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GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

The *HHR* Editorial Board welcomes submissions of essays, document transcriptions and translations, and book reviews of a historical nature from any discipline.

Manuscripts must be prepared in conformity with *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th edition, in 12-point Times Roman font, double-spaced (including footnotes and Works Cited pages) and with pages numbered.

Submissions should be submitted by email attachment as a Microsoft Word document to Professor Michael Raley (raleyjm@hanover.edu). Because all submitted manuscripts will be evaluated anonymously, the author's name should appear only on the title page. There should be no identifying markers (including headers and hidden texts) within the body of the paper.

With the exception of senior history theses, articles should not exceed 3,000 words without the prior approval of the *HHR* editors. Please note that submissions accepted for publication may be edited to conform to the *HHR*'s style. The *HHR* editors remain the final arbiters of length, grammar, and usage. However, they will endeavor to consult with authors with regard to any changes made in the interest of clarity and economy of expression.

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The *HANOVER HISTORICAL REVIEW* is dedicated to the promotion of excellence in undergraduate historical scholarship and writing.

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FOREWORD

In the fall of 1992, supported by colleagues and enthusiastic students, Professor Frank Luttmer proposed a journal that would publish student papers and documents related to the field of history written, transcribed, and/or translated by students from any department of Hanover College. An editorial board of students was selected to determine which papers and documents would be chosen for the journal and also to edit them for uniformity of style in preparing the journal for publication. Professor Luttmer provided support to the editors in the early stages of preparing the journal, while Professor Daniel Murphy helped oversee the final copyediting for the printer.

The inaugural issue of *The Hanover Historical Review* appeared in Spring 1993 and enjoyed great success. The *HHR* flourished for the rest of the decade but was published only sporadically after Professor Lutmer's illness and untimely death. At the outset of the 2016–17 academic year, the Hanover College History Department decided to resume publication of the *Hanover Historical Review*, provided that we could find sufficient support for this project. Twelve of our students immediately volunteered to serve on the *HHR*'s editorial board. Working with this group of eager and diligent students, and now with their successors in 2024–2025, has turned out to be a great joy for me as their faculty mentor. Most of them have moved on to graduate or professional schools upon graduation from Hanover College.

Throughout the 2024–2025 academic year, the eleven members of the *HHR* Editorial Board met every other week on Tuesday or Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. to discuss the 2025 *HHR* Call for Papers, submission guidelines, review the submissions anonymously, and, finally, edit the articles for publication in their present form. During these meetings, the *HHR* Editorial Board also conducted training sessions for new members and reviews for current members in areas such as grammar, formatting, academic citations, proofreading, and reviewing submissions. Here the senior editors took the lead in organizing and conducting the meetings. Board members also took it upon themselves to set up a booth in the lobby of Classic Hall during the fall semester to advertise the *HHR* Call for Papers. Additionally, members of the Board visited every history class on campus during the fall 2024 semester to share with other students their experiences with getting published and serving on the Board of the *HHR*. These outstanding students did all of this voluntarily and without receiving any college course credit. The result of their diligent efforts and their high standards may be found within the covers of this latest volume of the *HHR*.

The 2025 *HHR* contains essays on historical themes written and submitted by Hanover College students in partial fulfillment of their courses throughout the 2024 calendar year. Three of these were written by first-year students, while one essay and the outstanding senior thesis were authored by upperclassmen. The depth and breadth of their scholarship attests to the seriousness with which these young historians undertook their research and historical writing. This year we also are introducing a new feature, namely, biographies of outstanding alumni written by students in Professor Sarah Vosmeier's course.

All submissions were required to conform to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th Edition. Only Professor Raley knew the identity of the authors until both the original submissions and their

revised versions (based upon the initial reviews) had been reviewed and approved by the *HHR* Board of Editors. This double-blind anonymity the Board regarded as especially important at a small liberal arts college such as Hanover College, where everyone knows everyone else; beyond this, however, a few of the Board members wished to submit their own essays for consideration, and to ensure impartiality here Professor Raley distributed these essays, minus their authors' names, to other members of the Board for anonymous peer review.

Seven specific criteria guide the Editorial Board's review of submissions:

1. Does the essay's introduction effectively set up and present a clear, original thesis?
2. Is the thesis supported with an ample supply of primary and secondary sources, critically interpreted for the reader?
3. Has the author brought forward a fresh interpretation of the evidence that advances current scholarship?
4. Is the thesis restated clearly in the conclusion to the essay? Does the author also add further implications of his/her/their findings?
5. Are the footnotes and works cited page(s) formatted correctly in Chicago Style?
6. Is the writing style clear, fluid, and logical? Does the essay employ strong transition sentences along with connecting phrases and clauses?
7. What specific revisions or additions does the author need to make to improve the article pending its acceptance for publication?

Following the review process, the authors of the submissions were provided with summaries of the Board members' comments. The review process, the Board decided, would yield one of three ratings: (1) accept for publication as is (or with only minor editing required); (2) revise and resubmit (typically requiring more research and substantive revisions and/or additions as well as reediting the prose and reference notes/works cited pages); or (3) reject for publication. Some authors, of course, chose not to revise and resubmit their work. Those who did revise and resubmit their essays were expected to pay close attention to the comments and suggestions for substantive revisions as well as for the editing of the text and formatting of the notes that had been provided by the Board members in their reviews. In a few cases, the junior and senior editors of the Board assisted student authors of promising essays with additional revisions prior to publication. In the final editing process, the Board of Editors met during the winter and spring terms on Tuesday/Thursday evenings for about two and one-half hours each evening, carefully reading aloud and editing each essay for clarity and uniformity. The final copy of the journal is being published both digitally and in hard copy and will henceforth be available on the Hanover College History Department website at: https://history.hanover.edu/hhrintro.php.

This will be my final year as faculty supervisor for the *HHR* since I have now officially retired from Hanover College. Henceforth, Professor Sarah Vosmeier will be serving as the *HHR* faculty advisor. As I prepare to leave Hanover, I want to stress just how much I have once again thoroughly enjoyed working with these fine students. I hope that you will share my enthusiasm as

you read the articles published within this year's *HHR*, whether you are reading the digital version or instead are reading from a hard printed copy.

J. Michael Raley, Ph.D. (University of Chicago, 2007)
Professor, History Department/Medieval and Renaissance Studies Program (2013–2025)
HHR Faculty Advisor and Managing Editor, June 2025

History Essays
by First-Year Students

The Second Punic War and the Ineffectiveness of Hannibal's War Elephants

Matthew Spicer

In 218 B.C.E., the Roman Republic faced the greatest crisis in its history as renowned Carthaginian general Hannibal Barca marched on Rome.[1] He began his surprise campaign by crossing the Alps to invade Roman soil, famously bringing 37 war elephants with him.[2] War elephants had been used extensively in Southeast Asia and were introduced to the Hellenistic World after Alexander the Great's conquest there. Archers and other ranged units were mounted in perches or towers on the elephants' backs, while the elephants themselves trampled and smashed into enemy frontlines as the riders fired at their targets below. Historians often exalt Hannibal for his use of these animals in warfare. Hannibal did employ war elephants to some degree of success; however, their impracticality and unruly nature hindered his campaign more than they provided an advantage.

The cost of the elephants, along with the logistics of transporting them, was one of the first major hurdles Hannibal faced. Carthage, primarily a merchant society, was not traditionally warlike. As a result, its armed forces were almost entirely made up of mercenaries. During the First Punic War, Rome accumulated enough naval power to threaten Carthage with a land invasion.[3] For Hannibal, a fast campaign on Roman soil was the only way to prevent such an invasion and achieve victory. After crossing the Alps and engaging in the Battle of Trebia, only

[1] Brian Caven, *The Punic Wars* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1980), 98.

[2] Donald R. Dudley and T. A. Dorey, *Rome Against Carthage* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), 38.

[3] Harriot I. Flower, ed., *The Cambridge Guide to the Roman Republic* (Cambridge, UK: The Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 2004), 76-77.

one of Hannibal's elephants survived.[4] This led to the only instance where Carthage supplied Hannibal, in 215 B.C.E., with 40 replacement elephants.[5] However, this expenditure proved to be hardly worth the effort since specialty mercenaries had to be hired and the elephants trained for two to three decades.[6] The resources required for these elephants were costly and could have been better used elsewhere, such as hiring more foot soldiers and purchasing additional weapons or food rations, all of which Hannibal desperately lacked throughout the war.

Many consider Hannibal's use of elephants at the Battle of Trebia on December 22, 218 B.C.E., as the best example of the successful deployment of war elephants[7]; however, accounts from writers at the time suggest that Hannibal's elephants were stampeding, highlighting the unpredictability and unreliability of war elephants. Polybius, a classical historian from ancient Greece, tells us that Hannibal's elephants were positioned at the front of his army, on the left and right flanks. This placed them in direct contact with the Roman infantry.[8] While the Romans had yet to devise a clear strategy to counter them, they knew that war elephants could easily be provoked into panic. The Romans attempted to cause a stampede, as Livy, another classical historian from ancient Rome, records: "Maddened with pain and terror, they were beginning to rush wildly on their own men, when Hannibal ordered them to be driven away to the left wing against the auxiliary Gauls on the Roman right. There they instantly produced unmistakable

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[4] E. T. Salmon, "The Strategy of the Second Punic War," *Greece & Rome*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1960): 131–42 at 138.

[5] Caven, *The Punic Wars,* 154.

[6] H. H. Scullard, "Hannibal's Elephants," *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, vol. 8, no. 3/4 (1948): 158–68 at 159.

[7] J. F. Lazenby, *Hannibal's War: A Military History of the Second Punic War* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1978), 56.

[8] Polybius, *The Histories*, Book 3, trans. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh: *The Project Gutenberg EBook of the Histories of Polybius*, https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/44126/pg44126-images.html.

panic and flight, and the Romans had fresh cause for alarm when they saw their auxiliaries routed."[9] The Gauls, unfamiliar with elephants, did not know how to deal with them as the Romans did. Hannibal's quick thinking and decisive action turned this potential disaster into victory, as he used the animal's panic against his enemies. Michael B. Charles and Peter Rhaodan, historians specializing in ancient Greece and Rome, similarly conclude: "the Trebia, rather than an entirely successful deployment of elephants, came perilously close to precisely the opposite."[10] This suggest that without quick decision-making the Battle of Trebia most likely would have ended in a disastrous loss for the Carthaginians. The panic of the elephants demonstrated that the use of war elephants acted as more of a liability to be managed rather than an advantage to be gained.

Rome's response to Hannibal's success further diminished the usefulness of war elephants, as Rome employed unconventional methods to counter them. Early in Hannibal's campaign, he won what is considered one of the most one-sided victories in history at the Battle of Cannae, in 216 B.C.E. During Cannae, Gaius Terentius Varro, one of the consuls of Rome, survived but was blamed for the defeat, leading the Roman Senate to revert to the strategy of Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus. During his earlier dictatorship in 218–217 B.C.E., Fabius had earned the nickname "*Cunctator*" or "The Delayer" because of his use of "Fabian Tactics." Fabian Tactics consisted of fast-moving light skirmishes and guerrilla warfare. Fabius would harass the enemy's forces and cut off their supply lines, forcing Hannibal into a war of attrition

[9] Livy, *History of Rome*, Book 21, trans. Canon Roberts (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1905), https://www.yorku.ca/pswarney/Texts/livy-21.htm.

[10] Michael B. Charles and Peter Rhodan, "'Magister Elephantorvm': A Reappraisal of Hannibal's Use of Elephants," *The Classical World*, vol. 100, no. 4 (2007): 363–89 at 376.

that delayed him from making further advances.[11] Fabius' strategy gave Rome enough time eventually to gather resources to threaten the Carthaginian mainland, thus drawing Hannibal away from Italy.[12] Jacob Edwards, a historian who defends Hannibal's use of war elephants, argues: "Importantly, too, a significant elephant presence may have enabled Hannibal to deal with Rome's saviour Fabius 'The Delayer.'"[13] However, the cumbersome beasts actually made Hannibal more susceptible to Fabius's strategy. In direct response to Edwards, Charles and Rhaodan retort: "[More elephants] would not have helped Hannibal at all in dealing with Fabian tactics. Indeed, a large number of slow-moving elephants would have slowed down the movement of his troops even further. It would also have made Hannibal's forces even more vulnerable to enemy attack."[14] This is because war elephants found their usefulness in more traditional "set-piece" warfare. They would destroy enemy formations and stop enemy cavalry from charging. Fabian's guerilla tactics were unaffected by their presence since his forces did not have to engage in direct combat. The Roman guerrilla fighters dealt with Hannibal's elephants, freeing the cavalry to charge the Carthaginian infantry.[15] Fabius's response to Hannibal's attacks meant that his use of elephants only stifled his campaign and cost him valuable time, resources, and men.

The only other major battle in which Hannibal used elephants was his defeat at the Battle of Zama in 202 B.C.E., a battle in which his elephants were of little use and arguably caused

[11] Philip Sabin, "The Mechanics of Battle In the Second Punic War," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement*, no. 67 (1996): 59–79 at 65.

[12] Lazenby, *Hannibal's War*, 194.

[13] Jacob Edwards, "The Irony of Hannibal's Elephants," *Latomus*, vol. 60, no. 4 (2001): 900–905 at 904.

[14] Rhaodan, "Magister Elephantorvm," 17.

[15] Rhaodan, "Magister Elephantorvm," 16.

great harm. At this time, an assault was launched on Northern Africa by Consul Scipio Africanus that forced Hannibal out of Italy and into Carthage. To prepare for this assault, the Carthaginians sought out more elephants. We know this from the prominent Greek historian Appian of Alexandria, who records, "When the Carthaginians learned these things they sent Hasdrubal, the son of Gesco, to hunt elephants."[16] This tells us that Hannibal was still confident in the elephants' abilities and relied on them in his strategy. Having foreseen Hannibal's reliance on elephants, Scipio implemented measures against them. He shaped passageways in his infantry formation, which were filled with foot soldiers who could swiftly make way for the elephants and attack them from either side.[17] This meant that the elephants chose the path of least resistance and avoided harming the Roman formation. Due to the provocation by the infantry, some of the elephants trampled into Hannibal's left and right cavalry wings.[18] Scipio's strategy to counter Hannibal's elephants and the ensuing incident undoubtedly influenced the outcome of Zama. In the first century C.E., a prominent writer named Frontinus aimed to capture military greatness in history. In his writings, he cited Scipio's formation against war elephants as an example: "This shrewd scheme of arrangement was undoubtedly the cause of his victory."[19] Frontinus understood that Scipio's strategy was the key to victory as Scipio recognized the vulnerability of war elephants. Hannibal had overlooked this vulnerability, giving the Romans a tremendous advantage when fighting against them. Thus, the Battle of Zama serves as further

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[16] Appian (ca. 95–165 C.E.), *The Punic Wars*, trans. Horace White, *Loeb Classical Library*, https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Appian/home.html.

[17] Willam Morris, *Hannibal Soldier, Statesman, Patriot, and the Crisis of the Struggle Between Carthage and Rome* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1901), 316.

[18] Rhaodan, "Magister Elephantorvm," 21.

[19] Frontinus (ca. 40–103 C.E.), *Stratagems*, Book 2, trans. Charles E. Bennett, *Loeb Classical Library*, https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Frontinus/Strategemata/2*.html#4.

evidence that Hannibal's reliance on war elephants was misguided, since any value they brought Hannibal was heavily outweighed by the impracticality and hazard they imposed on him.

In conclusion, during the Second Punic War, Hannibal's elephants played no significant role in any victory apart from the Battle of Trebia, where their greatest contribution was preventing disaster. As Roman soldiers adopted Fabian Tactics, the elephants' presence increasingly hindered Hannibal's Italian campaign. Ultimately, Scipio's effective use of countermeasures at the Battle of Zama delivered a crushing defeat to Hannibal. Combined with the challenges of acquiring and training the elephants, these factors meant that they served more as a hindrance than an advantage to Hannibal.

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The Systemic Collapse of the Roman Empire: Exploring Rome's Fall Through a Multicausal Lens

Sebastian Vogel

The Roman Empire was a world-leading power that conquered millions of people and was not just one of the biggest empires in history but also had one of the most flourishing civilizations the world has ever seen. But like every other big empire in history, even the great Roman Empire found its end. Most historians name the year 476 C.E. as its collapse.[1] The collapse had a huge impact on the development of all of Europe in terms of culture, politics, and the social environment and even marked the transition to the medieval world. This paper examines the extensive research conducted over centuries regarding the causes and myths surrounding the collapse of the Roman Empire. Historians have come up with dozens of theses about causes such as barbarian invasions, internal political crises, and economic inflation. With new evidence discovered, research is still going on, and historians continue to develop new theories about causes that affected the empires' stability externally but also destabilizing factors within the empire. This means the collapse of the Roman Empire was a systematic collapse over a long period of time with multiple causes and cannot be narrowed down to a single main cause or even an accident.[2] Each factor involved in the collapse, such as social, cultural, economic, political, and military factors, reinforced one another and destabilized the Roman Empire more and more.

At first, internal instability was caused by the inefficient elite that governed the Roman Empire. This led to a very unstable empire that could not handle the upcoming crisis and was not able to react in proper ways. The political fragility found its peak in the assassinations of key

[1] David J. Breeze, et al., *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: The African Frontiers* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2021).

[2] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. David Womersley (1776–1789; rep. ed., London: Penguin Classics, 2003), Book 38.

figures like Valentinian III and Aetius which also showed that the elite of the Roman Empire had a growing willingness to use violence.[3] The failure of political work and instead the use of violence under different-minded parties gives evidence for multiple things: not just the empire itself, but especially the elite that led the empire had a loss of discipline and started to use violence. Tacitus, who was a historian and senator in the Roman Empire a long time before the collapse, already provided evidence such as the loss of discipline within the political structure even this far ahead of the crisis. His writings and experiences show that the political disintegration was a long and ongoing process, starting out with conflicts between people of the government, leading to inner instability and the loss of the ability to react appropriately to any challenges.[4] About two centuries after the collapse, the historian Ammianus Marcellinus mentions: "The ruin of the state was hastened by the iniquitous measures of the rulers, who, amid their constant fears of conspiracies, became a terror to the innocent."[5] He expressed his concerns about the political fragmentation and especially concerns about the incompetency of the political elite. The people in the political elite were more interested in keeping or even strengthening their own power rather than doing government work, which would also mean to make compromises. Since Ammianus Marcellinus was not part of the political elite and also lived a long time after Tacitus, he had another perspective and insights into the empire, especially because he was a

[3] Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 367.

[4] Herbert W. Benario, "Tacitus and the Fall of the Roman Empire," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, vol. 17, no. 1 (Jan. 1968): 39.

[5] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, trans. J. C. Rolfe, 3 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939–1950), 3:29.

soldier.[6] The weakened empire had a lack of political decision-making, which made it nearly impossible to react well to upcoming challenges and problems.

In addition to this change in the political elite, the loss of effective governing, and the fragmentation into different parties, there was also another factor that led to even more internal instability. The collapse of the Roman Empire was accompanied by various civil wars. Those civil wars concluded out of the internal conflict and the lack of compromises in the political elite but also were caused by the society, which shows how big the gaps between the people were. Roman society was also heavily involved in those internal conflicts, even as society changed extensively in the later years of the empire. Whereas the people once believed in the values of the empire, they now stopped accepting social restraints and openly criticized the empire's leadership.[7] On top of that, a rise of unchecked ambition characterized the elite. All these things culminated in the fragmentation of the society. Besides the obvious division between poor people and the elite, other fragmentations happened. One example is the religious division, proof for which can be found in *The Theodosian Code and Novels*, which enshrines laws against Christian heresy and pagan practices. One example statement in this legal code is: "By suppressing pagan sacrifices and rituals, we seek to eradicate the remaining traces of an obsolete religion."[8] Alone, the fact that this statement is in a legal code shows the massive impact this persecution had on adherents to religious doctrines other than orthodox Christianity. In short, the internal conflicts

[6] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 3:29.

[7] Paul Belonick, *Restraint, Conflict, and the Fall of the Roman Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 237.

[8] Clyde Pharr, trans., *The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952), 349.

were deep and split the society, leaving unsolvable gaps that ended up in civil wars and encouraged the political collapse of the entire empire.

