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Our Mission Statement

The Burkhardt Review is a peer-reviewed, interdisciplinary history journal run by the graduate students of Ball State University’s Department of History. The journal aims to publish four to six articles every year as well as the best papers presented at the annual Ball State Student History Conference each spring, as determined by the faculty conference review board. Papers submitted as articles will be reviewed and selected by the members of the graduate student-run editorial board.

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Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

The *Burkhardt Review* was established to give voice to graduate-level scholars and to provide a space for the discussion of their research. Now in its second year, our journal is continuing that mission by including both peer-reviewed articles and winning papers from the Ball State Student History Conference in a single volume. In both of these sections of this volume, the authors are students engaging with the broader scholarship by challenging traditionally held narratives and ideas, such as the lack of inclusion of nonhuman animals in historical research and the role of gender concepts in revolutionary movements. We are proud to be the home of such bold scholarship.

Through interdisciplinary approaches, the peer-reviewed articles both argue for the inclusion of underrepresented groups and themes in historical narratives. In the article "Animals as Social Actors or Objects of Exploitation," Nicholas Miller analyzes the historiography of animal studies within the discipline of history and argues that with society's current blurring of the human-animal relationship, historical research needs to consider nonhuman animals as integral parts of the narrative. In the article "We've Got to Get Ourselves Back to the Garden: Counterculture Environmentalism and American Popular Music," Nathan Rivers examines how the formation of Earth Day led to a popularizing of the 1960s counterculture environmental concerns and demonstrates how those concerns were integrated into popular music. Using interdisciplinary approaches, both Miller and Rivers are able to shed light on areas that have been overlooked by traditional scholarship.

The Ball State Student History Conference receives submissions from undergraduate and graduate students from local and national institutions, a select number of which are chosen to present at the conference. Of those presenting in 2019, one undergraduate paper and one graduate paper received awards and are included in this volume. The undergraduate winner is Natalie Bradshaw for her paper, "The Degradation of Working-Class Status in Industrial France," which connects the rise of industrialization with the devaluing of skilled labor and the emergence of a distinct working class in nineteenth century France. The graduate winner is former *Burkhardt Review* editor Katy Evans for her paper, "Construyendo la Mujer Nueva: The Image and Reality of the Revolutionary 'New Woman,'" which analyzes the lack of gender equality, due to cultural concepts, in the 1960s and 1970s revolutionary movement in Nicaragua. The *Burkhard Review* is honored to be the venue for promoting the research presented at the Ball State Student History Conference.

On behalf of the editorial staff I would like to thank the Ball State University faculty for their support and guidance, particularly our faculty advisor Dr. Abel Alves. We also would like to thank the Burkhardt family, without whom this journal would not be possible.

JB Bilbrey
Editor-in-Chief
April 2019

Animals as Social Actors or Objects of Exploitation

Nicholas Miller
Ball State University

Beginning with the earliest writings of civilization up until the eighteenth century, the focus of the historical narrative has been on the major political contenders, leaders of nations, and catastrophic wars. However, by the beginning of the twentieth century the focus shifted from concentrating on the "movers and shakers of the world" to an inclusion of average people and marginalized groups. According to Daniel Woolf's *A Global History of History*, "…the modern 'discipline'…of history has had for about 150 years a very clear set of professional codes and practices, generally understood by most, though of late challenged by alternative practices and differing senses of what is a proper subject for the historian."[1] No longer is the history of the world solely focused on diplomatic relationships between nations. Instead it is now exceedingly more holistic in how society is viewed, expressed, and developed, with an emphasis on what the general public has to offer to humanity's story. Regardless, to say this approach, which has only affected the quiet voices in history or the underrepresented people in bygone times, is sorely missing the point. This revolutionary shift in historical ideology not only affected the agency of humans in our collective past, but also members of the animal kingdom as well. Animals are represented in artwork, legal proceedings, myths, legends, movies, novels, and even music, and as the historical narrative progresses, the chasm between human and animal is slowly being bridged via literature, metaphor, and changes

[1] Daniel Woolf, *A Global History of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 11.

in popular opinion. In addition, while the human-animal relationship is ever present the representation and treatment of animals is continually shifting—this relationship is an organic process filled with dynamic transactions. Nonetheless, this theoretical argument suggests that it is possible to imagine that animals might have a point of view regarding history, and if they do, we should be interpreting that history alongside the other historically underrepresented groups.

The following historiography consists of an examination of animal studies in the discipline of history. When defining this polemical topic, it is important to recognize that the field of animal studies is not based solely within the confines of historical inquiry. Many sources including folkloric beliefs, agricultural motifs, and texts on animal rights advocacy weigh in on the topic of the animal/human binary; however, the interdisciplinary cross section of this field is rife with dissension. This paper will address important issues concerning the increasing denaturalization of the animal/human binary—the “otherness” of animals in relation to humans—and will support the idea that it is possible to include nonhuman animals in historical accounts. Inclusion of nonhuman subjects in the historical narrative augments our limited—but expanding—knowledge of the past. Former portrayals of the dualistic nature of animals and humans will be addressed in this paper, but discussion of these antiquated portrayals will be accompanied by considering other up and coming perspectives regarding nonhuman animals. Theoretical assumptions will rely heavily on postmodern and postcolonial fields of thought with an emphasis on animal rights and the animal-human relationship and its representation within the discipline.

The hazard with equating this idea of otherness to animals is that it perpetuates the existing divide and naturalization of the animal/human binary. This idea can be associated with Jacques Derrida's emphasis on the notion in his essay *In The Animal That Therefore I Am*, as he attacks the expression "the animal" as a "catch-all concept" used to "designate every living thing that is held not to be human."[2] Perhaps the main issue with allowing an "animal point of view" to history would mean that humanity is realizing that perhaps they are not exceptional and are conceivably just another piece of the biosphere. Key to understanding animals' current place in relation to our own in this shared environment begins with our concept of dominion and hegemony over other species that has been seriously questioned ever since the advent of Darwinian thought.[3] If human history is reliant upon the natural order, that should require that the history of animals is necessary for our history also. When Darwin published his book *On the Origin of Species,* he not only opened the floodgates of a controversy regarding the religious paradigm of the time, he also ushered in the possibility that humans are not unique in their mental capacities. More likely than not, we are more similar to other nonhuman animals than we recognize.

Usually when we consider history, we look at records, documents, and more recently oral histories and memoirs. However, when considering a species that does not keep their own records or have written language, there is a question

[2] Jacques Derrida, "The Animal That Therefore I Am (More to Follow)," *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 2 (2000), 402.

[3] David Gary Shaw, "A Way With Animals," *History and Theory* 52, no. 4 (2013): 2, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24542955. The progenitor of this idea is considered Erasmus Darwin, Charles's grandfather.

of what could be considered historical documentation. For instance, the human-animal binary is a fascinating topic and has been of interest to humans for millennia. It is not in the scope of this paper to discuss animal depictions throughout the centuries of history, and so for the purpose of brevity and simplicity this paper will focus on broader concepts such as zooarchaeological remains, legal trials, and a few other associated concepts. Looking at these broad categories allows for a more general periphery of nonhuman animal history and avoids specific locus of interest—such as cats in Egypt or horses from Eurasian steppe civilizations. Furthermore, by avoiding the otherness in human history we can concentrate on the similarities between our species, others and our shared space in the natural environment. One way to concentrate on the analogous relationship of human and animals is to step outside the discipline of history and approach it another way.

In the fundamental text book *Zooarchaeology*, Elizabeth J Reitz and Elizabeth S. Wing define zooarchaeology as "the study of animal remains excavated from archaeological sites. The goal of zooarchaeology is to understand the relationship between humans and their environment(s), especially between humans and other animal populations."[4] This mandatory text of most American archaeozoological classrooms expresses that connection between humans and "other" animal populations. Throughout the book Reitz and Wing explain that humans are biologically, ethologically, and ecologically similar to other animals that they research and are examining in the field. Not only that, the field of

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[4] Elizabeth J. Reitz and Elizabeth S. Wing, *Zooarchaeology*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1.

zooarchaeology is multidisciplinary and by virtue of being a branch of anthropology is holistic in its approach—necessary when utilizing faunal remains to discuss cultural history, behavioral adaptations, and social meaning from an assemblage or site.[5] Zooarchaeology provides one of the many ways to show how inherently flexible human behavior is in relation to their natural and social environment, and how this adaptability is permeable in relationship to their nonhuman relatives. More so than that though, it helps provide a "better understanding of the diverse ways in which humans respond to the challenges and opportunities of their environment; the variety of roles that animals fill; the breath of the animal's social meaning."[6] Through zooarchaeology it is possible to examine ancient faunal remains and reinterpret the role animals and humans alike played in the past. Furthermore, with the advances in archaeogenetics and the analysis of mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA), it is becoming possible to look even further into the animal past. According to Juliet Clutton-Brock, "this has become an increasingly important tool in revealing finer details in the identification of populations of species, the relationship between domestic species and wild progenitors, and the spread of varieties of domestic species from their location of origin."[7] While it may appear as though zooarchaeology serves as yet another scientific tool that scrutinizes ancient prehistoric human-animal bones and provenance and roles, certain researchers are exploring it further.

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[5] Reitz and Wing, *Zooarchaeology,* 29.

[6] Ibid., 335.

[7] Juliet Clutton-Brock, "Archaeozoology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies*, ed. Linda Kalof, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 477.

In Nerissa Russell's captivating book *Social Zooarchaeology: Humans and Animals in Prehistory*, the author explores what it means to be an "animal". According to Russell, "the opposition of humans and animals is artificial and anthropocentric. Humans are one animal species among many; like all other species we are by definition unique, but we do not logically form a category opposed to (and above) all other species."[8] Russell understands the uniqueness of all animals and that we all have a part to play in history. The book argues that animals have contributed more to human history than just fodder for the human diet and roles in subsistence economies Russell explores the relationship of human and animals with the latter's continued duty as companions, spiritual helpers, sacrificial victims, totems, objects of taboo, and more. What makes this argument so intriguing is the fact that, although this book utilizes zooarchaeology and faunal analysis, it also incorporates evidence from ethnographies, history, and classical studies. Furthermore, Russell tackles the concepts of anthropocentrism and anthropomorphism and explains them as, "anthropocentrism inscribes a sharp human-animal boundary and privileges humans strongly, whereas anthropomorphism erases the boundary and risks denying animals their own unique identities."[9] These two notions attack the sensibility of the scientific community—"the attribution of any 'human' qualities to animals…was seen as unwarranted projection"—but are nonetheless crucial in grasping the breach in the human-animal boundary by applying the ethical

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[8] Nerissa Russel, *Social Zooarchaeology: Humans and Animals in Prehistory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2.

[9] Russell, *Social Zooarchaeology,* 2.

system we apply to humans to other species, as well as the agency and choice we commonly assume to be human attributes.[10]

The discourse on the origins of animal domestication tends to focus on "the issue of intentionality"—the degree to which domestication was the product of deliberate human choice.[11] Whether this choice was deliberate or not, the domestication of plants and animals marked a major evolutionary transition in human history. Emma R. Power states, "Domestication is a key process through which humans have claimed dominance over nature, including nonhuman natures and the nature of the human body. It has most often been examined as an historic biological and cultural process through which the 'wildness' of plants and animals was brought in and re-made in the image of human culture through selective breeding and incorporation into human social structure."[12] Contrary to this idea, the introduction of canines into the history of humanity has raised arguments for the concept of "mutual domestication"—the notion that while we were domesticating dogs, they were in turn domesticating us. With the dog being regarded as humanity's first domesticated animal—evidence for the domestication of the dog reaches as far back as the Neolithic—was this taming actually "self-domestication," the colonization of new ecological niches by animals such as wolves? Or did it result from intentional decisions of human

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[10] Russell, *Social Zooarchaeology,* 2.

[11] Lyudmila N. Trut, "Early Canid Domestication: The Farm-Fox Experiment: Foxes bred for tamability in a 40-year experiment exhibit remarkable transformations that suggest an interplay between behavioral genetics and development," *American Scientist* 87, no. 2 (1999): 160.

[12] Emma R. Power, "Domestication and the Dog: Embodying Home," *Area* 44, no. 3 (2012): 371.

beings?[13] Regardless of the origins of this companionship, domestic animals have become intricately woven into human economy, society, and religion.[14] Per Melinda Zeder, “animal domestication is an on-going process, as humans, with increasingly sophisticated technology for breeding and rearing animals in captivity, continue to bring more and more species under their control.”[15] Nevertheless, ideas such as “mutual-domestication” have led the discourse on a shared collaboration of humans and animals and strongly suggest an intertwined history.

During the Middle Ages and Renaissance, animals were placed in parallel—with regard to their moral and conscientious behavior—to their owners. Even though a creature was considered to be the property of its master, it was held to the same level of sentience as a human. For example, the thirteenth century provides the first recorded legal trial of a nonhuman mammal committing murder.[16] By definition, *murder* is the premeditated killing of another human being. Following this rationale, in order to be capable of committing murder, the animal had to have contemplated its actions and then made a deliberate choice to kill. In the aforementioned thirteenth century trial, a pig was accused of killing a child and then eating it—the sentence was burning in the public square.[17] Interestingly, the pig was most likely someone’s property, but the verdict was

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[13] Lyudmila N. Trut, “Early Canid Domestication,” 160.

[14] Melinda A. Zeder, "The Domestication of Animals," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 68, no. 2 (2012): 161.

[15] Zeder, "The Domestication of Animals," 161.

[16] Joyce Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 108.

[17] Salisbury, *The Beast Within,* 108.

carried out as though the animal were a human with free will to chose to kill and eat the child. Clearly, in this case, people in authority applied profoundly human qualities to a nonhuman animal. This begs the question of whether or not other animals were likewise granted agency within the human world.

A second, even more interesting case presented itself a century later in 1386, when another pig was accused of murder by means of tearing the face and arms off a child.[18] In this case, however, the sow's punishment was to be maimed in the same manner as the child. The pig was then dressed like a man and paraded through the city before being executed. This incident is even more thought-provoking than the first, not only due to the fact that the pig was clad like a human, but also because throughout the rest of the trial and execution the pig was treated like a human defendant. For instance, the executioner was paid the same fee that he would have received for executing a human. In addition, the state furnished the man with a new pair of gloves, "so his hands were 'clean' of the guilt of shedding blood."[19] It begs the question, why would an executioner feel guilty for killing a pig—an animal that would have been consumed without a second thought? Also, why would anyone pay to have an executioner perform the killing of the pig instead of handing the delinquent animal over to a butcher? Much like the previous case, it appears as though the pig was considered the master of its own will, deserving of treatment equal to that of humans.

