CHRONOS

The Undergraduate History Journal

Syracuse University

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The Syracuse University Undergraduate History Journal

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Hello *Chronos* Readers!

First of all, we would like to thank you for your continued support! We are thrilled to publish this years' edition of the journal and are grateful for all of those who allow for the continued success of *Chronos*! As the only undergraduate journal on campus, the tradition of *Chronos* is quite a special one.

Similar to years past, the submissions received by the *Chronos* team this year reflect the talent and dedication of the Syracuse University undergraduate history department. Ranging from Nazi Germany, to eugenics, to shipwrecks, to priceless antiquities, the papers in this journal reflect the varied interests of Syracuse University students as well as the vast array of courses offered by the history department.

The executive board, through hard work and the consumption of copious amounts of pizza, decided on the final selections for the journal following much deliberation and we hope that every reader can grasp something new and something fascinating from each individual paper!

Please Enjoy!

Best,

Brittany Beyer and Clare Keaney

Co- Executive Editors

The Diverse Pursuit of Outsiders in the Third Reich

During the Third Reich, the Nazi State persecuted people who were considered Outsiders to the Nazi ideal of Aryan race purity. Justification of outsider persecution often proceeded to, not from, the ideological principles of "race and space". Nazis persecuted outsiders for reasons that ranged widely based on political agendas for control and power over the German population. This sometimes resulted in using race to justify their persecution of those who did not fit their Aryan mold. The degree to which different groups, such as Roma, Sinti, and Afro- Germans, were persecuted depended on why each group was being persecuted. The Nazis often felt that some groups were less powerful and influential than others, and that there was less of a need to restrict or eliminate them. Some groups were not easy to identify, and there was often debate over what defined a certain group or how they were harmful to the state. Such ambiguities restricted the Nazis' ability to seek them out. Yet, inside the camp system, the Nazis used a badge system, with over 20 unique forms, to identify the prisoners' reason for imprisonment.[1] The result was unequal treatment of prisoners. The Nazi State responded to outsiders in diverse ways, for the Nazis had varying reasons for persecution of differing groups, with the underlying motivation to manage population control to benefit the power of the Nazi state socially, economically, and politically.

The Roma and Sinti outsider group was persecuted by the Nazis based on augmented prejudices formed in the generations before the Third Reich. The Roma and Sinti had long been labeled as "thieves" and mystical "tricksters" by much of European society based on their often

[1] Laurie Marhoefur, "German Society Under Nazism: Insiders and Outsiders" (Lecture, HST 362 Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, Syracuse, N.Y., February 10, 2015).

mobile lifestyle, despite the fact that many Roma lived off of working adopted trades.[2] Originally, Nazi persecution of the Roma and Sinti was not a racial discussion. The original imprisonment of the Roma and Sinti was allegedly to "prevent crime" and "reeducate" members of this outsider group so they could turn into "useful citizens". The Nazis claimed the Roma and Sinti were put into "protective custody for the restoration of law and order", which would benefit the Nazi state politically, economically, and socially.[3] The Nazi persecution of the Roma was based on the fact that the Roma and Sinti were difficult to locate, tax, and control. The Nazis saw the Roma and Sinti as a threat to the power of the state, and subsequently stigmatized and criminalized their way of life. The Nazis then used this reasoning as a platform to give their persecution a basis in contemporary science of racial inferiority.[4].

Afro-Germans were persecuted due to social stigmas developed regarding race prior to the Nazi regime, but they were persecuted differently from other outsiders because they were not seen as a powerful threat against the state. Many Afro-Germans originated from former German colonies such as Cameroon, Namibia, Burundi, and Tanzania. However, the French occupation of the Rhine brought several thousand black soldiers to Germany, and the offensive stereotype of the "Rhineland Bastards" was created, with the suggestion that "mulattos" were born from perversion and sexual immorality.[5] German born "mulatto" Erika Ngambi ul Kuo was spit on in the street because of these stereotypes associated with her blackness. As a result, she was kept from several job positions, as many employers "only hired Aryans".[6] Many Germans, and people around the world, adopted the belief that black men were a threat to white women, and mulattos

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[2] Doris L. Bergen, *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust* (New York: Rowman &Littlefield Publishers, 2009), 14.
[3] Bergen, *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust*, 89.
[4] Heinrich Himmler, "Fight against the Gypsy Nuisance", circular, December 8, 1938, 95-96.
[5] Bergen, *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust*, 56.
[6]Anne V. Adams, trans., *Showing Our Colors* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Amherst, 1992), 58.

were often regarded as the products of these illicit relationships. These stereotypes made Afro-Germans vulnerable to persecution, but they were not necessarily always persecuted solely for the color of their skin. However, Afro-Germans were not seen as a significant threat comparatively to the Roma or the Jews, which influenced the degree and form of their persecution in the Nazi State.

The persecution of the Roma and Sinti was based on how threatening the outsider group was to the power of Nazi control and how well the Nazis were able to define and identity Roma and Sinti. The Roma and Sinti were seen by the Nazis as an influential annoyance, but never the less a threat to the totalitarian domination of Nazi power. The Nazis made a significant effort to get Roma and Sinti out of the public eye, and after 1935, 35, 000 Roma and Sinti were forced into "Gypsy camps". [7] The Roma and Sinti were incarcerated, murdered, tortured, subjected to scientific research and sterilization, and given the label "Gypsy" which to the Nazis meant "a life not worth living".[8] The Nazis persecuted the Roma and Sinti aggressively, and there was little escape for the outsider group, who often wound up murdered in concentration camps.

Though Afro-Germans were more easily identified than some outsider groups due to the color of their skin, the pursuit of Afro-Germans was not as aggressive as other outsider groups, like the Roma and Sinti. Afro-Germans were not seen as very powerful within Germany, and were therefore not seen as a legitimate threat. Afro-Germans were a small population in Germany at this time and were seen by the Nazi state as intellectually incapable of being a threat by their own means. Theologists like Arthur De Gobineau defined the black race as the most inferior of the races, but claimed that great art and literature was born from the mixture of

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[7]Bergen, *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust*, 89.
[8]Bergen, *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust*, 15.

blood.[9] However, this art was the product of what the Nazis saw as the degeneration of the races. The Nazis believed that blacks were intellectually incapable of being responsible for their own success, and that the "Degenerate Music" and art produced by blacks was some form of international Jewish plot to control the world.[10] Since blacks were often seen as the puppet of evil rather than evil themselves, the persecution of Afro-Germans was achieved mostly through the sterilization law of 1933. Eventually, Afro-Germans were regarded as impure or deformed and the focus of their persecution was based on the belief that they "should not have children and contaminate the *Volkblut*-the people's blood" and "they should be sterilized or not marry".[11] Nazis were less concerned with the presence of Afro-Germans, and more concerned with controlling reproduction of Afro-Germans. Afro-Germans even permitted to act in films. Though these films often degraded the black race, Jews were forbidden to star in the film industry. This serves as another example of how different outsider groups faced vastly different persecution[12]

Though Afro-Germans were treated as inferior in Nazi Germany, this did not always lead to public or even economic exclusion. Erika Ngambi ul Kuo stated that her "father worked for a Jewish firm that had been dispossessed" and "an SS man took over the business in trust and was decent enough to pay our father the weekly commission for reorders".[12] This clearly shows that early on, blacks were not seen as a threat compared to the Jewish population, despite their "racial inferiority", and were sometimes accepted in the economic sphere. Erika herself was drafted into work duty, and promoted to office manager because of her typing skills.[13] Her society accepted her, though begrudgingly, as a functional part of their work force, which exemplifies how the

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[9]Adrian Collins, trans., *The Inequality of the Human Races* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), 205-209.
[10] '"Degenerate Music" Brochure"', DHM/The Bridgeman Art Library, 1939, 67-68.
[11] Ursula Malhendorf, *The Shame of Survival: Working Through a Nazi Childhood* (University Park, Pennsylvania University Press, 2009), 125.
[12] Adams, Showing Our Colors, 70.
[12]Adams, *Showing Our Colors*, 61.
[13] Adams, *Showing Our Colors*, 62-63.

persecution of blacks was different from other outsider groups, like the Jews and Roma. One young man refused to not walk Doris Reiprich home from work one day when she warned him not to walk with a black woman, though he was later arrested and released.[14] His experience and behavior shows that he had a certain lack of fear of persecution, as if the persecution of Afro-Germans was not taken as seriously as the persecution of other outsider groups.

The persecution of the Roma and Sinti by the Nazi state was a perfect example of an outsider group that was persecuted for reasons that were not initially racial, but race purity became the justification of persecution of the Roma and Sinti. Heinrich Himmler stated "the proper method of attacking the Gypsy problem seems to be to treat it as a matter of race".[15] Himmler's own concerns surrounding "Gypsies" stemmed from his fears of miscegenation, and the impact this would have on Aryan racial purity.".[16] Himmler's analysis of the criminality of Roma and Sinti shows how "race and space" was used fervently, but arbitrarily to justify a political agenda; this stemmed from the difficulties of keeping track of and demanding loyalty from the Roma and Sinti population in Germany.

Afro-Germans were often oppressed and discriminated against in the public sphere solely for the color of their skin. Mulattos, blacks, and whites were persecuted for miscegenation, which was a racial crime, but blacks were not necessarily imprisoned solely for their blackness. In 1945, Doris Reiprich was picked up by "so-called watch dogs" because of her looks, and sent to do hard labor in a shipyard. Yet, these "watch dogs" were a special unit of the Army who "marched through the streets, rounding up all suspicious-looking people".[17] Doris was not necessarily picked up for her blackness, but was vulnerable to persecution based on stigmatized

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[14] Adams, *Showing Our Colors*, 66.
[15] Heinrich Himmler, "Fight against the Gypsy Nuisance", circular, December 8, 1938, 95-96.
[16] Heinrich Himmler, "Fight against the Gypsy Nuisance", circular, December 8, 1938, 95-96.
[17] Adams, *Showing Our Colors*, 68-69.

criminalization of Afro-Germans, especially mulattos, which is an acute distinction. Blacks were often discriminated against in the public sphere because of their dark skin, but blacks were not definitively persecuted and imprisoned for being black. Blacks who were persecuted by the Nazi state were identified as a threat to the Nazi control over the German population.

The Nazi persecution of outsider groups during the Third Reich, and the murder millions of different lives and personalities did not have a single uniform method from one set of principles. Roma and Sinti were persecuted because of the stigmatization that they were often innately criminal, but their imprisonment and persecution were "justified" by concern for "race and space". Afro-Germans were discriminated against because of race, but were imprisoned because their race made them vulnerable to committing alleged crimes. The Nazis had different reasons for persecuting each group of outsiders, which was grounded in controlling the population to benefit the Nazi State or "Aryan" race economically, socially, and politically. To achieve this end, the Nazis tailored persecution policies specifically for the perceived threats each outsider group posed to the regime.

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SS Republic: History and the Human Element

It is almost fitting that a ship with as colorful and dramatic a history as the SS REPUBLIC met with an equally colorful and dramatic ending. From her construction to her demise as well as everything in between, the SS REPUBLIC was truly a remarkable ship. At the time of her sinking in 1865, the SS REPUBLIC was carrying various types of cargo, civilian passengers, and significant amounts of gold and silver coins. This unusual combination has allowed archaeologists, shipwreck enthusiasts, and historians alike to paint a comprehensive picture of what life was like in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War. The level of fascination with and exploration of the SS REPUBLIC wreck is proof that the story of a ship does not end once it disappears beneath the waves. Thanks to the extensive work of the Odyssey Marine Exploration Inc., much is known about the life of the ship as well as the details of her wreck. Because so much has been salvaged and thorough research has been conducted, the story of the SS REPUBLIC will be available for future generations to learn from and enjoy.

It would be factually incorrect to call the SS REPUBLIC by her current name when discussing the earliest years of her existence. Indeed, the SS REPUBLIC was originally named the SS TENNESSEE upon her launching in 1853 (Dobson et al. 2009, 7). The SS TENNESSEE was commissioned by the President of the Baltimore and Southern Packet Company, James Cooper, and was built in the Fells Point, Baltimore shipyard. When the wooden-hulled, side-wheel steam ship slid into the water on August 31, 1853, she sported first-rate technologically

advanced boilers and steam engines, which were supplied by Charles Reeder and Sons of Baltimore. Reeder, a pioneering firm in the field of steam technology development, had previously designed steam engines for various prominent locomotive companies (Dobson et al., 2009, 8). Designed to carry both passenger and general merchant cargo, the SS Tennessee undertook her maiden voyage on March 14, 1854 from Baltimore to Charleston. It is likely that the SS TENNESSEE would have faded into obscurity were it not for her next missions which earned her national attention.

In June of 1855, she had the honor of becoming the first Baltimore steamship to cross the Atlantic, with her route beginning in Baltimore and ending in Southampton, England (Dobson et al., 2009, 7). In 1856, SS TENNESSEE was sold to a Latin American company, under whose lead she began the first steamship to commence regular service between New York and South America. She was even transporting legions of Nicaraguan soldiers from Nicaragua to the U.S. by 1857 (Dobson et al., 2009, 7). These journeys alone would provide any other ship with a colorful history worth being explored and documented, but the adventures of the SS TENNESSEE do not end here.