Although these conflicts seemed unsolvable, there were still attempts to reunify the society. One example was the fragmentation of the different religions. An important part of that were theological disputes and iconoclasm.[9] In order to avoid the social unrest and the divisions, two councils, the Council of Nicaea around 325 C.E. and the Council of Chalcedon (451 C.E.), tried to unify the Christian doctrine. The historian Peter Heather states in his book about those two Councils: "The *Council of Nicaea* sought to unify the Christian Church under a common creed, but its decrees sparked further divisions, particularly among Arian Christians, leading to political and social unrest that the Empire struggled to contain."[10] Meaning, those Councils made the situation worse and often divided the fractions even more, like the Nicene Christians and Arians, which split up even more. Since all of those groups were part of the Empire and all wanted to claim as much power as possible, new laws like in *The Theodosian Code* that suppressed different practices, such as the pagan practices, were invented by the elite in order to make a unified empire without differences in society. As Clyde Pharr notes, "The suppression of pagan rituals, as codified in *The Theodosian Code*, marked the decline of a shared cultural identity within the Empire. By targeting traditional religious practices, these laws alienated significant segments of the population, contributing to the broader cultural decay."[11] The legal code tried to forbid varying religions and practices and wanted to achieve a society that believed in the same values and norms, but the end result was even more unhappy people within the

[9] Timothy Peters, "A History of Images: Christianity and Historiography in the Later Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," *Studies in English Literature,* 1500-1900, vol. 30, no. 3 (Summer 1990): 508.

[10] Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire,* 152.

[11] Pharr, trans., *The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions,* 345.

empire who lost their loyalty towards the government. This increasing religious division and unsatisfied society played a major role in the decline of the whole cultural variety of the empire.[12]

Moving away from just the internal conflicts and instability, the decline of the Roman economy in the late years of the empire also affected the foreign policy and trade relations with other empires. Through the years, the military and infrastructural expenses of the Roman Empire rose immeasurably and severely burdened the Roman Empire. As a result, the financial resources were strained, decreasing the power of the whole empire.[13] The *Codex Theodosianus* states: "The public treasury, weakened by the excessive demands of military expenditure, could no longer maintain the essential provisions of the state."[14] These high and recurring expenses with which the empire had to deal brought continuous pressure on the elite and also made their room for maneuver against upcoming dangers very small. Additionally, the money needed for the military was acquired through the heavy taxation of citizens, which was noticeable in their daily lives and certainly did not diminish their decreasing loyalty towards the empire. This displeasure in society spread by the increased taxation furthered the internal instability and conflicts even more. Another example is given in *History of the Wars* by sixth-century historian Procopius, who attributed the economic decline to critical shortages of grain.[15] Not only was the economy strained, but even key resources like food and needed equipment were not consistently available

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[12] Futong Zheng, "*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and *A Mirror of History*: A Comparative Study," *The Classical World*, vol. 80, no. 6 (July-August 1987): 428.

[13] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. David Womersley (London: Penguin Classics, 2003), 423.

[14] Pharr, trans., *The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions,* 203.

[15] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, trans. H. B. Dewing, 7 vols. (1914; rep. ed., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953–1954), 1:183.

anymore, which brought fear to the society. Besides the existing displeasure and lack of loyalty from its citizens, the empire could not even guarantee a steady supply of goods to all their regions and thus could not treat all conquered states efficiently. Policies which previously prevented rebellion and created new followers for the empire now had the opposite effect.

On top of those enormous expenses, the empire had to deal with another declining factor in the economy—inflation. The debasement of the currency in the later days of the empire destabilized the already damaged economy even more.[16] In a published interview, Bryan Ward-Perkins discusses the collapse of the Roman Empire and also the economic situation following the transition or political collapse. He cites the breakdown of pottery production and a decline in the quality of roofing tiles as evidence of the gradual decline of the empire over a span of two centuries.[17] Both the inflation and decline of the Roman economy damaged the once great working empire as a whole and weakened it from the inside.

Besides this economic stress, which made many citizens lose their trust in the Roman Empire, two different plagues within the empire exacerbated the loss of trust. The Antonine Plague around 170 C.E. killed millions of people and caused the death of about 10% of the empire's population. Historian Adrian Goldsworthy has observed, "The devastation wrought by the Antonine Plague, described by the physician Galen, led to widespread labor shortages and a significant decline in tax revenue, destabilizing the Roman economy during a critical period of expansion."[18] This shows that other consequences, such as a huge loss of labor that led to a

[16] A. H. M. Jones, "Inflation under the Roman Empire," *The Economic History Review*, new series 5, vol. 3 (1953): 295.

[17] Bryan Ward-Perkins, interview by Donald A. Yerxa, "An Interview with Bryan Ward-Perkins on the Fall of Rome," *Historically Speaking, vol.* 7, no. 4 (March/April 2006): 31–33.

[18] Adrian Goldsworthy, *How Rome Fell: Death of a Superpower* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 210–11.

shortage of workers and soldiers and the reduction of industrial and agricultural output, were caused by the plague. With fewer people available, army recruitment was weakened, and the reduced output of industry and agriculture resulted in smaller tax revenues for the empire. Furthermore, the second plague, called the Plague of Cyprian, caused lots of damage by leading to mortality and disrupting military operations. This happened later, around 250 C.E., and about 5000 people died every day in Rome. During this period the empire could not respond to external threats, which shows the combined impact of the pandemic and political instability in the later phases of the empire.[19] The plagues also led to an overburdened public health system, social unrest, and as mentioned before, weakened the military by cutting off their resources. In short, the plagues resulted in a loss of public confidence in imperial leadership and an increased reliance on religious explanations. The high mortality rate weakened the empire from the inside, causing the economy and military to decline further and creating social division.

The Roman Empire also faced various challenges in defending against external threats. The lack of soldiers and insufficient financial resources for the military brought many difficulties and additional challenges. The soldiers lost their discipline, much like the society and the political elites. This decrease in discipline of the Roman troops corresponded to a growing reliance on mercenaries.[20] The military could not accurately control its missions anymore, and the leader of the Roman Empire even had to hope that the mercenaries would fulfill their obligations, though it did not always happen as planned, weakening the military power of the empire further. The historian Zosimus mentioned in his sixth book of *New History*: "The

[19] Kyle Harper, *The Fate of Rome: Climate, Disease, and the End of an Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 113–14.

[20] Goldsworthy, *How Rome Fell,* 298.

empire's defense, once robust, now faltered due to the negligence of the rulers, who, distracted by internal strife, left the frontiers vulnerable."[21] The lack of decision making on the political side resulted in fewer defensive capabilities and made the army react and adjust very slowly to new pressures or challenges. Furthermore, it worsened the morale of the army. The high costs for mercenary troops heavily burdened the economy of the whole empire. The weaknesses of the military got worse over time and the causes reinforced one another, meaning that the Roman Empire had a weakened military with issues in finance, discipline, and reliance on mercenaries.

Besides the decline of the military strength and discipline, another major factor that must be analyzed when thinking of the decline or collapse of the Roman Empire is the pressure from outside. Because of the massive expansion and many conquests, the Roman Empire ruled over millions of people and came into conflict with many different parties. These included the Germanic peoples. The Germanic migrations and invasions weakened the influence of the Roman Empire in the West.[22] These led to victories over the Roman military and diminished trust in the capabilities of the Roman Empire. In addition, there were also many other pressures on the Roman borders. Ammianus Marcellinus writes: "The barbarians, emboldened by the Empire's internal divisions, laid waste to the provinces with fire and sword."[23] Ammianus gives evidence that barbarian groups took advantage of the weakened military of the Roman Empire to attack poorly defended borders and damage the empire on the inside.[24] All of this external pressure found its peak in the sack of Rome by the Goths, which showed how weakened the Empire was at that point.

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[21] Zosimus, *New History*, trans. J. Davis (London: Green and Chaplin, 1814), Book 6.

[22] Ian Wood, "The Fall of the Western Empire and the End of Roman Britain," *Britannia*, vol. 18 (1987): 254.

[23] Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 117.

[24] Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 501.

Not all historians have seen these barbarian groups as seeking to destroy the empire. Pirenne argued that many of those barbarian groups sought to integrate into the Roman system, rather than trying to conquer parts of the empire. This point of view contrasts with the traditional way of seeing the barbarians solely as enemies of the empire. Instead, Pirenne argued that the fall of the Roman Empire was a gradual transformation, and that the barbarian groups were gradually integrated into Roman society.[25] The groups were seeking security, food, and accommodation. Because of the weakened empire, these groups could more easily settle down within the Roman borders, but the lack of resources and poor organizational capacities often resulted in conflicts. He also noted that these barbarians endeavored to become part of the fabric of Roman society and adopted Romano-Gallo cultural practices. Furthermore, the disruptions that were caused by barbarian migrations very often were the result of pressure from other migratory groups. One example was the conflict between the Huns and Goths within the borders of the Roman Empire. Pirenne argued that the incompetent Roman leadership allowed internal conflicts and unrest.[26] Whether one views those societies as enemies or groups that wanted to integrate, both illustrated the weaknesses of the Roman Empire from the inside.

In addition to this external pressure and the weakened military, another major issue was the division of the empire into western and eastern halves, which began under Emperor Diocletian in 284 C.E. with the creation of the Tetrarchy (rule by four co-emperors) and the cultural differences between Constantinople and Rome. While the division helped the eastern

[25] Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, trans. Bernard Miall (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1939), 11–15.

[26] Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, trans. I. E. Clegg (London: Routledge, 1937), 23–26.

part of the empire to endure, it left the West vulnerable.[27] Procopius provides the following evidence of this: "The Western Empire, left to fend for itself, could no longer withstand the pressures from its enemies, while the East prospered under centralized rule."[28] This proves that the gap between those two parts of a once-unified empire grew because the eastern empire did not provide any help or support to the western part. This is especially important because most of the external pressure was directed toward the western part. However, finding the reason for the empire's decline makes no difference if one only focuses on the western part. The reasons and causes remain the same, and the division of the Roman Empire into two parts played a large role in the collapse of the whole, or at least the western part, of the empire.[29]

In conclusion, the collapse of the Roman Empire was a complex and multicausal process and started a long time before the actual fall of the empire. On all sides of the empire, the values and attitudes of the people changed and drove splinters into the Roman Empire. All these factors, such as political instability, economic challenges, military failures, social decay, external pressure, and the division into a western and eastern part, played a role in the collapse of the empire. This means the empire's collapse was a systematic collapse and did not just happen by accident. For this collapse to happen, each factor reinforced another. The fall of the Roman Empire gives a very good example of how ignoring interdependent factors can destabilize even the mightiest states and empires, whose citizens could never have imagined would fall.

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[27] Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 518.

[28] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 1:179.

[29] Goldsworthy, *How Rome Fell*, 322.

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The Indus River Valley Civilization: Unearthed Enigma, Groundbreaking Architecture, and Cultural Legacy

Nico Yoshiki Gotoh

The Indus River Valley civilization arose as one of the foundational civilizations of the Bronze Age, known for its urbanization, advanced architecture, and extensive city layout. This civilization extended from northeast Afghanistan to northwest India. The Indus River Valley was a place that flourished and held rich history (ca. 3300 B.C.E.–1300 B.C.E.), and the architecture and culture that emerged influenced future societies. The inhabitants utilized the Indus River for its resources and transportation, and the river is still widely used today in South Asia. The Indus people, also known as the Harappans, discovered many technological techniques such as drainage systems, urban planning, measurement systems, and advanced architecture. The Harappans used artifacts, scriptures and records that showed their unique cultural and administrative system. This society's advancements in urban planning and water management aided in their success, and set a pivotal exemplar for future civilizations, demonstrating their long-lasting influence on civil development.

The Indus River Valley's inhabitants focused heavily on their architecture and designed monumental structures and sites that had many purposes. In the city of Mohenjo-daro (located in modern-day Pakistan), the Indus people built sophisticated and complex mud-brick structures on a large scale. An Indus Valley scholar, Professor Matthew Fitzimmons states, "Against the menace of the river the men of this civilization built huge walls of brick surfaced with baked brick. These bricks are about the same size everywhere within the Indus settlements, which

extend over an area of more than 800,000 square miles."[1] A Harappan culture specialist notes, "Baked clay bricks, based on compressive strength, suggests that the bricks of four sites can withstand severe weathering while the bricks of two sites are resistant to moderate weathering."[2] These bricks were a vital part of the civilization's infrastructure and were fundamental to the construction of robust buildings and monuments that have lasted for millennia.

Another example of unique architecture can be found in Indus city outlines. Cities like Mohenjo-daro and Harappa were two of the earliest known instances to use grid-like systems which demonstrated high levels of planning and organization. Figure 1 illustrates the sophisticated and effective grid system. Harappan architectural expert Dan Stanislawski states, "The streets were straight and either parallel or at right angles to one another, as far as the inaccurate instruments of the time permitted."[3] Furthermore, this grid system allowed transportation to be simpler and more efficient because civilians traveled in cardinal directions. Indus Valley expert Fitzsimmons notes, "The major cities are a utilitarian city-

Figure 1. This map demonstrates the grid-like urban planning of cities like Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. "Harappan Architecture," Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harappan_architecture (accessed February 26, 2025).

[1] Matthew Fitzsimmons, "The Indus Valley Civilization," *The History Teacher,* vol. 4, no. 1 (November 1970): 9–22 at 11.

[2] Nawab Ali Lakho, "Effect of Age and Environment on Strength of Old Baked Clay Bricks of Indus Valley Civilization," *Mehran University Research Journal of Engineering and Technology*, vol. 3 (2016): 431–36.

[3] Dan Stanislawski, "The Origin and Spread of Grid-Pattern Town," *Geographical Review* (1946): 105–20 at 109.

planner's delight. They are laid out in gridiron fashion (streets going straight north and south and east and west) with the main streets as much as 45 feet wide and as much as a mile long."[4] Later civilizations that may have adopted the grid system from the Indus River Valley were the Assyrian Empire, Mauryan Empire, Gupta Empire, and Ganga Civilization. Historian Stanislawski states, "The next record of the grid is found at the eastern Mediterranean in the eighth century before Christ. Sargon of Assyria, tiring of his old capital, decided to perpetuate his glory by the establishment of a new one, Dur-Sarginu. For its site he chose the unimportant and formless little village of Magganuba, where he laid out his new capital precisely in terms of the grid."[5]

Another example of ingenious architecture by the Indus Valley people is the Great Bath at Mohenjo-Daro. According to Fitzsimmons, "In Mohenjo-daro there was an elaborate bathing pool, waterproofed with asphalt and measuring 26 by 39 feet."[6] The structure was made from baked bricks and was lined with a waterproof coating called Bitumen (a naturally occurring tar found locally). Beneath the tar was a layer of asphalt that contributed to the waterproof

Figure 2. This photograph features the Great Bath which used for ceremonial rituals. "Great Bath," Wikipedia https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Bath (accessed February 26, 2025).

[4] Fitzsimmons, "The Indus Valley Civilization," 13.

[5] Stanislawski, "The Origin and Spread of Grid-Pattern Town," 110.

[6] Fitzsimmons, "The Indus Valley Civilization," 13.

characteristic. The Indus River Valley people had a geographical advantage because bitumen was an abundant, local, natural resource that allowed them to make waterproof bricks that still exist today. Underneath the bath is a complex, yet effective drainage system which allows old water to flush out and new water to flow in. The Great Bath is considered by many scholars to be a religious bath for ceremonial practices and its goal was believed to have been used for ritual bathing."[7] Fitzsimmons states, "no other building affords unequivocal evidence of its religious character. The pool is believed to be religious because it is most unlikely that a pool would be purely 'secular' in any early culture or civilization."[8] An Indus Valley researcher notes, "We have, then, in this quarter of the city a system of bathing establishments whose proximity to the probable remains of a sacred building certainly suggests that the baths themselves were used for ritual purposes."[9] Figure 2 shows the Great Bath which served as a ceremonial site. After extensive research and archaeological findings, the Great Bath demonstrates its ritualistic and ceremonial significance, serving as a site for purification purposes. The construction of the Great Bath implies strong administrative authority by urban planning, infrastructure development, and the organization and coordination of what must have been a large number of people to execute a large-scale project. The presence of the Great Bath highlights the Indus River Valley people's emphasis on religious and administrative authority.

[7] E. J. H. Mackay, "Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 82, no. 4233 (January 1934): 206–224 at 208.

[8] Fitzsimmons, "The Indus Valley Civilization," 13.

[9] Sidheshwar Prasad Shukla, et al., "Settlement Pattern In Indus Valley Civilization," *Educational Administration: Theory and Practice*, vol. 29, no. 4 (2023): 3358–3371 at 3360.

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Another example of the Indus River civilization architecture is the Citadel. These staggering structures served as religious centers and fortresses, and they symbolized power and social status during the Indus Valley era. In many ancient civilizations, the highest point of land was observed to be closest to Heaven and therefore important to religion. The ancient Egyptians built the famous, colossal pyramids to serve as honorable tombs to the pharaohs in the afterlife. In the fifth century B.C.E., the ancient Greeks built the Acropolis, a fortified political and religious citadel on top of Philopappos Hill in the heart of Athens. During the excavation of the Citadel at Mohenjo-daro, archaeologists found various sculptures that highlight the religious significance of the structure. A Harappan culture specialist, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, states, "it will be observed that four of five [sculptures] represent a stereotyped squatting figure, presumably of a god."[10] Figure 3 shows the large Citadel structure towering over the city of Mohenjo-daro. These citadel structures could have influenced later civilizations like the ancient Greek, Mycenaean Civilization (1600–1100 B.C.E.) that built citadels and the Roman Empire that built public baths; however, there is limited evidence because the Indus Valley language has not yet been deciphered. Later civilizations like the Mauryan, Gupta, and Ganga also built large scale *stupas* (hemispherical Buddhist temples) that

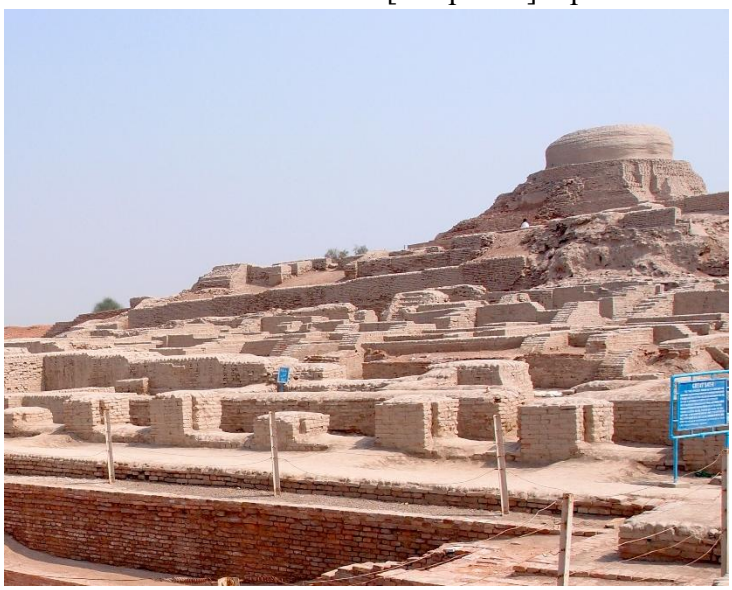

Figure 3. This image depicts the citadel which served as an area for administrative and religious purposes. "Mohenjo-Daro," Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohenjo-daro (accessed February 26, 2025).

[10] Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press), 88.

are in close proximity to the Indus River Valley. The Harappan's ingenious architectural and technological advancements aided in their success and potentially shaped the development of later civilizations.

In 1928, British archaeologist Sir John Marshall discovered an artifact in Mohenjo-daro that dates back 5000 years and might hold incredible significance for the Indus Valley civilization. Indus historian Deryck Lodrick states, "Sir John Marshall has identified, on an Indus Valley seal, a Proto-Shiva in the aspect of Pashupati, Lord of the Beasts, although there is a question if the three-faced fertility god depicted on the seal is specifically associated with the bull, as is the Shiva of later Hinduism."[11]

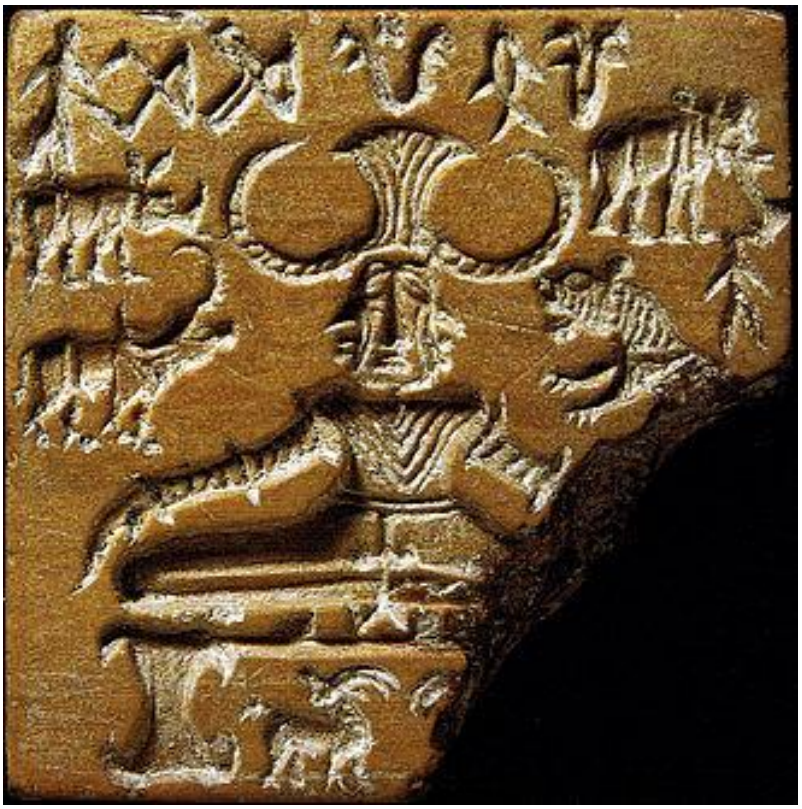

Figure 4. This artifact features the imprint of the Pashupati Seal, depicting various animals surrounding a figure believed to represent Shiva. "Pashupati Seal," Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pashupati_seal (accessed February 26, 2025).

