CORNERSTONE

AN UNDERGRADUATE HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Department of History
University of California, Riverside

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Editors' Introduction

The Department of History at the University of California, Riverside publishes *Cornerstone* in order to honor the excellent research of undergraduate students and to encourage their careers as budding scholars. The four papers published here have been chosen by an editorial committee of four graduate students from the Department of History, supported by members of the faculty and staff. Of these four papers, one has been selected for the Peter Schneider Award, conferred on the best essay in American history, and another for the Cornerstone Essay Award, conferred on the best essay chosen from any field. *Cornerstone* submissions are not limited by time period or geographical location and are rewarded for their originality, clarity and elegance, careful use of evidence, consideration of historical context, and development of historical arguments. The editorial committee consistently receives many excellent submissions and it is always a difficult but pleasant challenge to attempt to narrow them down to four items for publication. This year we are pleased to announce the following papers which merited publication in this year's edition of *Cornerstone*: Nicole De Silva's "Clothes Make the Woman; Women Make the Clothes: A Glimpse into the Homemade Wardrobes of Two Sisters in Nineteenth-Century Rural New Hampshire;" Deanne Elliot's "Politics, Religion, and the Defeat of the Spanish Armada;" Stephanie Esteban's "Androgyny in Native American Societies;" and Rebecca Quon's "Record Covers and Race Relations: Where Music, Art, and Audiences Intersect."

Nicole De Silva's remarkable paper, "Clothes Make the Woman; Women Make the Clothes: A Glimpse into the Homemade Wardrobes of Two Sisters in Nineteenth-Century Rural New Hampshire," explores many of the nineteenth century's dramatic transformations through the lens of two sisters, Phebe and Annie Hayes, and the dresses they made and wore. Drawing on the Hayes Family collection housed at the Riverside Metropolitan Museum, De Silva uses Phebe and Annie's dresses and their family's papers to consider the experiences of middle class women and families in the midst of the market revolution, growing commodity culture, and significant changes to how goods were produced and acquired. In the midst of these developments, De Silva explores changing middle class values, gender roles, and self-fashioning, analyzing Annie and Phebe's dresses as reflections of their world and the ways in which they negotiated the changes within it. De Silva's promising scholarship demonstrates an impressive recognition of the

interplay between individuals and families and the broader contexts in which they live. Her work reflects the importance of turning historical attention towards the experiences, as well as the objects, of the everyday. For its skillful use of archival sources and material culture, nuanced analysis, and graceful prose, De Silva's paper is the winner of this year's Peter Schneider Award in American History.

In her paper, "Politics, Religion, and the Defeat of the Spanish Armada," Deanne Elliot focuses on the abortive Spanish invasion of England in early August 1588 and the two dynamic personalities at the center: Queen Elizabeth I of England and King Philip II of Spain. The decision of King Philip to invade England has been seen by many scholars as hastily conceived and primarily motivated by religious fervor. However, in her encouraging scholarship, Elliot adduces a somewhat nuanced view of Philip's preparations and motivations by considering that in many respects the invasion actually reflects some careful planning and political calculations by the king. On the other hand, greater attention is paid to Queen Elizabeth, in particular the efficacy of her political decisions both prior to and during the invasion. Here Elizabeth is seen as shrewd, calculating, and prescient in deliberations with her chief counselors and in many of her subsequent resolutions. Recently, Susan Frye and Janet Green have debated the historicity of the Speech at Tilbury Camp, which seems to have been delivered by Elizabeth in the presence of her assembled troops during the attempted incursion. After considering Elizabeth's actions before and during the invasion, and the image conveyed in the Tilbury oration, Elliot continues the ongoing discussion by arguing that the speech appears to be an authentic and well–conceived production by the queen.

Stefanie Esteban's engaging paper, "Androgyny in Native American Societies," explores gender and sexuality in Indigenous North America. Therein, Esteban utilizes the categories created by the tribes to define androgynous members of their societies. Focusing on the Lakota, Navajo and Mohave to examine the nuanced interplay between language, identity, and mythology, Esteban demonstrates how native cultural groups in North American created androgynous identities and demonstrates why gender identity cannot be easily generalized. In utilizing tribal mythologies to illustrate the different paths possible for androgynous members of native societies, Esteban successfully demonstrates that past conceptions of pan-Indigenous gender identity did not account for important cultural and linguistic variations that distinguished each cultural group in recognizing and accepting androgynous members of their societies. Esteban's promising scholarship demonstrates an impressive recognition of the interplay between language and culture, as well as the broader contexts in which cultural conceptions of identity emerge. Moreover, her work reflects the inclusive and expansive nature of emerging interpretations in Native American history.

In "Record Covers and Race Relations: Where Music, Art, and Audiences Intersect," Rebecca Quon explores the relationship between album cover art and the African-American jazz movement of 1940s New York in terms of its effect on the development of racial discourse within American popular culture during the middle decades of the twentieth century. Contrasting the visual depictions of African-Americans that adorned the covers of the period's most popular jazz albums – some produced by white graphic designers, others drawn by African-Americans – with the larger impact of jazz on race relations in the United States, Quon argues that record cover artwork had a powerful effect on jazz's ability to influence American attitudes toward race. Quon's comparison of record cover art designed by white artists with those created by African-Americans reveals that the relatively new medium of record cover art became a hotly contested zone of racial discourse, often used by white-owned record labels to perpetuate

African-American cultural stereotypes even as black graphic designers sought to break down those barriers in their own work. Ultimately, beyond demonstrating that album cover art "serves as physical documentation of [the period's] changing racial sentiments," Quon's innovative scholarship reminds us that there is still much work to be done in the field of twentieth-century African-American studies. For its originality, clarity, and elegance, Quon's paper is the winner of this year's Cornerstone Award.

In addition to the above named authors for their promising scholarship in this year's *Cornerstone*, the editors would like to acknowledge and thank others in the Department of History for their invaluable assistance. The two most important members of the faculty and staff in the production of this volume are Professor Kiril Tomoff, who serves as the faculty advisor for the journal, and Christina Cuellar, who works with these undergraduate students as the department's Academic Advisor and who has been instrumental in organizing the editorial board and having *Cornerstone* published in a physical volume. We also would like to thank the following individuals: Prof. James Brennan, the Chair of the Department of History, Prof. Juliette Levy, the department's Graduate Advisor, and Iselda Salgado, the department's Graduate Student Affairs Officer. And finally, we would like to thank all our students for submitting and sharing their encouraging research with us.

Julia Bourbois
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May 2014
Riverside, California

Peter Schneider Award Winner

Clothes Make the Woman; Women Make the Clothes: A Glimpse into the Homemade Wardrobes of Two Sisters in Nineteenth-Century Rural New Hampshire*

Nicole De Silva

The United States' nineteenth-century market revolution changed the way that the nation's emerging middle class families valued labor and understood personal status and identity. The Hayes, a family of self-sustaining agriculturalists based in Farmington, New Hampshire, were themselves gradually swept up into the capitalist economy. The Hayes Family Collection of dresses, paper ephemera, and reading material housed within the Riverside Metropolitan Museum's archives provides a lens through which nineteenth-century changes in personal ideals, labor valuations, and senses of aesthetic style may be observed.[1] The family's two youngest daughters exemplify rural middle-class women on the threshold of a series of transformations from rural to urban, household to industrial, and artisan to professional. I argue that the dresses produced and worn by Phebe (1837-1917) and Annie (1845-1919) Hayes allowed the women to navigate, interact within, and explain a changing provincial middle-class culture from the 1850s-1880s. As the work of their husbands moved outside of the home, provincial women were no longer able to define themselves as productive laborers within a self-contained family farm. The emergence of a nuanced cult of dress, enabled by the expanded commodity culture, allowed women like Phebe and Annie to assert both personal excellence and economic worth from the vantage point of their own domestic sphere.

Phebe and Annie Hayes were young children when the poem "Wife Wanted" was published in a 1847 edition of the *Saturday Courier*, a magazine to which their father Simon subscribed[2] A wife was, for Dave, the poem's provincial author, "a bosom friend for life/ whose noble worth may lure... from the snares of earth." It was, however, not merely the woman's "form" that "may but for a moment beguile." Rather, "the whole of her loveliness was in the soul."[3] Within this poem's sentimental ethos, the virtue and character that women brought to marriages was comparable to the industrious work ethic exhibited by many men. The mid-century middle-class man was assessed based on a uniquely masculine set of qualities and ethics—including energy, workplace ambition, and practicality.[4] In a complementary way, the woman's virtues—"individualism, self-cultivation, privacy, and sentimentality"—bespoke her own middle-class standing.[5] These virtues constructed the provincial ideal of middle-class womanhood to which the Hayes' daughters would aspire. To best fulfill their social roles and expectations, young women such as Phebe and Annie hoped to receive guidance from teachers and parents. .[6]

If young Phebe or Annie had leafed through her father's issue of *The Saturday Courier,* she might have come across the "Featured Story" for the week of October

15, 1847. In this narrative, the character Rosa Newell was drawn as a symbol of pastoral simplicity. Orphaned and desperately poor, Rosa was nevertheless "happy in her innocence."[7] Her wealthy cousin Edna, however, was burdened by aristocratic pretension. Her insincere affectations weighed down her personality just as the "bright diadem" of her tiara sat "heavily on her brow." When the two girls met the dashing and noble "Sir Henrick de Lisle" at a ball, his "truly noble heart" was able to see clearly through Edna's bourgeois display. Rosa's "sweet timidity and natural modesty shut out all fears of rivalry from vanity-enthralled Edna."[8]

The moral of the story, if not already exceedingly clear, was explicitly divulged in its concluding sentence: "the artless Rosa Newell won, without an effort, a truly noble heart, while the brilliant heiress, the unblushing coquette, lived to regret her mistaken wiles, and to mourn over the wreck of her brightest hopes upon the shore of vanity."[9] These characters might be seen as metaphors for rural and urban style; more than this, Rosa and Edna illustrate the contrast between regional values, cultures, and worldviews. Further, the two characters interact as part of a parable designed to instruct and elevate the pastoral simplicity of the country. This rural style was, for the parable's anonymous author, simply in better taste than the gaudy commodity culture of urban areas. The story also has a far more direct interpretation. For sentimental authors in the 1840s and 1850s, the ideal woman was equipped with lasting virtue, not fleeting charm. Such enduring, personal qualities were exhibited through both the woman's mannerisms and the social symbolism of her simple, practical dress.

To further her education and moral upbringing, Annie Hayes was sent to Wolfeboro Academy at the age of 12 in 1857.[10] The picturesque schoolhouse is depicted in Figure 1. Rural academies such as Wolfeboro aimed to create a physical space for the study of essential cultural virtues, including self-control, temperance, and individual determination. Within a household economy, such self-reliant virtues and work ethics were important for both men and women. In early nineteenth-century provincial households, the separate spheres that divided the work of urban middle-class men and women were simply inefficient. The efforts of both genders were necessary in order to safeguard the self-sufficiency of the agrarian household.[11] Rural academies hoped to prepare provincial women like Annie for duties as practical, frugal wives and mothers within this agricultural community.

A strong set of moral ethics were essential for both self- and community improvement. Within his own history of the school, Rev. John Hayley expressed his belief that Wolfeboro's "noble men and saintly women" were doing more than improving themselves. In addition, they served as missionaries of cultural values for others. "Their example and influence have proven a rich benison to their contemporaries and descendants," Hayley affirmed.[12] Wolfeboro sought to infuse pupils with the tenets of the Congregational church as well as an understanding of basic academic subjects. Theoretically, the school prepared students to transmit both practical knowledge and religious ideologies to their descendants.

Situated in rural New Hampshire, the academy was located about twenty miles away from Annie's native Farmington. Though she was still living in a similar environment, Annie had certainly taken a step away from home. While she might find herself among rural pupils from similar backgrounds, they were not the same companions with whom she had grown up in her own small town. In this expanded

sphere, Annie was given the chance to somehow test, prove, or reaffirm her personal identity. Her homemade school wardrobe visually expressed her reaffirmed, pastoral sense of self.