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[18] Salisbury, *The Beast Within,* 108.
[19] Ibid.

In 1457, one final pig was put on trial along with her six piglets for the same capital offense as the two previously mentioned cases.[20] This final situation is unique in that there are records of a month-long imprisonment for all seven of these pigs, along with surviving records giving accounts of the trial and other legal proceedings. During the investigation and sentencing process, a judge, a lawyer, two prosecutors, eight named witnesses, and numerous other unnamed witnesses took part in the trial.[21] According to Esther Cohen,

> though the owner was formally the defendant, it is clear from the proceedings that he stood accused only of negligence and was in no danger of any personal punishment. Moreover, he was allowed to argue in court "concerning the punishment and just execution that should be inflicted upon the said sow", if he could give any reason why the sow should be spared. The owner having waived this right, the prosecutor requested a death sentence.[22]

Eventually the sow would be hanged, and according to the local authorities on the matter, upside down. But what about the piglets? Since there was no proof of them participating in the murder, they were free to go back to the custody of their owner on the condition that he vouch for their future behavior. The master, however, acknowledged that he could not control the free will of the pigs and he declined to take responsibility of the piglets, who "were declared forfeit to the local lord's justice, though they suffered no further punishment."[23] The owner accepted that he could not govern the desires of his property and grudgingly acquiesced to the ruling of the magistrate.

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[20] Esther Cohen, "Law, Folklore and Animal Lore," *Past & Present*, no. 110 (1986): 10, https://www.jstor.org/stable/650647.
[21] Cohen, "Law, Folklore and Animal Lore," 10.
[22] Ibid., 11.
[23] Ibid.

All of the pigs above were accused of committing the most heinous deed that any human being could commit and were treated as any human would have been treated. These trial proceedings represent the human desire to understand the action of animals within the purview of their own worldviews. What makes it possible for us to treat animals as akin to ourselves but yet underrepresent them throughout history? Humans arbitrarily judge nonhuman animals according to their convenience, but historians still struggle with placing them into the human narrative outside of treatises acknowledging their agricultural and economic importance. Despite widespread shortcomings, there are a few documented cases of human-animal transactions that extend beyond the material and productive aspect of this relationship. In fact, some animals have been elevated to a higher status than their historical human compatriots.

Roughly the same time and location—France—of the first recorded nonhuman murderer, a legend involving a dog, begins to develop in thirteenth century Europe. Although there are multiple legends involving wrongfully accused and murdered animals, in *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children Since the Thirteenth Century* Jean-Claude Schmidt specifically investigates the cult of "Saint Guinefort" and explains how this dog rose from being unjustly murdered to his evolution into a saint.[24] Once a lowly canine—even though the Greyhound was considered the noblest of breeds—the dog

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[24] Jean-Claude Schmidtt, *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children Since the Thirteenth Century,* Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Cultures (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 63. The chapter, *The Legend*, splits the narrative and analyzes it piece by piece, so a definitive page number is hard to express. I established this page simply because it is discussing his burial and the concept of the gates of Hell.

became a symbol of healing and the peasants would bring their sick children to his grave to preserve them from disease and to keep the plague at bay.[25] While the previous animal cases in this paper concerned the secular sphere, Schmidt brings the animal to the religious realm and broadens the human-animal relationship discourse by placing St. Guinefort in a place of spiritual importance. Although this animal and cult of peasants represented the divine status of animals, it also provides the historian an access point into their secular history and what was important to their everyday existence. By exploring this martyred animal's background and life, historians and anthropologists can catch a glimpse of local traditions and practices of peasant life of thirteenth century Dombes. Schmidt's analysis provides the necessary means to engage the past by using an animal as a focal point and allows for an expansion of the narrative beyond the animal to include information about the peasants who paid him homage. From these few examples it appears that death has been key to answering the role animals play in defining our definitions of good and evil, either through the martyrdom of a holy greyhound or the execution of convicted animal murderers. Conversely, the preemptive killing of these creatures by humans does not automatically necessitate their role in our society or their place in history. For that we must look deeper into the subject at hand and try to find what does dictate the nonhuman animals' role in all of this.

The simplest way to achieve a fuller understanding of the discourse regarding human-animal relationships is to look at the major questions and

[25] Schmidtt, *The Holy Greyhound,* 93.

methods currently being produced in the discourse. A central argument is whether or not it is important or worthwhile to emphasize the contributions of animals in history. Other voices in the argument ask if it is even possible to separate animals from human history. According to Martha Few and Zeb Tortorici in their Introduction to *Centering Animals in Latin American History* , the study of animals in history has produced the question "does the centering of animals—the transforming of nonhuman animals into *central* actors in the historical narrative—provide us with significantly different versions of the past than those historical works that solely present animals as visible and important factors in history?"[26] Although documentation of agricultural and economic records concerning animals have been a constant since the advent of writing, could animals provide more than just an account of how we have exploited them throughout the ages and be the key to a richer history in general?

The problem with studying marginalized history and exploitation is that it shifts the discipline from purely academic into a quagmire of moral and philosophical questioning and more often than not a political debate. Not only must these marginalized populations shake off the history of disparagement and indoctrinated interpretations, but also the people who study the history of the marginalized must continuously justify the inclusion of these histories in the first place. Furthermore, some academics and indigenous people question who should be allowed to study marginalized groups, stating that the average historian may

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[26] Martha Few and Zeb Tortorici, eds., *Centering Animals in Latin American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 3.

not have the necessary tools to advocate for these subsets, thereby making an emic position an indispensable qualification for perpetuating the history of certain groups. In theory, this issue *could* be addressed and when it comes to discussing the history of humans and their place in the world, cultural and grassroots histories have certainly entertained and explored this phenomenal idea. However, resolving difficulties associated with this theoretical standpoint becomes much more problematic when the discourse revolves around nonhuman animals. Methodological documents about animals are created for humans, by humans.[27] Humans evince their authority and dominion over animals by prescribing cultural significance, political and moral symbolism to each animal. What with this being the case, how does the historian include nonhuman animals as another social actor (alongside social classes, women, the state, the church, etc.) in the histories they write?[28] These questions present an interesting conundrum that may create obstacles to including animals in the wider realm of historical narratives and ethnographical studies.

According to David Shaw, these issues and questions could not have been addressed until recently by historians.[29] When humanity considers its past, it looks at its ancestors to remember achievements and reflect on what we have learned from them. This shortsighted statement has its limitations though and does not aptly apply to the role that animals have played in humanity's

[27] Few and Tortorici, *Centering Animals,* 3.
[28] Ibid.
[29] David Gary Shaw, "A Way With Animals," *History and Theory* 52, no. 4 (2013): 1, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24542955.

progression. In *A Way with Animals,* Shaw argues "that 'we' was always a way of saying 'those enough like us to count.' The 'we' sets limits. It's our gang, a social group, whether a king and his crony vassals, the senate and people of Rome, the subjects of the Middle Kingdom, or all humanity."[30] The expression of this idea allows for a theoretical approach that not only splits the history of humanity into multiple narratives—possibly a different history for each represented group—but also allows for the possibility of other and more distinct historical points of view to be addressed.

At this point in time, we are becoming uniquely equipped to handle and understand important contemporary topics, including precarious subjects such as racism and sexism, and the underrepresented and misrepresented groups associated with them. Although we are a long way away from fully grasping and deciphering the history of these neglected groups, the development of that process is being attempted, and we are becoming increasingly aware of disenfranchisement in the discipline. This development is a work in progress, and it follows that there have been mistakes made and probably many more to come. One of these mistakes includes the idea of essentialism—"assuming that things or structures have one set of characteristics which is basic, or in a cognate sense 'foundational'"—and it affects the discipline regarding these unheard groups.[31] Groups that have their own voice can propose their own interests and can advocate for what best represents them—they do not need a researcher telling

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[30] Shaw, "A Way With Animals," 1.

[31] Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History a Critical Reader in History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 297.

them what it is best. However, historians are also tasked with representing the groups that cannot speak for themselves. Much like David Shaw, Kari Weil is a proponent of animal rights and the need for their story to be heard. Her work, *A Report on the Animal Turn*, centers around a concept made famous by Peter Singer—speciesism—and emphasizes this discrimination went largely unnoticed both inside and outside academia.[32] Much like racism and sexism, Weil thinks it is time that animal rights be addressed in the scholarly world in order to dissolve the gap between human and animals in the discourse.

According to Weil, "for centuries nonhuman animals have been locked in representations authored by humans, representations that, moreover, have justified their use and abuse by humans."[33] She begins this position by stating that a similar argument has been used to justify "Women's studies and ethnic studies programs in their demands that the academy acknowledge and address the underrepresentation and misrepresentation of groups of people under the forces of sexism and racism."[34] This is a noble and justified pursuit and should be addressed, however, while the women and minorities lacking representation can write and voice their issues and concerns, how do animals pursue the same course of action? The objective of this reasoning is not to suggest that animals can be or want to be heard, but rather that the discourse should attract attention to them as a marginalized group and their limited status as objects instead of

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[32] Kari Weil, "A Report on the Animal Turn," in *Thinking Animals: Why Animal Studies Now?* (New York City: Columbia University Press, 2012), 2.

[33] Weil, "A Report on the Animal Turn," 2.

[34] Ibid., 1.

representative agents.[35] If other groups are finally being represented then so should animals. As Weil states, "if animal studies have come of age, it is perhaps because nonhuman animals have become a limit case for theories of difference, otherness, and power."[36] However, this perpetuates the notion that the status of otherness is cause for representation.

In *Hunters, Herders, and Hamburgers: The Past and Future of Human-Animal Relationships,* Richard W. Bulliet describes the inconsistent relationship between humans and animals. Bulliet elaborates on four stages of history of this relationship—separation, predomesticity, domesticity, and postdomesticity. Bulliet mainly focuses on America, and explains that the contemporary state of postdomesticity allows humanity to distance itself, "both physically and psychologically, from the animals that produce the food, fiber, and hides they depend on…Yet they maintain very close relationships with companion animals—pets—often relating to them as if they were human."[37] The book explores our current era of postdomesticity and argues that although humans remain dependent on animal products, they do not have any desire, ethically or otherwise, to have any involvement with the processing and production of these items. The social and technological developments of developed nations have divided the animal side of the animal-human relationship into either companion animals or other, where the other is disregarded and not considered. According

[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid., 3.
[37] Richard W. Bulliet, *Hunters, Herders, and Hamburgers: The Past and Future of Human-Animal Relationships* (New York City: Columbia University Press, 2007), 3.

to Margo DeMello, "one of the most important criteria for being a pet is having a name because having a name symbolically and literally incorporates that animal in the human domestic sphere."[38] This allows communication with the animal—understood or not—and develops a social contract that builds a relationship with the animal. However, the modern public opinion regarding companion animals must dictate a reconciliation between humans and nonhuman animals and suggest a different kind of relationship is forming. One such example of this reconciliation happened in the twentieth century and its source is quite shocking.

In Nazi Germany, some of the most stringent animal welfare laws were developed and carried substantial punishments for any violations. In *Animals in the Third Reich*, Boria Sax expresses the complex ways that animals can be used for politics and how they can help shape human culture through myths and symbols. Furthermore, he explores the legal system and the laws that were implemented during this crisis in world history. Just like "St. Guinefort," in Nazi Germany the animal was raised above certain individuals—Jews. While the Germans were allowed to persecute, murder, and torture Jews, animals held a unique status in Germany and were treated much more humanely than fellow humans. According to Sax, "a new protection law was being formulated which would bring 'unity' to domestic life…the introduction to the law stated clearly that animals were not to be protected for the sake of human beings but 'for their

[38] Margo DeMello, *Animals and Society: An Introduction to Human-Animal Studies* (New York City: Columbia University Press, 2012), 156.

own sakes.'"[39] However, unlike Peter Singer's utilitarian theory—"based on the principle of equal consideration, which means that we must give equal consideration to the interests of all creatures, and we should maximize the satisfaction of the interests of everyone…who are affected by our actions"—Nazism pushed the human animal relationship to a new level.[40] Sax suggests that Nazi Germany blurred the boundary between human and animals, and this "enabled the regime to breed, herd, and slaughter people like livestock."[41] This statement presents the argument whether or not we should breakdown the divisions between humans and animals, for it could jeopardize our ideals of human rights.[42] If that is the case, how should we represent animals in history? Do they hold a special position that we cannot touch yet, or do we treat them like separate entities that we discuss gingerly?

Tok Thompson argues that nonhuman animals have their own culture and folklore, and "since folklore is a discipline focusing on the very topic of collectively shaped, traditional, expressive culture, it would seem to be in an ideal position to take the lead in this newly emerging realm of the study of culture beyond the human."[43] Thompson wants to breakdown the human-animal binary

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[39] Boria Sax, *Animals in the Third Reich*, Second (Providence: Yogh & Thorn Press, 2013), 101.

[40] DeMello, *Animals and Society,* 386.

[41] Boria Sax, "The Cosmic Spider and Her Worldwide Web: Sacred and Symbolic Animals in the Era of Change," in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Modern Age*, ed. Randy Malamud (Oxford & New York: Berg Publisher, 2007), 45.

[42] Sax, "The Cosmic Spider," 45.