Archaeologists were able to determine the age of the artifact by stratigraphy and radiocarbon dating. The archaeologists identified this artifact as the Pashupati Seal (Figure 4). This embossed seal was designed to be pressed onto cloth. The seal shows various animals surrounding a figure who appears to be seated in an advanced yoga

[11] Deryck O. Lodrick, "Symbol and Sustenance: Cattle in South Asian Culture," *Dialectical Anthropology*, vol. 29, no.1, (2005): 61–84 at 65.

position called *Mulabandhasana*. Some historians believe the figure positioned in *Mulubandhasana* could be the Hindu deity, Shiva—The Destroyer, who is an important figure in ancient and modern Indian culture. In the modern day, yoga is a widely known physical and spiritual practice that is popular in India and the rest of the world, and yoga plays a vital role in both the Hindu and Buddhist religions. Another researcher, Herbert Sullivan, contradicts Marshall's claim, and notes that the figure is not sitting in a yogic position: "Marshall interpreted as an *asana* seems to us a natural enough one and need not be a yogic posture at all."[12] According to Fitzsimmons, Sullivan also argues that the figure that Marshall claims to be Shiva, is a figure that is not male, but female: "There was an understandable temptation to see any Indian culture as a great phallusship. Sullivan has healthily questioned the Harappan evidence for this. He has also, I think, demolished the evidence for believing that a form of Shiva appears on several seals. The major representation, he argues, is not male but female."[13] Fitzsimmons continues, "The evidence, then, is enough to say that the Harappan religion featured worship of a mother goddess with different manifestations in the realms of vegetable farming and animal-raising and hunting."[14] While both claims refute each other, neither can be adequately supported since the seal has not yet been deciphered. Regardless, the iconography of the Pashupati Seal allows researchers to better understand the values and spiritual culture of the Indus River Valley people. One question left for historians to ask is: How many hundreds or thousands of years before the Indus Valley civilization period was yoga being developed? The Pashupati Seal could

[12] Herbert Sullivan, "A Re-Examination of the Religion of the Indus Civilization," *History of Religions*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1964): 115–25 at 120.

[13] Fitzsimmons, "The Indus Valley Civilization," 19.

[14] Fitzsimmons, "The Indus Valley Civilization," 19.

be one of the earliest known depictions of a spiritual practice dating back thousands of years that is still influential to this day.

The Pashupati Seal sheds light on the Indus people's spiritual and cultural practices and serves as a testament to their advanced craftsmanship; however, architecture and urban planning are what truly distinguished the Harappans from other renowned Bronze Age civilizations like Sumer. When comparing the Indus Valley civilization to the Sumerian civilization, Fitzsimmons states, "It is close to the Sumerian but it is a civilization in its own right, as the writing, the seals, and the city plans attest. Indeed, the Indic valley people were way ahead of the people of Sumer in planning cities and apparently in organizing the cities and settlements of the culture area."[15] Fitzsimmons later notes, "Perhaps we can say the Harappans mastered some of the basic necessities for city-living that almost no one so far has managed."[16] The Indus people excelled in urban planning and infrastructure, whereas the Sumerians were less successful and in ways, primal and unstructured. Wheeler presents the idea that the Indus people, "must have also the genius and the skill to master an exacting and minatory environment and must have it from the outset."[17] The Indus people had to endure the frequent flooding of the Indus River, summer droughts, unpredictable weather, and they relied heavily on monsoon rains to cultivate crops to support a growing population. Wheeler highlights that the Indic people built their civilization with remarkable ingenuity by being able to adapt to the natural challenges posed by the environment. Ironically, Harrapan technological advancements in brick-making and the construction of monumental structures and cities may have led to their eventual demise.

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[15] Fitzsimmons, "The Indus Valley Civilization," 20.

[16] Fitzsimmons, "The Indus Valley Civilization," 21.

[17] Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, 108.

Fitzsimmons says the downfall of the Indus Valley civilization could have been caused by the excessive harvesting of trees to feed the fires of the kilns used to produce their ubiquitous bricks. The Indus scholar states, "There is the further evidence of material and organizational decline in the Harappan cities before they had been abandoned . . . the exhaustion of timber resources in the mass production of baked bricks; the salting of arable soil by floods and irrigation; [and] the increase of the Harappan population which had been the impetus for creating an empire in which expansion had reached its utter most economic limit."[18]

While Harappan baked-clay bricks were built to last several centuries, the brick-making process significantly increased the consumption of natural resources and could have contributed to deforestation and soil erosion in the Indus Valley. Since the Indus River flooded frequently, the Harappan brick-making industry may have caused their civilization to become increasingly vulnerable to flash floods, and this could have led to the end of the Harappan people. As a counterpoint, Professors Mortimer Wheeler and Leonard Wooley are among scholars who believe that the Indus Valley civilization was conquered by the Aryans. Wheeler's position "not only changes our conception of the character of the Indus Valley civilization in itself, but it does enable us to link up those towns with the walled cities destroyed by the Aryan invaders of the Vedic hymns."[19] While both perspectives pose plausible arguments, neither can be proven since there is no direct evidence to support either claim.

The Indic people had a sophisticated way of communicating with each other as well as documenting events through their writing system. Alex states, "Several thousand Indus texts

[18] Fitzsimmons, "The Indus Valley Civilization," 16.

[19] R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, "Archeology in India and Pakistan in Since 1944," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 99, no. 4837 (1950): 113–32 at 130.

have been discovered, mostly from Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, but also in far-flung lands of trading partners along the Persian Gulf and in Mesopotamia."[20] Each piece of evidence could hold substantial information regarding daily activities of the Indus Valley people and their trading, spiritual beliefs and system of governance. Unfortunately, the Indic language has yet to be deciphered, meaning the language is highly sophisticated and historians cannot completely understand the role of the Harappans in the ancient world. The Indus Valley script has no equivalent Rosetta Stone (a key used to decipher ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics), and it has no cognate language. Since the Indus language is currently undecipherable, it holds back our knowledge of the connections between the Harappans and their neighboring cultures. The inability to read the Indus Valley language leaves a gaping hole in understanding the values of their people and any potential findings or similarities in modern-day Pakistan and India. In the future, if historians were to find a similar Rosetta Stone for the Indic writing, the mysteries surrounding their language and culture might be solved. Until then, this leaves historians at a standstill since there could be substantial information about the past that is yet to be discovered.

In conclusion, the enigmatic Indus River Valley civilization created many advancements and artifacts that aided in their success and possibly influenced later civilizations. First, the utilization of city planning enabled the Indus people to run their society in an organized and structured manner. Second, the special baked bricks allowed the people to construct important buildings in which to practice their rituals, symbolize power and social status, and emphasize religion and administrative authority. Third, artifacts like the Pashupati Seal provide clues that

[20] Bridget Alex, "Why We Still Can't Read the Writing of the Ancient Indus Civilization: C'mon, Archaeologists, what's the hold up?," *The Discover Magazine,* vol. 1, no. 2 (January 2019): 1–4.

important figures and symbols found during the era of the Harappans could possibly have had a lasting effect on later civilizations. The iconography on the seals and structures suggests a rich culture and hints towards deities and gods that might have influenced global religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism. Finally, because the language and writing are undecipherable, there are loose ends for historians to pursue and possibly to unearth groundbreaking future discoveries about the importance of the Indus Valley civilization.

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Upper-Level History Essay

Sow Hatred; Reap Hatred:
How Venereal Disease and Dogma Isolated the Soviet LGBTQ+ Community

Luke Scherer

In 1934, Article 121 of the Soviet legal code placed a ban on male homosexuality. Coming after a period of rampant sexual freedom, Joseph Stalin's crackdown on immorality was pertinent to creating the ideal Soviet man. As the Soviets prided themselves on having "no sex here," the exploration and discussion of sexuality failed to gain traction until after the collapse of the Soviet Union.[1] The study of sexuality within Russian and Soviet history is sparse. The historical canon of sexuality—and more specifically homosexuality—is in its infancy; this results in the field being dominated by only a few historians and many of the relevant primary sources being censored or not being translated into English. In an attempt to gain an understanding of how the Soviets implemented their "family value" policies, this essay aims to explore the root of Soviet policy on homosexuality. The Western understanding of morality and sexuality are greatly influenced by Christianity, so I was left wondering, “Why would an atheist society, like the Soviet Union, outlaw homosexuality?” The works of Dan Healey revealed the ideological resistance to queer expression as it has connections to the bourgeoisie. Similarly, the works of Rustam Alexander pose a practical reason for the Soviets to be resistant to homosexuality. Combining these two narratives, this essay argue that perceived issues within Soviet society, like prostitution and failing marriages, resulted in the development of an ideology that permitted the exclusion and persecution of homosexuals in Soviet society. Furthermore, the lasting impacts of exclusionary policies have had drastic implications on queer activism, representation, and existence in modern Russia.

[1] Anthony Miller, “Gorbachev and Collapse,” Lecture Notes, Hanover College, Hanover, IN, Oct. 28, 2024.

To better understand the complexities of sexuality in the days of the Soviet Union, the historical record of the tsarist period reveals how homosexuality and sexual expression were different from their Western European neighbors. Breaking the sexual history of Russia into general eras, the first period is sexual liberalism. From the ancient Rus until the rule of Peter the Great, homosexuality was rampant in Russian society. The Eastern Orthodox Church had condemned sodomy, but their definition of sodomy expanded beyond homosexual relations.[2] In the eyes of the church, homosexuality was equivalent to other non-sanctioned heterosexual activities. By creating such breadth, claims of sodomy affected greater portions of the population and therefore resulted in the practice becoming more common. It was so common that Igor Kon writes, "The English poet George Turberville, who visited Moscow as part of a diplomatic mission in 1568, was struck more forcibly by the frank homosexuality of Russian peasants than he was by Ivan the Terrible's executions."[3] An Englishman's attention was more captured by the open expression of queer relations instead of the political purge that Ivan the Terrible was conducting.

While the church had attempted to exert moral guidance on sodomy, it was not until the reign of Peter the Great that Russia entered its second era of sexual history—western conservatism. Peter the Great was fond of the West, and in an attempt to westernize the Russian

[2] The Eastern Orthodox Church's broad definition of sodomy targeted traditional gender roles. Homosexuality breaks traditional gender roles by having a man in the submissive position. Intercourse involving women in dominate positions was condemned, and homo- and hetero-anal intercourse was viewed as demeaning and animalistic. The church had varying punishments for variations of sexual deviance, taking into consideration who the partner was, marital status, and age of the offenders. Meanwhile, lesbianism was considered an equivalent to masturbation. Similarly, non-penetrative male homosexuality was akin to masturbation. Igor Kon, *The Sexual Revolution in Russia: From the Age of the Czars to Today* (New York: The Free Press, 2006), 15, *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/sexualrevolution00koni/mode/1up.

[3] Kon, *Sexual Revolution*, 16.

military, he adopted a ban on homosexuality in 1716.[4] This ban was limited to the ranks of soldiers and sailors and was not expanded to the entire population for 119 years. Nicolas I expanded the ban onto the entire Russian population in 1861.[5] This was an attempt to bring the religious virtues into the homes of the Russian populations—from the boyars to the newly emancipated serfs. The emancipation of the serfs dramatically reshaped the sexual nature of the master/servant relationship. Removing the subjects from the aristocratic households removed the easy target of sexual frustration. This resulted in the boyars turning to the next closest thing: prostitution.[6] Because it was illegal, male prostitution moved into underground settings. To complicate matters, sexual knowledge had increased. Kon claims that in the 1870s and for the next 50 years, children across the villages of Russia had an intimate understanding of sex due to their work with farm animals and their close living proximity to their parents.[7] Sexual knowledge was passed indirectly through generations and became more conservative as society at large was embracing religious tenets.

This period of sexual conservatism controlled society until the rise of the Soviet Union, in 1919, and the abolition of the Tsarists' legal codes. With the abolition of the Tsarist legal codes, homosexuality was inadvertently legalized and remained off the books until the 1930s. A short era of sexual liberalism swept across the union. Alexandra Kollontai was appointed as commissar of social welfare under Lenin. In her role, she championed a series of changes to the legal codes in an effort to liberate women from the household; "free love" was a new idea of

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[4] Oddly enough, Peter the Great engaged in bisexual activities. Kon, *Sexual Revolution*, 16.

[5] Dan Healey, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia: The Regulation of Sexual and Gender Dissent* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 22.

[6] Dan Healey, "Masculine Purity and 'Gentlemen's Mischief': Sexual Exchange and Prostitution between Russian Men, 1861–1941," *Slavic Review*, vol. 60, no. 2 (Summer, 2001): 233–65 at 236.

[7] Kon, *Sexual Revolution*, 19.

communal parenting—it takes a village.[8] Clements claims that same-sex love was expressed in public, but negative consequences also followed. The deterioration of the family unit was reported in communes. Clements continues to say that both married and single women were subjected to sexual pressures because it was "old-fashioned" to say no. This resulted in the spread of venereal disease, an increase in unwanted pregnancies, and a divorce rate three times that of France and Germany.[9] The period of sexual liberation was not without opposition. With a major leap forward, there was resistance. An example of this is Afanasy Shaur's plot in January of 1921. A demonstration of the open expression of queer individuals is captured in Figure 1.[10] The image consists of Afanasy Shaur's wedding party. The party is dressed in a fashion that breaks gender stereotypes.[11] The modern, western queer community considers this as drag. The wedding is a celebration of queer Soviets. It is a visual representation that sexual liberation has reached beyond the women's domestic sphere and helped liberate queer individuals. Sexual liberalism

Figure 5: Afanasy Shaur's Wedding Party

[8] Kristen Ghodsee, *Red Valkyries: Feminist Lessons from Five Revolutionary Women* (New York: Verso Books, 2022), 49, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hanover-ebooks/detail.action?docID=7019763&query=red%20Valkyries.

[9] Barbara Evans Clements, *A History of Women in Russia: From Earliest Times to the Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 259, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hanover-ebooks/detail.action?docID=816827&query=History%20of%20Women%20in%20Russia#.

[10] Olga Khoroshilova, "1917 Russian Revolution: The Gay Community's Brief Window of Freedom," *BBC News*, Nov. 10, 2017, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-41737330.

[11] Breaking gender mores were not limited to the men in the photo. The person dressed as a man in the center of the photo is actually the only woman present at the wedding. Khoroshilova, "1917 Russian Revolution."

allowed people to blur the lines of traditional gender roles. As previously stated, the Soviet period of sexual tolerance was met with resistance. Afanasy Shaur was actually a member of the NKVD and had staged the wedding, in 1921, to arrest queer individuals.[12] Hoping to gain favor from his bosses, Shaur organized the wedding to purge the Red Army of homosexuals. Accusing them of counter-revolutionary actions, he had all 95 army officers and lower-ranking members arrested. Ultimately, the charges were dropped.[13] While the wedding party is a demonstration of the flourishing queer community in Petrograd, the host of the event demonstrates the hostility the queer community faced. Additionally, it underscores the concept of homosexuals as being "counter-revolutionary," rendering them incapable of being good communists.

The period of sexual liberation came to an end with the rise of Stalin. He reworked the family unit to provide a rigid structure. The central committee outlawed abortion and homosexuality in 1934. In doing so, parents had to live with the product of their sexual expression. Women were forced to carry pregnancies to term, and fathers were required to provide support for their children, even in divorce through alimony.[14] The influence of the Soviet apparatus suppressed discussion on sexuality. It was so extensive that when Soviets were exposed to US television, they were shocked by the open discussion of sex.[15] Glasnost's open forum resulted in the expression of antisexualism.

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[12] Khoroshilova, "1917 Russian Revolution."

[13] The charges brought against the group of queer individuals were found to have no standing, as homosexuality had not been outlawed yet. This wouldn't occur until 1934. As there was no legal wrongdoing, the charges were dropped. Khoroshilova, "1917 Russian Revolution."

[14] "The New Family Ideal," in *A Documentary History of Communism in Russia*, ed. Robert V. Daniels (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993), 197–98.

[15] Miller, "Gorbachev and Collapse," Lecture Notes.

To establish a period of sexual conservatism in a leftist communist society, the Bolsheviks looked to rationalize anti-homosexual legislation as it was tied to the bourgeoisie. Dan Healey is a prominent historian on the topic of homosexuality in Soviet society. His research is the foundation of what later historians built off of. In his article titled "Masculine Purity and 'Gentlemen's Mischief': Sexual Exchange and Prostitution between Russian Men, 1861–1941," he outlines how the communists look to queer relations as a characteristic of a person who is or sympathizes with the upper class.

Looking into the practice of pederasty and prostitution, Healey reveals how male sexual relationships were expressed. In the late days of the Tsarist period, prostitution among women was highly regulated and confined to brothels; contrarily, male prostitution was excluded from regulation and left to develop in the confines of "homosocial" spaces.[16] Combining the service industry with a homosocial space, Healey pulls on examples of prostitution from Russian bathhouses and cruising locations to explain how homosexuality was often observed as a bourgeois purchasing a service.[17] He states, "In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, lower-class males reportedly 'neutralized' their identification with an upper-class culture of homosexuality."[18] By neutralizing their identity, lower-class men could participate in gay-for-pay practices without the stigma of homosexuality. Healey continues by describing how these practices were similarly normalized within British society, but the cases of Oscar Wilde and Cleveland Street publicized and stigmatized it. Inside Imperial Russia, there were no equivalent cases of such homosexual grandeur which left the practice unstigmatized.[19] Without having a

[16] Healey, "Masculine Purity and 'Gentlemen's Mischief,'" 235–36.

[17] Cruising is engaging in homosexual relations in a public location; common places are restrooms or parks.

[18] Healey, "Masculine Purity and 'Gentlemen's Mischief,'" 237.

[19] Healey, "Masculine Purity and 'Gentlemen's Mischief,'" 237–38.

negative stigma of commodified male homosexuality, lower-class men were willing to engage in the practice without feeling that their masculinity was greatly diminished. By maintaining the status of heterosexual or neutral, lower-class men were able to deny the homosexual identity; therefore, removing it from the lower-class status.

As previously stated, pederasty became commodified after the emancipation of the serfs. In the new domain of prostitution, those who could financially elicit the practice were those associated with its practice. A common homosocial space was bathhouses. They are generally secluded locations away from public observation that allow for illicit acts. Figures 2 and 3 are images taken from within Yegorov's bathhouse in St. Petersburg in 1907. The images capture what Healey describes as a "homosocial" environment. In Figure 2, bath attendants can be seen helping wash visitors.[20] In the background, attendants are seen scrubbing a man's scalp, rinsing hair, and beating a visitor with leaves. The foreground is where the more homoerotic aspect is apparent. The attendant is scrubbing the man's groin, and the man has his hands propped behind his head as if the service is enjoyable, certainly not awkward. This figure demonstrates the intimate nature between the attendants and the visitors of the bathhouses. The attendants are not simply observing and facilitating the bathhouse service; they are intimately close, allowing for the

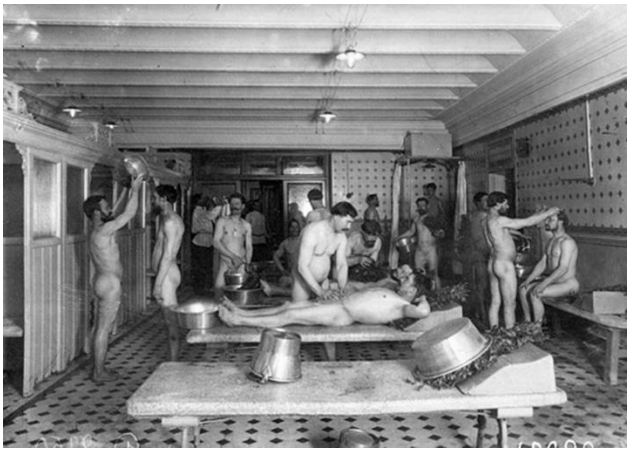

Figure 6: Bath attendant washes man's groin.

