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Abstract

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Letter from the Editors

       In the midst of social unrest and a global pandemic, we, the editors of the Gettysburg Historical Journal, could not forget our duty to publish undergraduate academic scholarship. Although this task may seem trivial considering greater issues, historical discourse deserves its place. French historian, Marc Bloch, of the Annales school, spoke of the risk crises posed to historical research:

> Without doubt, too, civilizations may change. It is not in itself inconceivable that ours may, one day, turn away from history, and historians would do well to reflect upon this possibility. If they do not take care, there is danger that badly understood history could involve good history in its disrepute. But should we come to this, it would be at the cost of a serious rupture with our most unvarying intellectual traditions.[1]

What is important is not that history be understood in a single "correct" way. What matters, and what our journal seeks to promote, is the articulation of differing voices on a variety of topics. The "badly understood history" could be the "single story" of history which Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie references in her writings. A single story is the dominance of a shallow and incomplete narrative that overshadows the depth of a culture or, in

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[1] Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1953), 5.

this case, a historical record. Currently, we risk the politicization of the past with movements and parties utilizing sources and events that suit their narrative. We face the delegitimization of scholars and specialists who counter the status quo. Although not every scholarly paper challenges an established fact, scholarship should be free. A single voice cannot prevail just as much as a single source type cannot prevail. Literary material can be augmented by material culture, archaeological and anthropological research, and artistic interpretation. Future historians must continually search for new sources of information and new ways to interpret the past to gain a nuanced perspective of the past.

With the assistance of the Cupola, Gettysburg College's online research repository, and the distinguished college faculty, our authors' work has received both serious scholarly attention and national accolades. Past authors have gone on to publish follow-up work in refereed journals, and to present their work at undergraduate and professional conferences. The Gettysburg Historical Journal is primarily a student-run organization, and as such, it provides undergraduate students with a unique opportunity to gain valuable experience reviewing, editing, and organizing academic articles for publication. In all cases, authors and editors have also had the opportunity to apply these skills to their future careers, or their work as graduate students.

Each of the following works selected for this nineteenth edition of the Gettysburg College Historical Journal exemplifies

the varied interests of undergraduate history students. Max Bouchard's essay, "Carrying the Nation on Fragile Shoulders: Female Textile Workers in a Modernizing Japan," explores the treatment of the predominantly female workforce in the Japanese textile industry in the Meiji Period. He notes how gendered beliefs prevailed in shaping the relationship between textile employers and their female employees. Rachel Chenault's essay, "The Celtic Queen Boudica as a Historiographical Narrative," evaluates Boudica as a usable character in the past, and what that meant for modern historiographical study through the lens of ancient historiography, gender in history and post-colonialism.

Christopher Lough's paper, "'Immortal until his work is done': Northern Methodists and the Klan in Reconstruction Alabama," argues that the Ku Klux Klan's persecution of Arad Simon Lakin, a Northern Methodist preacher who ministered in Alabama following the Civil War, and other Northern Methodists fits into its broader efforts to hasten the coming of God's judgment, which ultimately found success with Redemption. Cameron Sauers's essay, "Some Corner Forever: The Imperial War Graves Commission and the Meaning of the Great War," analyzes the lasting impact of the burial sites administered by the Imperial War Graves Commission on the British public's mourning and understanding of the Great War. Finally, Lillian Shea's essay, "An Augustan Accident: The Paradox of Augustan Sex and Marriage Laws and Augustan Ideology," assesses the practicality and

implementation of Augustus's laws on marriage and sexuality in the first century through the analysis of literature, art, poetry, and Roman histories.

This edition of the Gettysburg Historical Journal also includes a feature piece written by Professor Scott Hancock that addresses the impact of the Corona Virus Pandemic on his experience as a professor and scholar.

The General Editors,

Brandon Katzung Hokanson
Lillian Shea

Acknowledgements

Featured Piece

This year's feature piece was written by Professor Scott Hancock, who is Chair of the History Department. He focuses on African American experiences before the Civil War, especially in law.

Professor Scott Hancock

In today's covid-19 United States we need people who will do great work. Gettysburg College's motto perhaps isn't the most inspirational, but it is definitely appropriate. Though the mechanism through which we now teach has changed markedly, the mission is the same.

I'm guessing that like me, most students deal in some fashion with constant streams of information and opinions about the coronavirus pandemic. Teaching during the pandemic requires we professors to keep perspective—millions of people worldwide are experiencing realities far worse than most professors. Most of us, at least now, are relatively healthy and economically secure, as our paychecks continue to arrive. Nevertheless, keeping perspective means we keep challenging students to think critically, evaluate sources, and produce work that rigorously relies on facts, expertise, reason and consideration of different perspectives. The tendencies toward anti-intellectualism, selective choosing of facts, and disdain for opposing opinions (though some opinions,

untethered to facts in order to deceive, should be disdained) shape much of the information that daily bombards us. Critics of Donald Trump and his Republicans at times drive public fear by too quickly pointing to high fatality rates of worst-case scenarios. Trump and his supporters eclipse their opponents' use of fear by orders of magnitude, along with unprecedented levels of distortion of facts, lying, and castigating anyone who presents clear evidence of their deceptions.

For me and my colleagues, therefore, the main story about teaching during the covid-19 pandemic, then, isn't so much about learning to use new online tools. It's about being effective in assisting and challenging our fellow human beings who are now students and will be drivers of society to do great work, to do better work. It's about doing better work than many who currently drive our societies by fear and not fact. Doing great and better work means thinking carefully, being willing to embrace complexity, checking your facts, and developing theory and practices that will make a tangible difference in people's lives. Because those who use fear hope we won't do great work.

Carrying the Nation on Fragile Shoulders: Female Textile Workers in a Modernizing Japan
By Max Bouchard

Following the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate and reestablishment of imperial authority under Emperor Meiji in 1868, Japan initiated a comprehensive process of reforming and modernizing the country in an effort to gain the respect of the United States and European nations of the time. This process was intended to improve their political standing internationally by helping to motivate western political powers to renegotiate the "unequal treaties" that Japan had been forced to sign in the 1850s. In addition to reforming the nation's military and political system around these new Westernized standards, an important facet of Japan's modernization was industrializing its economy by investing heavily in mechanized labor industries, thus transitioning the country away from the predominantly agrarian society that it was at the end of the Tokugawa period. Amongst the many different industries that came to prominence in Meiji-era Japan and continued to develop during the early-twentieth century, cotton and silk textile manufacturing was the lead sector in this industrialization process. One of the most distinctive features of this vitally important industry was that Japanese women, mostly of relatively young ages and from rural communities across the country, constituted the majority of the workers employed in

textile factories. From the early Meiji period to the end of the Second World War, the treatment of this predominantly female workforce on the part of both textile companies and the imperial government was informed by traditional beliefs regarding women's ascribed roles within Japanese society, exhibited in recruiting process, restrictive management practices, and educational initiatives that manufacturers imposed on workers. Despite government actions reforms to this industry later on in this time period, these gendered beliefs continued to prevail in shaping this relationship between textile employers and their female employees.

During the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first century, many scholars who specialized in Japanese history have taken a variety of approaches towards analyzing this topic. In his 1976 article "Country Girls and Communication among Competitors in the Japanese Spinning Industry," Gary R. Saxonhouse analyzed the high level of turnover amongst female factory workers in the cotton textile industry from an economic perspective, primarily using unpublished documents from the Kanegafuchi Spinning Company as empirical evidence. He concluded that prior to the Second World War major textile firms in Japan, such as Kanebō, did not differ "significantly among themselves with respect to management experiences and education, worker experience and education, age of capital, and working conditions *in a way that*

would have consequences for productivity."[1] Saxonhouse describes various methodologies for analyzing labor strategies of textile companies and the productivity of the Japanese cotton textile industry at the time.

Scholars have also approached this topic by documenting the cultural history of Japanese female textile workers during this era. In her 1990 book *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan*, historian Patricia Tsurumi studied the importance of female workers in the cotton spinning and silk reeling industries to the history of the Japanese working class, focusing on how these workers responded to the urgings of government officials and textile companies to perform their duties "for the sake of the nation." She argued that female textile workers' "own goals and loyalties helped shaped their growing view of themselves as a distinct group with a distinct identity" as a result of their "unprecedented experiences as Japanese factory workers."[2] Historian Barbara Molony extended the chronology of Tsurumi's work on this topic beyond the Meiji period in her article "Activism Among Women in the Cotton Textile Industry." She similarly argued that female textile workers' shared experiences as "farm

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[1] Gary R. Saxonhouse, "Country Girls and Communication among Competitors in the Japanese Cotton Spinning Industry," in *Japanese Industrialization and Its Social Consequences*, edited by Hugh Patrick, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 67.
[2] Patricia E.Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 5.

girls created a shared consciousness of class and gender" that facilitated their support of labor organizing protests for improved working conditions in textile factories.[3] Mikiso Hane discussed a much broader range of subtopics within this aspect of Meiji and Taisho-era Japan in *Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan*, including the wages of Japanese female textile workers, the restrictions and various abuses endured by them, instances of workers running away from the plants or committing suicide, the dormitory system in textile factories, and labor disputes between the workers and textile companies.[4] In contrast to Molony, he deemphasized the effectiveness of activism on the part of female factories workers against textile companies, asserting that despite some pieces of legislation passed by the Japanese government aimed at reducing harsh labor practices, these strikes and labor disputes failed to significantly advance their working conditions due to the nation's political leaders being aligned with the textile companies and the workers themselves being poorly organized.[5]

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[3] Barbara Molony, "Activism Among Women in the Taisho Cotton Textile Industry," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 218-219.
[4] Mikiso Hane, "The Textile Factory Workers," in *Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan* (Blue Ridge Summit, PA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 151-166.
[5] Hane, "The Textile Factory Workers," in *Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes*, 168-175.

Elyssa Faison took a more specific approach to the topic by examining the gendered labor-management practices of textile companies in pre-World War II Japan and how female workers reacted to them in *Managing Women: Disciplining Labor in Modern Japan*. In this 2007 book, she argued the "managers actively constructed female factory workers as 'women,' rather than as 'workers,' inculcating moral and civic values" that made femininity "a boundary marker within a swiftly urbanizing and industrializing society."[6] This "'woman ideal' promoted by textile companies produced a counter discourse by female textile workers themselves, who sometimes acquiesced but at other times rejected employers' claims of parental benevolence and related demands for filial obedience."[7] Lastly, Faison argued "ethnicity rather than gender stood as a privileged signifier" within these factories as "the feminized bodies of Japanese women workers stood in contrast to the highly ethnicized bodies of colonial women workers" from Korea and Okinawa.[8]

A third category of scholarship on this topic that has emerged is that of historians who have attempted to analyze both the economic and cultural history of Japan's textile industry during the early twentieth century. Historian Janet Hunter wrote her 2003

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[6] Elyssa Faison, *Managing Women: Disciplining Labor in Modern Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 1-2.
[7] Faison, *Managing Women*, 2.
[8] Faison, *Managing Women*, 2.

book *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrializing Economy: The Textile Industry Before the Pacific War* with the notion in mind that "an understanding of economic considerations must be combined with analysis of institutional and cultural factors if we are fully to comprehend" this specific topic.[9] By analyzing the agricultural-industry connection within the Japanese economy "as mediated through textile workers," the complexity of the labor market, and the character of labor management and industrial relations, she argued that significant changes in the management strategy of textile companies towards labor did take place prior to the First World War. These changes, however, were only implemented in large-scale cotton industry and "were not instigated by changes in the construction of gender roles in Japanese society."[10] Hunter concluded instead that "the assumptions held in prewar Japan about the social role of women" shaped the operation of the textile industry.[11]

In reinforcing these different fields of scholarship, I argue that the relationship that these workers had with the imperial Japanese government and the textile companies themselves during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century was shaped by the

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[9] Janet Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 3.

[10] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 3-5.

[11] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 5.

gendered beliefs of women's roles in Japanese society at the time. These types of labor relations were manifested in the recruiting process, restrictive management strategies, and educational initiatives directed towards female workers in textile factories. Therefore, the reforms that were implemented into this industry beginning in the Taisho period did not represent an expansion of women's rights and were instead measures aimed at facilitating these worker's fulfillment of the preexisting gendered societal roles for women. In order to present this argument, I will first provide greater detail on some of the most noteworthy characteristics of this group of workers. I will then analyze how the common business practices by the Japanese textile companies at the time and the rhetoric and legislative actions by Japanese state that related to the textile industry perpetuated gendered assumptions about female workers roles in Japan. Most of the primary source documents utilized for this essay include quotes from Japanese government officials.

The defining characteristics of the textile industry's workforce as young, unmarried women from rural communities solidified during the early Meiji period. The importation of cheap manufactured goods destroyed indigenous handicrafts industries and created a large negative trade imbalance in the economy. The government, in turn, decided to revitalize this industry by opening government-run mills, such as the Tomioka Silk Mill in 1872, and subsidizing private textile factories that embraced Western-style

machinery and methods of production which would produce products that would appeal to foreign markets.[12] In these new models for textile factories based on large-scale mechanized production, 70% of workers in the cotton-spinning industry from the 1880s to 1914 were female. More accurate estimations of the gender division in the workforce in the interwar years demonstrate that over 80% of workers in the silk industry, 70% of workers in the cotton industry, and 70% in the weaving industry were female.[13] Despite men and women of the former *shizoku* samurai class making up the majority of the workforce in factories in the earliest urban textile factories, mills located in industrial centers such as Nagano, Tokyo, and Gunma mostly hired women from impoverished farming families in rural prefectures such as Niigata, Shimane, and Ibaraki by the 1890s.[14] In terms of age profile, data also confirms that female workers in cotton, silk, and weaving factories were relatively young throughout the prewar years. Despite a decrease in the number of very young workers under 14 years old being employed in these factories, the majority of

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[12] Janet Hunter and Helen Macnaughtan. "Japan." In *The Ashgate Companion to the History of Textile Workers, 1650-2000*, edited by Lex Heerma van Voss, Els Hiemstra-Kuperus, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, 305-332 (Farnham, UK: Routledge, 2010), 311-316; Tsumuri, *Factory Girls*, 23-26.

[13] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 45-47.

[14] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 51-59.

workers remained between the ages of 14 and 25 from the late 1890s to the early 1920s.[15]

One manifestation of the relationship that this workforce of young, unmarried women from rural communities had with the Japanese state and private textile companies that was based in gendered beliefs regarding women's societal roles in Japan prior to the Second World War was the recruiting process for textile workers. In order to meet the growing labor demands for the textile industry, many companies hired recruiters to travel to remote rural villages and sign up new employees. These recruiters included salaried employees of the factories, agents under special contract with mills, agents paid on commission based on how many workers they hired, and mill workers.[16] In addition to making numerous false claims that exaggerated the amenities companies provided to workers and downplayed the harsh working conditions inside factories, many recruiters, particularly independent agents, appealed to young women and their families by granting advance payments on wages to their fathers.[17] These loans became vital sources of income for many poor tenant farmers, with some payments amounting to 200 to 300 yen for a one-year advance on

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[15] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy,* 60-64.

[16] Molony, "Activism Among Women in the Taisho Cotton Textile Industry," 231.

[17] Tsumuri, *Factory Girls*, 60-62, 120-122; Hane, "The Textile Factory Workers," 153.

the wage for these workers.[18] Through this system that exploited workers' connections to their families in the countryside by having these young women work long periods of time to pay off the heavy debts that their fathers incurred, these companies retained the family-like structures that existed in the agrarian economies of Tokugawa Japan where women played prominent roles in the domestic work of handicraft manufacturing.[19] The content of these contracts that recruiters distributed to young women, which included many provisions that penalized workers for disobedient behavior and required young women's families to sign-off as legal guardians, illustrated how textile companies portrayed themselves as standing in for the parents of these families, "so that respecting their will meant honoring one's natal family, and spinning silk or cotton for the nation meant honoring the emperor, patriarch of the national family."[20] These aspects of the industry's recruiting system, therefore, connected traditional virtues of filial piety to the national interests of modernizing Imperial Japanese economy.