It is because of some good timing that the SS TENNESSEE found itself caught in the midst of the breakout of the Civil War in April of 1861. At this point, the TENNESSEE was docked in the port of New Orleans when she became trapped in the harbor and was purchased by the Confederate navy. She was then utilized to attempt to break through the Union blockade of the Gulf of Mexico, but was unable to penetrate it (Dobson et al., 2009, 7). Upon the capture and surrender of New Orleans on April 25, 1862, the SS TENNESSEE was again seized, this time by the Union, and refurbished into a powerful gunboat intended to transport troops up and down the eastern seaboard and engage Confederate ships if necessary for self-defense. It was after the

Battle of Mobile that the SS TENNESSEE was assigned yet another name – USS MOBILE— so as not to be confused with the captured Confederate ironclad warship the CSS TENNESSEE (Dobson et al., 2009, 9). After her exciting and action-filled days of service crisscrossing the Atlantic, shuttling passengers from continent to continent, and transporting Civil War troops, the USS MOBILE was decommissioned at Brooklyn Naval Yard in December 1864. Although this marked the end of her military service days, the new owners of the USS MOBILE had no intentions of placing her in dry-dock permanently. Her purchaser was Russell Sturgis, a wealthy merchant who had accrued his fortune in the opium trade. It was at this stage of her life that the ship was finally christened the SS REPUBLIC, the name by which we know her today (Dobson et al., 2009, 9).

The SS REPUBLIC was chartered out to a passenger line company, where she made regular trips from New York to New Orleans, shuttling both people and precious cargo. It was on her fifth mission on this line that the SS REPUBLIC went down off the coast of Savannah, Georgia and sunk 1,700 feet beneath the waves (Dobson et al., 2009, 10). It is almost ironic that the SS REPUBLIC met with her end on what one could consider one of her tamer voyages. The SS REPUBLIC had crossed the Atlantic, traveled back and forth to South America, and was both a Confederate and Union warship in the Civil War. Despite these distinctions, the SS REPUBLIC sank in a hurricane on October 25, 1865. The details of the sinking have been well preserved in primary resources, such as letters from those who were onboard the ship and experienced the disaster first hand, and by newspaper outlets such as the New York Times. The SS REPUBLIC made the news up and down the eastern seaboard, especially in New York, from where she had cast off on her journey to New Orleans.

Among the passengers aboard the SS REPUBLIC on its final journey was Col. William T. Nichols, a Civil War veteran who saw action at Gettysburg. In a letter to his wife, Thyrza, he described in detail the "perfect hell" that emerged on board the ship as it was overtaken by the hurricane (shipwreck.net). In his letter, Col. Nichols provided a day-by-day account of the happenings on the SS REPUBLIC starting on the day she set sail, October 18. According to Nichols' entry from October 19, the ship and its passengers endured "heavy weather and gales" which caused "considerable anxiety among the passengers" (Nichols, shipwreck.net). After that initial storm had passed as of October 21, Nichols wrote that the waters had turned "conspicuously smooth" and the passengers were able to resume their normal activities and stroll about the ship dressed in their best attire while watching the "porpoises play and sport around the ship" (Nichols, shipwreck.net).

These peaceful days spent aboard the SS REPUBLIC were short-lived. On October 23, the ship reached the outskirts of a hurricane that was making its way up the east coast after it had wreaked havoc in the Caribbean. The winds picked up again and caused the ship to rock viciously so that "At dinner at 2 P.M. the dishes slipped off from the table so, that pies, meats, vegetables, condiments, etc., became mixed in strange confusion over the floor" (Nichols, shipwreck.net). By nightfall, the seas were churning so badly that the passengers "were wet in their berths and did not sleep a wink" (Nichols, shipwreck.net). When dawn broke on October 24, things took a turn for the worst. The Colonel reported that the ship was rolling so heavily on the rough sea that having breakfast was not an option, as it was "impossible either to cook anything or set a table. It was as much as a man could do to walk from one side of the ship to the other, by hanging on to anything he could get hold of" (Nichols, shipwreck.net). Interestingly

enough, Colonel Nichols does not mention whether or not eating breakfast was also an impossibility due to passengers suffering from seasickness from the rocking of the ship.

Around the time breakfast would have been held at 9 AM, the ship sprung a leak and extinguished the fires in the boiler room by noon, unbeknownst to the passengers (Nichols, shipwreck.net). The passengers, in fact, were not informed until nearly one in the afternoon that there was trouble afoot when the captain instructed all the men to help throw cargo overboard. Nicholas goes on to describe a scene of ensuing chaos and panic – men running around and grabbing everything they could get ahold of, no matter how valuable. "Silks, block tin, liquors, dry goods, vegetables, tobacco, oil, varnish, and white lead" were frantically tossed overboard without a second thought. After all the cargo had been disposed, the crew and passengers found that it had not ameliorated the ship's condition, and the SS REPUBLIC was taking on water, and fast. Abandoning ship in small lifeboats in the middle of a hurricane would have likely been a death sentence, or at least an experience to which the men did not want to subject their women and children.

At this juncture of time, there was essentially one option remaining – bail water. Hoping to stave off the SS REPUBLIC's ultimate fate for a little longer, the men set to work bailing water the old fashioned way with pails, as the pumps were out of order (Nichols, shipwreck.net). Nicholas stood in the same position for over twelve hours, passing buckets of water down the line of men all the while. Despite the exhaustion that had set in from the sleepless night beforehand and lifting the cargo earlier in the day, the "men worked as only men can work when their lives are [at] stake" (Nicholas, shipwreck.net). The scene that Nichols goes on to describe is nothing short of haunting.

> "The ship had 300 tons of coal, and as she lurched from side to side, the roar of the coal and water sounded like Niagara, and the water on the outside dashing against the ship

> was another distinct sound and horrid enough of itself. The wind was howling through the rigging like the demons of the sea, and to make it a perfect hell, the men, excited and yelling to each other, begrimed with black smut and engine grease, and their eyes glaring through the dim light of the ranging lamps, made it a scene fit for a painter. I cannot describe in words the impression which it made upon my mind. It was desperation intensified. No man stopped to think what was the fate impending in a few hours, and yet but few hoped for anything but life, and none expected anything but death" (Nichols, shipwreck.net)

With the passing of each hour and each bucket of water, the situation became more desperate. By early morning, it was clear that Nichols and the other passengers could do no more to keep the ship afloat. At the first sign of daybreak, the men began to prepare the lifeboats to abandon the SS REPUBLIC. When the passengers were ready to file into the lifeboats at half past one in the afternoon on October 25, the sight was a remarkable one. There was "No confusion, no panic -- people [shook] hands and [bid] each other adieu with all the calmness that they would exhibit if parting upon any ordinary occasion" (Nichols, shipwreck.net). All women and children settled safely into lifeboats as well as the majority of men; twenty-one others, including some crewmembers were not able to immediately get situated in a boat (New York Times, Nov. 3, 1865). By 4 PM on October 25, the SS REPUBLIC disappeared beneath the waves with approximately $400,000 worth of "gold coins and other treasures" still in her cargo hold (New York Times, Nov, 3, 1865). The remaining twenty-one men who did not initially secure spots in the lifeboats rode the SS REPUBLIC until the last possible minute, then jumped off into the sea, all while trying to cling to floating debris and not be pulled underwater from the suction (NYT, Nov. 3, 1865). Once the initial danger of being sucked 1,700 feet under the ocean passed, all but two of the men were able to swim out to the waiting lifeboats (NYT, Nov. 3, 1865).

In the midst of the dark and forty-foot high seas, the five boats set out toward the west, where they knew there was land (Nichols, shipwreck.net). The survivors of the shipwreck of the

SS REPUBLIC "rowed for their lives", despite having been awake for days straight and not having "a drop of water" (Nichols, shipwreck.net). Under the direction of the SS REPUBLIC's Captain Edward Young, the nearly eighty survivors of the wreck took to the oars for a day and a half before they stumbled upon a ship to rescue them on October 27 (Nichols, shipwreck.net). If Nicholas and his fellow passengers had been exposed to the elements at sea, without having drunk any water, for another day, it is likely there would have many more fatalities than the estimated twelve to sixteen that occurred (Dobson et al., 2009, 4). The captain and crew of the HORACE BEALS welcomed the "almost dead" passengers of the SS REPUBLIC aboard "with civility and politeness" and provided them with provisions. Although the passengers "could not stand at first when [they] got on the deck, water, coffee and something to eat, together with a night's sleep, restored [them]" (Nichols, shipwreck.net). On October 29, the steamer GENERAL HOOKER, sent by the U.S. government, rendezvoused with the HORACE BEALS to bring the SS REPUBLIC passengers to Charleston (NYT, Nov. 3, 1865). By the next day, the disastrous and traumatizing ordeal was over; the passengers of SS REPUBLIC landed in Charleston and continued on with their lives (Nichols, shipwreck.net).

The SS REPUBLIC lay 1,700 feet under the ocean undisturbed by humans for 138 years before its discovery in Summer 2003 by Odyssey Marine Exploration, Inc. The oceanographers, archeologists, and historians onboard the mission that rediscovered the REPUBLIC knew they were on to something big when SONAR scans were picking up readings from what appeared to be an extensive debris field around the approximate last known location of the ship. The shipwreck was ultimately found to be situated about 150 km off the coast of Savannah, Georgia "on a deep shelf of the Gulf Stream's North American Continental Shelf" that was primarily composed of rocky and calciferous sediments (Dobson et al., 2009, 2). The Gulf Stream, a warm

and fast moving current, remains quite active at this latitude. This caused the debris field of the SS REPUBLIC to be deposited and spread out over a relatively large area, as the speed of water movement within the water column also varied significantly (Dobson et al., 2009, 3). The wreck itself is contained within 1,965 meters squared area, while the entire debris field, including the wreck, is spread over an area of 56,762 meters squared.

Upon closer examination of the debris field, the OME team picked up a side-scan SONAR picture of a ship that appeared to have many similar qualities of the REPUBLIC: two paddlewheels flanking both the starboard and port sides, two boilers, and the remains of a wooden hull (Dobson et al., 2009, 2). Although it was looking more and more as if this wreck site was indeed the famous SS REPUBLIC, the scientists onboard refrained claiming the discovery until October 14, 2003, when OME announced that they had been able to positively identify ship's bell. After 138 years on the seabed, the bronze bell still legibly bore the inscription SSEE, a relic from her days as the SS TENNESSEE (OME Press Release, 10/14/03). Once a name had been put to the shipwreck, the team, headed by archaeologist Neil Cunningham Dobson, was able to start the excavation process and the raising of artifacts. The CEO and co-founder of OME, Greg Stemm, reported that he and his team had knowledge of there being copious amounts of gold coins on the shipwreck, which made the excavation process all the more exciting (OME Press Release, 11/7/03).

The cornerstone of the OME's business, the ROV who is affectionately named ZEUS, facilitated the retrieval of artifacts and various objects from the midst of the SS REPUBLIC wreck. ZEUS is an extremely complex machine and was under development for many years. In the simplest of descriptions, ZEUS is an underwater robot outfitted with tools such as cameras, lights, sediment sifters, arms capable of reaching out and grabbing objects, and vacuum tubes

with provide light suction to get ahold of objects that cannot be lifted by ZEUS's arms (Dobson et al., 2009, 3). The OME crew was capable of recovering a collection of artifacts that is nothing short of magnificent due to the technological advantages that ZEUS provided on the mission. ZEUS was also able to provide a comprehensive picture of the state of the wreck, whose remains suggest that she endured a hard impact upon reaching the seabed. The vessel settled on her starboard bow upon impact, which sustained much more damage than the port side (Dobson et al., 2009, 9). Miraculously, both paddlewheels, the signature features of the SS REPUBLIC, remained intact after impact (Dobson et al., 2009, 9). Alongside the ship itself laid broken crates of cargo, containing a wide array of items including glassware, religious symbols, cosmetic and medicinal glass bottles, and bolts of organic cloth that had not yet deteriorated. The largest concentration of broken cargo conglomerated at the south end of the wreck, indicative of the direction of the bottom currents as well as where more objects from the wreck may end up in the future (Dobson et al., 2009, 9).

While the wreck is currently intact and much of the cargo is still salvageable, the "hostile environment of the Gulf Stream is slowing wearing the wreck away" (Dobson et al., 2009, 18). The fast-moving sediments are slowly but surely eroding the ship. The wooden hull and wooden deck planks are abraded due to the presence of wood-burrowing worms and other marine organisms. The iron components of the ship have either corroded away entirely or are in various states of severe decomposition (Dobson et al., 2009, 18). Because OME is unsure how much longer the wreck of the SS REPUBLIC will be in existence, it is important to learn and document the details of the site while we can.

The cargo that has been lifted from the wreck is among the most remarkable of all shipwrecks discovered to date. The combination of every day items and well as hard specie that

was aboard the ship paints a truly unique portrait of what life was like in immediate post-Civil War America. Because the SS REPUBLIC was shuttling from New York to New Orleans when she went down, it is safe to assume that her cargo was intended to reach the latter destination. In the aftermath of the war, New Orleans was impoverished and all but destroyed. Historians with OME have determined the likelihood that the SS REPUBLIC was carrying nearly $400,000 in gold and silver uncirculated specie to be used in part for Reconstruction of the city. 51,404 coins were recovered from the wreck site and were carefully preserved and documented. While some of the coins were sold to private collectors at auction, a majority of them reside in OME's archives and in travelling exhibitions around the country (Dobson and Garth, 2009, 15).