Annie attended Wolfeboro in the simple, homemade, turquoise and tan ensemble pictured in Figure 2. This dress, which was worn to the Academy in 1857, indicates a certain rural plainness and pragmatism.[13] At the same time, the dress follows fashion trends of the late 1850s. The pagoda sleeves, bright-colored striped fabric, and low-set shoulder reveal a desire to follow the current fashions while simultaneously adapting them to provincial life and village standards. *Godey's Lady's Book* itself noted the popularity of fabric with "horizontal stripes of conspicuous colors" in 1854.[14] The large, circular skirt could support either the popular cage crinoline of 1856 or (more likely) the mass of petticoats aimed at creating a similar fan shape.

The design of the dress reveals an awareness of fashionable trends. However, it offers a far simpler variation on fashionable themes. Ultimately, the dress reveals a sense of self as defined by part of a rural and school community. At the same time, it also indicates a degree of personal autonomy. By constructing her own clothing with her own style, Annie was able to assert independence from both the fashion press as well as from expensive dressmakers. In this way, the visual symbolism of the dress echoes the self-sufficient dreams of the household economy as a whole: those of honest toil, proud craftsmanship, and simple practicality.[15]

The tendency to both personalize and localize fashion trends was not a distinctly rural behavior. Dress historian Alison Gernsheim argues that "most well-to-do people" modified the "main trend" of fashion, rather than following fashion plates to the letter.[16] Fashion plates were, says Gernsheim, "fantasies" or "ideals." They were the "exception," and hardly the "general trend."[17] Fashion publications such as *Godey's Lady's Book, Peterson's,* and *Harper's Bazaar* provided guidelines for a wardrobe that might ultimately function as a showcase of individual qualities.[18] "Natural modesty," as typified by the symbolic character of Rosa Newell, seems to be one of the leading qualities that Annie hoped to project.

In the early 1860s, both Annie and her sister Phebe found the opportunity to develop new, adult identities through marriage. Phebe wed John Cate, a storeowner and Union soldier. Annie took the local Orrin Tenny Fall for her husband. While Annie and Orrin remained in Farmington, Phebe relocated to Wakefield, Massachusetts near Boston. With their new families came untapped opportunities for material expression: no longer were the women tied to their father's household. Through the 1870s and 1880s, the updated wardrobes of these two wives adhered to a national standard of fashion far more closely than the 1850s school dress might have. Despite their overall compliance with cosmopolitan style, the homemade dresses of Phebe and Annie continued to indicate a certain degree of personalization and customization; indeed, their vision of urban material culture was inflected by local availabilities and tastes.

After the Civil War, railroads enabled the unprecedented movement of people and goods between regions, allowing for an increasingly national commodity culture. New England's rapidly growing industrial landscape likely contributed to the desire to reinvent rural style in the vision of urban fashion. John Cate, Phebe's husband, supplied this demand with his fabric store in Wakefield, Massachusetts. Opened in 1870, the store revealed a far more direct

participation within the cash-based economy.[19] Such a commercial center also granted women like Phebe local access to the newest styles and patterns of textiles. Rural women who had once depended on their neighbors for a fashionable standard discovered that the new well-dressed provincial woman favored *Godey's* fashion plates more than ever before.

As the wife of a suburban Massachusetts businessman, Phebe likely encountered neighbors who were culturally distinct from those in her native Farmington. Subsequently, the new Mrs. Phebe Cate adopted cosmopolitan styles to keep up appearances. As dress historian Joan Severa notes, many rural women might have "felt very out of place" in cityscapes had they not "been fixed up."[20] An up-to-date wardrobe became a necessary passport between the rural and urban communities. With this new influx of fashionable options, the "tension between two bourgeois styles"—town and country—played out in the lives and wardrobes of women in the 1870s and 1880s.[21]

Through the 1870s and 1880s, a greater material accessibility as well as cash based systems of economic exchange allowed for the interweaving of rural and urban style. The dresses of rural women like Phebe and Annie became canvases upon which these two styles might visually interact. Either one of the sisters might have worn the blue and brown dress pictured in Figures 3.A-B.[22] Its style is very characteristic of the 1870s. The hip-length bodice, nicknamed a "cuirass" for its armor-like form-fitting shape, was worn with the long-waisted corset that had become popular by 1874. The piece is constructed of taffetas, which follow the subdued color palette of the mid 1870s, featuring a gray, beige, and brown woven print on the skirt and bodice. The long, straight sleeves are of a plain dark brown taffeta. The piece subscribes to contemporary literature almost exactly: in 1877, fashion publication *The Queen* ensures that "there is no such thing as a dress of one material."[23] Instead, the publication suggests that at least two fabrics be selected and intertwined through the dress's construction, "trimming the principal with the accessory and the accessory with the principal."[24] In this piece, the solid color textile is carried into the skirt with dark brown facings, bows, and bands along the bottom. Alison Gernsheim notes the particular popularity of contrasting sleeves as well as a "plastron" or band set in the front of the bodice "to give a waistcoat effect."[25]

The skirt is characteristically tight with a bustle in back, creating the popular narrow look of the 1870s. The thin bustle, long and fitted "cuirass" bodice, and elaborate sleeve trimmings follow the major styles of the period. Certainly, the piece also leaves room for personalization: the choice of fabric here is somewhat more drab and austere than what might have been available; at the same time, the folksy print of the principal material gives a playful and rural feel.

The 1870s were defined by an intricate mixing of colors, long, tight bodices, and ornate bustles. By 1879, the interest in mixing textiles evolved into a more subtle tendency: fashion manuals prescribed the use of "a dull-surfaced and a glossy material of the same color, or shades of the same color."[26] An 1880s brown cotton-and-silk bustle gown, pictured in Figures 4.A-B, illustrates this shift. While still very ornate in construction, the piece does not feature the heavily contrasting fabrics of the 1870s. A silk velvet pile-weave ornaments the bodice with rosettes, self-bows, and a v-trim along the buttoned front. The edge of the over skirt also features silk velvet, with velvet rosettes. These two plain fabrics match in color but

differ in shade and luster, creating a visually interesting contrast. *Peterson's,* a popular dress magazine, prescribed in 1882: "the great art now, in a street or visiting costume is to have every part of it… to match in color, though they may all be of different materials."[27] Taffeta and velvet were especially popular for those who could afford them.[28]

The skirts were intricately cartridge pleated by hand, and the rosettes, bows, and trims were affixed with careful handwork. At the same time, this dress offers a prime example of the use of the home sewing machine. This increasingly affordable device allowed women to create complex masterpieces for themselves. Joan Severa calls the sewing machine a "matter of some social importance" among the middle class, both urban and rural.[29] These machines did not simplify the work of the woman; rather, they increased expectations, allowing the middle class to have extensive and elaborate wardrobes.[30] Coupled with the revolution of fashion information—such as new, easy to follow Butterick patterns—the well-dressed woman faced higher expectations and a heavier workload than ever before.[31]

Phebe and Annie were surrounded by a transforming world of work and labor valuation. In a cash-based economy, a woman's housework became harder to value than the wage labor of her husband. "It is so seldom that women make money," reported one contemporary, "they do not count their time as worth anything."[32] Likely, this devaluation of women's household labor and the cynical feelings that accompanied it undergirded the development of the city's aesthetic style. Tight corsets, heavy skirts, and restrictive designs cast the wife as a domestic ornament rather than as an economically essential member of the household. She was no longer expected to make a contribution of direct cash value; instead, it was her "duty" to be "as attractive as possible."[33] However, the savvy woman might use this complex symbolism of dress to communicate inner worth, personal aesthetic style, and social class.

Excellence was defined differently for the woman than it was for her husband. Rather than defining herself through interactions within a wage-based labor force, the woman's personal industriousness could be subtly communicated through the symbolism of her dress. "Taste and ingenuity," ensured *Godey's Lady's Book*, "will enable a lady to appear always fashionably attired."[34] A failure to adhere to fashion was merely a representation of personal inattentiveness and an idle nature. The influx of fashion information and affordable materials gave the industrious woman no excuse to neglect popular styles. In fact, this personal carelessness could indicate further character faults: "no excellence of mind or soul can be hoped from an idle woman" who was incapable of keeping up appearances.[35] This culture of dress might at first seem riddled with paradoxes; indeed, it required a careful balancing act. In order to communicate her domestic industriousness and social usefulness, the woman needed to construct a fashionable wardrobe without suggesting an overly frivolous obsession with her appearance.

In the 1880s, provincial New England became even further entrenched in market capitalism: as a result, its women had more time to indulge in fashion and enjoyed greater access to fabric in stores like that of John and Phebe Cate. In 1886, the deep back-bustle paired with the new, shorter waist of the 1880's created a dramatic hour-glass figure. Such a combination can be seen in the two-piece blue silk walking gown, shown in Figures 5.A-B. The iridescent taffeta fabric combines tan and blue silk fibers for a very sleek and glossy effect, which is offset beautifully by medium-blue

silk velvet lining along the collar and edges of the skirt. The skirt waistline is lined in cotton tabby; the skirt lining is of cotton muslin strengthened in organdy. The fitted bodice is ornamented with exquisite metallic buttons. It is constructed in a simple style, which complements the complexity of the skirt. The eye is drawn directly to the intricate pleating down the skirt front, which has been done in three layers, each separated by a band of velvet. Blue velvet bands line the side of the skirt. The back features the dramatic bustle of the mid-1880s.

Several factors worked in tandem to produce the transformation seen in the wardrobes of Phebe and Annie. Rapid technological improvements, including new patterns and sewing machines, certainly played a role in creating a change in commodity culture. These developments in the methods of clothing construction were accompanied by a slow and uneven shift from household to market economy. Such a transformation resulted in the increased separation of the gendered spheres. Historian Katherine Kelly asserts that, as the century progressed, "rural capitalism undermined" those "old social and economic structures" that had once permitted women to work alongside their husbands[36] The household economy had offered flexibility within gendered divisions of labor; however, as the male world of work shifted outside of the home, the domestic sphere became increasingly feminized.[37] Within rural capitalism, commitment to the urban bourgeois style deepened: women who sought a place within a growing, national middle class needed to assert their position visually, with the "performance of fashion."[38] Productive labor within a dying household economy no longer served as a sufficient means of self-definition.

Along with the development of rural market capitalism, a growing culture of professionalism emerged. This reliance on higher education granted new careers and opportunities for middle-class men based on "talent, merit, and achievement."[39] As veneration of the "professional" seeped throughout middle-class ideology, the domestic sphere was also affected. Though unpaid, the role of the middle-class homemaker was increasingly perfected and professionalized. "There is always a best way, whether of setting a table, of trimming a hat, or of teaching a child to read," reported Alice Freeman Palmer, the president of Wellesley in the 1880s. Furthermore, through education and training, Palmer believed that "this taste for perfection can be cultivated."[40]

In the 1870s and 1880s, a woman could derive more "power, excellence, and respectability" from her domestic talents than ever before.[41] By performing her tasks with utmost skill, educated women like Phebe and Annie might find the equivalent of professional fulfillment without leaving their homes. In addition to creating fashionable attire, these women both participated in and allowed for the increasing professionalism of the middle class by teaching their own children. The Hayes Family Collection includes a myriad of children's books, revealing the fact that these women held the education of their offspring in high regard. Titles such as *Georgey's Menagerie*, a zoological series purchased by Annie Fall for her son Henry's eighth birthday, pass along the importance of literacy and scientific knowledge (see Figure 6). Certainly, an appreciation for academia was cultivated within Phebe's son, Fred Cate, who became a medical doctor after attending Bowdoin University. Likewise, Annie's son Henry attended Dartmouth, while her daughter Kathy went on to teach High School History and Latin.[42] The feminization of the domestic sphere increased the amount of time that women were expected to spend within the home,

allowing dressmaking and childrearing to become very involved processes. These domestic activities invited women to exhibit a unique kind of "excellence" and personal industriousness, even as paid labor moved outside of the home.