[20] "Bath attendant washes man's groin," *История России в Фотографиях*, https://russiainphoto.ru/search/photo/years-1906-1908/?page=1&paginate_page=1&index=8&query=%D0%B1%D0%B0%D0%BD%D1%8F.

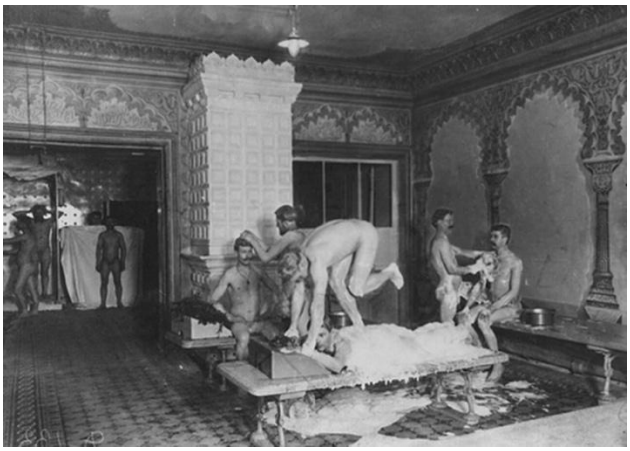

Figure 7: Bath attendant lathers man's back.

development of sexual relationships. Figure 3 builds on the notions of the previous photo. In this image, attendants once again are scrubbing their visitors, but this image captures an attendant in a more compromising position.[21] In Figure 2, the attendant is washing the man's groin, which can be viewed as a part of the bathing process, but in Figure 3, the attendant is in the process of straddling the lathered man. Bathing a man is fully capable with the attendant's feet planted on the floor, but the attendant is assuming a more intimate position by straddling the visitor. Between figures 2 and 3, it is evident that bathhouses served as a homosocial location with their close contact between attendants and visitors, seclusion from the general public, and accessibility to paid services.

While nudity can play into the intimate nature of human interaction, it is a more common aspect of Russian society and was greatly destigmatized as sexual in nature. In his exhibition titled *Nudism in USSR*, Leonoro Karel discusses how nudism is the result of folk beliefs, economic benefits that prevented reheating bathhouses, and was exacerbated by the Freikörperkultur movement from Germany. To summarize, he recalled a Russian proverb, "Fear sin, for we have seen the rest."[22] The presence of nudity is not inherently sexual in Russian

[21] "Bath attendant lathers man's back," *История России в Фотографиях*, https://russiainphoto.ru/search/photo/years-1906-1908/?page=1&paginate_page=1&index=9&query=%D0%B1%D0%B0%D0%BD%D1%8F.

[22] Leonoro Karel, "Нудизм в СССР [Nudism in the USSR]," *История России в фотографиях*, https://russiainphoto.ru/exhibitions/1562/#1.

culture and is quite common. All is to say, the nudity present in Figures 2 and 3 is not explicitly sexual in the context of Russia's nudism culture.

While the nudity was not inherently sexual in the bathhouses, the solicitation of homosexual favors was. The title of homosexual was applied to those who sought the practice. Healey writes, "Tarnovskii reported that lower-class men called sexual encounters with their masters 'gentlemen's mischief,' and he claimed they took little offense in these encounters."[23] His analysis of another historian's position is used to identify bourgeois sentiments with pederasty. As fame and fortune acquire attention, fixation on affluent individuals' sexuality also highlights the presence of homosexuality among the upper classes and intellectuals. For example, Tchaikovsky, the famous composer, was a homosexual. In letters to his brother, he detailed his affection for Iosif Kotek in January of 1877, lustfully writing:

> When he caresses me with his hand, when he lies with his head on my chest and I play with his hair and secretly kiss it, when for hours on end I hold his hand in my own and tire in the battle against the urge to fall at his feet and kiss these little feet, passion rages in me with unimaginable force, my voice shakes like that of a youth, and I speak some kind of nonsense.[24]

This excerpt from the several-page letter describes his affection and relationship with Kotek. It demonstrates something that Healey fails to accomplish in his article—passionate consensual relationships. While Healey fixates on prostitution and pederasty, highlighting Tchaikovsky's consensual and loving relationship allows the historical lens to apply the label "homosexuality"

[23] Healey, "Masculine Purity and 'Gentlemen's Mischief,'" 245.

[24] Alexander Poznansky, "Unknown Tchaikovsky: A Reconstruction of Previously Censored Letters to His Brothers (1875–1879)," in *Tchaikovsky and His World*, ed. Leslie Kearney (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 55–96 at 68.

outside of the notion described by Healey. Part of Healey's argument is claiming that the label of homosexuality, unlike the lower class, is only applied to the upper class. Tchaikovsky's relationship feeds into this notion as Tchaikovsky is a respected intellectual of the Tsarist period. Tchaikovsky's relationship demonstrates a psychologically healthier relationship beyond power, abuse, and coercion of pederasty. This being said, his relationship fits within the context of Healey's argument as it still demonstrates how homosexuality was labeled among the wealthy. Tchaikovsky is just an elaboration of Healey's argument expanding the scope from pederasty and prostitution to include healthy, consensual relationships.

The association of homosexuality with the upper class becomes relevant when applying the bourgeoisie's behavior to homosexuality. Healey highlights an example stating:

> Restaurants with private dining rooms, discreetly served as meeting places for similarly affluent 'pederasts.' The Palkin restaurant, located at 47 Nevskii Prospekt, the same building that housed the *Grazhdanin*, the arch-conservative newspaper run by the notorious homosexual Prince V.P. Meshcherskii, was a busy gathering spot in the late 1880s.[25]

Private dining and a princely homosexual's business rested in the same building, and as a result, the building was a frequent location for cruising. As he was a bourgeois solicitor, Prince V. P. Meshcherskii is blatantly called a homosexual by Healey. The association of homosexuality with the actions of individuals like Meshcherskii led to the Bolsheviks hating homosexuality. Leon Trotsky published a book capturing the overthrow of the Tsar. In it, he details his opinion on Meshcherskii as follows: "Prince Meshcherskii, a vile, briber journalist of the reactionary

[25] Healey, "Masculine Purity and 'Gentlemen's Mischief,'" 248.

bureaucratic clique, despised even in his own circle."[26] The Bolsheviks recognize that individuals like Meshcherskii are going to act in self-preservation and are counter-revolutionary; simultaneously, his identification with homosexuality ties it to his counter-revolutionary nature. Additionally, Healey blatantly states, "The same regime in the pre-Stalinist thinking was also mistrustful of pleasure and consumption…By extension, this despised Soviet bourgeoisie tempted customers to think about sex as a commodified pleasure, an outlook abhorrent to the Bolsheviks."[27] Prostitution is a commodification of both pleasure and consumption; in combination with the upper classes' actions toward the revolution, it results in the communist party being starkly against homosexuality—an act that becomes a signal of counter-revolutionary sentiments.

Drawing on the history of homosexuality in the Tsarist Russia period, Healey justifies how homosexuality became associated with the bourgeoisie. Through pederasty, explored in master/servant relationships, the practice becomes commodified in homosocial spaces like bathhouses. Due to Russian cultural norms around masculinity, the lower classes' participation in gay-for-pay relations is viewed as a transaction eliminating the homosexual label from being applied to them. On the contrary, the solicitors of the affluent were branded with the label. The attention afforded to the wealthy attracts attention to their behaviors. Individuals like Tchaikovsky serve as an example of individuals who participated in consensual relationships, but ultimately tie the homosexual label to the upper class. Furthermore, the actions of wealthy individuals like Prince V. P. Meshcherskii associated counter-revolutionary behaviors of the upper class and homosexuality, whose label became one-in-the-same. Healey's answer to the

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[26] Leon Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution* (1930), *Marxists.org*, https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1930/hrr/ch04.htm.

[27] Healey, "Masculine Purity and 'Gentlemen's Mischief,'" 254.

question of "Why did the Soviets not like homosexuality?" boils down to their association with the wealthy; therefore, being homosexual meant being counter-revolutionary.

While Healey's bourgeois explanation describes how homosexuality became a symptom of counter-revolutionary ideas, the Soviet government was also looking to resolve moral dilemmas in society and to prevent the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Rustam Alexander develops a greater analysis of the practical solutions to banning homosexuality by analyzing its presence in the GULAGS. By studying the GULAGS, Alexander is able to eliminate ideological differences as a means to eradicate homosexuality, as the prisoners have already been found to be counter-revolutionary in the eyes of the Soviet government. While Alexander's study primarily focuses on a timeline from Khrushchev till the fall of the Soviet Union, sources show that similar issues were present when Stalin made homosexuality illegal.

After Stalin's death, Nikita Khrushchev began destalinization, which ushered in a thaw in Soviet brutality and the party's chokehold on cultural dogma.[28] By deregulating topics deemed unacceptable to discuss, directors of the GULAGS began a more open discussion on homosexuality within their labor camps. Alexander writes, "GULAG directors framed homosexuality as not just a crime of morality, but a problem that had implications for the inmates' health and the GULAG's economic productivity."[29] Introducing a more nuanced position, Alexander claims that the Soviets were trying to eradicate homosexuality because it posed health risks. Destalinization posed as a benefit allowing the GULAG directors to consult each other, but it also exacerbated their issue. To remove some of the brutalities and correct the

[28] Gregory L. Freeze, *Russia: A History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 413.

[29] Rustam Alexander, *Regulating Homosexuality in Soviet Russia, (1956-91)* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2021), 24.

judicial flaws of Stalin, thousands of prisoners were freed.[30] Simultaneously, the directors of the prisons feared that the release of prisoners would result in the spread of homosexuality and sexually transmitted disease among the general population. Alexander writes frankly:

> It reflected the GULAG leadership's anxiety about the mass release of prisoners into society, which could have unforeseen consequences. In particular, camp authorities and medics were anxious about the possible spread of the prisoners' homosexual relations beyond the barbed wire, along with a spread of STIs such as syphilis, believed to be a consequence of sodomy.[31]

With the urgent threat of releasing homosexuals and their STIs into the general population, the Soviets were left to find a way to eradicate it.

The issue of homosexuality was becoming a concern of public health instead of an issue of counter-revolutionary behavior. A camp official at a conference for directors of medical departments of corrective labor camps recorded, "According to numerous oral and written reports by medical workers of the camps and colonies, the spread of syphilis among prisoners is largely due to sodomy." Sodomy and syphilis became so intricately intertwined together. So much so, Alexander claims that medical professionals within the GULAGS believed homosexuality was the main cause of STIs.

In addition, lesbianism was legal within the Soviet Union, but it was highly stigmatized within the GULAGS. Some doctors believed that lesbians had developed a genital illness that failed to respond to medical interventions.[32] Like male homosexuality and syphilis, lesbianism

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[30] Freeze, *Russia,* 417.

[31] Alexander, *Regulating Homosexuality,* 26.

[32] Alexander, *Regulating Homosexuality*, 38.

was associated with a medical condition. By developing a causal relationship, homosexuality became viewed as a potential public health crisis.

To combat the presence of homosexuality in the labor colonies, the directors looked for a cure. The leader of the Corrective Labor Colonies of Belarus claimed, "To fight this evil, the societal forces of the collective have been engaged to create an environment of intolerance and condemnation of these instances [of sexual perversions]."[33] To cure people of homosexuality, the labor colonies needed to place them into a public forum of shame. Public humiliation was compounded by claims that queer individuals were making the laborers of the labor colony's lives more difficult. People with STIs, which were believed to be caused by homosexual behaviors, were offered work exemptions.[34] With an exemption, others were left to pick up their slack as a result of what the common consensus believed was indulging in immoral behavior.

From Alexander's perspective, the Soviets believed that homosexuality resulted in the spread of venereal disease and jeopardized the economic interests of the labor colonies. While his article is limited to the Soviet prison system, there are parallels in Soviet society. During the 1920s period of "free love," many Soviets felt like the family unit had deteriorated, so Stalin passed laws to abandon sexual freedom.[35] A part of the issues homosexuality placed onto the Stalinist idea of family was its threat of child abandonment. In the *Pravda,* an article on the new idea of family under Stalin criticizes sexual liberalism: "The man who does not take marriage seriously, and abandons his children to the whims of fate, is usually also a bad worker and a poor member of society."[36] Sexual tolerance threatens the structured nature of the family unit and

[33] Alexander, *Regulating Homosexuality,* 29.

[34] Alexander, *Regulating Homosexuality,* 38.

[35] "The New Family Ideal," in *A Documentary History of Communism in Russia*, 197.

[36] "The New Family Ideal," in *A Documentary History of Communism in Russia*, 197.

poses economic threats to the social order. Like Alexander's concepts extracted from the GULAGS, the Soviets believed that homosexuality was a manifestation of sexual exploration that uprooted the traditional family, leading to a greater economic burden being placed on the social safety net instead of the individuals responsible for conceiving the child. Furthermore, Kon summarizes that the breakdown of family norms led to a higher contraction rate of venereal diseases.[37]

The idea of homosexuality as a vessel to spread STIs continued into the late 1980s and 1990s as the AIDS epidemic reached the former Soviet Republics. Kon writes, "Authorities asserted that the Soviet Union had nothing to fear since the virus infected only homosexuals and drug users."[38] As the virus was assumed to only affect homosexuals and drug users, it continues the narrative that homosexuals were continually spreading sexually transmitted diseases.

The history of queer individuals in the Soviet Union is an under-researched concept due to the Kremlin's censorship. Over the span of the twentieth century, homosexuality went from something celebrated, like at the wedding party of Afanasy Shaur, to something of great shame by being treated like a social ailment. Dan Healey's perspective is one that is centered on the early stages of homosexuality during the turn into Stalinism. Within this, homosexuality is characterized as an aspect of the bourgeois. Rustam Alexander poses a distinct perspective centered in the period of destalinization. Alexander focuses on how homosexuality is linked to diseases like STIs and how individuals could receive work exemptions for them, thus making the social burden on others greater. Working off these two perspectives, I believe that they are different analyses of the same thing. When analyzing Alexander's perspective, there are sources

[37] Kon, *Sexual Revolution,* 55–56.

[38] Kon, *Sexual Revolution,* 231–32.

that expand its influence outside of the GULAGS during the 1950s. From the document on "The New Family Ideal," there were feelings that sexual liberalism and, by association, homosexuality was placing a strain on the Soviet social safety net in the 1930s.[39] Furthermore, Kon reiterates how sexual liberalism had seen a dramatic rise in sexually transmitted infections.[40] These two documents reiterate how homosexuality was viewed as a social burden on the working class and a method in which disease was spreading during the rise of Stalinism. Therefore, these documents demonstrate how Alexander's theory is applicable to the Stalinist period.

The theories are one and the same as they are the result of a cause-and-effect relationship. Alexander's perspective demonstrates medical and social burden issues as the cause. The Soviets felt the solution was to ban homosexuality. But how to justify a ban? Provide strong ideological dogma that identifies homosexuality as counter-revolutionary, as found in Healey's perspective.

As the ideological basis was being solidified, there was mild pushback. One example comes from Harry Whyte. A homosexual himself, Whyte was a member of the Communist Party of England and an editor on the *Moscow News*.[41] In a letter to Stalin titled, "Can a homosexual be a communist?" Whyte tries to contradict the bourgeois ideology. Whyte claims that there are two types of homosexuality: one as a biological condition and the second as a result of poverty. Whyte states:

> But science has established the existence of constitutional homosexuals. Research has shown that homosexuals of this type exist in approximately equal proportions within all classes of society. We can likewise consider as established fact that, with slight

[39] "The New Family Ideal," in *A Documentary History of Communism in Russia*, 197–98.

[40] Kon, *Sexual Revolution,* 55.

[41] Harry Whyte, "Can a homosexual be a communist?" (1934), *The Charnel-House*, https://thecharnelhouse.org/2015/06/27/can-a-homosexual-be-a-communist-harry-whytes-letter-to-stalin-1934/.

> deviations, homosexuals as a whole of the population constitute around two percent of the population. If we accept this proportion, then it follows that there are around two million homosexuals in the USSR.[42]

Whyte is stressing that "constitutional homosexuals"—in other words, those biologically queer—consist of almost two million people of the USSR. Of numbers that substantial, there is room to assume that queer people helped the revolution. Furthermore, Whyte draws on Friedrick Engels to provide ideological justification that is more closely related to pure Marxist ideology. Whyte writes that Engels believed that homosexuality that hosted bourgeois degeneracy should be handled on an individual basis and that homosexuality was not a form of bourgeois degeneracy.[43] Attempting to underscore Stalin's ideological justification with a source more closely related to Marx, Whyte is attempting to prove that gay people are not ideologically opposed to communism.

Unfortunately for Harry Whyte, his letter fell on deaf ears. The failed reception of Whyte's letter is evidence that the bourgeoisie narrative is an ideological justification. If someone is trying to resolve an issue most effectively, they typically listen to perspectives and incorporate aspects from several narratives to create the best path forward. Whyte's letter was ignored, showing evidence that Stalin was not particularly concerned with a solution; he was trying to streamline the party's ideological justification. Whether Stalin or the Central Committee viewed the social ailments as a more urgent problem or not, the idea of homosexual liberation was cast off until the collapse of the Soviet Union.[44] To solve their sexually

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[42] Whyte, "Can a homosexual be a communist?"

[43] Whyte, "Can a homosexual be a communist?"

[44] Kon, *Sexual Revolution,* 256.

promiscuous society, homosexuality was banned and its justification was supported by the Stalinist regime, especially as they solidified their dogma during Stalinization.

As far as the historical record is concerned, homosexuality during the Soviet Union is not an accessible topic. The research is limited to demeaning characterizations. Healey's research is based in pederasty and prostitution; similarly, Alexander's research is based on non-consensual relationships among prisoners. These limited perspectives largely ignore consenting and loving queer relationships. With such little information about queer people within Russian society, conversations around homosexuality are being pushed into the extreme.

Anti-homosexual sentiments have grown since the fall of the Soviet Union. In 2013, the Russian Duma passed a ban on the propagation of gay propaganda.[45] This anti-homosexual legislation bans the distribution of media that contains non-heterosexual relationships. The Health and Human Rights journal has condemned Vladimir Putin's anti-queer legislation as contributing to the stigmatization of queer individuals, which has a direct correlation with poor physical and mental health conditions, including suicidal ideations.[46] Furthermore, stigmatization has resulted in an increase in violence. Voyles and Chilton, from the journal, write:

> As revealed by a 2017 poll that surveyed 1,600 people in 48 Russian regions, 80% of respondents rated homosexual sex as 'reprehensible,' a sizeable increase since both 1998 and 2008. Similarly, physical hate crimes in Russia have dramatically increased since the 'gay propaganda law' took effect, with some resulting in murder.[47]

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[45] Caroline H. Voyles and Mariana Chilton, "Respect, Protect, and Fulfill—or Reject, Neglect, and Regress? Children's Rights in the Time of the Russian 'Gay Propaganda Law,'" *Health and Human Rights*, vol. 21 (2019): 325–30 at 326.

[46] Voyles and Chilton, "Respect, Protect, and Fulfill," 327.

[47] Voyles and Chilton, "Respect, Protect, and Fulfill," 328.

From the data, stigmatization has increased, and so have hate crimes. By fostering a culture, like the Soviet Union, which attempts to erase queer individuals, conservative extremism is seen in these acts of violence.

An example of how hate has manifested itself in Russia is demonstrated by the murder of Vladislav Tornovoi. In May of 2013, at an Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) meeting, the US council addressed Tornovoi's death the day before International Day Against Homophobia, stating:

> The urgent need to implement these commitments is illustrated by a horrific hate crime reportedly committed on May 9th against Vladislav Tornovoi, a 23-year-old gay man in Volgograd, Russia. According to press reports, police have arrested two men in the case, one of whom has admitted to sodomizing, beating, and burning the victim, and eventually crushing his skull with a rock. Investigators in the case have confirmed that the motive appeared to be homophobia. Anti-LGBT initiatives, like homosexual "propaganda" laws and bans on LGBT assembly, suggest that homophobia is officially sanctioned, and may encourage those who would act violently on such prejudice.[48]

According to the investigations coming out of Volgograd, Russia, the murder was a hate crime. The US council took the opportunity to address how Russia's anti-queer legislation was driving extremism toward the LGBTQ+ population. The Russian Federation's response was also very demonstrative of their opinion. The Russian council stated, "Our position remains unchanged: the notions of 'sexual orientation' and 'gender identity' do not exist within universal international agreements or among the obligations of the OSCE itself, and these areas do not fall

[48] Gary Robbins, *Statement on the International Day Against Homophobia or Transphobia* (May 16, 2013), *Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe* (*OSCE)*, https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/d/5/101683.pdf.

within the mandate of the OSCE."[49] In the face of a direct address from the US about the topic of the safety of queer individuals in Russia, the Russian Federation's response is that the council should not be concerned with the treatment of LGBTQ+ people because it was not something OSCE was designed to do. Later in the statement, the Russian council stated this about the murder of Tornovoi: "In this regard, we feel that it is inappropriate to parrot journalistic accounts of whatever sort, or to draw far-reaching and incorrect political conclusions."[50] Using the guise of being apolitical, the Russians placed the final blow in denying that Tornovoi's death was a hate crime.