This prevailing conception on the part of the government and textile companies regarding women's roles in Japan's industrializing economy during the late-nineteenth and early-

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[18] Tsumuri, *Factory Girls*, 15-19.
[19] Tsumuri, *Factory Girls*, 63; Sharon L. Sievers, "The Textile Workers," in *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983), 58.
[20] Faison, *Managing Women*, 12; Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 79-83.

twentieth century was expressed by the Director of Factory Inspection for the Bureau of Social Affairs, Shunzo Yoshisaka, in his 1925 article "Labour Recruiting in Japan and its Control." In describing the background and content of the most recent legislation by the Japanese government aimed at regulating the recruitment of workers that came into effect in March of that year, Yoshisaka claimed that the two principal reasons for the emergence of labor recruiting in Japan were the "uncontrolled expansion of industry and the fact that Japanese industry is very largely dependent upon female labour."[21] He characterized the young women recruited in remote agricultural districts for work in the textile industry as "mostly unmarried girls who look forward to becoming 'good housewifes and wise mothers.' They take wage-earning employment partly to help their families and partly to save for their marriage."[22] Because of the importance of recruiting as the primary means of obtaining labor for textile companies, Yoshisaka said that improvements must be made in both the working conditions of factories and "the quality of recruiting agents," whom he claimed mistreated prospective workers in rural communities. The new Ordinance that he helped create for the Bureau of Social Affairs addressed this issue by "ensuring the protection of workers who apply for employment through

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[21] Yoshisaka Shunzo, "Labour Recruiting in Japan and Its Control," *International Labour Review* 12 (October 1925): 485.
[22] Shunzo, "Labour Recruiting in Japan and Its Control," 486.

recruiting" and "placing industry on a sounder basis and facilitating the work of management."[23] While Yoshisaka does condemn the many dishonest practices utilized by recruiting agents in listing the details of these reforms, he appears to focus less on the moral obligations of respecting these workers' individual rights and more on the ability of female textile laborers to function as a vital workforce in the nation's economy and to fulfill their familial responsibilities later on in life.

Another aspect of female textile workers' relationship with the Japanese state and textile companies that reflected prevailing beliefs regarding women's role in Imperial Japan were the various management strategies utilized by textile manufacturers to control this workforce. In order to account for the emergence of new issues in the textile industry in the 1890s such as more women from remote rural areas entering the workforce in larger numbers, the increased competition within the textile industry to recruit workers, and the tendency of many workers to run away from plants due to strenuous working conditions, textile companies imposed tighter restrictions on workers' personal lives.[24] One of the main features of these restrictions was the dormitories within factory complexes used to house workers from rural villages. In addition to their unsanitary facilities that enabled the spread of diseases throughout

[23] Shunzo, "Labour Recruiting in Japan and Its Control," 489.
[24] Hane, "The Textile Factory Workers," 160-168; Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 89-114.

factories, dormitories "circumscribed women's movements and in most cases involved elaborate systems of surveillance, including the employment of vigilant dormitory supervisors and a highly monitored pass system" that restricted "workers' freedom to leave the factory compound."[25] The construction of these dormitories illustrated this purpose of restricting workers movements, with many buildings being encircled by eight-foot high fences fitted with "sharpened bamboo spears and barbed wire" and water bridges.[26] The progressive extension of working hours in cotton-spinning and silk-reeling factories, which by the 1880s entailed two twelve-hour shifts with workers usually changing at 6 AM and 6 PM, worked in conjunction with the dormitory system to more intensively manage female employees. Even after reforms were made to dormitory conditions following the First World War and night shifts in factories were made illegal in 1929, textile workers still worked over 11 hours per-day, placing tremendous constraints on women's time and freedom. Many large textile companies also used the practice of wage retention known as "forced savings," which entailed depositing a portion of a worker's wage into a saving account that could only be accessed by the worker after completion of her contract, to restrict these women's freedoms within factories. Throughout this era, textile managers often justified these practices by arguing that they were "protecting their

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[25] Faison, *Managing Women*, 14.
[26] Tsurumi, *Factory Girls*, 132-133.

youthful workforce from the wicked world" by functioning as surrogate parents for these young women.[27]

Iwao F. Ayusawa, an official for the Japanese government during the early twentieth century, reflected the state's support of these paternalistic labor management policies implemented by textile companies. In the third part of his 1929 series of articles "The Employment of Women in Japanese Industry," published in the *International Labour Review*, he described the origins and contemporary conditions of the dormitory system. Ayusawa claimed that the dormitory arose in response to Japan's factory industry and the nation's modernization process. In addition to the common practice of night work and the high rates of labor turnover in the textile industry, he cited the recruitment of workers "from distant districts… in the remotest corners of the country" as one of the main factors that necessitated this system.[28] He claimed that this was the case because when workers, "particularly young and unmarried women, have been brought from distant places in large numbers, they must be looked after, and provided first of all with eating and sleeping quarters."[29] Even though he acknowledged the need for new pieces of legislation such as the Factory Act of 1911 and 1927 aimed at curbing the exploitation of female and juvenile

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[27] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 112-113, 171, 107; Faison, *Managing Women*, 14.
[28] Iwao F. Ayusawa, "The Employment of Women in Japanese Industry: III," *International Labour Review* 19 (1929): 512.
[29] Ayusawa, "The Employment of Women in Japanese Industry: III," 512-513.

labor, he argued the system "cannot be changed rapidly" due to many inherent characteristics of the textile manufacturing and Japanese industry in general at the time.[30] He also stated that workers' agrarian background has partly allowed them to serve textile companies admirable despite these strenuous working because of "such virtues as patience, diligence, fidelity," and sacrifice being "systematically inculcated in them."[31] This article illustrates how both government officials and textile companies alike justified their restrictive management strategies through paternalistic beliefs of young women loyally serving Japan's industrializing economy in the same fashion that they had previously done in the country's agrarian economy prior to the Meiji-era.

A third manifestation of the relationship that female textile workers had with the state and textile companies in late-eighteenth and early-twentieth century Japan was the educational initiatives implemented within these factories. Since the establishment of the earliest large-scale textile factories in Japan during the 1870s, the "significance of general education for industrial growth and economic change, as well as for political and social purposes, was recognized by prewar Japanese governments." The state, in turn, put pressure on "employers to provide classes for very young workers, or for those who had received inadequate formal

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[30] Ayusawa, "The Employment of Women in Japanese Industry: III," 515-519.
[31] Ayusawa, "The Employment of Women in Japanese Industry: III," 520.

education."[32] But as girls of young age groups were phased out of the workforce and literacy rates among workers in general grew, "the content of education offered to mill workers shifted towards domestic skills and moral injunction."[33] In factories such as the Kanegafuchi Cotton Spinning Company founded in 1889, employers provided these women with skills deemed appropriate for running farming families through a six-year compulsory elementary education system, which consisted of classes in ethics (*shushin*) and a three-year optional course that taught female workers "the modalities of proper Japanese womanhood."[34] While these and other educational measures, such as company songs, lectures on moral themes, and ethics texts, may have had an economic purpose of creating an obedient workforce, "it also acted to reinforce current rhetoric regarding the role of women in Japanese society."[35] These roles included furthering the national interests of modernizing Japan and future responsibilities as "Japanese wives and mothers."[36]

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[32] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 135.

[33] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 136.

[34] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 135; Faison, *Managing Women*, 14-18.

[35] Tsurumi, *Factory Girls*, 92-102; Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 139-141.

[36] Tsurumi, *Factory Girls*, 92; Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 139-140.

Many forms of education that motivated women to adhere to their traditional domestic roles within the family structure of Japanese society and display loyalty towards the nation through their work in textile plants persisted pass the Meiji period. Following the First World War, many textile companies began to frame the educational and cultural amenities that they offered to female workers as opportunities to attain the emerging ideal of the well-educated, middle-class housewife "by designating female textile labor a temporary condition and promoting the womanly values of motherhood and domesticity within the factory itself."[37] This reconfiguration of their paternalistic business practices meant to instill the ideology of "good wife, wise mother" in female workers coincided with the abolition of night work in large-scale textile factories that went into effect in 1929. In an effort to manage the negative activities that women would potentially engage in during the increased amount of "free time," or *yoka*, that they were afforded through this development, plant managers coerced workers to participate in company-organized activities for employees during off-work hours.[38] While they still relied on readings materials such as newsletters and brochures to disseminate values of womanly virtue, many companies preferred non-literary activities such as calisthenics to instill these values

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[37] Faison, *Managing Women*, 9-10.
[38] Faison, *Managing Women*, 27-28.

"because their content could be carefully controlled."[39] Unlike previous attempts to address health issues amongst factory workers such as the spread of tuberculosis, calisthenics programs were part of a new "emphasis on the scientific management of workers and their physical fitness" that was based in concerns over women's reproductive capacity as future mothers.[40] Thus, workers "previously considered disposable had come to be seen as a capital investment" in the nation as a whole. In addition to maintaining workers' health, company programs offering training in home economics to female employees promoted public morals such as chastity, which many factory owners believed these women lacked due their rural origins. This set of activities, therefore, exhibited textile companies "efforts to inculcate a gendered national subjecthood" of women. [41]

One of the mechanisms that most exhibits this intent on the part of factory managers to instruct young female textile workers on performing their gendered duties was short textbooks and magazines distributed to them. In the first article printed in the 1911 didactic text *Factory Girls' Reader*, entitled "Working for the Sake of the Country," the author reminded female mill employees that "if you all work to the utmost of your abilities from morning

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[39] Faison, *Managing Women*, 37.
[40] Faison, *Managing Women*, 45-47.
[41] Faison, *Managing Women*, 28, 37-39.

to night, there can be no loyalty to the country greater than this."[42] Because not entering the textile industry would both hinder the nation's modernization process and burden their parents, he concluded that all factory girls must embrace "loyalty for the sake of the country" and "filial piety for the sake of the family" in order to work to "the utmost of her abilities."[43] In the book's third chapter, the author elaborated on the reverence that young women were supposed to have for their superiors in textile mills, stated that, similar to their own father and mother, "the company president, then office officials, engineers, supervisors," and "section heads… are your elders."[44] Passages such as these in ethics textbooks distributed to female textile workers illustrate the connected values that factory managers attempted to instill in these workers of serving their parents' economic needs through their wage labor and Japan as a whole by acting as a vital workforce in the nation's industrialization process.

The initiatives implemented by the Imperial Japanese government that were meant to reshape various aspects of the country's textile industry were predicated on similarly gendered beliefs regarding women's in Japanese society. Despite many early-Meiji bureaucrats' concern over textile employers'

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[42] Takenbou Toshihiko, ed. *Joko tokuhon* (Tokyo: Jitsugyo kokumin kyowa kai, 1911), 1-3, in Tsurumi, *Factory Girls*, 94.
[43] Takenobu, *Joko tokuhon*, 7-8, in Tsurumi, *Factory Girls*, 94.
[44] Takenobu, *Joko tokuhon*, 95-96.

exploitative business practices, the first piece of factory legislation to include significant protective features for workers was the Factory Law of 1911, which "imposed minimum health and safety standards in factories employing fifteen or more workers" and limited the amount of working hours to twelve per-day, none of which were to take place between 10 PM and 4 AM among other benefits for workers.[45] Almost all of the regulations within this comprehensive piece of legislation, however, were not accepted by most textile companies until the First World War, in which increased activism within manufacturing industries and new international bodies such as the International Labour Organizations (ILO) pressured the government to pass a revised version of the Factory Act in 1923.[46] This revised law expanded many of the previous provisions pertaining to textile mills, including minimum age limits, length of daily working hours, and the ban on might work, and was eventually enforced in most factories by 1929.[47] While these new regulations created significant improvements in working conditions for women, they were often based in scientific research of the era that connected the productivity of textile plants to improved worker welfare. Many bureaucrats, therefore, asserted

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[45] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 196; Sheldon Garon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), 18-23, 27.
[46] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 198.
[47] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 200-201.

that because women could not cope with their domestic burdens while also enduring the harsh workings conditions of cotton and silk factories at the time, "legislation was needed to protect workers 'for the sake of the nation.'"[48] This belief on the part of government officials is reflected in the maternity protection benefits of the second Factory Art. Despite the law's substantial benefits to female workers such as allowing all women "up to four weeks off before childbirth, and six weeks afterwards," the general profile of the textile workforce being unmarried women resulted in a small percentage of women actually taking advantage of these benefits. This reflected how government officials generally categorized textile workers "as future rather than current mothers" and it was in this context that "their health and welfare was of significance to the national authorities."[49]

In addition to legislation pertaining to textile factories, many state-sponsored cultivation groups helped reinforce the values of domesticity that textile companies attempted to instill in their female workers. These organization first emerged in rural districts of the country following the Russo-Japanese War to help foster a strong sense of nationalism and "aid in the economic development of an agrarian sector seen as backward." By the

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[48] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 218-220.
[49] Hunter, *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy*, 211-212.

1920s, the Shuyodan, initially conceived of as a rural male youth cultivation group, had expanded its operations by setting up branches in textile factories. In this specific setting, the practice of *shuyo*, translated as "self-cultivation," used by these groups to integrate "individual interests with state interests" emphasized "filial piety and the cultivation of morally upright wives and mothers who, after producing cotton and silk for nation, would reproduce healthy and obedient imperial citizens."[50] This organization worked in conjunction with textile companies to achieve this moral injunction by organizing mandatory training retreats (*koshukai*) for workers, "which consisted of rigorous discipline in physical endurance and moral purity, including national citizens' calisthenics (*kokumin taiso*) and purification ceremonies (*misogino*), lectures on filial piety, cleaning rituals, and the singing of patriotic and uplifting songs."[51]

The role that the imperial government played along with textile companies in reinforcing women's gendered domestic responsibilities in Japanese society is articulated throughout Japanese diplomat for the International Labour Organization Iwao Y. Ayusawa's three-part series of articles "The Employment of Women in Japanese Industry," published in 1929. In providing a statistical survey of the percentage of women within various sectors of Japanese industry, he stated that "the presence of many

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[50] Faison, *Managing Women*, 51-55, 58-59.
[51] Faison, *Managing Women*, 65.

women workers in mining work, which involves hardship and many physical dangers, is in itself a problem, whose seriousness is intensified by the fact that these are many women… employed in underground work."[52] He, in turn, asserted that "it should be remembered that these girls are future mothers, who need protection physically as well as morally" and the "social effects of the presence of many young women in mines… must be seriously considered."[53] As part of his subsequent articles in which he discussed the general workings conditions of large-scale Japanese industries and the relative legislation meant to address these industries, Ayusawa regarded the provisions within the revised Factory Act of 1923 relating to maternity protection and more generally improving standards of health and hygiene and shortening workers' hours as being necessary measures due to the relatively high rates of infectious diseases and fatal accidents amongst the female workforce.[54] He concluded that because the textile industry "depends to a very large extent on the employment of vast numbers of young women workers," the problems created by Japan's industrialization are "essentially a problem affecting women, and therefore also the future well-being of the Japanese

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[52] Iwao F. Ayusawa, "The Employment of Women in Japanese Industry: I," *International Labour Review* 19, no. 2 (1929): 204.
[53] Ayusawa, "The Employment of Women in Japanese Industry: I," 204.
[54] Iwao F. Ayusawa, "The Employment of Women in Japanese Industry: II." *International Labour Review* 19, no. 3 (1929): 385-395; Ayusawa, "The Employment of Women in Japanese Industry: III," 510.

race."[55] Ayusawa demonstrated in these articles how the impetus for many of the Japanese government's initiatives to intervene in the nation's textile industry was allowing women to remain productive workers within textile plants while also having them fulfill their domestic obligations as future mothers.

Between the early Meiji period and the end of the Second World War, the treatment of the predominantly female workforce of Japan's textile industry on the part of both cotton and silk textile companies and imperial government officials was based on women's designated roles in Japanese society at the time. First, the recruiting system textile companies utilized to hire young women from rural farming families throughout Japan demonstrates how these companies often portrayed themselves as surrogate parents of these workers and as such used the family-like structure of traditional Japanese society to demand workers' loyalty to both their employers and the nation. Second, textile companies' wide array of business practices used to restrict workers' personal lives, such as the dormitory system, extensive working hours, and "forced savings" imposed on wages, further illustrate the sense of paternalism cotton and silk manufacturers exhibited in managing these workers based on assumptions relating to their youth, gender, and rural background. Third, the educational initiatives instituted by textile companies also promoted female factory workers'

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[55]Ayusawa, "The Employment of Women in Japanese Industry: III," 520.

current roles as vital components of the nation's industrializing economy as well as their domestic responsibilities as both filial daughters and future mothers. The various actions by the imperial government that directly impacted the nation's textile industry, which included specific pieces of legislation as well as state-sponsored organizations, ultimately supported the same gendered roles for these women in Japanese society in how these initiatives promoted domestic values of motherhood along with the national interests of modernizing the economy. The state and the textile industry in Imperial Japan, therefore, worked collectively to impose these specific gender roles on young women in an effort to facilitate the nation's modernization process.

