

The background of the right half of the page is a photograph of a brick wall. The bricks are reddish-brown and show signs of age and weathering. There is green moss growing in the crevices between the bricks. On the left side of the wall, there is a piece of white graffiti tape or a sign with black and green markings. The text "THE DREW REVIEW" is overlaid on the top right of the image in a white, serif font.

THE DREW REVIEW

Drew University
May 2019 | Volume 12

WANT TO
CHANGE THE
WORLD?
TAKE OVER

The Drew Review

Drew University
The College of Liberal Arts
May 2019
Volume 12

Foreword

The Drew Review, Drew University's annual research journal for the undergraduates of the College of Liberal Arts (CLA), publishes undergraduate student research from the previous calendar year.

This year, we received a total of forty-three submissions and have published eight. Those interested in submitting their work in the future will require a faculty nomination, which must include the following: the author's name and paper title. Alongside the paper, this nomination must be emailed to **drewreview@drew.edu**, with the author CC'ed on the email.

As we are a double-blind, peer-reviewed journal, all submissions must be emailed without any identifiable information, such as the student's name or the name of the professor for whom the paper was originally written. Please be aware that all images will be published in black and white, and that it is the author's responsibility to ensure that the images are permissible for reproduction under copyright law. All students who submit should expect requests for revisions prior to the board's final decisions for publication.

As always, we are beyond grateful for our faculty advisors, Dr. Hannah Wells of the English Department and Dr. G. Scott Morgan of the Psychology Department. Their help and support is what ensures *The Drew Review's* success each year.

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The Chesapeake Bay Oyster Wars: The Nineteenth Century

Talia Smith (CLA 2019)

Abstract

How did the oyster beds of the Chesapeake Bay transform into the frontlines of modernization in the Mid-Atlantic? This article discusses the 19th-century portion of the Chesapeake Bay Oyster War, a conflict in the Mid-Atlantic that lasted from the 1860s to the 1960s, and explores how modernization can lead to exploitation and industrial decline. Even though the war was oftentimes characterized by literal gunfire, the war also encompassed legal battles that aimed to protect the environment, the industry, and, eventually, oystermen themselves. The intense competition, eventual downfall of the oyster industry, and consequential Chesapeake Bay Oyster Wars are a prime example of how modernization leads to the exploitation of resources and labor, resulting in territorial conflict and deadly violence in pursuit of capital. Cases that went to the Supreme Court, stories from the Baltimore Sun, and other legal documents are used to explore this unique portion of American history. Set during a time of invention, innovation, and immigration, this article tells the story of how oysters transformed the Chesapeake Bay area during the nineteenth century.

The Chesapeake Bay Oyster Wars was a series of conflicts traditionally acknowledged as occurring between the years 1860 and 1960. In this “war,” there was no solid enemy and there was no definitive hero, yet there was certainly violence, corruption, and battles with pirates. Industrialization reached Baltimore, Maryland in the 19th century, providing new opportunities for growth, and the oyster industry was at the forefront. This paper will follow the modernization of Baltimore’s oyster industry until 1900 and compare it to broader national trends of the era.¹ The intense competition, eventual downfall of the oyster industry, and consequential Chesapeake Bay Oyster Wars collectively serve as a prime example of how modernization leads to the exploitation of resources and labor, resulting in territorial conflict and deadly violence in pursuit of capital.

To understand this story, it is important to know the historical relationship between Maryland and Virginia. Since Native Americans dominated the area, oysters were a crucial component of the regional diet.² John Smith and early settlers also ate the oysters in the Chesapeake area since at least 1607.³ As both Maryland and Virginia came into their own as states, as early as 1668, there were major debates about their border.⁴ By the onset of the Revolutionary War, the oyster industry had slowly gained momentum as a local enterprise. Maryland and Virginia shared the Chesapeake Bay, the “holy grail” of oysters, and they both wanted control.⁵ Before the United States of America had a codified constitution, George Washington was brought in to dissolve tensions between the two states, resulting in the “Maryland and Virginia Compact of 1785.”⁶

Written in thirteen articles, the compact reassured Maryland and Virginia that the Chesapeake Bay and the connecting “Potowmack” (now Potomac) River were to be used for the benefit of both states.⁷ While this became the basis for the relationship

1 John Whiteclay Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era 1890-1920* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992)

2 John R. Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay* (Washington: Eastern Branch Press, 2007), 5.

3 Ibid, 6.

4 Ibid, 47.

5 Ibid, 7.

6 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 7.

7 Maryland - Virginia Compact of 1785, Acts of Assembly 1785 Chapter 27, January 3, 1786

between Maryland and Virginia, it did not declare an official border line. However, it did accomplish the agreement that the two aforementioned bodies of water were to be used as highways that residents of both states could use freely. The tenth and eleventh articles described the protocol for crime on the Chesapeake Bay and Potomac River. They also gave both states jurisdiction over certain situations.⁸ The compact specifically stated that “any citizen of the commonwealth of Virginia, or the state of Maryland, against the other, shall be tried in the court of that state of which the offender is a citizen.”⁹ In the future, this qualification would prove crucial to law and order on the Chesapeake Bay and allow for multiple interpretations of interstate crime. While the Compact of 1785 was, without a doubt, an imperfect document, tensions between Maryland and Virginia stabilized as both grew as virtually independent states during the early days of the United States. Land and territorial expansion, however, was and is a crucial part of capitalism, and having a disputed land border threatened the economic superiority of both states.¹⁰

Throughout the codification of the United States Constitution and the War of 1812, oyster fishing (or oystering) was a major aspect of the Chesapeake economy. By 1837, there were two ways oystermen could cultivate their shellfish: tonging and dredging.¹¹ Tonging was traditional, with one to two men on a sailboat using giant wooden and metal tongs to pick oysters out of the bay.¹² While fairly non-invasive, it was physically exhausting work.¹³ However, by the 1830s, the dredge was invented and dredging began to make its mark upon the Chesapeake due to a general migration of New England seafood brokers to the area. Dredging quickly became the new and modern method. The Baltimore Sun was excited about this new device, as it was able to scrape “one hundred and fifty tons of earth per hour from the

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Sven Beckert, “American Danger: United States Empire, Eurafica, and the Territorialization of Industrial Capitalism, 1870-1950.” *American Historical Review* (122, 4: 1137-70, 2017) 1147.

11 “Useful Machine.” *Baltimore Sun*, Jul. 13, 1837. Norman H. Plummer, *Maryland’s Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years* (Chestertown: The Literary House Press of Washington College, 1993.) 5.

12 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 30.

13 Ibid, 32.

bottom of the water.”¹⁴ The speed and force of the device was seen as both advantageous to the growing industry and, according to the Sun, “just the thing we want in Baltimore.”¹⁵ Some Maryland Oystermen were excited for these new opportunities, many believing dredging was “beneficial to the oyster beds...,” by “scattering the oysters, eventually increase(ing) their abundance.”¹⁶ Others recognized that scraping the bottom of the bay would be disastrous for the health of the Chesapeake due to the over-cultivation of northern waters as a direct result of the dredge. Nevertheless, as a major innovation to the oyster trade, the dredge remained on the bay, prompting change and the creation of an oyster industry.

In the early 1840s, despite new dredging machines and advancement in technology, the oyster trade was still regional. That changed when Thomas Kensett II moved to Baltimore from New York City in 1849 and entered the canning industry.¹⁷ Kensett was the first President of the Baltimore Packing Association¹⁸ and is credited with bringing European advancements in canning to Baltimore.¹⁹ One by one, different canners from the North came to Baltimore, expanding the industry and settling in this mid-Atlantic city by the 1840s. Within ten years, the Chesapeake Bay had the most active canning industry in the country.²⁰ These new inventions meant the oysters would stay fresh for longer periods of time. While the canning and preservation of agricultural goods covered everything from fruits to vegetables, oysters were the most successful canning industry in the state.²¹ Advertisers from out-of-state oyster industries noticed the national preference for Baltimore oysters and began placing the word “cove” next to their products

14 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 13. “Useful Machine.” *Baltimore Sun*, Jul. 13, 1837.

15 “Useful Machine.” *The Baltimore Sun*, Jul. 13, 1837.

16 “The Oyster Trade of the Chesapeake.” *Baltimore Sun*, June 13, 1868

17 Ibid Earl Chapin May. *The Canning Clan*. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938.)

18 Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era 1890-1920*, 57

The terms “packing” and “canning” can be used interchangeably. The Baltimore Packing Association is part of a larger trend of the era which promoted trades protecting their own interests.

19 Jane Sears, *Baltimore’s Packing & Canning Industry: Directory of Individuals & Companies Engaged in the Oyster, Fruit & Vegetable industries from 1840-1940*. (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2015), 9.

20 May, *The Canning Clan*, 27.

21 Ibid, 11.

due to the term's association with the Chesapeake Bay, resulting in increasing sales. In reality, "cove" simply meant raw.²²

The great transportation advancements of the 19th century accompanied these changes, with the most important being the railroad. Crucial to the United States' economic expansion, the railroad allowed trade across the country. By 1827, the very first packing house was established in Baltimore, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (B&O).²³ By 1850, the railway opened markets to the western states by reaching the Ohio River, meaning goods packed in Maryland could now reach a larger portion of the country.²⁴ By 1860, three million pounds of oysters were sold out west using the B&O, with a significant portion going to Philadelphia and New York.²⁵ Nationally, the railroad expanded mass consumption because transportation helped reduce the prices of out-of-state goods.²⁶ The railways did more than increase interstate trade, however; smaller railroads allowed for quicker transportation between packing towns and greater accessibility of goods and supplies for both the industry and the livelihoods of those who worked it.²⁷ In addition to the great transportation gains, the B&O Railroad solidified Baltimore as a major city, elevating the status of Maryland in the oyster trade over that of Virginia.

The Civil War put these advancements in the oyster industry into limbo. While the oyster industry thrived in an underground market, the mainstream market slowed down due to energies being diverted to more pressing war-related matters. Maryland and a majority of the Watermen were in the Union. With many watermen being abolitionists, the industry continued

²² Ibid, 151 and 152.

Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era 1890-1920*, 62, 63
By the end of the 19th century, advertisements became key for sustainability in the market as the country became increasingly consumeristic (Chambers 62 and 63). The book by Sears provides examples of can designs as well as marketing trading cards and coins meant to boost sales.

²³ Sears, *Baltimore's Packing & Canning Industry: Directory of Individuals & Companies Engaged in the Oyster, Fruit & Vegetable industries from 1840-1940*, 7.

²⁴ Sears, *Baltimore's Packing & Canning Industry: Directory of Individuals & Companies Engaged in the Oyster, Fruit & Vegetable industries from 1840-1940*, 8.

²⁵ Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 14.

"The Oyster Trade of the Chesapeake." *Baltimore Sun*, June 13, 1868

²⁶ Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era 1890-1920*, 2

²⁷ Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 14.

to thrive in an alternative economy.²⁸ Many created deals with Confederates and smuggled their crops to southern states.²⁹ The geographic location of Maryland and, more importantly, the bay made smuggling a not unsurprising reality. Maryland's Chesapeake Bay neighbor, Virginia, was the capital of the Confederacy; trade between oystermen was inevitable and the ambiguous rivers and sounds blurred the lines of what was Confederate or Union property.

The Civil War marks an important change to the economy of the United States on a national level as well. An era of invention was about to emerge as mass production and nationalization of industries began to expand the economy.³⁰ The post-war economy proved to be important for the advancement of Baltimore's Oyster Industry and an expansion of that nationwide trend. This new era brought with it new regulations, an influx of immigrants, the opening of markets, expansion outside of the city, and the establishment of the Oyster Navy. Each element was crucial to the future of oysters and transformed this previously localized industry into a fiercely protected international phenomenon.

When the Civil War ended in 1865, it became necessary to create codified laws to regulate the oyster industry. In the 1830s-1840s, when dredging was just beginning to make its mark, the Maryland legislature passed "superfluous legislation" concerning the terms and conditions of the bay and the oyster business in attempts to regulate it.³¹ In 1865, the "patchwork of laws" were deemed ineffective and the legislature began work on The Oyster License Bill.³² The new license was an attempt to limit the number of dredges on the bay and promote Maryland's interests. Specifically, not only did licenses become mandatory to catch oysters with any type of equipment, but they could only be administered to Maryland residents who either owned or were the master of a vessel.³³ In addition, it set the parameters for the oystering season (September to June) and declared that the dredging license was only applicable in deep water. This meant no shallow

²⁸ Ibid, 11 and 14.

²⁹ Ibid, 11.

³⁰ Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era 1890-1920*, 20, 45.

³¹ "Dredging Resolution." *Baltimore Sun*, Jan. 15, 1840.

³² Plummer, *Maryland's Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 5.

³³ "House of Delegates." *Baltimore Sun*, March 18, 1865

dredging was permitted.³⁴ As much as these provisions protected Maryland's economic interests, they were also attempts to preserve the bay. By requiring licenses, prohibiting use of certain waters, and limiting the oystering seasons, these regulations were aimed to protect the bay and its oysters from over cultivation.

Immigration to Baltimore grew immensely between the years 1868 and 1914. During that time, 1.2 million immigrants, mostly from Germany and Ireland, were welcomed into Maryland through Locust Point Pier.³⁵ During the nineteenth century, Locust Point was the "third busiest port of entry in the U.S. and the busiest below the Mason Dixon line," resulting in the doubling of the city's population between 1860 and 1890.³⁶ Furthermore, additional immigrants came to Baltimore from Ellis Island, where they could decide to either stay in the city or take the B&O and move out west.³⁷ While the rush to move out west definitely captured the spirit of many immigrants, and the B&O railroad made that option available, most immigrants were far too poor to take advantage of that option and wound up being major contributors to the industries of Baltimore.³⁸

With an expanding population came an increasing number of jobs. By 1868, there were 70 packing houses within Baltimore's city limits,³⁹ forcing the packing houses to expand to smaller former fishing towns where they could take full advantage of the waters out of necessity. Planting Houses around the Pocomoke Sound, a contested area between Maryland and Virginia, became a particularly popular area, where 20 acres of ground resulted in 10,000 bushels of marketplace oysters.⁴⁰ The expanded oyster industry was truly an "all hands on deck operation," with some estimates claiming nearly 17,000 people were involved during this era.⁴¹ Solomon's Island, named after the Packing House Robber Baron and innovator Isaac Solomon, employed hundreds

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ron Cassie, "City of Immigrants," *Baltimore Magazine*, 2018, https://www.baltimoremagazine.com/2018/2/11/city-of-immigrants-the-people-who-built-baltimore?fbclid=I-wAR0LvFmMKwLUzLcKWWXodvUAZpQ0G1ULAnwXmMmQk_BKY5SZbytqiWLGPRg

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ "Immigrant Travel Westward," *Baltimore Sun*, April 27, 1881.

³⁸ Cassie, "City of Immigrants."

³⁹ "The Oyster Trade of the Chesapeake," *Baltimore Sun*, June 13, 1868.

⁴⁰ "Oyster Planting Interest," *Baltimore Sun*, Feb 12, 1885.

⁴¹ Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 27.

of residents, requiring six large dwelling houses in 1868, and is just one of many examples of the communities established around oysters.⁴²

One of the most important advancements of the post-war era was the opening of the Baltimore Ship Channel in 1874, at the time deemed "most important to the present and future of Baltimore."⁴³ The construction took over twenty years to complete and used dredging technology.⁴⁴ The channel was created as a gateway for large ships to pass through to the Atlantic Ocean, in order to compete in the international market.⁴⁵ The oyster industry took full advantage of this, resulting in the signing of transatlantic contracts between Oyster Robber Barron, H.C. Rowe, and distributors from London, England before the canal even opened.⁴⁶ Baltimore's acceptance of the new market, as shown in the construction of the channel, solidified the city's importance as an East Coast trading mecca.

Baltimore's importance in trade was not lost on the influential figures of the era. William Keyser, 2nd Vice President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, in a speech made at the 1874 opening of the Baltimore Ship Channel, said, "I know of no city more favorably situated commercially than Baltimore, occupying, as she does a central position between north and south and directly accessible to all parts of the west, besides which the climate is at all seasons of the year favorable to commercial pursuits."⁴⁷ His sentiment perfectly articulates the sense of pride in the new industrial city that was Baltimore and the strides by industry to take full advantage of the natural conditions of the area.

Despite all of the technological and trade advancements of the emerging industry, the oystermen remained the backbone of its success. Many tongers worried that, if dredging vessels from other states were to continue using the resources from the Chesapeake,

⁴² "The Oyster Trade of the Chesapeake," *Baltimore Sun*, June 13, 1868.

⁴³ "Baltimore Ship Channel," *Baltimore Sun*, July 3, 1874.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era 1890-1920*, 12.

In the broader United States, by the 1870s, involvement in the world market was becoming increasingly important due to increasing production and distancing from isolationist policies.

⁴⁶ Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 68.

⁴⁷ "Baltimore Ship Channel," *Baltimore Sun*, July 3, 1874.

it “would ultimately destroy the beds of the bay.”⁴⁸ While the Oyster License Bill existed to prevent this from happening, nothing would deter those out-of-staters most determined to profit from this trade, resulting in many of them registering vessels in Maryland using false bills of sale.⁴⁹ The numbers of registered vessels was impressive, even if a decent portion of them were illegal. Between 1869 and 1870, 563 vessels were licensed, but by October 1888, 500 licenses were granted to dredgers in a single week.⁵⁰ The immense number of oystermen on the bay and interest in the market was crucial to the success of the Baltimore’s success.

The Chesapeake quickly gained the reputation of having “the finest American Oyster” as a result of the advancements in technology.⁵¹ With national and international demand erupting so quickly, by 1868 the Department of Agriculture estimated 15 million bushels of oysters were exported from Maryland per year.⁵² It was becoming clear that the states of the Chesapeake would need to do more than require an oyster license to preserve and sustain this newfound success.

On March 30, 1868, the Maryland General Assembly passed the State Oyster Police Act, a landmark piece of legislation that created a police force and influenced the industry for the next one hundred years.⁵³ Despite the name officially changing to the “State Fishery Force” in 1827, the objectives and colloquial name of the force remained the same throughout the 19th century.⁵⁴ The “Oyster Navy,” as it was referred to, was created to enforce the laws of the bays and rivers to protect them from pirates and over-cultivation.⁵⁵ The officers of the Oyster Navy were a unique group of men with a diverse variety of background,s and each commander took a strong stance against the oyster pirate while pushing for healthier oystering methods. The very first commander of the

48 “The Oyster Trade of the Chesapeake,” *Baltimore Sun*, June 13, 1868.

49 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 27.

50 Ibid.

“Opening of Oyster Dredging Season—Happenings in the Counties,” *Baltimore Sun*, Oct 15, 1888.

51 “The Oyster Trade of the Chesapeake,” *Baltimore Sun*, June 13, 1868.

52 Ibid.

53 State Oyster Police Force, Maryland General Assembly, March 30, 1868.

54 Plummer, Maryland’s *Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 8.

55 State Oyster Police Force, Maryland General Assembly, March 30, 1868.

force was a former Confederate naval hero, Hunter Davidson.⁵⁶ Davidson’s view of the oystermen were in line with the popular narratives of dredgers, claiming that they were “willing to kill to enable them to reach the handsome profits that are now being offered to them on the market,” resulting in the Navy gaining an unfavorable reputation out on sea.⁵⁷ He was, however, considered a successful commander when he negotiated a “short lived agreement with Virginia authorities” in an attempt to agree on jurisdictions.⁵⁸ Interestingly, in discussions of Davidson’s involvement with the fleet, his history as a well known Confederate is merely brushed over, nor are there any great conversations in the Baltimore Sun about the matter. The lack of discussion about this taboo is surprising through the lens of the 21st century, but considering the location of the bay, perhaps it should not be. A Confederate presence would not have been shocking or strange because of the location and pro-Southern sentiment that was already prevalent in the state. As commander of the Oyster Navy, Davidson set a high standard for naval experience and dedication to protecting the bay’s interests, despite being a former Confederate.

Unfortunately, not all commanders had the qualifications of Davidson. Some had no experience at sea, while many were charged with neglect of duty. Specifically, a Captain Griffiths was charged with “Incompetency, neglect of duty, and disobedience of orders.”⁵⁹ On the Fourth of July 1873, Captain William E. Timmons, a different commander, was accused of ignoring illegal dredgers on the Herring Bay and the townspeople testified against him.⁶⁰ A third commander, Captain Robert H. McCready, had a heroic reputation in 1871 when he captured 6 boats of pirates, but his reputation changed when he was charged with illegal shooting in 1873; he was later found not guilty.⁶¹ A string of poor leaders led to the Oyster Navy solidifying a negative reputation around the most vulnerable oyster towns.

Another reason for this poor reputation began in the early years of the force. The Navy only commissioned fifty men to

56 Plummer, Maryland’s *Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 14.

57 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 38.

58 Plummer, Maryland’s *Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 19.

59 Plummer, Maryland’s *Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 25.

60 “Maryland Oyster Troubles,” *Baltimore Sun*, July 3, 1874.

61 Ibid.

control the anarchy of the entire Chesapeake Bay, and although their fleet steadily increased, they never fully reached an effective size. Financially, they were able to sustain themselves by either using the oyster funds or the money made from license fees and fines collected in Maryland's waters.⁶² On average, Oyster Captains made \$2,000 a year when the average income of the time was \$500. This served as another reason why the average oysterman resented them.⁶³ Between 1880 and 1883, income from fines increased from \$576 to \$5276, the payroll for the 56 men in the Oyster Navy was \$27,690 and the overall budget was \$54,425.32.⁶⁴ Calculated for inflation in 2018, that is an overall budget of \$1,346,967.98.

In addition to financial support, it was crucial for the Navy to have the proper equipment if they were to both fight pirates and protect natural resources. According to the Police Act, the force was required to have a "steam vessel and two tenders to be propelled by steam, sail, oars or otherwise."⁶⁵ The first steamer commissioned was the Emma Dunn, but after a year, it became clear a second steamer was needed; the Leila was on duty by 1869.⁶⁶ Between the years 1868 and 1920, the force accumulated over forty vessels in total, including four steamers, one bugeye, and eighteen sloops and schooners.⁶⁷ New vessels were being ordered as technology advanced, including the added cannon in 1888.⁶⁸ No matter how many they had, though, commanders frequently asked for replacements, because the vessels themselves were not always of the best quality and collisions between them were frequent.⁶⁹ The unreliability of their equipment just added to the insecurity the average oystermen had for them and reinforced the perception that the Navy was on the losing side of many a skirmish with pirates.

In order to sustain itself, the Oyster Navy had to be an innately political operation. The commissioners included the

62 Plummer, *Maryland's Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 10.

Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 89.

63 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 39 and 43.

64 "Maryland States Affairs: The Oyster Funds and the Tobacco Warehouse—Receipts and Expenditures," *Baltimore Sun*, June 4, 1883.

65 State Oyster Police Force, Maryland General Assembly, March 30, 1868.

66 Plummer, *Maryland's Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 7.

67 Ibid, 27.

68 Ibid, 28, 29, and 50.

69 Plummer, *Maryland's Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 30 and 31.

"governor, comptroller, treasurer, superintendent of labor and agriculture, [and] the clerk of appeals."⁷⁰ By 1874, six districts were established for policing, although that number grew by the end of the decade, requiring more officers and commanders.⁷¹ Commanders spent a lot of time lobbying for their positions, so by the time Davidson resigned in 1872, the Navy had become a part of the Democratic machine.⁷² The politicians and commanders alike used the vessels of the Oyster Navy for social purposes, often engaging in "pleasure parties" where legislators would spend day-long outings aboard the ship.⁷³ In 1896, when the Republicans had their first win in Maryland since the Civil War, leaders took advantage by putting their friends in positions. However, by then, the influence of the Oyster Navy was in decline.⁷⁴

The great enemy of the Oyster Navy was the notorious oyster pirate. The oyster pirates were dredgers who came in many forms; some were Virginian oystermen encroaching on the Maryland Side of the water, some came from up north, while others were Marylanders who dredged in shallow waters in the off season. While not all dredgers were pirates, they all lived with the reputation of being men "who regard neither the laws of God or man."⁷⁵ While they mostly took oysters, they sometimes went into the towns and embraced a total warfare approach.⁷⁶ The pirates "established a system of terrorism on the waters of the Chesapeake Bay," so much so that for the most part, the Navy would give up when fired upon.⁷⁷ The *Baltimore Sun* even reported the following: "there's definite information that the dredgers have determined to destroy the state police sloops if they attempt to interfere with them."⁷⁸ These pirates, though, were motivated by a desire to capitalize on the oyster industry. By illegally dredging, they were

70 Ibid, 7.

71 Ibid, 8.

72 Ibid, 16.

Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 50.

73 Plummer, *Maryland's Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 32 and 33.

74 Plummer, *Maryland's Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 18.

Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 50.

75 Plummer, *Maryland's Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 43.

76 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 83.

77 "The Enforcement of the Oyster Law," *Baltimore Sun*, Dec 12, 1888.

Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 51.

78 "Dredgers Defeated," *Baltimore Sun*, Dec 12, 1888.

able to sell their product to eager packing houses who could not quite keep up with increasing demand for the product. Because of this, the pirates were an active part of life on the bay. Fierce battles over fishing turf date as far back as the 1700s, with outlaws like Joe Whaland, but by the 1870s, one of the “baddest” men of the bay was Gus Rice.⁷⁹

Rice was considered the leader of the pirates and “no man would prevent him from getting oysters.”⁸⁰ First gaining notoriety on January 28, 1871, after his plot to murder Captain Davidson failed, Rice continued to fight throughout his time on his vessel, the J.C. Mahoney. On December 8, 1888, Rice and his men attacked a passenger vessel, the Corsica, after confusing it for the Oyster Navy. While there were no casualties, the passenger ship was riddled with bullet holes.⁸¹ Only a few days later, on December 11, 1888, Rice’s vessel sunk in a rare victory for the Oyster Navy.⁸² His vessel and four others were caught dredging illegally in the Chester River. While Rice escaped, many men were captured. Acting Mate Frazier of the McLane announced the events of that night were “one of the fiercest that could be imagined.”⁸³ While originally determined to be a “bloodless battle,” it was discovered later on that the Julia Jones and J.C. Mahoney, two of the vessels destroyed by the Navy, held captured men below deck who went down with this ship.⁸⁴ The Baltimore Sun uses this story as an example of the Navy’s benefit to the Oyster industry, protecting the exploited lands and defending towns against the dreaded pirates.⁸⁵

Coverage of this battle in the Baltimore Sun was front and center the next day, with many subsequent articles describing it throughout the December 12th issue. The official front page article described the battle in graphic and exciting detail, including interviews of both Captain Howard and a crewman of the Julia Jones. By including the opposing narratives after the Sun’s own description of events, the reader was able to make their own judgments about what really happened that fateful night. The

⁷⁹ Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 8 and 76.

