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Editor’s Note

Dear Readers,

We once again find ourselves publishing the journal in unusual circumstances. While last year we published at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, when people were just beginning to conduct meetings online and wear masks when leaving their houses, we now found ourselves at what appears to be a slow return-to-normal. With vaccinations in full swing in Providence, the feeling of excitement among the Brown community as we cautiously open up and public health guidelines are relaxed is palpable. Still, the pandemic's impact at Brown and around the world will be felt for decades to come. It is looking ahead to the exciting future that we remember to reflect on the difficulties, sacrifices, and losses of the previous year. It is with this in mind that we are forever grateful for the dedication that our staff has put towards putting together this publication and the support we received from faculty. It is in the most difficult of times that looking to the past for guidance takes on an even greater importance.

This issue brings readers on a journey from the gender relations governing the mikveh in 1765 Bützow, Germany to the investigation of magical practice against a sixteenth-century courtesan in Italy, and from the role of the radio in the CIA intervention in Guatemala in 1954 to an analysis of the late eighteenth-century playwright Olympe de Gouges' *Black Slavery*. While different in their approaches and focuses, each essay combines exemplary historical scholarship with a commitment to tackling issues that remain with us to our present moment. We are proud to present to you the fifteenth edition of the Brown Journal of History.

BJH Editors-in-Chief

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Theater, Feminism, and Abolition: Olympe de Gouges' *Black Slavery*

by *Ella Altidor*

Introduction

Perhaps it is unsurprising that on July 20, 1793, playwright Olympe de Gouges was arrested and beheaded at the start of one of the most explosive and violent moments of the French Revolution. Olympe de Gouges is often invoked in contemporary accounts as a militant feminist and abolitionist who incessantly published works challenging the traditional social order and its hierarchies. For almost a decade in the late 18th century, Gouges was a symbol of public controversy as she fearlessly published and disseminated her political views in public pamphlets and plays throughout Paris. As Gouges gained public notoriety, she was subject to criticism as she openly published works when French women were expected to go unpublished, write under pseudonyms, or avoid writing entirely.[1] Gouges' public visibility as a French woman contributed to her vilification, but the content of her writings was also threatening as she vehemently opposed the sexist and racist conditions governing the lives of French women and enslaved people in France's colonies. Most significantly, in 1789, actors performed Gouges' play *L'esclavage des Noirs* (Black Slavery), a play that denounced the patriarchy and the institution of slavery, which swiftly made Gouges subject to violent reprisal.

The cause of Gouges' arrest, however, was not legally attributed to her visibility in public life as a woman or *Black Slavery*, but rather to the fact that in 1793 she had published copies of a pamphlet *Toxicodindronn, Combat à mort des trois governments* (Three Governments' Battle To Death), which demanded the populace vote on a form of government: monarchy, federalism or republicanism. She dangerously published this during a revolutionary moment when a new radical wing in France came to political power called the Montagnards club. The Montagnards were leftist republicans who wanted to execute the King, destroy the monarchy, and forge a unitary republic. On September 5, 1793, the Montagnards, led by Maximilien Robespierre, unleashed the "Reign of Terror" and systematically executed and repressed traitors of the Revolution, anyone accused of royalism. Thus, Gouges was legally tried and accused of treason because her pamphlet proposed monarchy as an alternative to a republican form of government. Amidst the Terror's craze, the Montagnards brought Gouges in front of the Revolutionary Tribunal, who conducted her show trial in front of public audiences in France.

During Gouges' show trial, she defended herself by citing her writings as evidence of support for the Republic. Here, Gouges invoked her play *Black Slavery*. This was a profound moment because her claims to republican patriotism were derived from the invocation of a play rooted in abolition and condemning the patriarchy.[2] In this way, the play encapsulated Gouges' voice and beliefs about the contradictions of the French monarchy and Enlightenment ideals. Gouges' play, *Black Slavery*, was performed in 1789[3] and was particularly controversial because it justified the slave revolts occurring in Saint Domingue (today Haiti) against the French colonists. At this time, Saint Domingue was France's most lucrative colony, producing more than two-fifths of the world's sugar and over half its coffee.[4] As

[2] Janie Vanpee, "Performing Justice: The Trials of Olympe de Gouges," *Theatre Journal 51*, no. 1 (1999): 47, https://doi.org/10.1353/tj.1999.0018.
[2] Ibid., 47-49.
[3] Marie Josephine Diamond, "The Revolutionary Rhetoric of Olympe de Gouges," Feminist Issues 14, no. 1 (March 1994): 3–23, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02685649.
[4] Londa L. Schiebinger, Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 173.

various groups revolted, the threat of enslaved people's emancipation produced fear in France about the fragility of maintaining economic and social control over its wealthiest colony. The heightened tensions surrounding the issue of slavery and the continued oppression of marginalized genders in the late 1780s makes Gouges' *Black Slavery* a critical play to examine the understudied interconnectedness between abolition and French women's gender activism in late-18th-century France.

Among the Age of Revolutions' historiographies, the French and American Revolution are extensively researched and celebrated, while the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) is narrated in distinctly "racialized" ways that categorize it as subordinate. For example, contemporary historian Marlene Daut writes how one popular conspiracy was that the Haitian Revolution was the vengeance of mixed-race free people of color revolting against their neglectful white fathers instead of an antislavery revolution for liberty.[5] These kinds of historical narratives minimized how and why enslaved people overthrew French colonial power, abolished slavery, and spawned Haiti as a free independent Republic.[6] Also, in situating Olympe de Gouges among other prominent women during the French Revolution, she is often primarily invoked exclusively as an early feminist because of her most famous work, *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the [Female] Citizen*. Scholars such as Joan Wallach Scott and Wendy C. Nielsen neglect how Gouges' fight for women's equality in France was also tied to her Saint Domingue abolitionist work. This reflects a broader tendency of narratives of the French Revolution to exclude the impact of the Haitian Revolution on its ideals.[7] Examining Olympe de Gouges and her writings challenges this discourse by demonstrating how the struggles for racial justice in Saint Domingue in the late 18th century shaped her advocacy for women's equality during the French Revolution. *Black Slavery* encapsulates how Gouges deconstructed existing gender hierarchies by binding the movement for French women's equality with abolition through condemning institutional power, incorporating queer relationality, and reinscribing the code of "natural rights."