[43] Tok Thompson, "Folklore beyond the Human: Toward a Trans-Special Understanding of Culture, Communication, and Aesthetics," *Journal of Folklore Research* 55, no. 2 (2018): 69, https://doi.org/10.2979/jfolkrese.55.2.04.

and open-up ways that scholarship can engage with animal thoughts, not just the thoughts that humans have of animals.[44] The author provides multiple examples of "the study of nonhuman expressive culture in a philosophical framework," including songbirds that change their song and style over time, demonstrations of nonhuman language and dialect, and even naming within species.[45] What Thompson suggests is that humans need to change their understanding of culture and how it works. It "should be rethought, restudied, and reevaluated on a scale much grander and larger than anything we have considered before."[46] He advances the idea that traditions and cultures are much larger than the human condition, and acknowledging this and investigating it is the "necessary step for the future of folklore studies, and for the future of scholarly understanding of culture."[47]

Interpretation of the theoretical framework of animal studies in historical study has appeared to be arguably split between animal rights advocates, historians, folklorists, and scientists. However, the shifting of the historiography that appeared in this paper represents only a fraction of information that could have been drawn upon. Animals have always been a fascinating object of study, to the naturalist or the historian, but now they are becoming objects of representation—a fact that scholars need to address. Speciesism is becoming a topic of political debate and philosophical questioning nearly equal to the topics of racism and sexism. Furthermore, animals' position

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[44] Tok Thompson, "Folklore beyond the Human," 70.
[45] Tok Thompson, "Folklore beyond the Human," 71.
[46] Ibid., 85.
[47] Ibid.

in legal systems have shifted from capital punishment in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance to animals having more rights than other marginalized groups during Nazi extremism. With this rise in contractual—legally or socially—relationships with animals, mankind is distancing itself from other creatures while simultaneously blurring the boundaries between our animal-human binary. In post-domesticity humans often ignore the animals used for food and clothing but treat pets as humans and equals. The problem this causes for historians is certainly unavoidable, but to associate with these varying polemical constructs allows them to instead turn to contemporary issues. Tok Thompson argues that nonhuman animals have their own version of a quiet voice, a sound that gives substance to the silence often prescribed them. His idea of nonhuman animal culture and folklore may finally give animals a voice in generating their own perspective in relation to the environment and the history of the planet. Nonhuman animal folklore may allow the historian to conceptualize neglected aspects of the discourse and add to the ever growing and ever-changing idea of what comprises the animal-human binary, if it exists at all.

We’ve Got to Get Ourselves Back to the Garden: Counterculture Environmentalism and American Popular Music

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The Sixties are perhaps one of the most tumultuous periods in American history. The simultaneous rise of the least popular war in the nation’s history, Vietnam, and the Civil Rights movement created an era of protests, rebellion against “the system,” and, by the end of the 1960s, violence and rage. Through this chaotic time, however, rose a group with little aspiration of bringing about political change, let alone instigating violence over it. The Counterculture, as it became known, wanted simply to disengage from mainstream society and live under new, alternative sets of norms. This movement, different from the New Left that mainstream media outlets often lumped, incorrectly, into the Counterculture collective, chose to do so through dropping out by taking LSD, embracing forms of Native American mysticism, practicing “free love,” utilizing music, especially rock, as a new means of expression, living together in communal towns, and more. The goal was to change society not through protest, but by being a living example. Perhaps the most tangible area of impact, though, came from one of the Counterculture’s later movements: environmentalism.

The Counterculture’s environmental movement is one of the few areas that has seen a lasting and actual impact on the functioning of American society. While the visions of utopia that members of the Counterculture envisioned faded away over time, the ideas about protecting the environment managed to cause actual change in the way that mainstream society functioned, thanks in large part to the formation of Earth Day. A mix of both mainstream and Counterculture

environmentalism, Earth Day proved to be the major catalyst for ensuring the success of the Counterculture's environmental movement. With large scale media coverage, the event resulted in the American public becoming more aware than ever before about the detrimental effects pollution was having on the environment and the planet's finite number of resources. The results were staggering, as the American government quickly joined in and began passing new legislation and regulations to help in this cause.[1] Naturally, then, the impact that Earth Day had in promoting the Counterculture's ideas of environmentalism was profound. An unexplored aspect of this, though, is how this sudden surge in environmental concerns affected popular music in the United States.

Music, by this time, was already in use as a means of reflecting and furthering the protest movements throughout the country. Naturally, most of these songs tended to focus on the more prevalent movements of the time; anti-Vietnam War songs like Country Joe & The Fish's "I-Feel-Like-I'm-A-Fixing-To-Die Rag;" anti-racism and pro-civil rights songs like "Everyday People" by Sly & The Family Stone; and songs simply protesting the way that the United States was being run by both the Johnson and Nixon administrations, such as "We Can Be Together," by Jefferson Airplane. Environmentalism seemed to be a less common topic of songs in popular music. However, with the event of the first Earth Day in 1970, songs about pollution and saving the environment came to the forefront and spread beyond groups typically associated with the

[1] Benjamin Kline, *First Along the River: A Brief History of the U.S. Environmental Movement*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Acada Books, 2000), 92-94.

Counterculture to artists and groups who proved more popular with the American public. As such, in the wake of Earth Day, the environmentalism raised and promoted by the Counterculture began to manifest itself in American popular music in three primary ways. In many cases, the pieces were descriptive of the environmental hazards and catastrophes occurring throughout the country, with the aim to bring the concerns to light to the American public. Other songs embracing Counterculture environmentalism utilized a more artistic approach, either creating fictionalized accounts of what could happen or taking nostalgic looks toward past times where pollution was not affecting America. Finally, a call to action appears in several pieces addressing these environmental concerns, with lyrics containing directions on what needed to happen to stop pollution or, in the worst-case scenarios, what needs to be done for mankind to survive the destruction of the Earth. This article will show how Counterculture environmentalism was embraced and incorporated into American popular music in the wake of the inaugural Earth Day in 1970. Prior to this study, the role that music played within the Counterculture's environmental movement has seen little examination, and as such has an almost nonexistent historiography. With this study, this article bridges this gap in historical scholarship and definitively show a connection exists between Counterculture environmentalism and American popular music.

A History of Environmentalism

While environmentalism hit its stride in the period around Earth Day, it certainly was not some new construction by the Counterculture. There had been concern

about nature and environment dating back to the middle of the nineteenth century. As Robert Gottlieb lays out, attempts at wilderness preservation and the promotion of outdoor recreational activities had been born out of the urban growth during this time. Congress began to establish national parks, such as Yellowstone in Wyoming and Yosemite in California, which promoted tourism and allowed Americans the opportunity to explore nature as a recreational activity.[2] This time also saw the formation of some of the first environmental advocacy groups, such as the Sierra Club and the Boone and Crockett Club, both which held aspirations of ensuring that natural resources were used correctly.[3] However, few had concerns about managing waste and avoiding pollution; with industrialization continuing its profitable march, there was little need to be concerned quite yet.

With the turn of the twentieth century and the uptick in immigration into the United States, cities began to swell in size, marking urbanization as a dominant idea. This, as Peter J. Schmitt suggests in his work *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America*, was the origin of "back to nature" sentiments similar to those that would become so prominent in the Counterculture's version of environmentalism. According to Schmitt, the urban sprawl of the early twentieth century led people to become dissatisfied with urban lifestyles and to dream of the idea of living where nature had been untainted by the expansion of

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[2] Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement,* rev. ed. (Washington: Island Press, 2005), 61-62.
[3] Ibid, 56.

mankind.[4] This "agrarian myth," as it came to be called, saw those living in urban settings looking to farming in rural areas of the nation as an ideal life where little work needed be done.[5] While this idea certainly proved popular, conservationism in this time focused on wilderness areas away from substantial human populations. There was not yet widespread concern about the effects of local pollution near urban centers at this point.

The Sixties proved to be the period of greatest change for the environmental movement, as populations began to focus more on these local problems. In 1962, marine biologist Rachel Carson published her now-famed work *Silent Spring*, which uncovered the major health issues posed by food producers' indiscriminate use of the pesticide DDT. For the first time, information was presented that suggested the amount of damage that pollution was having on the environment, and, in turn, on the human condition. Carson, for instance, states that chemicals introduced into the environment had "powerful capacities for inducing biological change" that cause greatly increased cancer rates.[6] Suddenly, environmentalism moved into the eye of the American public. If this sort of contamination was occurring within the food supply, how were other essential aspects of human life—like water, air or land—affected? While the America public poured over these questions, the United States government began to take action.

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[4] Peter J. Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 4-5.

[5] Ibid, 6-7.

[6] Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*, 25th Anniversary ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987), 219-220.

By the mid-1960s, environmentalism had become a part of mainstream politics. Indeed, for environmental historian Adam Rome, this governmental embrace of the environmental movement was one of the three key parts of the success of the Sixties' environmental revolution, the other two being the women's movement and the Counterculture contribution. While some politicians had talked of conservation in the late Fifties and early Sixties, the government truly became involved with the movement with Lyndon B. Johnson's establishment of his Great Society program. Here, as Rome attests to, Johnson made environmentalism a major part of the program, resulting in the creation of over 300 new conservation measures implemented across the country.[7] The government under the liberal control of the Johnson administration was no longer willing to sit by and declare environmental issues as local concerns, as Republican Dwight Eisenhower suggested during his tenure in the Oval Office.[8] Now environmentalism was a nationwide concern with both the American public and government working towards ways to fix these issues.

For some, the efforts being taken by these "mainstream" outlets towards environmental conservation were not enough. Naturally, then, it was up to the Counterculture to present more radical ideas of how best to save and protect the environment. Alternative lifestyles and movements, then, dominated the landscape of Counterculture environmentalism. Communal living became a popular way to live in environmentally friendly fashions. For instance, with

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[7] Adam Rome, "Give Earth A Chance: The Environmental Movement and the Sixties," in *Journal of American History* 90, no. 2 (September 2003), 534, accessed 10 February, 2018, PDF.

[8] Ibid.

Colorado-based Drop City, the inhabitants chose recycling as a means of constructing their homes; instead of conventional materials, the group tore the roofs off old cars in a nearby junk yard and used them for construction material.[9] Others, such as the Earth People's Park, had aspirations of returning to nature; living off what the land could provide and ensuring that Mother Nature was not tarnished by the hands of mankind.[10] Others decided that while communes might not be the way to go, other means could be used to live alternative, greener lives. Stewart Brand, in his famed work *The Whole Earth Catalog*, declared that "We are as gods and might as well get used to it," suggesting that humankind was who truly had power over the fate of the environment.[11] With the correct tools and technology, which Brand provided via his Catalog, man could live in an environmentally friendly way, all while managing to get rid of "wilderness romanticism," as Andrew Kirk puts it.[12] The Counterculture, too, provided a means to make environmentalism attractive to youth. Such was the case with the now-famous environmental group Greenpeace. Frank Zelko, associate professor of history at the University of Vermont, suggests that the Countercultural origins of Greenpeace allowed it to appeal to the acid droppers, dope smokers, and

[9] *Drop City*, directed by Joan Grossman (Pinball Films, 2012), DVD (Seventh Art Releasing, 2012).

[10] The name for this commune was derived from the infamous People's Park incident that occurred at Berkley. The intent of this commune was to produce a new People's Park on a much larger scale. "Earth People's Park: 'Our Last Chance,'" *Rolling Stone*, February 7, 1970, 12.

[11] Stewart Brand, "The Purpose of the Whole Earth Catalog," *Whole Earth Catalog*, Fall 1968, accessed March 4, 2018, http://www.wholeearth.com/issue/1010/article/196/the.purpose.of.the.whole.earth.catalog.

[12] Andrew Kirk, *Counterculture Green: The Whole Earth Catalog and American Environmentalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 12.

members of the Sixties youth movement rather than the "middle-aged Sierra Club hikers in corduroys and cardigans."[13] Andrew Kirk, professor of history at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, adds to the idea of environmentalism becoming hip, suggesting that the ideas brought about by Stewart Brand with his creation of the *Whole Earth Catalog* created an embrace of new, environmental technologies that resonated with the young generation that populated the Counterculture movement.[14] With these sorts of developments in alternative and Counterculture environmentalism, more and more members of the American youth movement began to join in. For perhaps one of the few times in the relationship between the Counterculture and the "establishment," the two sides were reasonably in agreement that something needed to happen to protect the environment. The result was an event that was a mix of both of these sides: Earth Day.

The idea of Earth Day came originally from "the establishment" side, especially thanks to Wisconsin senator Gaylord Nelson. Nelson found inspiration in the Vietnam War protests, which he felt could work better if done with a movement that most Americans would be willing to get behind.[15] With backing from other congressmen and other top-level officials, Earth Day appealed to those who subscribed to more mainstream environmentalism. At the same time, the organizers attempted to prevent themselves from seeming too much involved

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[13] Frank Zelko, *Make it a Green Peace! The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4-5

[14] Kirk, *Counterculture Green*, 17.

[15] Adam Rome, *The Genius of Earth Day: How a 1970 Teach-In Unexpectedly Made the First Green Generation* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2013), 57.

with the establishment; some claimed that the Nixon administration's promotion of ecology, even despite such measures as the establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Clean Air act, was bunk, while, perhaps more radically, staff members refused donations from corporations such as Mobil Oil and Ford Motor Company.[16] Come the actual Earth Day events, the Counterculture aspect seemed to appear more; students at the University of Alaska booed Secretary of the Interior Wally Hickel off stage, while in Denver, antinuclear protestors handed out an "Environmental Rape of the Year" award to the Atomic Energy Commission.[17] Despite this, Earth Day suddenly made environmentalism something that everyone could get behind, whether they preferred the legislative path of mainstream politics or the radical approach more in line with Counterculture ideals. With hundreds of campuses joining in on the events and over 10 million participants, Earth Day's success surely signified the popularity and reach that environmentalism now had with the American public.[18] With this newfound popularity, the stage was set for environmentalism to be absorbed into popular culture. Naturally, then, one of the first aspects that this would manifest in would be in music.

Uses of Music in the Sixties

Music in the sixties was used as a powerful tool of protest and political statements. This was the case all the way from the folk revival that occurred in

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[16] Adam Rome, *The Genius of Earth Day: How a 1970 Teach-In Unexpectedly Made the First Green Generation* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2013), 87.
[17] Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring*, 155.
[18] Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring*, 156-157.

the early part of the Sixties, which, as Dick Weissman argues, proved to be a major factor in the development of political themes in nearly all genres of popular music.[19] Indeed, folk musicians of the Sixties used their music to help aid in promoting the Civil Rights and the Anti-Vietnam War movements. From Pete Seeger's famed rendition of the Civil Rights anthem "We Shall Overcome," to anti-war anthems like Phil Ochs' "I Ain't Marching Anymore," folk music served as an inherently political form of music that also proved highly popular among the American public. It was no wonder, then, that when rock music took the mantle of being the most popular form of music for youth, the political aspects of music followed along with it.