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The Celtic Queen Boudica as a Historiographical Narrative

By Rachel Chenault

Introduction

      The story of Boudica,[1] the Iron Age Celtic queen, has been echoed through multitudes of historical narratives, stories, poems, novels and even movies. Boudica led a rebellion against Roman colonists in Ancient Britain and was eventually defeated. Now she stands as a woman who fought back against one of the most powerful empires in the world, during a time in which women had little to no place in history at all. Contemporary Roman historians Tacitus, born approximately around 56 or 57 C.E., and Dio, born around 150 C.E., both recorded the events of Boudica's rise and fall, in retrospect to her defeat.[2] These two Classical sources laid the foundation for the development of her history from the Renaissance until the twenty-first century.

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[1] There are multiple different spellings of her name, the three most common being Boudica, Boudicca, and Boadicea. The versions of her name vary based on language and time, although it is generally accepted that the Celtic version of her name is 'Boudica.' For the purpose of clarity, this paper will spell her name as Boudica. Richard Hingley and Christina Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), xviii.
[2] Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 43, 52.

Archaeological research in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries shed light on the truth of Boudica, a woman who lived over a thousand years ago in 60 or 61 C.E.[3] Boudica's life as a historiographical narrative revealed trends in historical authorship dating back to Classical sources. Boudica was a model of the 'useable past' and often a tool for historians to communicate their own political opinions. Consequently, she served to expose historiographical trends, but using modern schools of thought does not always provide the full truth in what happened during Boudica's life. This paper will evaluate Boudica as a useable character in the past, and what that means for historiographical study today through the lens of ancient historiography, gender in history and post-colonialism.

Background

In a book review on Boudica's past, author C.T. Mallan aptly stated that "[i]t may be reasonably said of Boudica, that never has so much been written by so many about someone whom we know so little."[4] From the past five centuries of research there is a generally accepted account of Boudica's revolt against the Romans. First, it is important to have a grasp of the initial Roman invasion that prompted the revolt. According to Dio's account of

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[3] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 4.
[4] C.T. Mallan, "Review: Caitlin C. Gillespie, Boudica: Warrior Woman of Roman Britain. Women in Antiquity" (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2018) *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*.

the invasion and recent archaeological findings, the Romans first landed on the isle in 43 C.E., either in present day Kent or Sussex.[5] During the invasion, the native Britons, whom the Romans viewed as barbaric, varied in their willingness to fall under Roman control, with some cooperating easily and some resisting violently.[6]

The earliest written contact with Boudica's tribe, the Iceni, was in 54 B.C.E., when Julius Caesar recorded the 'Cenimagni,' which can be broken down into 'Iceni magni,' possibly suggesting that the Iceni tribe was vast and strong.[7] The Iceni tribe of Boudica's time were later reached by the Romans in 47 or 48 C.E., although there is some debate over whether this is the same tribal group that led the revolt in 60/61 C.E.[8] A conflict with the Roman governor of Britain, Ostorius Scapula, forcibly disarmed the Iceni and they lived under the rule of Prasutagus, puppet-king of the Iceni and husband to Boudica.[9] This introduced a series of major events that lead to Boudica's fame as a Celtic woman warrior.

The Roman Historiography

The accounts of Boudica's rebellion by Dio and Tacitus must be carefully analyzed and critiqued. Given the fact that the

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[5] E. W. Black, "Sentius Saturninus and the Roman Invasion of Britain" (*Britannia* 31, 2000), 1.
[6] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 19.
[7] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 26.
[8] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 26.
[9] D. F. Allen, "The Coins of the Iceni" (*Britannia* 1, 1970), 2.

two authors chiefly lived in different centuries, the texts should be evaluated independently of one another, and then together in the context of 1st and 2nd century Greco-Roman thought. It is these stories of Boudica that remain the closest to primary sources a historian can find.

Publius Cornelius Tacitus, or Gaius Cornelius Tacitus, was one of the most prolific Roman historians from antiquity. Many of his works covertly attacked the Roman Empire and critiqued the early Roman autocracy due to his personal skepticism of the motivations of those in power. Tacitus's *Annals* was the fullest account of Boudica and was the primary document for historiographical literature of her life. Tacitus recorded the beginning of the Boudican rebellion by describing the death of King Prasutagus of the Iceni. Following his death, the Roman legate, Suetonius Paulinus, took the land of the Iceni that had been intended for Boudica and her daughters. Tacitus described this event writing:

> Kingdom and household alike were plundered like prizes of war, the one by Roman officers, the other by Roman slaves. As a beginning, his widow Boudicca was flogged and their daughters raped. The Icenian chiefs were deprived of their hereditary estates as if the Romans had been given the whole country. The king's own relatives were treated like slaves.[10]

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[10] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 43, 46, 47.

On the surface, Tacitus represented the Romans as violent and barbaric, an image contrary to popular Roman thought. He communicated a dissatisfaction with the Roman Empire and sympathy for the Britons.

Conversely, Tacitus described the rebels' destruction of to the Roman settlements, Camulodunum and Londinium: "For the British did not take or sell prisoners, or practise other war-time exchanges. They could not wait to cut throats, hang, burn, and crucify."[11] Such violent imagery portrayed Britons with less sympathy. For this reason, Tacitus's goals in writing this history remain unclear. However, Boudica's story in the *Annals* was one of the most detailed and foundational accounts that shaped her legacy.[12]

The other story of Boudica came from Cassius Dio, a Roman historian who lived later than Tacitus, approximately 150 C.E. to 235 C.E.[13] Due to the gap of time between the event and his account, he most likely consulted Tacitus's writings.[14] However, deviations from Tacitus's version indicate that Dio likely acquired information from other early Roman sources that did not survive.[15] The foremost difference in the two texts is Dio's

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[11] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 49-50.

[12] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 43, 46, 47.

[13] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 52.

[14] Stephanie Lawson, "Nationalism and Biographical Transformation: The Case of Boudicca," *Humanities Research* V, XIX, no. 1 (2013), 104.

[15] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 52-53.

treatment of Boudica. He made no mention of the abuse that Boudica and her daughters suffered from the Romans, and he explained that the sacking of the Roman cities "was brought upon the Romans by a woman, a fact which in itself caused them the greatest shame."[16] Dio was less sympathetic than Tacitus, which indicates an alternate purpose for Dio's text. Unlike Tacitus who criticized the Empire, Dio retold Roman history with the goal of glorifying the Romans. However, the speech that he attributed to Boudica betrayed his own political beliefs. After proposing violent resistance to the Roman Empire's oppression, she was recorded doing the following:

> When she had finished speaking, she employed a species of divination, letting a hare
> escape from the fold of her dress; and since it ran on what they considered the auspicious
> side, the whole multitude shouted with pleasure, and Buduica, raising her hand toward
> heaven, said: 'I thank thee, Andraste, and call upon thee as a woman speaking to woman;
> for I rule over no burden-bearing Egyptians as did Nitocris, nor over trafficking
> Assyrians as did Semiramis, much less over the Romans themselves as did Messalina
> once and afterwards Agrippina and now Nero (who, though in name a man, is in fact a woman, as is proved by his singing, lyre-playing and beautification of his person).'[17]

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[16] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 53.

[17] The divination employed in her speech is likely to emphasize the difference between Romans and Celts in social institutions, like religion. This was a mode of 'othering' the Celts for Roman audiences. The hare imagery also becomes very significant in Boudica's iconography.

Due to the improbability of Boudica having extensive knowledge about the Egyptians and other distant nations, Dio possibly inserted these details for Roman relevancy.[18] This exemplifies Boudica's story as a useable past. Similarly, his critique of Emperor Nero through Boudica's speech was a nod towards the general Roman disapproval of the former emperor. Dio also implied in his story that, unlike the Romans, the Iceni did not have colonies or conquer other territories.

Dio's and Tacitus's depiction of Boudica were the chief sources for the revival of her story by Europeans during the Renaissance in the sixteenth century. Despite the discrepancies between the two Roman texts including the final battle between the Britons and the Romans, or Boudica's death, they remain the most reliable contemporary sources for the story of Boudica. The revival of these texts established Boudica's role in British history. Through various interpretations of her story over the following five centuries, modern historians observed the shifting attitudes towards gender and how influential ancient figures shaped subsequent historiography and nationalism.[19] Ancient historians changed the details of history to fit their political agendas, warping later

Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 55.

[18] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 55.

[19] Lawson, "Nationalism and Biographical Transformation: The Case of Boudicca," 109.

research that relied on these sources. Roman historiography, although biased, remained the foundational evidence for Boudica's life and prompted centuries of stories.

Ancient Historiography

In order to make a comparison between ancient and modern historiography, one must address the characteristics which constitute an 'ancient' historiographical account. Ancient Greek and subsequent Roman historians preferred a successive history to a synchronic history, meaning that the historians told history in chronological succession to formulate a teleological explanation of events.[20] All major historical events center on Roman success. This narrative was prominent in Tacitus's histories, where he exhibited anxiety about the condition of the Roman Empire and tried to resolve it by crafting a successful past.[21] Ancient historiography developed this way because of the Greek and Roman historians who chose events based on greatness—the events that *should* be remembered.[22] The brief history of Boudica indicated the Roman victory over the barbaric Celts and reclamation of Briton was the part of the event that should to be remembered.

Historian Timothy Howe noted that "ancient historiography balanced the reporting of facts with shaping and guiding the

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[20] Arnaldo Momigliano, "Time in Ancient Historiography." *History and Theory* 6, (1966): 17.
[21] Momigliano, "Time in Ancient Historiography," 17.
[22] Momigliano, Arnaldo. "Time in Ancient Historiography," 14.

political interests and behaviours of its audience."[23] This was evident in the stories told by both Dio and Tacitus as they guided readers to sympathize to Boudica, but also eventually turn against her as an enemy of Roman progress; Roman progress was the expansion of the empire. In another example, Dio criticized the emperor Nero through the words of Boudica, implying that there was a national disapproval of the controversial emperor. Dio wrote this long after Nero's death, so his criticism acts as a nod toward the general Roman sentiment that Nero was a negative part of Roman history.

Ancient historians often attempted to reconcile the past with their current beliefs since ancient histories were written in the personal and political context of their authors. For example, Dio's shame in a Roman defeat by a woman led modern readers to believe that women had no place of power in the Roman Empire. Tacitus, however, made no remark on Boudica as a woman, likely because he did not believe that it was significant to the story. In fact, Tacitus noted that the Celts were ruled by a queen because "they admit no distinction of sex in their royal successions."[24] In

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[23] Timothy Howe, "Foreword: Ancient Historiography and Ancient History" in *Ancient Historiography on War and Empire* edited by Timothy Howe, Sabine Müller, and Richard Stoneman, Xi-Xv (Oxford: Oxbow Books: 2017), xi.

[24] Gaius Cornelius Tacitus, *Agricola* translated by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb (Vol. 1. Series 10. London: Macmillan, 1877), book 1, section 16.

this comparison, Dio's and Tacitus's personal beliefs were again evident in their stories.

Perhaps the most significant evidence of historiographical change was the record of Boudica's speeches before the final battle in her rebellion. According to historian Eric Adler, long speeches before a battle were "a common element of ancient historiography."[25] Modern historians made no attempt to assess the authenticity of Boudica's speech and instead repeated what Dio and Tacitus recorded. In fact, Adler mentioned that, in order to understand the political mentalités of Dio and Tacitus, one must first acknowledge that the recorded speeches did not reflect what Boudica actually said; if these were her sentiments, it would be impossible to know Dio's and Tacitus's own positions.[26] Thus, ancient historiography was multi-faceted. First, the information ancient sources provided could support modern historical research. Second, these ancient writings were informational about the authors' social and political climates. Modern historiography, in contrast, worked to evaluate a historical source in its own context. For example, the use of mentalités in the Annales school tried to understand history through the inner-workings of a person's life.[27]

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[25] Eric Adler, "Boudica's Speeches in Tacitus and Dio" (*The Classical World* 101, no. 2: 2008), 177.
[26] Adler, "Boudica's Speeches in Tacitus and Dio," 177.
[27] Anna Green, and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History* (2nd ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 111.

Boudica's Revival in the Renaissance

  The Renaissance period in Europe saw the revival of many classical texts, stories, and art forms. One of the earliest revivals comes from Ludovico da Ponte in 1508, in his six-part chronicle of British history, *Britannicae Historiae Libri Sex*. In this version of the story, Boudica defeated the Romans and killed Suetonius, the Roman legate in Briton before she died of exhaustion in the Alps. Da Ponte used Dio as his main source. However, da Ponte differed in his portrayal of Boudica. Whereas Dio emphasized the shame in being led by a woman, da Ponte portrayed Boudica gloriously *defeating* the Romans. As the sixteenth century progressed, a variety of stories concerning Boudica were published in Europe.[28]

  Playwright John Fletcher produced 'Bonduca' in 1609, which was repeatedly adapted until the nineteenth century.[29] This story portrayed Boudica as an irrational, incompetent military leader. Feminist historians have challenged this portrayal of Boudica by contextualizing it in the years after Elizabeth I's reign and the accession of James I.[30] According to literary expert Julie Crawford, Boudica's portrayal was made subordinate and

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[28] Carolyn D. Williams, *Boudica and Her Stories: Narrative Transformations of a Warrior Queen* (Newark, NJ: Rosemont Publishing and Printing, 2009), 19, 40.

[29] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 129.

[30] Julie Crawford, "Fletcher's "The Tragedie of Bonduca" and the Anxieties of the Masculine Government of James I," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 39, no. 2 (1999): 358.

subversive after the death of Elizabeth I. Once again, Boudica was used as a historical tool by the majority of her authors.[31] Fletcher most likely used Dio as his main Classical source, since Dio criticized Boudica as a woman much more than Tacitus.

Thomas Heywood was a seventeenth century historian who described Boudica's story in *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women of the World* (1640). Historian Martha Vandrei described Heywood as "a staunch and eloquent defender of women at a time when the shortcomings of the female sex were the subject of serious polemic," which contrasted many contemporary male authors.[32] Heywood elevated Queen Boudica, describing her in battle as "casting aside the softnesse of her sex, she performes in person all the duties of a most vigilent and diligent Chiefetaine."[33] Hingley and Unwin posited that Heywood's image of a beautiful queen should be evaluated in the context of changing views of womanhood in Early Modern England.[34] The changing views of women were likely connected to Elizabeth I's powerful and successful reign. In the three centuries after the Renaissance, authors like Fletcher and

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[31] Crawford, "Fletcher's "The Tragedie of Bonduca" and the Anxieties of the Masculine Government of James I," 360.

[32] Martha Vandrei, *Queen Boudica and Historical Culture in Britain: An Image of Truth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2018), 58.

[33] Thomas Heywood, *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women of the World* (Early English Books Online: Tho. Cotes, 1640), 87.

[34] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 136.

Heywood continued to produce Boudica's story in a way that represented their own contexts and subjectivities.

Boudica: Gender and History

Women in history did not become a major portion of historiography until the 1960s with the women's liberation movement.[35] Women have always existed in historical record, but it is their traditional depiction by male authors that has been addressed and subsequently redefined in recent years. For Boudica's story, it is a matter of examining how the retelling of her story over multiple generations of historians represents the changing ideas and methods in the field of history. Authors, historians and playwrights struggled with Boudica's story in reckoning a woman as a military leader with idolizing a British hero. Thus, gender and ethno-nationalism conflicted, which is apparent in the various accounts of her life.

Despite a decrease in popularity in the nineteenth century, Boudica regained her status in the twentieth century, when she was adopted as a symbol by the British suffragists.[36] As a result, she became a legend of success and hope for modern women. The suffragists used her story in feminist plays, such as Cicely Hamilton's *A Pageant of Great Woman* (1910), and they also used

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[35] Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History*, 2nd ed., (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 262.
[36] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 174.

her iconography in advertisements and protests.[37] This represented the fact that different groups used her for different reasons. While the suffragists used her story as an example of a strong, ancient British woman, the Welsh signified her as a Welsh patriot.[38] In these differing instances, Boudica was a *woman* in history, and she was a *Briton* in history. However, it was not common that she was both a British patriot *and* a woman. Her past was divided to fit the comforts of individual authors.

In the beginning, the main focuses for gender historians were gender, class and race, and the dissection of these to understand the intersectionalities of historical female subordination.[39] However, given Boudica's existence as an ancient figure, it is difficult to truly understand what her social standing was. Of course, historians know that she was a woman in a position of political and military power. This suggests that she was in high standing in the Iceni tribe; however, male historians who did not want a woman in power changed her story to fit their agendas. It is not Boudica herself that was subjugated by the patriarchy, but instead it is the historians during and after the Renaissance that made her into a weak or insane figure.