Olympe de Gouges' Background

Olympe de Gouges is the pen name for Marie Gouze, born in 1748 in Southern France.[8] A formative part of Gouges' life involved contemplating her parentage because though her legal father was a butcher, rumors circulated about Gouges' "illegitimacy" by reports of her mother having an affair with a popular playwright who was the Marquis de Pompignan. As a teenager, Gouges was forced into a marriage to an elderly associate of her legal father, had a son, and grew to deeply resent the institution of marriage, which prevented her

[5] Marlene Daut, Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World, 1789-1865 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 4.
[6] Ibid., 3.
[7] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History (Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 1995, 100.
[8] Kathleen Kuiper, "*Olympe de Gouges*," Encyclopædia Britannica, October 30, 2020, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Olympe-de-Gouges.

from getting a divorce, but she was soon widowed. Free from the constraints of marriage, ambitious but practically illiterate, Gouges adopted the pen name "Olympe de Gouges" and left for Paris where she actively propagated the rumors that her father was the Marquis as a strategy to bind her lineage to a notable playwright to gain access into elite circles. Paris during the 1780s was a metropolitan cultural center where intellectuals gathered to ponder Enlightenment philosophy in theaters, coffee houses, and salons. Gouges surrounded herself with aristocrats, philosophers, and writers in places of debate as a courtesan to several of the most prominent men of the high society. Through the salons, Gouges gained access to education in contemporary political and literary issues in salons; over time, she developed into a writer and outspoken opponent of slavery who became a member of the abolitionist group, *Société des Amis des Noirs* (Society of the Friends of Blacks).[9]

As a playwright, Olympe de Gouges wrote *Black Slavery*, the revised play originally entitled *Zamore et Miza*.[10] The new version, which would not be performed until 1789, follows two parallel lives: the mistreatment of an abandoned illegitimate daughter named Sophie, and the abuse of a pair of runaway enslaved people named Zamor and Mirza, who had to escape because Zamor was condemned to death for killing a slave overseer who had tried to rape Mirza. Their stories are interwoven when Zamor saves Sophie from dying in a shipwreck on her travels in the French colonies where she was looking for her long lost father. Later, Zamor is recaptured, and numerous slave revolts break out, but Sophie repays Zamor for saving her life by pleading for his life and preventing him from being executed in front of the colonial governor, who ultimately is revealed to be her father.[11] This tale was an immediate threat to the status quo, and Gouges faced tremendous obstacles getting her play performed.

Olympe de Gouges sought to get her play performed at the Comédie-Française (the French national theater). Gaining prominence in the 1760s, the Comédie-Française was a theatre company that offered a venue to new aspiring writers and playwrights hoping to gain fame in the literary world. To gain access to this space required significant social and material capital to contact the theatre company members, lawyers, printers, writers, and audiences. French women had limited access to this kind of capital, and, independent of an outside backer or male supervisor, it was difficult for white women to enter this space; between 1761 and the start of the French Revolution (1789), the royal troupe staged only nine plays by female writers.[12] Beyond access to capital, in the late eighteenth-century European women were denied access to political or public social life because the state advocated for the domestication of French women. White French women were excluded from citizenship, expected to be modest and quiet, and, according to the eighteenth-century French actor Fabre d'Églantine, be "the tender cares owing to infancy, household details, the sweet anxieties of maternity."[13] These deeply sexist systems made it challenging for women writers to attain public success. Gouges defied these conventions and flaunted herself and her beliefs throughout her texts, and negotiated initial access into this space through her connection to elite circles as a mistress.

[9] Marie Josephine Diamond, "The Revolutionary Rhetoric of Olympe de Gouges," *Feminist Issues* 14, no. 1 (March 1994): 3–5, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02685649.
[10] Gregory S. Brown, "The Self-Fashionings of Olympe de Gouges, 1784-1789," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, no. 3 (2001): 384, https://doi.org/10.1353/ecs.2001.0019.[6] Ibid., 3.
[11] Marie Josephine Diamond, "The Revolutionary Rhetoric of Olympe de Gouges," *Feminist Issues* 14, no. 1 (March 1994): 5, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02685649.
[12] Gregory S. Brown, "The Self-Fashionings of Olympe de Gouges, 1784-1789," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, no. 3 (2001): 385, https://doi.org/10.1353/ecs.2001.0019.
[13] Londa L. Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 178-179.

Though the Comédie-Française accepted her play, the troupe incessantly postponed the performance of *Black Slavery* and expressed fear and censorship of its plot due to their slave-owning interests.[14] Gouges was repeatedly attacked and insulted by actors and directors of the Comédie-Française. In response, Gouges turned to the public instead to judge her work and published public letters, essays, and memorandums that chronicled the abuses of the Comédie-Française. It took her years of persistence and propaganda to overcome the company's resistance to *Black Slavery* until it was performed in 1789.[15] The reception of Gouges' work was plagued by deep misogyny. Critics denounced the play as treasonous, and accusations circulated that she had not written the play.[16] Gouges' public visibility and commitment to writing about white women's equality and abolition became a transgressive and unimaginable act; *Black Slavery* posed an immense threat to both the gendered order and France's dedication to imposing colonial slavery. Therefore, it is precisely Gouges' outspoken nature and her intertwining of antislavery and anti-patriarchy in *Black Slavery* that made the play and Gouges herself subject to such harsh criticism. Worth noting, however, is that though Gouges attempted to join these movements, she was not an intersectional, anti-racist feminist. Though she was a member of the Society of the Friends of Blacks and advocated for abolition in Saint Domingue, her antislavery rhetoric in *Black Slavery* often emerged through the grammar of white saviorism. Nonetheless, analyzing *Black Slavery* remains of critical importance because it was revolutionary at the time and encapsulates how French women, namely Gouges, envisioned a new order at the intersections of both the French and Haitian Revolution. Gouges used *Black Slavery* to destabilize the old regime's traditional gender logics by connecting this movement with abolition by condemning institutional structures, discussing queer relations, and reconceptualizing the laws of nature.

L'esclavage des Noirs (Black Slavery)

In analyzing *Black Slavery* and identifying how Gouges interwove French women and enslaved people's oppressions, this analysis is not designed to suggest that the respective sufferings were comparable. Throughout premodern Europe, European women writers, in particular, called themselves "slaves," in reference to colonial slavery, to represent their particular subjection by the patriarchy;[17] however, this discursive move does represent the distinct forms of racialized, gendered, and spatialized terror experienced by Black enslaved peoples. In recognition that white European women

[14] Marie Josephine Diamond, "The Revolutionary Rhetoric of Olympe de Gouges," *Feminist Issues* 14, no. 1 (March 1994): 6-7, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02685649.