⁸⁰ Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 76.

⁸¹ “Dredgers Defeated,” *Baltimore Sun*, Dec 12, 1888.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ “Preparing for War: Naval Officers Volunteer,” *Baltimore Sun*, Dec 13, 1888.

⁸⁴ Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 82.

⁸⁵ “Dredgers Defeated,” *Baltimore Sun*, Dec 12, 1888.

coverage in the Sun not only defined the events, but contextualized them in terms of the legal actions surrounding illegal oyster dredging and predictions on how legal proceedings would go. It also provided a human interest story about Captain Howard himself.

The New York Times covered the action as well. An article entitled “Maryland’s Oyster War” laid out a more colorful account by Captain Howard. Unlike in his correspondence with the Sun, a detailed account of the maneuvers with a political undertone, his message to the Times was more of a story, including a record of dialogue between him and his men. He ended this article by stating he was, “certainly proud of the way my crew acted. Not a man shirked his duty.”⁸⁶

The way this battle was covered is significant because the Oyster Navy was so often on the losing side of the battles. While countless battles where pirates were the victors are scattered throughout the newspapers of the era, none receive more coverage than those rare instances when the Oyster Navy wins. Another reason why this battle saw so much coverage is because it involved noteworthy pirates like Rice, which intrigued the average reader. A comparison of the coverage of the Baltimore Sun and the New York Times exposes how serious these battles were and how interest in the event was interpreted across state lines. In addition, coverage and description of this battle that use “war-like” terms reveal the extent to which the conflict between the Oyster Navy and pirates was a legitimate struggle for access to the natural resources that guaranteed economic gain.

The livelihood of a dredger was not all piracy and adventure; it was an incredibly brutal business. In addition to the high death rate, the work day began at five and ended after dark. There was very little food, and those of the lowest ranks were locked in their barracks, located in the bottom of the ship, so that they would not escape at night.⁸⁷ Many in the industry, both on vessels or in packing houses, developed “oyster hand,” a colloquialism that refers to the infected gashes from the oysters. Because the season included the winter, many crewmen suffered

⁸⁶ “Maryland’s Oyster War,” *The New York Times*, Dec 13, 1888.

⁸⁷ Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 32 and 56.

from frostbite as well.⁸⁸ As the industry found more success, the bottom of the bay was not the only link in the chain to face exploitation. Men and women in the packing houses and out at sea were beginning to face the harsh realities of sustaining an international enterprise.

The Oyster Navy did not do much to protect individuals from inhumane treatment, and part of that may be due to the prejudice that comes from migration in an industrialized state. Many of the crewmen were newly arrived immigrants with a loose understanding of English, but an ambition for the American Dream.⁸⁹ While many enlisted willingly under the false pretenses of “ample food, satisfactory working conditions, and good pay,” too many others were captured and intimidated into service.⁹⁰ As in many other industries, the men on these oyster vessels were considered expendable. After 1881, bad conditions were slowly reported, but it was not until 1884, with the murder of German immigrant Otto Mayher, that the issue was brought to the public’s attention.⁹¹ After taking ill and refusing to work on a cold November night, Mayher was beaten to death by his captain, Captain Williams, and then strung by his thumbs and left to die.⁹² Two witnesses aboard the ship who also happened to be German Immigrants, Fritz Boye and Ferdinand Hause, reported the incident on Christmas Eve 1884 and enlisted German immigrant lawyer Louis P. Hannighausen.⁹³ The trial against Captain Williams was extremely expensive and highly publicized, and he was convicted of second degree murder in a jury deliberation of under an hour.⁹⁴ This case motivated the German Society to warn men of all different immigration groups to steer clear of work on the Chesapeake Bay.⁹⁵

By January 6, 1885, not two weeks after the murder of Mayher was reported, over one thousand German men, predominantly of the dredging profession, gathered in Baltimore to

88 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 58.

89 Ibid, 55.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid, 58.

92 Ibid, 58 and 59.

93 Ibid, 59-61.

94 “Murder in the Second Degree,” *Baltimore Sun*, May 2, 1885.

95 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 61.

form a group to enact justice for Mayher and other nameless men murdered before him.⁹⁶ The Chairman of this new committee, Mr. Bartell, stated in a passionate speech reported by the *Baltimore Sun*, “The blood of the fallen victims cries out to heaven for vengeance. If the waters could speak they would tell of unheard cruelties practiced on the Chesapeake, in our State, in this enlightened 19th century.” He continued: “After much effort they [the state legislature] have made laws for the oyster, let them now make laws for the man.”⁹⁷ The dredgers’ recognition of the brutalities of the industry fall in line with other reform efforts of the era and especially with the writings and popularity of Karl Marx. Nationally, the relegation of immigrants to the most dangerous jobs and the general gaps in wage and standard of living were becoming increasingly obvious during the turn of the century. Because of this, many activists in the working class turned to Marx’s socialism or to interventionism in an effort to gain state intervention and protection.⁹⁸ Although progress for justice was slow, by 1890 captains were legally responsible for the well-being of their employees. Still, the federal government did not intervene in the continued injustice until 1907.⁹⁹

The battles in the bay grew larger, as they became platforms for Marylanders and Virginians to continue age-old feuds. Marylanders believed that Virginian oystermen poached in Maryland’s water and the Virginians thought it the opposite.¹⁰⁰ Maryland’s economy relied a great deal on the oyster trade, whereas the Virginian oyster trade was “about half that of Maryland’s.”¹⁰¹ According to the *Baltimore Sun*, the prosperity of many of the eastern shore towns in Maryland were “almost entirely dependent on the oyster trade, and it is thought to be a great hardship by the men engaged in the business here that while Virginians enjoy all the privileges of oystering in the Potomac with virtually no restrictions.”¹⁰²

96 “A Mass Meeting of Germans,” *Baltimore Sun*, Jan 6, 1885.

97 Ibid.

98 Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era 1890-1920*, Chapter 2 Passim.

99 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 62 and 55.

100 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 46.

101 Plummer, *Maryland’s Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 9.

102 “Disputed Pokomoke,” *Baltimore Sun*, Dec 15, 1883.

The Potomac River, as agreed in the compact over one hundred years earlier, was part of Maryland's domain. The Pocomoke [Nee Pokomoke] Sound was claimed by Virginians. The main issue was that Marylanders believed the Pocomoke was just an extension of the Potomac, and therefore a part of Maryland, while Virginians believed it was a separate body of water that belonged to them. Both states acknowledged a willingness for a bi-state agreement, but consistently failed to agree on the terms.¹⁰³ By 1884, the Virginia Fisheries Police Force, led by Captain William F. Russell, was established, and they performed duties equivalent to that of the Maryland Oyster Navy, resulting in further hostilities.¹⁰⁴

Virginia took matters into its own hands and passed a law that prohibited dredging in the Pocomoke Sound with the consequence of "forfeiture of the vessel, fine, and imprisonment."¹⁰⁵ The location also posed another issue, as the *Baltimore Sun* states: "even now [1884] the most expert of our watermen cannot without any certainty whatever locate the waterline between Virginia and Maryland."¹⁰⁶ Battles between oystermen and police from the opposing state were not uncommon, because, quite plainly, the captains could not be positive which state they were in. Yet the consequences of being in the wrong state were devastating. Punishment for cultivating oysters, dredging or otherwise, promised swift punishment and fines that could exceed profits.¹⁰⁷ Due to the high demand of oysters and the value of those found in the Chesapeake, oystermen and officials in both states were willing to go to extremes for economic gains.

By the latter half of the 19th century, Maryland and Virginia began to take legal action. Maryland and Virginia finally had a boundary agreement in 1878 after years of disputes and a Supreme Court Case, *McCready v. State of Virginia*, two years earlier.¹⁰⁸ According to Virginia's version of the agreement, measurements were taken to create the most "perfect mathematical

accuracy as in the nature of things is possible."¹⁰⁹ While they agreed that the border would be in the middle of the Pocomoke river, with very specific dimensions, this by no means solved the issue. The border was still not clearly marked and many islands and beds continued to be ambiguous. Although a Supreme Court case in the 1890s confirmed Virginian property rights and delineated an "official border," the historical feud was too strong for Maryland to give up what they considered their land.¹¹⁰ In fact, the border is still contested today, in the 21st century. Unfortunately for Maryland, however, consecutive decisions in favor of Virginia marked a negative turning point for the state's oyster industry.

By the 1890s, both the oyster population and industry began to decline. Even though by 1868 there was a common understanding that dredging was damaging the oyster beds, the industry was thriving. Thus, even with the protection of the Oyster Navy, there was limited intervention.¹¹¹ The Navy set out to protect the tongers from the dredgers in terms of their environmental impact. Tongers were significantly less invasive than dredgers, but capitalistic fervor ultimately prevailed over the protection of the oysters' longevity.¹¹² Beds were being exhausted, but many watermen ignored the warnings because there was too much money on the line. It wasn't until the 1870s that the Navy began to take the issue seriously by surveying the waters.¹¹³ In 1889, the oyster harvest was officially plummeting.¹¹⁴ Dr. William Brookes, Director of the Chesapeake Zoological laboratory and professor of Biology at Johns Hopkins at the time, published a paper in 1905 stating "unless prompt and decisive actions is taken, the Chesapeake will go into serious decline," further supporting the argument that the over-use of the bay seriously damaged its natural resources.¹¹⁵

As a result of the Supreme Court cases going against Maryland's favor and the decline of the oyster population, industry itself was struggling in Baltimore. In the 1890s, the oyster

109 Virginia and Maryland Boundary Agreement of 1878, Acts of Assembly, 1877-78 Chapter 246, March 14, 1878.

110 *Wharton v. Wise*, 153 U.S. 155 (1894).

111 "The Oyster Trade of the Chesapeake," *Baltimore Sun*, June 13, 1868.

112 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 38.

113 *Ibid*, 54 and 51.

114 *Ibid*, 87.

115 *Ibid*, 89.

103 *Ibid*.

104 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 84.

Plummer, *Maryland's Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 47.

105 "Oyster War in Virginia," *Baltimore Sun*, Dec 8, 1883.

106 "Oyster Captures in Virginia," *Baltimore Sun*, Jan 04, 1884.

107 Plummer, *Maryland's Oyster Navy: The First Fifty Years*, 9.

108 *McCready v. Virginia*, 94 U.S. 391 (1876).

commission had over 7,000 boats on its tax rolls, but demand far outran supply.¹¹⁶ Despite there being over 32,104 Marylanders involved in the Oyster Industry in 1891, just ten years later “more packing houses on the Chesapeake closed annually than opened.”¹¹⁷ Virginia’s industry was taking a serious downturn as well, despite all of the states legal victories, because of the pure lack of oysters.¹¹⁸

The decline of Baltimore’s industry also corresponded on the national level with the great recessions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, specifically, the Panic of 1893. During this economic catastrophe, 575 banks closed either temporarily or permanently, and the stock market crashed.¹¹⁹ As the worst economic depression of the era, cities all across the country were hit with the harsh realities of modernization. In contrast to national trends, Baltimore could not quite reach demand due to lack of resources. Nationally, however, companies were over producing, leading to a decline in prices and a sustained inflation that lasted from 1897-1914.¹²⁰ In addition to the increasingly barren bay, the financial difficulties that followed the Panic of 1893 were the final tipping point for the decline of the once thriving oyster industry.

While the modernization of Baltimore led to great innovations that advanced the oyster industry, it also encouraged the exploitation of resources and labor that was further intensified by national economic downturns. The intense competition between Maryland and Virginia over the oysters in the Chesapeake Bay fueled old tensions, resulting in violence, legislation, and national intervention. When put together, all of these different elements, which initially expanded Baltimore’s oyster trade and turned it into an industry, led to the Chesapeake Bay Oyster Wars and the eventual downfall of the Baltimore oyster.

While the Chesapeake Bay Oyster Wars officially concluded in the 1960s, the end of the 19th century marked the

116 Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake Bay*, 89 and 29.

117 Ibid, 89 and 90

118 Ibid, 90.

119 Mark Carlson. “Causes of Bank Suspensions in the Panic of 1893.” (*Explorations in Economic History*, January 2005), 57.

120 Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era 1890-1920*, Chapter 3 Passim.

pinnacle of the oyster industry and population. It seems unlikely that the oyster industry or population will ever reach its 19th century peak again. The exploitation of the oysters and the consequential environmental impact of the dredges on the Bay were so destructive, it is unlikely that we will ever again see the bounty of natural resources written about by John Smith. Even now in the 21st century, conservationists are working hard to improve the health of the bay, and Maryland and Virginia still cannot seem to agree on a border. Nevertheless, the Oyster industry put Baltimore on the map as a 19th-century mecca of industrialization where natural resources met innovation. In that way, Baltimore serves as an early case study of how modernization of a city and industry leads to exploitation and its eventual demise.

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Exploring the Hatred of Sound: A Review of Misophonia

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Abstract

Misophonia is a newly discovered psychological disorder in which commonly encountered auditory and visual stimuli evoke debilitating emotional and autonomic reactions in individuals. It involves heightened activity and connectivity between limbic structures such as the insula, prefrontal cortex, cingulate gyrus, hippocampus, and amygdala with audiovisual and motor centers. It develops through classical conditioning of physical and emotional reflexes evoked by sensory stimuli. This paper evaluates misophonia's diagnostic criteria, mode of development, and neural activation and compares qualities of misophonia to similar disorders. Misophonia shares distinct similarities with obsessive compulsive disorder (OCD) that may suggest its inclusion into the OCD spectrum, including qualities of obsessions, compulsive actions, and neural activation in the prefrontal cortex, amygdala, and cingulate cortex. Proposed avenues for research include investigation into misophonia's early development via mutated genes driving altered cortical connectivity and determining if the insula's premotor cortex connection involves basal ganglia as in OCD.

Overview

Misophonia is characterized by physical and emotional aversion to selective audiovisual stimuli, which are known as triggers. The triggers are typically encountered on a daily basis, mainly are of human origin, and are attributed low salience by other individuals. In immediate response to the trigger, those with misophonia experience an unnoticeable physical reflex. After a period of exposure, there is autonomic nervous system activation accompanying a prominent emotional response that ranges from mild anxiety to extreme rage (see **Figure 1**). The emotional and physical reactions drive avoidant behaviors and psychological responses that are extremely obtrusive and functionally impairing in virtually every social situation where triggers can be easily encountered.

Aspects of misophonia that will be explored include a review of the symptoms, cortical areas involved, and mode of development. Current therapy options will be discussed in terms of their present and future effectiveness. Related disorders will be evaluated in terms of their symptoms, cortical activation, and neural connectivity in order to draw direct comparisons to misophonia. Directions for further research into aspects of misophonia will be suggested.

Introduction

Misophonic triggers vary by person, but the most frequently reported auditory triggers include gum popping, chewing, sniffing, breathing, pen clicking, clock ticking, whistling, lip smacking, and finger or foot tapping⁵. Common visual triggers are specific and often repetitive movements, such as fingers pointing, legs swinging, and hair twirling⁵. The physical reflex can present as pressure in the chest, arms, head, or entire body as well as clenched, tightened, and tense muscles¹³. Emotional responses include anxiety, panic, anger, irritation, and rage,¹³ with the notable exception of fear. Accompanying the emotional reactions are physical responses characteristic of autonomic nervous system

activation, including increased blood pressure, heart rate, body temperature, sweaty palms, physical pain, and rapid breathing¹³.

Once in contact with a trigger, the negative emotional and physiological responses significantly interfere with daily functioning and productivity. Patients commonly display avoidant behaviors to cope with their distress, such as turning the face away from the source of visual stimuli, putting in headphones to block out noise, or quietly leaving the room for a period of time to escape contact with the trigger. Mimicry is another commonly reported coping mechanism.

If one is unable to avoid or escape the trigger, this will intensify the desire to stop the source, as the trigger causes increasing levels of anxiety and/or anger²¹. Patients commonly report feeling offended or violated to the point where negative thoughts of hatred or wanting to inflict bodily or emotional harm upon the person producing the trigger may enter their minds¹³. This can then cause outbursts of rage or crying that lead sufferers to escape the situation. For the majority of sufferers, the intense need to avoid and stop the triggers is debilitating. In many cases, misophonia leads to the inability to go out in public, enjoy interactions with friends and family, and achieve daily life goals due to the commonplace and unavoidable nature of the trigger stimuli and disproportionate severity of emotional distress. Thus, misophonics experience significant impairment across school, work, family, and social domains⁵.

Context plays a crucial role in evoking a misophonic response in an individual when presented with a stimulus, as emotional and physical responses can be modulated by prior knowledge, context, and sound source¹³. For example, if a misophonic hears a noise and does not know the source, there may be no reaction; if he realizes it is coming from a specific source (such as a person) he may then begin to respond adversely. Some individuals report that their trigger noises, if produced by an animal or a baby, will not evoke a reaction because animals and babies are seen as innocent or helpless; however, an adult human producing the same trigger evokes an aversive reaction. Self-produced triggers will not create an aversive response compared to when produced by

others, and if the trigger is produced by a person one knows well or is in contact with frequently, the response can be exacerbated¹³. These characteristics imply that misophonia is not driven simply by the physical properties of trigger alone¹³. In addition, anticipation of contacting the trigger is enough to cause a misophonic reaction as the individual knows he is about to experience physical and mental distress. Those with misophonia also are aware of the disproportionate nature of their feelings and reactions as they have intense negative reactions to commonly ignorable stimuli. However, this understanding does not change or prevent the response⁵.

The extent of misophonia's prevalence is not quantitatively known, but research suggests it may not be a rare condition. A study that included a nonclinical sample of 483 undergraduate students found that 19.9% experienced clinically significant auditory misophonia symptoms⁴⁷. There are several small online support communities, such as the Misophonia Support Group on Facebook, which has over 17,000 followers. Despite the socially impairing nature and suggested prevalence of this condition, it remains relatively underexplored, leaving researchers with many questions still unanswered and those suffering without adequate support.

Neural Basis

Misophonia is the result of over-activity and overconnectivity between the audiovisual, autonomic, and limbic systems⁵. The limbic system controls emotion, motivation, memory, and autonomic functions such as heart rate and blood pressure³¹. In a 2017 fMRI study on 20 misophonic participants, Kumar et al. (2017) found abnormal functional connectivity between areas of the limbic system, including the insula, prefrontal cortex, cingulate gyrus (posteromedial cortex), hippocampus, and amygdala²¹. Kumar et al. (2017) also saw increased blood-oxygen-level-dependent responses in the anterior insular cortex and heightened heart rate and galvanic skin response mediated by anterior insula activity with presentation of an auditory trigger²¹. The insula is a path for somatosensory, auditory, gustatory, olfactory, and visceral

sensations to reach the limbic system through connections with the amygdala²⁵, which controls emotional memory and responses such as anxiety, anger, fear conditioning³¹. The anterior insula is major node of a salience network that integrates external sensory information with internal emotional and bodily state signals⁴⁴. It is crucial in mediating the stimulus-driven, bottom-up control of attention⁴⁴ and helps integrate internal states with motor responses via connections with other limbic and premotor areas²⁵.

Kumar et al. (2017) also found greater myelination within ventromedial prefrontal cortex²¹. The ventromedial prefrontal cortex helps regulate social and emotional behavior and is involved in basic aspects of orienting attention to socially and emotionally salient stimuli⁴⁶.

The posteromedial cortex consists of the posterior cingulate cortex, precuneus, and retrosplenial cortex. The posterior cingulate and medial prefrontal cortex are part of the default mode network, which is activated during internally directed thoughts and memory retrieval²¹. These two regions increase activity during self-referencing mental activity driven by the posterior cingulate and regulated by the medial prefrontal cortex⁷ via connections to the amygdala. Alongside functioning in memory retrieval²², the posterior cingulate also is involved in controlling external attentional focus. The precuneus is important in social cognition, introspective processing, and associative memory²⁰. The retrosplenial cortex binds together multiple cues in the environment and contributes incoming sensory information to the hippocampus (involved in memory formation³¹), so it is important for the storage and retrieval of spatial and contextual memories⁴³.

The results of the Kumar et al. (2017) study, though using a limited sample, conclude misophonia is a disorder in which abnormal salience and processing is given to stimuli based on activation and functional connectivity of the limbic system²¹. It could be that those affected are not able to disengage the anterior insula from the cingulate gyrus, and alongside mediation from the prefrontal cortex, this would cause typically non-salient sensory stimuli to be acknowledged, integrated with aberrant internal bodily, emotional perception, and motor activities, and stored a

contextually based associative memory.

Development

Dozier, in a 2015 study, proposed that misophonia develops as a physical and emotional reflex through Pavlovian conditioning⁹. This study concludes that misophonia is a two-step reaction where a trigger elicits an aversive conditioned physical reflex which then subsequently elicits an emotion by the sensation of the physical muscle movement⁹. This is supported by observing that a large majority of the participants identified an immediate physical reflex response to a weak trigger stimulus, which was independent of the emotional response. The physical reflex can take place in any one or multiple skeletal muscles, such as contractions of the shoulders, arms, legs, toes, abdomen, jaw, or hands¹⁰. The reflex could even consist of internal responses such as esophagus, stomach, or intestine constriction, sexual sensation, nausea, or the urge to urinate¹⁰. Dozier and Morrison's 2017 study of 27 participants confirmed these reflexive responses and their occurrence for both auditory and visual triggers¹².

As classical conditioning is the source of the emotional response, Dozier's 2015 study proposes that new misophonic triggers are developed by pairing a neutral stimulus with an established trigger stimulus⁹. Conditioning explains the commonly reported worsening of misophonic reactions and lack of active extinction over time, as multiple stimulus presentations cause increased muscle contraction, pairing the trigger with a stronger conditioned physical reflex⁹. This also explains why exposure therapy or attempted toleration of triggers often worsen the misophonic response⁹.

In addition to classical conditioning, a number of studies have also suggested genetic component as multiple patients have self-reported family members experiencing symptoms. Sanchez' 2017 study details a 15-person family all displaying symptoms³⁶, and Edelstein et al.'s 2013 study of eleven patients had six participants claim it ran in the family¹³. Notably, Rouw and Erfanian's 2017 study of over three hundred participants through

online surveys, indicated that approximately one third had family members with misophonic symptoms³⁵.

Diagnostic Criteria

There are no standardized diagnostic criteria for misophonia, but criteria have been developed based on available literature and the characteristics of studies conducted in recent years. Dozier et al. proposed the following revised criteria in 2017 based on Schroder et al.'s criteria from 2013 (quoted in full)³⁷:

- A. The presence or anticipation of a specific sensory experience such as a sound, sight, or other stimulus (e.g., eating sounds, breathing sounds, machine sounds, leg movement, vibration), provokes an impulsive, aversive physical and emotional response which typically begins with irritation or disgust that quickly becomes anger.
 - a. Although auditory and visual stimuli are the most common, the stimulus can be in any sensory modality.
 - b. The stimulus is a conditioned stimulus, excluding those responses in which the stimulus is unconditioned, eliciting an unconditioned physiological response (i.e., excluding sensory over-responsiveness or sensory processing disorder).
 - c. Where a single occurrence or a small number of stimuli instances cause the default response.
 - d. Where a minimal intensity instance of the stimulus will elicit the default response (e.g., low volume baby crying or quiet breathing). If a high intensity instance of the stimulus is necessary to elicit the response, then it does not support the diagnosis of misophonia, especially if the stimulus is uncomfortably loud or startling.
- B. The stimulus elicits an immediate physical reflex response (skeletal or internal muscle action, sexual response, warmth, pain, or other physical sensation). Note the physical response cannot always be identified, but the

presence of an immediate physical response may be used to more clearly identify the condition as misophonia.

- C. A moderate duration of the stimulus (e.g., 15 s) elicits general physiological arousal (e.g., sweating, increased heart rate, muscle tension).
- D. Dysregulation of thoughts and emotions, with rare but potentially aggressive outbursts. Aggressive outbursts may be frequent in children.
- E. The negative emotional experience is later recognized as excessive, unreasonable, or disproportionate to the circumstances or the provoking stressor.
- F. The individual tends to avoid the misophonic situation, or if he/she does not avoid it, endures the misophonic stimulus situation with discomfort or distress.
- G. The individual's emotional and physical experience, avoidance, and efforts to avoid cause significant distress or significant interference in the person's life. For example, it is difficult for the person to perform tasks at work, attend classes, participate in routine activities, or interact with specific individuals¹¹.

Assessments

There are a small number of unstandardized assessments used to qualify aspects of misophonia in study participants, though the ones presently used have been developed by different individuals adapted to their individual understandings of the disorder. The Misophonia Assessment Questionnaire (MAQ; **Figure 2**) contains 21 questions on the negative impact of misophonia on activities, thoughts, and feelings⁸. Each question is given a score of 0-3, with a total score of 0-21 considered mild misophonia, 22-42 considered moderate, and 43-63 considered severe⁸. The Misophonia Coping Responses (MCR) survey (**Figure 3**) rates the frequency of engaged behaviors after a trigger such as covering ears, outbursts of anger, or physical violence rated on the same 0-3 scale.

Other assessments include the Misophonia Trigger Severity

(MTS) scale, which rates the physical and emotional activation to a trigger on levels 0-108, the Misophonia Activation Scale (MAS-1), which measures the severity of emotional responses¹⁰, the Misophonia Physical Sensation Scale (MPRS), which describes the different physical responses¹⁰, and the Amsterdam Misophonia Scale (A-MISO-S), which indicates the severity of symptoms by rating 0-535.

Therapies

Counterconditioning therapy is a proposed treatment where a positive stimulus is paired with the conditioned trigger to extinguish the conditioned reflex⁸. Dozier (2015) conducted a trial on one woman with multiple triggers, where a positive emotional/physiological state was created by positive stimulus application, which was paired to intermittently delivered negative stimuli⁸. This allowed extinction of the trigger eliciting the aversive misophonic response⁸. After eight weeks, the patient reported a decrease in misophonia's overall negative impact on her life measured by MAQ scores, a decrease in the strength of the physical muscle reflex, and reduced emotional responses⁸. Counterconditioning reduced the negative impact of misophonia on her activities, thoughts, and feelings, and was effective in reducing the effects of both visual and auditory triggers⁸.