Political messages in rock music were certainly commonplace by the time that it became the dominant popular music. It certainly is simple to pick this out by just a quick glance at some of the popular songs of the time; Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young, for instance, with their song "Ohio," protested the killings that had occurred at Kent State during a protest against the Vietnam War, while Jefferson Airplane, with their song "We Can Be Together," advocated for more radical means of protest, similar to that of guerilla anarchist group Up Against The Wall, Motherfucker.[20] For some members of the Counterculture, however, rock served as even more than that. Michael J. Kramer contends that rock music such as this allowed for Counterculture participants to form their own definitions

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[19] Dick Weissman, *Which Side Are You On? An Inside History of the Folk Music Revival in America* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2005), 15.

[20] Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young, "Ohio," on *4 Way Street*, recorded 1970, Atlantic SD 2-902, 1971, 33 1/3 rpm; Jefferson Airplane, "We Can Be Together," on *Volunteers*, recorded 1969, RCA/Victor LSP-4238, 1969, 33 1/3 rpm.

of citizenship and develop their own “Woodstock Nation.”[21] For him, the combination of LSD usage and rock music is what allowed for people in the Counterculture to be receptive to ideas of changing the dominant culture of America and help bring an end to the Vietnam War.[22] While a compelling argument, other scholars have disagreed with the idea that rock music was actually antiestablishment. Nadya Zimmerman, for instance, suggests that the political messages of the songs were in contrast to reality; the Counterculture was more than willing to subjugate itself to the capitalist systems in place due to the movement’s lack of political motivation.[23] Despite this, the music of the period continued to reflect the political ideologies held both by the Counterculture and the general public of America. With the coming of Earth Day and its support from both sides, popular music would soon follow the same path with its support of the environmental movement.

“They Put Up a Bunch of Ugly Boxes:” Descriptions and Awareness

Bringing awareness of social issues to the American public was nothing new for members of the Counterculture. Indeed, as John McMillian suggests, Counterculture participants undertaking journalism already were committed to bringing awareness of events to light for readers of their efforts. In his discussion of underground journalism during the Counterculture era, McMillian argues that

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[21] Michael J. Kramer, *The Republic of Rock: Music and Citizenship in the Sixties Counterculture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 25.

[22] Ibid, 58.

[23] Nadya Zimmerman, Counterculture Kaleidoscope: Musical and Cultural Perspectives on Late Sixties San Francisco (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2011), 5, accessed 20 November 2017, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015077672809.

the Counterculture was already rooted in muckraking culture, having taken influence from "dissident newspapers" that had appeared among the working classes during the market revolution of the nineteenth century.[24] Further, there was no fear of upsetting anyone with what was written, as McMillian suggests that those in the Counterculture were more than willing to display information upsetting to the older generations if it meant garnering more exposure for the topics they discussed.[25] The same sort of tradition existed in the radical environmental literature appearing among the Counterculture as well. As Bob Ostertag states in his work *People's Movements, People's Press*, the phenomenon existed even dating back to the days where the Sierra Club was the dominant force in American environmentalism, as, in their Sierra Club Bulletin, the group brought to light issues with the proposed construction of dams at Glen Canyon and, shortly thereafter, the Grand Canyon.[26] In a sense, Earth Day served as a continuation of this idea. The massive teach-in event held across the country and internationally served as a means to bring awareness to the many issues that plagued the environment, much as the Countercultural press and publications had been designed to bring awareness to the myriad social issues facing the American nation during sixties era. It is little wonder, then, that with Earth Day's popularization of the environmental movement, this sort of expository method appeared in music produced by popular artists shortly after Earth Day.

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[24] John McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 32.

[25] Ibid, 125-126.

[26] Bob Ostertag, *People's Movements, People's Press: The Journalism of Social Justice* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006), 163-165.

Even prior to Earth Day, this Counterculture idea appeared in music. *Time* magazine ran a story in 1969 regarding the efforts that folk musician Pete Seeger undertook to bring awareness to the polluted state of the Hudson River. Seeger sailed a small sloop from New York City to Albany while giving concerts along the way. The article in *Time* notes that at a stop in Nyack, Seeger brought forth a song specifically about the polluted state of the river, with the lyrics:

> Sailing down my dirty stream
> Still I love it and I'll keep the dream
> That some day, though maybe not this year,
> My Hudson River will once again run clear.
> Down the valley one million toilet chains
> Find my Hudson so convenient place to drain.
> And each little city says, "Who me?
> Do you think that sewage plants come free?"[27]

Already, here a year before Earth Day, the Counterculture idea of bringing attention to environmental issues was already being incorporated into music being produced. Certainly, then, this idea would be implemented further once these Countercultural environmental ideas and tactics were popularized further following the success of Earth Day.

Perhaps the most notable example of this Counterculture methodology being incorporated appears in what is likely the most famous environmental song to appear during this period. In 1971, Marvin Gaye released his popular piece "Mercy Mercy Me (The Ecology)," which commented on the sorry state of the environment. The issues covered in Gaye's song range from air pollution to concerns about the effects that the utilization of nuclear power was having on the

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[27] "Song of the Open Sewer," *Time*, August 22, 1969, accessed April 20, 2018, EBSCOhost.

environment. The effect that this track has had was significant, given contemporary events. For instance, Gaye sings "oil wasted on the ocean and upon our seas, fish full of mercury," appearing at first glance to be a general lamentation about the state of the aquatic environment.[28] The information meant to be expressed, though, is more specific; in 1969, an oil spill off the coast of Santa Barbara, California caused a roughly 35 mile oil slick to form and kill thousands of sea-faring animals, while in 1970, an oil rig fire caused oil to be leaked into the Gulf of Mexico.[29] Indeed, the implication here is that Gaye is reminding the public that these catastrophic environmental events occurred in the recent past in the hopes that something might be done about it. Further, Gaye incorporates the line "what about this overcrowded land/how much more abuse from man can she stand?," reminding the public of the uncomfortable topic of overpopulation.[30] Overpopulation as an environmental concern was already appearing in more Countercultural publications, such as *Rolling Stone*, which ran an article in 1972 about the popular book *Blueprint for Survival* that, perhaps disgustingly for the American mainstream, suggested that a reduction of the human population on Earth was necessary for its survival.[31] Gaye, with "Mercy Mercy Me," seems to be setting out to remind the American public that this is

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[28] Marvin Gaye, "Mercy Mercy Me (The Ecology)" recorded 1971, on *What's Going On*, streaming audio, accessed 7 February 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U9BA6fFGMjI.

[29] Christine Mai-Duc, "The 1969 Santa Barbara Oil Spill that Changed Oil and Gas Exploration Forever," *L.A. Times*, May 20, 2015, accessed March 31, 2018, http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-santa-barbara-oil-spill-1969-20150520-htmlstory.html; "Shell Oil Platform is Ablaze in Gulf; 2 Are Dead and 57 Are Rescued," *New York Times*, December 2, 1970, accessed March 31, 2018, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[30] Gaye, "Mercy Mercy Me (The Ecology)."

[31] Charles Alverson, "Ecology Drops A Bomb In England," Rolling Stone, April 27, 1972, 23.

indeed an issue that needs to be addressed, and that ignoring it will lead to the destruction of the Earth.

A similar means of embracing the Countercultural muckraking in music comes from Randy Newman. Though known more today for his role in creating movie soundtracks, namely that of the popular *Toy Story* films, Newman's work during the Seventies proved popular with American audiences. Such was the case with his 1972 album *Sail Away*, from which came the song "Burn On." While in part an ode to the City of Cleveland, much of the song addressed the horrific state of the Cuyahoga River that runs through the city. Pollution proved so horrendous in the Cuyahoga that the river caught fire on multiple occasions, the most contemporary at the time of Newman's writing coming in 1969.[32] Newman's piece reflects this, as he sings "There's a red moon rising/on the Cuyahoga River," alluding to the red color of the fire raging on the river.[33] The outro to the song expands on this further, where Newman repeats "burn on, big river, burn on," serving both as an inspirational message for the city of Cleveland to continue to "burn on" in the sense of being a beacon of prosperity, while simultaneously referring to "burn on" in the literal sense with the river being on fire.[34] While the fire served as a catalyst for many regulation changes, the fire was largely ignored by Cleveland's main media outlets, consequently resulting in it being similarly forgotten about in the national media.[35] As such, Newman's piece serves as a

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[32] Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring*, 176.

[33] Randy Newman, "Burn On," on *Sail Away*, recorded 1972, streaming audio, accessed April 20, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VtW8RkI3-c4.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring*, 176-178; "The Cities: The Price of Optimism," *Time*, August 1, 1969, accessed April 20, 2018, EBSCOhost.

means of informing the wider public about how bad the effects of pollution had become at this point, which continued on in the expository nature of Countercultural writings.

Pollution was not the only environmental concern addressed in this way. During this period, urban and suburban sprawl brought about concerns both about environmental effects and the spoiling of nature. Adam Rome contends that the rise of suburbanization and the destruction of "territory roughly the size of Rhode Island" for urban development every year was a major factor in the growth of the environmental movement of the 50s and 60s.[36] In addition to this, Rome suggests that urban spread also created concern about contamination and the use of detergent, as suburban citizens found that chemicals they used were quickly making their way back into drinking water.[37] Further, the detrimental impacts that the urban and suburban sprawl were laid out by Spenser W. Havlick, who documented that this expansion further injured the planet by forcing the usage of finite resources for construction and for automotive consumption and, on a more human-centered level, expanded habitation centers into places not meant for humans to live in, such as floodplains, thus causing damage to life and property and forcing the consumption of more resources in the reconstruction process.[38] With these sorts of concerns already at the forefront, musicians

[36] Adam Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Spread and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 7-8.
[37] Ibid, 104-106.
[38] Spenser W. Havlick, "Environmental Impact of Urbanization," in *Sourcebook on the Environment*, ed. Kenneth A. Hammond, George Macinko, and Wilma B. Fairchild (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 317, 319.

embracing the Countercultural expository style went to work on this topic as well.

In many cases, the songs found in this category took a more generic approach to pointing out the ills occurring than those previously mentioned, making known that the environmental crisis was happening but not having any one specific event to point to. The Byrds, for instance, with the song "Hungry Planet" on their 1970 album *(Untitled)*, comment on the excessive consumption of resources associated with urbanization, stating "they were in a hurry to take a lot of space/they needed bombs and tungsten, ore and iron too/so they climbed right down in and blew a lot of me right in two."[39] Indeed, the implication here is the resource usage needed for humanity's continued expansion is resulting in the complete destruction of the planet, hence the statement that the planet is being split in two.[40] John Denver, with his famed 1972 release "Rocky Mountain High," takes a similar approach. Here, after singing about the wonderous healing power that the Rocky Mountains of Colorado possess, Denver takes time to inform his audience that this natural beauty is in danger in the last verse, singing "Now his life is full of wonder but his heart still knows some fear/of a simple thing he cannot comprehend/why they try to tear the mountains down to bring in a couple more/more people, more scars upon the land."[41] The idea Denver presents with these lines is that in order to bring more people in the Rocky Mountain area,

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[39] The Byrds, "Hungry Planet," recorded 1970, on *(Untitled)*, audio streaming, accessed March 7, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NEK5a08T8Gs.

[40] Ibid.

[41] John Denver, "Rocky Mountain High," recorded August 1972, on *Rocky Mountain High,* audio streaming, accessed March 11, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eOB4VdlkzO4.

either to live or just for tourism, the very thing that makes the area worth being in is being destroyed. Indeed, Denver attempts to alert the audience to the environmental dangers facing the Rocky Mountains with the creation of his song.

There were a few artists who applied this muckraking methodology to more specific environmental challenges created by urbanization and suburbanization. Joni Mitchell is one such example, as she, in her 1970 work "Big Yellow Taxi" from her album *Ladies of the Canyon*, connects to the concerns about detergent and chemical usage during this period. These concerns were not new, especially after Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, but part of Mitchell's piece served as a reminder that issues with chemical contamination was still an issue in the ever-suburbanized United States. Mitchell sings "hey farmer farmer/put away that DDT now/give me spots on my apples/but leave me the birds and the bees," making direct connections to the harmful properties of DDT displayed in *Silent Spring*.[42] Despite the fact that Carson's work had come out nearly a decade before Mitchell released "Big Yellow Taxi," the issues with the use of DDT needed to maintain a proper food supply for the growing suburban centers seemed to be still an issue, prompting Mitchell to add this part to her song as a means to inform the public that the issue had not yet been resolved.

Also tackling a more specific issue via this Counterculture expository methodology was the Eagles with their piece "The Last Resort." Appearing on their famed 1976 album *Hotel California*, "The Last Resort" comments on the

[42] Joni Mitchell, "Big Yellow Taxi," recorded April 1970, on *Ladies of the Canyon*, audio streaming, accessed February 7, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=94bdMSCdw20.

ugliness of the pre-fabricated, mass-produced houses dotting the once beautiful countryside, with the group singing "some rich man came and raped the land, nobody caught 'em/put up a bunch of ugly boxes and, Jesus, people bought 'em."[43] This message exposes and reflects concerns about suburban settlements like Levittown, where row upon row of nearly identical households popped up with little concern for the effect that they would have on the environment and on human quality of life.[44] The Eagles piece further reminded the public that the issues of suburbanization had not gone away, even two decades after the start of suburban sprawl. Through songs such as these, the expository methodology found in Countercultural publications, whether or not environmentally based, found their way into the music regarding environmental concerns following the inaugural Earth Day in 1970.

"But the Human Name Doesn't Mean $#*! to a Tree:" Fictionalizations and Nostalgic Yearnings

A more commonly incorporated aspect of Countercultural ideology integrated into popular music following Earth Day were aspects of fictionalization and nostalgia. Fictionalization, for sure, already appeared in Countercultural thinking dating back to the Houseboat Summit at the Human Be-In, wherein Alan Watts, Allen Ginsberg, Timothy Leary, and Gary Snyder held a discussion of various aspects of the Counterculture, including what would become the major "back-to-the-land" movement. Timothy Leary specifically comments on this, stating:

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[43] The Eagles, "The Last Resort," recorded 1976, on *Hotel California*, Asylum Records 7E-1084, 1976, 331/3 rpm.