The pride that the Hayes women exhibited in their sewing indicates that these items were more than mere necessities—they were markers of self, means of artistic expression, and methods of exploring changing roles and definitions. The homemade clothing of Phebe and Annie formed the bridge between their parlors and the evolving communities outside. As the women ventured into new social spaces and outside villages, their wardrobes served as passports. The dresses drew paths between traditional provincial aesthetics and a growing commodity culture, allowing the women to move between country and city. Both Annie Hayes' plain 1850s school dress and the complex 1870s silk suits of her sister illustrate an independent aesthetic style and an attempt to express a certain ideal of feminine excellence. At the same time, the visual differences between these pieces highlight changing ideals of womanhood, shifting methods of labor valuation, transforming aesthetic values, and growing material availabilities. Even as rural capitalism transformed the home from a place for production to a hub for consumption, homemade clothing remained a placard upon which women such as Phebe and Annie Hayes might display both personal senses of self and value as industrious members of the household.

Notes

*This article is an excerpt from the author's, "Cottage on the Hill: A Quilted Narrative of the New Hampshire Hayes Family."

[1] Riverside Metropolitan Museum Archives, Located at 3580 Mission Inn Avenue, Riverside, CA, 92501. Three donors have contributed to the collection, including Phebe's grandson Crawford Cate (A420) and two members of the related Elliot family (A380 and A381). Though the Cate and Elliot families are dispersed throughout California and Florida, their archival gifts in the 1970s and 1980s have allowed the Hayes Family Collection to find a final resting place at the RMM Archives. The Fall family's brief residence in the Inland Empire after the turn of the twentieth century made Riverside a reasonable place to donate these materials. These donations reveal a belief that the material culture of predecessors has a cultural meaning outside of the personal family story.
[2] Dave, "Wife Wanted," in *The Saturday Courier,* 15 October 1847
[3] Dave, "Wife Wanted" in *The Saturday Courier,* 15 October 1847
[4] Michel Kimmel. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History.* (Free Press: New York, 1996), 16
[5] Katherine Kelly, *In the New England Fashion: Reshaping Women's Lives in the Nineteenth Century,* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1999), 152.
[6] Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women, (*New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).
[7] Anonymous. "Featured Story" in *The Saturday Courier,* 15 October 1847.
[8]Ibid., n.p.
[9] Anonymous. "Featured Story" in *The Saturday Courier,* 15 October 1847.
[10] Riverside Metropolitan Museum Archives, Hayes Family Collection, Box #1, Note from Katharine A. Fall.
[11] Kelly, *In the New England Fashion,* 35.
[12] John W. Hayley, Rev. *Wolfeboro and Tuftonborough Academy, 1821-1887,* (Wolfeboro: Myron G.F. Roberts), 20.
[13] Riverside Metropolitan Museum, "The Hayes Family Collection," Donor A383, Item 191.
[14] Joan Severa. *Dressed for the Photographer: Ordinary Americans and Fashion, 1840-1900* (Kent State University Press, 1997), 95.
[15] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 16.
[16] Gernsheim, *Victorian and Edwardian Fashion*, 21.
[17] Ibid., 22.
[18] Ibid., 31.
[19] Crawford Cate. "Letter to the Riverside Metropolitan Museum," Archived October 29, 1999. RMM Archives, File A420.
[20] Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer,* 296.
[21] Kelly, *In the New England Fashion,* 231.
[22] Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Hayes Family Collection, Donor A381 (Elliot), Item #55.

[23] Gersheim, *Victorian and Edwardian Fashion,* 61.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., 62.
[26] Ibid., 63.
[27] Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer,* 378.
[28] Ibid., 390.
[29] Ibid., 293.
[30] Ibid., 295.
[31] Ibid., *296*.
[32] Ibid., 374.
[33] Kelly, *In the New England Fashion,* 190.
[34] Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer,* 10. From *Godey's Lady's Book,* September 1845.
[35] Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer,* 10. From *Godey's Lady's Book,* September 1845.
[36] Kelly, *New England Fashion,* 35.
[37] Ibid., 39.
[38] Ibid., 228.
[39] Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America.* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 1976), 127.
[40] Kelly, *In the New England Fashion*, 119.
[41] Ibid., 118.
[42] Crawford Cate. "Letter to the Riverside Metropolitan Museum," Archived Oct. 29, 1999, RMM Archives, File A420.

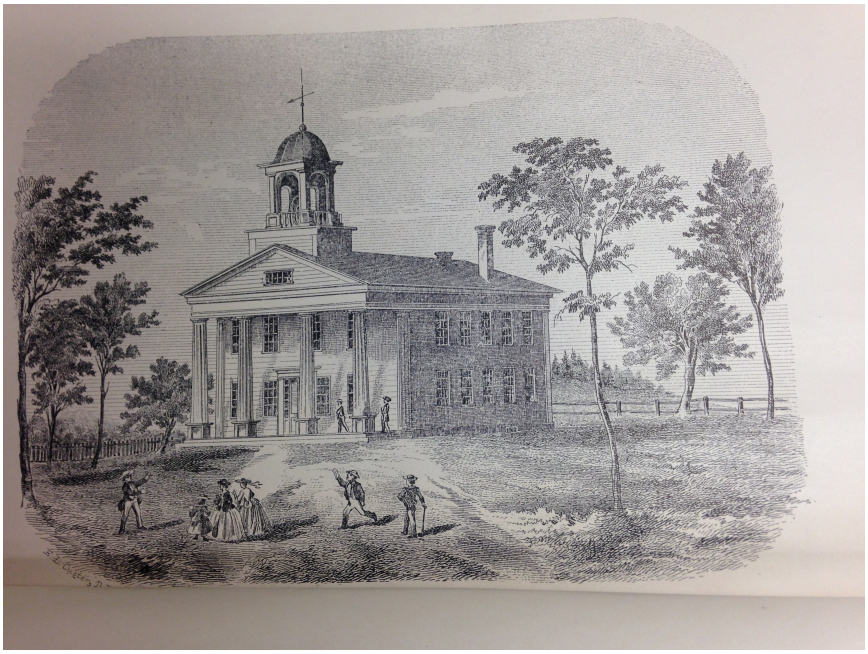

Figure 1: Sketch of Wolfeboro Academy, from Hayley, John W. Rev. *Wolfeboro and Tuftonborough Academy, 1821-1887,* Wolfeboro: Myron G.F. Roberts. Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Hayes Family Collection, Box #1, File A420.

Figure 2: Dress worn by Annie Hayes to Wolfeboro Academy, circa 1857. Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Hayes Family Collection, File A381, Item 91

Figure 3.A and 3.B: Dress constructed by the Hayes Women, circa 1870s. RMM, Hayes Family Collection, File A383, Item 55

Figure 4.A and 4.B: Front and Back Views of a Silk Taffeta and Velvet Gown. RMM, Hayes Family Collection, File A383, Item 62

Figure 5.A and 5.B: Front and Back Views of an Ornate Bustle Gown, circa 1880s. RMM, Hayes Family Collection, File A381, Item 46

Figure 6: The Title Page from Madeline Leslie's *Georgey's Menagerie.* Boston: Andrew F. Graves, 1868. RMM, Hayes Family Collection, Box #3, File A420.

Politics, Religion, and the Defeat of the Spanish Armada

Deanne S. Elliot

The year 1588 marks an important shift in the tensions between Spain and England that ultimately grew into visceral, all-out war, the first stage of which was King Philip II of Spain's attempted invasion of England with his Armada. The multifaceted causes of the Armada's sailing illustrate more broadly the differences between Philip and Elizabeth as monarchs balancing religion and politics within their own countries and internationally. A combination of luck and skill on the part of the English, and the reverse for the Spanish, greatly contributed to the momentous victory for the English and a key legacy of Elizabeth's reign: the permanent installation of Protestantism in England and Northern Europe. And later, ironically, Spain's extension of its empire. Understanding the variations in Philip's and Elizabeth's political and religious beliefs is critical to evaluating the motivations of each monarch. While Philip's plan reflected political considerations, he was far more willing to let his certainty in his relationship with God preclude the use of sound judgment, which is visible in his determination to invade England despite heavy damage to his invasion fleet. Elizabeth, conversely, though dedicated to the Protestant cause, appears less as a champion of religion, and instead more concerned with projecting her own power domestically and promoting English interests internationally.

The year 1588 was a monumental year in which political calculation and intrigue on both sides came to a head in one of the most decisive naval actions seen up to that point, changing permanently the state of religion and politics in Europe, and defining the long reign of England's first successful female monarch. This paper will study works of the period, including state papers from English leaders such as William Cecil and Charles Howard, as well as printed reports from Ireland of interviews with Spanish sailors who survived the engagements. This period has been studied by historians such as Garrett Mattingly, Susan Frye, and Janet Green and I will be continuing their work by establishing a framework in which to discuss the dramatic causes, actions, and consequences for both England and Spain. Special focus will be paid to several important aspects of the conflict in order to examine the varying motivations of each monarch; the naval engagements during the conflict to illustrate the disastrous luck of the Spanish; Elizabeth's oration at Tilbury so as to better gauge how she perceived herself as a female sovereign at the helm of the English ship of state; and the political and religious implications of the defeat of the Armanda.

Before one can understand the results of the conflict, one must first consider how it began. For nearly thirty years, after the death of Mary Tudor had removed Philip, Mary's husband, from power in England, Spain and England passively glared at each other. A study of Philip's decision to react in such an explosive way as planning an invasion of England would benefit from a nuanced perspective while examining some of the significant events involving Francis Drake, Dutch Rebels and Mary, Queen of Scots leading up to the sailing of the Armada.

Francis Drake's privateering in the West Indies, under orders from Queen

Elizabeth to injure the supply of Spanish coin from the New World, began when Elizabeth realized that Spain defeating the Protestant rebels and regaining dominance in the Netherlands would pose a serious threat to the safety of England.[1] Even more drastic, in 1587 Drake raided the coastline of Spain at Cadiz and Cape St. Vincent, leaving behind a wake of destruction that delayed the Armada for a year.[2] Elizabeth's motivation in ordering actions against Spain was, in part, due to fear of Spanish hegemony so close to the Channel, reflecting the careful balance she sought to keep in the international sphere – protecting her country and her own sovereignty by preventing overt war, while also hobbling as much as possible the growing wealth of the Spanish beast. Together with Drake's actions, Elizabeth's aid to the Dutch rebels shifted in 1585 from covertly sending aid to a pronounced involvement by sending the Earl of Leicester to help the rebels.[3] Her motivation was the same as in ordering Drake to the Indies – the image of a wealthy, hegemonic Spain with access to the Channel only a short distance from English shores deeply unsettled her.[4] And Elizabeth's shrewd decision to materially aid the rebels would benefit her three years later when the meeting of Spain's troops in the Netherlands and the Armada, led by commander Duke Medina Sidonia, was delayed and then completely disrupted at Calais by the blockade of the Dutch rebels under command of the son of William of Orange.[5]

And then there is the role played by Mary, Queen of Scots in the escalation between England and Spain, albeit perhaps more subtle than the obviously provocative actions of Drake in Spain and Leicester in the Netherlands. Mary's position, as Garrett Mattingly suggests, as the last line of defense preventing war between Spain and England is a curious one, and illustrates again the intertwined religious and political motivations of each monarch. For Elizabeth imprisoned Mary out of fear that she, as her legitimate successor, could feasibly force Elizabeth off her throne and become a French Catholic monarch to a Protestant England.[6] While Philip, on the other hand, viewed Mary as a threat not for religious reasons, but as politically dangerous in that her French relations would most likely influence, if not outright control, England if Mary were to gain the throne. By keeping Mary alive but confined, Elizabeth exploited Philip's strategic hesitancy.