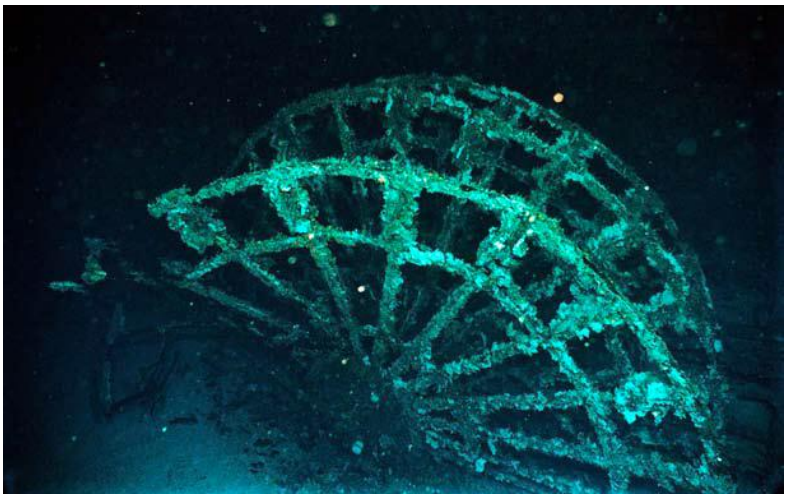
Nearly fifty-eight percent of all artifacts recovered from the SS REPUBLIC were various types of glass bottles. These included an "intriguing collection of medicinal 'cures', ink bottles, food products, beauty products, and alcoholic beverages" (Dobson and Garth, 2009, 15). The sheer variety encompassed in this collection is possibly the most diverse ever discovered in a shipwreck. The names of products and the companies that produced them are still visible on many of the bottles. This provides a rare insight into the types goods people used during and after the Civil War, as much of this was previously undocumented due to lack of regulation of products sold on the market (Dobson and Garth, 2009, 15). Names such as "Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup" and "Dr. McMunn's Elixir of Opium" are still prominently embossed on the bottles. In addition to medicinal items, large quantities of perfectly preserved food, such as peaches and gooseberries, and popular perfumes and fragrances were excavated (Dobson and Garth, 2009, 15). This combination of items along with the large amounts of utilitarian style pottery, ironstone china, and religious objects found gives numerous clues as to what types of items the citizens of New Orleans were in need of after the end of war.

Because so many primary sources regarding the wreck of the SS REPUBLIC have been preserved, we are able to look back on them today and reap a deep understanding of what occurred onboard the day the ship went down. The descriptive and heart wrenching accounts of her many passengers, especially that of Col. William Nicholas, lends a unique human element to a story that might otherwise be relegated to being told through scientific research papers and statistics. The SS REPUBLIC is a noteworthy wreck not only because of this human element, but also because of the story that is told by her cargo. The wide variety of items that have been excavated from deteriorated crates and barrels convey a message about the lives of people who had lived through the Civil War in a devastated city. The strikingly ordinary contents of the SS REPUBLIC (with the exception of the coins) indicate a populace that was trying to rebuild their everyday lives and restore a sense of normalcy after so much destruction and suffering. There is so much to be learned about history and the lives of individuals from shipwrecks like the SS REPUBLIC. Thanks to the work of companies like Odyssey Marine Exploration, Inc., these stories are just starting to be told.

Bell *in situ* that helped to identify the ship with letters inscribed “SSEE”

Photomosaic of SS REPUBLIC wreck

ROV ZEUS used to excavate SS REPUBLIC

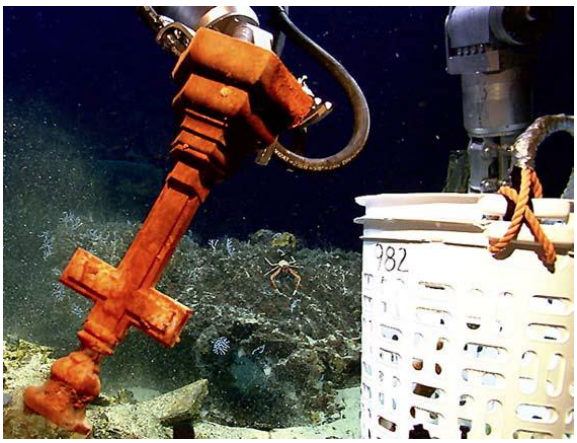


Starboard paddlewheel of SS REPUBLIC *in situ*

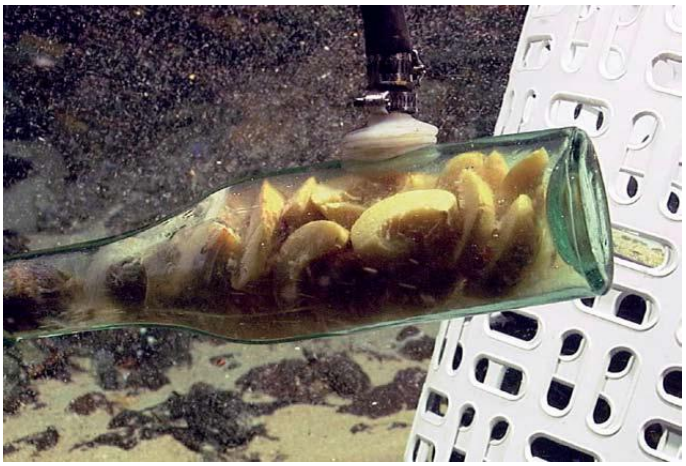
Various glass bottles *in situ* still contain their original contents

Gold coins of SS REPUBLIC *in situ*

Pottery *in situ*



Recovery of religious artifact



Bottle of preserved peaches being extracted

Painting of SS Republic

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"THE STORM ON THE COAST." *New York Times* 3 Nov. 1865

The Exploration of an Aegis Amulet with the Head of a Feline Goddess

The Munson Williams Proctor Arts Institute recently held an exhibit titled, "Shadow of the Sphinx: Ancient Egypt and its Influences." The exhibit displayed an astonishing number of Egyptian and Egyptian inspired artifacts, the most intriguing being a tiny bluish-green object mere centimeters high (see fig. 1). The label described the object as an Aegis Amulet with the Head of a Feline Goddess created in the Late Ptolemaic Period, between 664 and 30 B.C.[18] The museum identified the piece as either Bastet or Sekhmet, two goddesses associated with felines in ancient Egypt and with each other.[19] The amulet is 3.7 centimeters in height and 3 centimeters in width and was on loan to the Munson Williams Proctor Arts Institute from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[20] It was purchased by the Metropolitan in 1910 with funds donated by Helen Miller Gould.[21] Previously, the amulet had been in the collection of Reverend Chauncey Murch, who obtained it between 1883 and 1906.[22] During this time Reverend Murch was the director of the Presbyterian Mission at Luxor.[23] His collection when acquired by the Metropolitan in 1910 consisted of 3,370 pieces, the majority consisting of delicate Egyptian scarabs and different forms of seals, but also including amulets.[24] This particular aegis amulet, while displaying some individual characteristics, is typical of its time period in terms of style, material, and subject.

The amulet is made out of faience, a material in the Egyptian tradition dating back to the Predynastic Era. Faience is a plastic composite material which has a glazed surface and a ground

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[18] "Shadow of the Sphinx," Munson Williams Proctor Arts Institute, accessed November 14, 2012, http://www.mwpai.org/museum-of-art/museum-of-art-calendar/shadow-of-the-sphinx/.
[19] Munson Williams Proctor Arts Institute, Aegis Amulet with the Head of a Feline Goddess Late Ptolemaic Period, Utica, 4 November 2012.
[20] "Aegis of Sekhmet or Bastet," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed November 24, 2012, http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100005057.
[21] "Aegis of Sekhmet or Bastet," The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
[22] "Aegis of Sekhmet or Bastet," The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
[23] Arthur C. Mace, *The Murch Collection of Egyptian Antiquities* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1916), 7-8.
[24] Arthur C. Mace, *The Murch Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, 7.

quartz interior.[25] To make it, natron is added to the quartz body and then hand shaped or put into a mold.[26] In earlier cases faience was self-glazing, but eventually a glazing material was added either before or after firing, usually a copper salt.[27] When the additive was copper a brilliant turquoise blue-green color was created, but different colors could be created with the addition of different minerals.[28] Faience was appealing to the masses because it could be fired into a variety of beautiful colors, the most popular being the turquoise blue-green seen in this amulet. It was also relatively inexpensive to produce. The ground quartz interior basically consisted of sand which was in abundance in the desert environment of Northern Africa. In the later dynasties production of faience amulets and other tokens became nearly industrial.[29]

Faience was a material that slowly developed from the Predynastic period and continued to be used quite frequently into the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. In the predynastic years, faience development was purely experimental, and the process of making it was not standardized.[30] For instance, faience pieces found in some predynastic graves were different in composition even from other faience examples found in the exact same grave.[31] Into the Old Kingdom dynasties, the production of faience became more common, and a standard procedure for making it was developed. However, faience pieces were still relatively small and consisted of mostly beads, amulets, small vessels, and figurines.[32] The major exception to this was the mass production of faience tiles that were used in the making of the Step Pyramid of Djoser at

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[25] "Techniques," Introduction to the Art and Archaeology of Ancient Egypt packet, from Professor Lacovara.
[26] "Techniques," Introduction to the Art and Archaeology of Ancient Egypt packet.
[27] "Techniques," Introduction to the Art and Archaeology of Ancient Egypt packet.
[28] Munson Williams Proctor Arts Institute, Faience Beads, Utica, 4 November 2012.
[29] Philippe Gemond, *The Symbolic World of Egyptian Amulets, from the Jacques-Edouard Berger Collection* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2005), 17-21.
[30] Edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Sha, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 178-184.
[31] Nicholson and Sha, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 179.
[32] Nicholson and Sha, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 179.

Sakkara.[33] Faience tiles were used in lining the interior walls of the burial chamber of this Third Dynasty monument.

The first evidence of a faience workshop was recently found at Abydos by a combined expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Yale University, and NYU's Institute of Fine Arts.[34] The expedition unearthed a settlement dating back to the Old to Middle Kingdom that includes a series of brick pits thought to be early kilns.[35] It is not known yet how exactly the Egyptians would have used these pits to create faience, but their presence indicates the importance of fired handmade wares during the time period. By the third intermediate period, the production of faience became so widespread that it becomes hard to differentiate between Egyptian faience and imported goods from around the Mediterranean.[36] In fact, faience was so important in these later periods that the production of glass decreases to make room for all of the faience production.[37] It is not surprising that this aegis amulet is fashioned from faience due to its tremendous popularity and importance in Egyptian society, especially in the later dynasties.

Amulets were truly important to the Ancient Egyptians; they had a magical purpose and provided protection from evil. Egyptians had many names for amulets, but each name was related to this idea of magical protection. Some of these names include Wedja, Meket, Nehet, and Sa.[38] Wedja meant to be intact or well preserved. Meket was derived from the verb "meki" to protect. Nehet was synonymous with protection and shelter. Lastly, Sa meant to be free from all trouble.[39] "Amulet" is a modern term, (the Dictionary defines an amulet as "anything worn

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[33] Nicholson and Sha, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 179.
[34] Nicholson and Sha, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 180.
[35] Nicholson and Sha, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 180.
[36] Nicholson and Sha, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 183.
[37] Nicholson and Sha, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 184.
[38] Philippe Gemond, *The Symbolic World of Egyptian Amulets*, 20.
[39] Philippe Gemond, *The Symbolic World of Egyptian Amulets*, 20.

about the person as a charm or preventative against evil, mischief disease, witchcraft, etc."[40]) but the Egyptians interpreted its characteristics broadly and it could be argued that a variety of objects are associated with amuletic qualities. "Indeed so deeply were the Egyptians imbued with the idea…of averting danger and disaster by means of magical figures and formulas, that it would be almost true to say that *all* their tomb furnishings and decorations were amuletic in origin."[41] Amulets were one of the original ways Egyptians protected themselves with what they believed were magical properties. For example, in tombs each canopic jar that contained a different body part had a deity associated with it for protection.[42] Magic became intertwined into Egyptians everyday lives, and afterlives, with amulets as the primary source.

In a review of the objects acquired by Reverend Murch, the author Arthur C. Mace creates a distinction between two groups of amulets in the collection, amulets from an early period around the sixth dynasty, and amulets from a late period around and after the eighteenth dynasty.[43] The "early" period amulets are particularly small, carved out of precious stones, and portray human or animal heads, or sometimes human hands, faces, or legs.[44] In the "late" period, amulets were not solely made out of precious stones, are not as small as the early amulets, and portray animals or humans that represent gods and goddesses.[45] For example, Sekhmet, the violent lion goddess who could annihilate her enemies was known to be able to bring plague as well as dissipate it and for this reason many amulets were made in her feline form. In the Reverend Murch's Collection, there are twenty-four types of amulets belonging to the "early" group and seventy-four belonging to the "late" group.[46] Because the feline headed amulet was

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[40] Philippe Gemond, *The Symbolic World of Egyptian Amulets*, 17.
[41] Arthur C. Mace, *The Murch Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, 21.
[42] Arthur C. Mace, *The Murch Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, 21.
[43] Arthur C. Mace, *The Murch Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, 22.
[44] Arthur C. Mace, *The Murch Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, 22.
[45] Arthur C. Mace, *The Murch Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, 22.
[46] Arthur C. Mace, *The Murch Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, 22.

created between the twenty- first and thirtieth dynasties, it would be categorized in the later group. This amulet is typical of the later group because this amulet is made of faience, not a type of precious metal, and it is in the form of an animal head that represents a goddess.

What is particular about the faience amulet in the Shadow of the Sphinx Exhibit is that it is an aegis amulet. An aegis is a symbol that combines the head of a deity with a broad collar.[47] Aegis ornaments are also associated with protection and safety. For example, "One was set at the prow and stern of every temple god's sacred barque, the head being that of the god or goddess in question."[48] Aegis amulets are only connected with a few deities, one being the cat-goddess Bastet. Other figures associated with aegis amulets include Tefnut, Mut, Hathor, Amen-Re, and Bes, all portrayed as their accompanying animals with a broad collar and the long tripartite wig.[49] More specifically, Bastet and Tefnut were shown with a sun-disc and uraeus atop their heads.[50] A typical aegis amulet consists of the head of the deity facing forward, there is a ring behind the collar for suspension in some form, and the color is usually blue-green or bronze.[51] The deities that were associated with aegis amulets all were powerful and could bring protection to their wearers, they all also had connections with fertility so in this instance women who wanted to bear children would also have worn them. The aegis amulet first appears in the New Kingdom, but is more associated with the Third Intermediate Period and after.[52]

The aegis was also associated with the menyet collar, a type of heavy beaded collar that was worn for adornment.[53] Because the collar was so heavy, a counterbalance located between

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[47] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 41.
[48] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 41.
[49] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 41.
[50] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 41.
[51] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 41.
[52] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 41.
[53] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 41.

the shoulder blades was required for it to stay in place and this was called a counterpoise.[54] This counterpoise was pendulum shaped but sometimes contained within this was an aegis, and one of the most popular forms "depicts at the top a lion goddess's head, either frontal or in profile, wearing a sun-disc or a human goddess's head set atop a large broad collar."[55] Because the counterpoise hung between the shoulder blades of the wearer, it makes sense that it would contain a protective aegis amulet since this is a vulnerable region of the body.[56] Counterpoises like these have been found depicting Bastet, Tefnut, Mut and Hathor, all of whom have associations to protection.[57]

The cat goddess Bastet and her counterpart Sekhmet were not interchangeable for the Egyptians, but they were undeniably linked. The museum label identifies the cat head depicted as either Bastet or Sekhmet, and there is no way to define if it was one or the other because they are deeply connected in every way. Bastet was the gentler of the two, a feline Protectress representing mothers and fertility.[58] Sekhmet was the violent goddess of war who devoured enemies of the Sun God.[59] Egyptians saw these two sides as inseparable, and this becomes a motif in Ancient Egyptian society. Bad is always connected to good, light to dark, and violent to peaceful.