Gender historians are also pushing back on the attitude towards women in military positions. According to historian

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[37] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 175-7.
[38] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 177.
[39] Green, Anna, and Kathleen Troup. *The Houses of History*, 265.

Marlene LeGates, Boudica and other female warriors have long been posed simply as "women in what were regarded as masculine positions, unusual women in unusual circumstances. They were women temporarily participating in masculine pursuits."[40] For example, Lewis Spence's *Boadicea: Warrior Queen of the Britons* (1937) makes Boudica into a mythological figure, likely because Spence did not believe a woman could lead an army.[41]

Boudica: Postcolonialism

Postcolonial perspectives became a popular mode of historical thought after the decolonization of global territories post-World War II.[42] Historians can see Boudica's story develop in different ways *during* the actions of European colonialism. Hingley and Unwin note that as Britain followed imperialistic ambitions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the British people, specifically upper-class educated people, began drawing parallels between the United Kingdom and the ancient Roman Empire.[43] However, this later changed when the Roman Empire was thought of as oppressive, and the British Empire was thought

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[40] LeGates, Marlene. *In Their Time: A History of Feminism in Western Society* (New York City, NY: Routledge, 2001), 13.

[41] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 179.

[42] For definition, colonialism has since been identified as the spread of Europeans around the world as they conquered and exploited a large variety of indigenous cultures. Green, Anna, and Kathleen Troup. *The Houses of History*, 320.

[43] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 147.

of as a venue for freedom, especially according to eighteenth century historian Edward Gibbon.[44] By the nineteenth century, British expansion was seen as surpassing that of ancient Rome.[45] Therefore it was at this time that Boudica became a patriotic icon—the ancient Brit who attempted to defeat the imperial Romans. Unlike the earlier Renaissance-era writings, these ideas attempt to distance British history from that of the Romans.

John Milton's *History of Britain* (1670) is an early example of colonial ideas in European writing.[46] He described Boudica as a confused woman lacking shame or modesty and attacked the Classical sources for portraying his British ancestors being led by a barbaric woman.[47] This portrayal exemplified how early authors struggled with Boudica as a *female* leader of British freedom against the Romans. In 1947 Edward S. Le Comte published a review of Milton's history called "Milton's Attitude Towards Women in the *History of Britain*," in which Le Comte was highly critical of Milton's angry and unfeeling portrayal of Boudica, saying, "Milton's male disgust could hardly have found more vigorous expression. This is history with a vengeance."[48] By the mid-twentieth century, attitudes towards Boudica had changed

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[44] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 147.

[45] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 148.

[46] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 135.

[47] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 135-6.

[48] Le Comte, Edward S. "Milton's Attitude Towards Women in the History of Britain" (*PMLA* 62, no. 4: 1947), 979.

significantly. This history came out shortly after the post-WWII decolonization process, and post-colonial ideas were apparent in Le Comte's defense of the indigenous peoples of Britain.

  A critical time for Boudica's historiographical development was the mid-nineteenth century, occurring during India's rebellion against British colonization. After this event, Boudica's history was written in the context of the rebellion, especially in B.W. Henderson's *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero* (1903).[49] In his history, Henderson directly compared Boudica's rebellion to that of the Indian people: "We English, too, have had to face the doom in India, which fell out of a sunny heaven upon amazed Camulodunum, and we too may know how the Romans died."[50] In this instance, Henderson sympathized with the Romans and distanced the British from the Celts. India's rebellions against the British played an important role in the development of postcolonial historiography. In the 1970s, historian Ranajit Guha suggested that historians focus on a Marxist-type theory of subaltern history, otherwise known as history of subjugated peoples.[51] In his studies, he found that Indian nationalism often came from a subaltern tradition of the Indians rising up against the British colonizers.[52] The irony was that Boudica became a source

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[49] Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 157.
[50] Henderson, B.W. qtd. in *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 157.
[51] Green, Anna, and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History*, 324.
[52] Green, Anna, and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History*, 324.

of patriotism in the mid-nineteenth century going forward when the British understood her as a character who rose against imperialism, just like the development of Indian nationalism from rebellions against the English. Even after the decolonization process began in the mid-twentieth century, the British still posed Boudica as a patriotic foe to colonization.

Difficulty arises when applying the modern definitions of post-colonialism to ancient Rome's imperial actions. Historian Sviatoslav Dmitriev asked:

> One of [the questions] is whether this modern theory is applicable to ancient history at all. The second question, which is closely intertwined with the first, is whether 'post-colonial theory' actually helps us to overcome the allegedly binary nature of such concepts as 'ancient imperialism' and Romanization.[53]

The main difference between modern colonization and Roman imperialism seems to lie in the fact that there is no written record of the Romans attempting to 'civilize' native populations, as were the goals of later European colonists.[54] Instead, post-war ancient historians have noticed that the Romanization of conquered

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[53] Sviatoslav Dmitriev, "(Re-)constructing the Roman Empire: From 'imperialism' to 'post-colonialism,'" An Historical Approach to History and Historiography." *Annali Della Scuola Normale Superiore Di Pisa. Classe Di Lettere E Filosofia*, Serie 5, 1, no. 1 (2009): 128.
[54] Dmitriev, "(Re-)constructing the Roman Empire: From 'imperialism' to 'post-colonialism,'" 146.

populations was varied depending on local reactions to Roman influence in their land.[55] Applying postcolonial critiques to ancient history had limitations and colored the history being studied with excessive modern contexts. Postcolonial theory as a means of understanding ancient Britain subtracted from the purpose of postcolonial historiography—acknowledging the adverse effects of European colonization on the colonized nations and native peoples.

Conclusion

      Boudica's story once acted as a tool for historians to relay their own political beliefs in their personal contexts. Her story has been warped by many and has changed how modern historians choose to tackle her ancient history. Modern historians use the Classical sources as a foundation and are still excavating archaeological materials as evidence of the stories written by Tacitus and Dio. Furthermore, modern historians do not portray Boudica as either a woman *or* a British hero, but as a famed ancient figure who led a rebellion against the Romans. Historians and archaeologists now work towards portraying the most accurate story of Boudica's uprising in her own context through new archaeological findings over the past twenty years and a re-interpretation of the ancient texts. Boudica's historiography introduced significant questions: what does it mean to be a woman

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[55] Dmitriev, "(Re-)constructing the Roman Empire: From 'imperialism' to 'post-colonialism,'" 147.

in ancient history? How can historians reconcile gender and nationalism against historical sexism? How should historians compare modern colonialism and Roman imperialism? Boudica's story can lead to answers that broaden the field of history.

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"Immortal until his work is done": Northern Methodists and the Klan in Reconstruction Alabama

By Christopher Lough

When the Reverend Arad Simon Lakin first rode into Alabama in the fall of 1865, the scene he encountered was one of sociopolitical upheaval. For decades the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which he served as a "minister of the gospel," had been displaced below the Mason-Dixon Line by a pro-slavery schism; now, at the dawn of Reconstruction, it stood as one of many Northern institutions sent to ensure the South's conformity with the Union. To that end, Lakin heard firsthand how elite planters bore the loss of "their property, their reputation… and, last and worst of all their sufferings," watched their former slaves take hold of a nascent equality.[1] Yet as ex-Confederates channeled their suffering into violence, resentment against the emerging social order and influx of Yankee philanthropy proved a potent force. Lakin's testimony before the congressional Ku Klux Klan Hearings in June 1871 reveals the extent to which life in postbellum Alabama was marked by this tragedy. As a victim of Klan intimidation and a witness to the persecution of his fellow

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[1] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy: Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States*, vol. 8 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 111-12.

Northern Methodists, his place within the Hearings' report provides an instructive microcosm of the exchange between evangelical Christianity and Southern society.

Although the *Report of the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States* (RJSC) has featured prominently as a source in secondary literature, few have used it to understand the religious experiences of those within its pages. The present study seeks to fill in the gaps. The historiography of Reconstruction in Alabama spans more than a century, so the findings of its successive eras stand in need of distillation to properly analyze the RJSC. In two surveys from 1914 and 1915, pioneering religious historian William W. Sweet furnished demographic statistics on Methodism in the South, and Eugene Portlette Southall analyzed Southern Methodists' ministry to blacks in an article from 1931. Sweet and Southall largely stood apart from the Dunning School, the dominant mode of interpreting Reconstruction in the early twentieth century. In Ta-Nehisi Coates' summation, Dunning School historians maintained that "Reconstruction was a mistake brought about by vengeful Northern radicals" who used the promise of equality for their own political advantage and exaggerated accounts of black oppression. Theirs was a project that sought to justify Jim Crow as its regime solidified across the

nation, and many of the works from this period must be sifted accordingly.[2]

By the 1950s, traditional narratives were increasingly questioned by revisionist historians critical of Southern racial conservatism. In 1954 Ralph E. Morrow laid much of the blame for Northern Methodists' mixed evangelistic success on Southern recalcitrance, and in 1966 Lewis M. Purifoy looked similarly askance at the motives latent in the Methodist schism over slavery. The works most relevant here fall under the revisionist mantle while moving beyond it in certain respects. Since the 1980s, Michael W. Fitzgerald has lucidly examined the economic landscape of Reconstruction Alabama as well as the era's racial prejudices. His scholarship, along with the essays in Edward J. Blum and W. Scott Poole's 2005 anthology on religion and Reconstruction, has been indispensable to my research. These sources add to Lakin's testimony before Congress in shedding light on Northern Methodists' experience as Republicans and as Christians in an often hostile environment. They also help demonstrate that if Klan violence was catalyzed by white

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[2] William W. Sweet, "The Methodist Episcopal Church and Reconstruction," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 7, no. 3 (1914): 147-65; "Methodist Church Influence on Southern Politics," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 1, no. 4 (1915): 546-60; Eugene Portlette Southall, "The Attitude of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Toward the Negro from 1844 to 1870," *The Journal of Negro History* 16, no. 4 (1931): 359-70; Ta-Nehisi Coates, "Hillary Clinton Goes Back to the Dunning School," *The Atlantic*, January 26, 2016.

resentment, it was legitimized by evangelical rhetoric of the apocalypse and ultimately victorious with Redemption—the return to Democratic rule and unchallenged white dominance.[3]

Methodist Missions, Southern Conversions

Reverend Lakin was no Southerner. Hailing from Indiana, he served as a chaplain to the 39th Indiana Regiment Infantry through four years of war.[4] A witness in the RJSC cited rumors that Lakin had previously led "a very dissolute and erratic life as a lumberman," but converted to Christianity and became a preacher after attending a Methodist revival.[5] Whatever the origins of his ministry, he was sent to North Alabama in late 1865 to "organize the Methodist Episcopal Church, and build up her interests" by Bishop Davis Clark of Cincinnati.[6] His mission fit within the broader context of his church's pre-war schism and of Northern humanitarian outreach during Reconstruction. Like most every Protestant denomination in antebellum America, Methodism split

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[3] Ralph E. Morrow, "Northern Methodism in the South during Reconstruction," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 41, no. 2 (1954): 197-218; Lewis M. Purifoy, "The Southern Methodist Church and the Proslavery Argument," *The Journal of Southern History* 32, no. 3 (1966): 325-41; Michael W. Fitzgerald, "The Ku Klux Klan: Property Crime and the Plantation System in Reconstruction Alabama," *Agricultural History* 71, no. 2 (1997): 186-206; "Radical Republicanism and the White Yeomanry During Alabama Reconstruction, 1865-1868," *The Journal of Southern History* 54, no. 4 (1988): 565-96; Edward J. Blum and W. Scott Poole, eds., *Vale of Tears: New Essays on Religion and Reconstruction* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2005).
[4] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:125.
[5] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:619.
[6] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:124.

along entirely sectional lines in 1844: The Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) retained John Wesley's passionate opposition to slavery in the North, whereas the departing Methodist Episcopal Church, South (MECS) found its own ways to accommodate the peculiar institution. After Lee's surrender, Northern Methodists felt it their duty to reconcile rebellious whites to their communion and tend to newly-free blacks in a land ravaged by war. In the words of Bishop Davis, wherever the MEC was planted there would follow "the cause of good morals and good government."[7] Taking up residence in Huntsville, Lakin set out to do God's work.

If Lakin and his brother preachers "regarded the whole world [their] parish," then the MEC should have expected great success among whites in the region he called his new home.[8] Alabama's variegated geography gave rise to a unique political landscape in the nineteenth century. White yeoman farmers were the primary demographic in the upper half of the state, covered by the Appalachians and their foothills, with planters mostly concentrated in the south-central Black Belt. The northern yeomanry was far removed both physically and socially from the planter classes, and therefore had little interest in defending their cause of sectional war. One witness told Congress of a "most

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[7] Davis W. Clark, Cincinnati *Western Christian Advocate* (April 18, 1868), in Morrow, "Northern Methodism in the South," 200.
[8] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:124.

decisive and aggressive" Unionism in the Tennessee Valley and its environs, estimating that "five or six to one" had opposed secession in Madison County alone.[9] North Alabamians bore the brunt of Confederate conscription and the devastation of battle throughout the war, and their grudges persisted after Appomattox. Returning home from combat in 1865, Union General George E. Spencer described "about ten percent" of people in the area as being "loyal [to the Union]… and they are intensely loyal."[10]

This disposition made the mountain poor a prime target for Northern evangelism. In Lakin's telling, Unionist Methodists were "very much displeased and dissatisfied" with the MECS over its support for the Confederacy.[11] He had no need to "create the necessity or the demand" for reconciliation with the Northern church; "by their feelings and views, and their knowledge of the Methodist Episcopal Church, they naturally came to her as their choice."[12] In one town he even incorporated the leading Baptist congregation, which refused any minister who supported rebel "bushwackers [*sic*], house robbers, and horse thieves."[13] The MEC made inroads outside loyalist strongholds as well, doubling its number of members across the former Confederacy in just four

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[9] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:592.
[10] Fitzgerald, "Radical Republicanism," 570.
[11] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:130.
[12] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:126.
[13] Lakin to Rev. J.F. Chalfant (March 13, 1866), in Fitzgerald, "Radical Republicanism," 571-72.

years. Many converts were recouped from the MECS and two-thirds were black.[14] The MEC's Alabama conference, one of ten established in the South, was organized at Talladega in October 1867.[15] There Lakin was also appointed presiding elder of the Montgomery district, expanding his ministry to the central part of the state. The "roving commission" that Bishop Clark had charged him with was quickly taking on new forms.[16]

Mounting Resistance, Mountain Resistance

Unionists, Methodist and otherwise, nonetheless faced opposition as the MEC sank its roots into the South. Along with Northern evangelical churches, loyalists primarily made their voices heard through local chapters of the Union League, a secret society dedicated to Republican Party activism. Before the League became synonymous with the Freedmen's Bureau as a vehicle for black political mobilization, thousands of North Alabama whites filled its ranks in the months after war's end. This mode of political organization proved too much for Southern conservatives to bear. As membership grew, paranoia over clandestine League activity provoked anti-loyalist jury selections in Calhoun and Marshall Counties, and tax discrimination in Jackson County.[17] Some forms of retaliation were pitiless. For example, inadequate

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[14] Sweet, "Methodist Church Influence on Southern Politics," 548.
[15] Sweet, "The Methodist Episcopal Church and Reconstruction," 153.
[16] *The Ku Klux Conspiracy*, 8:112.
[17] Fitzgerald, "Radical Republicanism," 574.

harvests in 1865 and 1866 produced famine-like conditions in North Alabama, poverty-stricken and war-torn as it remained. The Huntsville *Advocate* summed up the Democratic response: "the people reported to be starving" were the "political brethren of… Radicals," and so deserved no assistance from their fellow Southerners.[18] Conservative local officials put their fear into practice, and withheld ration allotments from suffering Unionists across the region.

White loyalists never posed a real political threat to the Democrats, but persecution was not the only factor to blame for their impotence. The yeomanry's support for Radicals peaked in the spring and summer of 1867, as Congress pushed ahead with its Reconstruction platform and state Republicans grew in self-
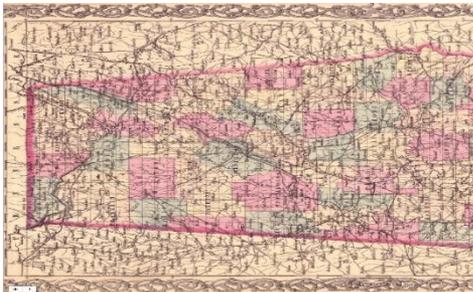
Figure 1. The counties of central and northern Alabama as they appeared at the time of Lakin's testimony before Congress. Huntsville is the seat of Madison County. George Woolworth and Charles B. Colton, *Colton's Alabama* (1871). Courtesy of the University of Alabama Historical Map Archive.