[44] Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside*, 257-258.

> I have come to a very simple solution: All the technology has to go underground. Because metal belongs underground. You take a hatchet out in the forest and let it go. It goes exactly where God and the Divine Process wants it to be: Underground. […] I foresee that these tribal groups that drop out—and I mean absolutely drop out—will be helping to get back in harmony with the land, and we've got to start immediately putting technology underground. I can think of different ways we can do this symbolically. […] So I think we should start a movement to--one hour a day or one hour a week--take a little chisel and a little hammer and just see some earth come up, and put a little seed there. And then put a little ring—mandalic ring—of something around it. I can see the highways and I can see the subways and I can see the patios and so forth...Suddenly the highway department comes along, and: "There's a rose growing in the middle of Highway 101!" And then...then...the robot power group will have to send a group of the highway department to kill the rose and put the asphalt down on the gentle, naked skin of the soil. Now when they do that, we're getting to them. There'll be pictures in the paper. And consciousness is going to change. Because we've got to get to people's consciousness. We've got to let people realize what they're doing to the earth.[45]

With this, Leary laid out not only the ideas that would turn into the back-to-the-land movement so closely associated with the Counterculture, but also the fictionalized accounts of the destruction of the Earth should the public do nothing, as shown through Leary's "robot power group" comment. Andrew Kirk suggests that fictionalization took a more futuristic turn in the Seventies' version of Counterculture environmentalism, as utopian visions appeared in works such as *Coevolution Quarterly*, the successor to *The Whole Earth Catalog*, and Ernest Callenbach's novel *Ecotopia*.[46] Counterculture environmentalists, then, seemed more than willing to embrace fictionalized accounts to promote their visions of

[45] "The Houseboat Summit: February 1967, Sausalito, Calif. Featuring Timothy Leary, Gary Snyder, Alan Watts and Allen Ginsberg," Terebess Asia Online, accessed April 21, 2018, https://terebess.hu/english/watts6.html.

[46] Kirk, *Counterculture Green*, 156-158.

environmentalism. As such, when the Countercultural strain became more popularized with Earth Day, this method worked its way into American popular music as well.

The most prominent utilization of this came through back-to-the-land, nostalgic views that are most closely related to Countercultural environmentalism. Indeed, as Timothy Leary suggested at the Houseboat Summit, returning to nature was a major part of "dropping out"—removing oneself from mainstream norms and society—and fully embracing the Countercultural lifestyle.[47] This served, too, as a means of returning to a time when pollution and the destruction of Earth's resources were not an issue, meaning that the Earth was in a far cleaner state and that the quality of life for humans living on the planet was certainly much higher. This nostalgic yearning, naturally, presented itself in popular music regarding environmentalism as well after Earth Day. Such examples appear in multiple works by Joni Mitchell. "Woodstock," for instance, performed both by her and by Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young, suggests the necessity of returning to nature through the chorus "we are stardust, we are golden/we are billion year old carbon/and we got to get ourselves back to the garden."[48] With this, the implication is that it is a necessity to return to nature in order to continue humanity's privileged living. Neil Young, too, seemed to take the nostalgic view with his 1970 recording "After the Gold Rush."

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[47] "The Houseboat Summit: February 1967, Sausalito, Calif. Featuring Timothy Leary, Gary Snyder, Alan Watts and Allen Ginsberg."

[48] Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young, "Woodstock," recorded 1969, on *Déjà Vu*, Atlantic SD 7200, 1970. 331/3 rpm.

In the opening verse of the song, Young depicts a scene from medieval times meant to display the simplicity and lack of corrupting power that man had on nature in that period.[49] He quickly contrasts it to the state of the environment in contemporary times: "Look at mother nature on the run/in the nineteen seventies."[50] Young goes even further by suggesting that environmental catastrophe is just around the corner, depicting a fictional scene where "the sun burst through the sky," referencing the threat that nuclear weaponry had to life on Earth.[51] By crafting this fictional, nostalgic story, Young suggests that humanity needs to return to simpler times, much like the Countercultural back-to-the-land movement was attempting, in order to avoid environmental Armageddon. One final example of this nostalgic methodology being utilized came from progressive rock group Kansas. With their ten-minute epic "Song for America," the title track to their 1975 album *Song for America*, the group depicts the American continent before and after European arrival. In the song, Kansas describes America prior to human interference as a paradise unsoiled by mankind and "so rich in Earth's delights."[52] With its "virgin land of forest green," its "sunlit valley, mountain fields," and its "painted desert, sequined sky," America is depicted a paradise.[53] However, following the arrival of Europeans, the

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[49] Neil Young, "After the Gold Rush," recorded 1970, streaming audio, accessed 8 February, 2018, https://www.neilyoungarchives.com/#/info-card?track=t1970_1130_03&_k=0s14mx.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Kansas, "Song for America," recorded 1974, on *Song for America*, Kirshner PZ 33385, 1975, 331/3 rpm.

[53] Ibid.

landscape is forever tarnished, as "Highways scar the mountainsides, buildings to the sky, people all around/Houses stand in endless rows, sea to shining sea, people all around."[54] With this, Kansas also displays this nostalgic view of the environment as a means to show what modernization has done. Humanity, by distancing itself from nature, has destroyed a paradise, and only by returning to the land can it be restored. For sure, then, this nostalgic view of environmentalism linking to the back-to-the-land aspect of the Counterculture displayed itself within popular music appearing after Earth Day.

A final way the Counterculture used fictionalization in popular music was in the form of predictions and fabricated "worst case scenarios." Indeed, several artists created environmental "doomsday" scenarios attempting to show the public what could happen should contemporary ways of treating the environment not be diverted. Jefferson Airplane and Crosby Stills & Nash had already attempted this via their collaborative effort in creating the song "Wooden Ships," which appeared both on Jefferson Airplane's *Volunteers* and Crosby, Stills & Nash's *Crosby, Stills & Nash*, both released in 1969. This song works as a science fiction tale, warning the audience of the horrors that await the environment and mankind if the use of nuclear energy and weaponry did not end, further suggesting that only by using natural items—in this case wooden ships—could humanity escape the impending holocaust.[55] Utilization of this

[54] Kansas, "Song for America," recorded 1974, on *Song for America*, Kirshner PZ 33385, 1975, 331/3 rpm.

[55] Crosby, Stills, Nash, & Young, "Wooden Ships," recorded August 18, 1969, on *Woodstock—Music from the Original Soundtrack and More*, Cotillion SD 3-500, 1970, 331/3 rpm.

methodology certainly appears following Earth Day as well. A milder example appears with Joni Mitchell's "Big Yellow Taxi," where she warns that, due to the continuing development of the countryside and environment, trees will be placed in museums and that "they charged all the people/a dollar and half to see 'em."[56] While not necessarily a doomsday scenario, Mitchell's example gives a more realistic idea of the fate of the environment, implying that the world will become nothing but urban areas and that the beauty of nature will only be available to future generations in the form of museums and archives. Neil Young uses this, too, in "After the Gold Rush;" after he describes the "sun burst through the sky," Young then envisions that man will now have to leave the Earth and attempt to find somewhere new, all while taking one last bit of Earth's resources with them, as evidenced by the lines "All in a dream, all in a dream/the loading had begun/flying Mother Nature's/silver seed to a new home in the sun."[57] Young, in creating this apocalyptic account, warns his audience that finding a new planet to live on will become necessary should nothing change in the way mankind handles the environment. With this, the utilization of fictionalization, in line with the way the Counterculture environmentalism developed, manifested itself within American popular music following the inaugural Earth Day.

"So Lets Avoid an Ecological Aftermath:" Directions and Calls to Action

[56] Joni Mitchell, "Big Yellow Taxi."
[57] Neil Young, "After the Gold Rush."

Giving directions on how to live in an ecologically friendly way was one of the defining aspects of Counterculture environmentalist publications. Indeed, this was the main idea behind the publication of *The Whole Earth Catalog*, as Stewart Brand, at least initially, looked to provide ideas and means for self-sustentation for communal, off-the-grid living.[58] Andrew Kirk suggests that this was hugely appealing to members of the Counterculture, as these ideas for environmentalism allowed steps toward "a non-political revolution of rebuilding toward a postindustrial future based on creative and holistic thinking…."[59] Fred Turner corroborates this, the tools and ideas of Brand and his co-writers in *The Whole Earth Catalog* served not only as a guide to self-sustaining practices, but also as a guide to embrace new technologies, which Turner further suggests led to the rise of computer and cyber culture.[60] Indeed, Counterculture environmentalists were definitely willing to give anyone who would listen instructions on how to live in a more environmentally friendly way. Even in more popular publications, such instructional writings appeared. For instance, in 1972, *Rolling Stone* published an article instructing readers how to capitalize on a long-forgotten refuse act from the nineteenth century that allowed people reporting illegal a cut of whatever fine was assigned to the offending party.[61] Another article from 1970 informs the reader of the need for new styles of urban planning that will free up

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[58] Krik, *Counterculture Green*, 52-54.

[59] Ibid, 63.

[60] Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 92-94.

[61] William Brown, "Hunting Polluters for Fun & Profit," *Rolling Stone*, May 25, 1972, 16.

more land for farming and ecological activity, thus improving the quality of life on Earth.[62] For certain, then, this also appeared in American popular music once Counterculture environmentalism gained popularity after Earth Day.

One of the more common suggestions that appears is that the best way for mankind to survive is by heading to outer space to leave behind the ills of Earth and start new colonies with pure, environmentally-friendly living. This idea developed even prior to it appearing in music during this period. Fred Turner mentions that by this point, writers in *Coevolution Quarterly* were advocating for taking Stewart Brand's vison of utilizing technology for back-to-the-land living further. Here, writers of the *Coevolution Quarterly* suggested that technology could be used to host new communities, proposing the idea of a space station that could house over one million people by the end of the twentieth century.[63] Indeed, this idea of escaping Earth to survive was already becoming a popular topic. Naturally, some musicians began picking up on it as well. Paul Kantner, a founding member of famed psychedelic rock group Jefferson Airplane, for instance, created an entire concept album around this topic. *Blows Against the Empire*, released in 1970, is Kantner's attempt to instruct audiences that escaping Earth is a necessity to escape everything part of the "system," including the threats of environmental destruction. For instance, with the song "Mau Mau (Amerikon)," the lines "I will be alive again/so drop your fuckin' bombs/burn your demon babies/I will be again," giving the idea that whoever

[62] Tom Miller, "Paolo Soleri and His Arcological Cities," *Rolling Stone*, April 30, 1970, 18.

[63] Ibid, 126-127.

stays behind on Earth can do whatever they would like, as those who actually care about the environment will have already escaped and gone on to search for a new planet to colonize and, hopefully, treat better.[64] Further, with the final track on the album, "Starship," Kantner and his collaborators specify that other, cleaner worlds can and should be escaped to, singing "Hydroponic gardens and forests/glistening with lakes in the Jupiter starlite/room for babies and Byzantine dancing astronauts/the magician and the pantechnicon/take along the farmer and the physician/we gotta get out and down."[65] Here, Kantner suggests that environmentally rich areas still exist in the universe, so, since escaping the Earth is a necessity, humanity certainly has numerous places to go to restart and not have issues with pollution and environmental destruction. Aside from Paul Kantner, Neil Young, too, suggests that escape into space might be necessary. Returning to "After the Gold Rush," Young seems to imply the same idea once the worst-case scenario of nuclear apocalypse occurs, stating that mother nature's "seed" will have to be transported to a new planet once this occurs.[66] Again, the implication here is that escaping the Earth into space is an absolute necessity in order for mankind to escape the environmental ills befalling the planet.

Escaping to space was perhaps too extreme for some. Instead, some artists provided instruction that simply returning to nature is good enough. The Kinks suggest just this with their song "Apeman" from their 1970 album *Lola*

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[64] Paul Kantner, "Mau Mau (Amerikon), recorded 1970, on *Blows Against the Empire*, audio streaming, accessed March 17, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Squ_pgiztRI.

[65] Paul Kantner, "Starship," recorded 1970, on *Blows Against the Empire*, audio streaming, accessed March 17, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_tyqP9mgpW0.

[66] Neil Young, "After the Gold Rush."

Versus Powerman and the Moneygoround, Part One. Here, The Kinks sing that to escape pollution, urbanization, nuclear fallout, and other environmentally destructive occurrences, mankind needs to "escape to a distant shore/and make like an apeman."[67] Escaping from urbanization is referenced with the lines "in man's evolution he has created the cities and/the motor traffic rumble, but give me half a chance/and I'd be taking off my clothes and living in the jungle."[68] The band further comments on escaping pollution, stating "I look out my window, but I can't see the sky/'cos the air pollution is fogging up my eyes/I want to get out of this city alive/and make like an apeman."[69] For sure, The Kinks suggest that escaping to a simpler place and mindset is what will allow for mankind to escape from the environmental problems occurring during this period.

Finally, some groups simply took to telling audiences directly what needed to be done to protect the environment. The Beach Boys do such a thing with the song "Don't Go Near the Water" from their 1971 album *Surf's Up*. In the aftermath of the Santa Barbara oil spill that occurred in 1969, awareness of water pollution had already increased. The Beach Boys, though, looked to inform audiences of ways that they could help in reducing this further. After commenting on the sorry state of the aquatic environment around them, The Beach Boys tell their audience "toothpaste and soap will make our oceans a

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[67] The Kinks, "Apeman," recorded August-September 1970, on *Lola Versus Powerman and the Moneygoround, Part One,* streaming audio, accessed February 20, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aRHqs8SffDo.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

bubble bath/so lets avoid an ecological aftermath."[70] With this, the group suggests finding alternative ways for disposing personal products commonly flushed down the drain, which certainly falls in line with this instructive pattern found in Counterculture environmentalism. Also incorporating this aspect of environmentalism into their music was popular blues artist Bo Diddley. On his 1971 album *Another Dimension*, Diddley produced the song "Pollution," where he provides the audience with more general ways to avoid pollution. For instance, Diddley sings "Some of you people don't understand/about throwing your garbage in the street and use your can," simply admonishing the audience to not litter.[71] He adds further later in the song: "say it chum, watch that paper bag/put a top on that garbage can/the wind is blowing awfully hard/watch that cigarette pack baby."[72] Indeed, Diddley instructs his audience to be careful with how the dispose of their waste in order to prevent and reduce pollution occurring in the country. With this, the instructive pattern found within Counterculture environmentalism certainly worked its way into American popular music from rock to its progenitor, rhythm and blues?