[15] Janie Vanpee, "Performing Justice: The Trials of Olympe de Gouges," *Theatre Journal* 51, no. 1 (1999): 54 https://doi.org/10.1353/tj.1999.0018.

[16] Doris Y. Kadish et al., eds., *Translating Slavery: Gender and Race in French Women's Writing*, 1783-1823, Translation Studies 2 (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1994), 65.

[17] Karen Offen, "How (and Why) the Analogy of Marriage with Slavery Provided the Springboard for Women's Rights Demands in France, 1640–1848," in *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation*, ed. Kathryn Kish Sklar and James Stewart (Yale University Press, 2007), 57–60 https://doi.org/10.12987/yale/9780300115932.003.0004.

dangerously appropriated this term, it raises questions about how slavery was understood, in Olympe de Gouges' case, through a French lens. Though Gouges does not deem French women "slaves," she invokes a slavery analogy to place them in conversation with each other. How did Gouges' understanding of personhood and equality invite her to interconnect French women's subordination with that of enslaved people's racialized marginalization? The first salient way to understand how and why Gouges unified these disparate struggles is through her critique of institutional state power.

Institutional Power

In Gouges' *Black Slavery*, she imagined, in part, a utopic world, in which the monarchy is equitable and just; notably, *Black Slavery* did not propose to eliminate the monarchy but to make it more democratic. Gouges presented this society by condemning existing institutional structures, namely marriage and slavery institutions. In tracing the ideological comparison of the oppression of white women and slavery in France during its revolution, the most distinct slavery analogy emerged around the issue of marriage. By mid-18th-century France, the secular marriage contract was an abusive mode of control in which French wives functioned as property under their husbands' power, often forced into marriage by their fathers with no option for divorce. With impunity, French husbands inhibited their wives' mobility, prevented them from owning property, performed physical and sexual punishment, and publicly destroyed women's reputations.[18]

Women denounced marriage for eliminating their sense of personhood by situating it alongside enslaved people's lack of liberty. In *Black Slavery*, Gouges appealed to French women and Black enslaved people's "non-liberation" because she identified unity through abusive patriarchal figures: husband and male slaveholder. *Black Slavery* features a monologue of Madame de Saint-Frémont, who is the wife of the colonial governor. The governor, Monsieur de Saint-Frémont, is the biological father of the "illegitimate" Sophie, and Zamor's slaveholder. In this monologue, Madame de Saint-Frémont, in anguish, laments about her husband committing to Zamor's execution due to societal pressure rather than pardoning him out of empathy. At the same time, she describes the deep distress she feels by her husband's stubbornness and the sorrow of relieving him of a sadness, the cause of which she cannot discern. Madame de Saint-Frémont cries,

> My husband would happily pardon Zamor despite the fact that he proclaimed his arrest along with that of poor Mirza who must die beside her lover. Alas! The expectation of their punishment throws me into the deepest sadness. I was not born to be happy! I am adored by my spouse in vain: my love cannot conquer the melancholy that consumes him….[19]

[18] Karen Offen, "How (and Why) the Analogy of Marriage with Slavery Provided the Springboard for Women's Rights Demands in France, 1640–1848," in *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation*, ed. Kathryn Kish Sklar and James Stewart (Yale University Press, 2007), 59-62. https://doi.org/10.12987/yale/9780300115932.003.0004.

[19] Olympe De Gouges, "*L'esclavage Des Noirs, or Black Slavery*," Rev. ed., 1792, Translated by Clarissa Palmer (April 2020): 12.

Following this passage in which Madame de Saint-Frémont is distraught about her husband, the reader learns that the reason Monsieur de Saint-Frémont has been upset and causing Madame de Saint-Frémont distress is that he abandoned his first wife, whom he left with a daughter (Sophie) in a convent because his aristocratic family had not approved of her low social status.[20] Through the portrayal of Monsieur de Saint-Frémont as both a merciless husband and slaveholder, Gouges condemned the institutions of marriage and slavery. Gouges, here, introduced how slavery led to unnecessary punishment and excessive violence as with Zamor. Concurrently, the play outlines how marriage as binding contracts and forms of social capital punished French wives like Madame de Saint-Frémont in her emotional labor, and Monsieur's de Saint-Frémont's first wife, whom he was able to abandon with impunity. By connecting French women and enslaved people's plight under a shared patriarchal figure, Gouges aimed to provoke her French readers' empathy to encourage both proto-feminist and abolitionist attitudes. As a member of the *Société des Amis des Noirs*,[21] part of Gouges' sympathy for abolition is derived from her recognition of how institutional power, like marriage (which she personally suffered) and slavery, subordinate and repress. Thus, the slavery-marriage analogy explains the influences upon Gouges' attitudes towards women and enslaved people. It also illustrates how she reproduced the metaphor herself in *Black Slavery* to serve her broader political purpose of emancipating women from the repression of marriage and enslaved people from the slave trade in Saint Domingue.

The monologue by Madame de Saint-Frémont and the reveal of Monsieur de Saint-Frémont's desertion of his first wife and their newborn reflects another form of institutional patriarchal authority that Gouges' criticized: paternal tyranny. As described by the series editor of the 17th-century text *Paternal Tyranny* by Arcangela Tarabotti, paternal tyranny communicates the despotic authority of the father, "The father was the person who owned the household's property and, indeed, its human members. The *paterfamilias* had absolute power—including the power, rarely exercised, of life or death—over his wife, his children, and his slaves, as much as his cattle."[22] By communicating how paternal tyranny holds supreme power over his wife, children, and enslaved people, this becomes a useful framework for understanding Monsieur de Saint-Frémont and what Gouges communicated through him. Through this frame, Gouges related white French women and enslaved peoples' subordination by looking at Monsieur de Saint-Frémont in other patriarchal terms: a slaveholding *governor* and father of an "illegitimate" daughter. To promote equality in France, Gouges fostered support from French women activists and abolitionists by joining the struggles by critiquing paternal tyranny.

In Gouges' trial, she cited *Black Slavery* as evidence of her Republican sentiments, and while she still advocated for a monarchy, she promoted rebuilding it on democratic ideals. Therefore, in this vision of a transformed society, Gouges attempted to dismantle paternal tyranny by proposing alternative power structures. One moment of this is when Monsieur de Saint-Frémont overcomes the legal pressures to execute Zamor and challenges the institution of colonial slavery by pardoning Zamor. The final line of the play ends with Monsieur de Saint-Frémont announcing to a group of enslaved people, among them Zamor and Mirza:

[20] Ibid., 13

[21] Marie Josephine Diamond, "The Revolutionary Rhetoric of Olympe de Gouges," *Feminist Issues* 14, no. 1 (March 1994): 3–5, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02685649.

