and human populations had come to an end. However, the disease's historical and ongoing ramifications for African populations should not be forgotten nor ignored.

Italian Introduction of Rinderpest to Africa

Rinderpest's introduction to Africa did not happen randomly but as part of European imperialism. The "Scramble for Africa" occurred during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, an era of new imperialism during which Europe conquered nearly all of Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands to build their global empires. Prior to

[8] Ibid.
[9] Saliki, Jeremiah T. "Rinderpest (Cattle Plague)." Merck Veterinary Manual. Merck Veterinary Manual, 2020. https://www.merckvetmanual.com/generalized-conditions/rinderpest/rinderpest.
[10] Ibid.

advancements in biomedicine in the mid-nineteenth century, Europeans were unable to penetrate the African interior, or the “white-man’s grave,” due to their susceptibility and limited exposure to tropical diseases. With the development of modern technology and medicine, European empires had the means to take over Africa. After the Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885, in which Europe’s great powers gathered to carve up the continent for their empires, European empires rapidly and intensely conquered Africa. Italy, arguably Europe’s weakest great power, had imperial ambitions of its own in Africa. Italy would start large military campaigns to build its colonial empire on the continent. The Italo-Turkish War of 1911-12 resulted in Libya shifting from Ottoman to Italian control. Italy’s main imperial concentration, however, would be in the Horn of Africa. Through successful military campaigns Italy took control of what is now Eritrea and southern strip of what is now Somalia, known then as Italian Somaliland. Italy’s campaigns against the Ethiopian Empire while colonizing Eritrea allowed rinderpest to be introduced to Africa and become a panzootic.

The undeclared Italo-Ethiopian War of 1887 to 1889 fought between the Kingdom of Italy and Ethiopian Empire during Italy’s colonization of Eritrea served as ground zero for the African Rinderpest Panzootic of 1887 to 1897. Italy transported cattle to the Eritrean port of Massawa to feed Italian troops during the campaign. The cattle originated from India where rinderpest was enzootic, and a major outbreak occurred in Bombay (Mumbai) in 1882.[11] General San Marzano landed with troops to capture the port of Massawa. Some scholars claim his arrival introduced rinderpest-infected cattle. However, during the panzootic, an Italian named Sonnino claimed it had arrived earlier that year as:

The normal price in the first two years of the Italian occupation [February 1885-Febuary 1887] (for) slaughtered beef distributed to the troops cost on the average 0.46 Lira per kilo. After the 1st March 1887, as a result of the blockade, the cattle plague, and the

[11] Sonnino as quoted in “Rowe, John A, Hødnebø, Kjell. “Rinderpest in the Sudan 1888-1890: The Mystery of the Missing Panzootic.” *Sudanic Africa* 5 (1994): 155.”

augmentation of the force, the price went up until it reached Lira 2.50 per kilo in the months November and December 1887, during the expedition of San Marzano.[12]

Spinage (2017) discusses the various accounts for the supposed origin of rinderpest-infected cattle sent to feed the Italian troops occupying the port of Massawa. He notes a lack of clear records tracing the infected cattle to India and suggests evidence of their origin elsewhere such as Sudan and Ethiopia.[13] However, even though scholars debate the origins of the rinderpest-infected cattle, none deny the connection to their role in providing food for the Italian troops in their campaign against Ethiopia in 1887 to 1889.

Rinderpest's rapid transmission across the continent starting with its arrival in early 1887 would not have been possible without the widespread movements and campaigns of European militaries in their aims to subject Africans to colonial rule. The arrival of new diseases like rinderpest and rapid transformation of the environment due to European conquest resulted in disease outbreaks becoming a frequent occurrence throughout the colonial period.