> [Elizabeth was] confident that [Philip] would never try to thrust her from the throne as long as the most likely result would be the accession of a woman half French by blood and wholly French by culture and sympathy, who would promptly present her French relatives with the lordship of both sides of the English Channel.[7]

But Mary's place in the Babington Plot, in which Anthony Babington sought to assassinate Elizabeth and put Mary on the throne, was too close for comfort for Elizabeth.[8] Up to that point, she had resisted her councilors' advice that she dispose of Mary, perhaps for the aforementioned political motives and maybe some camaraderie they shared as cousins and queens. Yet when presented with evidence of the plot, Elizabeth signed the execution order.[9] She could no longer resist the entreaties of her Privy Council that Mary had to die for Elizabeth's throne to be secure. And though she may have thrust the blame away from herself by blaming overzealous retainers for executing Mary, the last veil between her and Philip fell away

and he subsequently put into motion the final steps for preparing the Armada.[10]

In the end, the scales tipped in favor of war – the death of Mary Stuart, the escalating actions of Drake, and English aid of the Dutch rebels were too overt for Philip to ignore. For the thirty years leading up to the Armada, with Mary Tudor's death and Elizabeth's ascension, Spain and England competed in religion, politics, and economics within a 'peace' marked by plots and proxy struggles.[11] To some extent, while the invasion fleet was Philip's to send, it was unquestionably instigated by a queen who knew what would happen with such provocative actions as assisting the Dutch rebels and ordering Drake's plundering. The incidents leading to the sailing of the Armada are intriguingly entangled and display the political savvy and shrewd calculation of both monarchs. In the response of each, however, one can see that Elizabeth operated with far more political acuity compared with Philip's intense fixation on converting the heretical English when "he decided to overthrow the Tudor state."[12]

The first half of 1588 was spent in utter suspense by the English, waiting for Spanish reprisal for their actions. They knew a Spanish fleet was amassing, even after the delays caused by Drake's raids, but their information was otherwise limited. Ironically, and as we shall see below, fortuitously, the initial desire of Lord-Admiral Charles Howard, Francis Drake, and John Hawkins to head off the Armada by attacking them off the Spanish coast, instead of waiting for the fleet to reach England, was prevented by bad weather.[13] Howard expresses such a wish in a letter to Walsingham and the Privy Council dated June 14: "The opinion of Sir Francis Drake, Mr. Hawkyns…is that [the] surest way to meet with the Spanish fleet is upon their own [coast]…and there to defeat them."[14] The letter also references the English uncertainty of the location of the Spanish fleet, since it had left Lisbon a month earlier; lines in Howard's letter reflect the popular belief that having been so long since it left, the Armada must soon be preparing to land in Ireland, Scotland, or maybe France.[15] As it happened, illness and a weather-battered fleet forced Medina Sidonia to put in at Coruña on June 9, and following a refusal by Philip to reconsider, the Armada set sail again on July 12.[16] Philip's refusal, even in light of the frailty of the supposedly impregnable fleet, points to the intensity of Philip's assurance that God would protect his ships, and that invading England to convert her heretical inhabitants was so important that God could not let them fail.[17]

On July 19, the Armada sighted the Lizard, the southern-most point of England; the English likewise spotted the Spanish fleet and raised the alarm.[18] The first engagement two days later off Eddystone pitted the slightly battered and smaller Spanish fleet of about 124 ships against the better manned, prepared, and larger English fleet of about 197 ships. The main tactic of the Spanish was to board the enemy ships and overwhelm the English crew with the soldiers they carried; but this was nullified by the English guns that enabled their faster ships to hammer the Spanish from long range, though by modern standards, none of their weapons were very accurate.[19]

This tactic cost large amounts of ammunition on both sides, but whereas the English could easily resupply, the Spanish could not. The luck of the English in this regard outweighed their skill, if one recalls their anxious desires to attack the Armada along the Spanish coast. One can only imagine the reversed yet similar circumstances that would have befallen the English fleet had the weather not prevented them. Modern perspectives on the English victory suggest that the Spanish were ill-

equipped for such artillery fire, and that Medina Sidonia, while a conscientious leader, was not sufficiently experienced.[20] These factors once again speak to the singular determination of Philip despite the magnitude of his decisions for which so many things could, and did, go wrong. For Geoffrey Parker, Philip's faith gave him an "apocalyptic mindset [that] made [him] both unrealistic in his strategic plans and inflexible when his subordinates complained about them...instead of devising contingency plans, he relied on divine intervention to remedy any shortcomings."[21] The influence of Philip's view of himself as a 'Catholic King' with a direct connection to God justified his intervention in England in a bid to bring the heretical Elizabeth and England back into the Catholic fold.[22] While Philip's decision may have been balanced with political and economic concerns – Drake preventing coin supply, absence of the French threat with Mary Stuart's death, English aid of the Dutch rebels preventing Spanish control – Philip's sending of the Armada was significantly impacted by the "messianic aura" that surrounded him, such that he was firmly convinced "that he was God's special agent in the protection and propagation of the Catholic faith, suggest[ing] that time and Providence were on his side."[23] The larger and better-outfitted English navy, on the other hand, suggests that the advice of military leadership like Lord-Admiral Howard and cautious advisors like William Cecil was a greater influence on Elizabeth's decision making than her faith. Or rather, one could argue that her will to protect Protestantism in England, and aid its defense on the Continent, is more closely related to concerns for her own sovereignty and political relationships than the more straightforward religious determination that Philip expressed.

After some confused fighting throughout the night, Medina Sidonia, as planned, headed up the Channel to Calais where he was to rendezvous with the Duke of Parma and begin ferrying troops to invade England.[24] As Medina Sidonia cast anchor near Calais, the English "anchored short of them within culverin [cannon] shot of the enemy."[25] The English then sent eight highly destructive fireships "filled with explosive and incendiary material" from the fleet into the grouped Armada, scattering the Spanish fleet out to sea where the wind prevented them from regrouping.[26] Scattered off the coast of Gravelines, the two fleets exchanged shots for most of the day – culverins from the English, small arms and muskets from the Spanish – until a sudden squall gave the Spaniards a chance to reform.[27] The losses of the Spanish at Gravelines were dramatic, with an estimated 600 dead and 800 wounded.[28] The English, low on ammunition, awed by Spanish fortitude, and unaware of the extent of the Armada's actual damage, turned back to shore as the Spanish headed the only way the winds would permit – north.[29] The English victory at Calais more than anything ensured that the Armada would be limping back home to Spain. The incident at Calais also presents prime examples of the mix of English skill and luck. The luck came from the interminably bad weather and the good timing of their Dutch allies. The Dutch strategically blockaded the Duke of Parma's troops, preventing him from reaching Calais in time, thereby creating the opportunity to use the fireships which irrevocably turned the tide against the invading Armada.[30] Moreover, Elizabeth's calculated measures to aid the Dutch paid off in the face of Philip's fervor and fortitude, not to mention his extremely bold and detailed plan, in which virtually everything that could go wrong, did. While Philip had carefully planned many aspects of the invasion, he also left many contingencies unaccounted

for, apparently in the belief that God simply could not let such a mission fail.[31]

By mid-August, with the Armada's ships sailing north after the Gravelines engagement, the English were forced by a storm and a shortage of supplies to make port at Harwich and Margate Roads.[32] Simultaneously, Elizabeth made her way from St. James in great fanfare to inspect her army assembled at Tilbury camp under her Lieutenant and Captain General, the Earl of Leicester.[33] Her arrival in high style to review her troops came after a summer in London resisting the desire of many to put an end to "the great Catholic conspiracy" of the unknown number and actions of Englishmen who remained loyal to Rome.[34] Mattingly assigns Elizabeth much of the credit in assuaging the fears of Burghley and Walsingham, two advisors close to Elizabeth, that an internal Catholic threat was nigh.[35] This again suggests that Elizabeth's religion held less sway over her conduct than Philips's such that she convinced her advisors that rounding up English Catholics would be impossible, politically disastrous, and disruptive of the careful domestic balance between Protestants and Catholics that she had worked hard to create. In hindsight, even as Elizabeth approached Tilbury, the Armada was already nearing defeat as they were low on food, water and ammunition, rife with illness, and sailing, in many cases, in severely damaged ships; however until the English received news of further Spanish destruction along the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, "the threat [of invasion] was imminent and great."[36] So while the queen inspected Tilbury, the real danger had passed; but for those without such information, the possibility of the Duke of Parma landing loomed dramatically overhead, increasing the importance of Elizabeth's actions and sentiments during her visit.[37] Elizabeth's visit to Tilbury, a place potentially at risk if Parma were to land with troops bent on overthrowing her government, stands as a direct challenge to Philip's fervent desire to invade England and take her throne. Her survey of the camp was a firm denial of fear that is reflected well in her oration in which she projected her perceptions of herself as the female monarch of England and asserted her right in the international sphere to resist the pressure brought to bear by countries like Spain.

Elizabeth's entourage through the camp was ceremonious but small, and illustrated her trust of her countrymen, accompanied as she was only by two pages, Robert Dudley the Earl of Leicester, Robert Devereux the Earl of Essex, and Sir John Norris.[38] Her address the following day to her troops offers one of the most memorable aspects of her entire reign. In arguing against the claim of historians such as Susan Frye who distrust the authenticity of the speech, Janet Green argues that the oration *did* occur, drawing on evidence such as the internal structure of the piece and a hand-written document ascribed to Dr. Leonel Sharpe, almost certainly an eye-witness to the event.[39] Green's examination of the internal structure of the piece reflects exactly, she argues, the style often used by the queen. "If someone else composed the oration, for whatever purpose, that person's gifts of literary forgery exceeded the queen's gifts of expression, a most unlikely occurrence," by which she means that if the oration was forged, that author knew very well the queen's style and mimicked her gift for using distinctly female rhetorical skills, the subtle integration of biblical passages into her work, and the image of herself as the heir of her exuberant and well-loved father.[40] Even Frye, though she distrusts the authenticity of the oration, clearly notes the importance of constructing a defiant and articulate Elizabeth staring down the

Spanish threat that was critical to expressing English unification under her.[41] Regardless, Elizabeth's mere presence in the camp, which Frye does not dispute, still speaks to her defiant attitude.

Assuming the oration is authentic, it is a powerful and simple claim of her sovereignty, and therefore stands in direct opposition to Philip's attempt to take it away from her. It is therefore easy to believe the effect the simple and powerful statements would have on the assembled men. For Elizabeth goes on to say,

> My loving people, we have been perswaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit our self to armed multitudes for fear of treachery: but I tell you, that I would not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let Tyrants fear, I have alwayes so behaved my self, that under God I have placed my chiefest strength, and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects.[42]

Her small retinue reflected her trust, and her words spoke of her love and faith in England and God to defeat the Armada. Significantly in this instance, she interjected her faith unto an ostensibly politically-motivated conflict. Elizabeth's invocation of religion as a justification of both her sovereignty and England's righteousness in resisting the Catholic attack contrasts interestingly with Philip's primarily religious motivations for invading England. Whereas Philip relied heavily on God to assist his invasion of England, Elizabeth tempered her politics with faith when necessary, and the interjection of God, as in the Tilbury oration, was more passive, as opposed to the active miracle that Philip anticipated.[43]

Elizabeth's use of distinctly feminine rhetoric reflects her unique self-perception. The famous line, "I know I have the bodie, but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and Stomach of a King, and of a King of England too," is a powerful image, skillfully using synecdoche to recognize her femininity and instantly dispel it by calling on a higher power – her own sovereignty – and demanding the power and presence her father enjoyed.[44] And despite the common myth of the queen's wardrobe, Mattingly, Green, and Frye all reject that the queen wore armor, but instead that the image she projected as "Gloriana…their own beloved queen and mistress, come in this hour of danger, in all simplicity to trust herself among them," would be sufficiently heartening for men living with the uncertainty of what would come next.[45] The speech at Tilbury as the defining moment of Elizabeth's reign is magnified by the unprecedented nature of the situation, of the size and scale of the attacking enemy, and the unique state of the naval conflict. It provides a distinctive instance in which to view her representation of the situation not only to those around her, but particularly to those to whom she did not necessarily have to explain herself, the 'little' people. In that light, then, it is easy to see why this speech represented the united front of English resistance, and perhaps, more than any cautiously made decision, confirmed Elizabeth and her faith and sex as being in the right in the face of Spanish would-be oppressors.