Tinnitus Retraining Therapy (TRT) is also based on the concept of extinction of reflexes and was proposed because tinnitus and misophonia both develop through conditioning¹⁸. TRT aims to alter the mechanisms that transfer the signal (internal for tinnitus, external for misophonia) from the auditory cortex to the limbic and autonomic systems to remove reflex reactions¹⁸. It consists of counseling to reclassify triggers to be neutral stimuli, and sound therapy to decrease the strength of the signal¹⁸. A treatment study of 167 misophonic patients using modified TRT found an 83% success rate¹⁷, though TRT may not work to extinguish every trigger-induced reflex in misophonia as some triggers involve visual stimuli.

Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) aims to challenge

dysfunctional thoughts, interrupt maladaptive coping strategies, and alter autonomic activation². Bernstein et al.'s 2013 study of one woman showed successful reduction of misophonic response using CBT, as at the end of treatment she showed no social impairment though still found the triggers unpleasant². McGuire et al.'s 2015 trial on two youths using CBT also showed reduction in symptoms and life impairment²³. Schroder and colleagues conducted a trial on 90 patients using 8 bi-weekly group sessions and resulted in 48% showing reduction in symptoms as reported by A-MISO-S38.

Dialectical behavior therapy (DBT) may be more appropriate for those with intense rage responses, as it focuses on acceptance of one's anger¹⁹. In a study of one youth, treatment concentrated on mindfulness of rage through learning distress tolerance¹⁹. There was a focus on alternative responses to anger and reducing behavioral urges to become verbally and physically aggressive¹⁹. At the end of treatment, the patient's symptoms reduced from extreme to moderate by A-MISO-S and severe to mild by MAQ scores¹⁹.

Counterconditioning therapy and TRT could prove effective in extinguishing the conditioned reflexes that drive misophonia, while CBT and DBT may be effective at providing ways for individuals to manage their varying emotional disturbances and coping responses. The usage of counterconditioning or TRT in conjunction with CBT or DBT could prove to have the most benefit on treating individual cases of misophonia as this would entail targeted extinction of conditioned reflexes alongside teaching of ways to avoid coping mechanisms and manage distress when experiencing triggers.

Related Disorders

It has been proposed that misophonia be defined as its own distinct disorder, as it does not meet any of the criteria listed in DSM-V, and it has noticeable differences from other commonly related disorders such as tinnitus, Tourette syndrome, post traumatic stress disorder, synesthesia, and OCD. It has also been proposed to define misophonia under the umbrella of another disorder due to

striking comparisons that exist in development, cortical activation, or diagnostic symptoms.

Tinnitus

Tinnitus is the phantom perception of sound without vibration in the cochlea resulting from neuronal activity called the tinnitus signal¹⁸. It is typically the perception of ringing, either constantly or intermittently, and at varying volumes. For some, the ringing is a low enough volume to ignore or drown out with white noise, but for others the ringing is always present at louder volumes and can become emotionally disturbing. The perception of tinnitus is not the cause of emotional disturbance, but rather the induced reactions through the limbic and autonomic systems by the tinnitus signal¹⁸. The strength of the signal determines if it is bothersome or just present, and if bothersome the limbic and autonomic systems become involved to create the emotional and behavioral responses²⁴. This causes anxiety, trouble concentrating, panic attacks, and decreased enjoyment of daily life¹⁸. Using fMRI studies, Husain and Schmidt found increased correlation between limbic areas, attention-processing regions, and other parts of the brain¹⁶. This includes connectivity between the auditory cortices and the amygdala, and alterations in resting state activity and connectivity between the dorsal medial prefrontal cortex and the auditory system¹⁶.

The main point of comparison between tinnitus and misophonia is the perception of an auditory stimulus that then causes emotional distress due to increased functional connectivity between the amygdala, autonomic systems, medial prefrontal cortex, and auditory networks. The commonality in functional connectivity to the prefrontal cortex explains why, in both disorders, aberrant salience is attributed to the respective auditory stimuli, and connections to the amygdala create the integrated intense emotional responses in both.

Both disorders have been proposed to develop as conditioned reflexes, which relate to sustained connections between the auditory, limbic, and autonomic systems¹⁸. Jastreboff and

Jastreboff explain that these conditioned reflexes link sensory stimuli with a reaction if the sensory stimuli and reinforcement occur at the same time¹⁸. For tinnitus, experiencing the signal while being at a high-level negative emotional/autonomic state automatically creates the initial reflex arc¹⁸. This reflex strengthens as the signal and reinforcement (reactions of the limbic and autonomic nervous systems) are continuously present¹⁸. This is the same self-reinforcing principle with misophonia, however misophonia consists of audiovisual stimuli that causes a conditioned physical reflex, which then is linked with an emotional state. Because the emotional distress in both disorders is caused by a conditioned reflex, tinnitus retraining therapy has been found to be effective for misophonic patients in extinguishing the conditioned reflex arc.

The key difference between tinnitus and misophonia in the initial signal, as tinnitus is internally generated while misophonia has an external cause. In addition, misophonia includes emotional disturbance caused by visual stimuli, while with tinnitus it is purely of auditory nature. Tinnitus also notably does not consist of a physical reflex, does not show functional connectivity involving the insula - explaining why external stimuli are not integrated with one's emotional state, but rather internally generated stimuli - or show activation of the cingulate gyrus.

Tourette Syndrome

Tourette syndrome (TS) is a disorder characterized by the expression of repetitive movements or vocalizations known as tics to alleviate uncomfortable premonitory urges⁴². Patients also commonly report increased sensitivity to touch and bodily sensations⁴². Twin studies have indicated that genetics contribute to its development²⁸.

Neural areas involved in TS include the sensorimotor cortex, thalamus, basal ganglia, and insula⁴². Tics are associated with excess dopamine release, causing basal ganglia malfunction and abnormal activity of the basal ganglia-thalamo-cortical circuit⁴. Using fMRI, Tinaz and colleagues observed resting state functional

connectivity between sensorimotor cortex and anterior insula⁴². This explains the link between the sensory and emotional premonitory urges⁶, and increased tactile sensation to the creation of urges and motor tics due to the insula's role alongside the amygdala in integrating sensory information with emotional state.

The similarities between misophonia and TS include a physical action produced in response to an uncomfortable sensory event. For misophonia, it is the immediate conditioned physical reaction to the trigger stimuli which then conditions and reinforces the emotional response. However, in Tourette syndrome the premonitory urge (emotional state) precedes the tic (physical reaction). Both involve anterior insula activation, whose role is central in integrating external stimuli with internal states and emotions. The insula may be responsible for heightened awareness of bodily sensations in both, creating premonitory urges in TS⁴¹ and the physical and emotional reactions in misophonia via connections from the sensorimotor cortex to the limbic system. However, the expression of tics in TS are mainly attributed to basal ganglia malfunction, as it is imperative in inhibiting movement. The basal ganglia is not currently a structure that has been found to be involved in the misophonic response. Tourette syndrome also does not involve responses to external sensory stimuli or cingulate gyrus activity, creative associative memory between stimuli, or emotional/bodily states.

Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

Post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is an anxiety disorder that develops after experiencing or witnessing a traumatic event³⁹. It involves impaired memory and functional changes in brain areas related to declarative memory and emotion regulation⁴⁰. Key characteristics are intrusive memories (flashbacks, nightmares) and psychogenic amnesia, which can impair personal and social functioning⁴⁰. Re-experiencing of the traumatic event is related to fear conditioning, while anxiety and hyperarousal without trauma-related cues reflect nervous system sensitization³⁰. Pitman and colleagues suggest PTSD is associated with the inability to

maintain extinction learning of an acquired fear response and state that alterations in fear conditioning, extinction learning, extinction retention, and sensitization are likely involved in the development and/or maintenance of PTSD³⁰.

Based on the fear conditioning model, Thomaes and colleagues characterize PTSD by an exaggerated blood oxygen level (BOLD) response of the amygdala to threat-related cues⁴⁰. BOLD responses were increased and decreased in areas of the prefrontal cortex, orbitofrontal cortex and anterior cingulate cortex, areas associated with encoding then extinguishing fear conditioning and diverting attention from trauma-related stimuli⁴⁰. There was increased BOLD activity in the hippocampus associated with contextualizing and remembering fear responses, and decreased BOLD activity in the hippocampus associated with fear conditioned memory impairment⁴⁰.

Both misophonia and PTSD include activity changes in the cingulate cortex, prefrontal cortex, amygdala, and hippocampus and both consist of conditioned responses that are self-reinforcing. However, PTSD is a conditioned fear response without a physical reflex while misophonia is a conditioned physical reflex coupled with an anxiety and/or anger response that noticeably lacks fear. PTSD is triggered by a traumatic experience and involves the formation and subsequent impairment of memory, while the conditioning of a misophonic trigger does not need a traumatic experience, and there is no memory extinction. Misophonia's major involvement with anterior insula activity means it involves stimulus driven bottom-up processing, while PTSD involves situationally driven top-down processing.

Synesthesia

Synesthesia is a condition where a sensory experience in one dimension creates involuntary sensation in another dimension not commonly associated with it. Most synesthetic inducers are conceptual stimuli such as numbers, letters, and months. There are multiple synesthesia phenotypes¹ involving different sensory areas activated during the sensory process³⁴. Synesthesia differs from simple

associations between concepts only made at a conceptual level because synesthetic associations are actually perceptual in nature³⁴. Experiences are involuntarily triggered by the stimulus (the inducer) and consistent over time in an individual³³.

In a 2011 study, Rouw and colleagues suggest that the networks of brain areas that underlie synesthesia are related to three different synesthetic cognitive processes; the sensory processes involves the occipitotemporal lobe, the attentional binding of inducer to concurrent involves the parietal lobe and insula, and cognitive control is influenced by areas of the frontal lobe³⁴. The study found activation in the occipitotemporal cortex and the concurrent sensory lobe, activation in posterior parietal lobules as the binding component, and activation in bilateral insula related to converting external stimuli to different internal stimuli alongside emotional qualities³⁴. They also described cross-activation between inducer and concurrent sensory areas mediated by functional connectivity³⁴.

Rouw and colleagues explain how genetic and familial studies suggest that synesthetes display neuronal differences from birth³⁴. These are the result of mutations in genes controlling connectivity between cortical regions, which leads to synesthetic predisposition due to alterations in axonal growth, border formation, and synaptic pruning that create connections between areas involved in the synesthetic phenotype³⁴. Though genetic predisposition enables making the synesthetic associations through these processes, particular synesthetic associations develop through environmental interactions during development³⁴. The associations are ingrained through structural and functional changes in connectivity to create the concurrent experiences³⁴.

Misophonia shares many similarities with synesthesia. Both include top-down processing where stimulus-driven sensory experiences activate another area of the brain not commonly associated with that sensory modality, frontal lobe control mediating attention, and attention-based binding of sense and emotion by insular and amygdala involvement. However, misophonia involves cingulate gyrus activity for the formation of contextual associative memory and autonomic activation, which

has not been reported in synesthetic experiences. Additionally, synesthetic experiences are not seen to be aversive reactions to the debilitating level that misophonic responses are. There have been reports of phenotypes of emotionally mediated synesthesia, such as tactile-emotion³² and color-emotion⁴⁵, that may prove promising to investigate further in the link to misophonia.

Obsessive Compulsive Disorder

Obsessive Compulsive Disorder (OCD) is characterized by obsessions (intrusive, persistent and inappropriate thoughts, urges, or images) and compulsions (repetitive or ritualistic behaviors or mental acts) performed to reduce anxiety caused by obsessions²⁶. DSM IV-TR defines the disorder by the “presence of obsessions and compulsions that are time consuming, cause distress, and cause functional impairment”¹⁵. Those affected also have difficulty shifting attention away from obsessions and compulsions¹⁴. Preceding or accompanying behaviors in OCD can be bodily sensations (including tactile, musculoskeletal, or visceral discomfort), mental urges, and inner tension, and there may also be perceptions such as clothes or certain things feeling different, or not right¹⁵. People with OCD recognize that their responses are excessive, but they are unable to resist engaging²⁷. Because the obsessions are intrusive and persistent, and the behaviors enacted are compulsively done to alleviate emotional distress, OCD is recognized as one of the most socially and academically debilitating conditions²⁷.

OCD has been conceptualized within the cortico-striato-thalamo-cortical model, where the frontal lobe projects to the striatum (part of basal ganglia), to the thalamus, and back to the frontal lobe²⁶. Moreira and colleagues found increased activity in the basal ganglia, orbitofrontal cortex, and anterior cingulate cortex²⁶, which implies the linkage of increased awareness of external stimuli to internal bodily states, and motor activities carried out to alleviate distress. Aberrant connectivity between amygdala and prefrontal cortex could be involved in the altered processing of stimuli and emotional regulation²⁹.

OCD and misophonia both demonstrate aberrant salience for stimuli integrated with negative emotional and bodily states, activation in the amygdala, prefrontal cortex, and cingulate cortex, and physical responses to stimuli. Sufferers notably share the same quality of intense emotional distress and social impairment due to hyper-fixation on certain stimuli or environmental cues, and they both have motor responses conditioned in response to this distress. The shared quality of aberrant salience attributed to certain stimuli is related to frontal cortex activity, while associative memory between contextual cues and physical/emotional state is implied to be related to prefrontal and cingulate cortex activity.

For OCD, the emotional state that occurs along with the obsession predates the physical action (compulsive behavior), while for misophonia the physical action (conditioned reflex) mostly predates the negative emotional state (emotional reflex). Insular activity is not reported to be present in OCD, which is important in misophonia for integrating sensory information with emotional and motor responses. Striatum related compulsive actions seen in OCD, that are carried out to alleviate the emotional distress related to the obsession, are not presently reported in misophonia, though an underexplored connection between the motor cortex and insula exists.

Conclusions and Suggested Research

Many studies conducted on misophonia have evaluated patients with both auditory and movement-based visual triggers, yet have minimally acknowledged the visual aspect. fMRI studies have found connectivity and activity differences in misophonic brains based on presentation of auditory stimuli, but it must be confirmed if presentation of visual stimuli evokes the same neural activation as auditory triggers so that misophonia can continue to be defined as including aversive responses to sounds and movement. If so, assessments should be expanded to include movement-based terminology and a different name should be considered based on the fact that it is not only auditory stimuli that evoke a reaction (since misophonia means ‘hatred of sound’).

Sample sizes in studies on both neural activation and characterization of symptoms should increase, and be more tightly controlled by excluding patients with comorbid disorders in order to conclusively evaluate the symptoms and functional/structural differences that are specific to misophonia, both for auditory and visual stimuli. In addition, wide-scale assessments should be conducted to determine the prevalence of the condition.

TRT, CBT, and DBT should be expanded to trials on those with movement-based visual triggers to evaluate their effectiveness with modifications if necessary. Larger samples should be evaluated using each therapy separately, or in conjunction, with one another to fully determine the impacts, and it is suggested that counterconditioning/TRT be used in conjunction with CBT/DBT, which may prove the most beneficial.

Though presently considered a unique condition, misophonia displays important commonalities with a number of disorders. Synesthesia and misophonia share activation in sensory lobes, frontal lobe, insula, and amygdala causing sensory stimuli to be integrated with other sensory modalities, or emotions and bodily state. OCD and misophonia are comparable in their shared activation in prefrontal cortex, amygdala, and cingulate cortex, causing attention-based associative binding of stimuli, emotional distress, and motor responses to stimuli.

In order to draw more complete comparisons, the genetic component of misophonia should be further explored, specifically by investigation into the mutations that drive abnormal cortical connectivity seen in synesthetes, to confirm if misophonia could be a developmental condition similar to synesthesia. Misophonia may be similar to synesthesia, in that genetic predisposition underlies developing misophonic associations, similar to how genetic predisposition enables making synesthetic associations via alterations in developmental cortical connections. Emotional synesthetic phenotypes should also be further researched to draw more distinct comparisons to misophonia, to rule it out as an emotional-based synesthesia.

The conditioned physical responses and the relation of this to insular premotor cortex connections should be further

characterized. It must be determined if there is activation or functional connectivity in the basal ganglia or striatum similar to OCD, as striatum control could relate to common coping mechanisms seen in misophonia to deal with emotional distress and the initial physical reflex. This could serve as a stronger link to OCD.

Based on the present degree of similarity between OCD and misophonia, it is suggested that misophonia should be considered as a subset of OCD, related to obsessions with or inability to direct attention away from certain sounds and movements produced by other people. The bodily sensations and compulsive behaviors enacted in OCD are mirrored in misophonia by both the conditioned physical reflex and the uncontrollable urge to stop or escape the trigger. Both disorders show persistent emotional and autonomic distress in the event of not carrying out compulsive urges. In any manner, further investigation into misophonia and its link to OCD and other conditions such as synesthesia is strongly encouraged for the consideration of the debilitating distress endured by thousands of patients each day, in the hope of determining impactful solutions.

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Appendix

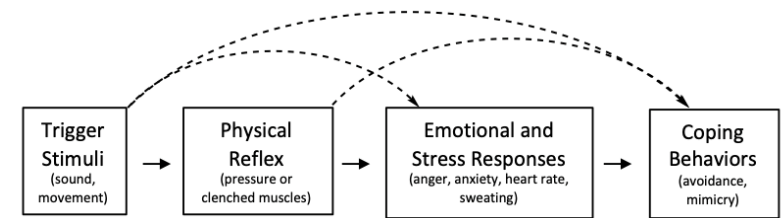


Figure 1. The proposed components of the misophonic response. Adapted from Dozier 2015c¹⁰.

1. My sound issues currently make me unhappy.	0	1	2	3
2. My sound issues currently create problems for me.	0	1	2	3
3. My sound issues have recently made me feel angry.	0	1	2	3
4. I feel that no one understands my problems with certain sounds.	0	1	2	3
5. My sound issues do not seem to have a known cause.	0	1	2	3
6. My sound issues currently make me feel helpless.	0	1	2	3
7. My sound issues currently interfere with my social life.	0	1	2	3
8. My sound issues currently make me feel isolated.	0	1	2	3
9. My sound issues have recently created problems for me in groups.	0	1	2	3
10. My sound issues negatively affect my work/school life (currently or recently).	0	1	2	3
11. My sound issues make me feel frustrated.	0	1	2	3
12. My sound issues affect my entire life negatively.	0	1	2	3
13. My sound issues have recently made me feel guilty.	0	1	2	3
14. My sound issues are classified as "annoy."	0	1	2	3
15. I feel that no one can help me with my sound issues.	0	1	2	3
16. My sound issues currently make me feel hopeless.	0	1	2	3
17. I feel that my sound issues will only get worse with time.	0	1	2	3
18. My sound issues currently affect my family relationships.	0	1	2	3
19. My sound issues have recently affected my ability to be with other people.	0	1	2	3
20. My sound issues have not been recognized as legitimate.	0	1	2	3
21. I am worried that my whole life will be affected by sound issues.	0	1	2	3

Figure 2. Misophonia Assessment Questionnaire. 0 = not at all, 1 = a little of the time, 2 = a good deal of the time, and 3 = almost all the time.

Adapted from Dozier 2015a⁸.

1. You hear a known trigger sound. You may dislike the sound but you feel no physical sensation.	0	1	2	3
2. You hear a trigger sound and feel annoyed or upset, but no coping response.	0	1	2	3
3. Facial or bodily responses that show you are annoyed.	0	1	2	3
4. Facial or bodily responses that show you are upset.	0	1	2	3
5. You turn away or cover your eyes so you do not see the person.	0	1	2	3
6. Put on headphones.	0	1	2	3
7. Calmly move away from the sound.	0	1	2	3
8. Discreetly cover one or both ears.	0	1	2	3
9. Mimic the person who makes the trigger sound.	0	1	2	3
10. Repeat words or sounds.	0	1	2	3
11. Overtly cover your ears.	0	1	2	3
12. Nicely ask the person to stop making the sound.	0	1	2	3
13. Sternly or harshly ask the person to stop making the sound.	0	1	2	3
14. Tell/order the person to stop making the sound.	0	1	2	3
15. You push, poke, shove, etc. the person making the sound.	0	1	2	3
16. You verbally snap at the person making the sound.	0	1	2	3
17. Leave the room after attempting to tolerate the sound.	0	1	2	3
18. Immediately leave the room to escape the sound.	0	1	2	3
19. Verbally assault the person making the noise.	0	1	2	3
20. Scream or cry loudly.	0	1	2	3
21. Actual use of physical violence on another person, animal, or self.	0	1	2	3

Figure 3. Misophonia Coping Response Survey. 0 = not at all, 1 = a little of the time, 2 = a good deal of the time, and 3 = almost all the time.

Adapted from Dozier 2015a⁸.

**Unquiet Comparisons: Representations of Queen Elizabeth I
during Queen Victoria's Reign (1837-1901)**

Maxxe Albert-Deitch (CLA 2021)

Abstract

Queen Victoria made a point of differentiating herself from Elizabeth I, her most immediate predecessor as an English queen regnant. Though their times in power were separated by nearly two hundred years, representations and iconography of Elizabeth had far from vanished by the time Victoria's reign came around. Unable or unwilling to directly comment on Victoria's reign, some artists instead turned to the subject matter of Elizabeth's reign, using images of the deceased queen to indicate sentiments regarding Victoria. Primary source analysis and new research makes it clear that artistic renderings of Elizabeth served as commentary on Victoria's reign, allowing for expression of opinions on the state of the monarchy without being so overt as to risk controversy. Portraits of Elizabeth in a positive light frequently represented public support for a female ruler. Much of the art showing Elizabeth, including portraits that were literally painted over, portraits of Elizabeth in queenly glory, and portraits of a queen's command over the glory of Britain, reveal a shift towards public support for Victoria as well as support for a female monarchy.

Queen Victoria made a point of differentiating herself from Queen Elizabeth I, her most immediate predecessor as an English queen regnant. Though their times in power were separated by nearly two hundred years, representations and iconography of Elizabeth had far from vanished by 1837, when Victoria's reign began. Her rule was controversial for a number of reasons: not only was she female and thus going against the tradition of male monarchs, she was also eighteen and had spent much of her childhood cloistered away in a faraway castle with her mother.

When she arrived at court after her grandfather's (the king's) death, she was not accustomed to the rules of the court and was thrown directly into a series of contentious political situations. Every eye was on her, and many royals were watching for any weakness, hoping to gain some power should the young queen show any sign of failure. The result of the unstable environment around Victoria meant that she had to be very careful about how she comported herself, a fact of which she became aware as she grew used to the rules of propriety relating to the court and to society.

Given the risk involved in depicting Victoria in any way that she might find displeasing, or else upsetting the royals who did not support her but might have helped to pad the paycheck of popular portrait painters, some artists instead turned to the subject matter of Queen Elizabeth I. Switching their subject matter to a different female monarch allowed artists to use images of the deceased queen to indicate sentiments regarding Victoria. Primary source analysis and new research makes it clear that artistic renderings of Elizabeth served as commentary throughout Victoria's reign, frequently representing public support for a female ruler. Much of the art showing Elizabeth— including portraits that were literally painted over, portraits of Elizabeth in queenly glory, and portraits of a queen's command over the glory of Britain— can be interpreted as a shift towards public support for Victoria as well as support for a female monarchy.

Elizabeth's reign, reputation, and public image were well-known during her life, and her popularity lasted well after her death. That said, she had fallen somewhat out of fashion by the nineteenth century— or she would have, had Queen Victoria not

come along.¹ Victoria was young, as Elizabeth had been. She was female, as Elizabeth had been. And she began her reign amongst rumors and controversy, as Elizabeth once did. Elizabeth's two main obstacles were that she was young, female, and following the somewhat bloody and extreme legacies that the rest of her family had left behind. Victoria was all of these things and more. Not only was she young, untested, and quite literally too small for her throne, Victoria's direct predecessors had raised some eyebrows in the court with their spending habits. Some of Victoria's first choices as a ruler—including the fact that she preferred to consult her male counsel and advisors one-on-one rather than asking her ladies' maids for advice—led to court gossip regarding promiscuity. As much as Victoria made a point of differentiating herself from Elizabeth, the populace of England could not help but make comparisons—and thus artistic representations of Elizabeth crept back into popularity over the course of Victoria's rule.²

In addition to victories for the nation, both women managed to turn back the tide of resentment against their families. Elizabeth fought for the reputation of the Tudor name following the years of suffering and religious intolerance under her half-sister Mary's rule, but she also had to overcome the pushback against the Tudor family as a whole, after the years of dysfunction associated with her father, King Henry VIII.³ Later, Victoria also fought for the reputation of her family—her grandfather and uncles had garnered quite a reputation for their extravagant expenditures, not to mention political failures. She took the throne directly following King William IV, who spent most of his reign dealing with intense criticism for his reforms—both that some went too far, and others did not go far enough.⁴ William's reign ended with a general feeling of discontent towards the monarchy, the fallout of which would color the early years of Victoria's reign.

It is also worth noting that both queens were responsible

1 Carole Levin and Patricia Ann Sullivan. *Political Rhetoric, Power, and Renaissance Women*, State Univ of New York, 1995, 90

2 Baird, Julia. *Victoria The Queen: An Intimate Biography of the Woman Who Ruled an Empire*. First edition. New York: Random House, 2016.

3 Walker, Julia. *The Elizabeth Icon: 1603-2003*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

4 Petrina, Alessandra, and Laura Tosi, eds. *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

for major military and political accomplishments during their rules. In addition to the similarities between the circumstances of their reigns, both queens had great success in expanding the boundaries of possibility for the British Empire. Elizabeth commanded the British Armada. Victoria pushed for expansion of the Empire's borders; it was during her rule that, as the saying goes, the sun truly never set on the British empire.

As many similarities as there were between the two queens, we must also recognize that the two queens were, in fact, very different, not only in their public images, but also in how they conducted themselves in public, how they ran their countries, and of course, in how the world around each of them had evolved and changed in the years surrounding their rules. Elizabeth was very much a renaissance queen, ruling in an era that afforded unmarried women with dead parents little freedom.⁵ Her world was one of wars and feasts and theatre, of England being a land of the British Isles and little else, with borders that must be defended rather than expanded. She dealt with conflicts within the borders of her kingdom rather than beyond it. She was intentionally moderate, supporting the arts but not dictating their contents. She relied heavily on a large number of advisors. She was painfully, acutely aware of her public image, and comported herself accordingly. Clearly, her efforts worked, but they were efforts—it was not with ease that she gained the nicknames of “Gloriana” and “Good Queen Bess,”⁶ or in fact any moniker beyond “Elizabeth the Virgin Queen.”