[22] Arcangela Tarabotti and Letizia Panizza, *Paternal Tyranny*, The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

> "My friends, I have just granted you your pardon. Would that I could liberate all those of your kind, or at least temper their fate! Slaves, hear me: if ever your destiny changes, do not lose from sight a love for the common good which, until now, has been unknown to you... My friends, my children, let us celebrate the happy omen of this sweet liberty."[23]

In this utopian ending, Monsieur de Saint-Frémont frees Zamor in the name of liberty and rejects tyranny. In this way, Gouges portrayed Monsieur de Saint-Frémont, who represents the King of France and the "father of the colony," through the language of "just fatherhood." She communicated that a more democratic monarchy must be grounded in justice, which required the liberation of enslaved peoples from the chains of slavery. She made this appeal to abolitionists from her own abolitionist ideology and to gain their support for French women's equality by incorporating the same notions of "just fatherhood" to discuss Monsieur de Saint-Frémont as a father to Sophie. When Monsieur de Saint-Frémont reconnects with Sophie, his "illegitimate" daughter whom he had abandoned, he embraces her, remarking, "recognise the voice of a father too long separated from you and your mother."[24] Here, Gouges "corrected" the wrong of the unjust treatment of "illegitimate" children, which also emerged as personal retribution because of her own claims of illegitimacy. Regardless, by the end of the play, Monsieur de Saint-Frémont is portrayed as both a benevolent governor of enslaved people and a good father. Therefore, in *Black Slavery*, the plight of French women suffering from their fathers' abuses was tied to the slave revolts protesting human bondage. While this portrayal is not radical in a contemporary sense, especially given that Monsieur de Saint-Frémont does not abolish slavery entirely, it was revolutionary at the time because it was a departure from the traditions of the old paternal tyrannical regime.

Olympe de Gouges demonstrated the violence of patriarchal structures of marriage and paternal tyranny by connecting them to paternal slaveholders' violence. In this way, she attempted solidarity with enslaved people, particularly gesturing to enslaved people in Saint Domingue. In part, this reflects the ways the early revolts of the Haitian Revolution in the late 18th century held resonance in Revolutionary France. As French women fought against their disenfranchisement that was being enshrined by the Montagnards, they were also exposed to anti-colonial discourse spouted surrounding Saint Domingue's uprisings. Gouges drawing comparisons between the patriarchal figures of husband, father, governor/King, and slaveholder demonstrates the influence of belonging to the Society of the Friends of Blacks who were advocating for Black colonial representation in France's National Assembly in the late 18th century.[25] For example, in 1789, a notable Society of the Friends of the Blacks member, Honoré-Gabriel Riqueti, comte de Mirabeau, objected to the inclusion of exclusively white Saint-Domingue delegates into the Assembly, declaring:

[23] Olympe De Gouges, "*L'esclavage Des Noirs, or Black Slavery*," Rev. ed., 1792, Translated by Clarissa Palmer (April 2020): 25.
[24] Ibid., 24-25.
[25] Londa L. Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 143, 173.

> "You claim representation proportionate to the number of inhabitants. The free blacks are proprietors and taxpayers, and yet they have not been allowed to vote. And as for the slaves, either they are men or they are not; if the colonists consider them men, let them free them and make them electors and eligible for seats; if the contrary is the case, have we, in apportioning deputies according to the population of France, taken into consideration the number of our horses and mules?"[26]

Here, Mirabeau pointed out the absurd contradictions of the Assembly, articulating the need for ideological consistency, and thus, abolition. In this articulation, Mirabeau argues for France's responsibility to Black people in Saint Domingue to produce a more just political arena. This rhetoric is similar to that of Gouges, particularly as she calls for a political world that rejects tyranny in all its forms, specifically slaveholders and tyrannical husbands and fathers. Gouges connected patriarchal institutions to support French women's equality by entangling abolition; this demonstrated how abolitionist sentiments regarding Saint Domingue shaped her activism.

Queering Across the Atlantic

The second way Gouges attempted to tether French women and enslaved people's abuses is through her literary *queering*. Understanding the modes of queer relationality present throughout Gouges' work is to resist history's heterosexist bias; Gouges included queer moments regarding fluid sexuality and her disruption of normative gendered and racialized violence. One distinct moment of antinormative *loving* is when Sophie and Mirza notice each other's beauty, "SOPHIE, *to Valère* – Her candidness is enchanting; her gentle features are to her credit... / MIRZA – You are making fun of me, besides I am not the prettiest. But, tell me, are all French women as beautiful as you?"[27] In this way, Sophie and Mirza express a kind of desire and admiration for one another. Even if Gouges did not intend to communicate this as "lesbianism," the moment is driven by intrigue and appreciation. As contemporary feminist historian Judith Bennett writes, "And, indeed, might sexual practice be less determinative of lesbianism than *desire* for women, *primary love* for women (as in women-identified women), or even *political* commitment to women (especially as manifested in resistance to "compulsory heterosexuality."[28] With Bennett's proposal, readers can read this moment between Sophie and Mirza through the terminology of "lesbian-like" as a way to conceptualize these women's dialogue as a mode of challenging the heteronormativity expected in France and its colonies. Therefore, Sophie and Mirza "resisted norms of feminine behavior."[29] Additionally, this a queer act in that a white French aristocrat and an enslaved woman embrace each other; they exchange a moment of reflection and interracial acknowledgment, which was a radical act of the late 18th century. Thus, this quiet moment where

[26] Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution & Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804* (Chapel Hill, N.C: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 99-100.
[27] Ibid., 8.
[28] Judith M. Bennett, "'Lesbian-Like' and the Social History of Lesbianisms," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9, no. 1/2 (2000): 10.
[29] Ibid., 9.