Italy's first campaign in the Horn of Africa provided the spark for rinderpest to engulf the rest of the continent. Italy would conquer Eritrea and end hostilities with Ethiopia in 1889 with a compromise. However, Italy would attempt to conquer Ethiopia later during the panzootic in 1895 to 1896. Italy's attempt would prove unsuccessful and be seen as a national embarrassment. Years later their failure would be corrected by Mussolini with Fascist Italy's effective invasion in 1935 that led to a five-year occupation of Ethiopia from 1936 to 1941 which fused Ethiopia with their colonies Eritrea and Somaliland as Italian East Africa. The Allies would kick the Italians out of Ethiopia in their first successful campaign against the Axis.

European conquest, specifically Italy's campaign in the Horn, is inextricably linked to the outbreak of the African Rinderpest Panzootic of 1887 to 1897. Following

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Spinage, C.A. "The Italian Occupation of Massawa and the Supposed Origin of the African Rinderpest Panzootic." *African Journal of Ecology* 55, 4 (2017): 705-709.

rinderpest's launch from the port of Massawa, the virus would wreak havoc on African societies. Many African societies, particularly in East and Southern Africa, are pastoralist and cattle serve as wealth and at the core of their societies. With rinderpest resulting in the deaths of around 95% of African hooved animals the consequences were devastating. European rinderpest disease control methods and overall conquest of African communities led to fierce resistance from many African societies. Analysis of different communities' experiences across the continent offer a wider picture into how African resistance to European conquest is connected to the African Rinderpest Panzootic of 1887 to 1897.

Case Studies

Discussion of some African ethnic groups' experiences during the African Rinderpest Panzootic of 1887 to 1897 highlights how the outbreak is deeply connected to their overall resistance to European conquest. The spread of rinderpest to every corner of the continent devasted countless communities and destroyed societies. European scientists and veterinarians recognized the difficulty of countering the rinderpest panzootic on the continent:

> Since arrest of cattle traffic and wholesale slaughter of diseased and suspected animals are probably impossible throughout the greater part of Africa, that is tantamount to saying that in the regions of Africa already invaded rinderpest will for many years to come remain as an enzootic affection, as it is in many parts of the Asiatic continent at the present time. This is no doubt a gloomy outlook, but there is a ray of consolation in the knowledge that in course of time the excessive virulence which the disease always displays on a first invasion is likely to materially diminish.[14]

European medical authorities remained generally apathetic towards the devastation the panzootic had on Africans and the restrictions in widespread disease control efforts to save

[14] "Cattle Plague in Africa" *Journal of Comparative Pathology and Therapeutics*. Edinburgh & London, 1896. 328.

African cattle populations. European veterinarians and scientists recognized that the panzootic's extreme severity could be attributed to its introduction to a continent that prior to 1887 had not experienced the disease south of the Sahara. Diseases that arrive in new regions establish themselves in endemic areas and emerge in epidemic and pandemic form in other areas. With rinderpest's introduction to Africa through European military conquest, the disease grew into a severe panzootic that had devastating effects on societies across Africa.

One of the first communities who fell victim to rinderpest's onslaught on animal populations were the Borana Oromo of Southern Ethiopia. The Borana Oromo were pastoralists who subsisted on their cattle. Waktole and Oba (2009) analyzed how oral historians of the Borana Oromo stress the devastation of the panzootic as it is known as *Ciina*, meaning 'termination' or more specifically 'termination of the pastoral economy'. The termination is in regard to the end of their traditional sociocultural, economic, and political structures. The collapse of the Borana Oromo's cattle economy created a famine and lack of prey resulted in large carnivores becoming man-eaters. *Ciina* equates to the end of pastoral life and social disruption that would scar Borana Oromo oral narrations of their past.[15] The collapse of Borana Oromo society, famine, and man-eater attacks resulted in the deadliest smallpox epidemic in their oral history.[16] Even with disruption in cattle ownership and lost families, the Borana Oromo made a quick recovery from the panzootic due to a clan social security system.[17] Community members worked together to ensure no one lost everything and was hopeless. The Borana Oromo were fortunate to have made a quick recovery from the societal collapse brought on by the rinderpest panzootic. Their location must be highlighted. The Borana Oromo lived in Ethiopia which, along with Liberia, were the only African states to remain independent and successfully defend against European imperial conquest.