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[18] Huntsville *Advocate* (May 26, 1866), in Fitzgerald, "Radical Republicanism," 572.

assurance. Radicals became confident enough to sharpen their appeals for black civil rights and biracial political alliances. Ironically, this was the seed of the party's own undoing in the mountain counties. Despite their hatred for Confederates, Unionists retained the fullness of Southern racial prejudice, which stymied progress toward any coalition they may have been able to form. Better yields in the 1867 corn harvest and stays on debt collection from local Democrats further disincentivized support for Radicals. The result was a kind of white flight from the Union League and a marked decline in Republican votes between October 1867 and February 1868, especially in the poorest and most concentrated areas of loyalist sentiment.[19] The MEC suffered from the electoral shift as well. Governor Robert B. Lindsay, elected as a Democrat in 1870, stated in his congressional testimony that "some two or three churches" around Winston County had "abandoned their connection with the Northern conference" after having been organized by Lakin.[20] Though Lindsay was uncertain of its veracity, his report is consistent with the documented retreat attendant upon loyalist racism.

Northern Methodists in Alabama met the same fate as Republicans generally as a result of ideological sorting. Membership in the MEC had meant support for the Northern cause since at least the schism of 1844, and the MECS identified no less

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[19] Fitzgerald, "Radical Republicanism," 591.
[20] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:180-81.

thoroughly with Southern interests; in Governor Lindsay's summation, "the Northern Church belongs to the republican party, and the Southern Church to the democratic party."[21] It is little wonder, then, that Lakin reported a "politico-religious feeling and bitterness" on the part of the MECS towards the MEC.[22] Southerners by and large regarded MEC missionaries as meddlesome Yankees who preferred political agitation to spreading the gospel, and their native followers as traitorous scalawags. James Holt Clanton, a Confederate general and post-war chair of the state Democratic Executive Committee, complained that they "profess to be emissaries of Christ, they seem also to be emissaries of the radical party; they preach their religion and their politics at the same time."[23]

Clanton's perception was not entirely unfair. The MEC indeed allied Republican activism to its Southern mission, and ministers were frequently accused of preaching political sermons. Lakin himself received "peremptory" orders from his bishop "not to mingle in the political arena at all," and claimed never to have "advanced a political idea in the pulpit."[24] Notwithstanding, he had a reputation for partisanship outside Sunday mornings. According to Lionel W. Day, a Union veteran and United States

[21] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:180.
[22] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:125.
[23] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:238.
[24] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:125.

Commissioner in North Alabama, Lakin's "repeated political acts were the subject of general comment, and were said to have been attended with very considerable ability. In other words, he is said to have made a first-class stump speech."[25] He often delivered these speeches at meetings of the Union League, for which he worked as an organizer.[26] The white defection reported by Governor Lindsay was not the only adverse effect of the MEC's political engagement. In the eyes of those committed to the Southern status quo, the church was as guilty as the mountain loyalists of provocations that could not be suffered to go unpunished. Yet retaliation against Lakin and other preachers differed in a key respect: it issued not from the desks of state officials, but arrived on horseback and under hood.

III. <u>The Pastor and the Knights</u>

Lakin was aware of the Klan's existence before it came to impact him directly. During his visitations to other MEC elders "through the mountains and valleys, permeating almost every portion of Northern Alabama" from late 1867 to early 1868, he claimed to have "put up with some of the leading men of the State." From them he learned of "an organization already very extensive" that would rid them of the "terrible calamity" of black

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[25] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:612.
[26] Fitzgerald, "Radical Republicanism," 572.

equality and economic dispossession.[27] Alabama, in fact, was likely the first state to witness the KKK's expansion after its founding in Pulaski, Tennessee.[28] Despite its loose organization, the Alabama Klan managed to exploit the same resentments that had endeared the mountain yeomanry to the Union, and channel the racial grievances of the lower classes into supremacist terrorism.[29] Activity was strongest in the northern counties, exactly where loyalist sentiment was most pronounced in the immediate aftermath of the war, and to a lesser extent in the Black Belt.[30] It goes without saying that the persecution of blacks and their Republican allies was the Klan's raison d'être.

Lakin's first encounter came as a result of his extra-ministerial affairs. His evangelistic success had been mixed with disappointment. In addition to the parish defections in Winston County, he grappled with a "general apathy and indifference in regard to Religious Matters" in Huntsville, and a "prejudice of the masses against all northern men" outside the yeomanry. Klan intimidation had also forced the closure of a freedmen's school established under his watch.[31] Nevertheless, by the summer of

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[27] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:112.
[28] William Dudley Bell, "The Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan: A Survey on the Writings of the Klan with a Profile and Analysis of the Alabama Klan Episode, 1866-1874" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1973), 206.
[29] Fitzgerald, "The Ku Klux Klan," 187.
[30] Bell, "The Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan," 206-08.
[31] Lakin to Rev. J.F. Chalfant (December 14, 1865), in Paul Harvey, *Freedom's Coming: Religious Culture and the Shaping of the South from the Civil War*

1868 he had made enough of a name for himself for the University of Alabama Board of Regents, identified by one witness as being two-thirds Republican, to elect him the school's president.[32] The decision was controversial from its inception. When he attempted to take possession of university premises in Tuscaloosa along with Noah B. Cloud, a Montgomery-area reformer and the first "superintendent of public education" appointed by the state's Republican administration, he faced something of a succession crisis. Interim President Wyman refused to cooperate with a board controlled by political outsiders in a such "radical, negro-loving concern," and so withheld from Lakin the keys to the university.[33]

The situation grew dramatically worse with the Tuesday, September 1 issue of the Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor*. It featured a crudely drawn political cartoon so shocking that it later bore reprinting in Republican newspapers across the country: two white men hanging from a tree limb, one carrying an "Ohio" bag, while a donkey emblazoned with the letters "KKK" walked out from underneath them. It was a warning, a "Prospective Scene in the City of Oaks, 4th of March, 1869." The accompanying article explained the cartoon represented "those great pests of Southern society—the carpet-bagger and the scalawag," who risked lynching

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through the Civil Rights Era (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 32.

[32] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:427.

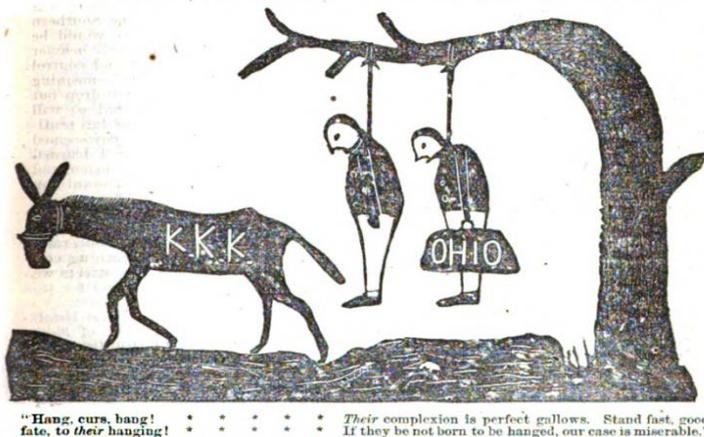[33] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:112-14.

if they did not leave town by the prescribed date. It specified that the men depicted were indeed "Cloud, of Montgomery, and Carpet-bagger Lakin, of nowhere," the former being a "radical jocky [*sic*]" and the latter a "negro-loving jackass." Reaction to their appointment, the paper boasted, was "moving onward… with the crash of an avalanche, sweeping negroism from the face of the earth."[34] Lakin got the message, and did not wait for spring to flee the city. Three days later he was back on the road to Huntsville.

Even as he was denied his post at the university, Lakin found no more peace at home in Madison County. His next run-in came just a few weeks after the Tuscaloosa affair. In mid-October 1868, a day after the Klan had disrupted a Republican rally in the lead-up to the presidential election, Lakin decided to pay a visit to a friend. On the way home, he encountered three men standing at a corner, calling his name and shouting, "God damn him, he ought to have had his old radical heart shot out of him last night." As if in

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[34] Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor* (September 1, 1868), in *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:113-14.

A PROSPECTIVE SCENE IN THE CITY OF OAKS, 4TH OF MARCH, 1869.

"Hang, curs, hang! * * * * * * *Their* complexion is perfect gallows. Stand fast, good
fate, to *their* hanging! * * * * * * If they be not born to be hanged, our case is miserable."

Figure 2. Political cartoon threatening the lynching of Cloud and Lakin. Although he hailed from Indiana, Lakin is mistakenly identified as a native of Ohio, a quintessentially Northern state. Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor* (September 1, 1868), in *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy* 8:114.

fulfillment of the curse, "sixteen buck-shot passed through the shutters, the window, and the curtains" of his house a few nights later, narrowly missing his family as they sat at dinner. Within an hour, it was reported around Huntsville that "old Parson Lakin was killed." If the shooting were not proof enough, another friend relayed in the same week that he was wanted by the KKK. Once again Lakin fled, this time for the mountains of Winston County, where he remained as a "refugee for two months." He claimed to have suffered all of this while obeying his bishop's charge to stay out of politics.[35]

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[35] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:114-16.

Lakin had similar stories dating to the Grant administration. At a Blount County camp meeting in October 1870, men brandishing bowie knives threatened to cut out his "damned old radical heart." Several days later the revival was interrupted again by dozens of armed men, "all dressed in white pantaloons," who demanded that Lakin preach so he could "pray for them." It had been decided that another minister should conduct the day's services after the first threat on Lakin's life, so he remained in his quarters when the mob came looking.[36] On another circuit the following February, he was sheltered by the people of Marshall County over the course of several weeks. One rainy night, the alarm warning of an imminent Klan attack was raised, and "ten men came in... with their guns and pistols and axes, and barricaded the doors" where Lakin was staying. Luckily the "fierce thunder-storm... raised the stream over which the attack was expected to be made," and no blood was shed. Commenting on this remarkable series of events at the Ku Klux Klan Hearings, Representative Philadelph Van Trump (D-OH) inquired, "Do not these frequent deliverances... look a little like you had been miraculously preserved?" Lakin replied with his conviction that "man is immortal until his work is done."[37]

Northern Methodists in the Crosshairs

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[36] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:117-21.
[37] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:121.

Lakin was only one victim in the Klan's campaign against Northern Methodists in Alabama. After his two months of asylum in late 1868, Lakin began keeping a record of KKK violence in his diary. Claiming to log only those reports he believed to be authentic, at his hearing he counted a staggering 323 cases with forty deaths just in the mountain counties of Blount, Jackson, Limestone, Madison, Marshall, and Morgan.[38] These figures stand in contrast to the 258 individual incidents and 103 deaths listed over Alabama's two thousand pages in the RJSC. Though this discrepancy can have a number of explanations—the fact that Klan activity is recorded in many sources outside the RJSC chief among them—readers should not discount Lakin's propensity for exaggeration.[39]

This caveat highlights the fiercely partisan nature of the Ku Klux Klan Hearings. The RJSC reads like a political Rorschach test, with either party seeking to further their respective interests. Democrats defended their cause by downplaying the Klan's very existence, and Republicans theirs by magnifying Klan atrocities to the greatest possible degree. As regards Lakin, Democrats consistently spoke against his character in order to discredit his testimony. Governor Lindsay, who knew of Lakin only by reputation, claimed that he looked "at everything through a jaundiced eye… small events that would not be noticed by other

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[38] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:134-35.
[39] Bell, "The Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan," 368-69.

men his imagination and fancy work into terrorism." Moreover, he was a "zealot in his cause" of drawing blacks away from the MECS.[40] General Clanton called Lakin a "man of very bad character," notorious as "a mischief-maker and a stirrer up of strife;"[41] even Nicholas Davis, a cantankerous old-time Whig from Limestone County, labeled him "trash," "an old ruffian," and a "disgrace."[42] The consensus from both Democrats and Republicans was that the Reverend had, at the very least, violated his oft-cited orders of political nonintervention.

Bearing in mind the question of Lakin's credibility, his attestation concerning other MEC ministers must not be dismissed out of hand. Several of his accounts are corroborated with official documentation or by other witnesses before Congress. The attack on Moses B. Sullivan, a white man, is a case in point. While preaching on a Madison County circuit in May 1869, Sullivan was ambushed in his sleep by "disguised men," and "beaten with rods" so severely that he was left an invalid. The assailants then burned down a Northern Methodist church in the vicinity and "whipped" several local blacks. Summarizing the case's affidavit, attached in full to his testimony in the RJSC, Lakin quoted the Klansmen as telling Sullivan that "they would kill his presiding elder [Lakin]; that he must preach for the Methodist Episcopal Church South; that

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[40] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:180.
[41] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:238.
[42] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 9:784-85.

there should be no church south of Mason and Dixon's line, than the Methodist Episcopal Church South."[43] The Klan targeted Sullivan precisely because he was *not* a minister of the MECS, handmaid of the old Slave Power.

Another case with an affidavit attached to Lakin's report was that of George Taylor, a black MEC preacher from Colbert County. Early in 1869, Taylor was "taken from his bed by a band of disguised men and whipped… whipped till his back was scarified; he was punched in the head with their pistols… and then, with a knife, his body and legs and thighs were punctured all over." This barbaric assault was followed by the lynching of three black men from a bridge in Tuscumbia, one of whom was a member of the MEC.[44] Among yet other ministers visited by the Klan, Lakin also mentioned Dean Reynolds of Morgan County, a black preacher "beaten and left for dead, with both arms broken, one of them in two places" in 1868; Jesse Knight, a "local preacher, shot in his own house, in Morgan County, in 1869, and died a few days later;" and a certain Reverend Johnson, "of Fayetteville, shot dead in the pulpit while preaching in 1869."[45] The Klan was indiscriminate in its attempt to rid Alabama of Yankee scoundrels, white or black.

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[43] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:123-24.
[44] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:128-29.
[45] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:127-28.

<u>The Violence of Apocalypse</u>

As the savagery of its violence attests, the motives that drove the Klan were more profound than partisan concern. A major debate in the historiography of Reconstruction over the last several decades has contested the Klan's status as a mercenary arm of the planter class. While either group certainly shared an interest in keeping blacks in their place, plantation owners often expressed frustration with the militants often supposed to be in their service; they went too far, creating such a climate of terror that blacks were literally unable to work.[46] What is more, the Klan peaked across Alabama between 1868 and 1870, *after* Republicans and Union Leagues had reached the height of their popularity in the mountain counties, and was most active in the areas where loyalist sentiment had once been strongest.[47] Were the KKK primarily concerned with Democratic hegemony, one would expect it to have shored up its efforts as Radicals came into their own. This is not the case. Rather, Klansmen were driven by a more esoteric conception of society, on a crusade blessed by the mirror image of the Northern Christianity they fought.

Religious rhetoric in the South took on a new form after the war. With their assurance that God would lead them to victory crushed, white Southerners turned inward to grapple with their undelivered exodus. Out of their attempt to accept defeat came the

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[46] Fitzgerald, "The Ku Klux Klan," 194.
[47] Bell, "The Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan," 252.

first strains of Southern apocalypticism, a gloomy, embittered pondering of what God might yet have in store for His people. Predictions of the end of days and the revelation of divine judgment had been commonplace in Northern evangelicalism for decades, but Southerners turned toward the eschaton only after their sons had marched to their deaths in vain. In this new mode of thought, their oppressors—the blacks striving for equality and the Yankees that abetted them—were literally satanic. They were forces that arose from the very depths of hell, which God alone could defeat. The dreadful intensity of their speculation was thereby imputed to the temporal, transforming political struggles into a battle between transcendent good and evil.[48]

Though the majority of Klansmen were poor country folk who lacked access to confessional literature, the apocalyptic spirit circulated among their believing neighbors and emanated from the pulpits of their churches. Their propaganda accordingly highlighted that Manichaean struggle shared by all white Southerners. In the same article denouncing Cloud and Lakin, the Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor* boasted, "The happy day of reckoning approacheth rapidly… Each and every one who has so unblushingly essayed to lower the Caucasian to a degree even beneath the African race will be regarded as *hostis sui generis*

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[48] W. Scott Poole, "Confederate Apocalypse: Theology and Violence in the Reconstruction South," in *Vale of Tears,* 36-52.