Bastet was associated with many different things, one being fertility. She was sometimes depicted with kittens to show her association with motherhood.[60] Even so, and even though she was mother to the lion God Mihos, she was still considered a "virgin goddess."[61] Originally she

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[54] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 41.
[55] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 42.
[56] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 41.
[57] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 41.
[58] Munson Williams Proctor Arts Institute, Aegis Amulet, 4 November 2012.
[59] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 34.
[60] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 32.
[61] Barbara Watterson, *The Gods of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Sutton Publishing, 1984), 192.

was shown in the form of a lion, but in her later images she was shown as a cat.[62] This was probably due to the introduction of domestication. Domesticated cats were introduced from the West and South around 2100 BC.[63] As she transformed from a lion into a cat and became friendlier, her violence was transferred to her counterpart, Sekhmet.[64]

Though there were references to Bastet early in Egyptian history, it wasn't until the creation of Bubastis that she reached her full height in popularity. Bubastis was the Greek name for what the Egyptians referred to as Bast or the "House of Bastet." This was a city that had developed out of a sanctuary dedicated to the worship of Bastet.[65] According to the Greeks, the Egyptians were so fond of their domesticated cats that when one died they took the body to be embalmed and buried at Bubastis.[66] Cat mummies were also found in personal graves but were probably sacrifices to the gods rather than personal pets.[67]

The destructive and violent counterpart of Bastet was Sekhmet, depicted usually in leonine form. Sekhmet was the "fierce goddess of the Memphite Area, who symbolized the burning heat of the sun, and, as the sun-god's vengeful eye, destroyed his enemies, and brought plague and pestilence."[68] Because Sekhmet was related to the sun god and compared to the burning of the hot sun in the desert, she was usually depicted with a sun-disc atop her head, like the aegis amulet.[69] She was related to the Memphis area, and was part of what was referred to as the Memphite Triad.[70] This consisted of Sekhmet as the mother, Ptah (god of craftsmen and

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[62] Barbara Watterson, *The Gods of Ancient Egypt*, 192.
[63] Barbara Watterson, *The Gods of Ancient Egypt*, 192.
[64] Manfred Lurker, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Thames and Hudson, Inc., 1980), 43.
[65] Barbara Watterson, *The Gods of Ancient Egypt*, 192.
[66] Barbara Watterson, *The Gods of Ancient Egypt*, 193.
[67] Munson Williams Proctor Arts Institute, Mummified Cat, Utica, 4 November 2012.
[68] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 34.
[69] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 34.
[70] John Baines, Leonard H. Lesko, and David P. Silverman, *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice* (Ithaca: Cornell Press, 1991), 41.

architects) as the father and Nefertum (associated with the sunrise and rebirth) as the son.[71]

Although Sekhmet was violent, associated with war and rage, she could also drive away sickness. Moreover, doctors were often called Priests of Sekhmet.[72] Because she was so fierce in battle, the Egyptians thought she was the perfect goddess to rid their bodies of the demons that caused illness.[73] Because of Sekhmet's healing powers she was often depicted on amulets and used in prayers. A fragment of writing by a priest of Sekhmet states, "[he will not] depart (life) on his bed, he will not die on […] this incantation is spoken over an image of Sekhemet […] in a year of plague, it is an amulet […]".[74] So in addition to being the Goddess of war, Sekhmet was also the goddess of healing. People today would be confused by the notion of the destroyer who doubles as a healer, but for ancient Egyptians this was an important premise.[75]

Although Bastet and Sekhmet seem like two complete opposites, they are completely related, and most of the time indistinguishable from each other unless specifically marked. Both Bastet and Sekhmet are associated with the Sun, accounting for the sun disc atop the amulets head. They were both depicted on amulets to protect against disease or ensure fertility. Both goddesses were depicted with a feline head. Although there are some differences between the two, such as the primary location where they were worshipped, and most notably their different natures, this amulet could actually be either one of the two because they are so inextricably linked.

This particular feline headed amulet, whether it be a representation of Bastet or Sekhmet, was displayed in one of the first rooms of the museum exhibit. It was displayed with other tiny amulet pieces and it stood out from the rest because of its bold green-blue color and remarkable

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[71] Baines, Lesko, and Silverman, *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 41.
[72] Barbara Watterson, *The Gods of Ancient Egypt*, 171.
[73] Barbara Watterson, *The Gods of Ancient Egypt*, 171.
[74] Stephen Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1992), 120.
[75] Stephen Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 31.

detail. All of the pieces were approximately the same size so it was not overshadowed by the surrounding artifacts. Next to the glass display case there was a box of magnifying glasses. These were labeled and encouraged the viewer to take a closer look at the smaller artifacts. Even though you couldn't get extremely close to the pieces, the museum still encouraged the viewer to look at the beautiful detail work and absorb as much about the visual characteristics as possible from every angle.

The museum also included educational pamphlets to expand on various topics and make the exhibit more interactive for children. One such pamphlet focused on cats and was titled "See how many images of cats you can find in the exhibition." It also gave a brief historical background of cats in ancient Egypt. Although all the factual information was correct on this sheet, it could have been presented in a more visually stimulating way with less text and more images. The text also encouraged the viewer to think that Bastet was the most important cat goddess, and Sekhmet was only mentioned in passing. Sekhmet was equally important to Bastet in Egyptian culture and even though she was a "destructive force of the feline and was worshipped as the goddess of war and pestilence,"[76] she also played other important roles such as she also had the power to dispel pestilence, which this pamphlet doesn't mention.

There are many other examples of aegis amulets and amulets of Sekhmet or Bastet in general. The first example was a faience fragment of an amulet of Sekhmet from the Jacques-Edouard Berger Collection (see fig. 2). Though it is not an aegis amulet, there are some similarities between this and the original amulet in the Utica exhibit. The faces of the feline look very similar, with the same rounded ears and the same defined nose and long face. In addition both wear the tripartite wig and are made out of the same faience material. They both would've

[76] Munson Williams Proctor Arts Institute, Shadow of the Sphinx Exhibit, "Cats Everywhere!" Informational publication, Utica, 4 November 2012.

been worn in the same way because their suspension rings are located behind the heads of the felines. However several things are missing from this amulet. There is no sun disc or uraeus, and there is no broad collar. Since it is a fragment it also looks like it has been broken below the chest, and below this might have once been a female body.

The second artifact that was strikingly similar to the Utica piece was from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (see fig. 3). It is an aegis amulet, but it is not in very good condition and has very little detail. However, the shape and material are exact matches to the original amulet. You can still make out the broad collar, tripartite wig, long face, and sun disc with uraeus atop the head. It is not clear which god or goddess the amulet is depicting because it is so worn, but the museum identifies it as either Bastet or Tefnut. Tefnut was a leonine goddess as well and was also portrayed on aegis amulets with a sun disc and uraeus. Because Egyptians had over one thousand deities, there weren't enough animal species for each deity to have his own unique animal counterpart.[77] For this reason, some animals were used for multiple gods and goddesses. Cats and lions were particularly popular because of the Egyptian's fondness for felines. This makes it very hard to distinguish a specific god or goddess when looking at a feline headed amulet.

Bastet and Sekhmet were both also sometimes portrayed as a figure with a woman's body and the head of a feline, as seen in a Bastet amulet from the Metropolitan Museum (see fig. 4). This is very different from the aegis amulet because it shows the figure of Bastet seated in a chair and holding a sistrum. Because Bastet was additionally associated with drinking and festivities, she was often seen holding a sistrum, which was a type of musical instrument.[78] Though the two amulets look very different, there are several similarities. They both were created in the

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[77] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 14.
[78] Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 32.

Ptolemaic period so we know that the religious philosophy was basically the same at the time they were created. They are also both made from faience and made to be suspended somewhere on the person, you can see in the Metropolitan example the ring in which some sort of cord would have fit through is located behind Bastet's head. In addition, we can see the similarity of the long feline faces and the tripartite wig themes repeated.

A fourth object, similar in that it represents Sekhmet, is also an amulet made out of faience (see fig. 5). The relative abundance of faience amulets in a few select museums shows the popularity of the material in amulet making. This amulet again does not represent an aegis but shows the body of a woman with only the head of a lioness. The figure is in a standing position but if broken off above the waist the head and upper torso look similar to the fragment of the Sekhmet amulet (see fig.2). This head and face definitely look more leonine in terms of characteristics, and roughly carved. The eyes are large gouged out holes similar to the large nostrils. The ears are definitely more rounded like a lioness rather than a domesticated house cat. However, the slender body of the figure is sleek and delicate in comparison to the face. This artifact is unique to the other four examples but there are still some distinct similarities between this figure and the original amulet.

The feline headed aegis amulet in the Shadow of the Sphinx Exhibit is an excellent example of how important protective amulets were in the lives of Egyptian inhabitants. Even in the Ptolemaic period, traditions of magic and different gods and goddesses continued to be at the forefront of society. The amulet's faience material, aegis structure, and portrayal of a feline headed goddess (either Bastet or Sekhmet) are exemplary as to what would have been popular at the time. In turn, through understanding the different aspects of the amulet we can learn the importance of technologies (like faience production), the significance of magical protection, (in a

time where disease and rampant and death was imminent), and the continued tradition of polytheism (where different gods and goddesses held specific reputations).

Fig. 1. Aegis Amulet with the Head of a Feline Goddess Late Ptolemaic Period; "Shadow of the Sphinx Exhibit"; *Munson Williams Proctor Arts Institute*; http://www.mwpai.org/museum-of-art/museum-of-art-calendar/shadow-of-the-sphinx/, 20 November 2012; Web.

Fig. 2. Fragment of an Amulet of Sekhmet; "World Art Treasures"; *Foundation Jacques-Edouard Berger*; http://www.bergerfoundation.ch/picasa/jeb_eg.html, 20 November 2012; Web.

Fig. 3. Aegis Amulet; “Collections”; *Museum of Fine Arts Boston*; http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/aegis-amulet-336207, 20 November 2012; Web.

Fig. 4. Amulet, Bastet, Sistrum; “Collections”; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*; http://metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/100010215, 20 November 2012; Web.

Fig. 5. Sekhmet Amulet; “Educators Online”; *Museum of Fine ArtsBoston*

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Ambiguities of Life in the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany During the Interwar Period

After the First World War eradicated of norms and social codes of the nineteenth century, the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany stood as bastions of modernity. Modern features of these regimes included the persecution of internal enemies, the roles of masses in society, total state intrusion into the private and public spheres of ordinary people, and changes in gender roles. Although modernity affected Soviet and Nazi Fascism differently, parallels between the two can be drawn. Eugenia Ginzburg's *Journey Into The Whirlwind* and Marion Kaplan's monograph *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* present the stories of those who fell victim to the modern state at the micro level and reflect the irrationality and dystopian change associated with the modern era at the macro level.

In her 1998 monograph *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*, Marion Kaplan, historian and noted professor of Hebrew and Judaic studies at Columbia University, analyzes Jewish life, and more specifically German Jewish women's lives, before conditions for the Second World War were exacerbated. Kaplan argues that the Jewish community underwent a 'social death' in the 1930s that was required for their later annihilation in 1939. By supplying the reader with many cases of the impact on Jewish families via quotes and testimonies, Kaplan is able to offer the complexity of daily and ordinary Jewish existence in Nazi Germany even before the Final Solution in 1941. Kaplan's analysis of Jewish life in Nazi Germany reflects the values of the regime and the zeitgeist of the modern era: dehumanization, irrationality, and the obsession with the internal enemy.

Similarly, Eugenia Ginzburg's memoir *Journey into The Whirlwind* (1967) captures her experience as an imprisoned party member during the height of Stalinist party purges after

Kirov's assassination in 1934. Through her memoir Ginzburg is able to give a first hand account of the purges and the corrosive effect on the public and private spheres of life in the Soviet Union. Ginzburg's position as an esteemed female professor and active party member in the memoir demonstrates the progressive stance on women under the Communist regime. Accordingly, Ginzburg offers insights into the lives of people affected by the modern state and the characteristics of the modern era itself concerning themes like dehumanization, norms on gender, and total war. By supplying a detailed narrative of her experience in the prison, she reveals the modern character of the mechanized regime itself.

The modern era impacted roles of gender differently in the two contexts. In *Journey Into The whirlwind* Eugenia Ginzburg lived life as an esteemed professor, committed party member, and caring mother before her downfall. Theses several identities reflected the change in women's roles as seen in the dystopian change brought forth by WWI. The progressive notion of incorporating women into mass society through politics was a radical idea that broke traditional notions of gender roles. When urged to flee by her grandmother, Ginzburg retorts "But how can I, Grandmother? How can I leave everything, the children, my work?" (Ginzburg, 22). The duality of gender roles (as mother and editor-in-chief) is here presented when Ginzburg refers to her children and work as her everything, alluding to her role in the public and private spheres. While in Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, there were few women involved in professional lives, most of them were seen as procreation machines.