[15] Tiki, Waktole, and Gufu Oba. "*Ciinna*—the Borana Oromo Narration of the 1890s Great Rinderpest Epizootic in North Eastern Africa." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 3, 3 (2009): 481.
[16] Ibid., 489.
[17] Ibid., 499.

Granted, the Borana Oromo were not isolated from encounters with Europeans. However, they did not have to deal with the onslaught of a European army aiming to conquer their lands as colonies. Without an overarching large European presence, the Borana Oromo could recover and rebuild from the panzootic on their own terms. This privilege did not exist for most of Africa's other groups.

Even for groups like the Borana Oromo, such as the BaSotho, who bounced back quicky from the panzootic, it aided in the militarization and expansion of the colonial state. The BaSotho (or Sotho) reside in Southern Africa, with many having lived in the British colony of Basutoland, now the sovereign constitutional monarchy of Lesotho. Phoofolo (2003) notes how colonial disease control methods such as military *cordon sanitaires,* quarantine, and restriction of transport networks led to disruption in the movement of goods and economic strain for the BaSotho. Nearby British colonies such as the Free State put armed guards on borders that fired at BaSotho, and the Cape suspended work passes for BaSotho.[18] These measures were enacted to prevent the spread of rinderpest and other diseases. The British Empire's actions in the region not only aimed at combating rinderpest, but in subjugating and expanding their rule by force. Troops and the military's involvement during the panzootic were key in enforcing Britain's effective conquest and absorption of African peoples into the wider imperial project. No matter the rinderpest panzootic's virulence on an African population, the outbreak had negative impacts on African sovereignty and resistance to European imperialism.

The African Rinderpest Panzootic often served as a catalyst for African resistance to European conquest and imperial rule. In South Africa, British anti-rinderpest disease control measures added to the increasing conflict between colonial authorities and the Ndebele. In response to the British South Africa Company's slaughter of infected cattle, a Ndebele person reportedly said:

[18] Phoofolo, Pulle. "Face to Face with Famine: The BaSotho and the Rinderpest, 1897-1899*." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29. 2 (June 2003): 505.

The white men are deceiving us; they first pretend to give us cattle, they then kill them and they won't even allow us to eat them when killed. What greater proof can there be that they do not want us to live? Let us fight them; we would rather be killed than die of starvation.[19]

Spiritual leaders within many African societies called upon their people to resist against Europeans. Among the Ndebele, senior Mwari priests claimed their Supreme Being, Mlimo, bestowed upon them the prophecy that:

These white men are your enemies. They killed your fathers, sent the locusts, this disease among the cattle, and bewitched the clouds so that we have no rain. Now you go and kill these white people and drive them out of your father's land and I will take away the cattle disease and the locusts and send you rain.[20]

Ofcansky (1981) argues that the rinderpest outbreak led to an unsuccessful rebellion by the Ndebele that resulted in their full subjugation to British imperial rule.[21] The religious aspect of the Ndebele rebellion was not unheard of among other African armed resistance movements during the panzootic to European rule.

Resistance against European conquest and rule during the panzootic did not always take the form of a major rebellion like the Ndebele's. Often, refusal to cooperate with European authorities during the panzootic served as another form of African resistance to European domination. An excellent example of refusal to cooperate with Europeans was by Chief Morumolo at Mabuli within the Molopo Native Reserve found in the British colony of Cape of Good Hope in what is now South Africa. Unlike the chief at Pitsani, he refused to allow carcasses of cattle that died from rinderpest

[19] As quoted in "Ofcansky, Thomas P. "The 1889-97 Rinderpest Epidemic and the Rise of British and German Colonialism in Eastern and Southern Africa." *Journal of African Studies* 8 (1) (Spring): 1981. 31."
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ofcansky, Thomas P. "The 1889-97 Rinderpest Epidemic and the Rise of British and German Colonialism in Eastern and Southern Africa." *Journal of African Studies* 8 (1) (Spring): 1981. 34. Check these and be consistent.