Conclusion

Following the inception of Earth Day, the Counterculture's strain of environmentalism worked its way into American popular music in multiple ways. Some pieces utilized the expository tradition of the Counterculture to

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[70] The Beach Boys, "Don't Go Near the Water," recorded 1971, on *Surf's Up*, streaming audio, accessed February 6, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AjZES3_SSYA.

[71] Bo Diddley, "Pollution," recorded 1971, on *Another Dimension*, audio streaming, accessed March 14, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vZwac1lqOGI&t=199s.

[72] Ibid.

inform and remind audiences of environmental ills, whether referring to specific events such as the Santa Barbara oil spill or the fire on the Cuyahoga River, or via more general concerns about the environment. Other pieces utilized fictionalized accounts, either to promote back-to-the-land ideas or to show the horrifying effects that contemporary environmental disasters were leading toward. Finally, a call to action appeared in several pieces, informing audiences in a variety of ways of measures needed either to end pollution and environmental destruction or to escape from it and start anew somewhere else. Going forward, popular artists continued to use these methods. In the wake of the near-meltdown of the Three Mile Island nuclear plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania in 1979, for instance, a number of popular artists, including Jackson Browne, Bonnie Raitt, and Graham Nash, formed Musicians United for Safe Energy (MUSE) and hosted a series of concerts to raise further awareness of the dangers of using nuclear energy.[73] With this, Counterculture environmentalism, once popularized by Earth Day, found its way into American popular music and continued to do, even long after the inaugural Earth Day of 1970.

[73] Robin Herman, "Nearly 200,000 Rally to Protest Nuclear Energy," *New York Times*, September 24, 1979, accessed April 1, 2018, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

The Degradation of Working-Class Status in Industrial France

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The first ripples of the Industrial Revolution were felt in France during the 1830s and 1840s.[1] Although French industrialization occurred gradually over the nineteenth century, the commercialization of agriculture, adoption of power-driven machinery, and utilization of mass production in factories that characterized it dramatically transformed the country's economy and ushered in new labor practices.[2] The economic expansion that accompanied this industrialization "increased the wealth of society as a whole," but often occurred "at the expense of the security and well-being of ordinary workers."[3] While at the beginning of the nineteenth century, France valued artisans as the "backbone of the economy," the efficiency of mechanized production replaced the need for skill in many industries, allowing employers to hire unskilled employees that could be overworked and treated as disposable.[4] As surviving memoirs from French workers reveal, unskilled workers were paid poorly, abused by their employers, could barely afford to feed themselves, resided in crowded, unsanitary conditions, and received minimal assistance from the government. French workers were made to feel like societal outsiders by wealthy bourgeoisie and unskilled workers began to see themselves as a distinctive social class. Tracing the evolution of the urban working-class experience in nineteenth-

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[1] Jeremy Popkin, *A History of Modern France* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 102.
[2] Mark Traugott, *The French Worker: Autobiographies from the Early Industrial Era* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 10.
[3] Ibid., 6.
[4] Ibid., 11.

century France through the history of industrialization and personal memoirs reveals how the shift from skilled to unskilled labor devalued workers' social status and ability to control their work environments, shaping their self-perceptions and generating feelings of class-consciousness.

In the preindustrial economy of the early nineteenth century, skilled artisans were major producers of French goods, often receiving assistance from extensive social networks. Trained for years by masters of their crafts, these artisans were taught how to create finished goods. Although the guild system was abolished during the French Revolution, traveling the country to diversify their talents and gain new techniques remained popular for many artisans-in-training.[5] As illustrated in the memoir of Agricol Perdiguier, a joiner who was born in 1805 and traveled France for four years, journeymen on the *Tour de France*—the circuit of cities traveled by young artisans—received great support from their societies of fraternity brothers called *compagnons*.[6] Members of these brotherhoods found work and lodging for each other, visited their sick in the hospital, and allowed promotion within their ranks.[7] With this nationwide network of support, Perdiguier was never alone on his journeys and easily acquired employment.

Skilled artisans during this preindustrial time saw themselves as individual, socially mobile workers. Because they were well-trained in a specific

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[5] Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 48.
[6] Traugott, *The French Worker*, 116.
[7] Agricol Perdiguier, "Memoirs of a Compagnon," in *The French Worker: Autobiographies from the Early Industrial Era*, ed. Mark Traugott (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 117-182.

skill, artisans were valuable to employers. They had to be treated somewhat respectfully, and they did not have to tolerate abusive environments. In his memoir, Perdiguier writes of a confrontation that occurred between him and his employer, Mr. Gardot, where he is severely scolded by Mr. Gardot for a minor misunderstanding. Following the incident, Perdiguier is immediately able to square up his accounts and escape from his obstinate boss.[8] This example illustrates that workers held the expectation that they would be treated justly. Skilled workers such as Perdiguier were highly sought after in workshops and supported by their brotherhoods; therefore, they did not have to agonize about leaving a job to search for another if they disliked their work environment. Furthermore, upon returning from their tours of France, these artisans expected to set up their own shops and sell their goods.[9] There was little sense of working-class consciousness among skilled artisans because, as they became shop owners, they saw themselves as self-sustaining workers and were able to advance socially to join the middle-class.

The class consciousness of workers began to emerge at the beginning of the century following the Revolution of 1830, when the bourgeoisie became a distinct social class. This development created a sharp fracture between wealthy industrialists who were elevated by the new regime called the July monarchy and poor urban workers who were not rewarded for their participation in the revolution.[10] Also, during the 1830s, the country "saw the first significant

[8] Perdiguier, "Memoirs of a Compagnon," 145-146.
[9] Perdiguier, "Memoirs of a Compagnon," 181.
[10] Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 102.

development of modern factory-based industry" and "the beginnings of profound social change that accompanied it."[11] As the use of mechanized production increased in northern French cities, industrialists "concentrated production processes in large factory buildings."[12] In the close proximity of the factory floor, workers started to share ideas and see themselves as separate from the industrialists who owned the machinery and factories in which they labored.

The emergence of new production practices in the 1830s was met with growing discontent from the skilled artisans who lost their prestige in the face of mechanization and increasing numbers of unskilled, migrant workers that played a greater role in France's changing economy. Industrialization caused a surge of urban migration, as workers and former peasants traveled to northern cities in search of employment. Once in the cities, migrants faced terrible conditions. They were overworked and forced into crowded, unsanitary dwellings.[13] Although laborers tried to retain their identity as individual workers, they felt dehumanized to the point that they considered themselves slaves in the bourgeois system of labor. The dramatic rhetoric of slave-like working conditions is found in documents from both the Revolution of 1848 and the Commune of 1871—revolts that were both initiated and fought by members of the working-class in hopes of more rights for industrial laborers. As revolutionary action failed to favorably reorganize labor and grant workers the rights they demanded, a

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[11] Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 102.
[12] Ibid., 103.
[13] Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 109.

document from May 1871 lamented that "the worker continues to be enslaved by the employer, who holds absolute control over production."[14] While workers joined together by forming mutual aid societies and consumer cooperatives and called for better conditions through newspapers, the failure of bourgeois-dominated regimes to address their grievances confirmed working-class beliefs that the economic system sought only to exploit them.[15]

In accordance with changes in production methods and working-class conditions, the memoirs of workers born after 1830 sharply contrast with the memoir of the skilled artisan Agricol Perdiguier. While some industrial workers were able to find support from mutual aid societies and cooperatives, the memoirs of Norbert Truquin, Jean-Baptiste Dumay, and Jeanne Bouvier bring to light "the occupational instability and marginality of those without skills, without knowledge, without the support of family or a circle of friends—in short, without resources of virtually any kind to help them in the struggle to survive."[16] Unlike in Perdiguier's experience, there were no social safety nets for these three workers to rely on. They traveled and suffered through sickness alone, without the help of fraternities that could connect them with employers. Instead, they had to search, beg, and lie to secure employment. This job distress can be seen in the

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[14] "Report to the Citizen Delegate for Public Works on contracts for the supply of military uniforms" in T*he Communards of Paris, 1871*, ed. Steward Edwards (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973), 130.

[15] Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 110.

[16] Traugott, *The French Worker*, 250.

case of Bouvier, a young woman who told employers she was eighteen years old, four years older than her actual age, to get hired.[17]

Because no national welfare system existed to aid workers, in times of true desperation, they had to rely on the charity of other laborers. When Truquin was in Compiègne, for example, he explains that a group of workers, “seeing that I was in such a pitiful state, my feet all bloody,” put “straw in my wooden shoes and one of them even sacrificed half his undershirt to wrap my feet.”[18] Lacking assistance from the government and their employers, working-class citizens stepped up and helped each other. Through supporting fellow laborers—either by providing them with food, money, or lodging, or by helping them find employment—workers started to gain a sense of class consciousness as they recognized that others were suffering from the same types of injustice they experienced. What at first seemed simply to be charity from one worker to another came to resemble solidarity between members of the same social class. Help was extended to the hopeless, not only out of kindness, but out of working-class duty to support fellow “slaves.”

Moreover, unskilled laborers, deemed easily replaceable, had little control over their work environments. They did not always have the luxury of leaving a bad employer the way skilled laborers previously had because work was difficult to find, and they often did not have enough money to feed

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[17] Jeanne Bouvier, “My Memoirs,” in *The French Worker: Autobiographies from the Early Industrial Era*, ed. Mark Traugott (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 355.

[18] Norbert Truquin, “Memoirs and Adventures of a Proletarian in Times of Revolution,” in *The French Worker: Autobiographies from the Early Industrial Era*, ed. Mark Traugott (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 268.

themselves as they searched for new opportunities. Also, the fear of being blacklisted, highlighted in the factory experience of Dumay, likely intimidated workers who would have otherwise stood up for their rights.[19] Unlike artisans in the early years of the century, workers in the industrialized economy were devalued because they did not learn how to craft finished goods. They instead performed only a single part of the production process. This monotonous work was bemoaned by laborers who found the repetition physically and mentally harmful, and calls were made for the diversification of jobs.[20] Without the ability to improve working conditions, social mobility became virtually impossible for the majority of urban laborers, who survived on their weekly payments.

Beginning in the new industrial world that emerged in the 1830s, the "rhetoric of the period...tended to describe urban society as being divided into two hostile blocs of bourgeois and proletarians" because the "laboring classes themselves were becoming more conscious of what divided them from the rest of society."[21] Many things divided laborers from other French citizens in a society ruled by the values and institutions of the bourgeoisie. Throughout the memoirs of the industrial laborers, wealthy bourgeoisie are painted as uncaring, with hypocritical attitudes about working-class conditions. The issue regarding working-class clothing provides an example that encapsulates these workers'

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[19] Jean-Baptiste Dumay, "Memoirs of a Militant Worker from Le Creusot," in *The French Worker: Autobiographies from the Early Industrial Era*, ed. Mark Traugott (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 327.

[20] "Address from the Central Committee on the Women's Union for the Defence of Paris and for the Aid to the Wounded to the Commission of Labour and Exchange," in *The Communards of Paris, 1871*, ed. Steward Edwards (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973), 135-136.

[21] Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 110.

perceptions of bourgeois attitudes. Truquin's and Bouvier's narratives include scenarios in which workers who can barely afford to feed themselves are criticized by the bourgeoisie for their shabby dress. Clothing was a major source of anxiety for workers, as they dreaded going out in public dressed in rags. In fact, Bouvier declares that as a child the only thing holding her back from drowning herself in the river was the fear that people would see her dirty apron when they laid out her corpse.[22] Later, Bouvier was mocked by her employer for her lack of material possessions because she did not even have a trunk full of clothing.[23] Truquin argued with a shop owner who scorned workers for not having clean clothes for Sundays.[24]

Clothing was also used as a barrier to make the lower classes feel like outsiders. Work clothes were not allowed in the museums and gardens of Paris, which implied that high-minded activities were only meant to be enjoyed by the upper-classes.[25] The irony of the controversy surrounding clothing—not lost on the workers—was that the same class of people that were disparaging workers' appearances were the ones paying them minimal wages and monopolizing their time. These insults and exclusionary tactics deepened the rifts between the working-class and the bourgeois, instilling the perception in workers that they were an isolated group that the upper-classes misunderstood and abused.

The shifting self-perceptions and growing class consciousness of laborers demonstrate that the experience of the French working-class drastically

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[22] Bouvier, "My Memoirs," 346.
[23] Ibid., 354.
[24] Truquin, "Memoirs and Adventures of a Proletarian in Times of Revolution," 293.
[25] Ibid., 283.

changed over the course of the nineteenth century. As mechanization replaced the need for skill and the effects of industrialism penetrated society, workers' status and quality of life were greatly reduced. Despite strong calls for reform and bloody revolutions that "increasingly strike historians as major milestones in modern French history," most working-class grievances were never fully addressed during the nineteenth century.[26] It was not until the war-torn twentieth century that the aspirations of many laborers were realized. Most importantly, however, nineteenth century France saw the working-class emerge as its own social group with distinct objectives and values.

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[26] Popkin, *A History of Modern France*, 93.

"Construyendo la Mujer Nueva: The Image and Reality of the Revolutionary 'New Woman'"

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Late in 1985, the Nicaraguan Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) produced a comic in *Barricada*, one of the daily newspapers that circulated at the time of the Nicaraguan revolution and into the decade of Sandinista control, which commented upon the status of women's liberation five years following the Sandinista victory. The cartoon, entitled "Unite and Fight," depicts a man and a woman examining the ball and chain that is attached to each of their ankles.[1] The woman helps the man break his chain before indicating that he should help with her chain as well. In his exuberance over being liberated, the man leaves the woman with her leg extended. She remains shackled.