While Elizabeth inspired her troops at Tilbury, Medina Sidonia and his captains struggled northwards along the east coast of England to sail around Scotland and down the west coast of Ireland; with no chance of victory remaining, Medina Sidonia's only goal was to make it back to Spain with as

many ships as possible.[46] But the weather did not allow it. For two weeks in September the remainder of the Armada was battered by "nothing but storms, from the worst possible quarter, the southwest, and baffling head winds."[47] A document printed in 1588 containing 'examinations' of the few Spanish sailors rescued along the coast of Ireland provides the details of how desperately the Armada tried to stay together, and how intently the weather continued to thrust them apart.[48] The sailors' statements also illustrate the distressing situation as regards food and water, an issue Medina Sidonia addressed by ordering all horses and mules in the fleet thrown overboard to conserve rations.[49] The food and water the fleet carried proved insufficient for the length of the journey, spoiling mainly from improper storage. The barrels that were made to replace those Drake burned at Cape St. Vincent were poorly made or badly fitted and led to the starvation or severe illness of thousands of Spanish soldiers and sailors.[50]

In this instance, Philip's insistence that the attack go ahead, assured that God would aid their success, overwhelmed rational planning, and resulted in proper provisions for his sailors and troops being overlooked. When Medina Sidonia arrived in Santander on September 12, 1588, the Spanish had lost 63 of the estimated 124 vessels that left Lisbon in May; roughly nine vessels were lost in the naval engagements in the Channel, nineteen were wrecked off Scotland and Ireland, and thirty five vessels were unaccounted for.[51] The final page of the September 1588 *Advertisements*, publications of Spanish losses in Ireland, records the body count along the coast of Ireland as over five thousand men, and the losses from the previous engagements as over ten thousand.[52] The English, conversely, lost few of their 197 ships.[53] The combination of the size and tactics of the English fleet, the timing of the Dutch rebels and the inconstancy of the weather bespoke ruin upon the ill-equipped and ill-provisioned Spanish fleet.

Philip had spent years planning for the invasion of England. While motivated by the political and economic considerations like the Dutch resistance and Drake's attacks, Philip was most strongly influenced by his faith. His insistence that the Armada continue, despite the entreaties of Medina Sidonia, point to his faith as a greater influence on Philip than just the political rewards of overthrowing Elizabeth's government. With Elizabeth's ascension it seemed fairly likely that England would remain a Protestant county, but she was young and perhaps malleable. Thirty years into her reign, however, it was irrevocably clear that further diplomatic entreaties were not going to produce any reconciliation with Rome, and, as a result, Philip turned to invasion as the means of returning England to the "One True Faith."[54] Perhaps because of this, the effect of the defeat on Philip's faith is most surprising. It changed nothing in the intensity of his faith, one of the few things that remained unchanged that year. Or rather, the defeat of the Armada did serve to instill a sense of modesty and acceptance in him, as he wrote to a Spanish bishop in October, "Now I give thanks to Him for the mercy He has shown. In the storms through which the Armada sailed, it might have suffered a worse fate…"[55]

For the English, the defeat of the Armada was ascribed to divine intervention as well, "the more the destruction of the enemy could be seen as a direct act of God, the clearer it would be that God was a Protestant, and that the common cause was...God's cause."[56] The Armada's defeat, which dealt a crushing blow to Catholic pride and bolstered Protestant projections that *they* were indeed the faithful, was key in establishing a firm footing for Protestantism

in England and Northern Europe.[57] They would not be subdued, as the Protestant God protected them from the oppression of the Catholics. The role of religion in causing and changing the course of the conflict reflects the impact of faith on both sides. Regardless of his motivation, Philip's designs on England were ruinous for his navy and his country in the short-term. Elizabeth, on the other hand, who used religion more sparingly in the political sphere, was victorious because of her sound political decisions in the short-term. On the whole, though neither monarch was singularly motivated, Philip allowed his firm belief in God's direct intervention to overrule other important considerations to a far greater extent than Elizabeth.

The fallout from Spain's attempted invasion can be seen as having both short-term and long-term effects. In the short-term, the Armada's return to Spain by traveling around Ireland to reach the Atlantic caused further damage to the already limping fleet. Afterwards, however, the defeat was a chance for Spain to innovate. With roughly half of his ships destroyed, Philip seized the opportunity to build a newer, bigger, and better navy, which in turn led to a new era of maritime dominance for Spain.[58] Spain's maritime advancements after the sound destruction of the Armada led to the spread of empire across the Atlantic in the Americas and West Indies.[59] On the other hand, the defeat of the Armada allowed the rebellious provinces of northern Europe to establish a firm footing for Protestantism and never again submit to Catholic authority.[60] As a result of her cautious decisions to preserve peace for the first thirty years of her reign, Elizabeth's prudent political judgment leading up to the crisis not only saved her navy, her country, and her reign for that moment in time, but secured the position of Protestantism in England and her place in history. But while the defeat of the Armada was a triumph for Elizabeth and she spent the rest of her reign reveling in her newfound connection with the people after Tilbury, the war with Spain that followed did not end until after her death and resulted in substantial demands upon English government, society, and economy. In the long-term, the attempted invasion by Spain and the near total destruction of its fleet along with the subsequent war with Spain had such far-reaching consequences for Elizabeth's successors, Mattingly suggests, such as causing the Puritan Revolution nearly a century later.[61] And Elizabeth did have problems funding the war which increased tensions between the Crown and the people, resulting in a much weaker throne passed to the Stuart dynasty following Elizabeth's death.[62] Briefly put, "perhaps it may be said that the war whose first act was the defeat of the Spanish Armada resulted in the Puritan Revolution, and the sequence of events which began with the execution of Mary Queen of Scots ended in the execution of her grandson."[63]

After thirty years of careful and calculated peace through diplomacy and manipulation, the engagements of 1588 and the subsequent war with Spain marked the absolute turning point in Elizabeth's reign. From peace to war, Elizabeth resisted challenges to her sovereignty, defied doubts about her sex, and challenged Philip's messianic mindset with her own tempered faith and sound judgment. For Philip, though the Armada' defeat was at first an unmitigated disaster, it most likely led to Spain's dominance in the New World.

Notes

[1] Garrett Mattingly, *The "Invincible" Armada and Elizabethan England* (Ithaca: Published for the

Folger Shakespeare Library, Cornell University Press, 1963), 6.
[2] Ibid., 9; Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), 365; Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, "The Elizabethan Triumph and Unsettlement, 1585-1603," in *Early Modern England, 1485-1714: A Narrative* History, 2nd ed., (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 138.
[3] Bucholz and Key, 138.
[4] Mattingly, *Armada*, 25-6; Robert Scully, "'In the Hope of a Miracle': The Spanish Armada and Religious Mentalities in the Late Sixteenth Century," *The Catholic Historical* Review 89, no. 4 (2003), 645.
[5] J. F. C. Fuller, "The Defeat of the Spanish Armada, 1588," in *A Military History of the Western World* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1955), 29.
[6] Mattingly, *Armada*, 6-7.
[7] Mattingly, *"Invincible"*, 8.
[8] Mattingly, *Armada*, 15-16.
[9] Ibid, 16; Bucholz and Key, 139.
[10] Bucholz and Key, 140.
[11] Geoffrey Parker, "The Place of Tudor England in the Messianic Vision of Philip II of Spain," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6, no. 12 (2002), 182-206.
[12] Parker, 196.
[13] Fuller, 16; Mattingly, "*Invincible"*, 12.
[14] John Knox Laughton, ed., *State Papers Relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, anno 1588* (London: Navy Records Society, 1895), 200.
[15] Ibid, 200
[16] Fuller, 21.
[17] Parker, 180.
[18] Bucholz and Key, 142.
[19] Ibid; Fuller, 24-5; Mattingly, "*Invincible"*, 12-3.
[20] Cormac F. Lowth, "Finds of the Spanish Armada," *Dublin Historical Record* 57, no. 1 (2004): 26.
[21] Parker, 180.
[22] Parker, 173-7.
[23] Ibid; Scully, 643.
[24] Lowth, 27.
[25] *State Papers*, 15.
[26] Lowth, 27.
[27] Fuller, 29.
[28] Ibid, 32.
[29] Mattingly, "*Invincible"*, 20-1.
[30] J. L. Anderson, "Climatic Change, Sea-Power and Historical Discontinuity: The Spanish Armada and the Glorious Revolution of 1688," *The Great Circle* 5, no. 1 (1983): 14-15.
[31] Parker, 173.
[32] Mattingly, *Armada*, 342-3.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid, 346.
[35] Ibid, 346-7.
[36] Peter Padfield, *Armada: A Celebration of the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, 1588-1988* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1988), 158.
[37] Mattingly, *Armada*, 351.
[38] Ibid, 348.
[39] Janet M. Green, "'I my self': Queen Elizabeth I's Oration at Tilbury Camp," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, no. 2 (1997): 421-2; 441-2.
[40] Ibid, 430.
[41] Susan Frye, "The Myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23, no. 1 (1992): 96.
[42] Queen Elizabeth, quoted in Green, Appendix, 443.
[43] Scully, 644.
[44] Queen Elizabeth quoted in Green, Appendix, 443; Green, 425.
[45] Mattingly, *Armada*, 349; Green, 426-427; Frye 95-6.
[46] Mattingly, *Armada*, 364-6
[47] Ibid, 367.
[48] *Certain Advertisements Out of Ireland, Concerning the Losses and Distresses Happened to the Spanish Navie*, 1588, Early English Books Online, accessed 6 May 2013, 2.
[49] *Certain Advertisements*, 5.
[50] Mattingly, *Armada*, 365-67.
[51] Fuller, 34.
[52] *Certain Advertisements*, 9.
[53] Fuller, 34.
[54] Bucholz and Key, 140.
[55] Philip II quoted in Mattingly, *Armada*, 390.
[56] Mattingly, *Armada*, 390.
[57] Fuller, 37.
[58] Fuller, 38 footnote.
[59] Mattingly, *"Invincible"*, 24-5.
[60] Bucholz and Key, 145.
[61] Mattingly, *"Invincible"*, 32.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.

Androgyny in Native American Societies

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Since the beginning of the 19th century, scholars have struggled to classify the identities of androgynous figures within Native American communities. Europeans in the early 1800s used the French term *berdache* (i.e. "male prostitute") to describe certain indigenous males and females who adopted "some of the garments, occupations, and/or sexual partners" of what "Anglo-Europeans might call the opposite sex."[1] Ethnographers likened them to "passive partner[s] in male homosexual relationships,"[2] sexual deviants whose actions violated European gender norms. Later on in the twentieth century, this label came into disuse in favor of the category of *two-spirit*. The idea behind this new term stemmed from the Native American community's concept of gender, where the "spiritual or social identity is emphasized over psychosexual,"[3] and allowed androgynous natives to embrace their differences without fear of being called sexual deviants like before. Although this term appeared to be more progressive, it made the same incorrect assumption that its predecessor did: that all behaviors were "equivalent in meaning," regardless of cultural variations that would have set tribes apart from one another. Rather than rely on generalizing terms, such as *berdache* and *two-spirit*, to define androgynous figures in native societies, this paper will use the categories created by the tribes themselves, such as the Lakota *winktes*, Navajo *nadles* and Mohave *alyhas*, to recreate their identities and show why gender cannot and should not be generalized. Scholars who used umbrella terms such as *berdache* and *two-spirit* failed to acknowledge how different Native American tribes were from one another, ignoring their distinct histories and mythologies in favor of generalizations that more of their readers could understand.

A tribe's mythology sometimes showed people the different paths one could take in becoming an official, recognized and accepted androgynous member of society. Sometimes, communities imposed the status on children who "demonstrated a propensity for playing with tools commonly used" by the opposite sex.[4] This was what happened in the Mohave's myth about the first *alyha*. In the story, a child was born to one of four women seated around Mastamho, the son of the Creator. Mastamho instinctively knew that the child would grow up to be a leader, and upon his birth, named him after the midwife.[5] The purpose of this name may have had something to do with the role that the child would take in the future, as a healer of women, which midwifes were trained to do. Over the years, Mastamho took notice of the child's preferences for girl's toys and women's company, and decided to test him to see where his priorities laid. When the child threw away the bows and dolls that Mastamho had made for him, but not the set of dice, it was clear to him that the boy would not grow up to be any ordinary leader, but an androgynous one for the women in the community. Therefore, he gave the child a dress, and taught him how to act and sing like a girl,[6] empowering the child by embracing his differences. This child was the first *alyha*.