Although German women were pushed into the private sphere, race informed the dichotomy that occurred between German Jewish women and 'Aryan' women. Aryan women conformed to the Nazi racial ideology, which emphasized racial purity, by remaining uninvolved in the public sphere. German Jewish wives found themselves having to support their families

emotionally and financially after their husbands were imprisoned or stripped of their assets as exemplified in this quote: "Gender roles in Jewish families shifted because devastating economic, social, and emotional realities forced families to embrace strategies that they would never have entertained in ordinary times " (Kaplan 59). The role reversal between Jewish men and women here demonstrates how a perverted racial ideology reshaped the German Jewish family unity and how German Jewish women had to step forward pragmatically. The German modern totalitarian regime stressed an irrational racial ideology that inadvertently empowered German Jewish women.

Major themes that also emerged from World War I were the obsession with the internal enemies and total war. Although both regimes engaged in internal enemy persecution and total war, the Soviet Union did it for a political agenda underlining class equality while Nazis emphasized racial purity. Modern notions of reaching an ideal aesthetic state of living for the German people as seen in *Kultur* in World War I guided German actions and policies under Nazism. To maintain a pure 'Aryan' race the Nazi regime used tactical violence towards those who threatened mainstream society and these tended to be homosexuals, gypsies, prostitutes, cripples, and ultimately Jews. German Jews were seen as an enemy to the 'Aryan' race that needed to be socially and physically removed. Kaplan referred to the eradication of Jews from the social fabric of Germany as a "social death". Thus ostracism characterized by social death was the prerequisite to the later dehumanization of the Final Solution in 1941.

Instead of a tactical violence anchored in racial ideology, internal enemies in the Soviet Union were sought after based on their class background as seen during Lenin's time. After Lenin's death in 1924 and Stalin's takeover, the party focused on party members. Ginzburg was now seen as the new internal enemy even though she belonged to the party. As opposed to Nazi

focus on racial components, the Soviet Union during Stalinist party purges highlighted Ginzburg's persecution based on her bourgeois background thus condemning her as an internal enemy. In order to maintain the political dominance of the communist party Stalin raged a total war on his own party and people. While German Jews were racially targeted members of the Nazi state that were to be removed, individuals such as Ginzburg who were denounced politically in the Soviet Union were to be isolated and cleansed of their disloyalties towards the party. Accordingly, Ginzburg's account reflects the conviction of internal enemies as being a group outside of the state: "Enemies are not people. We're allowed to do what we want like with them. People indeed!" (Ginzburg, 63).

In both books members of the state that were persecuted remained ostracized, dehumanized, and regimented. Furthermore, no fixed norms or social codes about moral boundaries could be applied to such people. Both Eugenia Ginzburg and the German Jews were removed from the state and therefore any actions taken towards them could not be accounted for. In totalitarian states where the life of the state and party was held supreme, no norms existed concerning the treatment of people deemed outsiders of the state. Ultimately, themes of the modern era like the lack of fixed norms, dehumanization, mechanized total war all culminated in the height of persecution in these regimes.

Kultur, a spiritual aesthetic state of living was important for mass mobilization in the modern era. In Kaplan's *monograph she* argued that German Jewish men found the notion of leaving Germany impossible mostly because of their strong liberal connection to the Deutschland. The patriotic connection formed a male German Jewish identity deeply embedded in the public sphere. Women found the need to flee the modern state that persecuted them: " Men, on the other hand, felt more at home with culture and politics. Generally more educated

than their wives, they cherished what they regarded as German culture – the culture of German enlightenment" (Kaplan, 65). On the eve of persecution male German Jews still felt a connection to the *volk* and the modern aesthetic of a German enlightened existence as expressed in *Kultur*. While in the early years (1933- 1938) of the Nazi reign, German Jewish men felt attached to the German nation, in the Soviet case, persons like Ginzburg felt entirely committed to the Bolshevik party.

The *Journey Into The Whirlwind* demonstrates all Soviet citizens' devout commitment to the Bolshevik party. Although people from all social ranks and classes were targeted indiscriminately during the party purges, in Ginzburg's book, those imprisoned sought an answer from the very state that imprisoned. Prisoners believed that their capture was a mistake resulting from treason throughout the party ranks and the same treason that Stalin had already highlighted. Because the state had subverted the Soviet masses through propaganda and persecution, the illogical rationale for the purges had become the new norm thus making the Soviet masses conform to these purges. This can be seen in Ginzburg's declaration: " No, this was something I could not do. Even though I felt obscurely, without having any proof, that Stalin was behind the nightmare events in our party, I could not say that I disagreed with the Party line" (Ginzburg, 75). Ginzburg's commitment is parallel sentiment that Jewish men felt for the liberal German nation.

For Jewish men their national identity and involvement in the public sphere kept them loyal to Germany, while Ginzburg's political and national identities kept her from fleeing Moscow. The subjugation of the individual to the state was a common theme in the modern era. Involvement in mass society meant the state's interests superseded the individuals' interests. Ginzburg held a national and political identity deeply connected to the Soviet state and so did

Male German Jews to the *Volk*. While German Jews faced social death in Nazi Germany, in the Soviet Union, arrested party members faced social ostracism. Male German Jews believed firmly that the *Volk* could not ostracize them and this same feeling can be seen in Ginzburg, who felt the party could not wrong her.

Most importantly state intrusion in the public and private sphere of life in both Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union was a common feature of these modern regimes. Kaplan does a fine job of analyzing the political ramifications of the Nuremberg laws and subsequent impact on family life. After 1935 Jews were classified as subjects of the state and stripped of their citizenship, while "Aryans" were made "citizens of the Reich" (Kaplan 77). The Nuremberg Laws demonstrated a modern regime imposing itself directly onto mass society and dictated who were and were not members of the state. Similarly, the Nuremberg Laws had a significant impact on the private life of Jews in Germany. Jews were divided based on how Jewish they were according to the *Mischlinge*, mixed blood, hierarchy. Those classified as full Jews were forbidden to marry 'Aryan' partners, while second degree *Mischlinge* with only one Jewish grandparent were permitted to marry Aryans. As a result, Jewish families were broken physically and mentally. Some Aryan spouses pressured their Jewish partners into fleeing or killing themselves because of the Reich's policies.

On the other side of the artificially constructed racial spectrum, 'Aryan' Germans were being directly affected by the Nazi regime as well. In the public sphere party membership for 'Aryan' men allowed them to be more politically and economically embedded with the *Volk*. Although 'Aryan' women under the patriarchal Nazi system were mostly restricted to the private sphere, party membership was seen as almost a necessity for men. Party membership opened opportunities to the highest political and military ranks and this confirmed one's support to the

Reich and secured one's family's ability to eat. More particularly the engagement of 'Aryan' men into mass society and politics reflects the state's role in the public sphere. Furthermore, the private sphere of 'Aryan' life under the regime was affected equally. Children were indoctrinated into the Nazi Youth, as the family unit became a procreator of fascist ideology and involvement.

In the Soviet Union Ginzburg's book captures the intensity in which the state was involved in public and private lives. Divisions in family arose when suspicions of anti-communist activity happened within the home. For example, one spouse would denounce the other and this would leave children in broken homes or orphanages. In the case of Ginzburg, the Great Purges of Stalin resulted in her conviction and subsequent separation from her husband and children. The modern state interfered in Ginzburg's public life by stripping her of her political membership and profession. The continued imprisonment of people based on irrational charges in the public sphere altered the national psyche that self-propelled the regime's corrosive effect on the private sphere. As Ginzburg put it, "It was like a psychosis: good and sensible people who had been on friendly terms would suddenly see in their neighbors potential spies and *provocateurs*" (Ginzburg 164). As people saw others around them losing their jobs, being kicked out from the party, and sent to prison, the familial and social relations became more vulnerable to the penetration of the irrationality featured in the modern era.

Ultimately both Kaplan's monograph and Ginzburg's memoir capture not only the experience of marginalized groups under the Nazi and Soviet Communist regimes, but also themes associated with the modern era. Modern features of these regimes include the obsession with the internal enemies, a dystopian change in gender roles, the engagement of mass society, and state intrusion into the public and private spheres of people's lives. Jewish women became

empowered in Nazi Germany as their husbands were stripped of their assets and wealth, however "Aryan" women conformed to Nazi racial ideology and remained in the private sphere. Ginzburg's position as a professor, party member, and mother gave her several identities in the public and private sphere and reflected the Soviet progressive stance on women that changed old gender roles. The Soviet Union persecuted internal enemies under the Stalinist party purges for a political agenda after Lenin's death, while in Nazi Germany, the rationale behind the persecution of undesirables and eventually the social and physical death of German Jews was anchored on irrational racial ideology.

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"And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off": Human Sterilization, The Press & Universities, and "The Science of Surgery" in Oregon, 1904-1940

Introduction

In 1883, Francis Galton presented the term eugenics in his book *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*. Galton viewed eugenics as "the science, which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage." Inspired by Darwinism, Galton wished to create the "fittest race" of humans through national dedication to the issues. While not immediately popular because of its radical call to action, eugenics eventually became a widespread belief across the world—largely because of the social climate in which it was finally accepted.

America was no exception in its readiness to accept these theories. Eugenics became popular in the early 1900s, reaching its peak in the 1930s and lasting into the 1980s. Largely part of the American progressive movement, many of the same activists who fought for temperance, women's suffrage, political reform and other movements that would create a better society, politically and socially, also advocated for eugenic legislation. Just as in European countries, eugenicists were aided by the social climate that at the time, especially in the years following World War I, was fearful of the surge of immigrants, especially Eastern European Jews and Southern European Roman Catholics. Americans used eugenics to justify anti-immigration legislation through the 1920s. As a member of The Committee on Immigration and Naturalization during the Sixty-Sixth Congress in April 1920, Dr. Harry H. Laughlin, a leading American eugenicist and the director of the Eugenics Record Office in Cold Springs Harbor, Long Island, New York, issued a statement saying "the factor of natural hereditary qualities which will determine [America's] future characteristic and safety, receive due consideration." He proposed a plan in which the government would check on a potential immigrant's "eugenical

facts" before granting them status. He also argued that the early immigrants to the United States "had more to do in determining our national institutions than the millions that have came here later," therefore proving their "hereditary excellence"; the immigrants coming in the 1900s "have not had the same influence upon our national characteristics" and are much more likely "degenerate stock." The immigrants then were brave and resourceful to come and settle a new country; the new immigrants in the 1900s were being forced from Europe and encouraged by America's "tenderness" toward "a lower civilization." Laughlin's call to Congress proves that eugenics was not an outlying movement in America—it was a prevalent, widely accepted reform effort by highly educated and influential members of society.

While immigration and stemming the flow of "degenerative blood" into the country were important goals for eugenicists, they also had to address the quality of America's current citizenry. Laughlin described the "socially inadequate" as:

> (1) Feeble-minded; (2) insane (including the nervous and psychopathic); (3) criminalistics (including the delinquent and wayward); (4) epileptic; (5) inebriate (including drug habitués): (6) diseased (including the tuberculous, the syphilifinic, the leprons, and others with chronic infectious segregated diseases): (7) blind (including those with greatly impaired vision); (8) deaf (including the crippled); and (10) dependent (including children and old folks in 'homes,' ne'er-do-wells, tramps, and paupers).

Here, Laughlin provided a comprehensive list of the traits that reformers around the country intended to control and prevent. Oregon would also add "habitual criminals, moral degenerates, and sexual perverts" to the list. More specifically, "moral degenerates" and "sexual perverts" meant "those addicted to the practice of sodomy or the crime against nature, or to other gross, bestial and perverted sexual habits"—in today's terms, male homosexuals or others who engaged in same-sex sexual activity. To cleanse the country of these undesirables, scientific methods were developed to provide objective methods of measurement. Some of these included the IQ

test, popular case studies of "inferior" families, and Fitter Family Contests sponsored at state fairs, which judged families on "their members' mental and physical health, productivity, and appearance" and worked to encourage people to engage in family planning and "choose their mates wisely" based off of eugenic traits. A solution was needed beyond education though, and while some people used eugenics as a justification for birth control and abortion, most eugenic advocates championed sterilization and eugenic marriage laws as the most effective methods. Often this also led to the popularization of segregating undesirables from the general population through institutionalization — be it through a physical building or "sterilization as a permanent form of segregation."

This paper examines eugenic sterilization in one state, Oregon. Oregon first passed a eugenic sterilization law in 1917; it was on the books until 1983, and 2,648 people were sterilized—1,713 were women and 935 were men. The archives used to research this paper include the Oregon Historical Society Research Library, in Portland, Oregon; the Oregon State Library and the Oregon State Archives, in Salem, Oregon; and the University of Oregon Knight Library Special Collections and Archives Department, in Eugene, Oregon.

In this paper, I am looking to prove that while Bethenia Owens-Adair, the foremost advocate for eugenic sterilization in Oregon, was a driving force for the entire sterilization movement in the Pacific Northwest, the determining factor in the widespread support of eugenic sterilization laws in Oregon was the overwhelming backing given by the press and by the state universities. The laws written into the legislative books until the 1980s were enacted through radical, punitive methods, largely considered cruel and unusual punishment, and would not have been given so much free reign and support without the backing of these prominent, well-regarded institutions.

Existing Literature

While many historians have looked at eugenic sterilization laws across the United States and the world, only a few have looked specifically at Oregon. Oregon was not the first program, nor the largest program — it was not even the first or largest program on the West Coast, as Washington's and California's first statutes came in 1909, and California continued to make headlines until 2013. The state of Oregon's eugenic program gets mentioned most often in reference to the fact that Governor John Kitzhaber acknowledged and apologized for forcibly sterilizing "hundreds of vulnerable Oregonians over more than 60 years," making Oregon one of the first states to willingly admit and atone for its past.