to be buried. A veterinary surgeon for the colony describes how:

The chief Morumolo gave us more trouble and opposition than any of the others in the whole of the Mafeking district. When I went there first, he would not allow his people to sell me anything in the way of food, and he threatened to confiscate the Scotch cart and oxen from the man of whom I hired them to drive me from there to Capt. Styles'. He was also opposed to any police being stationed near his stad, and refused to supply them with any provisions.[22]

Chief Morumolo's resistance to collaboration with Europeans highlights the difference in encounters African leaders had with Europeans. Some willingly collaborated whereas others fiercely resisted. Many African leaders, such as Chief Morumolo, did whatever they could to prevent cooperation with European colonial and military authorities. Collaboration with European imperial powers often led to eventual subjugation. Even during the panzootic, leaders like Chief Morumolo recognized this. African resistance to European domination ranged greatly in its manifestations from full on rebellion like the Ndebele to refusal to cooperate like Chief Morumolo.

The African Rinderpest Panzootic of 1887 to 1897 led to utter devastation for some communities such as the Fulani who are found in Northern Nigeria. The Fulani who live across West Africa and the Sahel are predominately pastoralists, specifically nomadic pastoralists. For the Fulani of Northern Nigeria, European Settler F. St. Croix notes the dark shadow of the panzootic by describing how the

Fulani, having lost all, or nearly all their cattle, became demented; many are said to have done away with themselves. Some roamed the bush calling imaginary cattle; assaults on persons for imagined provocation or suspected derisive remarks as to the loss of cattle were common. [Afterward] so great was the demand for

[22] *Reports of the Chief Veterinary Surgeon and the Assistant Veterinary Surgeons*. Cape of Good Hope Department of Agriculture. Cape Town. 1896. (1897). 13.

cattle that, locally, it was common in many places to offer large prices for the unborn calf.[23]

The disillusion and violence among the Fulani due to the panzootic highlights just how critical cattle were for pastoralist communities. When the core of a society dies off rapidly it leads to social, economic, political, and cultural destruction. The great mental anguish and disillusionment caused by the rinderpest panzootic for the Fulani in Northern Nigeria created an opportunity for European colonizers to conquer the area. The British and French would blame each other's expeditions and military campaigns on the arrival of rinderpest in West Africa. The Fulani in what is now Northern Nigeria would fall under the dominion of the British Empire. It is not unusual, then, to suggest that the British military took advantage of the Fulani's widespread impoverished condition to aid in defeating them and establishing the region as part of the colony of Nigeria. The Fulani of Northern Nigeria provide an example of mental or psychological damage caused by the rinderpest panzootic which European militaries could take advantage of in order to successfully conquer nearly all of Africa.

The rinderpest panzootic not only caused great mental anguish for African societies, but physical anguish as well. African societies depended on both wild and domesticated animals for food. When 95% of a society's food becomes infected with rinderpest, severe consequences such as famine, malnourishment, and predation by man-eaters due to lack of usual prey occur. The rapid decrease in quantity and quality of animal products due to the panzootic also aided European military conquest of the continent. An African kingdom or empire whose people are starving or malnourished cannot defend themselves against a European military as effectively compared to when their nutritional needs are met satisfactorily. Malnourished or hungry troops, civilians, and slaves weaken a state. In the Marotse kingdom of Central Africa, each chief owns slaves from the groups the

[23] F. St. Croix as quoted in "Rowe, John A, Hødnebø, Kjell. "Rinderpest in the Sudan 1888- 1890: The Mystery of the Missing Panzootic." *Sudanic Africa* 5 (1994): 152."

kingdom has power over. A European explorer by the name of Gibbons wrote how:

When a chief kills an ox he and his family greedily consume meat and marrow, while the wretched slaves get little more than the skin of the teeth. It is an ill wind that blows no one any good, and so it would seem the rinderpest epidemic was no exception to the rule. M. Goy told me how that the slaves of Sesheke revelled for days in the foul meat of the dead cattle.[24]

With African kingdoms and empires like Marotse, which thrived off profits from the slave trade, malnourished slaves due to a scant food supply weakened the entire kingdom itself. The quote also suggests slaves were consuming infected cattle meat. When the core of an African society's economy, whether cattle or slaves, is severely weakened or collapsed by forces such as a rinderpest outbreak, it produces conditions under which European militaries could more easily defeat and subdue Africans under imperial rule.