This myth provided a model for Mohave life, as families kept a close eye on their children, looking for signs that would reveal their androgynous natures like the

child in the story. Unlike Europeans, who correlated effeminate traits with homosexuality and sexual deviancy, the Mohave tribe followed the example set out in the myth. They accepted androgynous children, and planned secret initiation ceremonies to "test the child's true inclinations,"[7] ensure that the role was not "forced on him by others"[8] and to help welcome them into their society. Members of the community stood in a circle around the child, and waited for him to start dancing along to the music coming from a singer in the background. This ritual assumed that a true *alyha* would not have been able to control himself, since his spirit would have been inclined to let the music go "right through his heart."[9] Once the child passed the test, he would have been expected to adopt women's attire and a new feminine name just like the child in the myth.[10] Because of the similarities apparent between the initiation ritual and the events in this tale, one could conclude that the Mohaves credited the spirits for their children's androgynous identities, since Mastamho had a key role in training the first *alyha* of their kind. Thus, according to their tribe, children did not choose to be androgynous, but simply let the spirits decide for them and either accepted or rejected such roles during the ceremony.

The *alyhas* were not the only androgynous figures in Mohave society. Their female counterparts were known as *hwami*, and their status in society was also influenced by a myth. In the story about the first *hwami*, Mastamho tested a female child in a similar fashion as her male counterpart. He asked her to repeat a song after him, to "hear all that I sing"[11] and try to understand its meaning. She passed his test; her song came out sounding like a man's and she understood every word of it. This girl was the first *Hwami*, and others like her went on to live "men's lives"[12] without being ostracized by their communities just for being different.

The histories behind the *hwami* and the *alyha* may have been complicated for many European and American outsiders to understand, but such knowledge would have been crucial in order to make sense of the purposes of their existence within Mohave society. Americans like Will Roscoe, who failed to understand the mythical history behind such androgynous figures, likened *hwami*s to the "loose women" in the Navajo communities who "throw away their house-keeping implements and run wild,"[13] despite the fact that all Mohave women routinely engaged in men's work, and thus did not "run wild," as this scholar suggested. Although Roscoe, an American anthropologist known for his works on third and fourth gendered Native Americans, may not have intended to portray his subjects in a negative light, he singled the *hwami* out in his book. This was because Roscoe believed some of them had taken part in what he perceived as being same-sex relations, and may have wanted to use these people in order to prove to the world that homosexuality, a concept created and used by the West, existed around the world and should stop being seen as something pertaining only to white people.

With an emphasis on the "physical attributes of a person,"[14] rather than their "spiritual dimensions"[15] like the Mohave's belief system, the Euro-American binary structure of gender sought to redefine the *hwami's* status in Mohave society by only acknowledging the existence of two sexes, male and female, and excluding the rest. Because the *hwami*s were physically female, their relationships with other women in the tribe would have made them homosexuals in the eyes of those who failed to understand the Mohave's history. On the other hand, because *hwami*s were considered a completely different gender in the eyes of

their people, their community had no taboo against their having relations with other women in the tribe, as long as they refrained from doing anything sexual with others of their kind. Thus, one can see why so many scholars had a hard time deconstructing the identities of these androgynous peoples; they had been missing crucial pieces of information.

Unlike the Mohave, the Lakota believed they could use physical characteristics to determine their children's fates at an early age. If a boy was born "beautiful" and his voice "effeminate,"[16] it was a sign that the Great Spirits had intervened in his mother's womb, merging two babies into one "half-man, half-woman" being,[17] resulting in the birth of a *winkte.*[18] The parents would have no way of knowing this for sure, however, until their child was old enough to see a medicine man about his first vision quest. According to a Lakota chief, there were a few different things that children could see during this ritual, such as a "bear, a wolf, thunder, a buffalo, a white buffalo calf, or a double woman,"[19] each of which was endowed with a specific calling that one was expected to perform as an adult. According to Williams, in order to become a *winkte*, a child needed to see the white buffalo calf and absorb its powers, so that he may one day be able to perform the roles associated with this figure in Lakota society.[20] Because the vision itself was thought to have been the work of the Great Spirits rather than the boy's mind,[21] the child's future would have been out of his control, much like that of the Mohave's *alyha* and *hwami*, and the community would not have tried to change or ostracize him for being effeminate. Although vision quests were not exclusively for children suspected of being androgynous, the ritual persuaded natives to accept and welcome such children into their communities, since the Great Spirits made them different for a reason, to help them serve a different purpose in society.

The Navajos were similar to the Lakotas in that parents also used physical characteristics to determine whether or not their children would grow up to be *nadle*s. In Navajo, the term *nadle* meant "changing one" or "one who is transformed" and applied to "hermaphrodites" as well as "pretenders" who had the appropriate genitals for one sex but adopted behaviors of the other.[22] Such behaviors included "exceptional physical abilities, specific attire, and enhanced spirituality."[23] Unlike the Lakota, however, the inspiration behind the *nadle*'s status came from the tribe's creation story, rather than some belief in the occurrence of spiritual intervention. According to the Navajo Story of the Five Worlds, the first man and woman escaped into the third world and gave birth to the first two *nadles* in history: Turquoise Boy and White Shell Girl. Over time, these twins were said to have invented pottery and the art of weaving baskets, making the first people happy after giving their knowledge of said crafts away to them.[24] This portion of the story would have allowed *nadle*s to live in peace with others in their community, since their status would have been inspired by the positive legacies left behind by the first two changing twins, who were the bringers of good fortune.

The *nadle*'s gender-crossing roles may have been inspired by the second portion of the Navajo's creation story, when the first men left the first women and created a river of separation between the two sexes. According to the story, White Shell Girl left the third world to go live on the moon, leaving Turquoise boy behind to pick up her slack. After a while, the men came to see that Turquoise boy could "do all manner of women's work as well as women" and decided to leave the women and live on an island with the boy, thus creating said river

of separation.[25] Because Turquoise boy was one of the first *nadles* in history, all those born thereafter may have decided to model themselves after him in order to benefit from his positive legacy. This would explain where the *nadle*'s gender-crossing roles might have come from, since Turquoise boy's impressive ability to perform women's labor could have inspired other androgynous figures in the Navajo community to adopt roles normally performed by the opposite sex as well. It would also explain where the Navajo came up with the status of the pretending *nadles*, since Turquoise Boy may have performed women's roles despite his being an anatomical male.

The *nadle*'s gender-crossing performances, however, would not explain how hermaphrodites fit into the story or their history. Maybe the reference to Turquoise Boy and White Shell Girl as "changing twins"[26] was meant to signal their hermaphroditic status. According to Roscoe, the Navajo used the term *nadleehi* to define tribal members who were in a "state of continuous fluctuation" between their "male, female and hermaphroditic" identities.[27] He went one step further, and claimed that Turquoise boy provided the men on the island with "sex"[28] in the story, despite the fact that neither William's nor Elledge's version of the myth made any mention of this ever taking place. Although multiple interpretations of this creation story exist, one could see how this claim could have been used in order to strengthen Roscoe's claim that *nadles,* along with other androgynous Native Americans, were homosexuals,[29] which may not have had any bearing on the Navajo's real history concerning these figures. Because of the similarities found between the *nadles* in Navajo society and those in the myth, one could conclude that the figure's gender-crossing roles may have originated from the Navajo's creation story.

Apart from providing androgynous members of the community with justifiable reasons to be different and freeing society from having to stress out about the unknown causes of such variations in human behavior and anatomy, the histories and myths of each tribe also determined what kinds of contributions these valuable members had to offer to their society. In Mohave, the term "*alyha*" means "gonorrhea", which according the myth of the first *alyha*, "Mastamho gave women" and the "*alyha* was to cure them of."[30] Thus, one could conclude that the figure's primary healing role originated from the tribe's history with the sexual disease, as well as their myth concerning the first healer of their kind.

Alternatively, the Navajo had reasons of their own for considering their androgynous members great healers. According to the niece of a "well respected *nadle* healer," it was their "compassionate" side that inspired them to choose to "help people,"[31] the role was not imposed on them by some higher order like the *alyha*. Like the Mohave, the Navajo's creation story also influenced its people's beliefs concerning their androgynous figures in the community. At the end of the Story of the Five Worlds, the two twins saved humanity from a flood after providing the people with the reeds that allowed them to climb up into the final fifth world and out of harm's way.[32] Therefore, because the first two *nadles* saved humanity out of the goodness of their own hearts, all of the androgynous figures associated with them thereafter could have gotten credit for their mythical predecessors' achievements, thus explaining why people viewed *nadles* as compassionate people who wanted to help others.

The Lakotas had their own reasons for identifying *winkte*s as natural healers. Having been equipped with "spiritual

power[s]"[33] during their vision quests as children, the Lakotas would have considered these androgynous figures capable of doing the job well, since these chosen figures would have had the motivation from their vision quest, and resources from their spiritual powers, that would have allowed them to do the job well. Thus, it would be incorrect to assume that all androgynous members of native societies performed the same roles for similar reasons. The Lakota *winkte*s healed people because it was their calling, while the Mohave *alyha*s thought they were created for such purposes and the *nadles* did so because they were expected to preserve the legacy of their predecessors.

In some tribes, healers became respected shamans (i.e. medicine men), who kept "bad things from happening" by performing "the proper ceremonies to placate the spirits."[34] Klah, a *nadle* shaman in the early 1900s, was thought to have been "honored by the gods and to possess unusual mental capacity"[35] for ceremonial and ritual knowledge, making him a perfect medicine man in the eyes of his community. Williams, however, suggested that it may have been the *nadles*' discernible chanting ability that really made them successful, because the chants made sick people believe that "someone cares and is working hard for her or his health,"[36] thus improving their moods, which in effect, helped to facilitate the healing process. A statement made by a Lakota healer named "Black Elk" supports Williams' idea, as the shaman credited the favorable outcome of his first healing ceremony to the fact that he followed "common procedures, which he had seen used by other medicine men, and which had been used on him during his illness."[37] Therefore, it would be more accurate to say that the shaman's power to heal came from their talent for "role playing and theatrical performances,"[38] while their confidence in performing the role came from their belief that the spirits endowed them with the powers to do the job well. Although not all shamans were androgynous, tribes like the Mohaves and Navajos considered such individuals to be more powerful in comparison to their male and female counterparts.[39]

Androgynous members in native societies were also known for performing the role of mediator between the sexes. According to Williams, such *two-spirit*ed peoples were thought to have been "better able to handle disputes between the sexes,"[40] because their "masculine and feminine characteristics"[41] allowed them to "view the world from both sex's viewpoints,"[42] ensuring a fair settlement that satisfied both parties involved. When looked at more closely, one sees the different styles of mediating. Thayer pointed out how shaman *winkte*s were often considered mediators between the "divine and human worlds,"[43] due to their connection to the spirits and how they used their power to help the people. Others, due to their keen ability to "move freely between female and male groups,"[44] were known for being superb matchmakers. According to Williams, *nadles* and *winkte*s were often employed by young men in their communities who needed help "facilitating budding romances" with a girl, and helped him convince her relatives to arrange a marriage between them.[45] Evidently, these figures were a valuable asset because they brought peace, love, and health to the community.

Another way that the Lakota *winkte* contributed to their society was through the naming ceremonies they performed. According to Williams, these figures assigned boys in the tribe a "sacred *winkte* name" that placed them under spiritual protection and ensured them a long life.[46] In fact, many famous natives were given such names, including "Sitting Bull, Black Elk" and "even Crazy Horse."[47] The Lakotas

thought this ritual worked because those who had undergone the ceremony usually ended up living longer lives. Williams, however, pointed to the fact that the *winkte* helped the children's parents look after them "for life,"[48] in order to explain such favorable outcomes of the ritual. Thus, one can see why communities valued androgynous members, since they were believed to have powers that could be used to benefit the common good, resulting in them having respectable statuses in society.

In conclusion, catch-all terms like *two-spirit* and *berdache* would not have been able to explain why so many of the discrepancies found between the androgynous Mohave, Lakota and Navajo figures existed. *Berdaches* were not defined by their social or sacred roles, but rather by their "other-gender behaviors and same-sex sexual practices"[49] that reduced all gender-crossing behavior to homosexual or sexual deviant acts. Although Native Americans found the *two-spirit* concept less offensive relative to *berdache*, since it emphasized a person's "male and a female spirit"[50] while "honoring and being genuine to who they are born as,"[51] it followed its predecessor's legacy of assuming that aspects of one person's identity could "be applied to all Native American cultures,"[52] as if one person's character could represent that of other peoples who have different histories and cultural backgrounds. Instead, a better way of looking at these androgynous figures would involve studying the histories behind the categories created for such people by the tribes themselves, such as the Lakota *winkte*, Mohave *alyha*, and Navajo *nadle*. This would give people a better understanding of why people's identities differed, how communities dealt with such differences, and what these figures had to offer to their tribes as a result. By doing so, one can see how the members of tribes thus mentioned differed as a result of their histories and myths, and why generalizations like *berdache* and *two-spirit* are not appropriate terms to define Native identities.