The foremost historians of Oregon's eugenic sterilization laws are Mark Largent and Peter Boag. Mark Largent's work focuses on the entirety of the eugenics laws, providing the most comprehensive single-source history on Oregon eugenic sterilization laws. His article "'The Greatest Curse of the Race': Eugenic Sterilization in Oregon, 1909–1983" written for the Oregon Historical Quarterly in 2002, provides a timeline of relevant events through 1909 to 1983, filled with explanatory details and primary sources. His thesis statement is not obvious until the last page of the article, but seems to be that the coerced sterilization of Oregonians was brought about through "various social, scientific, and political influences," often progressive in nature, but that these same progressive influences were also the ones that "helped restrict eugenicists' influence," providing a good case study of how competing politics make up the state's system of checks and balances. Largent also wrote the book *Breeding Contempt* about the eugenics movement across the country. This book, while referencing Oregon more often than other histories, does not focus on the state specifically and doesn't give much new information not already included in his previous article. Peter Boag wrote *Same-sex Affairs: Constructing and*

Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest. As the title suggests, this book focuses on the role that homosexuality played in the history of the Pacific Northwest. The Oregon sterilization laws were just a chapter, albeit a tragic and damaging chapter, in the greater history of the state. His argument in this section shows how the state, fearful of what it did not know about same-sex affairs, reacted harshly and vengefully against the homosexual population of Oregon. He argues that despite careful wording, "from 1913 onward, sterilization measures that the Oregon legislature considered and approved would take aim at same-sex offenders and homosexuals."

Apart from Largent and Boag, the next best collection of secondary sources is a number of master's theses and Ph.D. dissertations written over the years. In 1977, Linda Loraine Currey wrote a masters thesis titled "The Oregon Eugenic Movement: Bethenia Angelina Owens-Adair" at Oregon State University. Currey's thesis named Owens-Adair the "unquestioned 'pioneer advocate' of eugenics and eugenic sterilization legislation in Oregon," detailed her importance in other progressive movements of the time. For broader research, Deborah V. Dolan's article "Psychiatry, Psychology, and Human Sterilization Then and Now: "Therapeutic" or in the Social Interest?" gives context about how people thought about human sterilization in the early 1900s, and where the line between eugenic social interest and punitive methods were liable to be blurred.

Bethenia Owens-Adair

In Oregon, the movement for eugenic sterilization laws began with an unlikely source — Bethenia Angelina Owens-Adair. Owens-Adair was born in 1940 in Missouri, moved to Astoria in Clatsop County, Oregon with her family in 1943, and later moved to the city of Roseburg. After divorcing her husband, an unusual move for women at the time, she attended the Eclectic

School of Medicine in Philadelphia in 1873, and then graduated with an M.D. from the University of Michigan in 1880. When she returned to Oregon in 1881 to start a practice, she was one of the first female medical doctors in the United States and probably the first in the Pacific Northwest. Along with her medical practice, she started advocating for progressive political movements, such as temperance and women's suffrage. Her real passion came through in her dedication to eugenic sterilization laws in Oregon. Using her medical education as justification, she claimed that her "life's desire is to improve the human race by cutting off the vicious sources of degeneracy by the greatest humane remedy known today — sterilization."

Owens-Adair's first article in the *Oregonian* on March 13, 1905 was titled "Favors Use of Knife." She wrote that, "however strong I might believe that the death at birth of all such would be best for them and for humanity, I could never accept the solemn responsibility of taking a human life, and I am persuaded that it is a power not safely or properly entrusted to any private human judgment." Despite the eugenic principle stated by Francis Galton, the founder of eugenics, that "we must therefore leave morals as far as possible out of the discussion," when eugenics are actually put into practice, morality isn't so simply eliminated. Owens-Adair thought morality must be left intact and solutions through generations of parents "liv[ing] rightly" would lead to a race of "Roosevelts, Willards and Shakespeares — a condition delightful to contemplate, but … still far in the future." In order to narrow down the problem in order to create a solvable situation, she states that "some of the worst ills to which humanity is heir, such as insanity, epilepsy, and cancer, are almost transmitted by the immediate progenitors," meaning that what Owens-Adair considers the "greatest curse of the race" comes from the mentally ill and the criminal classes reproducing. Her solution is not "chloroform or strangulation but by the science of surgery." She doesn't ask for the killing of the criminally insane in this instance, but

again brings up the idea of castration in an anecdote about a conversation she had with Dr. H of the Oregon State Insane Asylum in Salem, Oregon. She claimed to say, "I would see to it that not one of this class should ever be permitting to curse the world with offspring … I would give many of these pitiable unfortunates the one chance of recovery, which might restore their reason … It would be nothing less than common humanity to relieve them of the source of their curse and destruction by a simple surgical method that might give them a chance to recover their reason." Even in her first article about sterilization, it is clear she has an established opinion that she claims to have held for over 20 years. This article was published in 1905, more than 20 years after she received her medical degree, leading one to conclude that this opinion was informed by, if not rooted in her medical education and her experiences with her Oregon practice. This is important to acknowledge because eugenic programs were not always supported by qualified M.D.s. Galton was many things but he was not a medical doctor, and he made most of his conclusions based on the premise that it was not necessary to know how traits are inherited, as long as it is known that they are. Owens-Adair clearly believed that criminality and insanity were passed on through "diseased reproductive organs" and her opinions carried the weight of medical science with them.

Despite being published in the *Oregonian*, Owens-Adair did not think that the time was ripe in 1905 for her to publiclypublically advocate for sterilization, due to her womanhood, which she believed in that "day and age would simply mean ostracism". In 1907 though, she wrote again to the paper as the state of Wisconsin was making a "serious effort to… enact a law for the sterilization of the feeble minded and insane wards of the State." She expressed her intent to work for legislation like this in Oregon and claimed that the time had come for her to start. It is in this letter that she more explicitly stated her desire for castration as a solution for the

criminally insane, but also alluded to the procedure as a punitive measure. Referencing the Bible verse, Matthew 5:30, "and if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off," she suggested again that the only appropriate action is to go to the "the very root of this great evil and cut it off." Later, she claimed that sterilization would be more effective than current punishments because of the well-known fact "that any animal when rendered sterile, loses much of its vicious an ungovernable nature and soon becomes docile, useful and contented." Simply, she argued for the neutering of human beings, just as a veterinarian suggests you neuter your household dog. She also made her first reference here to the welfare argument used by many states, promoting eugenic laws so that they are "not staggering under enforced taxation for the support of our weaklings, our monstrosities, our insane and our criminals." This letter ended with a call for a present legislative member to come forward and help her introduce a bill concerning sterilization to the floor.

Owens-Adair wrote the first human sterilization law in Oregon in 1907 and introduced it to the Oregon state legislature, and though it died on the floor, she brought it back in succeeding sessions, leading to the Bill's nickname: the "Owens-Adair Sterilization Bill." While she was not a member of the legislature, she developed relationships with many members of the house to whom she submitted the bill that she wrote, and would travel to Salem, if only to wait in the lobby, during the vote. Other influential backers included popular newspapers, the *Oregonian* and the *Oregon Journal*. On October 28, 1909, still early in the campaign for human sterilization in Oregon, the *Oregonian* voiced their support in an editorial:

> "We breed criminals in this country, and will probably continue to do so, until Mrs. Dr. Owens-Adair succeeds in getting her sterilization law on the books. We are also obliged at vast expense to take care of criminals whose breeding had but little to do with the instinct they developed later… it becomes all the more necessary that we should shut out as many as possible of the foreign element that comes here with the impression that crime is more free from penalty here than it is in the land that was better for their leaving it."

The next day, Owens-Adair responded in another letter that made print that she is "thankful — yes, far more than [she] can express — for the support given me through the columns of The Oregonian, knowing well that thousands upon thousands turn daily to its columns for guidance." Its clear that Owens-Adair knew she made a powerful ally that would help her to get the law passed. The original *Oregonian* editorial also makes it clear that the paper's view has racist implications against immigrants. These sentiments were the precursor to the strong Ku Klux Klan presence in Oregon that would come in the 1920s and target not just African-Americans, but also Catholics, labor unions, communists, homosexuals, and immigrants of all kinds.

The Press

While many individuals advocated for eugenic sterilization, the movement became much larger once the press started publishing stories about it. The press often wrote about eugenic sterilization in a way that also advocated for things such as eliminating welfare dependency, supporting other movements, such as temperance, or against immigrants. For example, on November 21, 1909, the *Oregonian* wrote an article about alcohol and its effect on heredity. It referenced a doctor's testimony "that alcohol poisons the germ plasm in men and women both, and for the reason it tends steadily to create a new swarm of degenerates… if they consume the drug, their children are liable to be born degenerate… thus is the tendency of Nature to eliminate drunkenness, which looked so promising a moment ago, is seen to be continually thwarted by the creation of a new army of sortssots which takes the place of the one she has slain with infinite pain and wretchedness." Essentially, it is argued here that as each generation with alcoholism dies off, another is created, thwarting Nature's device to kill off the vice. Using the language of eugenics, the *Oregonian* voices its support for temperance and gives a warning: "Those who think the Anglo-Saxon stock is worth preserving should set their wits at work on the drink

problem" because obviously, letting things occur naturally is not working. Owens-Adair voices her concerns about alcohol as well in the *Oregonian*, viewing it more as the match that lights the explosion. "Tens of thousands of bright intelligent men have used both [alcohol and tobacco] through their long lives and never showed the least symptoms of insanity. But had there been a trace of insanity in their blood, then those narcotics would have lighted the torch and the explosion would have been felt.

Under a large headline reading "Eugenics Study Urged" an article claimed that church and science are coming together to "regenerate the human race" through eugenics. "Some day every custom will be judged good or bad by its ultimate effect on the race. Some day eugenics will become the basis of ethics." Thinking today, it seems unlikely that in a nonsensical, but sadly predictable pairing, the relationship between religion and eugenics was actually emphasized. In Owens-Adair's book *Human Sterilization*, she published a letter written to the *Oregonian*'s editor that talked about how eugenics "'make us free' as we were intended by God to be, free from the debasing things of wrong thinking, which is not of a spirit born to everlasting, but of a spirit bound to an earth life of physical, moral and mental disease." Another letter, written by a Christian ordained minister, declared his support for the "sterilizing of both men and women… who are either weaklings, physical or mental, the blind, the cripples the hideously deformed, the epileptic, and the insane." Not only did these letters support the eugenic sterilization movement, but they proved that the *Oregonian* readership was familiar with Owens-Adair's articles and had come to support them. Similar letters came in to the *Morning Astorian*, which were full of support, or directly to Owens-Adair where she published them in her book. Others, like an attack from Eleanor Baldwin, who wrote a "full column of sarcastic ridicule," or two "earnest opponents in the criminal ward at the State Insane Asylum" in Salem, Oregon,

responded to her published articles in a negative way. This still shows that her articles were well read enough to make a splash, negative or positive. When *Human Sterilization* was published in 1909, she had at least seven correspondences based on her published works in the *Oregonian.* This is before eugenics reached its height of popularity or a law was even passed.

In a speech given to members of the Multnomah Medical Association in Portland, Oregon, she told people, "every paper to which I have sent communications, have honored me, and several have written fine editorial commendations… For every great reader and thinker today turns first to the editorial page for the best and latest in progress and advancement" When her bill was passed after being heavily amended, the *Oregonian* claimed that it was "spoiled" by the legislative committee, but Owens-Adair defended the edits—showing that the paper cared about this issue as resolutely, though perhaps with less understanding, as Owens-Adair did.

In addition to publishing editorial or news stories that furthered the sterilization movement, the papers were very generous with space for Owens-Adair. Owens-Adair was given a long leash on how much she could write and the content of her articles. She talked about the process by which she submitted the article first to the paper in 1904. "When [she] first wrote [her] first communication to the *Oregonian* [she] received four letters all eulogizing and congratulating [her] on [her] bravery, etc." Later, she recounted a letter she wrote after "a prominent club-woman startled and shocked her associates by declaring… physicians to destroy at birth all deformities." Her friend considered this letter, filled with her "vital views on that vital question," too broad or controversial, but she believed the *Oregonian* would publish it—which it did, "with large, appropriate and attractive headlines." This support was evidenced in the frequent inclusion of her writing, and also by the many editorials specifically supporting her.

The *North Yakima Herald*, Owens-Adair's hometown paper, also published a good deal of information about her. In the opening sentence of "To Sterilize the Insane", Owens-Adair is referred to as "Dr. Owens Adair, the well known physician… [who] practiced medicine in this city with great success" and follows with the information that she is here to visit her son. After establishing her as a relatable woman of the community, she is then described as "a specialist with wide knowledge of this class of cases and her word in these matters is considered as expert authority." This is followed by specific areas of support, such as a "remarkably strong sentiment" in the Oregon legislature. The rest of the article is a direct question-and-answer interview with Owens-Adair. Her description beforehand makes her seem like a woman the community would like to follow, emphasizing the local roots and her extensive education. Followed by suggestions of a "pruning process" which would apparently "prove a blessing to [those who are sterilized] and protect our commonwealth from further propagation of their kind," her ideas are clearly radical.

Another local paper, the *Daily Astorian* published the entire text of Owens-Adair's address before the Oregon State Women'sWoman's Suffrage convention in Portland. While usually a speech would merit simply a coverage summarizing the event, publishing the speech in its entirety gives the locals reading the paper the chance to read what they likely missed, due to its location, and expands the reach of Owens-Adair beyond just big cities. The *Astorian* also published a series of papers written by Owens-Adair on her proposed legislation about human sterilization. She used the *Oregonian* and other papers as a mouthpiece to speak to the Legislature and to the everyday citizen. By calling for their attention repeatedly, in person and publically, it makes her harder to ignore.