[unique enemies]."[49] This style of religiously bloated prose was widespread enough for some Republicans to mimic it. The Huntsville *Advocate* printed one anti-Klan notice in 1868 that warned, "Overmuch hath the Serpent hissed… His pestilential breath is stenchful, even in this remote and peaceful abode. By permission of the Great Ruler, we have girt out armor and resume the Earth Field… we are defenders of innocence—*avengers* of bloodguiltless—Deputies of Destiny…"[50] Passion was found on either side, but only one could parody the overwrought zeal of the other.

More importantly, the Klan reified the abstract of apocalypse through its use of ritualized violence. The deeper significance of its activity did not go unnoticed in its own day. John A. Minnis, a United States Attorney for North Alabama, detailed a method of Klan youth recruitment in 1872: "A proposition is made to them to go to see a little fun. Unsuspectingly they agree to it, and start with a crowd not knowing or suspecting anything wrong, get off to some old field or woods, all halt, some disguise themselves… In this situation a negro is whipped, or in some instances killed." Once made accessories to murder, boys would be compelled to keep quiet and

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[49] Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor* (September 1, 1868), in *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:114.
[50] Huntsville *Advocate* (August 7, 1868), in Bell, "The Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan," 216-17.

enroll as Klansmen, whether they wanted to or not. "In this way your sons have been," Minnis added conspicuously, "drawn into this most diabolical conspiracy."[51] The torture of blacks in this context is almost liturgical, complete with the donning of specialized vestments and the initiation of youth. Arguably the most shocking report in Lakin's own testimony was the attack on George Taylor, the black MEC preacher who was methodically stabbed, beaten, and whipped. If Christians have traditionally understood the liturgy to be both a participation in the heavenly worship and an anticipation of eternal communion with the Trinity, then the sadism that marks these incidents points beyond a merely political terrorism. Klansmen were indeed Christian soldiers, and that in a twofold sense: they exacted revenge on God's enemies in the here-and-now, and simultaneously hastened the arrival of His judgment.

In order to perceive the eschatological nature of the KKK, it is necessary to separate apocalypticism from modern misunderstanding. Today the term "apocalypse" typically implies the end of the world, some cataclysm that will sweep away creation either with a bang or a whimper. The original Greek has no such meaning. Rather, *apokalypsis* more properly means "unveiling" or "revelation," as when the Gospel of Luke describes the Child Jesus as *phôs eis apokalypsin ethnôn*, a "light for

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[51] Bell, "The Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan," 223.

revelation to the Gentiles."[52] It is in this spirit that the Klan was apocalyptic—not that it sought to bring about the Second Coming per se, but rather God's manifestation of Himself in the subjugated South. Its effort to bring about the Kingdom of God at home was in keeping with the general tenor of Southern apocalypticism, which ignored the numerical predictions of Christ's return as practiced by Northern divines and focused instead on the discernment of God's vindicating justice. As Lakin's testimony demonstrates, the Klan persecuted some Northern Methodists because they were black, some because they were Yankees, and some because they were Republicans. All of them were targeted because they were agents of the Antichrist, a belief legitimized by Reconstruction's religious milieu.

Conclusion: Lakin and the Christ-Haunted South

The Klan was disbanded in Alabama by 1873, its decline matching the Democratic Party's triumphant return to power across the South.[53] Whites hailed the conservative restoration as their Redemption; in the words of James Mallory, a Southern Methodist farmer from Talladega County, it was "deliverance from our cursed rulers."[54] The use of explicitly religious terminology here is

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[52] Luke 2:32.
[53] Fitzgerald, "The Ku Klux Klan," 205.
[54] James Mallory, 26 November 1874, in Paul Harvey, "'That Was about Equalization after Freedom': Southern Evangelicalism and the Politics of Reconstruction and Redemption, 1861-1900," in *Vale of Tears*, 75.

not coincidental. "Redemption" signifies the translation from a state of sin and disorder to one of wholeness and fulfilment. The state-by-state demise of Radicalism throughout the 1870s was just such a vindication in the eyes of Southern evangelicals. Moreover, the reversion to the status quo antebellum, which saw blacks return to slavery in everything but name, was the very apocalypse that Klansmen had awaited. Even if God had preserved the Union, they ensured that He still manifest His saving presence to the white race.

Flannery O'Connor held that the South, while "hardly Christ-centered," was "most certainly Christ-haunted."[55] The theological conception of man that she believed to prevail in the South was even more pervasive in Reverend Lakin's century than in her own. However, a Christian anthropology was unable to prevent the nation from tearing itself apart over slavery, or the racist cruelty that persisted throughout Reconstruction and Redemption. The Protestantism that provided a common cultural foundation on either side of the Mason-Dixon Line was just as fractured as society at large, and in the South, it actually sanctioned the brutality detailed at the Ku Klux Klan Hearings and in the RJSC. Based on his correspondence with other Northern Methodist leaders, Lakin deemed the "very general opposition"

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[55] Flannery O'Connor, "Some Aspects of the Grotesque in Southern Fiction," in *Flannery O'Connor: Collected Works*, ed. Sally Fitzgerald (New York: Library of America, 1988), 818.

met by the MEC in Alabama to be the state of his church across the South more broadly.[56] The preponderance of Unionist sentiment in North Alabama was ultimately incidental to the MEC's fate there, and in this regard Lakin's mission was perhaps always doomed to fail. Yet he provides his readers today a much-needed window, however imperfect, into religious life during Reconstruction. His testimony continues to shine a light on the South, a land still haunted by the Lord he served.

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[56] *The Ku-Klux Conspiracy*, 8:130.

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Some Corner Forever: The Imperial War Graves Commission and the Meaning of the Great War
By Cameron Sauers

From a trench on the Western front, John William Streets grappled with the seeming inevitably of his impending death on the field of battle. In his poem "A Soldier's Cemetery," Streets wrote "There is a yet unmarked and unknown shrine, / A broken plot, a soldier's cemetery/ … When war shall cease this lonely unknown spot/ Of many a pilgrimage will be the end."[1] Streets was killed at the battle of the Somme and is presumed to be buried at Euston Road cemetery.[2] Streets' poem foreshadowed the widespread post-war pilgrimages to the cemeteries and graves of the Great War. The death of hundreds of thousands of men created a logistical and cultural problem for Britain that was solved through the creation of the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC), a government organization tasked with ensuring that each soldier killed while serving Britain would be properly buried or memorialized if their remains could not be identified. To meet the challenge of burying more than one million men, the IWGC established more than 15,000 cemeteries. The newly created cemeteries would, as Street

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[1] John William Streets, "A Soldier's Cemetery," The Great War, http://www.greatwar.co.uk/poems/john-william-streets-soldiers-cemetery.htm.
[2] "Search Result" Commonwealth War Graves Commission, https://www.cwgc.org/find-a-cemetery/cemetery/58400/EUSTON%20ROAD%20CEMETERY,%20COLINCAMPS.

predicted, become popular destinations for pilgrims searching for meaning in the mechanized death of the war. Pilgrimages provided an opportunity to visit the graves of those who had paid the ultimate sacrifice. Through funerary architecture, monumentation and symbolic designs, the IWGC renegotiated mourning practices for Britons and Imperial subjects, subsequently redefining the way that war dead were mourned.

This paper argues that sites administered by the IWGC played a significant part in the British public's mourning and understanding of the meaning of the Great War. Pilgrimages, due to their popularity, size, and accessibility, allowed countless bereaved families to grieve the losses that they suffered during the war. Their visits to cemeteries were powerful experiences because of the painstaking work done by the IWGC to bury identified bodies, honor unidentified remains, and enshrine names for those whose remains could not be identified. The IWGC was a bureaucratic organization that overcame the cultural challenge posed by the question of how to memorialize hundreds of thousands of war dead. IWGC Director Fabian Ware oversaw the commission and was instrumental in creating a bond amongst the dead that redefined them as an extension of the British Empire. Ware created a constituency of the dead where the tombstones and memorialized names became grasped as a single entity.[3] The

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[3] Thomas Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2015), 463.

IWGC relied on carefully planned cemeteries and accompanying funerary architecture, centered around the complex web of meaning that families, the nation, and the Empire assigned to the Great War. After more than 100 years since their creation, IWGC cemeteries remain a powerful reminder of the cost and meaning of the Great War.

Pilgrimages to the battlefields of the Great War began even as the conflict raged on. The specific use of language of pilgrimage originated from prominent voices related to the IWGC, including poet Rudyard Kipling, who played a noteworthy role in the Commission. Most notably, King George V, himself a visitor to the cemeteries created during the 1920s, referred to his journey as a pilgrimage. This paper uses the term according to Maurice Walbach's definition on which Brad West elaborated in his study of Gallipoli tourism: pilgrimage is

> the act of visiting a distant site that is held sacred by the traveler's own society. This allows us to identify a diversity of pilgrimage traditions within both religious and civic spheres. International civil religious pilgrimage, for example, involves visiting historical sites abroad that are sacred to the traveler's nation.[4]

Pilgrimages are "mass, public phenomena performed in large groups as well as being a private communion between the pilgrim

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[4] Brad West, "Enchanting Pasts: The Role of International Civil Religious Pilgrimage in Reimagining National Collective Memory," *Sociological Theory* 26, no. 3 (2008): 259.

with the person they had lost. Visitors to these sites today remain pilgrims in search of meaning."[5] Middle class and wealthy Britons in the 19th century made pilgrimages to the graves of great figures, with Percy Shelley finding John Keats' grave in Rome to have powerful natural views. [6] The pilgrimages of the 1920s were not simply leisurely vacations. Rather, they were ordinary Britons searching for the graves of loved ones and confirmation that their sacrifice had not been in vain. The IWGC had an obligation to Britons to validate the mass death of the war. The pilgrimages were thought to be a temporary development, an addition to the stages of mourning as even famous poet Sigfried Sassoon dreamt of a day when visitors would be strictly tourists, not pilgrims, but as this paper will demonstrate later, modern day visitors remain pilgrims in search of meaning.[7]

In the interwar period, anyone could have been a pilgrim. More than 700,000 British soldiers were killed during the First World War and most of them left behind loved ones who mourned. Historian Jay Winter indicates that each married British soldier left not only a widow, but an average of two children, as well as any

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[5] Joanna Scutts, "Battlefield Cemeteries, Pilgrimage, and Literature after the First World War: The Burial of the Dead," *English Literature in Transition 1880-1920* 52, no.4 (Fall 2009): 400.

[6] Andrew Keating, "The Empire of the Dead: British Burial Abroad and the Formation of National Identity" (Phd Dissertation, University of California, Berkley, 2011), 23.

[7] John Stephens, "The Ghosts of Menin Gate': Art, Architecture and Commemoration," *Journal of Contemporary History* 44, no. 1 (2009): 8.

number of parents, siblings, and other relatives.[8] The decision of
the IWGC to not repatriate remains meant that family members
were unable to directly take part in the burying and memorializing
of the deceased. Instead, these tasks were performed by IWGC.
The inability to memorialize the dead in the traditional ways
necessitated a new way of finding closure, causing some families
to enshrine objects and designate local places as memorials.
Photographs, uniforms, and letters all provided a vital function in
mourning, but there was no substitute for visiting the grave of the
departed.[9] For many, pilgrimage was the way to alleviate grief.[10]
Charitable organizations organized trips at little or no cost for
those who could not afford them. The largest trip organized by the
British Legion delivered 10,000 mourners to France in August
1928, while smaller ones happened constantly. Similarly, the St.
Barnabas Society's sole purpose was to make pilgrimages possible,
including financing a large group of women to attend the unveiling
of the Menin Gate in July 1927. Even some veterans returned to
the places where they had once fought. Many were traumatized by
the experience of seeing battlefields and graves of comrades,

[8] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), 46.
[9] Aidan Barlow, "Mixing Memory and Desire: British and German War Memorials after 1918, " in *the Silent Morning: Culture and Memory after the Armistice*, ed. Trudi Tate and Kate Kennedy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 309.
[10] John Stephens, "The Ghosts of Menin Gate': Art, Architecture and Commemoration," *Journal of Contemporary History* 44, no. 1 (2009): 9.

thereby demonstrating the deep power landscape has in conjuring emotions.[11]

   Pilgrims found solace in each other, memorials, and landscapes while visiting sites related to the Great War. Historian Jay Winter notes that those who went on pilgrimages to sacred sites and cemeteries "also developed affinities with parents, widows, sons, and daughters like themselves, who were there to remember the dead." [12] There was a strong sense of kinship between those who made the physically and emotionally difficult journey with others like them who also mourned fallen soldiers. Together, they remembered the fallen and created a domain of memory beyond individual memory.[13] These trips were both communal and individual, as groups arrived at the cemeteries together but split off to visit individual graves.[14] Burying bodies in concentrated areas near where they fell imbued the surrounding landscape with a powerful meaning to the bereaved who could survey the landscape that may have been the final view of a

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[11] Tom Lawson, "The Free-Masonry of Sorrow : English National Identities and the Memorialization of the Great War in Britain, 1919–1931," *History and Memory* 20, no. 1 (2008): 101-102, 106.

[12] Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning,* 56.

[13] Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University, 2006), 22.

[14] Adrian Barlow, "Mixing Memory and Desire: British and German War Memorials after 1918," ed *The Silent Morning: Culture and Memory after the Armistice*, ed. Trudi Tate and Kate Kennedy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 311.

deceased loved one.[15] Trenches remained visible on battlefields stand as memorials themselves and serving as a silent witnesses to the mechanized death of the Great War.[16] Curated gardens adjacent to cemeteries expressed "order, peace, nation, empire, militariness and sacrifice through architecture and horticulture."[17]

Turning war scarred landscapes into pastoral cemeteries reminiscent of Britain was no small task. Through architecture and horticulture, there was a "continuity and rootedness, masking death and destruction, transfiguring the horrors of war which always threatened to surface."[18] The cemeteries were universally on land given to Britain so the dead could be buried on British soil. By using British trees, shrubs, and flowers, the IWGC made the cemeteries seem like a traditional British cemetery. On a deeper level, the landscape assured the bereaved that, though their loved ones were buried abroad, they would not be forgotten. By extension, they became a new dominion of the Empire, one "of the slain, insistent in both its existence and its silence."[19]

British cemeteries also allowed the nation to express its status as a leading empire. The figurehead of the Empire, King

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[15] Bruce Scates, "In Gallipoli's Shadow: Pilgrimage, Memory, Mourning and the Great War," *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no. 119 (2002), 2.

[16] Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead,* 486.

[17] Mandy S. Morris, "Gardens 'Forever England': Landscape, Identity, and the First World War British Cemeteries on the Western Front," *Ecumene* 4, no. 4 (October 1997): 412.

[18] Morris, "Gardens 'Forever England'", 429.

[19] Laqeuer, *Work of the Dead* 483. Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*, (New York: Knopf, 2008), 249.

George V, while on a pilgrimage to the Western Front, draped the cemeteries in Imperial language:

> the graves of the Flanders battlefields told triumphantly of [an] august imperial assembly—the dead of the mother country having around them those of [the empire] … at every point the voices of the dead bespoke … the single hearted assembly of nations and races which form our empire.[20]

Within the cemeteries, there was no distinction based on rank, class, or country. Rather than emphasizing religious motifs, none of which would have been universal throughout the empire, the IWGC decided to use secular imagery of the state in cemeteries.[21] Religious practices traditionally dictated burial and mourning practices, but the diversity of religions in Imperial forces required that the Empire reign supreme in memorializing the war dead. Thomas Laqeuer argues that "perhaps nowhere else is Britain, as the world imperial power it was then, more evident than along the battle lines [where most IWGC sites are] of the Great War."[22] As director of the IWGC, Fabian Ware oversaw the creation of an empire of the dead as the masses of tombstones and memorialized names became grasped by Britons as a single entity.[23] Rudyard Kipling, whose only son was missing and presumed dead on the

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[20] Lawson, "The Free-Masonry of Sorrow," 102-103.
[21] Ron Fuchs, "Sites of Memory in the Holy Land: the design of the British War cemeteries in Palestine," *Journal of Historical Geography* 30 (2004): 646.
[22] Laqeuer, *The Work of the Dead,* 483.
[23] Laqeuer, *The Work of the Dead,* 483.