Sophie and Mirza mirror each other with queer desire or appreciation contributes to Gouges' message. Gouges communicated the constraints of rigid sexuality and depicted an improved society that relied upon the unity of enslaved people and French women. In many ways, regardless of uncertainty around Gouges' sexual preferences, she herself can be read as lesbian-like defined by Bennett. Aligned with Bennett's characterization, Gouges' lifelong dedication to women's equality, condemnation of the institution of marriage, commitment to singleness, and exceptional public visibility were lesbian-like.[30] Consequently, the conditions governing the lives of Gouges' characters also reflect Gouges' interiority. Gouges not only incorporated queerness through the relationship between Sophie and Mirza, but also by subverting the violence of unyielding gender roles. Throughout *Black Slavery*, Gouges challenged the naturalization of the "union of man and woman" by rearticulating the categories of sexual and gendered differences. For example, Gouges redefined the terms of gender when Madame de Saint-Frémont gives her husband, Monsieur de Saint-Frémont, her last name.[31] Also, a notable moment when Gouges connected French women to enslaved people via queerness is through Coraline. In *Black Slavery*, Coraline is a woman who, like Zamor and Mirza, is enslaved by the Saint-Frémonts. Coraline represents the primary revolutionary visionary who repeatedly defends slave revolts and discusses a world without hierarchy; Gouges used her to try to forge solidarity between French women's activism and abolition. Of note is that certainly, during the late 18th century, Black womanhood was not measured by the terms of white femininity, including docility, "piety and purity," and invisibility in the private, domesticated sphere. Women of African descent, such as Coraline, were likened to beasts and wanton perversions of hypersexuality, meant to labor in the fields.[32] Though Black and white womanhood had disparate racialized and gendered language, shared was the expectation of their subordination to white men and their broader social marginality, confined by normative constraints.

A moment that subverts this racial and gender norm is when Coraline speaks to another enslaved person, Azor, and boldly envisions a society based around free work with no enslaved people or enslavers. Azor responds to this proposition by dismissing Coraline, to which Coraline refutes, "Well, well, my poor boy, if you only knew what I know! I read in a certain Book that in order to be happy one had only to be free and to be a good Farmer. We lack only freedom. Let us be given it and you will see that there will be no more masters or slaves." As Coraline and Azor continue this discussion, Azor gets confused by Coraline's intelligence, so he concludes the conversation by declaring, "You speak like a man!"[33] In this instance, Azor characterizes Coraline's vocality as a "male" trait to preserve the rigid categories that produce a patriarchal logic. In a moment of confusion for Azor, Coraline's singleness and bold ideas challenge the normative gender expectations, which were presumed biological under the Age of Enlightenment's deterministic ontologies.[34] Coraline's demands for a transformed future served as a way for Gouges to provoke sympathy from other outspoken French women for Black enslaved women through the relatability of their thoughts being silenced or minimized.

Coraline's declaration is also queer as a mode of resistance to colonial slavery. In her insisting upon a world without slaveholding societies, she demon-

[30] Ibid, 15.
[31] Doris Y. Kadish et al., eds., *Translating Slavery: Gender and Race in French Women's Writing, 1783-1823*, Translation Studies 2 (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1994), 73.
[32] Londa L. Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 159.
[33] Olympe De Gouges, "*L'esclavage Des Noirs, or Black Slavery*," Rev. ed., 1792, Translated by Clarissa Palmer (April 2020): 11.
[34] Londa L. Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), *xvi*.

strates what contemporary scholar Omise'eke Natasha Tinsley calls "*Queer* in the sense of marking disruption to the violence of normative order and powerfully so: connecting in ways that commodified flesh was never supposed to, loving your own kind when your kind was supposed to cease to exist, forging interpersonal connections that counteract imperial desires for Africans' living deaths."[35] Using Tinsley's definition of *queer*, Coraline's insistence upon freedom and love for enslaved people is intensely provocative that reads as Black queerness.

Gouges incorporated queerness as an analytic to resist normative power. Specifically, Gouges highlighted Coraline's queerness, defined by her refusal to have her gender regulated and in her celebration of Black resistance. In this way, Coraline's intersectionality illuminates how regimes of normativity involving race, gender, and sexuality are constitutive. Thus, through Sophie, Mirza, and Coraline, Gouges captured how advocating for French women's rights in the 18th century, an act of antinormativity, relies upon defending other sites of queer antinormative movements, namely abolition.

Through this incorporation of literary *queering*, Gouges positions the French Revolution alongside the Haitian Revolution. Gouges uses this queer analytic to produce a literary work defined by antinormativity. *Black Slavery* has a climate of fluidity, in both erotic and racial terms, which reads as Gouges' response to the French Revolution and Haitian Revolution environments of increased rigidity of social categories. For example, with the arrival of the French Revolution, conservatives attacked the free love era that prefaced the Revolution. During the 1770s, elite men openly walked in public with their mistresses, pornographic journals were popular, and sex was considered a natural, free expression. The French Revolution shattered this free love period as conservatives saw it as corrupting French society.[36] In Saint Domingue during the late 18th century, rigidity formed around racial classification. In the 1760s, white anxieties about the growing Creole identity in Saint Domingue led to the initiation of a segregationist legal order. By the late 1780s, French colonists had established an institutionalized proto-racial apartheid system that segregated enslaved people from free people of color and white planters, which fueled racial uprisings.[37] In this moment of severe gender and racial constraints in France and Saint Domingue, Gouges situated these revolutions together by demanding a new order that defied these normative categorizations. Thus, Gouges' incorporation of queer relationality connecting French women and enslaved people's rights is marked by racial and sexual flexibility; this reflects how Saint Domingue impacted her protofeminist ideology, inspiring her to challenge the pervasive sexist *and* racist regimes.

[35] Ibid, 15. Omise'eke Natasha Tinsley, "Black Atlantic, Queer Atlantic: Queer Imaginings of the Middle Passage," GLQ: *A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 14, no. 2 (2008): 199. muse.jhu.edu/article/241316.
[36] Londa L. Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 33-35.
[37] Jeffery Lewis Stanley, "THE LANGUAGE OF RACE IN REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE AND SAINT DOMINGUE, 1789-1792," PhD diss., (University of Kentucky, 2016), 7.