Notes

[1] Carolyn Epple, "Coming To Terms With Navajo *Nadle*ehi: A Critique Of Berdache, 'Gay,' 'Alternate Gender,' And 'Two-spirit'," *American Ethnologist* 25, no. 2 (1998): 267-290, here 270.
[2] Sandra Slater and Fay A. Yarbrough, *Gender and Sexuality in Indigenous North America, 1400-1850.* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), 147.
[3] Epple, 274.
[4] Slater and Yarbrough, 148.
[5] Jim Elledge, *Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Myths from the Arapaho to the Zuñi: An Anthology* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), 82.
[6] Ibid., 80.
[7] Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 23.
[8] Ibid., 24.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., 23.
[11] Elledge, 85.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 73.
[14] Williams, 77.
[15] Ibid., 85.
[16] Ibid., 49.
[17] Ibid., 25.
[18] Slater and Yarbrough, 148.
[19] Williams, 28.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., 29.
[22] Ibid., 78.
[23] Epple, 273.
[24] Williams, 20.
[25] Williams, 19.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 43.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid, 73.
[30] Elledge, 80.
[31] Williams, 54.
[32] Ibid., 20.
[33] Epple, 268.

[34] Williams, 34.
[35] Will Roscoe, "We'wha and Klah: The American Indian Berdache as Artist and Priest," *American Indian Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1988): 127-50, here 135.
[36] Williams, 34.
[37] David Martinez, "The Soul of the Indian: Lakota Philosophy and the Vision Quest," *Wicazo Sa Review* 19, no. 2 (2004): 79-104, here 96.
[38] Williams, 33.
[39] Ibid., 35.
[40] Ibid., 55.
[41] Epple, 278.
[42] Williams, 42.
[43] James Thayer, "The Berdache of the Northern Plains: a Socioreligious Perspective," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 36, no. 3 (1980): 287-293, here 292.
[44] Williams, 70.
[45] Ibid., 71.
[46] Ibid., 37.
[47] Ibid., 38.
[48] Ibid., 37.
[49] Epple, 268.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Owo-Li Driskill, Chris Finley, Brian Joseph Gilley, and Scott Laurie Morgensen, *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011), 100.
[52] Epple, 269.

Cornerstone Essay Award Winner

Record Covers and Race Relations: Where Music, Art, and Audiences Intersect

Rebecca Quon

New York City, 1947: Uptown, *A Streetcar Named Desire* opened on Broadway, starring the handsome, up-and-coming Marlon Brando. Over in Brooklyn, Jackie Robinson had just signed a contract with the Brooklyn Dodgers. Two billion passengers would ride the subway by year's end – more people than ever before. It was what *New York Magazine* deemed one of the "greatest years" of the century for its spirit of optimism and progress.[1] At the time, New York was the capital of immigration, commerce, and glamour; in many ways, it was the center of the western world. Everywhere, people were watching New York to gauge how well the country would recover from the blows it had suffered during World War II. In addition, it was the center of the music world, and a bastion for African-American singers and audiences. One could see Miles Davis and Billie Holiday perform some nights at the famous 52nd Street clubs, or head down to the new record store, Bobby Robinson's, at 301 West 125th Street in Harlem – one of the first owned by a black man in the city. For Americans and for people around the world, New York City was a symbol of hope: the hope that America's conflicts with Europe were over for good, that the spread of deadly infections like polio could be prevented with vaccination, and that racial desegregation might finally occur. It was the city that would usher in a new era of peace and progress, if any city could.

Despite this optimism, the '40s were also a period of ever-increasing racial disquiet – not just in New York, but around the country. Residential segregation was ubiquitous, violence against blacks was on the rise, and prejudice against ethnic minorities was growing among middle-class whites. This was reflected in the world of music, where there were separate "race record" Billboard charts for black musicians, among numerous other inequalities and discriminatory practices.[2]

Introduction

Music, especially jazz, has been studied extensively for its relevance to racial tensions in the 1940s. Musicians' biographies have been written, their songs picked apart, and their audience reception analyzed. But there are other facets of this issue that are less well-examined – the history of particular venues, modes of dress, and even individual record companies among them – which could give fresh perspective to the subject. One such angle that remains relatively unexamined is the visual culture surrounding music in the '40s: in particular, album covers. Like concert posters and magazine ads, album covers are representative of the complex relationship between advertising, music, and the society that receives them.

In the nineteenth century, records were sold and stored in brown paper sleeves, through which the center label of the LP could be seen on each side. These documented basic information, including the musician's name and a list of songs. Then,

in 1938, a revolution occurred when Columbia Records' first art director Alex Steinweiss created cardboard sleeves to house the records. Though it may not seem like a big change, cardboard was revolutionary in that it offered both more protection and more creative possibilities than the old paper sleeves. Covers known as 'slicks' were printed with art and information and pasted onto the boards, and with them, the album cover, a new form of commercial packaging, was born. Within the decade, the album cover quickly became the most influential form of music advertising. It was not only a new artistic medium; it changed the experience of buying and collecting records, and shifted American visual culture towards what would become the consumerist "pop art" phenomenon.

For the first few years after the album cover was invented, there was no standard design or style which dictated how they should look. But by the mid-40s, experimentation had resulted in three distinct styles: the "painterly" covers favored by RCA Records, the modern, "more purely graphic" approach that many small labels utilized, and the "poster-like" photograph covers of Columbia Records, which would eventually become the standard we know today.[3] Like any other art form, these covers reflect the times in which they were created. And perhaps more than most, they contain evidence of racial discrimination in the 1940s, which affected not only the music industry but society at large.

It is important to keep in mind that the '40s were a time of great change, and that not all of it was for the worse. While it is true that minorities were discriminated against virtually everywhere in the U.S. during this time, music was one of the few spheres of American culture where they could be accorded respect and admiration on a national level. Jazz (and to a lesser degree, folk) was the most common genre in which prolific black figures were present in the music industry. These performers and their audiences often broke color barriers, forging a space where collaboration and acceptance were the norm. In Ken Burns' documentary *Jazz*, which covers the early development of the genre, contemporary trumpeter Wynton Marsalis remarks, "since jazz music is at the center of the American mythology, it necessarily deals with race. The more we run from it, the more we run into it."[4] Quintessentially American, jazz reflects the progress as well as the setbacks in the country's attempts at racial equality. Album covers, which both consciously and unconsciously mimic attitudes of/towards musicians, allow us to see these trends play out. The images are windows into the attitudes of the era: the visual culture of jazz music, even more clearly than the music itself, reveals the often-conflicting messages of representation. While African-American musicians worked to integrate America through music, the album art produced for them by mostly-white designers reflected and amplified the racial tensions of the 1940s.

Analysis

In order to understand how issues of race are entwined with record covers, it is necessary to look at a few examples of the ways in which African-Americans were portrayed on them. The first of these gives an idea of a simple, basic album cover with a neutral tone. In Duke Ellington's *Indiana Live Session* from 1945 (Figure 1), there are very few design elements. The focus is the (strangely angled) photograph in the center of Ellington and a band-member during a performance; the font is straightforward and there is quite a bit of negative space. This kind of cover was common through the early '60s in every genre of music, as recordings were often made from live sessions rather

than in studios, and were less formally released. Its style can be seen as a sort of standard by which to judge other albums covers which will be studied here.

Over the years, there were some really classic, well-designed graphics, but there were many racially insensitive ones, as well. In part, this depended on the size of the record company and its budget for designers; but it also had quite a bit to do with who made decisions about the art. "Because the predominantly white art directors and record executives made the final decisions in album cover design, cover art depicted their own conception of jazz and jazz musicians."[5] One major example of this is in the artistic portraits of musicians which were often done for the fronts of their albums. It was in vogue during the '40s to draw modern, vaguely abstract and cartoonish representations instead of the traditional photograph. As one could imagine, this often led to over-exaggerated, borderline caricature figures, especially when the musician was black.

There are quite a few examples of this happening throughout the decade; the contrast can best be understood when looking at two drawings side by side. Figures 2 and 3 compare two illustrations done around the same time. On the left is a painting of Glen Miller, a white bandleader and one of the best-selling recording artists of the decade, done in 1940. On the right is an album of songs by Duke Ellington, one of the great black composers and bandleaders of the same era, from two years later. The difference between the two covers is easily discernable. While Miller's is done in a clean, black & white design, Ellington's has a highly stylized, more abstracted quality, and is finished with bold colors, which are almost garish when compared to the first image. There is a definite difference in the atmosphere of each work; where the one on the left has an air of sophistication and respectability, the one on the right seems exaggerated and hammy. Very few, if any, African-American artists did work in cover album design as early as 1940. So it is unlikely that they might have worked on either of these covers. The more probable case, reflected in the representation of the musicians, is that white artists created both.

This kind of caricaturization of black jazz musicians on their own album covers was even more exaggerated in other cases. One man in particular, Thomas Wright "Fats" Waller, was subject to this portrayal. Waller was a prominent pianist, composer, and comedic entertainer in the '30s and '40s (who was once kidnapped at gunpoint in Chicago and made to play at Al Capone's birthday party – a fun fact that emphasizes his fame). More than any other black musician, his album covers depict him in a cartoony, exaggerated style (see figure 4) over and over. It was, in all likelihood, not an image he chose for himself. Whereas virtually all musicians today have control over their own public image, this figure was imposed on him by record producers because of his role as a comedian; his public persona was good-natured and humorous, and so the cartoonish image of him was perpetuated throughout his career.

This image, though seemingly harmless on its surface, is actually deeply tied to racial and societal prejudice. The cheerful, stout black man stereotype hearkens back to vaudeville, and before that, to minstrel shows and the nineteenth-century plantation era – a belief in black primitivism that was common in society up until the civil rights era. Either consciously or unconsciously, the artists who created Fats Waller's album covers tied him to that tradition, despite the respect he garnered as a musician. Whether it was his genuine personality or a part of his stage presence, Waller went along with the image. It was a necessary component to his success as a

comedian and his likeability among white audiences. His album covers both reflected and perpetuated racial stereotypes. They show how complex and nuanced racial references and relationships can be within a single image.

One especially interesting illustrated album cover ties directly to racism and the 'primitive', and that is Duke Ellington's *Liberian Suite*, released in 1947. The album was produced by Columbia Records and commissioned for a special occasion – the Liberian centennial. Liberia, a colony of the United States, was founded in 1847 as an outpost where former slaves could settle without disrupting the southern lifestyle. The album "was his first international commission, from the government of the African nation, to celebrate the 100th anniversary of its founding by freed American slaves – it was the first formal manifestation of a process by which Ellington would be a virtual musical ambassador to the world by the end of the next decade." [6] Though made in a celebratory spirit, the album and its cover had deep and meaningful connections to the racial tensions of the age – not just for blacks in general, but for Ellington, personally, as well.

The album's cover (figure 5) was drawn by Jim Flora, one of Columbia's greatest graphic designers. His work, including dozens of Columbia's album covers, is known for its abstract, African-influenced style. This cover in particular is more than just African-influenced, though. It depicts the story of Liberia's founding in cartoon-like registers going in three rows across the album's surface; it is literally about a part of Africa in addition to appropriating its highly stylized art. Though the artwork itself is not offensive towards blacks or Ellington in particular, it references the long history of racism in America in an overt fashion. Perhaps Columbia, in producing this record, was trying to prove how far-removed it was from America's "peculiar institution", and how progressive it was. This was especially important to the company since it was a huge purveyor of jazz, blues, and the like. But the imagery used in the design, even if well-intentioned, were part of a long history of racism in the jazz industry that performers like Ellington had to withstand.