By contrast, Victoria was a queen of the nineteenth century, in a world that seemed to constantly expand. The years of her reign were those of industrial revolution, of contestant technological innovation, of female conservatism as much as the expansion of the female social sphere. She was decidedly not a Virgin Queen, having been involved in court scandals from the first two years of her reign until her marriage to Prince Albert. Like Elizabeth, Victoria supported the arts, but the nineteenth-century queen was not just a patron—she was a direct influence. Victoria

⁵ Even though she was a Tudor and had more autonomy than any other woman in the country, these social restrictions were powerful.

⁶ Strong, Roy C. *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*. Pimlico 581. London: Pimlico, 2003.

did rely heavily on one advisor (Melbourne) through the first part of her reign, but later grew to have a fierce independence from the counsel of the men and older women in her court.⁷

Most literature on the topic of Victoria—and the public’s opinion of her—indicates that she was at first strongly disliked. Regina Schulte and other critics discuss the idea of the “body of the queen.”⁸ With this body of theory in mind, any image of Victoria was effectively an image of all of the people in London. Most critics seem to agree with Schulte’s interpretation of this philosophy, which is that Victoria’s people disliked her because she was portrayed in so many ways and was less than capable of controlling all aspects of her public image. Some writers counter this popular argument, noting that Victoria made herself into a “people’s queen,”⁹ intentionally living publicly through portraiture so that people might feel they had more access and therefore connection to her.

These popularized interpretations are not without their issues. These scholars take Victoria purely on her own terms, without engaging the context that Elizabeth left behind. The upsurge in Elizabeth portraiture during Victoria’s time is certainly worthy of note, and these writers do not acknowledge a connection between the two women except to state that both were queens who lived in the public eye. The connections between the two women were far more numerous than that, and the similarities—both in the lives of the queens and in the artistic representation of them—is significant, not just to our understanding of either queen in isolation but more specifically Victoria in connection to Elizabeth. The selfsame writers who refer to Victoria as “a conventional queen in an unconventional time”¹⁰ fail to recognize that Victoria was not conventional at all. Rather, she was following forms that Elizabeth had set in place decades before her, including the important elements of a queenship that needed to be shared with the people.

7 Prettejohn, Elizabeth, ed. *After the Pre-Raphaelites: Art and Aestheticism in Victorian England*.

8 Schulte, Regina, ed. *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courtly World, 1500 - 2000*. New York: Berghahn, 2006.

9 Plunkett, John, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*. Oxford University Press, 2002.

10 Warner, Malcolm, Anne Helmreich, and Charles Brock. *The Victorians: British Painting, 1837-1901*. Washington : New York: National Gallery of Art ; Distributed by Abrams, 1996.

Elizabeth was revolutionary in her actions—leading a military navy, making political decisions, and existing as a female monarch in an age that did not welcome one.

Victoria would have been considered equally revolutionary had Elizabeth not come first. One cannot consider the latter queen without understanding the context and groundwork laid by the former. Finally, these writers mention exclusively the aesthetic traditions of the time. While they go into extreme detail regarding what was and was not attractive to the Victorian eye, and which color palettes might have denoted which emotions, they do not fully explore the specific traditions that could easily have influenced artists and intellectuals in and around Victoria’s court—the ones who created the pieces of art which form the grounding for this argument.

Writers like John Plunkett or Elizabeth Prettejohn are not wrong on one count: Victoria was very much aware of her public image. However, the age of modernism and the dawn of new technologies left her with less control over how other people portrayed her. Newspapers and advertisements, complete with the periodical press, were common in the 1800s, and the Royal Academy of art was extraordinarily popular. The people had a freer voice in Victoria’s time, and thus freer opinions as well. While she could, of course, exercise the ability to censor images or articles, she could do little to suppress images that did not relate directly to her.¹¹ Writers like Malcolm Warner and Elizabeth Prettejohn state that this factor alone may have influenced the sudden resurgence of art regarding Elizabeth, but I take this research one step further: the shift in imagery was not just a result of artists avoiding censorship regarding Victoria. Instead, I propose that this change occurred on such a large scale because of popular philosophies and mindsets that encouraged artists and writers to find parallels between Victoria and her predecessor.

Artists and writers in the nineteenth century were, for the most part, romantics—that is to say, they ascribed to the idea of literary romanticism. Romantic ideals included rebellion against the norm, the struggle of the individual, nature and engagement with the natural world, and the idea of making connections between

11 Warner, Helmreich, and Brock.

modern figures or events and those of the past—specifically, stories from the ancient world, with a significant focus on ancient heroes. Artists would have seen these qualities in the idea of a female monarchy, especially with Elizabeth and Victoria as their primary examples. The concept of a female monarchy was in itself a small rebellion. The struggles that Elizabeth and Victoria endured—both in maintaining the crown at all, and then in maintaining their public images once in power—would certainly have fit into the category of an individual struggle. Elizabeth’s command of the British armada would have provided a historical act of heroism to attach to female monarchy, and then Victoria’s expansion of the British empire easily fit the definition of exploring and engaging with nature and the natural world. Romantic ideals influenced the comparisons between Elizabeth and Victoria, and provided basis for much of the public’s acceptance of female monarchy during and after Victoria’s reign.

Victorian portraits of Elizabeth tended to take three forms, which this paper will classify as (1) portraits of Elizabeth that have been painted over, (2) portraits of Elizabeth portrayed in majesty, and (3) portraits of Elizabeth that also displayed pride in the accomplishments and victories of the British Empire. Each of these forms of Victorian Elizabeth portraiture indicated a different sort of commentary on the monarchy, Victoria’s rule, and the role of British regnant queens altogether.

Portraiture was an important element of artistic portrayals of royals, going back to the beginnings of European monarchy. Portraits required the subject to pose for a long period of time as well as a significant amount of planning regarding the composition and content of the piece. The process of painting a portrait afforded rulers a certain amount of input into the image of themselves that would be seen by the nations over which they reigned. Portraits were also symbols of power and wealth, as it took a great deal of time and money to requisition one and to provide the time to pose. Monarchs would frequently pose with implements or symbols of leadership, like crowns, sashes, or scepters to indicate not just who they were but also the positions they held.

The general category of portraiture became even more

important through the Victorian period, as artistic movements and exhibitions gained popularity and as the trade became fully professionalized, complete with its own critics, institutions, and publications. While photography was around, portraits were considered more personal and a far more professional art form.¹² A well-done portrait was a sign of artistic skill, particularly if a painter could produce a piece that was a work of art, composed in an aesthetically pleasing way, and still reflect the desired sides of the subject’s personality. The power that portraiture had already accrued prior to the nineteenth century was well and fully cemented during Victoria’s reign as the primary method of self-expression for a wealthy patron.¹³ Painted portraits were simultaneously private and public, existing as an intimate look into the subject’s life but also intended as display pieces. Portraiture became a method of documenting families and family life, both in the home and out for any potential visitors to see.

This category of Victorian Elizabeth portraits actually pulls directly from the canon of Elizabeth portraiture done in the years following Elizabeth I’s death and is comprised of modified portraits of Elizabeth to fit the aesthetics and political opinions of Victoria’s time.¹⁴ The portraits were sometimes favorable, sometimes not. Many were downright hateful, and were later painted over to be presentable to the public eye.¹⁵ Many of these portraits were done when non-Tudor families were in charge, and some include images of Elizabeth holding a snake to her bosom, or with serpents in the designs of her gown. These elements indicate a rather harsh understanding of regnant queens as too closely associated with poisonous advisors, and reference queens from literature who met tragic ends (like Cleopatra committing suicide via snake venom). But portraits like this were in fact painted over in Victoria’s reign—snakes turning into flowers, Elizabeth surrounded by living organisms transforming into Elizabeth alone (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2.)

12 Clubbe, John. *Byron, Sully, and the Power of Portraiture*. Routledge, 2017.

13 Moreno Vera, Juan Ramón, and Maria Isabel Vera-Muñoz. “Women: Object and Subject in Portraiture,” 2017. <http://rua.ua.es/dspace/handle/10045/70047>.

14 Walker, Julia M., ed. *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998, 131

15 National Portrait Gallery, David Saywell, and Jacob Simon, eds. *Complete Illustrated Catalogue*. National Portrait Gallery, London. London: Unicorn Press [u.a.], 2004.

Changes like these were somewhat subtle (the snakes having been well-hidden in the first place), but significant— they indicated a change in the public opinion towards reigning queens and women with power during Victoria’s time.¹⁶



Fig. 1. and Fig. 2. Currently untitled portrait of Queen Elizabeth. Original painting by unknown artist 1570-1580, over-layer completed 1840-1860.

Some of the painted-over portraits were more favorable to begin with, but even these were given updated treatments in the nineteenth century. A significant number of Elizabeth portraits retained the queen’s instantly recognizable image, complete with pale skin and red hair, but the individual features of the earlier queen were updated to fit the aesthetics of Victoria’s England.¹⁷ In the updated portraits, Elizabeth’s hair goes from tight curls piled high to loose braids spun around her head, with soft curls falling about her face. Her facial structure gains definition, though it retains its notable paleness, and in some cases, even gains rosy cheeks. These changes all contribute to what would be considered a more aesthetically pleasing, less harsh queen.¹⁸

The changes listed here all indicate a change of public

¹⁶ Dobson, Michael, and Nicola J. Watson. *England’s Elizabeth: An Afterlife in Fame and Fantasy*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, 61-62

¹⁷ Schulte, Regina, 183-191

¹⁸ Matus, Jill L. *Unstable Bodies: Victorian Representations of Sexuality and Maternity*. Manchester ; New York : New York, NY, USA: Manchester University Press ; Distributed exclusively in the USA and Canada by St. Martin’s Press, 1995, 110-128.

opinion pointed towards ruling queens in Britain— as Victoria’s reputation improved and as she gained popularity among her people, Elizabeth’s image was updated to match the gentle, more motherly and grandmotherly aspects of Victoria’s reign. The ultra-femininity associated with some of these later updates might have also been representative of the shifts in aesthetic, but also a move towards further acceptance of female rulers— by acknowledging Elizabeth’s femininity as well as her prominence as a ruler, one also recognized Victoria’s simultaneous femininity and authority.

David Scott’s *Queen Elizabeth Viewing the Performance of ‘The Merry Wives of Windsor in the Globe Theatre,’* painted circa 1840, also serves as an excellent example of a Victorian representation of Elizabeth (**Fig. 3**).¹⁹



Fig. 3. Scott, David, Queen Elizabeth Viewing the Performance of ‘The Merry Wives of Windsor’ at the Globe Theatre | 1840.

In this painting, Elizabeth sits front and center, dressed fairly simply but surrounded by dozens of courtiers. The specific performance and location appear more or less irrelevant. The center of the piece is Elizabeth, in all her queenly regalia, dominating the space. The colors used are fairly dark, with Elizabeth standing out. Wealthy

¹⁹ “Queen Elizabeth Viewing the Performance of ‘The Merry Wives of Windsor’ at the Globe Theatre | Scott, David | V&A Search the Collections.” V and A Collections, November 24, 2018. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O84988>.

aristocrats lounge around, not paying any particular attention to the play. This piece might have counted as a commentary on Victoria's ruling style in that the depicted Elizabeth appears to throw around money, spending royal funds on frivolous activities, rather than engaging in more political actions. While a painting like this one might have indicated a general criticism of Victoria's tendencies to spend money rather freely (with little consideration for how she got that money or for those who could not afford similar expense), that interpretation is unlikely given the historical context and the general opinion of artists regarding monarchy at the time.

Elizabeth, like Victoria, was famously a patron of the arts, including Shakespeare himself (whose play Elizabeth is pictured watching in the painting).²⁰ The art industry flourished during Victoria's reign, with exhibitions like the Royal Academy's gaining popularity and journals like *The Art Journal* increasing circulation.²¹ A painting like this one might also have been a nod to regnant queens' well-known support for the arts and for art industries. Notes from the 1852 issue of *The Art Journal* state that an artist might "defer to a Majestic lady and offer gratitude," which suggests that artists could certainly have used their work to quietly thank the queens whose royal coffers helped to enable the growing art trade in Britain.²² Additionally, *The Art Magazine* wrote in 1901 (shortly after Victoria's death) that she was not only a "great patron of the arts," but a "leader of true generosity who shall live on in name and whose visage will remain forever."²³

The third form of Victorian Elizabeth portraiture examined in this paper is that of images depicting Elizabeth as a victor, standing proud on behalf of the glory she brought to the British. The 1849 issue of *The Art Journal*²⁴ describes an engraving from that year's Royal Academy exhibition in which Elizabeth stands proud, directing her naval officers and ships to victory.²⁵ The

20 Pomeroy, Elizabeth W. *Reading the Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*. Hamden, Conn: Archon Books, 1989, 105.

21 Schulte, *The Body of the Queen*, 89-98.

22 "Regarding the Feminine," *The Art Journal*, volume xiii, 1852, 120.

23 "Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria and the Fine Arts," *The Art Magazine*, February 1901, 193.

24 Both *The Art Journal* and *The Art Magazine* may be considered primary source texts from Victoria's time. Critics and patrons wrote and were written about in these publications.

25 "Royal Academy Exhibition," *The Art Journal*, volume xi, 1849, 190-191.

reviewer actually says that Elizabeth's military success makes it clear that her worth and importance as a sovereign "outweighed" her inherent "weaknesses as a woman."²⁶ Including this description in a periodical that might well have been read by powerful female patrons like Queen Victoria was rather telling of the public opinion towards Victoria during the nineteenth century.

This particular engraving is of particular interest when it is compared to other forms of Victorian art, depicting the eponymous ruler as victorious in her efforts to conquer in the name of and expand the British Empire. During the 1800s, there was a huge surge in artistic representation of Victoria, surrounded by the various cultures she had brought together under British imperial rule, thus cementing her success as a ruler (and later, an empress).²⁷ The description in *The Art Journal* given to the engraving indicates that the representation of Elizabeth was meant to suggest similar imagery.

According to *The Art Journal* and other texts like it, we may understand the following about Victorian culture and public opinion regarding female monarchy: A female sovereign was not a threat to the world because a ruler was a ruler—the fact that one might be female was less threatening if everything she did was in the name of England.²⁸ A royal woman was better than no royal at all, and better than any other woman by virtue of her inherited right to rule. Commentary on this issue expressed through art would have been especially pertinent in the time of Victoria's rule, given how much controversy surrounded the eighteen-year-old queen taking the throne. (Though much of that controversy subsided later, there was still worry for years to follow that she was improperly prepared for the responsibilities of rulership.) Pieces like the engraving would have offered support to Victoria, simply because they praised Elizabeth.

Altogether, we can use the Victorian Elizabeth portraits to conclude a good deal about the public opinion regarding Victoria herself. While the two queens' reigns were not all that similar, they shared enough points in common that commentary on the

26 Ibid.

27 Pomeroy, *Reading the Portraits*, 45.

28 Doran, Susan. *Queen Elizabeth I*. The British Library Historic Lives. London: British Library, 2003.

former was easy to turn into commentary on the latter. Through art, it is possible to see the rise in support for Victoria (and for female rulers in general) from the art community. Through revised Elizabeth portraits, it is possible to clearly see both the lack of support for regnant queens as well as the steady rise of approval for Victoria's position. The images of Elizabeth in her queenly regalia, embodying the "Gloriana," represented acknowledgement of Victoria's arts patronage, as well as notice of her femininity. Finally, the representations of the glory of the British Empire demonstrate the full scope of what these ruler portraits truly indicate: to the Victorians, it did not entirely matter which gender was on the throne as long as their lineage was properly suitable. What mattered was that there was a monarch on the throne, and as long as that monarch continued to bring glory to Britain, then gender mattered far less than it otherwise might have. The crown was the important part. The reputation of the crown was the reputation of the country, and if it happened to be a queen who wore the crown, so be it.

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**George William Hunter and the Effects of the Scopes Monkey
Trial on Public Education
Thomas Hugh Cleary (CLA 2018)**

Abstract

The 1925 prosecution of John T. Scopes for teaching evolution is thought to have transformed the biology curriculum of American public schools. This paper analyzes the work of George William Hunter, the author of *A Civic Biology: Presented in Problems*, which was the textbook that Scopes was accused of using to teach his students evolution. *Civic Biology* as well as other biology textbooks authored by Hunter were in wide use in early 20th-century America. Drawing on these works and secondary sources about them, this paper reconstructs how Hunter developed and revised his textbooks and the influences that appear to have shaped his thinking in the pre and post-Scopes eras. An examination of what Hunter decided to change, how he changed it, and the significance of those changes for the portrayal of core evolutionary theories in his work reveals that the actual impact of the Scopes trial on American public education was more nuanced than previously thought.

Introduction:

Of all the legal cases in American history that focus on the subject of public education, perhaps none is more famous than the trial of John T. Scopes, or the Scopes Monkey Trial, as it came to be known. In 1925, Scopes was charged with violating the Butler Act, a Tennessee law that forbade the teaching of evolution in public schools. While ostensibly a trial over public education, it gained international attention as both defenders and opponents of evolution portrayed it as a clash between perceived absolutes such as Christianity and science, conservatism and progressivism, sophistication and backwardness, and so on. As a result, a conventional historical view of the Scopes trial has emerged that can be referred to as the “Myth of Scopes.”¹ The myth insinuates that, before the Scopes trial, evolution was already part of American public education, but it provoked a Fundamentalist Christian reaction, resulting in the Scopes trial. The trial in turn had a chilling effect on biology educators and textbook writers leading to a decline in education about Darwinian evolution for the next several decades.² While this conventional narrative is common in histories of the Scopes trial, it does not sufficiently explain the causes of the trial and its results. To illustrate this point, this paper will look at the key “missing person” in the conventional narrative. This underrated figure in the Scopes trial is George William Hunter, the author of *A Civic Biology*, the textbook Scopes was accused of using to breach the law and teach evolution. The work of George William Hunter both before and after the Scopes trial makes clear that the “Myth of Scopes” fails to properly explain the causes and effects of the trial.

Hunter Biography:

George William Hunter, was born in Mamaroneck, New York in 1873. He was educated at Williams College, the University of Chicago, and New York University, where he received a

¹ Ronald P. Ladouceur, “Ella Thea Smith and the Lost History of American High School Biology Textbooks,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 41, no. 3 (2008): 438.

² Ibid.

doctorate in 1917.³ In 1908, Hunter became the chairman of the biology department at the prestigious DeWitt Clinton High School in New York City. It was at DeWitt that Hunter, along with his colleagues, would develop a secondary school biology curriculum that would become the national standard by the 1920s.⁴ This curriculum was codified in Hunter's textbook, *A Civic Biology: Presented in Problems*, the book which John T. Scopes was accused of using to teach evolution to his students.

Context of Hunter's Work:

To understand Hunter's work, it should be placed in its proper historical context. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, America was in a period known as the Progressive Era. The Progressive Era was a label drawn from the myriad of reform movements that gained traction around this time such as prohibition, women's suffrage, and labor regulation. Religion played an important role in many of these causes, as their proponents saw these reform movements as attempts to create a more Christian society. One of the chief proponents of the role of Christianity in progressive movements was William Jennings Bryan, a Congressman and Democratic nominee for president who would later act as the prosecutor during the Scopes trial. Another key theme of the Progressive Era was that reformers wished to tackle social ills at what they believed was their core. For instance, progressives sought to outlaw alcohol rather than regulate it or deal with its negative effects since they believed it would prevent those problems from ever manifesting. As could be expected, education reform was a major part of the progressive agenda, as reformers thought they could eliminate social ills by instilling good values in children.

A notable example of this mindset occurred in 1895, when the Women's Christian Temperance Union lobbied New York's state government to enact laws that would require every ninth-grade student to take a ten-week course about "physiology and

3 Richard Magat, "The Forgotten Roles of Two New York City Teachers in the Epic Scopes Trial," *Science & Society*, no. 4 (2006): 544-546.

4 Philip J. Pauly, "The Development of High School Biology: New York City, 1900-1925," *Isis*, no. 4 (1991), 671.

hygiene with special reference to the effects of alcoholic drinks and other narcotics."⁵ Similar to the Butler Act, educators saw this new law in New York as an unwanted intrusion, bringing politics and propaganda into the classroom. Unlike the Butler Act scenario, however, the New York educators responded by expanding their science curriculum to accommodate the new temperance law while still teaching other subjects. While the fundamentalist Christians who supported the Butler Act interfered in public education in order to prevent the spread of Darwinism, these anti-alcohol Christian reformers in New York sought to utilize public education to spread their own gospel of temperance and prohibition. While there is certainly a paradox here, some might consider it unfair to compare the actions of the Women's Christian Temperance Union to those of the Tennesseans who lobbied for the Butler Act. After all, the actions of the Women's Christian Temperance Union helped to advance the cause of science while the supporters of the Butler Act harmed it. However, both groups sponsored their respective legislation based on similar principles, namely the perceived teachings of Christianity.

Civic Biology:

Hunter's decision to include the somewhat curious word "Civic" in the title of his book is illuminating. The title *Civic Biology* implies that the contents of his book were meant to inform students about biology so that they can be better members of civic society. He took a progressive approach to education and sought to teach students about topics that they thought were important to their everyday lives rather than about the more esoteric and theoretical elements of biology.

Civic Biology was published in 1914 by the American Book Company. By the time of the Scopes Monkey Trial 11 years later, it had become a widely adopted part of public education's biology curriculum across the U.S.⁶ Interestingly, when the book was first published, it did not immediately provoke controversy over evolution. Instead, the only controversies were about "public

5 Pauly, "The Development of High School Biology: New York City, 1900-1925," 666-667.

6 Pauly, "The Development of High School Biology: New York City, 1900-1925," 685.

morals” and eugenics, which is the pseudo-science of attempting to perfect the human race through selective breeding. In 1915, Walter G. Whitman, the science editor of the American Book Company, wrote to George William Hunter about the controversies that his book had provoked in Boston’s public schools. Instead of being offended by the textbook’s references to evolution, Whitman claimed that Bostonians were offended by its sexual and eugenic content. Whitman ascribes these objections to the city’s large Catholic population. As he puts it, “We have received some rather sharp criticism of your Civic Biology from Boston that is undoubtedly of Catholic origin.”⁷

Hunter dismissed this controversy by writing the following back to Whitman: “hardly worth answering...the writer has a view wholly biased and is evidently a fanatic on the matter of sex.”⁸ While the offended party in this case was speculated to be a Catholic and not a Protestant, this complaint illustrates that the objections raised against *Civic Biology*—at least early on—had more to do with the perceived morality of its subject matter than its contradictions with a literal interpretation of the Bible.

The Scopes Trial:

It is hardly surprising that the Scopes Monkey Trial became famous, since from the start it was intended to gain as much publicity as possible for the city of Dayton, Tennessee. John T. Scopes did not decide to teach the chapter on evolution in Civic Biology on his own. He was persuaded to do so by a group of prominent citizens from Dayton led by George Washington Rappleyea. The citizens of Dayton and Rappleyea wanted to challenge the Butler Act and attract publicity to their town. Their actions were specifically designed to cause a public legal battle over evolution.⁹

When Scopes was charged with violating the Butler Act, it created a media sensation, attracting the attention of some of the

⁷ Adam Shapiro, *Trying Biology: The Scopes Trial, Textbooks, and the Antievolution Movement in American Schools* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 62.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ L. Sprague de Camp, *The Great Monkey Trial* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1968), 9-14

leading thinkers and activists of the day. Soon, two of America’s most famous lawyers announced that they would participate in the trial. Scopes would be represented by Clarence Darrow, an agnostic and leading figure in the American Civil Liberties Union. The state of Tennessee would be represented by William Jennings Bryan, a devout Christian, former congressman, and one-time Democratic nominee for president.¹⁰

From the start, there was no question of Scopes’ guilt. He admitted that he had violated the law. Instead, Darrow sought to win the case for Scopes by challenging the validity of Creationism and, by extension, the Butler Act. The succeeding eight days of court proceedings brought clashes between the two lawyers and their teams of expert witnesses on issues of law, science, and religion. Despite the length of the trial, it took the jury only nine minutes to deliberate and declare Scopes guilty. Scopes was ordered to pay a fine of \$100. His conviction would later be nullified by the Supreme Court of Tennessee because of a technicality. Bryan died five days after the trial ended, possibly because of the stress he endured during the proceedings.¹¹

According to the “Myth of Scopes,” the trial represented the end of a relatively free era of public education about evolution. An important challenge to this traditional narrative is that the trial was not the natural outgrowth of fundamentalist hostility to the presence of Darwinism in biology curriculums. Instead the trial was conceived as a publicity stunt whose planners were undoubtedly surprised that they would end up making history.

New Civic Biology:

In 1926, the year after the Scopes Monkey Trial, Hunter published a revised edition of *Civic Biology* entitled *New Civic Biology: Presented in Problems*. This new version of the textbook sought to dampen the controversy of the previous edition. Hunter’s edits mainly focused on the parts of his book that dealt with evolution. For example, a passage in his book entitled *Evolution*

¹⁰ Ibid, 73-80.

¹¹ Ibid, 421-443.

of *Man*¹² was retitled to *Development of Man*.¹³ In addition to the edits Hunter made to the passages on evolution, he also edited the parts of his textbook that had to do with eugenics.¹⁴ By comparing the passages on eugenics that Hunter wrote in *Civic Biology* with those that he wrote in *New Civic Biology*, it becomes clear what Hunter felt there needed to be a restatement or clarification about eugenics. This is relevant to the relationship between eugenics and religion because Hunter seemingly wrote *New Civic Biology* with a more religious audience in mind. As such, one can assume that the content he removed from *Civic Biology* was believed to upset religious sensibilities. For example, in *Civic Biology*, when discussing the mentally unfit in a passage entitled “The Remedy,” Hunter wrote: “If such people were lower animals, we would probably kill them off to prevent them from spreading. Humanity will not allow this, but we do have the remedy of separating the sexes in asylums or other places and in various ways preventing intermarriage and the possibilities of perpetuating such a low and degenerate race. Remedies of this sort have been tried successfully in Europe and are now meeting with success in this country.”¹⁵

In his revised version of this passage, Hunter removed the reference to eliminating the unfit. Instead, he wrote that “One unfortunate fact is that feeble-minded people have little sense of morality, for they have stopped short of normal mental development. Feeble-mindedness is a very serious problem, for it is estimated that at the lowest figure there are 600,000 feeble-minded persons in this country, most of whom are free to breed their kind. The only real remedy seems to be to segregate the feeble-minded according to sexes in asylums and in various ways to prevent marriage and the possibilities of perpetuating such a low and degenerate race. Remedies of this sort have been tried successfully in Europe and are now meeting with success in this country.”¹⁶ From the comparison of the passages, one can

12 George William Hunter, *A Civic Biology: Presented in Problems* (New York, Boston, Cincinnati, Atlanta, Chicago: American Book Company, 1914), 195-196.