Owens-Adair makes many references to the fact that she is a woman, and therefore usually would be ignored. “A woman of your standing should not be mixed up in such a subject,” she wrote, referring to what one relative said to her. But the Oregonian is progressive in its view of women, believing in the “new woman.” “[Sterilization] was a rather delicate subject to discuss before a mixed audience, or would have been so considered in the days of our grandmothers, and before the ‘new woman’ arrived. Things were called by their first names in a familiar sort of way, but the feminine portion of the audience chewed gum and took a deep interest, and never batted an eyelash. It was an illustration of the new thought, and the results of taking woman off the high pedestal on which so many years she has stood and bring her down to a real equality with mere man.” This view helps explain why the *Oregonian* is so supportive of Owens-Adair and why she eventually decided the time was ripe for her to begin her sterilization advocacy in 1905.

The problem with eugenics wrote the *Oregonian* is that it is “so plain and simple” that misunderstandings are obvious, and therefore perhaps willful. To make a dramatic statement saying, “eugenics means a wholesale effort to deprive the majority of mankind of the blessings of domestic life” is to miss the real point that “no eugenicist of any importance desires to withhold the privilege of marriage and children from persons of decent lives.” The practice of sterilization refers to a very small population but one that is “pernicious out of all proportion to its numbers.” Because of this, there is only one solution, people might not be able to control reproduction but “the surgeon’s knife can do it easily.” But even that is not the point of eugenics; the point is “purely educational” and meant to teach men and women to be wiser about choosing their life partners. Its aim is not to deprive but to give “children a good start in life.” The *Oregonian* also mentions that there is one more “mistaken notion… that eugenics encourages

‘race suicide’” but what it really encourages is “race conservation” through “a reasonable number of children well born, well bred and well situated in life.”

Oregon Universities

The Oregon State Survey of Mental Defect, Delinquency, and Dependency was started due to the interest of Oregon’s citizens in promoting public health following World War I. State legislature from 1919 determined “that the University of Oregon is hereby granted authority to make such survey and… report the result of its study with recommended legislation to… the next regular legislative assembly, with the understanding that the State will be asked for no appropriations for the purpose.” Coming in the same year as the laws on venereal disease, it shows the Oregon citizen’s focus on public health, stemming the flow of sexually transmitted diseases, and the future of the race. This survey, without funds allotted or allowed by the state, required the director to develop a statewide campaign of volunteers. Over 10,000 citizens were recruited to act as a “special voluntary assistant from a sense of high citizenship and patriotism serving without remuneration,” thus creating the “first State-wide, cooperative citizen survey in the fields of mental, physical, and social hygiene, in the history of the world.” In this process, Chester L. Carlisle, M.D., director of the Oregon survey, specifically thanked the “editors of Oregon who assisted the citizens of the state by the gratuitous publication of survey publicity material,” firstly the editors of the *Oregonian* and *Oregon Journal*. This survey, perhaps better than any other example, showed the unparalleled dedication to this problem in Oregon. The citizens who volunteered, and the university—which provided both manpower and resources, such as departments used to analyze the data—and the press all showed commitment to the issue with no reward but the success of the program.

P.L. Campbell, who was the president of the University of Oregon from 1902–1925, served on the executive committee of the Oregon Social Hygiene Society from 1915 on. His involvement with the society was very well documented through letters, and it affected his actions *vis a vis* the state and the university as well. For example, in a letter dated January 25, 1917 addressed to Mr. H. H. Moore, the Secretary of the Social Hygiene Society, Campbell wrote "I am heartily in favor of the Social Hygiene Society, and shall take occasion to speak to our Lane County delegation personally in its interest." In another letter, this one undated, Campbell reaches out to Moore again and thanks his for the use of the movie "How Life Begins" which was shown at the University to an estimated nine hundred willing students and faculty.

The Social Hygiene Society of Oregon was started in 1911 and focused on promoting physical wellness and eliminating "immorality," especially when it displayed itself as sexually transmitted diseases and promiscuity. Though it was started before the Great War, it really built up steam after World War I, when reports on the sexually transmitted diseases of soldiers came out. "During the first eighteen months of the war, one of the greatest powers had more men incapacitated for service by venereal disease contracted in the mobilization camps than all the fighting in the front," wrote M.J. Exner, M.D. in the *Journal of Social Hygiene* in 1917. When the problem of venereal disease and obvious sexual promiscuity was no longer deniable during the war, limiting the armed forces' ability to fight a war, there was finally reason to act and an educational plan was enforced in the military, and even more importantly, in greater society. While the Social Hygiene Society wasn't specifically a eugenics program, it shared many of the goals of eugenics promoters like Owens-Adair.

As the Social Hygiene Society maintained its popularity, the eugenic sterilization movement seamlessly wove its way into the same conversation. The 1913 act to "require medical

certificate as additional requisite to issuance of a marriage license" was an early start championed by the Social Hygiene Society. This act required that the "male person thus seeking to enter the marriage relation is free from contagious or infection venereal disease." This was ideally meant to prevent the passing of diseases to the offspring produced within the marriage and worked with the society's ideal of educating people on the results of their sexual actions in order to create a better future. In 1919, Chapter 264 of the Laws of Oregon related to Venereal Diseases dictated specific actions that persons with and physicians dealing with venereal diseases must follow, directed by the State Board of Health. Section 59 of this law declared "all persons who shall be confined or imprisoned in any state, county of city prison in the state shall be examined for and, if infected, treated for venereal diseases by the health authorities of their deputies… such other persons as may be isolated or quarantined under the provisions of section 59 shall be isolated and treated." The law was complemented by the 1917 bill written to "prevent the procreation of feeble minded, insane, epileptic, habitual criminals, more degenerates and sexual perverts, who may be inmates of institutions maintained by public expense, by authorizing and providing for the sterilization of persons with inferior hereditary potentialities." The use of sterilization as a permanent form of isolation, as advocated for in Oregon—with an emphasis on using castration—worked together with these laws to stop promiscuity and unwanted offspring.

In a pamphlet titled "Education in Sex and Heredity: A Practical Program" written by Henry M. Grant, the Social Hygiene Society outlined the role and willingness of Oregon educators. "The colleges have a double duty to perform in connection with a program for education in sex and heredity. They must develop in the students who come to them ideals of home-making and of social responsibilities… the colleges have a strong sympathy for such

education, and there is no question as to their doing their part in developing such training to the extent of their facilities." This pamphlet, and all the work of the Social Hygiene Society, was to "replace misinformation with truth, and prudery with a frank acknowledgement of the normal facts of sex," which would lead men and women to "develop a code of sex ethics which will enable them to control their sexual impulses." This control meant only participating in educated and approved marriages that aren't reliant just on feelings; being careful with immigrants and the laws of heredity that could dictate the "effect immigrating strains will have upon future generations"; and generally, partaking in educated mating similarly to the "commonplace [way] that we breed our domestic animals." This was not intended to degrade humans to the same level as that of animals, but was meant to encourage youth to "think in terms of future generations." Along with education, the Social Hygiene Society worked to propose and pass effective laws that targeted health ordinances and city planning. It enabled cities to pursue prostitution more severely and facilities like the city of Portland's detention hospital were created to specifically take detained girls out of the prostitution system and give them a space to work to improve themselves.

While the Social Hygiene Society did get involved with politics, it primarily focused on education through speakers, pamphlets, informational series, and conferences. It worked in cooperation with other organizations, especially schools, to provide education to create a more hygienic future. These were very successful and the activities of the year were always listed in the yearly report by the Society. In the first year, there were 98 Parents' Meetings with an average attendance of 59; two Father and Son meetings, average attendance of 19; 43 talks to miscellaneous groups of men with an average attendance of 149; 59 talks to miscellaneous groups of boys, with an average attendance of 34; 45 talks to men in business houses with an

average attendance of 62; seven talks with an average attendance of 39; 10 public meetings in churches and other public places averaged an attendance of 155; two talks to college and high school women and girls averaged 345; one talk to public school principals with an attendance of 46; two addresses before Western Oregon Teacher's Association with an attendance of 300, and three addresses before the Chautauqua Assemblies with an attendance of 600, 200, and 200 were given. These numbers continued through the years, and comments about these presentations included praise such as, "Fifteen different men in our employ came to me personally to express their appreciation of this work," "Several of our men told me this was the best thing they ever heard," and "You couldn't pick out a subject that would do more good for a school of this kin than that one." The main criticisms were that the Society didn't do enough and there was need for more thorough work and that there needs to be a wider reach. This is likely why the society worked in cooperation with standing institutions, so they weren't required to do all the beginning groundwork.

The press praised the society. In an article titled "The Social Hygiene Society and Its Work in the State," the *East Oregonian* wrote, "Little did the 350 men who met at the Portland Y.M.C.A. auditorium September, 1911… realize that the results of that meetingmeting would influence the country at large. They did not know that within the brief space of four years every other state would be asking: 'What are you people in Oregon doing about this matter?'" From this article, it is seen that Oregon was a leader in these matters—a premise backed up by the fact that Oregon had the lowest incidence of venereal diseases of all states among the first million drafted for World War I.

The Social Hygiene Society put on a yearly Conference for Educators in Portland, Oregon focused around "the Training of Teachers who shall be able to give sex instruction to High

School Students." Some of the keynote speakers at this yearly conference included figures like the President of the University of Oregon P.L. Campbell, the President of the Oregon Agricultural College T. D. Beckwith, and other highly respected educators. Campbell provided the entire university the opportunity to participate in these conferences, and many professors, such as the Dean of Women Elizabeth F. Fox and others, welcomed the opportunity.

Conclusion

The actions of state universities, with the Social Hygiene Society and with the state survey, and the press write-ups, from articles written specifically by Owens-Adair to those written by the paper's editorial, were the driving force in promoting eugenic sterilization in Oregon. Even before the laws were on the books, these institutions were imperative in creating a larger following and eventually passing the law in 1917. The press and the universities were able to use their prominent statuses, good reputations, and bountiful resources to promote eugenic sterilization in Oregon.

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MEN OF THEIR ERA

The advances of the medieval civilization in the twelfth century become more apparent when compared to the state of affairs during the time of Charlemagne. Change in the social hierarchy, economics, and politics had been brewing in the tenth and eleventh centuries, slowly but surely, until a unique culture – made possible by the innovation in agriculture and technology – coalesced in the twelfth century. Charlemagne had grand designs for reforming the Carolingian Empire, but his own attempt at renaissance – albeit somewhat successful – failed to reach its full potential due to his own death, civil war, and the limiting technology of his time. Although clear origins of what would become twelfth-century Europe can be traced back to Charlemagne, his own world was embryonic and limited in politics, culture, and economics; simply put, the dimensions of the twelfth century world did not exist in the year 800 or to the degree that they would come into play in the following centuries. Distinguished characters like the Archpoet, Peter Waldo, and Chrétien de Troyes would have been out-of-place in Charlemagne's regime because men of their talents and position were emblematic of changed times: they were products of a revitalized economy, greater success on the educational front, political fracturing between the king, his lords – and chiefly – the church, and an emerging noble culture that is the iconic representation of the time period in popular culture.

Although the most glamorous changes of medieval times occurred in the cities, the foundation for this monumental change was catalyzed by seemingly mundane innovation in the fields and farms. Prior to this innovation, an annual inventory report of Asnapium, one of Charlemagne's imperial estates, sheds light on the economic situation that existed in Charlemagne's day, even for those with power and wealth. Within the estate were few furnishings, small crop yields with little to no surplus, and a modest number of utilitarian objects,

crafted out of common materials; although this estate would have served as a temporary abode for Charlemagne and his court, objects were made from "brass" and "iron," as there were no "goldsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths, huntsmen, or persons engaged in other services" [79]. Asnapium may have served as the emperor's temporary home, but its struggle to produce even a basic subsistence strategy explains the lack of craftsmen and specialized labor; most of the manpower on retainer was devoted primarily to the production of cereal crops. The "precious objects" and "wealth and treasure" that were brought into the Frankish economy were often spoils of warfare, such as Charlemagne's war against the Avars, which left the Franks richer than any other war.[80] Nevertheless, wars were an unsustainable source of income, and the Carolingian Empire's economy was otherwise limited. The state of affairs at Charlemagne's own imperial estate suggested dire conclusions for the rest of the empire, particularly the condition of those with less power and wealth.

Agricultural reform would be critical in changing the face of Europe. Charlemagne's rule was marked by a dual-focus of promoting Frankish culture and picking up the pieces of what used to be the Roman Empire, and many Roman influences, such as the plow, still remained. The Roman plow was designed for a Mediterranean climate with a different soil texture than the heavy, hard soils found in Western Europe, and its use was ineffective in an alien climate. However, with the advent of the heavy plow, which was slowly phased into common practice in

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[79] *Asnapium*: An Inventory of One of Charlemagne's Estates, c. 800. trans. Frederic Austin Ogg as in *Internet Medieval Sourcebook.* Internet Medieval Sourcebook. Aug 1998. Web. 30 Nov 2014.

[80] Einhard, *Life of Charlemagne*, trans. P.E. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004, 35.

the tenth century, managing the soils became less labor-intensive.[81] Additionally, with the introduction of legumes into the crop rotation, nutrients fixed into the soil allowed for greater utilization of field space without concern for soil depletion, leading to higher crop yields and improving the general diet and health of laborers.[82]

With agriculture becoming a more reliable source of food, surpluses becoming more common, and with dietary health improving, the population expanded dramatically. With less people needed to tend to the fields, there was a push for serfs to take up trades and learn crafts. For example, Bishop Gebhard of Constance "[gave] encouragement… to the serfs to learn crafts which would be of advantage to those dependent on the estate," including incentivized trades such as "cooks and millers, victuallers and fullers, cobblers and gardeners [and] carpenters and masters of every craft" with the promise of food and an inheritance.[83] The capability for people to take up new ways of life transitioned Europe from a subsistence economy to a more diverse model, and transactions between peoples in a microeconomic scale became more common. Starting in the tenth century, Emperor Otto the Great began issuing grants for Bishops to create markets, giving them the power to coin and levy taxes; and although this affluence would later lead to ideological problems with the church's image, it gave people a chance to meet in a designated location and trade their wares.[84] In time, towns and cities would build up around these

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[81] Herrick, Samantha. "Economic change in town and countryside." Lecture presented at Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, 30 October 2014.