Redefining "Natural Rights"

Lastly, Gouges critiqued existing gender hierarchies in *Black Slavery* by describing how the laws of nature that governed Enlightenment philosophy harmed French women and enslaved people. The Enlightenment brought forth empirical epistemologies that defined what was considered legitimate forms of knowledge production. Contemporary historian Londa Schiebinger describes the Enlightenment, "The expansive mood of the Enlightenment - the feeling that all men are by nature equal -- gave middle and lower class men, women, Jews, Africans, and West Indians living in Europe reason to believe that they, too, might begin to share the privileges heretofore reserved for elite European men. Optimism rested in part on the ambiguities inherent in the word "man" as used in revolutionary documents of the period."[38] In this way, Sciebinger describes how the ambiguity surrounding who belonged to the category of "man" as defined by Enlightenment texts, such as the French Revolution's *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, gave people the impression that the values of equality were universal; however, undisputed power and privilege were reserved for the white, elite, property-holding man.[39]

Enlightenment philosophy was grounded in "natural law," meaning that observable empirical logics from nature could discern the "truth" as defined by the immutable material world given by God.[40] Eighteenth-century politicians and scientists relied on the framework of revolutionary liberalism that produced natural rights about "man," and therefore, needed to identify natural inequalities to justify the enslavement of Africans and women's disenfranchisement. Consequently, during the Enlightenment, body politics was inextricably bound to the social order, with white women and Black people's bodies, in particular, being examined and scrutinized to discern "natural" proof of their inferiority.[41]

In the eighteenth century, the emphasis upon body politics spawned a period of experimentalism, in which physicians, for example, examined and made deterministic conclusions about white women and Black people's bodies.[42] In this time, racial pseudosciences emerged analyzing the male African skull, for example, that presented a teleological system called the "chain of being," which introduced the racist hierarchy of skulls "passing progressively from lowliest ape and Negro to loftiest Greek."[43] African peoples were also likened to animals and savages through condemnations of Black women's bodies. For example, Black women's breasts and genitalia were grotesquely hypersexualized, violated, and described to be distortedly long as a "natural" indication of their savagery and sexual wantonness. Additionally, the sexual difference of white women in 18th century-Europe began to depart from ancient theories of sexuality such as the Aristotelian/Galenic

[38] Londa L. Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 144.
[39] Ibid., 144-146.
[40] Ibid., 9
[41] Ibid., xii
[42] Londa L. Schiebinger, *Secret Cures of Slaves: People, Plants, and Medicine in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2017), 4.
[43] Londa L. Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 149-150.

notion of humors; these transformed into materialistic medical views of the sexed body.[44] For example, by the late 18th century, the French Revolution's doctrine of sexual complementarity produced "republican motherhood" as a biological characteristic as described by historian Schiebinger, "This ideology appealed especially to middle-class women because it presented a positive image of the newly domesticated woman. The private, caring woman emerged as a foil to the public, rational man."[45] In this way, the French Revolution, coupled with the Enlightenment ideas, enmeshed scientific racism and scientific sexism into their society, which produced profoundly racist and sexist attitudes towards French women and Black people.

In her rise to fame, Gouges was surrounded by many Enlightenment thinkers, and many of the ideals of equality and freedom surfaced through her work. Though this racist and sexist epistemology shaped Gouges' writings, she tried to combat this by expanding the natural rights principles to include French women and enslaved people. Therefore, when *Black Slavery* was performed in 1789 as the French Revolution began and tensions boiled in Saint Domingue, the play reinscribed the code of "natural rights." For example, when one of the militant men working for Monsieur de Saint-Frémont recaptures Zamor, Sophie protests, to which he responds,

> "The Governor needs to set the Colony an example. You do not know this accursed race, they would cut our throats without pity if the voice of humanity were to speak in their favour. This is what we must expect from Slaves, even those we have educated! They are born to be savage, to be tamed like animals. / SOPHIE – What a terrible prejudice. Nature did not make Slaves of them; they are human, like you."[46]

In this quote, Sophie counteracts the racist Enlightenment ontologies adopted by the worker. She rebukes the worker by notably remarking that natural law did not make Black people "slaves" but, *instead*, "human." Sophie's insistence upon enslaved people's humanity in this dichotomy communicates how popular attitudes viewed enslaved people as biologically less-than or non-human beings. Gouges communicated how Nature governs truth in an expansive way that defended Zamor and other enslaved people through Sophie. Gouges frequently incorporated "Nature" in the play in terms of natural law defining enslaved people with positive traits including "brave," "kind,"[47] and "hardworking;"[48] Gouges, then, reinscribed "natural rights" with new meaning that included the humanity of enslaved people.

Noticeably, however, Gouges articulated this expanded epistemology as being derived from the enlightened French women. For example, she primarily advocated for inclusive "natural rights" through white characters like Sophie. Consequently, Gouges upheld her advocacy for French women's moral and epistemological integrity by relying upon narratives of white women protesting slavery in the name of "natural rights." In this way, the radical nature of Gouges' antislavery motivations is more timid in that she reproduced narratives of the white-savior com-

[44] Ibid., 37-38.
[45] Ibid., 39.
[46] Olympe De Gouges, "*L'esclavage Des Noirs, or Black Slavery*," Rev. ed., 1792, Translated by Clarissa Palmer (April 2020): 9.
[47] Ibid.,16
[48] Ibid., 14

plex. Sophie, for example, believes she is destined to save Zamor from being executed and makes claims that she would "do anything to save them,"[49] risk even her life, using exaggerated language that portrays her as a kind of caricature. Thus, Gouges articulated that freedom for enslaved people comes not as a product of their own rebellion but more substantially from benevolent white figures. Therefore, in her critique of the traditional bounds of "natural rights," Gouges' intertwining of French women's equality with abolition is minimized in that she reduces the efforts of enslaved peoples themselves, particularly at the precise moment in which enslaved people were revolting for freedom in Saint Domingue.

In the late 18th century, on the eve of the Haitian Revolution, Gouges' *Black Slavery* brought the question of colonial slavery to the forefront in Paris. However, in her analysis of nature, Gouges' consistent use of figures representing the white-savior complex contributed to a tradition of erasure via distortion, common among French scholars during the late 18th century. As articulated by the renowned Haitian scholar Michel-Rolph Trouillot, the Haitian Revolution was "silenced" in that, "The silencing of the Haitian Revolution is only a chapter within a narrative of global domination. It is part of the history of the West and it is likely to persist, even in attenuated form, as long as the history of the West is not retold in ways that bring forward the perspective of the world."[50] Here, Trouillot is not speaking to the events being "silenced" in literal terms than he is identifying how the Haitian Revolution was narrated in specific racialized ways that muted the role of enslaved people in histories of the Age of Revolution. As Haitian scholar Marlene Daut describes, the reproduction of such narratives sheds light on a white supremacist ontology that could not imagine enslaved Africans and their descendants as capable of forming a strategy for envisioning and securing freedom.[51] In this way, Gouges' attempt to positively justify enslaved revolt in Saint Domingue, using an expanded definition of "natural rights," incidentally subordinated the role of enslaved people's liberation moment by perpetuating the white savior complex via the trope of "benevolent white womanhood."