Conservatives are not the only individuals driving extremism within the Russian conversation of LGBTQ+ rights. In order to gain media attention, LGBTQ+ activists have taken extreme actions. An example is Pussy Riot. This group of bandmates is staunchly anti-Putin and has created dramatic and blasphemous music videos to get their message across. In one video titled "Virgin Mary, Mother of God, Chase Putin Away," the Pussy Rioters, dressed in their balaclavas, hosted a mini rave at the altar of the Cathedral of Christ the Savior.[51] If storming a cathedral wasn't newsworthy enough, the lyrics of the music video highlighted anti-church and pro-LGBTQ+ feelings. One lyric is, "Gay Pride has been sent to Siberia in shackles."[52] A condemnation of the Russian government's persecution of queer people, the Pussy Riot is evidence that activism is becoming more extreme.

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[49] Delegation of the Russian Federation, *Statement by the Russian Federation at the 953rd Meeting of the OSCE Permanent Council* (May 16, 2013), *OSCE*, https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/4/8/101684.pdf.

[50] Delegation of the Russian Federation, *Statement by the Russian Federation.*

[51] Jamie Hendrickson, "Virgin Mary, Mother of God, Chase Putin Away (2012)," *The Birth of Pussy Riot: Six Early Songs*, *University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign Library*, https://iopn.library.illinois.edu/scalar/the-birth-of-pussy-riot-six-early-songs/virgin-mary-mother-of-god-chase-putin-away-2012#F20.

[52] Hendrickson, "Virgin Mary."

Another example is artist Petr Pavlensky. Engaging in public exhibitions, Pavlensky uses his art form to display his anti-Putin sentiments. His art focuses on using his body as a means to extract visceral reactions; he obtains this through personal torcher. Some of his pieces have involved him sewing his mouth shut to protest Pussy Riot's censorship or nailing his scrotum to the bricks in Red Square.[53] In a 2013 demonstration titled *Carcass*, Pavlensky stripped naked and wrapped himself in a cocoon of barbed wire. He then lay outside the Legislative Assembly in St. Petersburg. Pavlensky described his artwork as a condemnation of Russia's laws that persecute civil activities; one of those on the list was the gay propaganda law.[54] Not that all activists are taking extreme actions like Pavlensky or the Pussy Riot, but attempts to get press coverage to make their voice, feelings, and art heard have pushed activism into the extremes.

LGBTQ+ activism in Russia was particularly prominent during the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi. The world spotlight was placed on the abhorrent human rights violations of the Russian queer community. The Human Rights Watch documentary captures how Russian vigilantly groups are emboldened by the gay propaganda law to target LGBTQ+ individuals, harasses and assault them, record it and post it to the internet; simultaneously, the groups are not prosecuted for committing hate crimes.[55] The condition of queer individuals in Russia is deteriorating as the government is failing to intervene. Activist Gleb Latnik describes how LGBTQ+ people are treated not as human but as a toy. He claims that if people see a queer person on the street, they would ask themselves, "Why *not* punch them?"[56] The Russian gay

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[53] Дмитрий Волчек [Dmitry Volchek], "В Страстную Пятницу [On Good Friday]" Радио Свобода, May 9, 2013, https://www.svoboda.org/a/24978110.html.

[54] Волчек [Volchek], "В Страстную Пятницу [On Good Friday]."

[55] "Russia Sochi Games," *LGBT Rights Around the World*, Video Project, 2015, https://www.kanopy.com/en/hanover/video/234198/234210.

[56] "Russia Sochi Games," *LGBT Rights Around the World*.

population is being treated as a subhuman caste—the consequence of decades of treating queer people like a disease or being against the Soviet/Russian way of life.

The current conditions of Russia's attitudes toward queer individuals derive from its Soviet history. Sequestered into a subculture, homosexuality was dramatically impacted by the Soviets' policies regarding "family values" and morality. Sexuality was censured under the Soviet regime; moreover, the literature on homosexuality in Soviet Russia is even more sparse. Dan Healey offers a perspective that roots Soviet opposition to homosexuality on grounds that it is a characteristic of the bourgeois. Rustum Alexander tries to focus on more practical issues that Soviet society faces, such as how Soviets believed homosexuality was the main cause of STIs. To intertwine the perspectives together, the Soviets were attempting to solve practical issues like the spread of STIs and sexual immorality, so they created a strong ideological dogma claiming that homosexuals were a part of the class warfare. With these ideas being entrenched into society, homosexuality was suppressed and gave rise to systemic homophobia. In the present day, Russia's conversations on homosexuality have become extremist among both conservatives and LGBTQ+ activists. Societies reap what they sow; if they sow hatred, that is what they will receive.

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Student Biographies of Distinguished Hanover College Alumni

Biographical Essay: David Boyle Duncan

Claire Walsh

On May 1st, 1852, the *Buckpoor* arrived at a port in New Orleans, Louisiana.[1] A family of seven, from Londonderry, Ireland, dwelled amongst its passengers. The family patriarch was James Duncan, a Presbyterian pastor looking to form a new life in America.[2] His youngest son at the time went by the name David Boyle Duncan.[3] David was just four years old when his family decided to make the journey across the Atlantic Ocean. Due to his parents' remarkable decision to leave behind the life they knew, David led a successful life in America, ultimately graduating from Hanover College in 1874.[4] His experience as an immigrant, though, remained unique compared to other Irish immigrants of the time. Catholic-Irish immigrants, specifically, faced harsh stereotypes due to their differing religious values and urban lifestyles that disturbed mainstream Protestant Americans. In contrast to this, a combination of the Duncans' rural settlement, agricultural knowledge, and Presbyterian faith allowed them to assimilate quickly into American society. These factors aligned David and his family with typical Protestant American values, permitting them to live unaffected by the xenophobia that plagued the Irish-Catholic immigrant population.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth-century, there was a surge in Irish immigrants journeying to America, compounded by the Irish Potato Famine of 1846 to 1850. As an influx of

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[1] "U.S., Naturalization Records, 1840-1957," digital image, s.v. "David Boyle Duncan" (b. 19 Nov. 1848), *Ancestry.com*.

[2] 1860 United States Federal Census, Pinckneyville, Perry County, Illinois, digital image, s.v. "James Duncan," *Ancestry.com*.

[3] 1860 United States Federal Census, Pinckneyville, Perry County, Illinois, digital image, s.v. "David Dancan [sic]," *Ancestry.com*.

[4] Joshua Bolles Garritt, Andrew Harvey Young, and Paul Prentice Boyd, compilers, "Alumni Record," *Bulletin of Hanover College*, vol. 5, no. 11 (1913): 49.

immigrants continued, religious beliefs became one of the ultimate components in the judgment of newcomers to America, which adversely impacted the Irish-Catholic population.[5] At the time of the Irish diaspora, America mainly consisted of Protestant denominations, each of which sought to protect their ideals from the Catholic faith.[6] Historian Stephen Brighton emphasizes how many Protestants feared Catholics due to their loyalty to the Pope, believing there was a plot threatening to overthrow non-Catholic America. The perceived "anti-Christian" nature of Catholicism led to the "Wild Irish" stereotype which, "was used to reinforce the notion that all Irish Catholics were Barbarous."[7] The growing concern about morality in America was further compounded by Irish public drinking culture and behavior. These aspects especially disturbed mainstream Americans who valued temperance. The image of the "Irish Immigrant" was thus formed, born out of anxiety and hatred. Despite their prominence in the nineteenth-century though, the Irish-Catholics were not the first Irish immigrants to America. An article from the American Catholic Historical Society from 1901 details that, prior to the nineteenth-century, Irish immigration was almost entirely Ulster Presbyterian. It furthermore goes on to describe that, "Presbyterian Irish, finding the English government harassing, … came to America."[8] The Duncan family appeared to follow in the footsteps of these Presbyterian Irish who came before them instead of falling into the patterns of typical Catholic Irish immigrants.

[5] Sarah Vosmeier, lecture for "American Immigration History," Hanover College, Sept. 20, 2024.

[6] Lawrence J. McCaffrey, "Irish America," *The Wilson Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1985): 78–93.

[7] Stephen A. Brighton, "Degrees of Alienation: The Material Evidence of the Irish and Irish American Experience, 1850-1910," *Historical Archaeology*, vol. 42, no. 4 (2008): 132–53.

[8] "Early Irish Immigration to America. Few Catholics," *The American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. 18, no. 3 (1901): 99–103.

After they arrived in New Orleans, the Duncan family avoided settling in a bustling capital and instead established a home in the small town of Pinckneyville, Illinois.[9] Pinckneyville provided the backdrop for David Boyle Duncan's childhood. Before the family's arrival, the 1850 census from Perry County, where Pinckneyville was located, lists a plethora of Irish families who had already settled there.[10] These families could have been a part of the original wave of Ulster Presbyterians, leading the Duncans to relocate to an area with an established Presbyterian population. The Duncans' religious faith would have made their experience in America, and their ability to integrate into its culture, much easier than demonized Irish-Catholics.[11] Religion continued to be an extremely significant aspect of David's life as well when he decided to attend the Presbyterian Hanover College. The small number of men who attended college in the nineteenth-century mainly did so to become ministers, which was the case for David.[12] Surviving diary entries of Charles Alling, a student at Hanover in 1884, describe the high level of respect awarded to ministers at the time: "The noblest calling a human being may choose; to be a co-worker to the Almighty."[13] After his graduation, David Duncan's entire migration across the United States revolved around his occupation as a pastor, moving from one church to the next.[14] The secure job of a pastor improved his opportunities and social status

[9] 1860 United States Federal Census, Pinckneyville, Perry County, Illinois, digital image, s.v. "David Dancan [sic]," *Ancestry.com*.

[10] 1850 United States Federal Census, Perry County, Illinois, digital image, s.v. "Joseph Tod," *Ancestry.com*.

[11] Lawrence McCaffery, "Ireland and Irish America: Connections and Disconnections," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, vol. 22, no. 3 (2004): 1–18.

[12] Sarah Vosmeier, lecture for "Studies in American Cultural History: The Middle Class," Hanover College, Feb. 3, 2025.

[13] Charles Alling, Student Diary, 1883–1884, entry Thursday, 17 Jan. 1884, Hanover College History Department, para. 14, history.hanover.edu.

[14] 1900 United States Federal Census, Ashland, Ohio, digital image, s.v. "?? B. Duncan," *Ancestry.com*.

significantly more than that of Irish-Catholic priests in cities. Had David been Irish-Catholic and followed down the path of priesthood, he would have remained an outcast as a "popist."

In addition to their religious beliefs, David and his family also maintained an agricultural lifestyle that was essential to their prosperity. The blights facing the major potato crops in Ireland led to mass starvation and poverty. Families came to America, similarly to the Duncans, in search of a better life. Most Irish immigrants opted to settle in urban areas, feeling discontented with the outcome of their past agricultural occupations. The majority of Irish farmers were not very eager to build a new life through the same systems that failed them back home, leading many to take jobs in factories.[15] Newly industrialized cities offered a multitude of job opportunities particularly for unskilled laborers who were new to factory work. New York, Boston, and Philadelphia were just a few of the locations that offered such job opportunities. Irish immigrants were so prominent in these areas that by 1890 almost one-third of all New Yorkers were Irish.[16] Despite their popularity, living in these cities was not easy for many and only added to the stigma surrounding immigration. Mainstream Americans were uncomfortable with the concept of overcrowded cities full of non-American workers doing undesirable jobs. Cartoons from the time such as *Outward Bound* by Erskine Nicol depicted an Irish man as being unhygienic and raggedy, staring at a poster on voyages to New York.[17] The Duncan family, however, defied this caricature and not only settled in a rural area but also continued to be farmers.

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[15] Sarah Vosmeier, lecture for "American Immigration History," Hanover College, Sept. 20, 2024.

[16] Linda Dowling Almeida, *Irish Immigrants in New York City, 1945-1995* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001), 12.

[17] Erskine Nicol, *Outward Bound*, ca. 1840/1860 [not after 1867], in "An Irishman Looks at a Poster Advertising Voyages to New York and Resolves to Emigrate," lithograph with watercolor image, 26 x 19.2 cm., Wellcome Collection, London.

When looking back at David's childhood in the 1860 Pinckneyville census, James Duncan is indicated as the head of the household, working as a farmer with the help of his eldest son who was also a farm laborer.[18] The Duncans' agricultural lifestyle laid the foundation for skills that would become relevant later in David Boyle Duncan's life. David was eleven at the time of the 1860 census and, like his brother, would have helped around the farm, leading him to develop his own knowledge of farming techniques.[19] At age 71, after serving as a pastor for many years, David returned to his roots, becoming a farmer himself.[20] The skills necessary to farm in combination with his Protestant faith helped provide him with a pathway to careers common amongst mainstream Americans. Here David did not differ much from his neighbors despite being an immigrant, many of whom were farmers and typically remained in the state in which they were born.[21] The small towns in which David resided also allowed him to live a life that was not limited by the stigma of immigration. Throughout his lifetime, David lived in Pinckneyville, Illinois; Ashland, Ohio; Fairfield, Washington; and Richfield, Idaho—none of which ever reached a population of over 4,000 people while David lived there.[22] The slower-paced movement of midwestern and northwestern America was considerably different than the trading hubs of coastal cities. This added yet another advantage to David's life experience as an

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[18] 1860 United States Federal Census, Pinckneyville, Perry County, Illinois, digital image, s.v. "David Dancan [sic]," *Ancestry.com*.

[19] 1860 United States Federal Census, Pinckneyville, Perry County, Illinois, digital image, s.v. "David Dancan [sic]," *Ancestry.com*.

[20] 1920 United States Federal Census, Richfield, Lincoln County, Idaho, digital image, s.v. "David B. Duncan," *Ancestry.com*.

[21] 1900 United States Federal Census, Ashland, Ohio, digital image, s.v. "?? B. Duncan," *Ancestry.com*.

[22] 1870 United States Federal Census, Pinckneyville, Perry County, Illinois, digital image, s.v. "James Duncan," *Ancestry.com*; 1900 United States Federal Census, Ashland, Ohio, digital image, s.v. "?? B. Duncan," *Ancestry.com*; 1910 United States Federal Census, Fairfield, Spokane County, Washington, digital image, s.v. "David B. Duncan," *Ancestry.com*; 1920 United States Federal Census, Richfield, Lincoln County, Idaho, digital image, s.v. "David B. Duncan," *Ancestry.com*.

Irish immigrant. He was able to build a life for himself within these towns and married three times, all to American women.[23] The normalcy of his life would have been unachievable had David not had the opportunity to grow up in rural towns built upon Protestant values.

After his arrival in America, David's life became that of a typical pastor living in the midwest during the nineteenth-century. Throughout his life, he was able to attain a higher education at Hanover College, which was not common among other Irish immigrants. The Duncan family's experience in America did not fit the preconceived stereotypes that many pictured whenever they heard the term "Irish immigrant." Instead, they reflected a smaller percentage of Irish-Presbyterians who settled relatively comfortably amongst a mostly Protestant nation. A mixture of religion, skills, and locations were key components in David's ability to succeed in America as an immigrant, shaping his life for the better.

[23] "Indiana, U.S., Marriages 1810-2001," s.v. "David B. Duncan" (m. 18 June 1913), *Ancestry.com*.

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Andrew Harvey Young and His Experience with Immigration

Alexandria Wells

Andrew Harvey Young led a similar yet different life from other immigrant families. While his life was comparable in some ways, Young had better opportunities than most children of immigrants would. He was born in Avondale, Cincinnati, Ohio, on February 2nd, 1852.[1] Young was not an immigrant, but rather, the son of two Scottish immigrants.[2] Because of his Presbyterian orientation and his father's position as a minister, he was presented with opportunities many immigrants of the time rarely experienced, such as living a relatively wealthy, stable life with opportunity for educational and career growth.

When he lived in Ohio there was a significant German and Irish population, likely the product of the industrial boom of Cincinnati at the time which provided a lot of jobs for incoming immigrants.[3] The *Columbus Dispatch* states, "By the 1860s, a third of Columbus' population was German, including many of the city's prominent citizens."[4] By the 1870s census, the Young family had moved to Hanover, Indiana, where there was a significantly smaller immigrant population near him. [5] Up until his death, according to the census, there were few immigrant families in his community.[6]

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[1] *General Catalogue of the Alumni of Hanover College 1833-1883* (Hanover, IN: Hanover College, 1890).

[2] U.S. Census Bureau, *1870 United States Federal Census*, Hanover, Jefferson County, Indiana, s.v. "H.H. Young," *Ancestry.com*.

[3] U.S. Census Bureau, *1860 United States Federal Census*, Hamilton, Mill Creek, Ohio, s.v. "H.H. Young," *Ancestry.com*.

[4] Ken Gordon, "Are Any Descendants of German Village's Original German Immigrant Residents Still Living There?" *The Columbus Dispatch,* Dec. 28, 2020, https://www.dispatch.com/story/news/local/2020/12/28/heritage-alive-columbus-german-village-but-do-any-descendants-remain-ohio/6490054002/.

[5] U.S. Census Bureau, *1870 United States Federal Census*, *Ancestry.com*.

[6] U.S. Census Bureau, *1870 United States Federal Census*, *Ancestry.com*.

The real estate value of the Young family, according to the census in 1860, was $16,000, and the personal estate value was $400.[7] This is a unique circumstance; most of the people near them (immigrant or not) in the community possessed far less than the Youngs. In 1870, the Youngs moved to Indiana and their real estate value was then $2,500, and personal value was $500.[8] The people near them had roughly the same, and this value was more typical for the time.

The occupation of the Young family patriarch was also atypical of the other community immigrant families.[9] His father, Hugh Young, was a Presbyterian minister, giving Andrew Young a much different life than other children of immigrants in Ohio, whose fathers were typically employed as laborers, servants, dairymen, and gardeners.[10] In 1870, when they moved to Indiana, the most common jobs for immigrant families were farmers, servants, and laborers.[11] So, while other immigrant families were in lesser-paid jobs, the Youngs were well off, separating them from the typical immigrant family. The Youngs' higher social and economic status and Rev. Young's position as a minister would have given Andrew access to better education and social connections, which would have set him apart from other children of immigrants, who often faced economic hardships and lack of opportunity.

Andrew Young was also relatively lucky because he was Presbyterian. An exhibition from the Library of Congress states, "The religion of the new American republic was evangelicalism, which, between 1800 and the Civil War was the 'grand absorbing theme' of

[7] U.S. Census Bureau, *1860 United States Federal Census*, *Ancestry.com*.

[8] U.S. Census Bureau, *1870 United States Federal Census*, *Ancestry.com*.

[9] U.S. Census Bureau, *1860 United States Federal Census*, *Ancestry.com*.

[10] U.S. Census Bureau, *1860 United States Federal Census*, *Ancestry.com*.

[11] U.S. Census Bureau, *1870 United States Federal Census*, *Ancestry.com*.

American religious life."[12] Presbyterianism is a form of Protestant evangelicalism, so the Youngs were part of the main religious group. The Youngs' Presbyterian faith ensured they did not suffer from the backlash that Catholic immigrants did during that time. During the 1800s, Catholics often faced violence: "In 1834 an angry mob burned down a convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts, because of a false rumor that a nun was imprisoned there, and in 1844 a riot broke out in Philadelphia because of fears that Catholics wanted to prevent Bible reading in the public schools."[13] They also faced everyday discrimination. For example: "Neighbors called Catholics names, employers refused to promote them, landlords rented them their worst apartments, newspapers blamed them for rising crime rates, and banks refused them loans. A popular national organization, the American Protective Association, was founded specifically to promote anti-Catholicism and other prejudices."[14] The Young family did not experience this prejudice towards their religion. The Young family moved to Hanover, Indiana, after Rev. Young accepted a position as pastor at Hanover College, a Presbyterian institution. This gave Andrew more access to education and opportunity while on campus. While Hanover College has always been a Presbyterian institution, the school's religious affiliation was more prominent in the nineteenth century. Thus, the Youngs were well-known and respected.

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[12] Library of Congress Exhibition, "Religion and the Founding of the American Republic: Religion and the New Republic," *Library of Congress*, https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/rel07.html#:~:text=The%20religion%20of%20the%20new.