Western Front, used his prominence to emphasize Imperial symbolism within the cemeteries. From his position of literary advisor to the IWGC, Kipling used imperial mourning language on monuments and in print. While writing about his pilgrimage with King George V, Kipling hoped "the bereaved from all parts of the Empire might find…occasion to make the same pilgrimage." Kipling believed that such a trip would be a powerful experience for all citizens of the Empire, even if they suffered no loss.[24]

IWGC monuments were less powerful than Kipling hoped. For example, the All-India memorial was unveiled in 1931 to amidst the rising wave of Indian nationalism. Despite Fabian Ware's dedication speech attempting to emphasize the bonds between Britain and India, the memorial did little to improve Indian perceptions of the Empire.[25] India, like many colonies and dominions, felt their sacrifice during the Great War demonstrated that they no longer needed the guiding force of empire. The colonies and dominions of the British Empire tended to view their sacrifice through a national, rather than an imperial lens. In Canada and Australia, there was a strong sense of pride in their soldier's wartime achievements. After scarce organized pilgrimages during the 1920s, organized pilgrimages from Australia and Canada to the

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[24] Keating, "The Empire of the Dead: British Burial Abroad and the Formation of National Identity," 113-114.

[25] David A. Johnson and Nicole F. Gilbertson, "Commemorations of Imperial Sacrifice at Home and Abroad: British Memorials of the Great War, " *The History Teacher* 43, no. 4 (2010): 579.

battlefields became more common in the 1930s. On these voyages, Australians frequently visited the war cemetery in Jerusalem and placed sprigs of wattle, a popular national symbol, on the graves of their war dead.[26] Australia's and New Zealand's sacrifice at Gallipoli also made the memorials and cemeteries there popular destinations reinforcing the idea that the war gave a new sense of identity to these nations. Pilgrimages to Gallipoli "filled a psychological need in this time of crisis and helped New Zealanders to cope with their losses, by making them feel part of a nation united in its determination to keep faith with the dead."[27] The cemetery, funerary architecture, and landscape at Gallipoli became foundational to the national myths of Australia and New Zealand, despite attempts by the IWGC to use the cemeteries to solidify the bonds of the Empire.[28]

Dominion governments were entitled to reserve battle sites for national monuments, something that many of them did in conjunction with the IWGC, but Canadians asserted themselves by refusing to use an IWGC architect for the Canadian monument at Vimy Ridge. Vimy Ridge was an important national site as it was

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[26] David W. Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia, and Canada,* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998), 118, 120.

[27] Maureen Sharpe, "Anzac Day in New Zealand 1916-1939," *New Zealand Journal of History* 15, no. 2, 99.

[28] Ahenk Yilmaz, "Memorialization on War-Broken Ground: Gallipoli War Cemeteries and Memorials Designed by Sir John James Burnet," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 73, no. 3 (2014): 334.

the first place where Canadian soldiers fought together under Canadian command. The battle played a crucial role in awakening Canada's national identity. The IWGC had attempted to avoid any specific religious symbolism in their cemeteries to represent all facets of the Empire, but Canada dramatically broke from that tradition.[29] Canada used Christian imagery throughout the monument, including depicting a crucified Christ in reference to the successful assaults made by in the days following Easter. Canadian forces lacked the religious diversity that could be found across the Empire, therefore Christian symbolism was acceptable. The monument reflected Canada's national identity, not its identity as a part of the broader Empire. Canadian blood had been shed; it was only proper that Canadian monumentation followed.

The Great War's high number of dead bodies that could not be recovered or identified necessitated the creation of new mourning practices and funerary architecture. As a monument to the missing, Menin Gate serves as a useful case study. In the early twentieth century, bodies were seen as the keepers of memories and identity. If the body was not present, the identity subsequently disappeared.[30] John Stephens notes that death rituals had to be

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[29] Jacqueline Hucker, "Battle and Burial: Recapturing the Cultural Meaning of Canada's National Memorial on Vimy Ridge," *The Public Historian* 31, no. 1 (2009): 93-94, 99.

[30] Winter *Remembering War,* 56-57. For an explanation of the link between identity, body, and memorials in the nineteenth and twentieth century, see Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead,* 388-488.

suspended in the case of missing remains, and mourners took a long time to grasp, if they ever did, that the remains they desired would never be recovered.[31] Since the IWGC refused to have graves without bodies in them, monumental lists of names were compiled to provide a symbolic resting place for those whose remains could not be identified. Jay Winter argues that these lists helped the bereaved recover from their loss by providing a space away from daily life to reflect and mourn.[32] In lieu of a grave to visit, running a hand over a name would suffice in letting the dead have their eternal rest. The Menin Gate memorial functions as an "empty tomb" where the families of all 56,000 men listed on the wall could grieve.[33] IWGC director Fabian Ware noted the inscription on the monument was fundamentally important to its purpose. The gate's inscription is specifically for those whose did not receive a traditional burial: "Here are recorded names of officers and men who fell in Ypres Salient, but to whom the fortune of war denied the known and honoured burial given to their comrades in death."[34]

      Pilgrimages to the Menin Gate were a substitute for a grave as a way to find meaning. For those too far away to travel, such as

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[31] John Stephens, "'The Ghosts of Menin Gate': Art, Architecture and Commemoration," *Journal of Contemporary History* 44, no. 1 (2009): 11.
[32] Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 95-96.
[33] Stephens, "The Ghosts of Menin Gate", 10.
[34] Fabian Ware, "Building and Decoration of the War Cemeteries," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 72, no. 3725 (1924): 352.

Australians, artistic representations of the monument provided closure. Painter Will Longstaff's paintings *Immortal Shrine* and *Menin Gate at Midnight* took on important value in Australia because they transported viewers to what they desired to see. Subsequently, the paintings became a tool to ease Australians through their grief. In the form of a mini-pilgrimage, Australians flocked to museums to see the paintings.[35] Even in the present, pilgrims in search of meaning voyage to the Menin Gate each night to hear the playing of "Last Post" in search of the same answers the bereaved first sought almost 100 years ago.[36]

Pilgrimages to the cemeteries of the Great War remain popular and powerful in the twenty-first century. Jay Winter incorrectly asserts that "war memorials have become the artefacts of a vanished age, remnants of the unlucky generation that had to endure the carnage of the Great War."[37] Winter's correctly estimates the memorial's purpose of healing and mending communities, but he fails to fully appreciate the powerful, lasting nationalist message that the spaces set aside by the IWGC have. Bruce Scates' 2002 study of twenty-first century pilgrims to the battlefields and cemeteries of Gallipoli demonstrate their enduring and lasting nationalist meaning. Scates interviewed 200 pilgrims to

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[35] Stephens, "The Ghosts of Menin Gate," 21, 22; Laqeuer, *The Work of The Dead,* 420.
[36] Stephens, "The Ghosts of Menin Gate," 7-8.
[37] Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 98.

Gallipoli and discovered the emotional power universally felt by those who made the trip. At the graves of the dead, these pilgrims found themselves aware of "some presence" as the symbols of significance became "denser, richer, more involved."[38] Young people especially were struck by the power of the sights that memorialize those who at the same made the ultimate sacrifice for country. To them, being in Gallipoli for the annual dawn service to commemorate the first wave of landings is a "spiritual experience as close to a sacred day as Australians ever get." In the post-Vietnam generation, Scates observes an increase in "patriotic fervor" that verges on "the most chauvinistic kind of nationalism."[39] What Winter did not realize, but Scates' pilgrims did was that memorials were not just erected for the bereaved of the Great War, they were erected so that future generation may understand the meaning of the War's sacrifice.

　　　　More than 100 years since the Armistice, cemeteries and memorials cared for by the now renamed Commonwealth Graves Commission remain vital to public memory of the First World War. The Great War posed a challenging feat of how to memorialize so many killed over such a large space, so far from their native lands. The creation of the IWGC guided the public through the bereavement of the interwar period through its careful

[38] Scates, "In Gallipoli's Shadow," 16.
[39] Bruce Scates, *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the battlefields of the Great War* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), 196-197.

construction of cemeteries and memorials. Pilgrims have consistently found solace and meaning by visiting the curated landscapes where loved ones fought and died. The sites they visited were and remain imbued with personal, national, and Imperial meanings that disseminated throughout popular consciousness as individuals grieved, nations emerged, and an Empire slowly faded.

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An Augustan Accident: The Paradox of Augustan Sex and Marriage Laws and Augustan Ideology
By Lillian Shea

Augustus, born Gaius Octavius, curated a specific image of himself and his purpose for the Roman people, starting with his rise to power following his victory at Actium in 31 B.C.E. and culminating in his later construction projects. Augustus was generally successful at crafting a *Pax Romana* in which the people were fed, the Empire's borders expanded, and the armies at peace.[1] However, Augustus was fallible. When promoting themes of fertility, he enacted laws to actualize his ideology, restricting marriage based on class, ordering a minimum number of children per couple, and condemning adulteresses. Never before had state law punished citizens for sexual deviance and so plainly distinguished the bottom of moral hierarchy. In creating a model of moral behavior through law, Augustus also necessitated the existence of its antithesis, the prostitute. Additionally, Augustus put himself at odds not only with the sexual desires of the aristocracy but also with his own ideology. He attempted to hold the past as a golden standard to which Rome ought to return. Yet, many of Rome's ancestors would have been criminals under Augustus's sex laws. Ultimately, Augustus's laws did more to

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[1] Greg Woolf, "Provincial Perspectives," in *Age of Augustus,* ed. Karl Galinsky (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 106-129.

damage his own ideology than consolidate his power and control the aristocracy.

Augustus dedicated much of his reign to curating a careful image of himself and his wishes for the empire. He prioritized images of fertility and "the blessings of children" in his art, architecture, festivals, and literature.[2] The imposing *Ara Pacis Augustae*, translating to "Altar of the Augustan Peace," exemplified these themes.[3] Completed by the Senate in 9 BCE, the marble altar promoted the state by depicting the female personification of Rome, Rome's founder, Romulus, and prominent rulers. Symbols of fertility accompanied these images. Children, such as Agrippa's sons, Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar, dominated the foreground of the frieze. Flowers surrounded Pax, the goddess of Peace, as she supported two children in her arms, one of whom held a fruit. Thus, Augustus used iconography to entwine images of the Roman state and sexual bounty.[4]

In addition to the arts, Augustus revived the Secular Festival in 17 B.C.E. with fertility as its central theme. He highlighted mothers and children by assigning them special roles. Matrons led prayers to Juno, Jupiter's wife and queen of the gods.

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[2] Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* translated by Alan Shapiro (University of Michigan Press, 2005), 167; P.J. Davis, *Ovid and Augustus: A Political Reading of Ovid's Erotic Poems* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 2006), 24.
[3] Zanker, *The Power of Images,* 120-121.
[4] Zanker, *The Power of Images,* 122, 173.

Two choirs of children, one male and one female, sang the *Carmen Saeculare*, meaning "Song of the Ages," which was commissioned by Augustus and composed by Quintus Horatius Flaccus (Horace). Horace saturated his verse with references to fecundity and addressed the Greek goddess of childbirth directly saying:

> *rite maturos aperire partus*
> *lenis, Ilithyia, tuere matres…*
>
> You whose gentle function it is to open the way for births
> in due season, protect our mothers, o Ilithyia…[5]

These words complemented the festival by further promoting sexual productivity as a form of civic duty.[6]

Despite his efforts to emphasize procreation, Romans, particularly aristocrats, resisted Augustus's plans. Keith Hopkins argues in his article "Contraception in the Roman Empire" that low birth rates and small aristocratic families were due in part to contraceptive practices of the upper class.[7] Augustus advanced his agenda by enacting three laws that would mandate moral procreation and limit extra-marital sex.[8] *Lex Julia de maritandis*

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[5] Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, ln. 13-14, Loeb Classical Library, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/horace-hymn_new_age/2004/pb_LCL033.263.xml?rskey=GxQULy&result=3.

[6] Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 122, 169, 173, 176.

[7] Keith Hopkins, 126, "Contraception in the Roman Empire" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 8, no. 1 (October, 1965):126, https://www.jstor.org/stable/177539.

[8] Judith Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce, and Widowhood* (NY: Routledge, 2002), 83.

ordinibus, passed in 18 B.C.E., regulated marriages based on social class, *Lex Julia de adulteriis*, passed in 9 C.E., punished adultery, and *lex Papia-Poppaea* modified the 18 B.C.E. law on marriage and emphasized child-bearing.[9] These laws marked the first time the Roman state made sexual deviance an offense punishable by the government, thus altering understandings of sexual behavior and cementing the concepts of morality and immorality for Romans.

First, these laws imposed restrictions on marriages based on the class of the participants. In her 2002 work on women and Roman marriage laws, the Roman Historian, Judith Evan Grubbs explained that a marriage of any member of the senatorial order, which included "senators, their children, and their sons' children," to a former slave or actor was prohibited.[10] Such an arrangement was "not in compliance with Augustan law," making the spouses criminals and subject to financial penalties.[11] More drastic was the ban on marriages between any freeborn person and a prostitute, pimp, or adulteress. Augustus's law made prostitution the only professionals forbidden from marrying all *ingenui*, or "freemen," establishing them permanently at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Thomas A. J. McGinn, a scholar on prostitution and law

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[9] Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law,* 13; Thomas A. J. McGinn, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 70.
[10] Grubbs, *Women and the Law,* 84.
[11] Grubbs, *Women and the Law,* 84.

in Ancient Rome, explained that, although Ancient Rome had no official "law of prostitution," prostitutes had been considered the face of *infamia,* or "dishonor."[12] With perceptions of chastity already closely related to the welfare of the state in Greco-Roman tradition, the Augustan laws served to strengthen this relationship, indulging the Roman tendency to "merge categories of the social and moral."[13] In this way, Augustan law served to further engrain the depravity of the prostitute's social status and keep prostitutes and pimps out of the upper class.[14]

      The greatest punishments were reserved for adulteresses through the *lex Julia de adulteriis*. The law enumerated two types of prohibited sexual activity. The first was adultery, which the law defined as sex between a married woman and man other than her husband.[15] *Stuprum,* sometimes translated as "rape," was the other illicit sex act and included non-marital sex with an unmarried woman of high status.[16] In the Republic, chastisement of adulterous wives was the role of the *paterfamilias*, the male head of the household.[17] Under Augustan law, the punishment for adultery became the burden of the state which imposed fiscal penalties on the woman and man involved in the affair and forced

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[12] McGinn, *Prostitution*, 19, 65.
[13] McGinn, *Prostitution*, 26, 72.
[14] McGinn, *Prostitution*, 18, 65.
[15] Grubbs, *Women and the Law*, 84.
[16] Davis, *Ovid and Augustus*, 94.
[17] Grubbs, *Women and the Law,* 84.

the husband to divorce his wife or face prosecution himself for *lenocinium,* or "pimping."[18] The inclusion of a cuckolded husband risking the title of pimp suggested that his wife, in cheating, became a prostitute. McGinn further supported this assertion by arguing that women convicted of adultery had to wear a toga that "heretofore only prostitutes among women had been accustomed to wear," in effect turning the *adultera damnata,* or "convicted adulteress," into a whore.[19] Such an action established adultery as a complete loss of honor and solidified prostitution's place at the bottom of the moral order.

Yet, as Augustus vilified prostitution, he made the prostitute indispensable to his vision of an ideal Rome. Augustus's laws could not completely eradicate the sexual drive that led to adultery. To curb "uncontrolled sexuality" that threatened "moral and political order," McGinn argued that "prostitution played an important role in safeguarding this order."[20] In the minds of the Romans, the profession provided a sexual outlet for predatory men who might have targeted and sullied honorable women, while also serving as a warning to women of what would happen if they lost their sexual honor.[21] Thus, Augustus's law created a paradox

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[18] Grubbs, *Women and the Law,* 84.
[19] McGinn, *Prostitution*, 156, 157.
[20] McGinn, *Prostitution*, 17.
[21] McGinn, *Prostitution*, 17.

which, when considered in reference to his greater ideologies, exposed other inconsistencies within his image.

Augustus's support of moral childbearing extended to an emphasis on genealogy, not just his own, but of Rome as a whole. He utilized images of Rome and his own divine and pure ancestry to legitimize his rule and justify his moral reforms. He often referred to his familial, albeit adopted, relation to Venus through Gaius Julius Caesar. He also looked to Romulus as a predecessor of his own role as pacifier and *princeps,* or "first man," of Rome. Additionally, he held the past as an ideal and virtuous image that the empire ought to emulate in order to calm the turbulence of the Civil War and reverse the moral decay of the past centuries.[22] A contemporary historian, Titus Livius (Livy), wrote a history of Rome and its people called *Ab Urbe Condita,* meaning "From the Founding of the City." In its prelude, Livy glorified the past by telling his readers to study:

> *…quae vita qui mores fuerint… labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentis1 primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus perventum est.*

> …what life and morals were like… then let him note how, with the gradual relaxation of discipline, morals first gave way, as it were, then sank lower and lower, and finally began the downward plunge which has brought us to the

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[22] Davis, *Ovid and Augustus,* 23.

present time, when we can endure neither our vices nor their cure.[23]

In Livy and Augustus's mind, modern Rome was morally corrupt and needed to realign itself according to the examples of the past. Through Augustus's elevated lineage, he could affect peace. However, with the implementation of the marriage laws, such a relationship spawned contradiction.