Conclusion

Gouges used *Black Slavery* to portray a more democratic world that entangled French women's activism with enslaved rebellion during the Age of Enlightenment. Given Gouges' acute suffering from patriarchal institutions and the influence of the *Société des Amis des Noirs* and the Haitian Revolution, her imagined future for a more republican monarchy and just society relied upon intersecting notions of freedom. She incorporated French women's movement in France with slave revolts in Saint Domingue with a critique of the institutions of marriage, paternal tyranny, and slavery while incorporating queer relationality and natural rights. By connecting the movement against women's disenfranchisement with abolition, Gouges

[49] Ibid.,10
[50] Michel-Rolph Trouillot and Hazel V. Carby, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2015), 107.
[51] Marlene Daut, *Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, 1789-1865 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 3.

placed the Haitian Revolution alongside the French Revolution, which challenged French supremacy. Admittedly, Gouges' writings were somewhat radical, but she frequently incorporated a narrative of the "white savior" and did not advocate for Saint Domingue's independence from France entirely. In this way, Gouges' work demonstrated her complicated understanding of race and gender that were influenced by some of the Enlightenment ideologies that she claimed to counteract. Though contemporary sensibilities demonstrate the limits to Gouges' radicalism, during the 18th century, *Black Slavery* threatened the French social order and France's rule over Saint Domingue. The Montagnards vehemently attacked Gouges, defamed her play, gave her a reputation as being "half-mad," and ultimately silenced her with execution.[52] However, what might appear to be Gouges' downfall can also be understood as a triumph, in that her creation of *Black Slavery* provides insights into a more nuanced understanding of French women's lives during the French Revolution. Gouges' proto-feminist and abolitionist writing took up space in a masculinist Revolutionary world that sought to dismiss the Haitian Revolution. While Gouges has long been recognized as a feminist hero, there remains room to seriously reckon with the ties between her feminist and queer anti-slavery rhetoric. Ultimately, Gouges' resilience captures French women's revolutionary capacities to invade popular consciousness, and though her analysis in *Black Slavery* was incomplete, she inspires the possibilities of intersectional and expansive solidarities.

[52] Doris Y. Kadish et al., eds., *Translating Slavery: Gender and Race in French Women's Writing*, 1783-1823, Translation Studies 2 (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1994), 80.

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Lucrezia's Magic: Stories of Women's Survival and Resistance in 16th-Century Italy

by *Jeanne Ernest*

Over four days in late April, 1559, a Roman state notary investigated allegations of magical practice against a high-class prostitute, or courtesan, by questioning four individuals. The existing record only contains a transcript of these preliminary proceedings; we do not know if they eventually led to a formal trial. The courtesan in question was named Lucrezia the Greek, a sex worker to captains, cardinals, and colonels who either resided in or passed through the city of Rome during this period. The suspicion of magic that prompted these trials was not uncommon in this context. However, exploring the way the investigation played out for Lucrezia offers a peek into the world of a woman and courtesan in sixteenth-century Italy.

Due to our limited knowledge of everyday individuals, and particularly of women, in Renaissance Rome, there are many unknowns in Lucrezia's story. While we do know that she was accused of using magic to win the love of Giovanni Maria, a servant to the pope, we do not know if these allegations were accurate. Perhaps this was a love story — that of a woman who risked the steep punishments of Renaissance Rome to bring love into her life by way of magic.[1] Or perhaps it was a story of survival — one in which a beautiful and resourceful courtesan deployed all means available to ascend a strict social ladder. Perhaps again, this was a story of revenge — after Lucrezia insulted a member of her community, the other woman spread rumors about strange occurrences in Lucrezia's household that drove the investigation.

Due to the limitations of court documents, we will likely never know which of these stories ring true. Yet understanding the details of Lucrezia's life can help guide modern readers through the world of a sixteenth-century courtesan, exploring the surprising breadth of her networks as well as the limits of those very networks. Lucrezia's is a story in which the grand fantasies of agency for a highly-connected woman met the realities of a middling courtesan in Renaissance Rome. Her strategies of survival and resistance mirror modern methods of fighting class and gender discrimination. While most individuals do not practice magic today, many who are constrained by structures of class and gender still construct and maintain networks of power to gain wealth and avoid harm. Women in particular still weave around the structures of patriarchal society, often strategically alternating between their relationships with men and those with women. In many ways, however, Lucrezia's is still a tale of the past, a distant past where magic was accessible and relatively common, yet bound by institutional structures such as education and law.

Between the state, Catholic Church, and family, a variety of forces in Lucrezia's world enacted different but often overlapping expectations on women, punishing them in ways ranging from loveless marriages to exile in a convent.[2] Yet another way of controlling women was silencing their legacy, whether intentionally or not. Women were rarely taught how to read and write, and even when they were, it could prove very difficult to get published or to be taken seriously as an author or intellectual.[3] As a result, historians have comparatively little primary source material to build an understanding of the actions, thoughts, and feelings of women during this

[1] Throughout the Renaissance period, the state implemented strict penalties against those who committed crimes. This was due in part to the difficulty authorities had in apprehending criminals, yet when they did, they often sought to make an example out of them. See Thomas V. Cohen and Elizabeth Storr Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome: Trials Before the Papal Magistrates* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 1993) 15, 16.

[2] Historian Guido Ruggiero goes so far as to describe life in the convent as "a form of social and sexual bondage that socially placed young women," see: Guido Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage, and Power at the End of the Renaissance* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993), 25. See also: Arcangela Tarabotti, *Paternal Tyranny: The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* , ed. and trans. Letizia Panizza (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[3] Tarabotti, *Paternal Tyranny* , xxii; Veronica Franco, *Poems and Selected Letters* , eds. and trans. Ann Rosalind Jones and Margaret F. Rosenthal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 5.

period than those of men. And even when such sources are available, histories of early modern women are often silenced again today. Feminist historian Judith Bennett, among many others, has spent her career fighting to give a voice to thewomen of this period.

Bennett and other feminist scholars argue that although women's lives in early modern Europe may have been regulated and disciplined, they also successfully resisted forces that sought to control them. Some women wrote themselves out of archival silences and sex work and convents, gaining notoriety, honor, and respect as intellectuals.[4] Others, excluded from public and political spheres, reigned over residential neighborhoods.[5] Still others fully resisted the confines of patriarchy by loving other women.[6] Among these women, Lucrezia (allegedly) employed magic to survive in a world that was difficult for a woman. This essay seeks to surface such acts of resistance and survival.