[13] Cathrine A. Brekus, "Catholics in America," *Christian History* 102 (2012), *Christian History Institute*, https://christianhistoryinstitute.org/magazine/article/catholics-in-america#:~:text=Such%20were%20the%20rumors%20that.

[14] Julie Byrne, "Roman Catholics and Immigration in Nineteenth-Century America," *TeacherServe*, *National Humanities Center*, https://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/nineteen/nkeyinfo/nromcath.htm#:~:text=The%20churches%20could%20try%20to.

During Young's time as a student at Hanover College, he was one of the few immigrants or children of immigrants in his graduating class. There was a Chinese immigrant and an Irish immigrant in his graduating class. Young and the other immigrant students went into the education field at one point in their lives. Moses Stanley Coulter, a Chinese immigrant, was a teacher who later became a principal. James Rowland, an Irish immigrant, was also a teacher. Young was initially a druggist in Madison, Indiana, but later became a professor at Hanover College. His contributions as a professor earned him a portrait in Hanover Colleges Science Center commemorating his time at the college.[15]

Overall, Andrew Harvey Young led a good life. While most immigrant families and children of immigrants struggled to make it, Young prospered. His family, job, status, and religion gave him a life that promoted growth, respect, and education. While he was like other immigrant families in some ways, he overall got to have a better life than most, showing how the American dream is possible for some, but not all. While many immigrant families faced significant challenges, the Youngs achieved the American dream.

[15] *General Catalogue of the Alumni of Hanover College 1833-1883*.

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George Ernest: A Hanover Graduate

Claire Wojtowicz

George Ernest was born in Holstein, Germany, on September 19, 1845.[1] He immigrated to the United States of America in 1867 presumably for an education.[2] There is little information on the years directly after his arrival in the states, but according to the 1870 United States Census, Ernest was living in Hanover, Indiana, and attending Hanover College.[3] The information from the census pages shows how immigration affected his time in America, based on those in his household and those living near him. Additionally, other census records show his movement around the United States, his chosen occupation, and the growth of his family. The topic of Ernest's understanding and acceptance of other immigrant groups as well as the acceptance of his own ethnicity is an important step in learning about German Americans in the Midwest, but even more specifically, German Americans in southern Indiana. George Ernest, a German American immigrant in the late nineteenth century, was exposed to multiple immigrant groups during his time in southern Indiana, all of whom helped him adapt to his new life in southern Indiana. Moreover, he learned how well his own ethnicity was accepted and how previous German Americans had responded to social issues in America, all of which started with his time at Hanover College and continued throughout his movement around the Midwest and western America as he pursued ordination.

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[1] "Alumni Record," *Bulletin of Hanover College,* vol. 5, no. 11 (1913): 47.

[2] 1900 United States Census, Otoe, South Branch Township, Nebraska, digital image, s.v. "George Ernest" (1845-1921), *Ancestry.com*. https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/collections/7602/records/32812914?tid=&pid=&queryId=5f020fc7-646c-477b-b3b0-d5e73cf81869&_phsrc=WNG116&_phstart=successSource.

[3] 1870 United States Census, Hanover, Jefferson County, Indiana, digital image, s.v. "George Ernest" (1845-1921), *Ancestry.com*. https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/collections/7163/records/19296686?tid=&pid=&queryId=05fe45e9-0a29-4a7f-a1b3-2d2aebc4e66c&_phsrc=WNG118&_phstart=successSource.

As found in the 1870 United States Census, George Ernest resided with seven other individuals during his time in Hanover. The head of the household was James Arbuckle who, along with his wife, daughter, and three other individuals, was native to the United States and either born in Indiana or Kentucky. George Ernest, however, was not the only immigrant living in the dwelling. John Lyons, a twenty-seven-year-old male, had immigrated to the United States from Scotland and was also attending Hanover College.[4] Ernest and Lyons were both in the college's preparatory program at the same time, which functioned similar to a modern high school. In 1870, George Ernest was a senior and John Lyons was a junior.[5] Considering the other members Ernest lived with gives insight into who he interacted with the most and which ethnicities he was around most often. In the house directly next to theirs were two elder women who had immigrated to America from England. Also living adjacent to Ernest was an African-American family.[6] Living in such close proximity to other immigrants would have made Ernest's transfer to America easier. Not only was he close with Lyons, who was similar in age and living in the same house, but he had two other immigrants from Europe living next to him that could have helped him acclimate to America by sharing their personal immigration stories and experiences. This shared aspect of their lives undoubtedly helped Ernest find a sense of community in an unknown area. Additionally, living next to an African-American family would have exposed Ernest to Black culture and deepened his understanding of American politics during the 1870s, regardless of prior knowledge.

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[4] 1870 Census, *Ancestry.com.*

[5] *Annual Catalogue of Hanover College, Indiana, June 1870* (Madison, Indiana: Courier Steam Printing Establishment, 1870), 8-9.

[6] 1870 Census, *Ancestry.com.*

The strong presence and impact of German Americans in Ohio cannot be overlooked, especially with George Ernest's relative proximity to the "Queen City of the West," Cincinnati.[7] With increasing numbers of German and European immigrants, Cincinnati became a center for immigrants to share their crafts and blend cultures. Inhabitants of Cincinnati were forced to take a stand on the pressing issues of racism and abolition. Most German immigrants in the Midwest joined the Republican party and strongly advocated for the eradication of slavery in America.[8] Ernest likely would have taken a similar viewpoint and been open to social integration and the elimination of racism in American societies. Even though George Ernest did not arrive to America until 1867, the beliefs held by previous German immigrants would not have disappeared before his arrival. Ernest spent the years following his graduation from Hanover moving around Indiana and Iowa; thus he would have encountered similar beliefs from other German immigrants who shared the viewpoints of the German abolitionists of the 1860s.

George Ernest's movement across the United States also influenced him by bringing him into contact with other German Americans who likely all shared the same faith and social beliefs. Ernest graduated from Hanover College in 1874 and soon after moved to Dubuque, Iowa, and studied as a German theology scholar, working toward becoming a licensed Presbyterian pastor, which he achieved in 1876. He was soon after ordained in New Albany, Indiana, in 1877.[9] Ernest met and married Mary Metzger in 1876.[10] The 1880 United States Census shows that George

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[7] Mischa Honeck, *We Are the Revolutionists: German-Speaking Immigrants & American Abolitionists after 1848* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2011): 74.

[8] Honeck, *We Are the Revolutionists*; Kristen L. Anderson, "German Americans, African Americans, and the Republican Party in St. Louis, 1865-1872," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, vol. 28, no. 1 (2008): 34–51.

[9] "Alumni Record," *Bulletin of Hanover College,* vol. 5, no. 11 (1913): 47.

[10] "Indiana, Marriages, 1810-2001," digital image, s.v. "Mary K. Metzger" (1858-1914), *Ancestry.com,* https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/collections/60282/records/3078586?tid=&pid=&queryId=726fadc2-56d0-45a6-8adf-7c8389d37553&_phsrc=WNG127&_phstart=successSource.

Ernest was working as a pastor and living with Mary and their one-year-old son Edward, who passed away three years later in Brownstown, Indiana.[11] Additionally, Ernest's time as pastor of the Brownstown German Presbyterian Church included leading the funeral service of a Mrs. Elizabeth Stunkel, as recorded in a newspaper and entitled, "Death of a German Lady."[12] Twenty years later, Ernest was living in Otoe, Nebraska, with Mary and their three children—George, Maud, and Nannie—and still working as a pastor.[13] By the 1920 United States Census, retired and widower Ernest was seventy-four years old and living in Lane, Oregon, with his daughter Maud, then twenty-one years old.[14] There is little information on the late years of his life, but he passed away in 1921 at age seventy-six in Yakima, Washington.[15]

Immigrating to America opened George Ernest's eyes to vast social issues and gave him the opportunity to interact with other German Americans. Ernest was educated at Hanover Preparatory School and then Dubuque Theological Seminary to become a Presbyterian pastor.

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[11] "U.S., Find A Grave Index, 1600s-Current," digital image, s.v. "Edward Josiah Ernest" (1879-1883), *Ancestry.com*.; 1880 United States Census, Brownstown, Jackson County, Indiana, digital image, s.v. "George Ernest" (1845-1921), *Ancestry.com,* https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/collections/60525/records/60527377?tid=&pid=&queryId=3ba19bce-21be-487a-a31e-33cbd95287be&_phsrc=WNG122&_phstart=successSource.

[12] "Death of a German Lady," *Jackson County Banner*, October 25, 1877, *Newspapers.com,* https://www.newspapers.com/article/jackson-county-banner-obituary-for-eliza/167356843/.

[13] 1900 United States Census, Otoe, South Branch Township, Nebraska, digital image, s.v. "George Ernest" (1845-1921), *Ancestry.com,* https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/collections/7602/records/32812914?tid=&pid=&queryId=5f020fc7-646c-477b-b3b0-d5e73cf81869&_phsrc=WNG116&_phstart=successSource.

[14] 1920 United States Census, Lane, Eugene Ward 2 Township, Oregon, digital image, s.v. "George Ernest" (1845-1921), *Ancestry.com,* https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/collections/6061/records/105355647?tid=&pid=&queryId=77c09ef3-704f-4eab-83a5-3704510d6ac7&_phsrc=WNG114&_phstart=successSource.

[15] "Washington, U.S., Select Death Index, 1907-1960," digital image, s.v. "George Ernest" (1845-1921) *Ancestry.com,* https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/collections/6716/records/4185320?tid=&pid=&queryId=285a69bb-7ff0-4e3d-af71-191fa5afce27&_phsrc=WNG120&_phstart=successSource.

After his education, Ernest and Mary began a family and moved to other German American hubs throughout America. He likely would have opposed racism not only due to the precedent set by German Americans in Cincinnati and the Midwest in the mid-1800s, but also because of his life experiences. George Ernest was greatly impacted by his own immigration to America, the immigrants who surrounded him during his first years in America, and the German Americans who came before and set the political standard for many German immigrants, including Ernest, to follow.

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Outstanding Senior Thesis

“Everybody wants to leave somethin' behind:” Quiltmaking and Identity in Kentucky from 1800–1900

Molly Billiard

Despite the mechanization of fabric production in England in 1785, it wasn’t until after the Revolutionary War that the United States established their own commercial textile industry, much of which was located in New England.[1] Before the arrival of the power loom in North America in 1814, quiltmaking in Kentucky was a practice highly influenced by economic status and geographical location, affecting both the types of quilts created and the creation of quilts at all.[2] However, the move into the nineteenth century and all its innovations brought increasing commerce by both riverboat along the Ohio River and train, allowing more trade opportunities for what was then a largely rural state consisting mainly of frontier settlements.[3]

As Kentucky became more connected through trade and transportation, the exchange of materials and ideas influenced quiltmaking, playing a role in the development and transmission of quilt patterns and their ever-changing names. Like many other folk arts, the names of quilt patterns change, overlap, and combine—but often signify metaphor or geometry. For example, Tree of Life and Tree of Paradise are different names for the same pattern, but are also sometimes used as names for other tree-themed patterns, or are called by other tree-themed names.[4] Another example is the family of patterns known as Rob Peter and Pay Paul, or Robbing

[1] Norma R. Hollen, *Textiles* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), 2.

[2] Linda Elizabeth LaPinta, Shelly Zegart, and Frank Bennett, *Kentucky Quilts and Quiltmakers: Three Centuries of Creativity, Community, and Commerce* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2023), 10.

[3] LaPinta, Zegart, and Bennett, *Kentucky Quilts and Quiltmakers*, 10.

[4] Mary Washington Clarke and Ira Kohn, *Kentucky Quilts and Their Makers* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1976), 103.

Peter to Pay Paul.[5] These patterns are not focused on shape, but rather on the use of alternating two contrasting, overlapping colors. Within this family are even more named patterns, some incredibly variable depending on family tradition. Orange Peel, Melon Patch, The Fool's Puzzle, Around the World, and perhaps most well-known, Drunkard's Path, are all variations on this one type of quilt.[6] Rose of Sharon, Whig Rose, Democratic Rose, Ohio Rose, or simply Rose Appliqué are generally all names for the same floral motif.[7] This variation even extends to the names of quilting equipment (is it a frame or a set of frames; a hanging frame or a swinging frame; a trestle, or a horse, or a sawhorse frame?), methods, and materials.[8] All of this to say that the names associated with quiltmaking are highly variable, based not just on location and time, but on individual artists and their interpretations of patterns, religion, history, and political activity.

The nineteenth century is a time that encompasses significant shifts in American history, from westward expansion, to the Civil War, to the rise of industrialization and the advent of commercial textile production.[9] These changes directly impacted the materials, techniques, and patterns available to quilters, while the era's religious and sociopolitical currents influenced the designs themselves.

The first quilt documentation project in the world was The Kentucky Quilt Project, Inc., and unlike many places in America, Kentucky quiltmaking has never substantially slowed

[5] Clarke and Kohn, *Kentucky Quilts and Their Makers*, 104–06.

[6] Kathryne Hail Travis, "Quilts of the Ozarks," *Southwest Review*, vol. 15, no. 2 (Winter, 1929), 236–44 at 236.

[7] Clarke and Kohn, *Kentucky Quilts and Their Makers*, 108; Travis, "Quilts of the Ozarks," 239.

[8] Clarke and Kohn, *Kentucky Quilts and Their Makers*, 110.

[9] Hollen, *Textiles*, 3.

down.[10] Quiltmaking in Kentucky has always been a reflection of the state's cultural tapestry, built on generations-old traditions. The interplay of innovation and Kentucky's rural identity created a unique environment where quiltmaking thrived—both as a practical craft and as a deeply personal art form. Quilts created in Kentucky between 1800 and 1900 serve as tangible artifacts that demonstrate the internal, communal, and national identities of the women who crafted them, reflecting personal beliefs and shared traditions through their designs, materials, and construction. Beyond artistic expression and domestic labor, these quilts also serve as examples of women's broader influence in shaping society through the preservation of cultural and familial heritage as well as participation in civic and social movements.

Figure 1. Ann Eliza Belrichard Bryan, Star of Bethlehem Quilt, 1855, silk, glass, Linda Diane Reed Bofenkamp Collection, Kentucky Historical Society, https://kyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/A4F429F7-2D6B-4811-8BF8-831295190379. Reproduced by permission.

Quiltmaking was more than just domestic necessity, but also an expression of inner life where faith and personal taste found tangible form. The Star of Bethlehem pattern, also known as the Lone Star or Star of the East, first became popular in the 1830s, created by piecing together small diamonds into larger ones, which are then sewn together to create an eight-point star.[11] This is just one example of pattern names taken from Biblical passages—others including Hosanna, The Star and the Cross, Jacob's Ladder, Rose of Sharon, and Joseph's Coat.

[10] Clarke and Kohn, *Kentucky Quilts and Their Makers*, 2.

[11] Elise Shebler Roberts, *The Quilt: A History and Celebration of an American Art Form* (Minneapolis: Voyageur Press, 2010), 291.

Ann Eliza Belrichard Bryan's 1855 Star of Bethlehem quilt was handpieced, with a large, multi-colored eight-pointed center star made up of three-inch check, floral, plaid, and solid diamond pieces (fig. 1).[12] At the center of the star is a three-dimensional star formed out of clear beads with white thread (fig. 2). Diamond-shaped pieces are tacked with clear beads, and the center star is surrounded by eight, smaller, white ones inside of lime green squares. These smaller stars have clear beading at the center, and are tacked with beads and white thread at each point and green thread at each corner (fig. 3). The black background, pieced from large sections of silk, has machine-stitched stars in each piece. The ten-inch border is made from strips of the same fabric as the center star. More than just technical mastery, this quilt seems to be an exploration of artistry. Intricate beading and deliberate color choices are distinct details, especially against the contrast of the black silk background. Beyond visual splendor, this is also a deeply personal artifact, with the combination of religious pattern and meticulous craftsmanship transcending practicality to serve as a medium for faith and self-expression.

Figure 2. Bryan, Star of Bethlehem Quilt, beaded central star detail.

Figure 3. Bryan, Star of Bethlehem Quilt, detail.

[12] Ann Eliza Belrichard Bryan, *Star of Bethlehem Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, KY.

The Rose of Sharon pattern was particularly favored in Kentucky, and as such, many examples have survived into the modern day, in part due to their creation as items of value rather than everyday quilts.[13] One example is the 82 × 83¾ inch sixteen-block cotton appliqué quilt attributed to Eliza Ann Raney from 1843 (fig. 4). Raney, who learned how to quilt during her time attending St. Catherine Academy in Washington County, Kentucky, designed the quilt top in her teens. According to the Kentucky Historical Society's records, she pieced the red, green, and yellow quilt top, but left the actual act of quilting to her family's enslaved workers, who stitched the quilt at night.[14] The quilt was passed through her family, and eventually donated by a descendent.

Figure 4. Eliza Ann Raney, Rose of Sharon Quilt, ca. 1843, cotton, Leon R. Gleaves, Jr. Collection, Kentucky Historical Society, https://kyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/62A0B473-D5B1-4A7B-989F-185750835100. Reproduced by permission.

Another is Talitha Quisenberry Watts's from 1846 with a swag and rosebud border (fig. 5).[15] The blocks are pieced, the border is appliquéd, and the piece is heavily quilted overall at ten stitches an inch. The flowers are made with red, pink, and white floral-patterned fabrics, with the center made from a yellow fabric—while the leaves and swags are green fabric with a black pattern. An inscription is quilted on the third block up from the bottom left side: "Talitha/

[13] Eliza Ann Raney, *Rose of Sharon Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[14] Raney, *Rose of Sharon Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[15] Talitha Quisinberry Watts, *Rose of Sharon Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

Figure 5. Talitha Quisenberry Watts, Rose of Sharon Quilt, 1846, cotton, Rebecca Ann Davis Kennan Collection, Kentucky Historical Society, https://kyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/Webobject/F6416C5A-5345-43D7-A676-492304885199. Reproduced by permission.

Figure 6. Watts, Rose of Sharon Quilt, quilted inscription reading "Talitha/ Quisenbe/ rrys Quilt/Made 1846."

Quisenbe/ rrys Quilt/ Made 1846" (fig. 6).[16] This quilt was made before Watts's marriage in 1849, and was passed down to her son, then to his grandson, and then finally to his daughter, who donated it.[17]

Both Raney and Watts's pieces show the intersection of inner spirituality and personal expression—as well as the often-troubling social contexts in which these works were created. While they share the Rose of Sharon pattern, Raney's bold red, green, and yellow palette reflects a more traditional color scheme, while Watts's use of varying shades of red, pink, and white floral-patterned fabrics and distinctive swag and rosebud border suggests a more decorative and intricate interpretation of the design. The inscription on Watts's quilt further personalizes the work as an explicit marker of identity and authorship. These quilts, through variations on the same pattern, are both artifacts of personal artistry as well as a reminder of the intertwined histories of the distinction between "creator" and "laborer." Despite being patterns used and

[16] Watts, *Rose of Sharon Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[17] Watts, *Rose of Sharon Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

adapted by many people, there's still a sense of the creators—those who chose the designs and stitched the blankets.

Florals in general were popular subjects in 1800s Kentucky. Tulips were a common quilt motif in Kentucky, due to both the tulip poplar's reputation as the Kentucky state tree, as well as a symbol of "love for generations of brides."[18] An exceptional quilt utilizing tulip motifs is the *McCain Tulip Basket Variation Quilt*, notable for its 12,949 pieces and two thousand yards of thread (fig. 7).[19] It's made of twenty-three pieced strips of cotton, with each strip containing fourteen tulip basket variations. Each basket is composed of four diamonds, which themselves are composed of nine smaller diamonds (fig. 8).[20] The fabrics include greens, pinks, reds, oranges, and prints, and are hand pieced and quilted on an approximately $^{5}/_{16}$ inch grid.

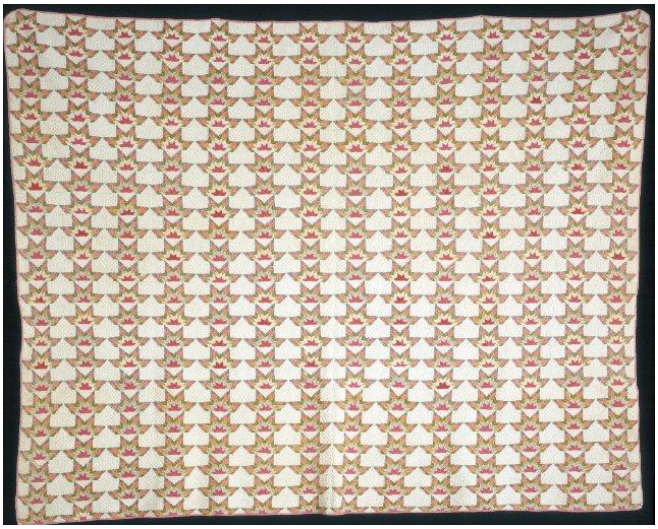

Figure 7. Millie Anderson McCain, McCain Tulip Basket Variation Quilt, 1869, cotton, Martha G. Kelly Collection, Kentucky Historical Society, https://kyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/Webobject/931D5BFC-7B0A-46F8-AFD7-123720601115. Reproduced by permission.