This cartoon conveys the attitude many women held in Latin America during the era of the Cold War. Despite the FSLN's insistence that they stood for gender equality, the experiences of Nicaraguan women convey another story. Women in Nicaragua integrated themselves fully into the struggle for national liberation from corruption, often putting their own needs aside in favor of the needs of the larger population. Women's efforts, however, were not always rewarded with the promised attention to equality.[2] Much like the woman in the

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[1] "Unite and Fight," *Barricada*, November/December 1985; the comic can be most easily seen in Maxine Molyneux, "The Politics of Abortion in Nicaragua: Revolutionary Pragmatism, or Feminism in the Realm of Necessity?" in *Feminist Review* no. 29 (Summer 1988): 128. *Barricada* was the official FSLN circular; the contemporary *La Prensa* was more anti-Sandinista during the 1970s. Archives of both newspapers can be found at Stanford University's Hoover Institute and the University of Kansas's Watson Library.

[2] As will be discussed later, the Mexican student movement did not list gender equality among its aims. Those participating believed gender equality would occur as a result of establishing parity in other areas. Similar mentality existed in other revolutionary movements

Barricada cartoon, they remained chained to the concepts of masculinity and femininity left over from decades past.

Key to the shared experiences of those in Latin America are the concepts of *machismo* and *marianismo*, the constructions of masculinity and femininity. *Machismo* and *marianismo*, firmly rooted within the Catholic traditions of Latin America, enforce a gendered hierarchy that has dominated the region for centuries. Such a structure influenced the way in which men and women interacted with one another and with members of their own gender.

The hierarchically superior member of the gendered binary, the *macho* established the ultimate ideal of manliness as an honorable and valorous individual, reliant only upon himself. Writing in the 1950s, the Mexican writer Octavio Paz explains the *macho* becomes hermetically sealed from those around him, enclosed in himself. *Hombría* is thus rooted in invulnerability and stoicism, crafting a careful repression of men's emotions.[3] The concept of *hombría*, especially as Paz sees it, becomes something less concerned with actual dominance over other men and more concerned with demonstration and performance *for* other men; men must prove to other men that they are capable

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globally that sought to free themselves from oppression. Notable examples include the Chinese and Russian Revolutions in the twentieth century.

[3] Despite the fact that Paz was focused on Mexican man, he illuminates concepts of gender that are applicable to Latin America as a whole as *machismo* was not a phenomenon unique to Mexico. In addition to this, he also gives an indication through his writing as to the progressive attitude that some male members of the various Latin American social movements would adopt in later years. This progressive attitude and reflective awareness won him the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1990. "El 'macho' es un ser hermético, encerrado en sí mismo, capaz de guardarse y guardar lo que se le confía. La hombría se mide por la invulnerabilidad ante las armas enemigas o ante los impactos del mundo exterior. El estoicismo es la más alta de nuestras virtudes guerreras y políticas." Octavio Paz, *El laberinto de la soledad y otras obras* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 52.

of meeting societal expectations and this is demonstrated through control of those deemed socially inferior.

As the subordinate component of the dichotomy, women operate chiefly as an "other" against which men can contrast themselves. *Marianismo,* firmly rooted in the Catholic tradition of Latin America, urges women to take up the example of the Virgin Mary. Mary embodies both the expectation of motherhood and suffering; even the images of the Madonna and child carry a degree of foresight to the pain the crucifixion would cause. Mary is also a source of shelter, as is apparent with images of Madonna della Misericordia; images like the one included here show Mary protecting devout Catholics from evil forces.[4] Other versions of Mary are more aggressive. Diego de la Cruz portrayed Mary with arrows in her hands, yet her attention is concentrated on sheltering those in her care. Domenico di Zanobi's altarpiece entitled *Madonna del Soccorso* (*Madonna of Rescue or Refuge*) is much more active in her defense of her child from Satan; within the piece, Mary brandishes what appears to be a stick, prepared to defend her own with violence.[5] These two depictions of Mary represent the basis for the expectations placed upon Latin American women through *marianismo*.

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[4] Diego de la Cruz, *The Virgin of Mercy with the Catholic Monarchs and their family,* c. 1486-1499, painting, 149cm by 127cm, Wikipedia Commons, accessed April 5, 2018, https://gl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ficheiro:Diego_de_la_Cruz,_La_Virgen_de_la_Misericordia_con_los_Reyes_Cat%C3%B3licos_y_su_familia._Monasterio_de_las_Huelgas,_Burgos.png.

[5] Domenico di Zanobi, *Madonna del Soccorso*, c. 1450-1485, painting, accessed April 5, 2018,https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Domenico_di_zanobi_(maestro_della_nativit%C3%A0_johnson),_madonna_del_soccorso,_1450-1485_ca..JPG.

Domenico di Zanobi, *Madonna del Soccoroso* (c.1450-1485). Photo by Sailko, used under CC-BY 3.0 license.

Diego de la Cruz. *The Virgin of Mercy with the Catholic Monarchs and their family* (c.1486-1499). Public domain.

> I have been two women and I have lived two lives. One of these women wanted to do everything according to the classic feminine code: get married, have children, be supportive, docile, and nurturing. The other woman yearned for the privileges men enjoyed: independence, self-reliance, a public life, mobility, lovers. I have spent the greater part of my life trying to balance and blend these two identities, to avoid being torn apart by their opposing forces. In the end I believe I have found a way that allows both women to live together beneath the same skin.[6]

[6] "He sido dos mujeres y vivido dos vidas. Una de mis mujeres quería hacerlo todo según los anales clásicos de la feminidad: casarse, tener hijos, ser complaciente, dócil y nutricia. La otra quería los privilegios masculinos: independencia, valerse por sí misma, tener vida pública, movilidad, amantes. Aprender a balancearlas y unificar sus fuerzas para que no me desgarran sus luchas a mordiscos y jaladas de pelos me ha tomado gran parte de la vida. Creo que al fin he logrado que ambas coexistan bajo la misma piel." Gioconda Belli, *El país bajo mi piel* (New York: Vintage Español, 2003), 12; Gioconda Belli, *The Country Under My Skin*, trans. Kristina Cordero and Gioconda Belli (New York: Anchor Books, 2003), ix-x.

The two lives described by Nicaraguan poet, activist, and intellectual, Gioconda Belli serve as an example of the struggle many Latin American women faced during the Global Sixties. Belli, like those women around her, struggled to reconcile expectations of femininity with their own desires, which could be highly incompatible with what their families demanded of them. Women like Belli witnessed their male counterparts taking up arms, journeying to the mountains to escape the corruption that ran rampant in the cities, penning intricate and nuanced inquiries into the status quo of their society, and suggesting change. The increased reflection on social life allowed for the development of an intellectual dialogue on inequality in its many forms, which drove many Latin Americans to political activism of one type or another. Latin American women prior to the mid-twentieth century struggled against the patriarchy in order to bring notions of social justice into the public light. The women who came after them championed their efforts and followed in their footsteps where public actions were concerned. Given the progression of women's presence in the public sphere as laborers, women in the 1960s and 1970s exceeded the boundaries set by their predecessors and reached new heights as revolutionaries and rebels; this does not mean, however, that they were free of their more traditional duties within the house or the movement.

Within Nicaragua, women actively participated in education, not just of their own children but of those around them or even those they traveled long distances to help. Women engaged in the teaching profession, long referred to as *normalistas,* became the first waves of highly educated females. As they

remained in constant contact with one another in order to discuss the problems they faced as *normalistas* and suggest solutions, they became the first waves of feminist thought in Latin America, questioning the education they handed down and what it meant for themselves and the children they instructed.[7]

The October 1979 national census in Nicaragua included questions on literacy in order to determine the need for a literacy campaign and the accessibility to those who needed education; in a span of ten days, the census found that of the 50.34% illiterate Nicaraguans, the majority lived within the central mountain and Atlantic regions.[8] Many Nicaraguan women credited their own education with instilling in them a need to pursue social justice and change. Many of the women included within this research attended La Asunción and received schooling focused on making them more benevolent and worldly

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[7] Education for girls often stopped around the age of thirteen or whenever her parents deemed her of a marriageable age. Francesca Miller, *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice*, Hanover: University Press of New England, 36.

[8] The 1980 campaign lasted March 3-August 23, 1980. The national census that took place beforehand surveyed citizens above the age of ten to gauge their level of literacy, the accessibility of the illiterate, and their willingness to engage in schooling. The results demonstrated that 28.4% of those in urban areas were illiterate while rural rates were much higher, falling at 75.44%. Females had lower illiteracy rates than males, with the census reporting 49.28% and 51.50%, respectively. The teachers entering the field were members of the People's Literacy Army (*Ejército Popular de Alfabetización*, EPA) or the Citizen's Literacy Promoters (*Alfabetizadores Populares*, AP); the EPA sent 52,180 *brigadistas* while the AP sent 95,582 *alfabetizadores*. Ulrike Hanemann, *Nicaragua's Literacy Campaign* (Hamburg, Ger.: UNESCO Institute for Education, 2005); Juan B. Arrien, *Literacy in Nicaragua: Paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2006, Literacy for Life* (UNESCO, 2006), 6. UNESCO places these statistics in helpful world contexts in their September 2017 Fact Sheets, "More Than One-Half of Children and Adolescents Are Not Learning Worldwide," (UNESCO-UIS, 2017), http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/fs46-more-than-half-children-not-learning-en-2017.pdf and "Literacy Rates Continue to Rise from One Generation to the Next http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/fs45-literacy-rates-continue-rise-generation-to-next-en-2017_0.pdf. Though these UNESCO sources present statistics for the twenty-first century, they demonstrate the lasting effects of literacy campaigns and struggles to include more of the populace in the political process and how literacy rates compare across the globe.

citizens. The women activists from La Asunción understood that providing a better education to their fellow country people would not only increase their quality of life but improve the situation of those around them in the countryside. Women involved in the Sandinista Revolution or government in Nicaragua were encouraged to take part in literacy campaigns; at least half of those involved as teachers and nearly half as students in such literacy campaigns were women.[9] In subsequent years, the Sandinista government conducted other literacy campaigns in indigenous languages, which reached approximately 12,000 people.

In their capacity as revered wives and mothers within Latin American society, women involved in social movements often found themselves employed providing care to other rebels as well as their children. Many women were entrusted with mountain encampments and provisioning the guerrillas with food and supplies. Nicaraguan women operated safe houses for those comrades on the run, which additionally operated as training grounds, expanding educational parameters to revolutionary theory and weapons training.[10] This level of involvement could be used as an entry into the revolution for women in

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[9] Randall, Sandino's Daughters Revisited, 25.

[10] Women did not necessarily have to run safe houses on their own. Vidaluz Menéses and her husband ran safe houses together, as he was equally idealistic. Edmundo Menéses, Vidaluz's father and Tachito Somoza's ambassador to Guatemala, warned Vidaluz's husband that her "poetic and romantic nature" would lead to her being manipulated by revolutionaries; Edmundo cautioned Vidaluz's husband not to allow her to participate in such activities. Luckily for Vidaluz, her husband shared in her revolutionary leanings, which she says gave her "a certain leeway in that respect." When Edmundo pressed the issue, Vidaluz confronted him via letter, explaining, "I was nothing more than the product of the education that they themselves gave me—by sending me to religious schools, by wanting me to have values such as justice and morality, and so forth." Margaret Randall, *Risking a Somersault in the Air: Conversations with Nicaraguan Writers*, trans. Christina Mills, ed. Floyce Alexander (San Francisco: Curbstone Press, 1984), 45-6.

Nicaragua. Women could leverage their positions as individuals already involved to be included in other forms of rebellious activity.

In the aftermath of the 1972 earthquake in Managua, women engaged directly in humanitarian work. In addition to drawing attention to widespread suffering, the humanitarian efforts demonstrated the level of corruption present within the Nicaraguan government. The greed which drove Somoza to sell Red Cross blankets highlighted the extent to which the Nicaraguan people needed assistance and women rose to the challenge of aiding their impoverished neighbors.[11] Gioconda Belli recalls spending days with Ángela Saballos, a journalist for *El Nuevo Diario* and fellow Sandinista, following the earthquake. Detailing their efforts, she recalls the political undertones to their humanitarian work as the two women recruited earthquake survivors to reclaim aid from the corrupt government.[12]

Despite their roles as caretakers, women in Nicaragua were able to exploit their unique place in society as revered wives and mothers to avoid suspicion as they recruited discontented individuals and helped give them the tools which would help them change not only their lot in life but the state of the country they would leave to those who came after them.

[11] See Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1993), 227.

[12] "Las dos fingíamos ocuparnos en brindar ayuda humanitaria a los damnificados del terremoto, pero en realidad se trataba de un trabajo político. En el colegio Centroamérica reclutábamos nuevos miembros para el sandinismo entre los refugiados y los organizábamos para que reclamaran al gobierno la ayuda que Somoza se estaba robanda a la vista y paciencia de todo el mundo." Gioconda Belli, *El país bajo mi piel* (New York: Vintage Español, Random House, Inc., 2002), 80.

In addition to providing aid to rebels and those they wished to help, women operated as messengers for the social movements in which they were involved. They transported comrades without drawing the attention of soldiers or enemy sympathizers between safe houses and clandestine meetings, ensuring their *compañeros*' safety by throwing off suspicion and using the ideals of *machismo* against the male soldiers. Other women procured information themselves through whatever positions they held at the time they joined the social movement or gained after they had become involved. Women's ability to pass along such information to their comrades—male and female alike—helped show the rebels how and where to apply pressure in order to affect the greatest amount of change.

In addition to continuing those duties carried out by the women that preceded them, the female activists of Nicaragua developed new avenues of involvement, including the ability to act as emissaries and ambassadors. This engagement perhaps stemmed from women's roles as messengers but provided them with a greater degree of agency than merely delivering missives or individuals. Women like Sofía Montenegro combined their duties as messengers with other newfound duties. In an interview with Margaret Randall wherein she discussed her role as a Sandinista, Montenegro recalled fulfilling messenger duties alongside her responsibilities to move individuals and leak information to the press, deriving credibility from the Somoza regime from her family name.[13] Montenegro's summation of her duties as a revolutionary helps to illustrate the

[13] Randall, Sandino's Daughters Revisited, 294.

complexities Nicaraguan women faced as they strove to oust Somoza as well as the number of responsibilities they balanced out of necessity. As the daughter and sister of prominent National Guardsmen, Montenegro suffered a degree of distrust from her fellow Sandinistas yet was able to act in a variety of capacities which lent her more freedom than compliance with her family's conservative stance would have; her prominence in Nicaraguan society allowed her to feed misinformation to the Somoza-supporting media or to sympathetic foreign networks, thus positioning her as a representative of the Sandinista cause.