One huge purveyor of such representation on a much more public platform was the Cotton Club on Broadway and 48th Street in New York – in the center of the 'Great White Way', so named because of it was an affluent theater district, and one of the first districts in the city to have electric lighting installed. Opened by heavyweight boxing champion Jack Johnson in 1920 and managed by him for years after, it was the most popular nightclub in New York all through the Prohibition era (most likely because of its reputation for good-quality liquor). Until the original club closed in 1940, it was a whites-only establishment, though many of the country's greatest black performers played or worked there at the time. The club's theme was that of "a mock plantation. The bandstand was done up as a white-columned mansion, the backdrop painted with cotton bushes and slave quarters." [7] Though it seems incredible that such a place not only existed but thrived in New York, it is a testament of the extent to which racism was a part of everyday life until the 1960s.

The club employed light-skinned African American chorus girls, who were expected to be "tall, tan and terrific" (a phrase that sounds straight from Jack Johnson himself), and the performers were all black, as well. Duke Ellington was employed there from 1927 to 1931, and was paid an unusually large salary for a black performer because of his prominence. His job at the club was to "arrange and compose

for a variety of dancers, singers, miscellaneous acts, entr'actes, and theatrical revues."[8] Often, because of the club's theme, these had plots about black savages and white maidens in distress. Ellington made the best of the opportunity, tarnished though it was, and "devised music of sophistication and cheekily exotic allure, under such titles as 'Jungle Blues,' 'Jungle Night in Harlem,' and — a sinister little masterpiece—'The Mooche.'"[9] The Cotton Club and its casual discrimination exemplify the extent to which the world of jazz was influenced by racist imagery. In recreating a world of plantations and employing African-American musicians, the venue made a strong connection between even the most talented performers and the tradition of slavery. To the credit of Ellington and the myriad of black jazz greats who also had shows there, the club was viewed as an opportunity to gain a wider audience through respectful conduct – though how much of the opposite they had to endure can only be imagined.

Other instances of illustrated album covers shed light on the more positive side of the record production industry: Jelly Roll Morton's *Back O' Town* (figure 6) from 1946 is an example of this. The cover, whose designer is unknown, features a painting by renowned African-American artist Jacob Lawrence entitled *Barber Shop*. Known for his works which depict life in Harlem and reflect the rhythms of jazz, Lawrence became well-known almost immediately in the 1940s because the Harlem community so strongly identified with his work. Unlike the covers we have seen so far, this is an example (one of the few from this decade) where the work of a black artist represented the work of a black musician on the front of a major record. It is an achievement of the Harlem Renaissance, which grew in strength throughout the 1920's and '30s, that such a thing could occur. The movement, which saw an explosion of culture and creativity among the African-American community in New York City, had a national following by the '40s. But still, it was rare for African-American art and music to be joined together on album covers. This lack of opportunity for self-representation the extent to which whites dominated record production and art.

A final example in the same vein comes from the New Orleans jazz tradition; from the same musician, Jelly Roll Morton. Morton, a Creole of color, is widely considered to have been one of the greatest composers and bandleaders of ragtime and early jazz during the 1910s and '20s. The album *Hot Jazz*, from 1945 (figure 7), was compiled and released four years after his death. It is a testament to the fact that he was already considered a classic jazz musician at the time. The album's art is interesting for a number of reasons, the first being that it contains an illustration depicting New Orleans. The moss-covered tree, distinct architectural elements, and steamboat in the background are some of that city's most celebrated features. It also contains two figures: the one on the ground floor playing the piano has Morton's distinct facial outline, and on the top floor, an unidentifiable black figure leans over the balcony, presumably, listening to the music. This cover, like the one for Morton's *Back O' Town* discussed above, has not only a distinct sense of place but also of community. Graphics like this one foster a sense of pride in the distinctive jazz that came out of different areas – and, by extension, pride in the distinctive culture of African American society in the early 20th century.

Clearly, representation on album covers wasn't all negative. In fact, there were quite a few covers which positively portrayed jazz music and musicians. This

was especially true of female singers, like Ella Fitzgerald and Mary Lou Williams, who were hugely important in making jazz popular across racial boundaries. Their albums (figure 8) were traditionally fronted by photos which cast them as beautiful and glamorous, always with approachable smiles. Though Bessie Smith had laid a path for their careers musically, they were among the first black women whose images were an integral part of their careers. Along with their counterparts in film, actress-singers like Dorothy Dandridge (who would become the first African-American nominated for an Academy Award in 1954), they were representative of a class of female black celebrities who helped to change prejudice attitudes through the dissemination and popularity of their images. The portraits on their records were part of that larger shift in society, making it acceptable for Ella and Mary Lou to have careers outside of traditional roles. At no other period in American history, it might be argued, has the photograph held such power for black women.

Conclusion

So what is the significance of these albums in the greater context of African-American history? In terms of media and visual culture, the records are a reminder that images both reflect and affect society's mores. While some perpetuate stereotypes and prejudices, others change them. New images, like that of the successful black musician, can cause retroversion within a conservative group (as we saw with the Cotton Club), but they generally gain acceptance within the wider community and become part of mainstream culture. For many during the 1940s, the first time an image of a famous African-American came into their home was when they bought a record by Duke Ellington or Dizzy Gillespie. Along with playbills, posters, and magazine ads, album covers helped bring about an era in which black musicians were highly respected and popular entertainers – a path which would lead to social upheaval during the 1950s and desegregation in the decade that followed.

Race is a hugely important, intrinsic part of jazz's history. The music itself, of course, was shaped by the collaboration – and in some cases, segregation--of black and white musicians. And color often dictated where and by whom the music could be heard. The "race record" Billboard chart serves as a reminder that race was, at times, marketed and 'sold' along with jazz. To a certain extent, it created a community among African-Americans. But the practice of dividing music along the color line went too far, when carried into laws and policies. Album art serves as physical documentation of the changing racial sentiments of the '40s: the contention is visible in every record here discussed. In records, art and music, two of the most influential arts in the world, intersect and exert their influence on those who encounter them.

Notes

[1] Daniel Okrent, "The Greatest Year: 1947," *New York Magazine*, 9 Jan 2011, NYMag.com, accessed 8 Dec 2013.

[2] The "race records" category lasted until 1949, when it was renamed "rhythm and blues".

[3] Steve Jones and Martin Sorger, "Covering Music: A Brief History and Analysis of Album Cover Design," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 11, no. 1 (1999): 68-102, here pp. 72-73.

[4] Ken Burns, *Jazz*, documentary film, Episode 1 (PBS, 2001).

[5] Carissa Kowalski Dougherty, "The Coloring of Jazz: Race and Record Cover Design in American Jazz, 1950 to 1970," *Design Issues* 23, no. 1 (1 Jan 2007): 47–60, here p. 51.

[6] Bruce Eder, "Review of Duke Ellington, Liberian Suite [Columbia/Tristar]," *The Allmusic Review* (Aug 1994),

http://www.allmusic.com/album/release/liberain-suite-columbia-tristar-mr0001442185, accessed 8 Dec 2013.
[7] Claudia Roth Pierpont, "Black, Brown, and Beige," *The New Yorker*, 17 May 2012, NewYorker.com, accessed 8 Dec 2013.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.

Please visit bit.ly/1bUB8lt to see these images in color

Figure 1: Duke Ellington's Indiana Live Session, 1945

Figure 2: *Glen Miller Live*, 1940

Figure 3: *A Duke Ellington Panorama*, 1942

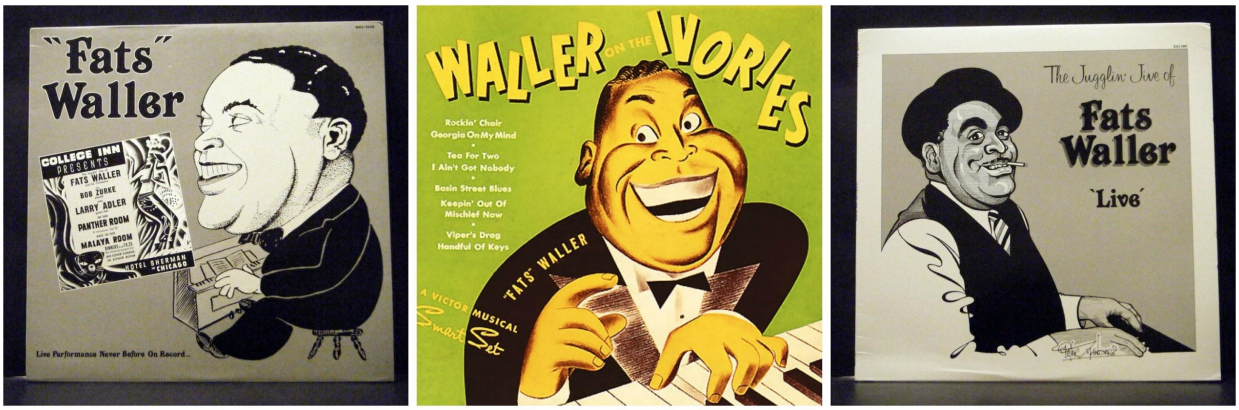

Figure 4: Three Fats Waller album covers circa the late 1930s-early 1940s

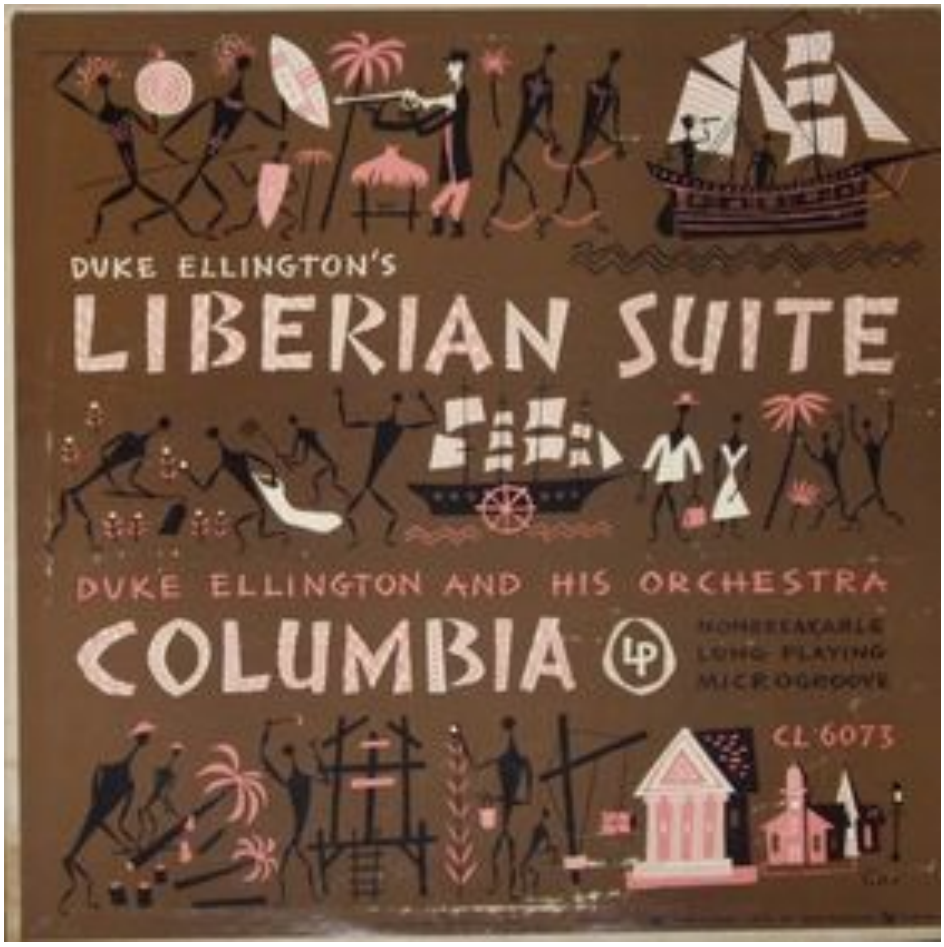

Figure 5: *Duke Ellington's Liberian Suite*, 1947

Figure 6: Jelly Roll Morton, *Back O' Town*, 1946

Figure 7: Jelly-Roll Morton, *Hot Jazz Vol. 5*, 1945

Figure 8: Ella Fitzgerald, 4-song EP, 1945 and Mary Lou Williams, *The Zodiac Suite*, 1945