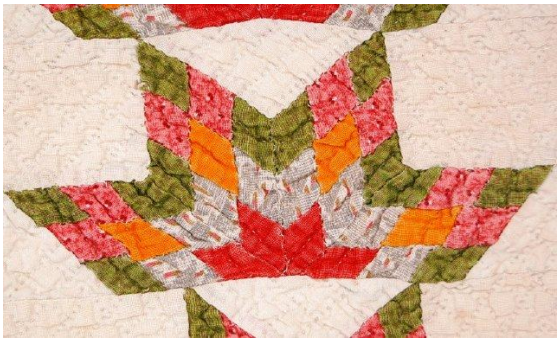

Figure 8. Millie Anderson McCain, McCain Tulip Basket Variation Quilt, tulip detail.

The quilt was made by Millie Anderson McCain prior to her marriage in 1870. McCain helped run the family farm, but was also a tailor for both men and women's clothing. She had a

[18] Clarke and Kohn, *Kentucky Quilts and Their Makers*, 11.

[19] Millie Anderson McCain, *McCain Tulip Basket Variation Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[20] McCain, *McCain Tulip Basket Variation Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

Figure 9. Lucy Kemper West. Quilt, ca. 1860, cotton, fabric, Daughters of the American Revolution Museum, Washington, D.C., https://collections.dar.org/mDetail.aspx?rID=85.6&db=objects&dir=DARCOLL. Reproduced by permission.

reputation for fancywork—or ornamental needlework beyond simple stitches—including "embroidery, crochet, drawnwork, and quilting."[21] Her granddaughter, Mabel, was quoted as saying that she never recalled seeing her grandmother's hands empty.[22]

Lucy Kemper West's appliquéd floral quilt from approximately 1860 features central blocks with yellow-footed bases from which a central stem grows into a pomegranate (also suggested to be wild persimmons), topped by a stylized carnation (fig. 9).[23] Long stems near the vases end in large, red cockscombs with yellow sepals and two smaller stems between the fruits and carnations end in red buds. The blocks are arranged so that the four carnations meet in a square at the center of the quilt, and the sets of four cockscombs have blooms that meet near the corners. According to the family, this quilt won a ribbon at the Missouri State Fair before being passed down through the family from mother to daughter until it was donated.[24]

[21] McCain, *McCain Tulip Basket Variation Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[22] McCain, *McCain Tulip Basket Variation Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[23] Lucy Kemper West, *Quilt*, Daughters of the American Revolution.

[24] West, *Quilt*, Daughters of the American Revolution.

Billiard

Aside from thematic connections, each of these quilts is an example of how quilts, whether meant for frequent use or solely for display, often were personal expressions of taste and design. Quilters chose their colors, as well as their patterns. Botanicals—often symbols for fertility, love, and resilience—are framed by carefully balanced designs. These floral choices reflect both aesthetic preferences but also cultural and personal symbolism, such as tulips culturally representing enduring love and marriage while being abstractly adapted into patterns such as McCain's. It only makes sense for these quilts to have been as cherished and passed down as they have been, physical representations of personal symbolism as well as meticulous craftsmanship.

Figure 80. Margaret Younglove Calvert, Tumbling Blocks Quilt, 1870, fabric, Kentucky Museum, https://westernkentuckyuniversity.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/E622C6D9-99BB-4931-BBFA-354136130244. Reproduced by permission.

The most difficult patterns were often set aside as "nice" quilts, only used for company or display. One type of popular quilt in nineteenth-century Kentucky was the mosaic quilt, made from small quilt blocks that create designs out of small shapes like diamonds and hexagons.[25] A rather dramatic variation of this style is Margaret Younglove Calvert's *Tumbling Blocks Quilt* (fig. 10).[26] Three-sided blocks are pieced from diamond shapes and surrounded by hexagons, which create the cross and hourglass shapes (fig. 11). The design "floats" on the blue background with outline quilting framing the hexagonal pieces. Star clusters are also quilted in

[25] LaPinta, Zegart, and Bennett, *Kentucky Quilts and Quiltmakers*, 25.

[26] Margaret Younglove Calvert, *Tumbling Blocks Quilt*, Kentucky Museum.

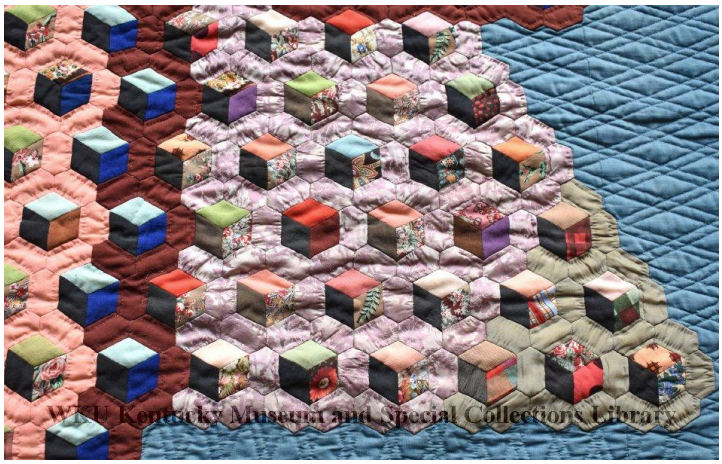

Figure 11. Margaret Younglove Calvert, Tumbling Blocks Quilt, detail.

each of the four corners (fig. 12). Curator of Western Kentucky University's Kentucky Museum, Sandra Staebell, says about the piece: "Some of our more important quilts tend to be our nineteenth-century quilts; one I consider among our stars is our 'Tumbling' Blocks Quilt…What's marvelous about this quilt is that it's not a traditional-looking quilt. It would fit right in with today's art quilts. It's rather dramatic…it truly is a very modern-looking, abstract quilt."[27]

Figure 12. Margaret Younglove Calvert, Tumbling Blocks Quilt, quilted stars detail.

The 1876 Centennial Exposition saw the exhibition of hundreds of quilts among nearly ten million visitors—the first time that number of American women had gathered to admire work on such a large scale. The Exposition was also the first time Japanese culture was introduced en masse to the American public, an exposure that led to the development and popularity of crazy quilts, which mimicked aesthetics of cracked glazes.[28] Elizabeth Thomas's crazy quilt was constructed from wool and velvet, and is composed

[27] LaPinta, Zegart, and Bennett, *Kentucky Quilts and Quiltmakers*, 25–26.

[28] International Quilt Study Center & Museum, "A Fairyland of Fabrics: Crazy Quilts," International Quilt Museum, https://web.archive.org/web/20150412002720/http://www.quiltstudy.org/exhibitions/online_exhibitions/Fairyland/crazy_quilts1.html.

Figure 13. Elizabeth Thomas, Crazy Quilt, 1870, silk, wool, Beth Patterson Collection, Kentucky Historical Society, https://kyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/D49A

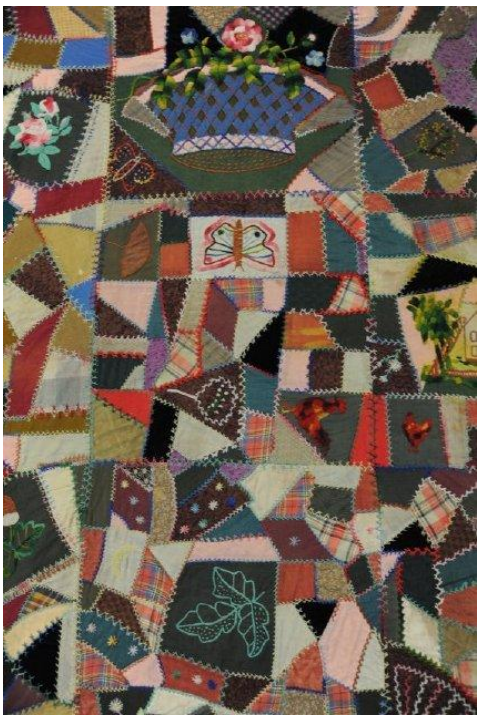

Figure 14. Thomas, Crazy Quilt, basket of flowers, butterfly, and other details.

of nine blocks surrounded by a border (fig. 13).[29] As described by the Kentucky Historical Society,

The top row of blocks has pieces embroidered with a large basket in blues and greens filled with flowers with a butterfly beneath, a cornucopia initialed with "B", a white bird, two birds in a cage, and a dog (fig. 14, 15). The center row has pieces embroidered with a butterfly, parasol, rooster, a house with a fence and trees, a white cow, and a mean [*sic*] on a horse with two dog [*sic*] (fig. 16, 17). The bottom row has pieces embroidered with flowers, leaves, a horseshoe, parasol, fan, and blue jay (fig. 18). The border has [*sic*] is embroidered with images of flowers, wheat, a bird, a woman in Colonial-style dress, and acorns (fig. 19).[30]

The top is stitched to the backing at wide intervals, and the edges are finished with a folding method. The quilt was passed through the family before being donated to the Historical Society.[31]

[29] Elizabeth Thomas, *Crazy Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[30] Thomas, *Crazy Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[31] Thomas, *Crazy Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

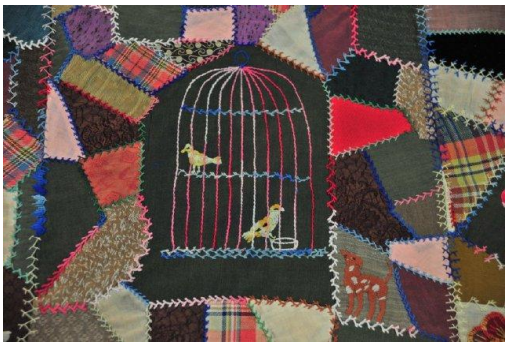

Figure 15. Thomas, Crazy Quilt, birds in cage.

Figure 16. Thomas, Crazy Quilt, roosters.

Measuring in at 66 × 63 inches, this quilt would have been a significant effort, combining embroidery with piecing and quilting.[32] Imagery ranging from birds and butterflies to a house, flowers, and a horseshoe suggest both nature and domestic life, with other elements like the parasol and fan gesturing to aesthetic tastes of the era. It highlights how

Figure 17. Thomas, Crazy Quilt, man riding horse with two dogs.

Figure 18. Thomas, Crazy Quilt, bluebird.

Figure 19. Thomas, Crazy Quilt, woman in colonial dress.

[32] Thomas, *Crazy Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

quiltmakers drew inspiration from their surroundings as well as innovative styles, blending them with traditional techniques.

More than aesthetic achievement, Thomas's quilt serves as a personal record of time, place, and interests—a testament to her creativity as well as a demonstration of her skill. The embroidered motifs capture insight into the world around her: elements of daily life and cultural influences that she would've been surrounded by, such as birds, butterflies, flowers, and domestic symbols but also fashionable accessories of time. The incorporation of different embroidery techniques alongside intricate piecing indicates her technical ability in both decorative and structural elements. Thomas's personalization of the crazy quilt to contain imagery relating to her life turns this piece into a visual narrative of her experiences and artistic vision.

Beyond practicality, quiltmaking is also a medium for spirituality and personal expression. Whether through symbolism of patterns like the Star of Bethlehem and Rose of Sharon, through botanical motifs, or through abstract designs and embroidery—these works capture the quilters' inner worlds, revealing their values, creativity, and identities in ways that extend beyond their roles as functional textiles.

Careful selections of patterns, colors, and symbols are part of the connection between artistic choices and preferences, combining personal choices and the labor-intensive processes of piecing, quilting, and embellishing. Simultaneously, these quilts reflect the social and historical contexts in which they were created—highlighting the agency of their makers as well as the contributions of unnamed laborers, such as enslaved workers, whose craftsmanship also shaped these heirlooms.

"Everybody wants to leave somethin' behind"

In 1907, Kentucky native and women's rights advocate Eliza Carolina Calvert Obenchain (under the pen name Eliza Calvert Hall) produced her first collection of short stories titled Aunt Jane of Kentucky, narrated by an elderly quiltmaker recounting her life to a younger woman.[33] In the story "Aunt Jane's Album," the title character shares the stories behind some of the many quilts she created over the course of her life, and summarizes her reason as to why she devoted this time and effort:

> I've been a hard worker all my life but 'most all my work has been the kind that 'perishes with the usin',' as the Bible says. That's the discouragin' thing about a woman's work…I've always had the name o' bein' a good housekeeper, but when I'm dead and gone there ain't anybody goin' to think o' the floors I've swept, and the tables I've scrubbed, and the old clothes I've patched, and the stockin's I've darned…But when one o' my grandchildren or great-grandchildren sees one o' these quilts, they'll think about Aunt Jane, and, wherever I am then, I'll know I ain't forgotten. I reckon everybody wants to leave somethin' behind that'll last after they're dead and gone. It don't look like it's worth while to live unless you can do that.[34]

As a body of work, Aunt Jane discusses the problems of women using imagery of domestic arts, such as quilting. At a time when Obenchain was observing the "quietness" of female expression, she particularly identified quiltmaking as a means of preserving lineage. For example, in a time when women's inheritance was gained more through celebration of marriage rather than property

[33] Eliza Calvert Hall, *Aunt Jane of Kentucky* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1907; Project Gutenberg, 2008), https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/26728.

[34] Eliza Calvert Hall, Bonnie Jean Cox, and Beulah Strong, *Aunt Jane of Kentucky* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1907), 78.

upon death, wedding quilts often had the bride's maiden name rather than her married name.[35] Quiltmaking was not just a way for women to express their personal beliefs, but as a way to ensure those beliefs were remembered.

The eighteenth century rise of the "cult of domesticity," defined by Roderick Kiracofe and Mary Elizabeth Johnson in *The American Quilt: A History of Cloth and Comfort, 1750-1950*, was a "self-conscious sentimentality, probably in relation to the great religious awakening that swept the country" that led to women embracing the idea of "sensibility," or moral refinement.[36] Moving into the nineteenth century, this sensibility led to the creation of textiles focused on human connection and the nature of home, family, and friendship. These later works placed a greater emphasis on personal storytelling about domestic life through patterns, inscriptions, and imagery in order to reflect different relationships and serve as testaments to memory, lineage, and social bonds.

Figure 20. Elizabeth Roseberry Mitchell, Graveyard Quilt, 1843, cotton and paper, Kentucky Historical Society, https://kyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/90C9CB5A-6327-42F0-8085-383648601656. Reproduced by permission.

Memory and mourning quilts became popular at this time, with the former created in remembrance of important people and events, and the latter created in commemoration to deceased friends, family members, political leaders, and military heroes. The most famous of these memorial quilts was created by

[35] LaPinta, Zegart, and Bennett, *Kentucky Quilts and Quiltmakers*, 8.

[36] Roderick Kiracofe and Mary Elizabeth Johnson Huff, *The American Quilt: A History of Cloth and Comfort, 1750–1950* (New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 1993), 57.

Elizabeth Roseberry Mitchell, who at the time lived in Lewis County, Kentucky.[37] The Kentucky Graveyard Quilt is an 88 × 77 inch appliqué cotton quilt (fig. 20). Mitchell began designing and creating the quilt top in 1836 in Ohio when her two-year-old son passed away. The family moved to Kentucky, where droughts caused crop failure and rising debts. Then, in 1843, another of her sons who remained in Ohio died at nineteen, and that same year she began stitching the piece.

Figure 21. Mitchell, Graveyard Quilt, basted graves outside of graveyard.

A brown checkerboard with alternating star patterns, the quilt depicts her deceased sons' coffins at the rear of a graveyard, with coffins for herself, her husband, and their surviving children basted outside the gate of the cemetery (fig. 21).[38] As the members of her family passed away, she moved the coffins from the gate into the graveyard to join the others. The graveyard is enclosed by a paling fence and has green leafed trees with pink buds within its confines (fig. 22).

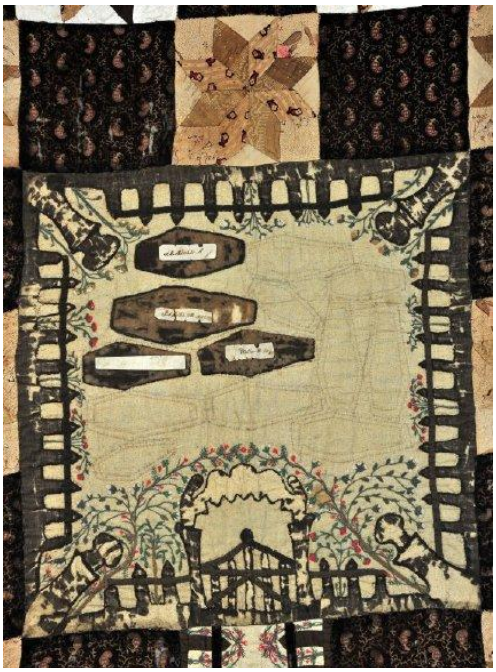

Figure 22. Mitchell, Graveyard Quilt, inside of graveyard.

The coffins each have their own papers with family names written in script and attached (fig. 23).[39] However, only four were ever moved, with Mitchell's

[37] Elizabeth Roseberry Mitchell, *Graveyard Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[38] Nina Mitchell Boggs, "Old Days, Old Ways," n.d., Kentucky Historical Society, 3.

[39] Boggs, "Old Days, Old Ways," 4.

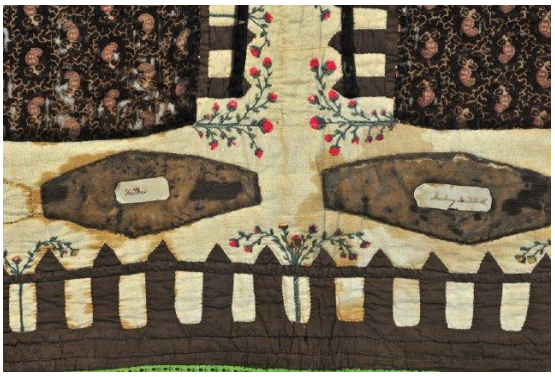

Figure 23. Mitchell, Graveyard Quilt, labeled coffins.

own coffin being the third, and the fourth moved by her daughter Sarah.[40] This act of continuation creates a genealogical map that visually connected past and present family members—particularly significant in an era where for most Americans, written records were sparse and family histories were conveyed orally.[41] Mourning quilts functioned as a tangible means of preserving and transmitting heritage, as well as a reflection of how quiltmakers viewed their roles within their families. Beyond commemoration, quilts like Mitchell's were affirmations of familial connections and a part of family histories.

Another type of quilt that became popular in the nineteenth century were friendship quilts, also known as album, signature, or presentation quilts. Collaborative efforts, these quilts were created by groups of women (members of a church, school groups, townspeople, and circles of friends) who would each make and sign a quilt block, which were then all assembled into a single quilt gifted to a community member experiencing a major life event such as a marriage or move.[42] Where album quilts in Mid-Atlantic states tended to be more elaborate in design, those created in Kentucky were often less expensive to create. The greatest demand for friendship quilts was from 1840 to 1875, the same time frame that settlers traveled west on the Oregon Trail, although there was a resurgence in the late nineteenth century.[43]

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[40] Elizabeth Roseberry Mitchell, *Graveyard Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[41] Thomas R. Ford, "Kentucky in the 1880s: An Exploration in Historical Demography," *The Kentucky Review*, vol. 3, no. 2 (1982): 42–58 at 44.

[42] LaPinta, Zegart, and Bennett, *Kentucky Quilts and Quiltmakers*, 21.

[43] Linda Otto Lipset, *Remember Me: Women & Their Friendship Quilts*, 18.

One such friendship quilt was created by women from a Presbyterian Church in Jefferson County, Kentucky (fig. 24).[44] The pattern is arranged into twelve quilt blocks, with each block made of two nine-patch blocks alternating with two half-square triangle blocks, which were then divided into fourths. Names, Bible verses, and small illustrations are embroidered onto the quilt using red thread (fig. 25). These names include the makers of the quilt, as well as their families—and in some cases, other church attendees such as the Sunday school class.[45] The illustrations range from initials to depictions of pitchers and homes (fig. 26).

Figure 24. Jefferson County Presbyterian Church, Album Quilt, 1889, cotton, KHS Museum Collection, Kentucky Historical Society, https://kyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/3AB69945-DFD9-4833-AC40-246950032776. Reproduced by permission.

Figure 25. Jefferson County Presbyterian Church, Album Quilt, embroidered signatures.

Another from 1860 was created by the women of the Episcopal Church in Frankfort, Kentucky, which was raffled for aid for yellow fever sufferers (fig.