13 George William Hunter, *A New Civic Biology: Presented in Problems* (New York, Boston, Cincinnati, Atlanta, Chicago: American Book Company, 1926), 250-251.

14 Thomas C. Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics & American Economics in the Progressive Era* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016) 111-112.

15 Hunter, *A Civic Biology*, 263.

16 Hunter, *A New Civic Biology*, 400.

surmise what, in Hunter’s view, an average American would have found objectionable about eugenics. The most notable difference is the removal of the part about killing unfit lower animals and eliminating unfit humans. Although Hunter admits that this solution is inhumane in the original version, he felt the need to remove it altogether in the revised edition. Furthermore, in the original he describes preventing the mentally unfit from marrying as a secondary solution to the problem after euthanasia. In the new version, he writes that this solution is “The only real remedy...”¹⁷ Based on this passage, it can be assumed, at least from Hunter’s perspective, that Americans were not opposed to the principles of eugenics, but they were opposed to some of the tactics advocated by eugenicists, such as euthanasia.

Analysis – Post-Scopes Reforms:

There is no question that George William Hunter adapted his textbooks to dampen the controversy that *Civic Biology* had caused. The best example of this is found in *New Civic Biology*, as the changes were made in the immediate aftermath of the trial. For example, in the passage on evolution entitled “Evolution of Man” in *Civic Biology*, George William Hunter wrote,

Undoubtedly there once lived upon the earth races of men who were much lower in their mental organization than the present inhabitants. If we follow the early history of man upon the earth, we find that at first he must have been little better than one of the lower animals. He was a nomad, wandering from place to place, feeding upon whatever living things he could kill with his hands. Gradually he must have learned to use weapons, and thus kill his prey, first using rough stone implements for this purpose. As man became more civilized, implements of bronze and of iron were used. About this time the subjugation and domestication of animals began to take place. Man then began to cultivate the fields, and to have a fixed place of abode other than a cave. The beginnings of civilization were long ago, but

17 Ibid.

even to-day the earth is not entirely civilized.¹⁸

In *New Civic Biology*, however, he retitled this passage “Development of Man” and toned it down to make it less controversial. In the revised edition he wrote, “Undoubtedly there once lived upon the earth races of men who were much lower in their civilization than the present inhabitants. They were probably nomads, wandering from place to place, feeding upon wild fruits, seeds, roots, and whatever living things they could kill with their hands. Gradually they must have learned to use weapons, and thus to kill prey more easily, first using rough stone implements for this purpose. As men became more civilized, they used implements of bronze and of iron. About this time the subjugation and domestication of animals began to take place. Men also began to cultivate the fields, and to have fixed places of abode. The beginnings of civilization were long ago, but even to-day mankind is not entirely civilized.”¹⁹

The changes that Hunter made in his new edition seem focused on suppressing controversy. In fact, one of the most glaring changes was that he refers to man in the singular in *Civic Biology* whereas he refers to men in the plural in *New Civic Biology*. While this change is seemingly minor, other alterations give a clear insight into what was considered controversial about Hunter’s earlier book. For example, Hunter edited the line “Undoubtedly there once lived upon the earth races of men who were much lower in their mental organization than the present inhabitants,”²⁰ so that it became “Undoubtedly there once lived upon the earth races of men who were much lower in their civilization than the present inhabitants.”²¹ Hunter’s decision to change “mental organization” to “civilization” is clearly a concession to Creationists, as it implies that humanity has always had the same level of “mental organization” from its earliest days. The word civilization, on the other hand, implies that early humanity was less technologically and culturally advanced, but still essentially interchangeable with modern humans.

The fact that George William Hunter felt compelled to edit his textbook may seem to be a victory for those who

18 Hunter, *A Civic Biology*, 195-196.

19 Hunter, *A New Civic Biology*, 250-251.

20 Hunter, *A Civic Biology*, 195-196.

21 Hunter, *A New Civic Biology*, 250-251.

opposed the teaching of evolution in public schools. At the same time, this victory appears to be largely symbolic. While Hunter altered the language of his book to make it more appealing to Creationist sentiments, his general message remained the same. As Philip J. Pauly notes in his essay on the development of High School Biology, “While Fundamentalists could censor explicit statements in textbooks through legislation, they had much less control over matters of perspective; educators continued to design biology to produce Americans who would be liberal, secular, and humanistic.”²²

Beyond Hunter himself, a survey of how evolutionary ideas fared in post-Scopes trial American public education reveals much about the impact of the trial. A common misconception about the Scopes trial is that it eliminated Darwinism from American public education. As Ronald P. Ladouceur notes, “Once we dig below the polemics and the public relations efforts that have framed and filtered our view, we see that nearly all textbooks published after Hunter’s *Essentials of Biology* in 1907 were in fact thoroughly evolutionary in that they promoted a dynamic view of life and its history.”²³ In other words, George William Hunter introduced evolutionary ideas to public schools and they remained in subsequent works by Hunter and others all the way up to the present day. Ladouceur based this conclusion on his analysis of “multiple editions of the most popular competing high school biology textbooks from the 1910s, 20s, 30s, 40s, and 50s, as well as a small sample of college textbooks from this period. In all, more than 45 high school and college textbooks were reviewed for this study. Each text was scanned for material relating to heredity, evolution, and plant and animal breeding.”²⁴

A similar approach to evolution can be found in the work of Hunter himself. While the controversy surrounding the Scopes trial may have led Hunter to suppress or revise some of his views on evolution in *New Civic Biology*, this did not permanently affect his academic career. For instance, in 1937, eleven years after the publication of *New Civic Biology* in 1926, Hunter co-wrote another

22 Pauly, “The Development of High School Biology: New York City, 1900-1925,” 664.

23 Ladouceur, “Ella Thea Smith and the Lost History of American High School Biology Textbooks,” 443.

24 Ibid, 438.

biology textbook entitled *Biology: The Story of Living Things* with Herbert Eugene Walter and his son George William Hunter III. This work is far less timid about the subject of evolution than *New Civic Biology*, as it devotes a whole chapter to evolution entitled “The Epic of Evolution.”²⁵ This chapter gives an overview of the science of evolution, but unlike Hunter’s previous works, it addresses the controversy surrounding evolution directly. In a section entitled “Evolution and Miraculous Creation” Hunter purports to give a balanced history of the controversy surrounding evolution and creationism.²⁶ He starts out by comparing John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* and Charles Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species*. He claims that Milton’s work illustrates the Creationist view of how life came to be in contrast to Darwin’s evolutionary point of view. From there, he claims, “The ancient Greeks, unhampered by any Biblical tradition of ‘creation,’ foreshadowed the idea of the rise of organisms by the slow operation of natural laws.”²⁷ Here he explicitly identifies Creationism with the Bible and instead of trying to reconcile Biblical and scientific ideas he describes them as a burden that the pagan Greeks were “unhampered” by. He then tempers this criticism of the Bible by citing earlier Christian thinkers who had expressed proto-evolutionary theories, such as St. Augustine of Numidia.

Furthermore, Hunter writes that he does not see religion and science as incompatible: “The religious person and the evolutionist both approach the citadel of truth with equal reverence, but from somewhat different directions. There is nothing to prevent their harmonious meeting within the portals.”²⁸ While Hunter still takes a conciliatory approach to the controversy surrounding evolution and religion, the contents of *Biology: The Story of Living Things* makes it clear that the Scopes trial had not dissuaded him from teaching the topic of evolution. If anything the inclusion of the section “Evolution and Miraculous Creation” illustrates how the Scopes trial convinced Hunter that it was necessary to actively

25 George William Hunter, Herbert Eugene Walter, George William Hunter III, *Biology: The Story of Living Things* (New York, Boston, Cincinnati, Atlanta, Chicago: American Book Company, 1937), 483-530.

26 Ibid, 493-495.

27 Ibid, 494.

28 Hunter, Walter, Hunter, *Biology: The Story of Living Things*, 495.

address the controversy surrounding evolution.

Conclusion:

The relationship between religion and science has continued to be a controversial subject to the present day. As a result, the Scopes Monkey Trial has become synonymous not only with disputes between Darwinism and Creationism, but also for conflicts between religion and science in general. As can be expected, this has led the Scopes trial to sometimes become mythologized at the expense of historical accuracy. Indeed, the controversy over the teaching of evolution in public schools has continued in some form or another up to the present day. Furthermore, the controversy is part of the broader conflict between secularism and fundamentalism that has existed long before John T. Scopes was ever put on trial. Because of this broader context, historians can easily pigeonhole the whole incident and ignore the subtleties that existed in the curriculum of the time. As such, the role George William Hunter played in the Scopes Monkey Trial should not be overlooked, because it reveals the more nuanced role evolution played in American public education both before the Scopes trial and afterwards.

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Sounds of the New World: The Marian Antiphon *Salve Regina*
Caitlin Bonita Shannon (CLA 2019)

Abstract

Despite the fact that chant has mostly fallen out of use in modern Catholic worship, the Marian antiphons continue to be beloved by composers, singers, and audiences everywhere. Particularly, the antiphon *Salve regina* has captivated audiences for centuries on end despite the obscurity of Compline, the office for which it was written. Even with the changes that came to Catholicism after the Council of Trent, *Salve regina* became an important part of Spanish Marian Devotion with the development of entire services centered around the chant. The extent to which *Salve regina* has been beloved through the centuries is proven by its travels from Spain to the New World during Spanish colonization. By tracing the antiphon's path from manuscript, its role in the development of Spanish devotion to Mary, and its travels to the New World I will uncover why *Salve regina* has become more than just a chant for Compline. Looking at the use and adaptation of *Salve regina* in medieval Spain and colonial Latin America, this paper will explore what exactly it is that makes this antiphon so special.

Salve regina is one of the most recognizable and beloved of the Marian antiphons, and perhaps of all Gregorian chant. Despite the relative obscurity of Compline, the office for which it was written, the chant lives on today in arrangements for all sorts of musical combinations, from solo instruments to polyphonic voices to wind ensemble. Particularly interesting in the trajectory of *Salve regina* is how it moved across Europe and the world, being the first piece of music brought to the New World by the Spanish. From its first appearance in manuscript through its adaptation by Spanish monks on to its travels to the New World and the life it found there, it is obvious there is something particular about this antiphon that has led to its long life outside of its intended context. The antiphon's success in venerating Mary through words and music, particularly helped by the ear-catching opening motive of a 5th, I argue, have allowed this chant to appeal to audiences of diverse cultural and religious backgrounds throughout history. Looking at *Salve regina*'s history not only helps us understand the Christianization of the Spanish New World, but can help see why this chant, despite its origins in an obscure Catholic office, became a major part of religious worship during the colonization of Latin America.

Salve regina is one of four Marian antiphons used in the Catholic Church's Divine Office, specifically in Compline, which is the last cycle of the day before bedtime. The four Marian antiphons are *Alma redemptoris mater*, *Ave regina caelorum*, *Regina caeli*, and *Salve regina* which rotate throughout the liturgical year (Bishop 47). The *Salve regina* is sung from Trinity Sunday until Advent, "following medieval Roman and Franciscan custom" (Ingram & Falconer). The Marian antiphons are votive antiphons, "independent devotional Latin songs" specifically devoted to the Virgin Mary, and the last genre of medieval chant to be incorporated in the liturgy (Gibbs 24). The antiphons appear in manuscripts beginning in the eleventh century and were adopted into monasteries by the thirteenth century (Gibbs 24).

Salve regina is probably the most recognizable and beloved of the Marian antiphons, and was particularly cherished in Renaissance Spain. Even now, *Salve regina* is often sung and

set and “during the baroque era the polyphonic settings of the text surpassed the number of those of the Mass” (Kirkendale 346). This is perhaps due to *Salve regina*’s identity as a sort of “love song to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the style of the troubadour canso” (Gibbs 24). Written in the Dorian mode and utilizing both the authentic and plagal versions of the mode, *Salve regina* “is dark in both affect and mode” (Gibbs 24). What seems to draw the ear to the *Salve regina* most is its opening motive (Example 1). Whole step motion on “Sal-” leads to a dramatic descent of a fifth on “-ve.” Despite the word here being “Hail” which we might think would be set to be exuberant or glorious, the descending fifth foreshadows, and truly sets up, the supplication of this antiphon. The next word, “Regina,” is set to a melisma outlining the fifth that we just heard as well as the minor third characteristic of the Dorian mode. The darkness of the Dorian mode works together with words of supplication of the antiphon.

b. Salve regina

<i>Salve regina, mater misericordia:</i>	Hail, holy Queen, mother of mercy;
<i>Vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve.</i>	hail, our life, our sweetness, our hope!
<i>Ad te clamamus, exsules, filii Hesiæ.</i>	To thee do we cry, poor banished children of Evey;
<i>Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.</i>	to thee do we send up our sighs, mourning and weeping in this vale of tears.
<i>Eia ergo, Advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte,</i>	Turn then, most gracious advocate, thine eyes of mercy towards us; and after this our exile,
<i>Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis post hoc exilium ostende.</i>	show unto us the blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus.
<i>O clemens:</i>	O gentle,
<i>O pia:</i>	O loving,
<i>O dulcis virgo Maria.</i>	O sweet Virgin Mary.

Example 1a. *Salve Regina*, in quadractic notation (Gibbs, 25)

Modern Transcription

Example 1b. *Salve Regina*, in modern notation (Birch).

Unlike many of the other Marian antiphons which simply praise Mary for her beauty and purity, *Salve regina* becomes a sort of “plea of protection.” The use of the first person plural makes it a “chant of the community,” and showcases Mary’s abilities as the mediator between earth and heaven (Kirkendale 350). In this antiphon, Mary’s role as messenger between earth and Christ is thoroughly established. Consequently, Mary comes to play an active role not only in this antiphon but in the Catholic theology, particularly in Spain.

Before examining the use of *Salve regina* in Spain it is important to understand the way the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula were unified under a Catholic crown. I will provide a brief overview of the lengthy and complex process of Spanish unification that primarily highlights the importance of religion. First

under Roman rule and then taken over by the Romanized Visigoths, Catholicism has always been present on the Iberian Peninsula. In 711 A.D., however, Christianity was threatened by the invasion and subsequent conquest by the Islamic Moors. Though their conquest only began in 711, by 716 the Muslims “had conquered most of the peninsula with the exception of the far northwest and the mountainous regions elsewhere in the north” (Phillips Jr. and Phillips, 48). Creating the kingdom of al-Andalus, Muslims ruled the entire south of the peninsula until 1492, leaving the “isolated, poor, and sparsely populated” Christian kingdoms of Castille, León, Aragon, Navarre, Galicia, and the Catalans in the north (Phillips Jr. and Phillips, 55). What followed was centuries of *reconquista* and unification by the Christian crowns.

Countless leaders were responsible for the eventual unification of a Christian Spanish crown, with the Catholic church and clergy also playing an important role throughout the almost 20 century long Reconquista. One of the first prominent among them was Alfonso I of the Asturian monarchy who extended Christian rule “south to the valley of the Duero River, east to the Basque country, and west to Galicia” and repopulated those areas with Christians (Phillips Jr. and Phillips 56). Alfonso was known as “the Catholic” and leaned on the clergy by granting them land and power in exchange for their efforts to “frame the war against the Muslims as a religious duty” (Phillips Jr. and Phillips 56). Here, then, we see that Christianity and Catholicism are interwoven not only in the Spanish culture but in the very creation of the Spanish state. The middle of the 9th century saw the Christian rule of the entire northern section of the peninsula (Phillips Jr. and Phillips 61), creating a mounting threat to the Muslim al-Andalus in the south. In the 11th century the arrival of monks and knights from the other side of the Pyrenees mountains brought militant beliefs towards the Muslims which led to “successive popes offer[erring] spiritual benefits and financial support for campaigns against the Muslims” (Phillips Jr. and Phillips 67). We see the continued influence of the Catholic Church in the Reconquista of Spain with the unification of the forces of Castile, Aragon, León, and Navarre against the Almohad army in 1212 per the insistence of Pope Innocent III

(Phillips Jr. and Phillips 70). The victory of these powers “marked the end of major Muslim power in the peninsula,” although it took quite a while for the Christian forces to “recover from the strains, losses, and expenses that had brought them victory” (Phillips Jr. and Phillips 70). This Christian victory allowed for the “definitive union of the kingdoms of León and Castile” under Fernando III (Phillips Jr. and Phillips 72) and the conquest of Valencia under Jaume I (Phillips Jr. and Phillips 76), adding to the unification of Aragon and Catalonia under Ramón Berenguer (Phillips Jr. and Phillips 75).

Thus, by the end of the 13th century, Christianity was once again becoming the dominant power in the Iberian Peninsula. Thanks to the “Leonese-Castilian conquest of much of Andalusia, the Catalan-Aragonese conquest of Valencia, and the Castilian-Aragonese conquest of Murcia,” the only Muslim stronghold left was Granada. Then comes perhaps the biggest moment for the unification of Spain came: the ascension of Queen Isabella I, who was married to King Ferdinand of Aragon, to the Castilian throne. With this came the unification of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castille, the two largest kingdoms on the peninsula, under the Catholic Monarchs, as Isabella and Ferdinand were called. 1492 became a pivotal year for the Christian Spanish crown with the expulsion of remaining Spanish Jews and the capture of Granada (Phillips Jr. and Phillips 83-84).

A Catholic crown meant there was an established religious tradition throughout what was now Spain. Of particular importance here is the Spanish special devotion to the Virgin Mary (O’Connor 87). Although the Catholic Church’s response to the Reformation, the Council of Trent of 1545, made significant changes in the church regarding scripture, canon, sacred tradition, the sacraments, Mass and more, these traditions were preserved and integrated into the new reforms (O’Connor 87). The main way we see Marian devotions institutionalized in Spain after the Council of Trent are through *Salve* services. The veneration of Mary was popular in various religious institutions around Spain, and *Salve* services became “institutionalized and became more of a public display of piety in the late 15th and early 16th century” (Wagstaff 11). *Salve* services began with the *Salve regina* “followed by a motet

would connect the service to a specific day, season, or perhaps a painting being venerated; an antiphon to St. Roch or St. Sebastian for protection against plague; and finally, the closing *Benedicamus*” (Wagstaff 10). We can see, then, the importance of the *Salve regina* in the Spanish church’s devotion to Mary as an entire service was constructed around it.

Having now an understanding of the political and religious landscape of Spain we can examine the Spanish colonization of the Americas. Catholicism and evangelizing were integral to the Spanish colonization of the Americas, most importantly providing justification for their conquests. As is widely known, Isabella and Ferdinand sent Christopher Columbus to find a new route to India in 1492. Columbus landed in the Greater Antilles in 1492 (Curta 694), and made four other voyages to the Caribbean and Central America until 1504. Columbus began Spanish colonization in the Antilles, but subsequent conquests of what is now Mexico and Perú were most important in terms of evangelicalization. Hernando Cortes defeated the Aztec empire in modern-day Mexico in 1521 (Curta 694), establishing one of the biggest Spanish *virreinos* in the New World. This kingdom, known as New Spain, as well as conquests in Perú became the center of Catholicism in Spanish America. In reality, “Christian proselytization became a driving force behind the expansion of Spanish authority in the Western Hemisphere” (Curta 694). Christianization was most aggressive in what is now Mexico and South America. The Antilles’ relatively small indigenous population, Columbus’ systematic genocide of them, and the subsequent importation of millions of African slaves made large-scale evangelicalization and conversion difficult. New Spain and Perú, on the other hand, had large Mayan, Aztec and Inca populations whom the Spanish, namely Dominican friar Bartolome de las Casas, believed had souls in need of saving. Thus for conquistadors like Cortés, “the Catholic faith served as a justification for conquest and also an aid in battle” (Curta 694).

Salve regina arrived to the Americas with Columbus. It was often used as a “*cantio nautica* by Spanish mariners and fisherman during storms,” and was likewise “invoked by the crew of Christopher Columbus on a ship named Santa Maria 11 October

1492, the eve of seeing land of the New World for the first time” (Kirkendale 346). Soon enough, the chant was taught to the natives, thus beginning the popularity of *Salve regina*, and Catholicism, in the Antilles (Kirkendale 346). Much like in Spain, music was an important part of religious life in the Spanish America. The *Salve* services that were staples of Marian devotions in Spain were also transported to the Americas (Wagstaff 10), ingraining Mary as a vital figure in Spanish and Latin American Catholicism. Marian devotions aligned fairly well with indigenous traditions, although, of course, we must remember that indigenous populations were forced to convert to Catholicism.

Especially important in the *Salve* services was the music, which was brought to the Americas along with the service itself. In these services the *Salve regina* antiphon was often set polyphonically (Wagstaff 10). It is important to note that music was particularly important in the Spanish and Latin American Catholic Church, as “composers created polyphonic music for most or all important items” of the services and certainly composed “for more items than most composers elsewhere” for Holy Week services (Wagstaff 11). The importance of music to the Spanish Catholic Church, including the polyphonic compositions for devotionals such as the *Salve* services, contributed to a budding of sacred composition in Spanish America, particularly in Mexico. We can hear the compositional talent of the colonies, as well as a sample of what the beginning of a Spanish American *Salve* service may have sounded like, with Juan de Liena’s *Salve regina*.

Juan de Lianas (1617-1654) was a composer from Mexico about whom little is known. His work is found in the Carmen Codex and the Newberry Choir Books, this *Salve regina* setting being from the former and written in the “stile antico” (Russell). Liena’s polyphonic setting of the *Salve regina* is an example of how the polyphonic *Salve* would have been sung at the *Salve* services, “sung every Saturday in all the principal churches of Spanish America” (Stevenson). The setting alternates lines of the text between chant and polyphonic setting, known as “alternatim-like form” according to the following chart:

1. Salve regina, mater misericordiae:	Chant
2. Vita, dulcedo, spes nostra, salve.	à 4
3. Ad te clamamus, exsules filii Evae.	Chant
4. Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes, in hac lacrimarum valle.	à 4
5. Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte.	Chant
6. Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui,	à 4
7. nobis post hoc exilium ostende.	Chant
8. O clemens,	à 4
9. O pia,	Chant
10. O dulcis virgo semper Maria.	à 5

Lienas' setting of the first non-chant verse, "vita, dulcedo spes nostra, salve," uses the same dramatic motive of the original chant. Only changing the whole step between the first two notes to a half step, Lienas' setting capitalizes on the dramatic motive and might even lead the listener to think the chant has started over again. This is particularly sneaky on the part of Lienas, as the opening sounds as if it is the chant's original Dorian mode but, as the verse progresses it begins to sound like B minor. Lienas capitalizes on the fifth leap so characteristic of the *Salve regina* by having it present throughout the setting of this second verse. Almost always, if there is a D sounding in one voice, there is an A sounding in another (Example 2a).

[illegible]

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Handwritten musical score for a piece titled "O mens, o mens, o mens". The score is written on four staves. The first staff is a soprano line with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second staff is an alto line with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The third staff is a tenor line with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The fourth staff is a bass line with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The music is in 2/4 time. The lyrics "O mens, o mens, o mens" are written below the staves. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals. There are some red markings on the original image, including a red line under the first "O" in the first staff and a red line under the first "O" in the third staff. There are also some blue markings, including a blue line under the first "O" in the fourth staff and a blue line under the first "O" in the fifth staff.

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were not only conquering territories but truly setting up established cities and new, Spanish societies. Given that the church was, and some might argue continues to be, a principal institution in Spain, it seems accurate that the same traditions would be brought over and established in Spanish America. It also reveals that, despite being a colonial possession, Spanish America and the people born in it, whether indigenous or criollo, were establishing their own sets of traditions and customs rooted in a mix of Spanish Catholicism and indigenous traditions.

Studying the Spanish Marian devotion, its manifestation through the Salve services, and its translation to the Americas gives us insight into the ways that Spanish colonialism was not just an economic adventure but a crusade for Catholicism. Tracing the Spanish devotion of Mary to the Americas helps us to understand the foundation for the Latin American devotion to Mary. This Latin American devotion to Mary appears through devotions like La Virgen de Guadalupe in Mexico or La Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre in Cuba. Through these figures we can see the fusion of indigenous traditions with Catholicism for the creation of a distinctly Latin American identity. In terms of La Virgen de Guadalupe, she is often associated with Aztec deities and or referred to as “la primera mestiza,” the first mestizo. La Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre is known as the patroness of Cuba and her image was important in movements for slave independence and tolerance of mulattos, people of mixed black and white ancestry. These Marian images show us that, while the Salve services may have been how Marian devotion was brought to Spanish America, the services themselves were not the full extent of Marian devotion in the Americas. Rather, they served as the basis, with their devotion to images of Mary and their singing of the polyphonic *Salve regina*, for a deeply entrenched devotion to Mary that fuses all of the influences present in Latin America – Spanish, indigenous, and African.

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Islands and Rising Sea Levels
Theresa Vaillancourt (CLA 2021)

Abstract

This paper seeks to answer the question of how island nations combat the threat of rising sea levels. It compares the environmental policies of a small island nation, the Maldives, with a large island nation, Australia. Through a macroeconomic framework, I scrutinize the government budgets of each island nation. This allows me to compare and contrast their environmental policies. This paper first analyzes the structural systems that dictate the implementation of climate change policies in each country. It then offers three possible explanations of the sources of contrasts in environmental policies between the Maldives and Australia. In viewing the two different islands through the perspective of their government budgets, both commonalities and differences emerged. The Maldives has made the environment a priority. The reason for this is their low average elevation above sea level. This situation has governed economic decisions reflected in the Maldives' budget. In contrast, Australia has taken smaller steps to combat climate change, including reduced government spending on environmental preservation and protection. This paper offers a clear dialogue on the contrast and commonalities of the environmental policies of island nations and presents a hope for the future that island nations will one day be able to work together to combat the threat of rising sea levels.

Keywords: Maldives, Australia, environmental protection, rising sea levels, government budget

Introduction:

One of the most urgent threats to the environment is climate change, as it not only poses a threat to the security of the environment but also to human livelihood. For islands such as the Maldives and Australia, rising sea levels in particular present a serious threat to each island's continued existence. The disappearance of the Maldives or the erosion of the Australian coastline are real possibilities. Yet, in spite of this commonality, policies designed to reduce the risk of rising sea levels are different for each nation. From the wide-ranging support of the Maldives to the lack of action in Australia, it is clear that climate change policies are crafted based on several different factors. This paper examines the environmental policies of the Maldives and Australia by reviewing the government budgets of each island and identifying what factors, such as political influences, make each island take action on environmental protection.