Although Augustus used literature like Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* to support Augustan marriage laws, not all the histories and mythology produced under his reign aligned with his new legislation. For example, his laws complicated the narrative of Romulus and Remus and their she-wolf mother. Augustus strove to associate himself with Romulus by presenting himself as the continuation of Romulus's legacy. Whereas Romulus was the "father of the city" who single-handedly fought victoriously against a Roman enemy, King Akron of Caenina, Augustus worked to restore the former glory of the city, an opportunity born from his victory over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium.[24] Augustus not only continued Romulus's legacy but completed it by establishing himself as the last to use the barbarity of war to ensure peace and civility. The chronology was physically demonstrated

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[23] Livy, *History of Rome* vol. 1, Book I, preface, ln. 9, Loeb Classical Library, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/livy-history_rome_1/1919/pb_LCL114.7.xml?result=3&rskey=bJLLFc.
[24] Zanker, *The Power of Images,* 203.

when the Senate recorded the *fasti*, a list of significant religious and state events, on marble slabs and placed Romulus' victory first. The *fasti* were displayed on Augustus's triumphal arch celebrating his victory at Actium. The proximity of the two military accomplishments on the arch suggest that Augustus saw himself paralleling Romulus's role in establishing a sound government. Augustus also worked images of the twins into his imperial art by including them on the *Ara Pacis*. By picturing the pair suckling the she-wolf, Augustus marked their place of importance in his genealogical mythology. Thus, Romulus and Augustus were linked by their roles as leaders of Rome and their blood relation.[25]

However, Augustus's sex laws complicated this connection. The problem stemmed from the various meanings of the Latin term for "she-wolf," *lupa*. The she-wolf had an extensive history in Rome. One of the earlier representations of the *Lupa Capitolina,* or "Capitoline Wolf," was a bronze statue which many believed to date between 480 and 470 B.C.E. Around 65 B.C.E., Marcus Tullius Cicero wrote about the canine when its statue was struck by lightning, interpreting it as an ill omen related to the Catiline Conspiracy. He described the wolf as "the noble nurse o' the Roman name… [who] Fed the immortal children of her god /

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[25] Davis, *Ovid and Augustus,* 47; Zanker, *The Power of Images,* 203.

With the life-giving dew of sweetest milk."[26] Sextus Propertius shared similar sentiments stating, "Best of nurses to our state, thou she-wolf of Mars, what walls have grown up from thy milk!"[27] Cristina Mazzoni, a scholar of classical culture, argued that the she-wolf was admired and viewed strictly as an animal and mother of Rome.[28] However, *lupa* also referred to prostitutes, and while some brothels were called *lupanar*, or *lupanarium*, meaning "den of she-wolves."[29] This association ranked female sex workers below humans and characterized them as predatory and greedy.[30] Conversely, it also introduced an association between the she-wolf who raised the founder of Rome and prostitutes who were deemed social outcasts.

Some contemporary historians exposed the conflicting nature of the *lupa*. For example, Livy's history of Rome presented both aspects of the wolf which, under Augustan law, reflected negatively on the founder. He explained how a she-wolf found Romulus and Remus who had been abandoned in a stream.[31] One could argue that the use of a she-wolf was simply meant to signify the grand narrative of a great civilization born in savagery growing

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[26] Cristina Mazzoni, *She-Wolf: The Story of a Roman Icon* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 29.
[27] Mazzoni, *She-Wolf*, 97.
[28] Mazzoni, *She-Wolf,* 15, 22-23, 28-29.
[29] Thomas A. J. McGinn, *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel* (University of Michigan Press, 2004), 7, 8.
[30] McGinn, *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World,* 7-8.
[31] Livy, *History of Rome*, vol. 1, Book I, Section IV, ln. 6.

into a pinnacle of civility. However, Livy made the suggestions of prostitution even clearer with subsequent sentences. He mentioned that a shepherd, Faustulus, eventually took in the boys and gave them to his wife, Larentia, who raised them.[32] Livy wrote:

> *Sunt qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter pastores vocatam putent*

> Larentia having been free with her favors had got this name of *"she-wolf"* among the shepherds."[33]

Livy introduced the idea of "lupam" being a nickname for the shepherd's wife. Additionally, by calling her "free with her favors," he implied that she was sexually promiscuous. In this case, Livy strongly suggested that the adopted mother of the "King of Rome" was a whore. The Greek historian, Dionysius also indicated that "lupa" really functioned as a colloquialism for "prostitute" saying, "the nurse, who suckled them, was not a she-wolf, but… a woman… who, having, formerly, prostituted her beauty, was… surnamed *Lupa*."[34] While such claims were controversial in Rome preceding Augustus, the *lex Julia* and *lex Papia-Poppaea* officially displaced any honor of being raised by a prostitute.

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[32] Livy, *History of Rome*, vol. 1, Book I, Section IV, ln. 6-8.
[33] Livy, *History of Rome*, vol. 1, Book I, Section IV, ln. 7-8. Italics added by Shea.
[34] Mazzoni, *She-Wolf,* 115.

One could argue that Augustus needed Romulus to be the barbaric counterpoint to the princeps. By finishing a cycle started by Romulus, Augustus would be the most evolved part of the process. He needed to demonstrate the idea of moral growth with Augustus taking the barbaric but necessary roots of Rome and creating something more civilized.[35] Yet such an argument contradicts Livy's opening statements idolizing the morality of the past and Augustus's desire to return to it. If Augustus hoped to use the images of the she-wolf in contrast with his own evolved Rome while still proclaiming the superiority of the past, then such a fact demonstrated another paradox that existed within Augustan ideology.

Augustus's laws, specifically the *lex Julia de adulteriis,* also undermined his emphasis on his relationship to Venus during his reign. Preceding Augustus, Caesar emphasized his relationship with his ancestress Venus, the goddess of love and beauty. According to tradition, Venus's and Anchises's grandson was Iulus, whose name established the Julian line. While Caesar was in power, he reminded others of his divine lineage by building a temple to Venus Genetrix in his Forum Iulium. Augustus, once adopted by Caesar, emphasized his relationship with Caesar by

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[35] She is referencing *laus Romae* by Propertius, 4.1.37-38. Gold, Barbara K. "How Women (Re)Act in Roman Love Poetry: Inhuman She-Wolves and Unhelpful Mothers in Propertius's Elegies," in *Helios,* vol. 33, no. 2 (Texas Tech University Press), 173.

building a Temple to Caesar after Caesar was assassinated. By drawing a connection between himself and Caesar, he was also drawing a connection with Venus. He made his desire for his association to the goddess and Aeneas more obvious in coinage that pictured Aeneas carrying his father, Anchises, out of Troy as it was overrun by the Greeks. Additionally, the statue of Augustus from Livia's villa at Prima Porta portrayed Eros at Augustus's feet riding a dolphin, which Augustan scholar Paul Zanker claimed was "unquestionably an allusion to his ancestress Venus."[36] Perhaps the most prominent and lasting connection Augustus made to Venus was through Aeneas. Virgil's *Aeneid* centered on themes of ancestry following Aeneas in his travels from Troy to Italy, establishing land that would become Rome.[37] Zanker argued that Virgil shifted the Venus and Aeneas mythology from legitimizing the Julian house alone, to being an origin story for the nation as a whole.[38] Thus, Aeneas stood as an example to which the whole of Rome should look.

Unfortunately for Augustus, the traditional interpretation of Venus did not align completely with Augustus's vision of moral purity. He attempted to rebrand the goddess of love from a promiscuous adulteress to a picture of moral fertility and

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[36] Zanker, *The Power of Images,* 35, 44, 189.
[37] Davis, *Ovid and Augustus,* 36.
[38] Zanker, *The Power of Images,* 193.

genealogical superiority.[39] However, her close connection to the Greek goddess, Aphrodite, in the minds of the Romans revealed the inconsistency between Augustus's law on adultery and his desire to venerate his divine ancestress. In her book *Aphrodite*, classics historian, Monica S. Cyrino, proposed that Venus was first associated with vegetation and influenced by the Etruscan goddess of love, Turan. Over time, parallels were made between the Roman Venus and the Greek Aphrodite. Livius Andronicus adapted Homer's *Odyssey* into Latin in the third century B.C.E. and Romanized the Greek names, linking the two goddesses. By the end of the third century B.C.E. and beginning of the second, the connection was made official when the cult of Venus Erycina from the Sicilian sanctuary of Aphrodite was introduced to Rome.[40]

While the Roman Venus maintained a distinctly motherly reputation that her Greek counterpoint never attained, Venus was related to the Aphrodite of Homer's epic known to Augustan Romans.[41] Furthermore, Homer's Aphrodite was an adulteress. In Book 8 of the *Odyssey*, Aphrodite was married to Hephaestus, the deformed blacksmith god. When Hephaestus discovered that Aphrodite was having an affair with Ares, the god of war, in Hephaestus's own bed, he forged a net to catch the two and humiliate them in front of the rest of the gods. When the other gods

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[39] Zanker, *The Power of Images,* 195, 196.
[40] Monica S. Cyrino, *Aphrodite* (NY: Routledge, 2010) 127-128.
[41] Cyrino, *Aphrodite,* 127-128.

saw Aphrodite and Ares in their lovers' embrace, they were sympathetic to Ares, ordering Hephaestus to release the two rather than punish them.[42]

Even though Venus was viewed as promiscuous before Augustus's rise to power, Augustus's *lex Julia de adulteriis* that damned Venus further.[43] Since Venus had been caught in the act of adultery, the law mandated that she would have been turned out of her house and compelled to wear the harlot's toga. Augustus's law was the first legislation naming and punishing sexual licentiousness through the state, which made Venus more than an adulteress, but a prostitute. Furthermore, his laws also reinforced the idea of a prostitute being the antithesis of morality. Therefore, he branded his ancestress as the lowest form of Roman society, damaging the idea of his own pure ancestry.

One Roman poet, Publius Ovidius Naso (Ovid), was avidly vocal about the hypocrisies of Augustan law and image. Ovid's writings contradicted Augustus's ideas of virtuous sex to the point that Augustus ordered a special court to have Ovid exiled.[44] However in *Tristia* 2, Ovid complained:

> *denique composui teneros non solus amores:*

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[42] Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 8, ln. 265-270, Loeb Classical Library, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/homer-odyssey/1919/pb_LCL104.291.xml?rskey=LUJdf7&result=4. ln. 266-269, 272-310, 347-366.

[43] Zanker, *The Power of Images,* 195.

[44] Ovid, *Tristia II*, ln. 130-131, Loeb Classical Library, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/ovid-tristia/1924/pb_LCL151.65.xml?result=4&rskey=03C2Ut.

composito poenas solus amore dedi.

> In short, I am not the only one to have written about tender
> love: but I alone am punished
> for writing about love.[45]

If Ovid was not the only one writing about love but was singled
out and punished, there must be some facet of his work that was
especially offensive to Augustan sensibility. When comparing his
writings to the laws Augustus established, multiple reasons arise to
explain why Ovid was not just writing love poetry, but challenging
Augustus.

Ovid first attacked the classicism of Augustan marriage
laws. He assumed the role of teacher to educate his female and
male readers in the manners of sex. By using phrases like "O
mortal race" when referring to women, Ovid ignored Augustus's
attempt to confine female sexuality to other high-ranking men.[46]
He addressed all womankind, encouraging them to indulge in sex
with as many people as possible. In his book, *Ovid and Augustus*,
classics scholar, P. J. Davis, explained that Ovid went further with
the idea of classless sex by offering "places listed as sources of
pride in the Res Gestae [an inscription by Augustus recording his
life]… as meeting-places for sex-hungry men and women."[47] Thus,

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[45] Ovid, *Tristia II* qtd. in Davis, *Ovid and Augustus* 1.
[46] Davis, *Ovid and Augustus,* 93.
[47] Davis, *Ovid and Augustus,* 97.

Ovid did not confine sex to marriage or class as Augustus did, but encouraged it across Rome.

Davis argued that Ovid also insulted Augustus by encouraging adultery, though Ovid did not explicitly use the word. Ovid consistently encouraged lovers to meet in secret and move stealthily, "suggesting an illicit relationship."[48] Additionally, the poet utilized vague words like *uir* when referring to a woman's man of interest but did not clarify if he meant "husband" or "friend." Since *uir* was often translated as "husband," Ovid seemed to suggest that a girl should pursue an adulterous relationship with her friend's husband. These strong allusions to adultery encouraged people to follow their sexual instincts and break Augustus's laws, making Ovid a threat to Augustan society.

Most significantly, Ovid highlighted the paradox of Augustus's idealization of the past and his laws on morality. In his controversial *Ars Amatoria*, meaning "Art of Love," he addressed the relationship between Romulus and the Sabine women.[49] Livy's history recounted that the Sabine women were stolen by the early Romans so that they could aid Romulus and his men in ensuring a Roman legacy.[50] Livy portrayed the rape more as a slow persuasion during which Romulus promised the women a share in their Roman husbands' citizenship in return for bearing children.

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[48] Davis, *Ovid and Augustus,* 91.
[49] Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 1 qtd. in Davis, *Ovid and Augustus*, 103.
[50] Livy, *History of Rome,* Book 1, Section 9.

Ultimately, the Sabine women chose to stay with their Roman captors. Eve D'Ambra, a classics historian, explained that Livy's telling centered on a message of procreation for the betterment of the state.[51]

Ovid's rendition omitted the political purpose for the Sabine rape pushed by Augustus, focusing primarily on the discomfort of the Sabine women and the perversity of the Romans who took them. Ovid wrote:

> *Siqua repugnarate numium comitemque negabat,*
> *Sublatam cupido uir tulit ipse sinu…*
>
> If any girl resisted too much and denied her mate, the man picked her up and carried her
> off in lustful embrace…[52]

Ovid ended his account of the rape with a direct address to Romulus that translated to, "If you give me these rewards [sex], I will be a soldier."[53] Ovid' only justification for the early Romans' action was that it was an act of lust.[54] In this way, Ovid revealed a paradox in Augustus's policies; the princeps tried making *stuprum* illegal and yet praised the raping of foreigners in the name of the state as a moral standard.

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[51] Eve D'Ambra, *Roman Women* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 9, 10.
[52] Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 1 qtd. in Davis, *Ovid and Augustus,* 103.
[53] Davis, *Ovid and Augustus,* 104.
[54] Davis, *Ovid and Augustus,* 104.

When considering Augustan law and ideology, these paradoxes might not have mattered if Augustus's laws had been successful. However, the laws failed. The task of controlling human sexuality proved to be unpopular and almost impossible. Grubbs pointed to the Roman historian and statesman, Cassius Dio, who reported the unhappiness of "the equites [members of the equestrian class]… [who were] asking very zealously that the law about those who weren't marrying or having children be relaxed."[55] Their wishes were answered as succeeding emperors repealed aspects of Augustus's laws, although they did not completely remove them.[56] Even during Augustus's reign, some responded to the restrictions on unions between the senatorial status and freedwoman by looking for alternatives to marriage. McGinn noted a "rise in respectable concubinage as an institution recognized in its own right."[57] Even Augustus, the example citizen, did not adhere to his own laws; he and his wife, Livia, did not have children together. Moreover, little proof existed on whether these laws succeeded in raising birthrates, so the practical end of the laws cannot be assessed.[58] Thus, the laws that sought to curb immorality and encourage procreation seemed to have little effect on either.

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[55] Grubbs, *Women and the Law,* 85.
[56] Grubbs, *Women and the Law,* 84.
[57] McGinn 1991, 338 qtd. in Grubbs, *Women and the Law,* 151.
[58] Grubbs, *Women and the Law,* 87.

Augustus rose to power immediately following a civil war. He took advantage of his circumstances by presenting himself as the bearer of peace and stability. He pointed to the past as a moral standard while putting forth legislation to promote fertility. However, Rome's past did not stand up to the moral standard Augustus expected from his people. Instead, the laws highlighted the differences between Augustus's created past and Roman realities. His attempt to control human sexuality exposed him to criticism from poets and aristocrats. Although Augustus can be considered as a master of image in many ways, his implementation of the *lex Julia* and the *lex Papia-Poppaea* complicated his ideology rather than strengthening it.

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