Figure 26. Jefferson County Presbyterian Church, Album Quilt, embroidered illustrations.

[44] Jefferson County Presbyterian Church, *Album Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[45] Jefferson County Presbyterian Church, *Album Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

Figure 27. Frankfort, Kentucky Episcopal Church, 1860, silk, Blanche Green Collection, Kentucky Historical Society, https://kyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/Webobject/C3C12283-557B-4464-9564-029910204150. Reproduced by permission.

27).[46] The quilt, a variation of a honeycomb mosaic, was won by a book binder named Austin Kendall, who gave it to his daughter Blanche as a wedding gift. The blanket is made of hexagonal pieces of silk that are pieced together in a rainbow tile pattern, with the center of each diamond containing four cream pieces embroidered with white daisies.

More collaborative quilting efforts corresponded with increasing intensity preferences in the color of fabrics, such as Prussian blue and the use of overdyed colors to create ombres, in part because of the invention of the first synthetic organic dye.[47] This also meant the availability of fabrics was expanded because silks, wool, and brocades retain aniline dyes more evenly than cotton.[48] Where ornate stitching was generally the style preference pre-Civil War, this era saw a shift into quilts with blocks nestled together, especially as the introduction of the sewing machine meant that most women could make complex quilts from store-bought fabrics.[49]

The use of quilting to promote social reform gained traction particularly after the Civil War with the founding of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1874 and the subsequent use of the Drunkard's Path pattern and the use of the letter "T" as a symbol of the Prohibition

[46] Frankfort, Kentucky, Episcopal Church, *Friendship Quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[47] LaPinta, Zegart, and Bennett, *Kentucky Quilts and Quiltmakers*, 22.

[48] Anthony S. Travis, "Perkin's Mauve: Ancestor of the Organic Chemical Industry," *Technology and Culture*, vol. 31, no. 1 (1990): 51–82 at 51.

[49] Travis, "Perkin's Mauve," 78.

Figure 28. Sister Mary Settles, Drunkard's Path Quilt, 1890, fabric, cotton, Shaker Village of Pleasant Hill. Reproduced by permission.

cause.[50] For example, Sister Mary Settles from the Shaker Village of Pleasant Hill created a Drunkard's Path Quilt in 1890, during a time in which Shakers were increasingly wary of alcohol and supportive of Prohibition (fig. 28).[51] The quilt, originally lime green, shows just one version of the Drunkard's Path's winding route, which connects to the border of the piece.

These examples demonstrate the role quiltmaking played in fostering communal connections. Whether created to mark significant life events, fundraise for charitable causes, or promote social reform, these quilts reflect a collective spirit. Women were able to engage in social, spiritual, and political discourse—with the inclusion of names and personal illustrations linking makers to recipients in a deeply personal way that created records of communal life. It also allowed for quilting to reach beyond personal ties, serving as a vehicle for advocacy and moral expression, sitting at the intersection between craft and cause, and uniting individuals around shared ideals.

An additional quilt type known for their community and national connections are presentation quilts. Presentation quilts are, broadly, those made to commemorate an occasion, and tend to be more for ceremonial than daily use.[52] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

[50] Roberts, *The Quilt*, 79.

[51] LaPinta, Zegart, and Bennett, *Kentucky Quilts and Quiltmakers*, 64.

[52] LaPinta, Zegart, and Bennett, *Kentucky Quilts and Quiltmakers*, 56.

quiltmakers typically appliquéd these in the Broderie Perse style, which incorporates English and French block- and roller-printed cotton and was one of the earliest quilting trends in America.[53]

The Henry Clay estate, Ashland, is the home of two Kentucky presentation quilts created for the politician who represented Kentucky in both the Senate and House of Representatives.[54] One of these is the *Henry Clay Presentation Quilt*, created between 1842 and 1855 (fig. 29).[55] The creator is thought to be Mary Allen Houston, with the quilt presented as a gift from Clay's wife Lucretia Hart Clay to Maria Crittenden, the wife of Clay supporter and Senator John Jordan Crittenden.[56] The quilt has thirty-one panels of embroidered, appliquéd, and stuffed pastel scenes showcasing people, animals, and flowers, with the center of the quilt featuring a needlepoint portrait of Clay himself (fig. 30, 31).

Figure 29. Mary Allen Houston, Henry Clay Presentation Quilt, ca. 1850, fabric, thread, chintz, cotton, Kentucky Museum Library Special Collections, Kentucky Museum, Western Kentucky University, https://westernkentuckyuniversity.pastperfectonline.com/Webobject/7B . Reproduced by permission.

Ashland is also home to a political quilt intended to celebrate Clay, the *Henry Clay Quilt*, created by Virginia

[53] Dilys Blum and Jack L. Lindsey, "Nineteenth-Century Appliqué Quilts," *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 85, no. 363/364 (Autumn 1989): 1–45 at 3.

[54] Celia Oliver, "Value in the Eye of the Maker: Masterpiece Quilts in Nineteenth Century America," *American Quilt Collections: Antique Quilt Masterpieces* (Tokyo: Nihon Vogue, 1997), 1–29 at 3.

[55] Mary Allen Houston, *Henry Clay Presentation Quilt*, Kentucky Museum.

[56] Houston, *Henry Clay Presentation Quilt*.

Figure 30. Houston, Henry Clay Presentation Quilt, floral and faunal details.

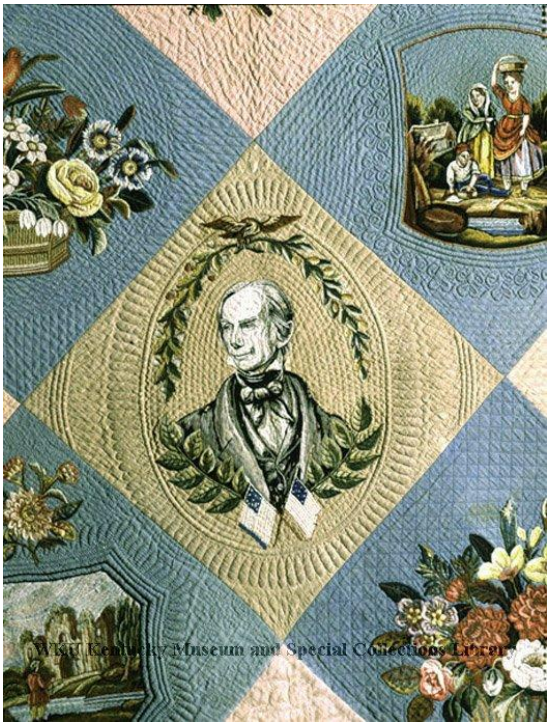

Figure 31. Houston, Henry Clay Presentation Quilt, Henry Clay needlepoint portrait.

Mason Ivey in 1860 (fig. 32).[57] This show quilt has raised images of animals and flowers, as well as a representation of a statue of Henry Clay that she copied from an engraving in *Harper's Magazine*. The borders are weaving vines, with grapes and flowers sprouting off of them. In the center is a large bouquet of flowers, surrounded by smaller bushes and stuffed details of plants and horses (fig. 33). The depiction of the politician has a quilted label reading, "Statue of Henry Clay." This work would have been a significant undertaking, partially due to the thin cotton it was quilted on, but also due to the fine, stuffed details and small florals.

In these instances, quilts are demonstrably more than just decorative or commemorative objects, but a medium used to express loyalty, support, and admiration of political figures. Just like their makers, these pieces of art had a role in fostering political relationships, such as the one between Lucretia Hart Clay and Maria Crittenden, as well as conveying shared political values. Presentation quilts were symbols of political identity, allowing women—

[57] Virginia Mason Ivey, *Figural and Floral Quilt*, Speed Art Museum.

who were otherwise excluded from formal political participation—to contribute to the political discourse of their time via tangible representations of allegiance.

Another form of quilt known for their use in national expressions are whitework quilts. These quilts, constructed from white, ivory, or ecru cotton, linen, or wool fabrics, were particularly popular in Kentucky.[58] They often used "stuffed" motifs, creating designs raised in relief such as flowers, animals, and abstract embellishments. These intricate designs and use of extra cotton batting to create high-relief motifs meant that they were often created for special occasions. As Mary Washington Clarke states in a survey of Kentucky quiltmakers in the 1970s, these quilts were "archived by elaboration of the process usually considered secondary in pieced quilts, wherein the artistry is expressed in combinations of colored pieces rather than the relatively mechanical process of attaching top and interlining to backing."[59] Of course, these works served as utilitarian textiles and an expression of

Figure 32. Virginia Mason Ivey, Henry Clay Quilt, 1860, fabric, cotton, Speed Art Museum, https://www.speedmuseum.org/kentucky-quilt/figural-and-floral-quilt-2/. Reproduced by permission.

Figure 33. Ivey, Henry Clay Quilt, border and statue details.

[58] LaPinta, Zegart, and Bennett, *Kentucky Quilts and Quiltmakers*, 16.

[59] Clarke and Kohn, *Kentucky Quilts and Their Makers*, 91.

personal taste through their symbols, but they were also used to express political opinions.

In the early nineteenth century, Kentucky women often used whitework quilts as means of, as former president of the American Quilt Study Group phrased it, "expressing support of patriotic efforts to reduce dependence on imported British textiles, emphasizing their new identity of American independence."[60] One of the more obvious examples of this is Rebecca Smith Washington's wholecloth whitework quilt, which she began work on around 1805 and completed in 1812 (fig. 34).[61] A repetitive diamond pattern known as a "bird's eye" effect is framed by a medallion surrounded by grapes and their leaves (fig. 35). The outermost border features more quilted leaves, the middle contains fronds, and the innermost border has acorns and leaves (fig. 36, 37). The space between the borders has another bird's eye motif, and there is stippling—stitching in curving shapes that don't

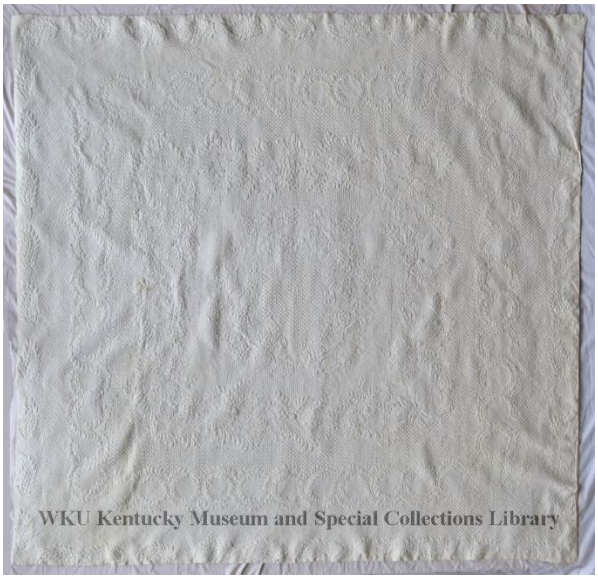

Figure 34. Rebecca Smith Washington, Whitework wholecloth quilt, 1805, fabric, Kentucky Museum Library Special Collections, Kentucky Museum, Western Kentucky University, https://westernkentuckyuniversity.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/9EDC41B2-27D5-4D96-A564-791426601680. Reproduced by permission.

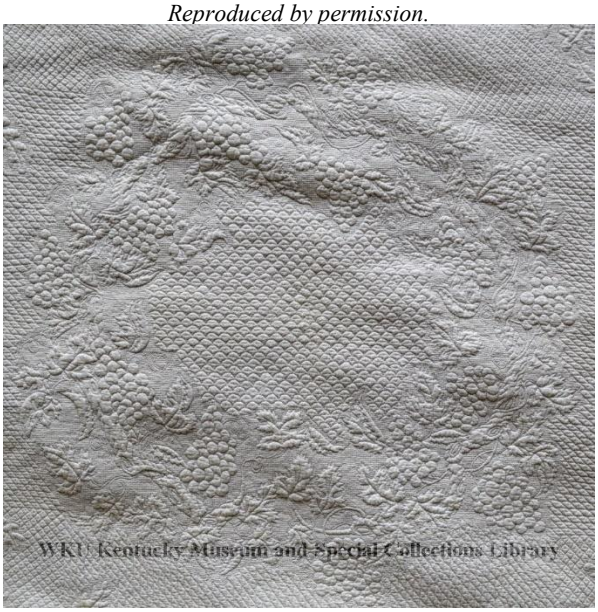

Figure 35. Washington, Whitework wholecloth quilt, bird's eye detail.

[60] LaPinta, Zegart, and Bennett, *Kentucky Quilts and Quiltmakers*, 15.

[61] Rebecca Smith Washington, *Whitework wholecloth quilt*, Kentucky Museum.

Figure 36. Washington, Whitework wholecloth quilt, stuffed acorns and leaves detail.

Figure 37. Washington, Whitework wholecloth quilt, stuffed grapes and leaves detail.

touch or intersect—throughout the piece, which was hand-quilted at approximately sixteen stitches per inch. Rebecca Smith Washington was the wife of Whiting Washington, who was a distant cousin of George Washington. This quilt was created in Kentucky, but ended up in Washington's Virginia home, Mount Vernon, until the 1960s.[62]

Figure 38. Virginia Mason Ivey, A Representation of the Fair Ground Near Russellville, Kentucky, 1856, 1857, fabric, cotton, National Museum of American History, https://www.si.edu/object/1856-1857-virginia-iveys-russellville-fair-quilt%3Anmah_556355. Reproduced by permission.

One of the most famous examples of Kentucky whitework quilting is Virgina Mason Ivey's *A Representation of the Fair Ground Near Russellville, Kentucky, 1856* (fig.

[62] LaPinta, Zegart, and Bennett, *Kentucky Quilts and Quiltmakers*, 17.

38).[63] She was also the creator of the *Henry Clay Quilt*. This piece features fairgoers, carriages, and livestock circling under trees around the fair's exhibition tents (fig. 39). In *Quilts in America*, Patsy and Myron Orlofsky calculated that it contained somewhere around 1,200,600 stitches in both its decorative reliefs and the stippling effect of the background quilting.[64] Ivey's niece, Ida B. Lewis, wrote that she "never had any lessons in art—just her own talent and creative instinct. She loved beauty in many forms and had a most attractive personality and was quite a pretty woman."[65] This love of beauty is clearly

Figure 39. Ivey, A Representation of the Fair Ground Near Russellville, Kentucky, 1856, tree and horse detail.

Figure 40. Ivey, A Representation of the Fair Ground Near Russellville, Kentucky, 1856, horse and carriage detail.

[63] Clarke and Kohn, *Kentucky Quilts and Their Makers*, 91.

[64] Patsy Orlofsky and Myron Orlofsky, *Quilts in America* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), 32.

[65] Virginia Mason Ivey, *A Representation of the Fair Ground Near Russellville, Kentucky, 1856*, Kentucky Historical Society.

displayed in the details of the quilt, which depict the smallest minutiae of the event, such as fence rails, men shaking hands, wheel spokes, and saddles on the backs of horses (fig. 40, 41).

Figure 41. Ivey, A Representation of the Fair Ground Near Russellville, Kentucky, 1856, corner detail.

The national significance of whitework quilts lies in their ability to take artistry and domestic labor into expressions of national identity—whether through the use of domestic textiles or as a narrative tool to document and celebrate civic life. More than aesthetic expressions, they are visual records of shared political and cultural identity, emphasizing self-reliance as well as distinct communal and national pride and connection.

It was estimated by Charles J. Stillé in 1866 that women's contributions through the US Sanitary Commission during the U.S. Civil War totaled to around twenty-five million dollars.[66] The original purpose of the commission was to investigate hospital and troop sanitary conditions, but expanded to include distribution of donations from women's society relief efforts, which surpassed those of the federal government.[67] In the way of quilting, women's efforts included both the creation of quilts as well as the organization of Sanitary Fairs in large cities that helped raise funds for purchasing supplies. These fairs served as both individual and collective experiences—allowing women to create decorative, less utilitarian quilts, but with the same

[66] Charles J. Stillé, *History of the United States Sanitary Commission, Being the General Report of Its Work during the War of the Rebellion* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1866), 39.

[67] Stillé, *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, 47.

patriotic goals as their companions. Additionally, these gatherings allowed the sharing of techniques, patterns, and artistic practices.

In 1860, Olivia Shryock, sister-in-law of architect Gideon Shryock, created a silk and cotton *Log Cabin Courthouse Steps* variation quilt (fig. 42).[68] The log cabin pattern gained significant popularity during the Civil War, being seen as a connection to Abraham Lincoln's 1860 campaign that linked him to his rural Kentucky roots.[69] This quilt is made of fifty-four multicolored and patterned silk and ribbon blocks, and is six blocks wide by nine blocks tall. The center of each block features two strips of black (or black with white pinstripes) silk, with a strip of coral red silk between them (fig. 43).

Figure 42. Olivia Shryock, Log Cabin Courthouse Steps, 1860, silk/cotton, Kentucky Historical Society. https://kyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/D71F82CE-BC13-458A-B17F-245724480407. Reproduced by permission.

Even outside of the war effort, women continued creating. For example, in 1812, Union soldiers appropriated the first floor of Mary James Ratcliffe's home, confining her to the second story. During this time, she and her two sisters created a 76¾ × 68 inch version of a Texas Star quilt (fig. 44).[70] This pattern is identical to the Star of Bethlehem, with the name

Figure 43. Olivia Shryock, Log Cabin Courthouse Steps, detail.

[68] Olivia Shryock, *Log Cabin Courthouse Steps*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[69] Shryock, *Log Cabin Courthouse Steps*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[70] Mary James Ratcliffe, *Texas Star quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

Figure 44. Mary James Ratcliffe, Texas Star Quilt, 1862, silk, wool, Kentucky Historical Society, https://kyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/Webobject/33CFDC83-E806-4757-8F62-722444720746. Reproduced by permission.

change in memory of the Alamo and as a symbol of Texas statehood—just one example of how the meaning of patterns can shift over time, or when utilized for different reasons.[71] The stars are separated by hexagons, and themselves form a hexagon surrounded by striped yellow, green, pink, and black borders. The pink silk binding was attached via machine sewing and connected to a green wool blend background.[72] Despite the use of a sewing machine, the quilt was pieced and quilted by hand with around nine stitches per inch, with threads alternating to match the color of the stars. The colors, in retrospect, are now considered the contemporary colors of the late nineteenth century.[73] This quilt was passed down to Ratcliffe's daughter, Mary K. Guthrie Wheeler, wife of Congressman Charles K. Wheeler.[74]

Quiltmaking during this period was as varied as it always is—acts of solidarity, but also statements of identity. They bridged the intimate and national, allowing an expression of loyalty, resourcefulness, and artistic vision in service of a larger cause. Traditional designs were also adapted to have contemporary meaning—again, a demonstration of innovation and shared purposes. Women's role in shaping the nation was not solely through artistry and homemaking,

[71] Travis, "Quilts of the Ozarks," 234.

[72] Ratcliffe, *Texas Star quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

[73] LaPinta, Zegart, and Bennett, *Kentucky Quilts and Quiltmakers*, 62.

[74] Ratcliffe, *Texas Star quilt*, Kentucky Historical Society.

but through civic engagement and cultural influence. In a way, these quilts—regardless of original purpose—commemorate the resilience and ingenuity of their creators in service of both community and country.

The tendency to associate quiltmaking and other examples of "women's work" with "craft" over "art" is one that's been questioned more as the effects of patriarchal standards and colonization are discussed within historical fields. While we can look back at these works and quantify them as art, the women creating them—especially rural women—would not themselves have considered themselves artists for these quilts alone. The social convention of modesty would have forbidden praise for material objects such as these, and even in the diaries of women at the time, comments focus more on technical descriptions rather than expressions of pride.[75] This is a fact evermore present in Kentucky, where illiteracy rates were high and formal, higher education opportunities were limited. As summarized by Lowell Hayes Harrison in A New History of Kentucky, "The great majority of Kentucky's women lived and died in obscurity."[76]

It's important to remember that historically, quiltmakers were not always striving to create works of art. Many times, they were copies of existing designs or were just a way to create warm blankets. However, not all paintings are great, original works of art either. In the 19th century, quilts were both functional and decorative, personal and abstract. They certainly satisfied a need for warmth and decoration, but were also reflections of their creators' internal, communal, and national identities. Best said by the narrator of Aunt Jane,

[75] Oliver, "Value in the Eye of the Maker," 3.

[76] Lowell Hayes Harrison and James C. Klotter, *A New History of Kentucky* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 146.

> Patchwork? Ah, no! It was memory, imagination, history, biography, joy, sorrow, philosophy, religion, romance, realism, life, love, and death; and over all, like a halo, the love of the artist for his work and the soul's longing for earthly immortality. No wonder the wrinkled fingers smoothed them as reverently as we handle the garments of the dead.[77]

[77] Hall, *Aunt Jane of Kentucky*, 82.

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