This paper will compare the environmental policies of the Maldives, the world's lowest lying country, with Australia, the world's lowest lying continent. The extreme contrasts in size, geography, average elevation above sea level, political systems, and levels of economic development will allow me to highlight the range of differences in the environmental policies of island nations. This question will be analyzed through a macroeconomic framework, which seeks to understand the environmental policies of the Maldives and Australia by scrutinizing their government spending on the implementation of policies. I will use these government budgets to determine whether or not they are serious about combating the threat of climate change. The level of seriousness can be an indicator of the level of urgency regarding rising sea levels. This represents the greatest threat to the Maldives, as their average elevation above sea level is 4ft. For Australia, climate change does remain a threat, but at 330 feet above sea level, it is not facing imminent island extinction.

Maldives:

Rising sea levels pose the greatest threat to small island

nations, such as the Maldives. Located in the Indian Ocean just southwest of India, the Maldives is comprised of 1,190 coral islands (with only 200 of these islands being inhabited) (31). The Maldives is one of the world's smallest nations, with a total land area of 115.1 mi² and a total population of 417,492 people (31). The Maldives is also the lowest lying nation in the world, with "the highest point in the entire nation being just under 8 feet (about 2.4 meters)" (9). The Maldives also has a rapidly growing economy, with their gross domestic product (GDP) increasing annually. Increasing from 2.8% growth in 2015 to an estimated 4.2% growth in 2017, the economy of the Maldives is largely based on tourism and fishing (15).

Political History of the Maldives:

The Maldives has had a short but complex history of political instability and autocratic leaders. First established as an independent nation in 1965 and then as a presidential democracy in 1968, the governance structures of the Maldives are relatively new systems (14). Likewise, the political legitimacy of the Maldives as a presidential democracy is a relatively new concept, as the Maldives was controlled by an autocratic leader for over thirty years. It wasn't until 2008 that the Maldives introduced its first democratically elected President, Mohamed Nasheed. This election foreshadowed the idea that the Maldives was beginning the transition toward presidential democracy. Unfortunately, the 2013 election of Abdulla Yameen Abdul Gayoom reintroduced an autocratic governance. The government under Abdulla Yameen Abdul Gayoom (referred to as Yameen) is noted for its extreme repression of basic human rights, such as freedom of expression and freedom of the press (14). Those who spoke out against the Yameen government were either jailed or killed. Yet the most recent presidential elections of 2018 removed Yameen from power and instead instilled Ibrahim Mohamed Solih as the President. Solih has promised to reverse the violations of human rights that were established under the Yameen government (12).

Throughout the governance transitions of the past ten years, the Maldivian government has been inconsistent in prioritizing

the protection of the environment. Nasheed's presidency was internationally recognized for its dedication to the fight against climate change. His administration advocated for the creation of a "carbon-neutral economy (zero net carbon-dioxide emissions)" by 2020 (8). This commitment was highlighted in 2009, when Nasheed famously held the world's first underwater Cabinet meeting to symbolize the future impact that climate change will have on the Maldives. In contrast to the Nasheed administration, the Yameen administration emphasized the need to address the effects of climate change on a much smaller scale. During his presidency, Yameen announced that the Maldives would not be pursuing the creation of a "carbon-neutral economy" but would instead be working to "reduce carbon emissions by 10% by 2030" (8). This radical reduction was justified as a financial necessity, as the government argued that the Maldives did not have the economic capacity to pursue a "carbon-neutral economy" (8). Instead, Yameen's government chose to pursue policies that were designed to increase mass tourism by developing the Maldivian islands. Yameen's administration argued that by expanding tourism, the Maldivian economy would be able to grow to the point where it could invest in environmental protection (32). Moreover, the Yameen government argued that these policies of development would not increase the Maldives' emission of greenhouse gases—if anything, they would help the Maldives toward their goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 10% (32). This was envisioned through the development of eco-friendly tourism, which is reflected in the budget increase described later in this paper.

Domestic and International Legislation on Climate Change:

Currently, the security of the Maldives is threatened by rising sea levels. Since the average elevation above sea level is 4ft, the Maldives is extremely sensitive to any changes in sea levels. Even a 1ft increase in sea level can cause the displacement of thousands of people, which is a large problem for this tiny nation. In fact, rising sea levels are such a threat that reports estimate that if nothing is done to stop rising sea levels, 75% of the Maldives will

disappear by 2100 (32).

In order to combat these dire consequences, the Maldives has taken extreme measures to diminish the effects of climate change. Domestically, the Maldives has implemented numerous environmental laws, from regulating fishing to banning the cultivation of coral reefs, to prevent the worsening of climate change effects (24). Furthermore, the Maldives has taken not only domestic but also international actions to prevent the continuation of climate change. The Maldives has ratified numerous international climate change agreements, including the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Paris Agreement, and the Kyoto Protocol. It also actively advocates for the international reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. Recent actions by the Maldives to diminish climate change effects include a promise to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions by 10% in 2030 (25). In spite of the fact that their greenhouse gas emissions only account for an estimated 0.003% of global greenhouse gas emissions, the Maldives wants to act as an international example of how states should work to reduce their impact on climate change (25). The Maldives is also a key member of the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) and “has played key roles in highlighting the special vulnerability of low-lying small island developing states to climate change” (9).

The importance that the threat of rising sea levels poses to the Maldives is reflected in their summary government budget of 2013-2017. Environmental protection is a key component of the Maldivian government budget. Environmental protection is classified as a “Public Service” and is prioritized with public expenditures such as “General Administration, Defence, and Public Order & Internal Security” (22). Likewise, from 2013 to 2017 the budget of the Ministry of Environment and Energy increased from 79,928,095 Maldivian rufiyaa (MVR) to 977,912,455 MVR (22). Simultaneously, the budget of the Ministry of Housing and Infrastructure has increased from 452,001,636 MVR in 2013 to 1,317,298,571 MVR in 2017 (22). The increase in both Ministries can be attributed directly to the problem of rising sea levels. Among other things, the Ministry of Environment and Energy must

“advocate for and manage other activities related to the mitigation of the effects of climate change onto the Maldives and other small island developing states, at regional and international level,” which is reflected in their dramatic budget increase (20). The large increase in the budget of the Ministry of Housing and Infrastructure is a result of the need to raise houses and buildings in order to protect them from flooding caused by rising sea levels (11).

In contrast to the rapidly rising budgets of the Ministries of Environment and Energy and Housing and Infrastructure, the Ministry of Economic Development has seen a much slower budget growth. In 2013 the total budget for the Ministry of Economic Development was 20,277,104 MVR, which increased dramatically in 2015 to 106,056,745 MVR, which is over a 500% increase (22). Since 2015, however, the Ministry of Economic Development has seen a decline in their government budget, with their 2017 budget amounting to only 74,975,153 MVR, which is a 29% decrease (22). This decrease is very surprising in a nation that has been pursuing economic development and implies that the government believes that there are more urgent priorities than solely pursuing economic development. However, a large increase in the budget of the Ministry of Tourism has shown how an eco-friendly economic development is possible. The budget increase, 94,226,850 MVR in 2013 to 199,413,786 MVR in 2017, (113% increase) has largely been used to introduce a new environmentally sustainable industry for tourism (22). As described by the Minister for Tourism, Mustafa Lutfi, “the Maldives has an international reputation as an idyllic island paradise with white sandy beaches and turquoise blue lagoons. In order to manage these attractive and delicate natural settings environmental management has been made an important and intrinsically linked component of the Maldivian tourism development” (24). This mentality has resulted in the creation of environmental guidelines designed to protect the Maldives from the adverse effects of climate change.

Australia:

Located in the Pacific Ocean, Australia is the world’s largest

island nation, with a land area totaling 2.97 million mi² and a total population of 24.13 million people (30). The average elevation above sea level is 1,080 ft. above sea level, making it the world's lowest lying continent. Currently, Australia is one of the world's richest countries, with a steady average GDP growth (2.4% growth in 2015 to an estimated 2.8% growth in 2017) (2).

Political History of Australia:

Australia was established as an independent nation on January 1, 1901. The government system of Australia is a parliamentary democracy, which is headed by the Prime Minister. In recent years the stability of Australian governance has been called into question. Since 2010, there have been 5 Prime Ministers. The current Prime Minister, Scott Morrison was sworn in August 2018. The rapid turnover of prime ministers has resulted in equally rapid changes in the environmental protection policies. The Gillard administration (2010-2013) took a strong stance in favor of environmental protection and passed forceful legislation, such as the infamous carbon tax, in support of this stance. The carbon tax, which charged the "top 500 polluting companies 23 Australian dollars (AUD) per tonne of carbon emissions released into the atmosphere" became an extremely controversial and highly politicized issue (29). The subsequent two prime ministers vowed to overturn the tax and the second prime minister, Tony Abbott, was successful in achieving its repeal.

Instead of the carbon tax, the Abbott government introduced the direct action policy as the new way for Australia to combat climate change. The direct action policy was designed to "provide financial incentives for polluters to reduce emissions" and was enacted through the creation of the Emissions Reduction Fund, which is described in the following paragraph (19). The successor to Tony Abbott, Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull, initially appeared to support the continuation of policies designed to protect the environment and fight climate change. Turnbull created the National Energy Guarantee (NEG), which "required [companies] to use a percentage of electricity from sources

such as coal, gas, batteries and pumped hydro" and reaffirmed Australia's commitment to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions (33). Unfortunately, these policies wouldn't last. The Turnbull government ultimately retracted their policies on environmental legislation and announced that they would no longer be regulating the NEG guidelines (6). Following in Turnbull's footsteps, the most recently elected prime minister, Scott Morrison, has shown that his administration will not be prioritizing climate change. This has become apparent through his condemnation of student-led climate change protests and his refusal to allow Australia to contribute to funding international climate change protection programs (13). In fact, when asked about whether Australia would hold true to their international promises to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, Morrison replied, "No, we won't ... we're not held to any of them at all. Nor are we bound to go and tip money into that big climate fund. We're not going to do that either. I'm not going to spend money on global climate conferences and all that nonsense" (13).

Domestic and International Legislation on Climate Change:

Rising sea levels pose a threat to the security of Australia. In particular, highly populated coastal areas of Australia such as Sydney, Queensland, and Adelaide are threatened by flooding due to rising sea levels. In order to combat climate change effects, Australia has enacted domestic environmental policies, such as regulating access to the Great Barrier Reef and encouraging coral reef planting, as ways to prevent further damages (7). Moreover, Australia has also introduced several projects to help implement their climate change goals. Projects such as The Emissions Reduction Fund have been essential at increasing the positive effect of the government's climate change policies. For example, The Emissions Reduction Fund "has supported the growth of a carbon market for Australian businesses, communities, landholders and others to generate carbon offsets from activities that reduce and avoid greenhouse gas emissions. Activities supported through the Fund provide important environmental, economic, social and cultural benefits for farmers, businesses, landholders, Indigenous

Australians and others” (7). The combination of impactful domestic policies and active projects highlights how Australia has worked to reduce its domestic impact on climate change.

Australia has also acted as a key legislator in enacting international climate change policies. Australia has ratified both the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol to much success. As is summarized in the Department of Environment and Energy 2017 Review of Climate Change Policies, “Australia’s target in the first commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol was to limit emissions to 108 percent of 1990 levels over the period 2008–2012. This target was beaten by 128 million tonnes of carbon dioxide equivalent (Mt CO₂-e). Australia is currently on track to over achieve the 2020 target of reducing emissions by 5 per cent below 2000 levels by 294 Mt CO₂-e, including Australia’s over achievement against the Kyoto Protocol first commitment period” (7). Moreover, “Australia has ratified the Paris Agreement. Our target is to reduce emissions by 26 to 28 per cent below 2005 levels by 2030,” which they argue is a reasonable target considering “we have a record of meeting and beating our emissions reduction targets and are on track to meet our 2030 target” (7).

However, in stark contrast to the image they have cultivated of prioritizing environmental protection, the actions of the Australian government tell a different story. The Australian government budget of 2016 highlights how environmental protection – specifically, environmental preservation – is of decreasing recent importance. The total budget for environmental protection in 2016-2017 was \$1.9 billion, which was a 17% decrease from the previous year (3). While current programs such as the National Landcare Program and the Reef 2050 Plan and Reef Trust will increase in expected government spending in 2017 through 2018, changes to the 2018-2019 budget reflect the changing concern in protecting the environment (3). The budget of the National Landcare Program is expected to decrease by \$6 million in 2018-2019 and further decrease by \$12.6 million in 2019-2020 (3). Similarly, the Reef 2050 Plan and Reef Trust, which is an environmental protection program designed to protect and preserve Australia’s coral reefs, will also face a budget decrease of \$17.8

million in 2018-2019 (3).

In contrast to the decrease in environmental preservation funding, the Australian government is instead looking to invest in clean energy development. This new agenda is emphasized by the dramatic increase in government spending on clean energy, with a \$2 million budget in 2015-2016 raised to \$57.1 million budget in 2016-2017. This is an increase of over 28 times the original budget (3). Furthermore, this budget is expected to continue rising, with the 2019-2020 budget estimate at \$75.2 million (3). The budget of tourism also increased, though only with a 0.003% increase (3). Moreover, the government is also working to support the continued economic development of Australia. As quoted in their government budget of 2015-2016, “domestically, the transition to broader-based growth is well underway, supported by historically low interest rates and a lower exchange rate. Real GDP is forecast to grow by 2½ per cent in both 2015-16 and 2016-17 before strengthening to 3 per cent in 2017-18” (3).

The dramatic increase in clean energy investments adjacent to the lessened regard for environmental preservation is in direct correlation with the government turnover of 2015 and the election of Malcolm Turnbull as the Prime Minister of Australia. Under his guidance, the government pursued an economic agenda designed to promote items of social welfare and defence spending whilst pushing for “responsible spending restraint” by the government, which resulted in dramatic decreases in “non-essential” government spending, including environmental preservation (3). Although an increase in investments in clean energy is a good thing, it comes at the cost of spending on environmental preservation. Turnbull’s environmental priorities were based on the need to continue reducing greenhouse gas emissions yet deprioritized other environmental protections. As Turnbull has said, “to effectively combat climate change” the nation “must move... to a situation where all or almost all of our energy comes from zero or very near zero emissions sources” (26).

What explains these differences?

Together, the contrasting policies of these island nations highlights how the threat of rising sea levels is prioritized differently throughout the world. Yet, the question of why island nations like the Maldives and Australia would have such varied policies has a few possible answers. First, the variance in energy patterns of the two countries could help explain the disparity between their environmental policies. When looking at the disproportion between the geographic size and population of the two island nations, there is an obvious imbalance in energy needs. The Maldives is an extremely small nation that is made up of 1,190 islands with total land area of just 115.1mi² and a population of 417,492 people (31). In contrast, Australia is the world's largest island nation, with a total land area of 2.97 million sq. mi and a population of 24.13 million people (30). Currently, coal accounts for an estimated 86% of Australian energy needs which is slightly higher than the Maldives dependency (at 82%) (27). As such, Australia has a greater dependence on energy than the Maldives.

In order to meet their energy demands, Australia has developed a reliance on coal. This dependence on coal has made Australia one of the world's top greenhouse gas emitters, contributing 1.33% of the world's total emissions, or 15.37 metric tonnes per capita (in 2014) (27). In order to reduce their contribution to climate change, Australia has dramatically increased their clean energy funding, whilst simultaneously decreasing their environmental preservation budget (3). Yet, despite this increase in funding, few changes have been made to minimize their reliance on coal. This could be in part due to the fact that coal is a major Australian export that has accounted for 10-15% of their total goods and services in the past 10 years (10). The coal export market hit a record height in 2017, earning Australia \$56.5 billion (10).

This surprising increase in coal usage suggests that the concern for environmental protection is dependent on a country's energy patterns. In a similar fashion to Australia's dependence on coal, the Maldives has a large reliance on the use of fossil fuels for their energy needs. Maldivian greenhouse gas emissions account for an estimated 0.003% of global greenhouse gas emissions, or 3.27 metric tonnes per capita (25). An estimated 82% of Maldivian

energy sources come from fossil fuels such as diesel, oil, and petroleum (25). For the Maldives, this dependence on fossil fuels is a problem, as almost all of their fossil fuels must be imported from other countries. This forces the Maldives to be reliant on the unpredictability of the global fossil fuel market for its energy needs. In order to reduce this vulnerability, the Maldives is working to create policies both internationally and domestically, designed to reduce the world's dependence on fossil fuels. For instance, in October 2017, the Maldives hosted a "high level a meeting of the Initiative for Renewable Island Energy (IRIE). The meeting was attended by 13 energy and environment ministers from the AOSIS membership around the world" (17). This meeting marked an important in step in working to reduce the harmful effects that fossil fuel dependencies have on climate change.

Another possible explanation is that the difference in the level of economic development of each island could be a reason for the variation in environmental policies. Australia is one of the world's richest nations, with an estimated GDP per capita of \$48,806 (28). Currently, Australia is one of the 30 richest countries in the world (28). In order to continue to be one of the richest nations in the world, Australia has pursued economic policies designed to increase their standing. Under the Turnbull administration, the Australian government has advocated for a policy of rapid economic development through the expansion of the science and innovation industries. As summarized in the Government Budget of 2016-2017, "Australians are rich with ideas. We must back our entrepreneurs in order to keep pace with other countries. Investing in innovation will create new jobs and products, solve problems and keep our living standards high" (3). From the expansion of the defence industry to the increase in foreign affairs and trade funding, the fight of the Australian government to "keep pace with other countries," is echoed throughout their 2016-2017 government budget and agenda (3). Unfortunately, in the quest for rapid development, Australia has left little room for environmental protection.

The massive reduction in the budget for environmental protection, combined with the expansion of the coal industry

highlights how policies of rapid economic development have pushed aside the environment. In contrast to the developed success of Australia, the Maldives is embracing the environment as it affects their livelihood. Currently, it is estimated to be the 93rd richest country in the world with a GDP per capita of \$7,367 and a rapidly developing economy (16). As reflected in their government budget, issues of health, judicial administration, and environmental protection are prioritized above achieving rapid economic development.

Lastly, the differences between the environmental policies of the Maldives and Australia could be explained by the varying constructs of each country's political system. Though both countries are democracies, the level of political freedom within each country is very different. According to Freedom House, an organization that ranks the levels of freedom found within each democracy in the world, in 2018 the Maldives had a freedom status of "partially free" (14). This marks a decade long status as a result of restrictions on who gets to vote as well as repression of the free press and political opposition under the Yameen administration (14). The Maldives overall democratic freedom score is 35 out of 100 (11). In contrast, Australia's 2018 democratic freedom score is 98 out of 100 (11). Freedom House identifies Australia as a "free" democracy and has given it full marks for political rights and high marks for civil rights for over 10 years (1). The contrast between each nation's levels of democracy and their actions on climate change could present an interesting correlation. Compared to Australia, the Maldives has been better able to effectively introduce and enforce environmental protection policies. It could be argued that the lower levels of democratic freedoms in the Maldives, specifically the restrictions on voting and government suppression of dissenters, has made it easier for the Maldives to pass policies on the protection of the environment. However, this claim would require further analysis.

Conclusion:

The contrast in the environmental policies of Australia and the Maldives highlights how island nations counter the threat

of rising sea levels in different ways. Although Australia's policy of promoting a clean energy agenda has fallen short, the Maldives has succeeded at prioritizing environmental protection. However, in spite of several divergences, there are a few similarities between what actions these countries have chosen to take in fighting rising sea levels. Both countries have been active participants in international agreements on climate change, enacting important environmental legislation such as the UNFCCC, the Kyoto Protocol, and the Paris Agreement. Moreover, both islands have been actively working to achieve the goals they set in these agreements, with Australia already succeeding at achieving its Kyoto Protocol goal and the Maldives being close to hitting its target of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 10% in 2030. In addition, both countries have been promoting agendas of reducing dependence on fossil fuels. Yet, in spite of a contrast in the degree of implementations of these policies, both countries have actively vocalized their desires for a future decrease in the usage of fossil fuels. This shared priority has made these countries take action on climate change, providing hope that future international agreements and further desires to reduce fossil fuels will result in greater efforts to reduce climate change and stop the threat of rising sea levels.

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Plastic Bags and Empty Promises: Gender and the American Dream in Sam Mendes' *American Beauty* and *Revolutionary Road*

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Abstract

Films about the suburbs reveal the darker truths that exist behind false images of perfection. These films serve as a reaction to the images found in 1950s dramas of stable, happy families and prosperity. Sam Mendes's two films, *American Beauty* and *Revolutionary Road*, portray the American suburbs in two different time periods, revealing the ways in which lifestyles have both changed and remained the same. In these films, behind closed doors exist many secrets—arguments, infidelity, pedophilia, abortion, and more. Characters marked as mentally ill in these films reveal the illnesses found in their society. Within the suburbs, men and women are forced into strict gender roles, leading to their dissatisfaction and separation. Betty Freidan's *The Feminine Mystique* outlines the problems felt specifically by housewives in the 1960s, problems that relate to films about the American suburbs from that time. These films make clear the ways in which pressures from capitalism, patriarchy, and the American dream have impacted men and women alike, fracturing families and leading to tragedy.

The visual horror of Bryan Forbes's *The Stepford Wives*, in which a mysterious men's organization replaces suburban wives with robots designed in their likeness, metaphorically reflects the realities of existence for housewives everywhere. Due to the pressures of capitalism and strict gender roles, these women lead lives based upon appearance and image, losing their own goals and identities to become creations designed by the men around them. The American dream of the middle- and upper-class suburbs promotes these false images as well as an overall focus on appearances that forces men and women to play roles, leaving them distanced from themselves, others, and their true aims. Throughout generations, pressures from men, consumerism, and the images promoted by the American dream have fractured families and left women feeling isolated and unfulfilled.

In the 1960s, Betty Freidan's *The Feminine Mystique* brought this "problem that has no name" to light, outlining the ways in which suburban women felt limited and oppressed in their roles as suburban housewives. Friedan's ideas sparked a feminist movement, helping women gain solidarity and opportunities beyond their roles as housewives and mothers. Throughout recent history, pressures of the suburban American dream continue to place both men and women into strict roles and promote the unattainable message that happiness can be bought. In films set in the American suburbs, a focus on housewives reveals the ways in which this culture of consumerism has left women isolated and unfulfilled. In Sam Mendes' two films set in the American suburbs, *American Beauty* and *Revolutionary Road*, these realities include infidelity, abortion, pedophilia, and hidden sexualities. In both films, two characters marked as mentally ill, Ricky and John Givings, instead reveal the illnesses of their society. These films reveal the ways in which the pressures of consumerism promote dehumanizing, unattainable lifestyles, forcing men and women into strict roles and fracturing families and relationships.

Many films about the suburbs reflect the realities that exist behind bright white picket fences, red roses, and beautiful homes. In one such film, Mike Nichols' 1967 *The Graduate*, Benjamin, an aimless college graduate caught within an affair with his older

neighbor, searches for an escape from the boredom that he fears will await him in his suburban future. The frequent appearance of a pool within the film symbolizes both Benjamin's wish to escape, and the feelings that exist below the surface of apparent suburban perfection (Beuka 14). The film's portrayal of the sexually awkward Benjamin reflects the ways in which the American suburbs influence and emasculate men. Benjamin engages in an affair with the older Mrs. Robinson as a means to escape and rebel against the life his parents lead and wish for him. This is a future in "plastics" and the pursuit of comfort, money, and status. Films made about the suburbs after the 1950s, including *The Graduate*, diverge from the glowing happiness found in previous films. Robert Beuka writes that "films such as *The Graduate*... in initiating a new and bleaker vision of suburban masculinity, offered something of a corrective vision to the images of stable patriarchal domesticity so carefully and forcefully promulgated on television in the era of that medium's—and suburbia's—youth" (Beuka 14). Many films set in the suburbs reveal the actual ways in which the suburban consumerist lifestyle emasculates men and pushes them into jobs and lifestyles that stifle their individuality. These pressures influence the family unit, which, behind closed doors, reveals animosity and anger.

Films about the suburbs also examine the ways in which American women are pressured into strict roles that they are unable to fulfill. Betty Freidan's famous book, *The Feminine Mystique*, analyzed the causes of a disconnect felt by suburban housewives in the 1960s. Even among a higher level of comfort and ability, these women still felt like something was missing from their lives. This manifested in psychological problems and even physical ailments. Freidan coined the discomfort she researched the "problem that has no name"—something invisible and unexplained. Women in the sixties frequently found that the life that was supposed to bring them happiness, a life of middle-class comfort, children, and housekeeping, left them feeling empty. The supposed progress that women had made, their abilities to receive a college graduation and gain employment, in some ways increased this disconnect as women found that, no matter how much experience of education

they gained, their main role still lay in the house.

This "problem that has no name" can be found within April Wheeler's role as housewife in Sam Mendes' *Revolutionary Road*, a 2008 film based upon Richard Yates' 1961 novel of suburban malaise. *Revolutionary Road* follows the increasingly strained marriage of Frank and April Wheeler, who remain increasingly trapped in a suburban lifestyle that they claim to disdain. Throughout *Revolutionary Road*, April struggles in her role as suburban mother and as housewife, appearing detached from her children. Her wish to escape her role is a mixture of selfishness and confusion, prompted by the lack of choices she has as a woman. April's detachment from her role as mother and housewife reflects the invisible problems outlined in *The Feminine Mystique*. Though a talented actress, her career has gone downhill as time has gone by and children have come. The film, in fact, begins with a scene that highlights this disappointment--April performs in a lackluster community play.

The play's failure and its unglamorous venue reflect the ways in which April's dreams have faded. This too reflects Freidan's examination of the ways in which suburban women everywhere felt close to the promise of life goals, which faded away to an inevitable housewife role. In *Revolutionary Road*, April plays this housewife role best when she has thought of a way to escape from it. For example, after she has thought of the idea to move to Paris, she "stages" a perfect birthday scene for Frank, presenting "the stereotypical version of the perfect suburban family" (Ravizza 71). Later in the film, when April has decided to attempt to abort her pregnancy, she "prepares breakfast for Frank and behaves like the perfect suburban housewife" (Ravizza 71). In both scenes, we see the difficulty April has in fitting this role, how "perfect housewife" is another act that she has to play, that she only has the energy to play when she knows that she will be able to soon escape it.