Women were able to exercise power as emissaries on a multitude of levels, which included and moved beyond their own communities. On local levels, women constructed secret networks of conspirators "who offered money, housing for those in hiding, and ceded their cars to transport *compañeros*."[14] Belli notes that they still participated in their traditional efforts of collecting funds and securing safety and transportation for their comrades; this work, however, provided opportunities that demonstrated the women's capability for leadership, which translated into them being appointed to positions beyond their own homes and communities. In the late 1970s, Belli and Malena de Montis operated as a team, embarking on a month-long tour of various European countries to gain support for the Sandinistas.[15] Nora Astorga worked as a lawyer, providing

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[14] "En los barrios se organizaban redes secretas y en todos los estratos sociales lográbamos hacernos de nuevos colaboradores que ofrecían dinero, albergue para cuadros clandestinas y cedían sus automóviles para movilizar compañeros." Belli, *El país bajo mi piel*, 89-90.

[15] "Malena [de Montis] y yo recorrimos no sé cuántos países en el mes de mayo. La simpatía que despertaba aquella lucha desigual de muchachos jovencitos y desarrapados contra un ejército armado hasta los dientes, nos abría las puertas por doquier. Agotadas por las reuniones incesantes donde repetíamos la misma historia. Malena y yo andábamos, sin

information on her clients to the FSLN. After the Sandinista victory in 1979, she served as special attorney general, prosecuting around 7,500 members of Somoza's National Guard. In 1984, Astorga was appointed Nicaragua's Ambassador to the United States. Her appointment was refused by President Ronald Regan due to her participation in the assassination of known torturer General Reynaldo Pérez Vega, a man on the CIA's payroll.[16]

Despite the fact that women were able to participate in the Nicaraguan social movements, they did not necessarily do so without experiencing discrimination. Prejudice came from a variety of sources, including their fellow rebels and those they were working against. They were conscious of the fact that many of the men around them viewed them as nonthreatening, as is evinced by the opinions that women would lessen suspicion if they accompanied *compañeros* on their missions. Gioconda Belli recognized that her non-Sandinista coworkers and superiors viewed her as nothing more than a bourgeois woman dressed as a hippie, and utilized their assumption to throw off suspicion.[17]

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embargo, posesionadas de nuestra misión, estimuladas por la repuesta y la acogida que teníamos. No importaba el cansancio. Todavía encontrábamos fuerzas para ir a parques, comer apfelstrudel en Viena, recorrer los canales en Amsterdam, pequeñas diversiones que nos daban gran felicidad." Belli, *El país bajo mi piel*, 308. Malena de Montis went on to become a renowned human rights activist and founder of the Center for Democratic Participation and Development and the Women's Development Fund, which worked to support Nicaraguan women. She founded the Women's Coalition in Nicaragua and remains active with the Autonomous Women's Movement. A profile on de Montis can be found at the following location: Siobhán Hayes, "Malena de Montis, Nicaragua: Fodem/Cenzontle's Economic Empowerment Programs for Women," Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace, December 5, 2007,http://www.learningpartnership.org/lib/malena-de-montis-nicaragua-fodemcenzontle%E2%80%99s-economic-empowerment-programs-women.

[16] Randall, *Sandino's Daughters Revisited*, 22. Astorga later became the ambassador to the United Nations.

[17] "Sabía que me verían como lo que parecía: una muchachita burguesa vestida a lo hippie." Ibid., 104.

Other women who associated with the social movements noticed they were given tasks typically associated with women, such as laundry or cooking. When asked later about such sexism, Belli noted, “I recall someone showing me a document in 1970 in which some of the women questioned the fact that they were largely being assigned ‘womanly tasks,’ like cooking for the comrades, managing safehouses, that sort of thing. But I can’t say that I noticed any gender discrimination at the time.”[18] Women certainly had varying degrees of awareness of the sexism they encountered, and some experienced it in intervals rather than consistently.

Sexism for these women existed in a number of forms, including a lack of confidence in their abilities. Women may have been elevated to positions of authority or given responsibilities they would not have normally had, but this did not mean that they were given complete trust. Doris Tijerino experienced sexism throughout her job as a police chief.

> During a conversation with coworkers and superiors, she encountered one man who went on and on listing my many talents. And then he said they’d brought me into the police and discovered I was an excellent chief! I’ll never forget how I felt that day. I asked that man, right there in front of all those people, if after twenty years of revolutionary militancy they’d just discovered that I can think. It made people extremely uncomfortable. They said I was ‘difficult,’ that it was hard to work with me because I came out and said things like that. But, I can tell you, I felt continually attacked and offended. I had to make a huge effort, always, not to let bitterness get the best of me. My Party history won me authority and respect at the Ministry of the Interior, but I had problems the whole time, serious problems with the male leadership. All the women comrades did.[19]

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[18] Randall, Sandino’s Daughters Revisited, 175.
[19] Ibid., 218.

During an interview with Margaret Randall, Tijerino gave examples of the sexism she experienced in her recounting of various meetings she attended with other members in her department. She began to notice that her ideas were not being taken seriously when she made suggestions for improvements or new programs for the department. Tijerino started crediting her subordinates—male subordinates—or other departments for coming up with ideas to implement. She confessed, "I had the complicity of a whole series of subordinates in this… they understood as well as I did that it was the only way we were going to get anything done."[20] The willingness of her male subordinates to cooperate in such a plan while accepting the ingenuity of Tijerino's designs suggests that the male attitude was changing as the men seemed inclined to accept Tijerino's ideas rather than challenging her with their own, which might have been more readily accepted by their superiors.

Women were also disparaged for their emotions and their relationships. Most women who attained high ranks within social movements were expected to attain the levels of stoicism practiced by their male counterparts.[21] Rather than becoming genuine equals, they became assimilated into *macho* culture instead of breaking down the harmful stereotypes that came to effect more of the Latin American population than just the men.[22] Recounting an experience in which she

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[20] Randall, Sandino's Daughters Revisited, 175.

[21] This concept is present within Octavio Paz's work as well as the testaments of revolutionary women: "Circalas al sufrimiento, y a su capacidad para resistirlo sin protesta, la mujer trasciende su condición y adquiere los mismos atributos del hombre." Paz, *El laberinto de la soledad*, 60.

[22] In the introduction to *Sandino's Daughters Revisited*, Margaret Randall notes, "female combatants who were able to most completely assume a style of analysis and conduct

informed Bayardo Arce and René Núñez that she was leaving her position as the director of several television networks in post-1979 Nicaragua in order to serve in a secretarial position under Modesto, a man with whom she had a romantic relationship, Gioconda Belli provides an excellent example of such sexism. Both Sandinista leaders told her, "You're acting like a woman. You're leaving a job that's perfect for you in order to follow the man you love. It doesn't make sense;" despite Arce's and Núñez's criticism, Belli took the secretarial position; her reflections upon the choice are full of regret, especially as she remarks, "that mistake really cost me. It really never stopped costing me, because things were never the same after that. I never again received the same kind of respect."[23] Other women, such as Daisy Zamora, were punished in similar manners for not giving into their emotions—or emotions the men felt they *should* have. Rather than sacrificing her position to follow the man she loved, Zamora tactfully declined the advances of one of her male superiors; seeing himself as deeply scorned, the superior exercised his masculine privilege to prevent Zamora from being hired by United Nations Representative Jaime Balcázar. When she later discovered the reason for not attaining such a prestigious and promising appointment in the United Nations delegation, Zamora reflected that "there was

considered to be 'male' rose to the highest levels of power permitted them within a structure controlled by the men." Randall, *Sandino's Daughters Revisited*, 24. Similar issues arose in contemporary China with the emergence of Iron Girls. Critics of these masculinized women voiced a succinct and direct critique that does not appear in the case of Latin America, yet still applies: "The appearance of 'fake boys' and 'iron women' is a disguised form of discrimination against women; it belittles them. Its basic point still is that men are better than women, and that therefore when women are strong they should resemble men." Emily Honig and Gail Hershatter, *Personal Voices: Chinese Women in the 1980's* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 26.

[23] Randall, Sandino's Daughters Revisited, 177.

a gap between what the revolution offered its women and what we women found in our day to day relationship with 'Comandante X,' a man still very much formed in the old ideas."[24]

Women found themselves in impossible situations, unable to choose between emotionality and stoicism, their perceived options. Belli recalls asking herself if she was looking to be happy or be a revolutionary, to be an emotional woman or a "new man" as described by Che Guevara and other cultural expectations.[25] The descriptors appear to always be diametrically opposed rather than potential pairings, a solution which would be more appropriate for a progressive revolutionary state. Women thus become de-sexed in a manner akin to Lady Macbeth, unable or unwilling to fulfill either the performed masculinity or femininity as defined by cultural standards.[26]

Even if some women did not experience sexism themselves, it did not go unnoticed by their *compañeras,* who, especially in Nicaragua, became quite vocal about their disappointment in and distrust of the revolutionary movement; many of them, in retrospect, came to realize the degree of misogyny they experienced during their revolutionary years was much higher than they initially perceived it to be. Despite being criticized for their interest or disinterest in

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[24] Ibid., 111.

[25] "¿Qué escoge usted? ¿Es feliz o es revolucionaria? ¿Se portará como mujer emotiva, o escogerá ser <<hombre nuevo>>, ese constructo utópico, paradigma de nuestros sueños, capaz de sacrificar cosa por la patria?" Belli, *El país bajo mi piel*, 119.

[26] William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (New York: Avenel Books), 1049. The essence of Lady Macbeth's struggle can be found within Act 1, Scene 5, Lines 30-37: "Come, you spirits / That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here, / And fill me from the crown to the toe top-full / Of direst cruelty. Make thick my blood. / Stop up the access and passage to remorse, / That no compunctious visitings of nature / Shake my fell purpose, / nor keep peace between / The effect and it!"

romantic relationships, they watched their *compañeros* carry out numerous affairs with fellow revolutionaries and women from outside the country coming to observe the very same types of relationships for which the *compañeras* were being chastised even after numerous years of distinguished service to the movement.[27] Gioconda Belli, despite arguing that she did not personally experience sexism, remembers participating in a meeting in which,

> [f]or the first time, someone insinuated that maybe women should not be a part of the active army units. It seemed absurd to me, and I said, 'How can you even think that when women have demonstrated that they are equally as good soldiers as the men during the insurrection?' I don't know how many months later, nevertheless, army command—with Humberto Ortega at the head—decided that women would only occupy administrative posts.[28]

Such instances of implicitly felt—yet explicitly acted upon—misogyny deepened women's distrust of the FSLN as an entity that only paid lip service to the issue of women's equality. They watched their leaders, the Ortega brothers in particular, proclaim the progressive nature of the Sandinistas while issuing

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[27] Gioconda Belli remarks upon this, upon being reprimanded for beginning a relationship with an American, a man who later became her husband: "¿Cómo aceptaba yo con mansedumbre esos argumentos? ¿Acaso no me había percatado de que a ningún compañero le ponían trabas sobre sus compañías femininas? ¿No me daba cuenta que ellos se permitían acostarse con extranjeras, con periodistas, con quienes se les venía a la gana, aun teniendo cargos más sensibles que el mío? ¿Qué acaso el jefe de no sé qué organismo de inteligencia no estaba casado con una gringa, y fulanito, y zutanito? ¿Me vas a decir que después de tantos años de andar en esto, vas a aceptar mansamente que desconfíen de vos, que crean que porque sois mujer no podéis la cola de la cabeza? Le que pasa es que son unas machistas empedernidos. Ellos pueden guarde si nos atrevamos a hacer lo mismo." Belli, El país bajo mi piel, 136.

[28] "Por primera vez alguien insinuó que quizá las mujeres no debían formar parte de las filas activas del ejército. Me pareció absurdo y lo dije. ¿Cómo podían siquiera pensarlo cuando las mujeres habían demostrado ser tan buenas combatientes como batientes como los hombres durante la insurrección? No sé cuántos meses después, sin embargo, los mandos del ejército—con Humberto Ortega a la cabeza—decidieron que las mujeres sólo ocuparon puestos administrativos." Belli, *El país bajo mi piel*, 342.

commands and making statements that betrayed their adherence to traditional ideas of *machismo*.[29]

[29] The Ortega family came under fire in recent years not only for their dictatorial trends when it comes to presidential term limits but also for their treatment of Daniel Ortega's stepdaughter Zoilamérica Narváez Murillo. In 1998, Narváez publically accused her stepfather of sexually abusing her from the age of eleven until twenty-two, with verbal abuse continuing up until the time of her public accusation. Ortega himself did not deny the accusations, but Narváez's mother, Rosario Murillo, denounced her daughter and assured Nicaraguans that Narváez was a liar. Shunned and scorned by the Ortega-Murillo family and Ortega-supporting Nicaraguans, Narváez was forced into exile in Costa Rica and remains there. She spoke out in support of Elvia Junieth Flores Castillo and Patricia Jeannette Ortega Prado, two women who also accused Ortega of abuse and rape when they were 15 and 12, respectively. For Narváez's interview shortly following her public accusation, see: Mirta Ojito, "Conversations/ Zoilamérica Narváez; A Victim of Sexual Abuse in a Prison of Political Ideals," *New York Times,* March 29, 1998, http://www.nytimes.com/1998/03/29/weekinreview/conversations-zoilamerica-narvaez-victim-sexual-abuse-prison-political-ideals.html. For Narváez's comments regarding Castillo and Prado, see: Judith Flores, "Zoilamérica Ortega: "No girl close to Daniel Ortega is out of harm's reach," *Havana Times,* November 18, 2015,https://www.havanatimes.org/?p=115034. Narváez also expressed concern when her stepfather and mother ran a joint presidential campaign; the article also includes the criticism of Dora María Tellez, who, like others, draws attention to the Somoza-like dynasty the Ortega-Murillo family is establishing. See: Jonathan Watts, "As Nicaragua's first couple consolidates power, a daughter fears for her country," *The Guardian*, November 4, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/04/nicaraguas-first-couple-daniel-ortega-tighten-grip-power-election-win.