Perhaps one of the most revealing African experiences during the African Rinderpest Panzootic of 1887 to 1897 is that of the Maasai. The Maasai are semi-nomadic pastoralists living in what is now Kenya and Tanzania. A 19-year period of great devastation for the Maasai known as *Emutai* meaning 'to wipe out' occurred during the late nineteenth century.[25] Historian Richard Waller describes *Emutai* as a rapid succession of three epidemics: bovine pleuropneumonia (BPP), rinderpest, and smallpox. The first two decimated the cattle populations on which the Maasai survive, and the smallpox epidemic destroyed the human population. He divides the crisis into two phases. The first from 1883 to 1892 covers the epidemics, whereas the second which overlaps with the prior from 1892 to 1902 is characterized by warfare between the Maasai following their societal and economic collapse. After the *Emutai,* the Maasai

[24] Gibbons, A. St. H. *Exploration and Hunting in Central Africa 1895-96.* London: Metheun & Co. 1898. 346.
[25] Hopkin, M. "Past drought hints at Africa's future." *Nature* 444, 529 (2006).

rebuilt their unity and animal herds.[26] The strife caused by the *Emutai* in Maasailand allowed for opportunistic European empires to take advantage of the situation and further their colonial ambitions. While on an expedition for the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEA), F. D. Lugard noted in regard to the rinderpest panzootic that:

> In some respects it has favored our enterprise [....] The advent of the white man had else not been so peaceful. The Masai[27] would undoubtedly have opposed us and either by force of arms or by protracted methods of conciliation (whose results would have been doubtful), we should have had to win our way to the promising highlands beyond their country.[28]

Lugard recognizes that the devastation caused by the rinderpest outbreak on the Maasai has led to a favorable situation for his business and the British Empire. He notes his pleasure of not having to confront the Maasai, who are often depicted as fierce warriors in European accounts. The absence of military resistance from the Maasai to British as well as German imperialists due to the African Rinderpest Panzootic of 1887 to 1897 and wider *Emutai* allowed for broader European conquest of East Africa. The experience of the Maasai as well as countless other African communities during the rinderpest panzootic highlights the outbreak's connection to European conquest and African resistance.

Conclusion

African resistance to European conquest of the continent is highly correlated to the African Rinderpest Panzootic of 1887 to 1897. Disease outbreaks, whether

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[26] Waller, Richard. "Emutai: Crisis and Response in Maasailand 1883–1902." Chapter In *The Ecology of Survival: Case Studies from Northeast African History*. London, England: L. Crook Academic Pub., 1989.

[27] 'Masai' is the European colonial era spelling for the people who prefer their group's name to be spelled "Maasai."

[28] Lugard as quoted in "Ofcansky, Thomas P. "The 1889-97 Rinderpest Epidemic and the Rise of British and German Colonialism in Eastern and Southern Africa." *Journal of African Studies* 8 (1) (Spring): 1981. 32."

human or animal, have profound impacts on the course of human events. The introduction of rinderpest by Italian forces and subsequent panzootic aided in European conquest of Africa and African resistance to it. Even with a presence far shorter compared to Europe and Asia, rinderpest shaped Africa's history in many ways. African experiences during the panzootic varied greatly across different communities. From demographic collapse to providing the spark for a rebellion, the African Rinderpest Panzootic of 1887 to 1897 is inextricably linked to African resistance to European domination.

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