April's acting reflects Laura Mulvey's analysis of femininity and the "male gaze" in *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*. As a female character, like women everywhere, April is created by ideas designed by the men around her. She is an image

to be seen, unable to choose her own course in life. In this way, she reflects the robotic housewives in *The Stepford Wives*. In playing housewife, April must become a sort of visual mirage. Her inability to play this role harms herself and her children, and eventually leads to her death. Laura Mulvey's *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema* helps outline the importance of "seeing and being seen" in films about the suburbs. Mulvey's essay traces the impact of gender differences upon the ways in which films are made and consumed. She focuses upon the importance of "scopophilia," the pleasure gained from looking, within films. Mulvey argues that films both shape and reflect subconscious visual desires. She outlines a theory of the male gaze, or the ways in which women exist as objects to be seen by male viewers, writing that, "In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy on to the female figure, which is styled accordingly" (Mulvey 837). Women in films, then, exist in many ways to provide visual pleasure in order to satisfy male desires. These female characters are constructed in order to meet standards determined by the men watching them—they hold no true substance of their own. April's character, in revealing her inability to truly play the roles expected of her, reveals the destructive nature of these images, and the ways in which the male gaze harms women and robs them of their own identities.

Camera angles and the appearance of cameras, mirrors, and photographs in films about the suburbs prompt audiences to think about the act of looking, and to think about the ways in which their own lives may reflect the lives of the characters in the films, in turn forcing them to look at their society with a critical eye. In *The Stepford Wives*, for example, the robotic wives are created and designed by men. In this way, like housewives everywhere, they are merely mirages that are seen, but hold no identities of their own. In the film's beginning, upon leaving her home in the city, camera angles reflect Joanna's change from "subject" to "object," leaving her unable to see clearly when residing in Stepford. While in her city apartment, tight camera angles emphasize Joanna's comfort and ability to clearly see and interpret the world below her. Joanna

is also a photographer, and her own camera allows her to look closely at what goes on around her, in turn making her increasingly suspicious of what is going on in Stepford. However, when Joanna first enters her new home in Stepford, "the camerawork emphasizes [her] insignificance: In a shot from high atop the grand staircase to the second floor, Forbes' camera captures Joanna standing alone in the foyer of what seems an immense house, looking bewildered, and, by virtue of the camera angle, small and isolated" (Beuka 176). In entering Stepford, she loses her identity, becoming a subject to be seen and created by the men around her. The use of camera angles within the film creates a clear visual of the ways in which the male gaze acts to dehumanize and undermine women.

Image and the American dream are closely related. *Revolutionary Road* displays the ways in which the false images promoted by the American dream fracture families and relationships. Silence and repression are important themes throughout *Revolutionary Road*, specifically in their relations to gender. Because of the importance of appearances in the Wheeler's suburban neighborhood, darker truths are kept hidden. Many of these truths relate to sex, infidelity, mental illness, and abortion. Though Frank and April appear to find having more children burdensome, birth control and abortion are mentioned only in extreme secretiveness. Reflecting its late 1950s- early 1960s setting, abortion is not explicitly referenced in the film, instead it is "talked around," though it leads to the film's tragic ending--April's death.

In "The Politics of Melodrama: Nostalgia, Performance, and Gender Roles in *Revolutionary Road*," Eleonora Ravizza writes that, "instead of updating the text to contemporary sensibilities about abortion, the film mostly talks around the issue, having the characters refer to abortion as 'it [being] done' and mention that 'there are things [they] can do,' reflecting a fifties approach to that subject'" (Ravizza 65). The language that the characters use here, replacing their real action with words like "it" and "this," reflect the ways in which they work to hide this, even within their own intimate conversations. Ravizza argues that this approach to abortion does not entirely reflect the reality of women's lives in

the fifties, but a melodramatic approach constructed from other films depicting the fifties. In this way, the film exaggerates these behaviors in order to bring attention to them. *Revolutionary Road* thus reflects a melodramatic version of the fifties, based on popular films from that time period. Ravizza writes that “Hollywood melodrama of the 1950s” concerns “tragic heroines,” and “‘often features a woman sacrificing her own happiness for another person’” (Ravizza 65). Like *The Graduate*, in some ways, *Revolutionary Road* serves as a reaction to films from the 1950s, revealing the true problems found during the time period that were masked by entertainment.

These characteristics of melodrama apply to April’s character, who must sacrifice her own acting career and artistic dreams in order to live as a housewife, and whose life eventually ends in tragedy. This tragedy directly relates to April’s inability to escape her housewife role, and the ways in which this role has stifled her. In melodrama, and throughout *Revolutionary Road*, characters lack control over their own lives, and instead, “‘the world is closed, and the characters are acted upon’” (Ravizza 67). Though Frank and April see themselves more interesting than the suburban lifestyle that they are leading, they make few decisions of their own to transcend that lifestyle, save for their plans to move to Paris, which are “‘foiled by faulty contraception’” (Ravizza 67). In fact, many of the Wheeler’s moves and life changes are based, not upon preferences, but upon pregnancies, most of which appear unplanned, and perhaps unwanted. The way in which the couple ignores their children while spending their time fighting or planning their move to Paris reveals the characters’ selfishness and lack of care. Furthermore, it reveals the ways in which a consumerist society, and a suburban atmosphere more focused on appearances than compassion, prevent people from caring for their family. Within their arguments, Frank and April themselves also mention “soap operas” and “melodrama,” typically as a way to belittle the other. In these instances, “the term is negatively connoted, equated with being emotional as well as with being ‘feminine’” (Ravizza 67). Their ideas about melodrama are gendered--to be melodramatic is to be female and therefore frivolous and exaggerated.

Both Frank and April must “perform” gender roles that are expected of them within their time and place. In the 1950s suburbs, men were expected to be strong providers, while women were expected to be dutiful housewives. These roles do not come naturally to the characters. Instead, “the film emphasizes the repeated effort that both Frank and April have to make in order to continuously sustain their assigned gender roles, recalling Judith Butler’s definition of performance as a ‘stylized repetition of acts’” (Ravizza 69). Frank and April’s true roles are somewhat reversed, with April more “active and decisive,” Frank more “often characterized by stereotypically feminine qualities” (Ravizza 69). Their inability to fully perform their gender roles often sparks and influences their fights. Their first fight that occurs after leaving April’s performance in the film’s opening scenes “is set up like a performance--darkness all around them and the car lights shining as if they were on an actual stage” (Ravizza 70). During this melodramatic fight, each character blames the other for forcing them into a suburban gender role that they cannot fully perform. Frank yells at April, saying that “he does not ‘happen to fit the role of dumb, insensitive, suburban husband,’” while April “blames him for having her ‘in this little trap’” in her role as suburban housewife (Ravizza 70). The melodrama of the fight forces viewers to reflect upon the ways in which their suburban lifestyle forces them to constantly “act” or play false roles. The inclusion of a play, and many references to acting throughout the film, further display this theme, and relate to Mulvey’s ideas about image, performance and “being seen,” specifically in the way in which the film wants viewers to be conscious that they are watching a film.

April and Frank’s initial fight rapidly escalates to violence when April attacks Frank’s masculinity, saying, “Oh, you poor, pathetic little boy! Look at you! Look at you, and tell me how by any stretch of the imagination you can call yourself a man.” Frank reacts, preventing himself from hitting his wife by repeatedly hitting his car. This reflects the ways in which objects hold exaggerated amount of importance in the consumerist messages of the American dream. In the suburbs, cars, particularly for men, held importance as a symbol of wealth and status. These dramatic fights

frequently evolve out of Frank's inability to fulfill his masculine role, and of their overall inability to escape what they view as the oppression and "emptiness" of the suburbs. This initial fight, as well, brings light to the frustration that the characters feel in a setting that does not reflect their dreams of creative freedom. This stems from April's dissatisfaction with her acting performance and Frank's subsequent reaction to it.

These fights, in some ways, reflect those of Lester and Carolyn Burnham in Sam Mendes' earlier film, *American Beauty*. *American Beauty* presents a 1999 vision of American suburbia. It follows Lester Burnham, a bored suburban father who finds himself questioning his purpose after losing his job in advertising and becoming increasingly more attracted to his teenage daughter Jane's friend, Angela. In this film, marital gender roles "reverse" when Lester quits his job and his wife Carolyn is left as the sole breadwinner. Carolyn obsesses over her real estate agent job, finding that her only true purpose is to sell. In exaggerating and parodying Carolyn's behavior, Mendes reveals the ways in which capitalism inspires people to chase ridiculous or uneatable goals, goals which separate them from their families. After Lester loses his job, Carolyn attacks Lester in front of Jane for giving her the "added pressure of being the sole breadwinner." It becomes clear that their marriage is more of a financial arrangement than a relationship, reflecting the ways in which capitalist pressures damage American marriages and families.

After this argument, Carolyn reinforces these damaging messages of individualism, telling Jane that the most important lesson is that "you cannot count on anyone but yourself." When Jane does not respond as expected, Carolyn angrily tells her "look at everything you have," arguing that she should be happy because of the material goods the family is able to afford. Throughout the film, Carolyn finds meaning from the outside appearance of her home, spending hours pruning her roses, and the items that she and her family can afford. Like other films about the suburbs, *American Beauty* examines an obsession with appearance and the darker truths that lie behind it. When Lester comes to realize the emptiness behind his job and the items he owns, he displays a lack of care

for material goods that disturbs Carolyn and strains their marriage. Again, the failures of the American dream become clear, as it is obvious that the family's happiness does not, in fact, depend upon what they own. Instead, this message leaves the family members dissatisfied, angry, and isolated.

In *Revolutionary Road*, marriage arrangements are also based upon strict gender roles and finances. Both Frank and April struggle to fulfill the roles expected of them because of their gender. Frank does not fit the stereotypical role of masculine suburban husband. Instead, he displays the feminine qualities that April lacks. Unlike April, Frank "is the one who wants to talk and explore their feelings," while April "would rather not 'talk about everything all of the time'" (Ravizza 72). Within their dreams of Paris as well, though, April wants to give Frank the space to explore his supposed artistic talents. She is the only who truly holds both talent and artistic aims. However, because of her gender, these talents are stifled—as April grows older she is expected to settle into her housewife role and Frank into his role as provider. Frank's masculinity, like Lester Burnham's, is threatened in his job, a role that he finds uninteresting, unchallenging, and below him. When his masculinity is threatened at work, he must regain a sense of power by seducing a younger female co-worker. Again, the pressures of gender and capitalism serve to break apart relationships, revealing the moral emptiness of this society. Frank himself later admits to this affair and to the reasons behind it, telling April that it was "a simple case of wanting to be a man again after all that abortion business. Some kind of neurotic, irrational need to prove something" (Ravizza 74). Like Lester Burnham, Frank finds the need to regain his masculinity through an affair. Within their jobs and societies, the strong masculinity that they aspire to is unattainable, a mere image that, in aspiring to achieve, turns them into caricatures. Furthermore, in both films, both husband and wife at some point cheat on the other. This reveals the lack of connection found behind the facade of American suburban marriages. Furthermore, it reveals the ways in which characters look for an "escape" from the pressures of the suburbs through sex.

In Frank Wheeler's case, though he appears confessional

and regretful, he in some way blames April for the affair. He argues that she was the one who emasculated him in her decision to get an abortion, leading him to seek reaffirmation through an affair. April's confidence and determination threatens Frank's masculinity, which she at times both attacks and praises. During arguments she calls him a "boy," and belittles his sense of masculinity. However, in another instance, when reassuring Frank of his talents, she says "You're the most valuable and wonderful thing in the world. You're a man" (Ravizza 73). Though positive, her words appear sarcastic in some way, revealing that simply "being a man in the 1950s is enough to make Frank special" (Ravizza 73). April, feeling inadequate in her own role as housewife, attacks Frank for his inability to fulfill his masculine role. April wishes that she had the power that Frank has merely because of his gender. Though April is the more talented of the two, she tells Frank to explore his talents in Paris while she finds work. April is the one who truly wishes for the freedom to live in and explore Paris, yet she is held back by her pregnancy and her role as suburban housewife. Though April praises masculinity, she also at times attacks Frank for his inability to fulfill his masculine role. Frank also, in his dissatisfaction with his job, outbursts, and infidelity, reveals a lack of confidence within his role as masculine provider. Through these interactions, the film makes clear the ways in which pressures of consumerism and the American dream impact masculine identity, leading to confusion and anger. In *Revolutionary Road*, the strict categorization of gender prevents Frank and April from leading the lives that they truly wish to lead and forces them into strict and unfulfilling roles. This quickly sparks their loud, cruel arguments.

Both *American Beauty* and *Revolutionary Road* use "outsiders" to comment on the flaws of American suburban culture. Within this culture, any deviation from the norm is heavily ostracized and hidden in favor of an image of false happiness and prosperity. However, behind these images rests despair, emptiness, and desperation. Both Ricky, the Burnham's drug-dealing next-door neighbor and Jane's eventual love interest, and John Givings, the son of the Wheeler's friends, are rumored to be mentally ill. They are said to have spent time in institutions. Yet it becomes clear that

it is not them but their society that is ill. Their supposed mental illness is exaggerated as well and viewed as something dark and embarrassing. In *American Beauty*, Ricky rejects what society tells him will make him happy, instead finding "beauty" all around him—in his films of dead birds and floating plastic bags. He shamelessly films those around him when they are unaware, tracking how they behave when they are not playing a role. Angela reveals her fear of Ricky due to his ability to see beyond her facade. She therefore dismisses him, calling him "crazy," "psycho," "freak." Ricky's films zoom in on Jane's eyes, notably in the scene in which he films her asking him to kill Lester. She performs for the camera in the ways in which she carefully moves her body, though she seems more comfortable than she has been in her body. After he turns off the camera, she reminds him that she was kidding, yet it always seems that people are more truthful when filmed through the lens of Ricky's camera. This camera lens again reflects Mulvey's analysis of performance and film. Through Ricky's camera lens, characters are made to feel uncomfortable and self-conscious—because of this, the facades they keep up begin to falter.

In *Revolutionary Road*, the introduction of the character John Givings, a neighbor's son who has recently spent time in a mental institution, forces the Wheelers to examine their flaws. The Givings keep quiet about their son, fearing how others would react if they knew about him. John looks at the world around him with a realistic, critical eye, and responds to it loudly and confidently. When the Wheelers reveal that they have decided not to go to Paris because April is pregnant, and, according to Frank, they would therefore be unable to afford it, John appears skeptical. "Okay, it's a question of money, money's a good reason, but it's hardly ever the real reason, what's the real reason?" He then asks if it was April's decision, if she was "not quite ready to quit playing house, no that's not it". At this point, he stands up at the set table and loudly interrogates Frank, asking him "What happened?" Givings has no care for social niceties and instead sees beyond the facades that the characters are holding. He brings their hidden mistakes to light and questions them shamelessly. Later, he continues questioning Frank to his face, asking if he got "cold feet," if he was too comfortable

in “the old ‘hopeless emptiness.’” In these words Givings comes closest to the truth. He realizes that, although Frank claims to look down upon his suburban life, in actuality he fears leaving it. He sees beyond Frank’s facade of uniqueness and talent, finding him instead to be as ordinary as every other man in his town. He hits a nerve, prompting Frank to yell that “he should keep his fucking opinions in the fucking insane asylum where they belong.” The Givings excuse John’s behavior by reminding their guests that John is “not well,” in turn taking the power away from his words. Like Angela, they fear the truth, and therefore label any threat to their facade as “ill” or “crazy.” In reality, the Wheelers are perhaps more “ill” than John, as made clear by their overblown fights, lack of attention for their children, and an inability to speak about pregnancy and abortion that leads to April’s death. Both Ricky and John Givings, in their refusal to abide by the codes of their societies, reveal the flaws found within their suburban American communities.

Mulvey’s ideas about “being seen” relate to many films about the suburbs, as they work to point out flaws in a culture that is obsessed with false appearances. In *American Beauty*, image, cameras, and mirrors are a frequent motif, not merely within Ricky’s films. Lester Burnham sees Angela Hayes not as the high school student that she is, but as the culmination of his fantasies. His idea of her reflects Mulvey’s idea of the “male gaze”, and the ways in which suburban men released their own insecurities and failures by finding pleasure from viewing women in films and glossy photos. Lester projects his dreams and dissatisfactions onto Angela. Angela, although in reality a young, insecure girl, also projects the fantasies from magazines and modeling shoots (which entirely cover her bedroom wall) onto herself. She is constantly performing, whether in her embellished stories of sexual escapades and fame with Jane, in her cheerleading performance, or in her aspirations of becoming a famous model. Mulvey writes that “Women displayed as sexual object is the leit-motiff of erotic spectacle: from pin-ups to strip tease, from Ziegfield to Busby Berkeley, she holds the look, plays to and signifies male desire” (Mulvey 256). Angela aspires to be the attention of this “male

desire,” losing herself in the process. In all of these roles, Angela must play a role in order to become an object of sexual desire to be “viewed” by those around her. As a result, her true self and identity are lost. Lester cannot see beyond this false image that Angela portrays and, instead, entirely buys into her exaggerated sex appeal, forgetting about her age. At the end of the film, Jane and Angela’s fight and Ricky’s words threaten to reveal Angela’s facade. When Angela tells Jane not to run away with Ricky because she is a “kid,” Jane responds “I’m no more a kid than you are,” reminding both Angela and the viewer that, behind the false image of sexual confidence that she projects, Angela is a young girl. Angela is hurt the most by Ricky, who tells her that she is “ugly” and “ordinary.” She refuses to be “ordinary,” and turns to Lester to refute Ricky’s words.

Hurt, alone, and confused, Angela sits in a chair in a dark corner of the Burnham’s house downstairs, tears causing her makeup to run. This is how Lester sees her--in a more true version of herself, merely an insecure girl crying at a sleepover. Lester, however, still desires Angela, and promises her that she is anything but “ordinary.” This reflects the way in which Lester has bought into the American dream. Angela represents this dream, as she eventually reveals herself not to be the glowing, confident creature that appears to Lester in his frequent fantasies. Like the American dream, she promises happiness and escape, yet in reality holds no true substance. When Angela reveals that she is a virgin, that she’s not ready, Lester’s vision of her is shattered, and he realizes the mistake he has made in buying into her teenage facade. This moment reflects the entirety of the movie: Lester buys into the American dream due to its promise that a job, nice house, and car will bring happiness--when it does not, he is left trapped. Eventually, the only way out of this unsustainable lifestyle is through his death.

In *American Beauty*, Lester’s dreams of Angela appear to “awaken” him from his suburban boredom. They distract and entrance him, leading him to neglect his role as husband, father, and financial provider. Throughout the film, while “pursuing Angela, Lester recovers his youth, at least until the moment he realizes

he is about to corrupt the innocent” (Hibbs 83). He connects with Ricky, with whom he smokes marijuana carelessly, listens to songs he has forgotten about, and acts like someone a third of his age. Lester searches for escape from the “twin nihilisms of consumerism and perpetual adolescence” and a return to images of freedom and true happiness from his youth. Yet, because his dream of Angela is based on image and fantasy, this escape is also false, which Lester eventually realizes when he gets too close to Angela. Lester’s disconnect and discomfort stem from gender roles and the consumerist lifestyle around him. On the outside, Lester has everything that society says he needs: a nice house in the suburbs, a wife and family, and a job in advertising. His job in the advertising industry, an industry that works to create false visions that influence people to buy products, most notably reflects his own life and the American dream overall.

The American dream itself is a false image, a mirage to be bought into that, in reality, does not bring the comfort it promises. The influences of capitalism and consumerism found within the American dream also change family dynamics, which *American Beauty* reveals in the disconnects found behind the doors of Lester Burnham’s home. The American dream promises that middle-class jobs will bring with them the image of a perfect family. In reality, competitive pressures break apart the family, which, in Lester Burnham’s case, “becomes a sort of semiotic hell wherein the signs of what the family should have been linger in the absence of their realization” (Hibbs 85). This “hell” is shown in the dysfunctional dinner scenes at the Burnham household. Lester’s wife, Carolyn, attempts to create the image of a happy family at their family dinners, but fails miserably--her daughter silent and brooding, her husband angry. Under this unhealthy facade and consumerist lifestyle, writes Hibbs, “the family is no longer a community of persons...Instead it is a sum of individuals, each of whom regards his or her body and personal space as property that can be offered to another through a contractual arrangement or a violent alienation” (Hibbs 85). Familial relationships, then, become contracts. Therefore, in *American Beauty*, when Lester loses his job, his familial role changes drastically, and his wife turns to him with

unconsoled anger at leaving her to financially support the family. Lester, in turn, criticizes his wife’s “money-grubbing” behavior in her career as a real estate agent, and the exaggerated importance that she places on her possessions. When Carolyn criticizes Lester for the lack of attention he gives to Jane, Lester says “You treat her like an employee!” highlighting the way in which their consumerist lifestyle has influenced their family. Later on, Carolyn stops Lester from kissing her because she fears he will spill beer on his couch. Lester, fed up with her obsession with image and objects, says “it’s just a couch,” and “this isn’t life--it’s just stuff”. Within this consumerist lifestyle, objects are given more care than children, who are neglected and seen as burdens--this is seen in Jane Burnham’s isolation and insecurity and in the ways in which Frank and April Wheeler neglect their young children in *Revolutionary Road*.

Set and released in 1999, *American Beauty* reflects similar problems to those found within *Revolutionary Road*’s 1950s America. Both films feature men who feel stifled in their jobs and who search for a release through sex. *American Beauty* in some ways reveals the progress that women have made since the publication of *The Feminine Mystique*, particularly within their abilities to work, but it is clear that the pressures of capitalism and the American dream continue to force men and women into strict roles and categorizations. Both films end in tragedy, revealing that the only way to escape such a strict and “empty” society may be through death. Furthermore, image is an important focus throughout both films, and in many films about the suburbs, which work to examine flaws behind visions of false perfection.

Both *Revolutionary Road* and *American Beauty* expose flaws in American suburban culture and in the American dream. Behind closed doors and windows, they reveal the dysfunctional families that exist in suburban households. Consumerist and capitalist forces of the American dream create the disconnects found in both the Wheeler and the Burnham households. Both films reveal the ways in which gender is categorized in the suburbs, forcing men into dead-end careers and women into unfulfilling roles as housewives and mothers. In this consumerist lifestyle,

relationships become transactions and children become neglected burdens. Jane's insecurity and anger at her absent father reflect this in *American Beauty*. In *Revolutionary Road*, April's inability to "play" housewife and her inability to control pregnancy lead to tragedy. The Wheelers also neglect their children and view them as financial burdens, which prevents them from engaging in their fantasy of Paris. Both films remind viewers of the differences between fantasy and reality. In *Revolutionary Road*, John Givings reveals Frank's exaggerated importance and the Wheelers' dreams of Paris to be a fantasy. In reality, Frank is an ordinary man who fits in at his dead-end job. In *American Beauty*, Ricky's camera reveals the truth behind the facades that characters hold. Through the eyes and camera lenses of these characters, viewers may turn a critical eye to the unsustainable forces of their own societies.

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**Reclaiming Reflections: Black Women's Bodies and
Representation in Paule Marshall's *Brown Girl, Brownstones*
and *Praisesong for the Widow*
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Abstract

Historically, the media has treated Black women's bodies as objects. This paper examines the representation of Black women's bodies in Paule Marshall's *Brown Girl, Brownstones* (1959) and *Praisesong for the Widow* (1983). In Marshall's works, the bodies of Black women are represented as sites of transformation. Selina, the protagonist of *Brown Girl, Brownstones*, and Avey, the protagonist of *Praisesong for the Widow*, both experience their bodies in unique ways due to intersections on race, gender, age, ethnicity, and nationality. This paper uses post-colonial theory, Black feminist thought, and Afro-Diasporic literary imagination as a means through which to explore the importance of centralizing the Black female body in literature.

Introduction

Paule Marshall's works *Brown Girl, Brownstones* (1959) and *Praisesong for the Widow* (1983) focus on the bodies of both their Black female protagonists. By positioning Black women's bodies as sites of transformation, both novels construct alternative figures of Black womanhood that are complicated and authentic. Selina and Avey, the novels' two protagonists, resist dominant society's constructed "other" while simultaneously building up a rediscovered and empowered self. This claim to subjectivity largely produces itself through representations of their bodies. The Black female body, often fetishized and objectified, has been taken away from Black women. It has been paraded around as a thing to be balked at, claimed, or destroyed. By focusing on Black women's bodies, Marshall not only humanizes them, but also goes on to show that Black women have a unique power and rich long-running history within their bodies. In this paper, I argue that by making the body the focal point, Marshall's Black protagonists and readers alike can reconnect with their bodies, their sense of self, and their history. It is a process of decolonization that both Selina and Avey embark on in their distinct ways.

I will be approaching *Brown Girl, Brownstones* and *Praisesong for the Widow* using a post-colonial lens. Both of these works aim to decolonize the mind. In her essay "Towards a Decolonization of the Mind and Text 1," Gloria Bird discusses the role that colonialist discourse serves and argues that it functions as a means of subjugating the native "by imbibing that Otherness within the tropes of moral and metaphysical differences" (3). Recurring tropes that cast the Other as the immoral contrast to colonialists both reinforces their Othered status to colonizers and the natives themselves. Bird argues that decolonization is a process that first requires the colonized to become aware that they have internalized colonialist depictions of themselves, and second employs "...subversive strategies to undermine and challenge accepted paradigms" (3). In this essay, I use Bird's definition of decolonization to argue that Marshall's works are examples of the subversive and challenging material needed to decolonize the minds of Black girls and women.

Brown Girl, Brownstones

The body is a site that links past with present and forms a relation to space. This takes an especially interesting form in Marshall's *Brown Girl, Brownstones*. The novel begins with the narrator describing the brownstones on Fulton Street, Brooklyn, which is the primary location where the characters develop. The brownstones, all previously inhabited by white tenants, are written to be living entities. Breathing and moving, they are each slightly different from one another, but form one body. As Marshall writes, "Yet they all shared the same brown monotony. All seemed doomed by the confusion of their design" (1). The confused design in the Black diaspora, in Barbadian immigrants, and in Selina Boyce herself mirror the confused design of the body of brownstones that frame their lives.