[82] Herrick, Samantha. "Economic change in town and countryside." Lecture presented at Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, 30 October 2014.

[83] Gebhard, Bishop of Constance: Allocation of Serfs to Crafts. trans. Roy C. Cave & Herbert H. Coulson, as in *Internet Medieval Sourcebook.* Internet Medieval Sourcebook. Oct 1998. Web. 10 Dec 2014

[84] Otto the Great: Grant of Market, Coinage, and Taxation Privileges to Bishopric of Osnabrück, 952. trans. N. Schaten, as in *Internet Medieval Sourcebook.* Internet Medieval Sourcebook. Oct 1998. Web. 10 Dec 2014.

markets as people settled around them, and the twelfth century began to have distinct urban centers for trade and learning.

The economic burst not only diversified economic activities, but also added new dimensions to the social hierarchy, creating new classifications of people that did not fall into the traditional Three Orders of those who fight, those who pray, and those who work. Men like Peter Waldo who made money through usury would not have existed centuries prior, as the exchange of money and money lending was far less common on a scale any smaller than long-distance trade. Whereas wealth, either money or material items, used to be a luxury of kings and nobles, men like Peter Waldo held "personal property" and real estate, as in "ponds, groves and fields, houses, rents, vineyards, mills, and fishing rights."[85] Although Peter Waldo gave up his wealth to endear himself to God, his former affluence demonstrates not only the kind of wealth generated by the economy, but also the diversifying occupations of people in twelfth-century Europe – such as usurers, moneychangers, and merchants – who did not fit into the traditional mold that had been established in Charlemagne's time.

Another important aspect of the rise of cities and economic diversity was the promotion of education. In the 800s, Charlemagne outlined the significance of education as an important aspect of the Carolingian Renaissance. In one of his famous capitularies, he claimed that the "bishoprics and monasteries… ought also to be zealous in the cultivation of learning and teaching," to improve literacy, understanding of god, and also to provide qualified advisors to his court.[86] As a result of this, education did improve: a new script was invented to systemize

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[85] The Conversion of Peter Waldo. trans. J. H. Robinson as in *Internet Medieval Sourcebook.* Internet Medieval Sourcebook. Jan 1996. Web. 30 Nov 2014.

[86] Capitulary On Education. trans. D.C. Munro as in P.E. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 89-91.

writing, Latin learning was revitalized, and several surviving documents indicate the existence of highly-educated and skilled persons, such as Einhard, Nithard, Theodulf, and Dhuoda. However, when taking a closer look at Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*, Nithard's *Histories*, and Dhuoda's *Manuel for William*, the authors mention their relation to Charlemagne's court, Charlemagne himself, or membership in the nobility, respectively; this suggests that, although highly intelligent and educated people existed, the people that were most often educated were either relatives of Charlemagne, the nobility, or persons related to the church, with perhaps a few other exceptions.

By the twelfth century, cities were multifaceted centers of daily life, trade, and also education. Although in the 800s, evidence of Charlemagne's success in making education a widespread phenomenon is dubious, the development of schools as an institution became more defined in the twelfth century. Schools existed in monasteries, cathedrals, and palaces, but it was the cathedral schools – located in cities - that grew the fastest, where members of the clergy had proximity to a wider audience.[87] New students, mostly occupied by people who were to enter the clergy, and the curriculum – the Quadrivium, which taught math and numbers, and the Trivium, which taught reason and language – reflected that. However, there was a growing interest in general education from people who did not fit into any of the Three Orders, such as merchants, sons of minor nobles, engineers, traders, and stewards.[88] There was also some interest in pursuing advanced subjects beyond the liberal arts, such as law, medicine, and theology, which

[87] Herrick, Samantha. "Twelfth-Century Renaissance." Lecture presented at Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, 4 November 2014.

[88] Herrick, Samantha. "Twelfth-Century Renaissance." Lecture presented at Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, 4 November 2014.

were taught in schools all over Europe; and those that could successfully travel to these centers of learning and prove themselves could call themselves scholars.

The rise of schools – not coincidentally – also followed the events of the Investiture Contest in 1070, where Pope Gregory VII and King Henry IV fought over who held the highest power on earth; roots of using propaganda to wage an ideological battle can be traced to this conflict. The tension between the Church and the king would not ease by the twelfth century, either; in fact, new avenues of arguing authority would be exploited as learning flourished, particularly with the revitalization of law. During the twelfth-century, two main law codes clashed: canon law, based on religious text and imbued with spiritual authority, and Roman law, which emphasized the authority of earthly bodies of power, such as the emperor or king.[89] Outright violence was avoided between the two, but both the Church and the king were working to influence people to their side with propaganda; successful propaganda relies heavily upon logic and carefully-constructed arguments to succeed – skills that scholars, lawyers, rhetoricians, and other highly-educated persons possessed. To this end, scholars could find work with the church, the king, and even some lords, and the best scholars could attract the wealthiest and most powerful patrons.

Evidence for this can be seen in the Archpoet's work, "Confession of Golias," which was presented to Rainald of Dassel, the Archbishop of Cologne.[90] Ostensibly the piece appears to be an ode to sin and the pleasures of the flesh; in fact, the Archpoet goes on at some length over how the road of youth has "snared [him] in sin," by the temptation of women, gambling, and

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[89] Herrick, Samantha. "Student Life and the Implication of Learning." Lecture presented at Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, 6 November 2014.

[90] Herrick, Samantha. "Student Life and the Implication of Learning." Lecture presented at Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, 6 November 2014.

drinking.[91] However, the content of the Archpoet's "Confession" is irrelevant. What remains relevant is his ability to produce witty, catchy, and skilled literature. The words are suggestive of a hedonistic lifestyle, but the craftsmanship of the prose and structure reveal undeniable skill with composition. To send such a piece to the Archbishop seems inappropriate, but on another level it suggests that the Archpoet was appealing to Rainald's need for skilled writers; he was advertising himself as someone who could use his skill with language as a rhetorician, in exchange for food and board. Although it is unknown whether or not the Archbishop accepted this work, the "Confession of Golias" added a new dimension to both intellectual culture and the political machines of the twelfth century.

The use of the written word to influence peoples' opinions and perceptions in the twelfth century was not necessarily new; words and insinuation were used in Charlemagne's own court, as in the case of Theodulf's courtly poetry. In his poem, "On the Folly of Hypocrites and Fools Who Will Not Be Swayed from their Depravity by Sound Exhortation," Theodulf mercilessly ridicules the fool who cannot learn, comparing the uneducated to being "worse than Judas" and "excrement"; and in another piece, "Wide Wibod," Theodulf mocks one of the counts at Charlemagne's court, portraying him as cowardly, overweight, and unintelligent.[92] These poems were intended for reading aloud in the presence of the court, often in the presence of their subject; they were sources of entertainment, but also useful tools in tarnishing another's reputation. Yet, this type of writing appears to be on small-scale feuds and localized to

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[91] Archpoet, "Confession of Golias." trans. by John Addington Symonds, as in *Internet Medieval Sourcebook.* Internet Medieval Sourcebook. Mar 1996. Web. 10 Dec 2014.

[92] Theodulf, "On the Folly of Hypocrites and Fools Who Will Not Be Swayed from their Depravity by Sound Exhortation." trans. D.C. Munro as in P.E. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 103-104; Theodulf, "Wide Wibod." trans. D.C. Munro as in P.E. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p. 106.

Charlemagne's own centralized court; it's certainly not as prominent as the propaganda wars in the later century, and writing in that capacity – as it was for the Archpoet – was not a way of life that would have been consistent – or even possible – for the Archpoet or any other wandering scholar.

Those talented with the written word could also find work and patronage with the noble class, albeit for different reasons. The nobility had been struggling to define itself over hundreds of years in terms of its place in the messy medieval hierarchy, but was beginning to distinguish itself culturally by the twelfth century. Under Charlemagne's rule, the nobility were primarily useful for their military support and their role of advisors and *missi dominici*, and could prove themselves as worthy of benefice or worth of contempt, such as Bernard, a duke of Septimania who rebelled against Charlemagne's surviving son, Louis the Pious. Although evidence is somewhat scant, there are examples of vassals throughout the following centuries who were a stain on the image of those who fight, such as Arnal de Perella, who was disenfranchising the Count of Barcelona and abusing the local peasants, and – a more recent example – Thomas of Marle, a crusader who was known for his brutality[93.] However, as the nobility became increasingly separate from society in their own castles, with their own modes of entertainment and lifestyle, a new culture emerged. By the twelfth century, ideals about knighthood and nobility began to change; the work *Perceval* by Chrétien de Troyes was emblematic of this new ideal.

Chrétien de Troyes was an educated man active in the second half of the twelfth century, writing long poems and romances for noble patrons and their courts, notably in the vernacular of

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[93] Complaints against Arnal de Perella by peasants at Caldes de Malavella and Llagostera (south of Girona) c. 1150. trans. Alan Cooper, Samantha Herrick, and Thomas Bissen as in Thomas Bissen, *Romanesque Southern France*. Fall 1999, pp. 6-11.

northern France, rather than Latin; his work, therefore, was for entertainment, although it was also educational in its ideals.[94] Although Chrétien's stories might have been welcomed in Charlemagne's court, there was an intellectual snobbery associated with being able to compose pieces in Latin, as seen previously in Theodulf's poetry; Latin was exclusively the criterion, as it was the language of scholasticism and kingship. Additionally, there was less ostentation bound up in those who fight, and Chretien's work would not have had the same historical context as it would in the twelfth century. *Perceval*, or "Le conte du grail," details a coming-of-age story of Perceval, a naïve boy of noble blood who endeavors to become an ideal knight. The various themes of the book are reflective of the trends of the time period: Perceval's skillful and instantaneous uptake of combat prowess reinforced the ideas that nobles were intrinsically better than other people, the various never-to-succeed romances between the protagonist and the damsels in his journey are reflective of the ideals of courtly love and romance, and the championship of the code of chivalry underpinned the endeavor of some of the existing nobility to reverse their image from that of Bernard, Arnal, and Thomas of Marle.[95] Instead, knights like William Marshall, who lived by the code of chivalry, became a famous tournament champion, and earned royal patronage and office for his this talents and became exemplary of knightly ambitions.[96] Chrétien's works were popular because they were in the vernacular (meant mainly for entertainment), inspirational tales of love and valor, and they very specifically stroked the egos of the nobility that they were designed for. Percival's story of perfect knighthood and the

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[94] Herrick, Samantha. "Taming those who fight." Lecture presented at Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, 18 November 2014.

[95] Chrétien de Troyes, *Perceval.* trans. William W. Kibler, as in William W. Kibler, *Arthurian Romances* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 382-494.

[96] Herrick, Samantha. "Taming those who fight." Lecture presented at Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, November 2014.

Holy Grail evince the image of ideal knighthood that was very endemic to twelfth-century noble culture.

Although Europe had seen many attempts at reform and renaissance, it wasn't until the twelfth century that the medieval civilization finally accomplished its revival of learning and scholarly culture, implementation of law, and the development of cities and impressive architecture. Out of this movement were produced memorable poets, scholars, and cultural figures such as the Archpoet, Peter Waldo, and Chrétien de Troyes, who otherwise would have felt alien in the world of Charlemagne's time. The Carolingian Renaissance lacked the population and food production to pull off the magnitude of reform in the twelfth century renaissance, although the separation of the two different realities is significant in recognizing exactly how much change occurred, and how remarkable it was. What makes the twelfth century distinctive is its synthesis of Roman and Frankish heritage into an entirely unique culture, and that rich, singular culture can be viewed through the lens of the people of that era.

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Theodulf, “Wide Wibod.” trans. D.C. Munro as in P.E. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p. 106.

Meet the Editors

Katarina Andersen is a sophomore from New Hampshire, and a double major in African American Studies and Social Studies Education. Katarina is involved in a multitude of campus organizations and activities including Alpha Phi Omega the National Community Service Fraternity, Real Girls Mentorship with the Office of Engagement Programs, and is a new peer advisor for the School of Education.

Brittany Beyer is a member of the Class of 2015. She is a double major in International Relations and History, with a minor in Political Science. Brittany is involved in a handful of various student organizations on campus, is a Coronat Scholar in the College of Arts and Sciences, a Remembrance Scholar, and is a self-proclaimed European history nerd. Brittany will be continuing her education at the University of Pennsylvania Law School beginning in the Fall of 2015.

Alyssa Gabriele is a member of the class of 2015 as an Art History and History double major. After graduation she is looking forward to gaining work experience in the art world before pursuing a graduate program abroad. She enjoys exploring new cities, new museums, and new types of cheeses.

Tammy Hong is a member of the Class of 2018. She is a double major in History and Arts. She can usually be found around campus either with her nose in a book or working in the art studios in Smith Hall. Aside from that, she enjoys traveling and aspires to become a museum curator in the future.

Clare Keaney, a member of the class of 2015, is a history major with a duel minor in anthropology and art history. She is also the President of SASSE, the feminist coalition on campus. When not studying she enjoys traveling, watching copious amounts of television, reading John Keats poems, and eating guacamole. Clare will continue her education within the Museum Studies program at New York University in the fall.

Joseph Sacchi is a member of the class of 2016. He is a double major in History and Political Science. Joseph is also a member of W.H.E.E.L club, and is active in volunteer work in the Syracuse area.

Matt Servedio is a member of the class of 2016 at Syracuse University. He is a double major in History and Political Science. Matthew is involved in many student organizations on campus, is a fanatic of all Syracuse sports, and is an avid learner of American history.

Ainsley Smith is a member of the Renée Crown Honors Program and the Class of 2018. She is a major in History and a minor in Political Science. While she is not studying for her classes, Ainsley puts a lot of time into First Year Players, a first year theater group on the Syracuse campus, where she continues her love for musicals.

Christina Tavera '16 is a European History major with a minor in LGBTQ studies. She enjoys writing poetry as well as playing basketball and training horses.