Are their bodies, telling their contradictory and conflicting origins, doomed as well? Representation of Black female bodies varies drastically in their meanings, but these representations all serve the same function. As Patricia Hill Collins states in "Mammies, Matriarchs, and Other Controlling Images," the mammy, the matriarch, the welfare queen, and the jezebel are all "controlling images" that serve to normalize the oppression that Black women's experience. Marshall's emphasis on Black women's bodies counters what controlling images aim to do. She provides various models for what it means to be a Black woman, none of which are caricatures. Her repeated focus on the body forces readers to see the illusory Black images, the real Black images, and how the characters in the novel work to unpack the damage of the former and heal through the formation of the latter.

Selina, a "New York child" in a West Indian body, longs for answers and a home. She feels out of place in her body and her body makes her feel out of place in the world around her. While the neighborhood is currently West Indian, it had been built by the Dutch-English and Scotch-Irish. The narrator explains that during their time there, the brownstones had been a quiet, more genteel environment. As West Indians moved in, like a "dark sea nudging its way onto a white beach and staining the sand", the brownstones' perceived economic and social values dropped (2). Many white

people moved out and the few that are left are dying.

The narrator's tone about the neighborhood's changes matches Selina's feelings of displacement in her home. In Selina's mind, the house she desperately wants to call her own belongs to white ghosts. She imagines that "Their white hands trailed the bannister; their mild voices implored her to give them a little life. And as they crowded around her, she was no longer a dark girl alone and dreaming at the top of an old house, but one of them, invested with their beauty and gentility" (3). The power of Selina's daydreams brings the previous tenants back to life in an idealized form. They are all light and able to move and express themselves silently. Selina finds beauty in this silence despite the noisy way she moves about the house. "As Selina entered, the chandelier which held sunlight frozen in its prisms rushed at her, and the mirror flung her back at herself..." (3). The narrator mentions before that within the parlor-room mirror there resides the faces of tenants past. The mirror rejects Selina's Black face and Black body. This mirror is meant to reflect white bodies and their beauty. It is offended at her request to reflect her black body, for it has no beauty.

In her essay on working class bodies, Lisa Orr complicates Judith Butler's claim that "abject bodies do not count as bodies," by insisting that they actually count as "too much" bodies. Orr argues that the performance of gender differs by class and that working-class bodies and middle-class bodies are measured against one another, with middle-class bodies being the standard. "The transgressor -- the 'outer' at which all this social policing of bodily borders is aimed -- becomes the abject, against which the norm is defined. This abject thus both defies and sustains gender," Orr writes (3). I argue that, in the case of Black bodies, the concept of being too much does not contain itself within working-class identity but extends even as upward class mobility is achieved. Black female bodies, racialized, otherized, fetishized, stand in contrast to idealized white female bodies.

The failure to embody a "holy" female body is a struggle that Selina tries to reconcile throughout the novel. Since whiteness is used to describe Christian themes and Christian words are used to illustrate whiteness, she feels as though she does not belong in the

parlor room with its cherubs and overt Christian imagery. Marshall illustrates this sentiment in the following passage: “A truculent face and eyes too large and old, a flat body perched on legs that were too long. A torn middy blouse, dirty shorts, and socks that always worked down into the heel of her sneakers. That was all she was. She did not belong here. She was something vulgar in a holy place” (4). Though Selina is only a child, her eyes are described as being too old. As Ferguson notes in her essay discussing how Black school children are viewed, Black girls are not allowed an extended period of innocence and youth. This “adulthood,” as Ferguson words it, grants Black girls shorter childhoods since they are viewed as much older than their white counterparts. Ferguson continues: “Though these girls may be strong, assertive, or troublesome, teachers evaluate their potential in ways that attribute to them an inevitable, potent sexuality that flares up early.”(438). Her mother Silla’s continual labeling of Selina as “too womanish” following acts of defiance or over-speaking speaks to the fact that, as a Black child, Selina’s actions and body are viewed as too mature.

Michael Cobb, in his essay on religious imagery in *Brown girl, Brownstones*, notes the constant depiction of whiteness as being pure and blackness as being tainted. Selina’s feelings of rejection from the space around her has a direct correlation to how she feels about her own body. Her face, her legs, her eyes, and her blackness begin to antagonize her just as they antagonize the sterile environment around her. As Cobb writes:

Throughout this novel, a constellation is drawn between whiteness, religion, and the question of whether or not Selina’s black body can occupy or possess these white rooms, and whether the available language can help in answering this question. The traditional religious vernacular establishes the vulgarity of Selina’s body, and reduces her dark colour into an uneasy relationship in the white space and voices: her brown body, and indeed her black voice, do not belong in the brownstone. (637).

The combination of Eurocentric imagery and text imposed onto Black people, starting from childhood and continuing on into

adulthood is a means of colonizing the mind. It is a brainwashing process so insidious in nature that it does not necessarily require outright lecturing of “right” versus “wrong.” A child of ten can subconsciously connect cherubs and angels as favorable representations of a white world to which she will never belong. Portraying a child’s make-believe play as well as the complicated thoughts and feelings that Selina has during this play, Marshall shows that not even the young are free from the effects of damaging perceptions of blackness.

Such binaries allow no room for negotiation. As Hill Collins explains, both parts in a binary exist in relation to the other. The nature of this relationship is founded on oppositions and works to maintain an imbalance of power. “In such thinking, difference is defined in oppositional terms. One part is not simply different from its counterpart; it is inherently opposed to its “other” (70). If Christian images are white, then according to this binary thinking, they cannot also be Black. Blackness is either too much of something negative or too little of something positive. Selina is able to think critically about feelings of displacement and objectification once she is older. Her boyfriend, Clive, is an artist and shares her skepticism of The Barbadian Home Owners’ Association. He also is someone with whom she feels that she can share her experiences with racism.

In an attempt to verbalize how she is received by her white peers, Selina expresses a feeling of not truly being seen: “The funny feeling you get is that they don’t really see you. It’s very eerie and infuriating. For a moment there until everybody suddenly got very friendly I felt like I didn’t exist in their mind’s eye. Oh, maybe I was just being oversensitive, I dunno” (218). Selina is able to feel herself being looked through while at the same time knowing that another self is being looked at. This other self is a carefully constructed image that Selina does not identify with, but it is the identity through which others recognize her. In response to her worries, Clive notes that there are long-standing, complex connotations to the color black and that when looking at them, white people may be drawing upon any number of images. He lists off “black moor tugging their white ewe, or some legendary beast

coming out of the night and the fens to maraud and rape. Caliban. Hester's Black man in the woods. The Devil. Evil. Sin. The whole long list of their race's fears'" (218). Clive introduces images of Blackness that range from historical, to literary, to religious in nature. These ideas serve a purpose. It is inferred that whatever psychological needs white people have are being met by the creation of these dangerous figures. "The subject of the dream is the dreamer" and the darkness within white imagination is brought to life through the mammy, the jezebel, the looming dark figure hell-bent on violence (Morrison 17). In the end, Clive suggests that Black people must confront white people with "the full and awesome weight of our humanity" until these constructed images eventually shatter (218).

It seems, then, that there are two potential purposes that accurate, human representation may serve. On one hand, it may show white people that there is no such thing as the controlling images that they have constructed. On the other, representation may show Black people that they are not and cannot be contained by such images and that, though it may not be easy, forming an identity true to one's self is possible. I argue that it is much more useful to utilize works like Marshall's as a means to aid Black people's journey of mental decolonization. As James Baldwin states:

What white people have to do is try to find out in their own hearts why it was necessary to have a "nigger" in the first place, because I'm not a nigger, I'm a man. But if you think I'm a nigger, it means you need him. The question you've got to ask yourself, the white population of this country has got to ask itself-- North and South because it's one country and for the Negro there is no difference between the North and South. It's just a difference in the way they castrate you, but the fact of the castration is an American fact. If I'm not the nigger here and you invented him, you the white people invented him, then you've got to find out why. (Peck).

Much as Morrison argues, the images superimposed onto Black people serve a function for white people; however, Black people cannot be expected to solve that dilemma, while at the same

time addressing their own emotional trauma that was caused by these very images in the first place. There is a crucial journey that both Black and white people must choose to embark on.

During an interaction with her white classmate's mother, Selina realizes that there is a disconnect between how she views herself and how white people view her. Following their dance recital, Margaret's mother wants to meet Selina because of how well she danced. Selina's exemplary performance leaves her confident and elated. Her peers are all vocal about how she was the star of the show, but her interaction with Margaret's mother brings her down. Her mother's description echoes previous descriptions of the brownstone's. "...The woman rose from a wing chair under a tall lamp and briskly crossed the room, her pale hand extended. Her figure in a modish dress was still shapely, her carefully applied make-up disguised her worn skin and the pull of the years at her nose and mouth. Under her graying blond hair her features were pure, her lackluster blue eyes almost colorless" (246). Margaret's mother is almost ghostly. Her movements and body seem to belong to the ghost family that Selina imagined during her childhood. Selina again experiences a short-lived sense of belonging before outright rejection. The conversation is much more like an interrogation.

Selina is aware that something significant is at stake once Margaret shifts the conversation to an inquiry of Selina's ethnic background. She is satisfied to hear that Selina is West Indian, not African American, and begins to tell her about a West Indian "girl" she once employed to look after Margaret years ago. "'Can you remember Ettie, dear? She used to call you Princess Margaret because you looked so much like a real princess then'" (248). By discussing Ettie's subordinate position in their household, Margaret's mother tries to put Selina back in her place. She compliments Selina in a backhanded way by telling her that she is uncharacteristically well-spoken. She then insinuates that her talent in dance comes not from hard work and dedication, but from her "race's natural talent for dancing and music" (249). Despite Margaret's mother's outward air of praise, Selina is aware of her true intent. She wants to place Selina in the "good negro" box

because to her there are either “good negroes” or “bad negroes.” Both of these categories are defined by dominant white society. As mentioned earlier, controlling images are used to explain Black women’s subordination. Margaret’s mother draws up the mammy image when discussing Ettie in an attempt to establish dominance over Selina and invalidate Selina’s claim to subjecthood.

Marshall’s representation of Black womanhood works to offer Black women alternate images of selfhood through creative expression. Marshall acknowledges that there are illusory images forced onto Black women, that these images can impart emotional trauma, and that there can be a way to build up a self-created image in the hopes of reaching empowerment. There are pockets of belonging Selina experiences. One of the first is paired with poetry. The adolescent Selina and her best friend Beryl lay together in a park. Selina recites poetry for Beryl as she falls asleep in her arms:

Whispering, Selina recited then to the rock, to the dome in the sky, to the light wind, all the poems she had scribbled in class, that came bright and vivid at night. Beryl stirred in her sleep and pressed Selina closer. Just then the sun rose above the rock. The strong light seemed to smooth the grass, to set the earth steaming richly. They were all joined it seemed: Beryl with the blood bursting each month inside her, the sun, the seared grass and earth—even she, though barren of breast, was part of the mosaic. (51)

Following her recitation of poetry, first for her closest friend, and then to the nature around her, Selina feels as if she is part of a larger work of art. Selina and Beryl’s bodies, though they differ in many ways, both belong in this mosaic when joined together naturally. They are each as beautiful as the sun, the earth, and the sky.

Dance provides Selina with a sense of belonging to her body. Like poetry, dance becomes a means of expressing herself: “...and she rose—sure, lithe, controlled; her head with its coarse hair lifting gracefully; the huge eyes in her dark face absorbed yet passionate, old as they had been old even when she was a child, suggesting always that she had lived before and had retained, deep within her, the memory and scar of that other life” (243). The

narrator describes Selina with the same awe and admiration with which Selina once viewed the brownstone’s off-limits parlor room. Once an “unholy thing,” Selina now feels as if she is “giving each one there something of herself, just as the priest in Ina’s church, she remembered, passed along row of communicants, giving them the wafer and the transmuted blood” (243). Selina bares her soul and feels as if she is truly seen. She willingly gives part of herself to the audience in a transcendent manner. The thunderous applause signals that she is being well-received just as she is.

Marshall using words like “dark” and “coarse” in a way that diverges from controlled images that usually haunt Selina challenges readers to associate darkness with excellence. Darkness is neither tied to sin nor evil. Coarse hair on top of her head is linked to grace, not shame. The unusually aged nature of her eyes is shown again. This time readers see that all along there had been a story, or stories, residing within Selina’s eyes that long predate her. Within her body she carries the stories of those who came before her. Her body feels this history and her eyes show it, yet the other life and all of its contents reside deep within her. It is as if the other life, always present, is brought forward to Selina’s time when she is able to feel free within her own body.

Marshall’s conclusion of the novel signals Selina’s choice to continue on a journey of self-discovery and self-definition. Her mother and father came to America to seek out new opportunities. During her childhood, Selina’s father would tell her that one day he would take her back to Barbados when he makes something of himself, but that day never arrives. His premature return to Barbados upon an abrupt deportation ends in his death just as Barbados comes into view on the horizon. Marshall writes, “When he saw the island, he emitted a low frightened cry, his hand rose to blot it out. For that low mound, resting on the sea like a woman’s breast when she is supine, was Barbados. Time fled as the mist fled and he was a boy again, diving for the coins tourists tossed into the sea, and he saw the one he wanted most in the bright disk of the sun” (162). It is unclear whether Deighton jumped or fell into the sea, but Selina imagines that he jumped. Barbados is continually spoken of as a point of return, but when faced with his home,

Deighton would rather die than return no better a man than he left. He felt as if he had to be good enough to return to his place of birth.

Selina's decision to go to Barbados on her own accord, rather than being taken there by Deighton, signals a growing sense of autonomy. Throughout the novel, Selina attempts to negotiate the demands of her multi-faceted identity. Her birthplace is America, but it repeatedly tells her that it does not want to be her home. Selina wants to define herself and find herself by returning to Barbados, but that does not mean that she is forsaking all that Brooklyn has imparted on her. The closing scene follows Selina as she surveys the changing neighborhood around her. Some of the brownstones have been torn down for a new city project. Only pieces of the structures remain standing. Their destruction reminds Selina of the people that she has lost along the way. Even though she has just left her mother's home and is bidding farewell to her neighborhood, she wants to leave something of herself behind. "She pushed up her coat sleeve and stretched one until it passed over her wrist, and, without turning, hurled it high over her shoulder. The bangle rose behind her, a bit of silver against the moon, then curved swiftly downward and struck a tone. A frail sound in that utter silence" (268). The transference of energy is a recurring motif in Marshall's novel. Just as Selina gives part of herself to the audience and receives part of them during her transformative recital, Selina is giving part of herself to the neighborhood which will always live within her. Marshall ends the novel with new beginnings for Selina. For many Black readers who face similar demands to negotiate between identities, Marshall suggests that the journey to self-discovery can be possible if one honors the past and its impacts on identity rather than attempting to forsake it all together.

Praisesong for the Widow

Like Selina, Avey Johnson contains a story within her body that long predates her. Marshall's *Praisesong for the Widow* speaks to the power of the body to communicate one's emotional and spiritual needs. Furthermore, like Selina in *Brown Girl, Brownstones*, the protagonist embarks on a journey of

psychological decolonization. The body serves as a link between the past and the present. In her essay on the African diaspora in relation to literature, Carole Boyce Davies discusses *candomblé*, a belief system in which memory and re-elaboration are explored (200). A person's body is first "possessed" with the energy of an *orisha* and then moved up a level in corporeality.

It is a movement from the daily circle of life, work, and struggle to one of emotional and spiritual possibilities. In my reading, it is also a movement to a level of history, diaspora memory, return, and reconstruction. Diaspora memory, in this context, recalls Africa as originary source; it is also, simultaneously, located in the memory of the crossing as well as in the deliberate reinterpretation of "remembered" cultural forms in a new space and in new conditions. Thus, in *candomblé*, as African *orishá* are recalled to practical existence, they are also given space to move outward, from the past, into a realm of present and future existence. (200).

Using's Davies' diasporic reading, I argue that Avey is both a witness to and participant of *candomblé*. Through Avey, Marshall highlights the importance of diasporic memory to Black people's spiritual and emotional well-being. The physical discomfort Avey feels in her body propels her to the past. It unlocks memories that have long remained repressed.

As a child, Avey would spend summers in Tatem, South Carolina with her great-Aunt Cuney. Each summer, Aunt Cuney would take young Avey on a walking trek to the Landing. There she would tell the story of the Ibos. Avey eventually memorizes the entire story but knows that Aunt Cuney is not present during the recital. She becomes someone else: "... 'They just turned, gran' said, all of 'em-'she would have ignored the interruption as usual; wouldn't even have heard it over the voice that possessed her-'and walked on back down to the edge of the river here. Every las' man woman and chile'" (38). The story of the Ibos holds great cultural and spiritual meaning for the Tatem community. Aunt Cuney connects with her grandmother who witnessed these events take place. At the same time, Avey and Cuney are connected to the Ibos who has "seen everything that was to happen 'round here that

day. The slavery time and war my gran always talked about, the ‘mancipationa and everything right on up to the hard times today. Those Ibos didn’t miss a thing. Even seen you and me standing here talking about ‘em”(39). At first this scene may look like a recollection of linear history, but it is actually depicting something more circular. In that place, multiple stories are happening concurrently. The Ibos of the early 17th century are watching Aunt Cuney tell their story to Avey. Aunt Cuney’s grandmother, Avatara, is alive again, speaking through Aunt Cuney to Avey. All the while, Aunt Cuney and Avey are picturing the Ibos walking on water back to their home in Africa. All of these histories are united both by the physical site of the Landing and through Aunt Cuney’s body.

History does not need to be linear for it to be significant. Anne McKlinton expresses the fact that it is in colonialism’s interest for history to be a linear progression: “In other words, the world’s multitudinous cultures are marked, not positively by what distinguishes them but by a subordinate, retrospective relation to linear, European time” (xxi). Marshall’s prioritization of memory and cyclical history offers Black readers an alternative mode of relating to their own history. Many academic textbooks send the message to Black people that at this date your people were segregated, at this date your people were slaves, at this date your people had just been enslaved, then at this date your people were savages in a savage land, and your people did not exist before then. Story-telling and embodiment disrupts the way Black people’s histories are told.

Marshall privileges the Black female voice as a disperser of rich history, and she privileges the Black female body as a vessel for her mother and mother’s mother and mother’s mother’s mother to speak through. Just as Gubar notes, each woman plays a vital part in the production and reproduction of history. “The veiled brown, illiterate old woman who sits outside the city gates in Dinesen’s tale therefore represents her grandmother and her grandmother’s grandmother: ‘they and I have become one.’ Existing before man-made books, their stories let us ‘hear the voice of silence’” (260). Thus, their history belongs solely to them once more. It is not colored by a colonial lens. Avey is able to hear and

envision her history in a way that is absolutely true to her culture.

Avey’s body is a site of transformation throughout the novel. The first change occurs right after an especially vivid dream she has during a cruise. She and two of her friends board the *Bianca Pride* in the hopes that they will have one of their usual vacations. However, this vacation becomes very different for Avey after she has a vivid dream in which she brawls with her long-deceased Aunt Cuney. Aunt Cuney beckons Avey to come back to Tatem. Avey repeatedly refuses and, upon having a precious article of clothing soiled during the tug of war, begins to impart blows onto Aunt Cuney. These blows are returned and the whole interaction lasts for hours before Avey is suddenly awakened. This episode echoes the Biblical story of Jacob, a man invested in material possessions but ultimately stripped of these possessions as he faces certain death. An angel visits him one night and, on the precipice of disaster, Jacob challenges the angel, fighting him and demanding a blessing. The angel cripples Jacob’s hip, renames Jacob “Israel,” and tells him he will be blessed. Whether Marshall does this purposefully or not, Avey’s physical fight with Aunt Cuney feels like a violent religious experience. It all could have been passed up for just a vivid dream if Avey didn’t wake up sore “...as if she had actually been fighting; and all during the day, in the dim rear of her mind, she had sensed her great-aunt still struggling to haul her off up the road. Even now her left wrist retained something of the pressure of the old woman’s iron grip” (47). The separation between dream and reality is murky. Deep down, Avey knows that what occurred was not a normal dream and that Aunt Cuney really was there beckoning her to return home.

Physical discomfort forces Avey to face the events that led to her opulent-filled vacation on the *Bianca Pride*. The discomfort also warns her that she is in danger if she continues on the path that she is on. The pain in her wrist is soon accompanied by a pain in her stomach whenever she encounters the extravagant aspects of the cruise. In “The Pull to Memory and the Language of Place in Paule Marshall’s *The Chosen Place, The Timeless People* and *Praisesong for the Widow*,” Jane Olmstead focuses on the importance of place in relation to Avey’s reawakening. “[T]he memory evokes

a desperation that leads her, in 'The Sleeper's Wake,' to relive her years with her husband Jay--her jealousy and his drive to succeed, and their mutual, though silent, agreement to forget their connections to the past in order to forge ahead into middle-class comfort and complacency. The effort kills Jay, and now it seems about to kill Avey" (Olmstead 259). Through these unlocked memories, Avey recognizes the fact that she has experienced loss. The interaction with Aunt Cuney not only impacts Avey's physical state, but also impacts her spiritual state..

As Avey experiences discomfort within herself, the cruise ship becomes an increasingly foreign and hostile environment. Avey feels a strange connection to toy birds, that seems inexplicably alive, as they are being shot at by cruise members. As she tries to find a safe haven within the ship, she is stopped by an elderly cruise member who notices her distress. "And before she could think to act, her eyes played another of their frightening tricks. In a swift, subliminal flash, all the man's wrinkled sunbaked skin fell away, his thinned-out flesh disappeared, and the only thing to be seen on the deck chair was a skeleton in a pair of skimpy red-and-white striped trunks and a blue visored cap" (59). Avey feels as if she is losing her mind, but I believe that her connection with Aunt Cuney awakened within her an ability to see "in more ways than one," just as Cuney told her the Ibos were able (37). It is very unlikely that Avey, otherwise of sound mind her entire life, starts to see toy birds come alive, guns aimed at her head, and talking skeletons beckoning her to join them due to an onset of insanity. Avey is beginning to see that the luxury around her has undeniable undertones of violence. Death is donned in red, white, and blue and it wants Avey to stay on its ship.

Avey experiences growth, renewal, and a more authentic sense of self during her time in Grenada and Carriacou. Upon declining death's invitation, Avey decides she needs to depart at the next port of call. Throwing away a paid vacation would never have been in the realm of possibility in Avey's mind prior to her ancestral experience. However, she leaves her friends and chooses the unknown. When she lands, a large group of people make their way to boats. These travelers--later to be known as outlanders--are

making their yearly trip home to an island off the coast of Grenada named Carriacou. With thieves and muggers on her mind, Avey is unnerved to realize that many of the outlanders are smiling at her, speaking to her in patois, and acting as if they know her. "Every minute or so while she stood there keeping an anxious eye on the road way, someone would pause and greet her, and more often than not address a few words to her before moving on" (69). Though these interactions may seem warm and easy to welcome, Avey feels that there is something almost too intimate in the way they are greeting her. This may seem unusual, but Avey's existence as a Black middle-class woman is one of isolation.

Just a few days before, Avey had felt as if she was being looked through by the white cruise members:

As usual, even those who sat directly facing her at the nearby tables somehow gave the impression of having their backs turned to her and her companions. It had to do with the expression in their eyes, which seemed to pass cleanly through them whenever they glanced across, and even, ironically, with quick strained smiles some of them occasionally flashed their way (47).

Regardless of her middle-class standing as a Black woman, Avey's presence in white dominated middle-class environments is tolerated at best. In the dining hall aboard the *Bianca Pride*, white cruise members typically look through her, but if they do acknowledge her, they only have forced smiles to offer. Now on an island that is unfamiliar to her, she is being greeted as if she has always lived there.

Homecoming is not always straightforward. In this part of Avey's journey, her middle-class identity is still very important to her. She is actually being seen and treated cordially, but by the "wrong" people. "But from the way they were acting she could have simply been one of them there on the wharf" (69). The fact that the outlanders still recognize her as a friend unnerves Avey because her entire life was spent trying to distinguish herself from other Black people. Her pearls, expensive clothing, and yearly vacations are a comfort because they are tangible reminders that she has risen above her working-class origins and is no longer

“one of them.” In “Mammies, Matriarchs, and Other Controlling Images,” Hill Collins explains that there are various responses that Black women have when controlling images are forced onto them: “Denial is another characteristic response to the controlling images of Black womanhood and their accompanying conditions. By claiming that they are not like the rest, some African American women reject connections to other Black women and demand special treatment for themselves” (Hill Collins 94). Avey’s denial of her relation to Blackness is representative of the low value that being Black holds in America. Having working-class West Indians recognize her shatters any illusion of superiority that Avey has constructed for herself. For Avey, existing in a Black body holds her back because it links her to every other Black person in the diaspora whether she likes it or not.

Through the use of Afro-Diasporic literary themes, Marshall reimagines Avey’s body from a site of restraint to a site of transformation. During her participation in the “Beg Pardon,” Avey views the outlanders as kin as opposed to strangers. Having made friends with Lambert Joseph and travelling with the outlanders to Carriacou, Avey finds herself partaking in an age-old tradition that is very important to the outlanders. The ceremony is based upon the previously mentioned practice of candomblé. Paying regard to one’s ancestors through dance keeps Carriacouans connected to their history. Engaging in dance allows Avey to feel connected to her body and it also connects her to her past. “Now, suddenly, as if she were that girl again, with her entire life yet to live, she felt the threads streaming out from the old people around her in Lebert Joseph’s yard. From their seared eyes. From their navels and their cast-iron hearts. And their brightness as they entered her spoke of possibilities and becoming even in the face of the bare bones and the burnt-out ends” (249). During the dance Avey goes back in time to her summers in Tatem with Aunt Cuney, and her movements mimic the dancers she had seen in the church in Tatem. The other dancers around her take notice of the experience she is undergoing and begin to bow to her. They are recognizing the transformative experience that Avey is undergoing and know that she is rediscovering herself. At the close of the novel, Avey is asked

who she is. After years of rejecting her birth name, she responds, ““Avey, short for Avatara”” (251). Avey’s pride in her family name points to her heightened value of her own past and the traditions of her people.

Conclusion

By exploring Black women’s narratives with an emphasis on the way they experience their bodies, Paule Marshall works towards the decolonization of the mind. Furthermore, by portraying hopeful and inspiring journeys of self-discovery that both a young Black woman and an older Black woman take, Marshall pushes back against the notion that there is an age limit for Black women to unlearn internalized rhetoric. *Brown Girl, Brownstones* and *Praisesong for the Widow* do the work of decolonizing the mind as they follow Avey and Selina’s efforts to both recognize colonialist images that they have internalized and create new images for themselves as they continue to grow.

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