Bennett reminds us that "the people who lived in the past are not us, and their difference from us compels our attention as much as those differences that we daily encounter such as class, race, religion, sexuality, and world region… differences that fractured the meanings of 'woman' and the experiences of women."[7] By reframing the womens' stories included in this essay in terms of survival and resistance instead of silence and loss, I seek to explore the strategies early modern European women undertook to assert their rights while they were alive, and to establish their presence in history. These are lessons not only for the past, but also for the present.

This is not a story about loss or silence. This is a story about life. one that that may have emerged from the archive because of a trial investigation, but that exists beyond it. The events captured in the transcript are only one chapter of Lucrezia's life. In fact, they may not even be true; the witnesses who testified were in disagreement about the validity of the main charges. The greatest unknown, however, is the protagonist herself; Lucrezia the Greek is never recorded as speaking in the transcript. Was she questioned at all? Did she have connections who shielded her from further investigation? Or does this record only represent the beginning of a longer trial? We cannot answer these questions, but we can draw an array of possibilities from the records that remain. My aim here is to draw out components of the life Lucrezia may have led by exploring the gaps that did not survive. Although the majority of her story has been lost, we can weave portions together by surveying what Renaissance Rome was like for a woman and courtesan alongside the claims of magic, betrayal, and love that arise in the notary's records. This investigation into Lucrezia's methods of survival and resistance highlights how she called on the tools she had access to — her body, relationships, religion, magic, and more — to construct a better life.

Lucrezia "the Greek" was likely born in Greece and arrived in Rome long before the events of the investigation. Trial records from Renaissance Rome often identify individuals by their most noteworthy features, and not necessarily by their full first and last names, which explains why we know so little about Lucrezia's background and family.[8] Immigration to Italy during this period was commonplace. Thomas

[4] The sixteenth-century Venetian prostitute Veronica Franco became a renowned poet, bringing together a collection of intellectuals and artists that established her place in society that would have otherwise been impossible merely through sex work. Franco, *Poems and Selected Letters* , 5. See also: Tarabotti, *Paternal Tyranny*; Moderata Fonte and Virginia Cox, *The Worth of Women: Wherein Is Clearly Revealed Their Nobility and Their Superiority to Men* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
[5] Monica Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 50.
[6] Judith M. Bennett, "'Lesbian-Like' and the Social History of Lesbianisms." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9, no. 1/2 (2000): 1-24.
[7] Judith M. Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.revproxy.brown.edu/lib/brown/detail.action?docID=3441577 , 47.
[8] Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* , 59.

V. Cohen and Elizabeth Storr Cohen, the two historians who bring Lucrezia's story to light in *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome*, describe the city as a fluid society, "a town of migrants" where "most people came from somewhere else."[9] Yet the prominence of this transience did not ensure a smooth transition. While Lucrezia may have arrived in Italy in search of a better life, it was not guaranteed.

Rome would have been a very interesting city to arrive in during the mid-sixteenth century. The Protestant Reformation had pushed the Catholic world into a frenzy, teetering on the verge of the Counter-Reformation.[10] The Catholic Church was in a crisis of authority, exacerbated by the Renaissance's new emphasis on the state. At the center of this struggle in the capital of the Papal States was, of course, the pope. During this period the papal office was marked by crippling discontinuity due to the tradition of electing popes late in life.[11] Princely courts, cardinals, and other officials both secular and religious vied for the power that leaked out of the papal office largely through patronage.[12] Cohen and Cohen describe this as a "barter system, which passed out wealth, power, and prestige, not gratis, but in exchange for political support."[13]

Power struggles between the Church and the state sometimes played out in the courts. In Rome at this time, three courts wielded the most power.[14] The vicar, as the pope's delegated overseer of Roman churches, represented religious interests. The senator, also a papal appointee, maintained Rome's sovereign tradition by wielding "old communal authority."[15] Finally, the governor oversaw courts throughout the Papal State, unconfined to issues of the Church or city alone. It is in this court that the main drama of our story takes place.

The sixteenth century saw the transformation of these courts and others in Italy. Cohen and Cohen describe "the very borders of the illegal" as caught up in this fluctuation.[16] Amidst the many changes brought by the Renaissance, records from the judicial system are particularly ripe sources for understanding how common people responded to these shifting times. Trial records are thus particularly crucial to historians of social or marginalized histories because recorded within them are the actual voices and stories of members of the general public. It is no wonder, then, that these records are crucial to my study of women's strategies of survival and resistance. Lucrezia's is one of many stories that draw from such records. Our ability to peek into the lives of others, including some of the other women examined in this essay, are largely possible because of these records. While the fluctuation of the law brought these cases to the attention of the state, it also created the conditions for womens' creative strategies to be brought to light.

Narrowing into women's lives, a variety of factors made it necessary for them to employ tactics of resistance and survival. A few historians of early modern Italy use the language of discipline and enclosure to describe women's roles during this period.

[9] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 21.
[10] Responding to the Protestant challenge to Catholicism, Pope Paul III convened the Council of Trent in 1545 to redefine and reinforce Catholic practices and institute reforms. Over the eighteen years that this body met, the Catholic reform period known as the Counter-Reformation, Catholic Reformation, or Catholic Revival, began. Merry E. Wiesner, *Christianity and Sexuality In the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice* (London: Routledge, 2010), https://doi-org.revproxy.brown.edu/10.4324/9780429259975 , 119.
[11] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 13.
[12] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 13.
[13] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 13.
[14] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 16.
[15] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 16
[16] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 5. See also: John Brackett, "Crime and Punishment," Encyclopedia of the Renaissance , ed. Paul F. Grenier (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1999), 101-106.

In *Cultures of Charity: Women, Politics, and the Reform of Poor Relief In Renaissance Italy*, author Nicholas Terpstra draws from the work of historians Mary Elizabeth Perry and Philip Gavitt to explain the origins of this culture of enclosure. Perry describes a "deep-seated gender ideology that associated women with disorder [which] lay at the heart of this push to enclose and discipline."[17] This sense of disorder was tied in part to an inability to understand or control female bodies, especially in relation to sex and reproduction.[18] Womens' reproductive capacities (and thus their bodies) were highly regulated in attempts to prevent and punish pregnancy out of wedlock among all classes, especially the wealthy whose heirs would eventually rule. Despite the relative fluidity of sex and gender in the early modern period, authorities (in the form of the state, Church, and patriarchs in the home) increasingly sought to discipline and control the body, especially those of women.[19]

Gavitt articulates how the sense of disorder around womens' bodies fed a patriarchal society. He describes a "lineage ideology" that prioritized male heirs over all family members, but especially daughters, in order to maximize the potential of familial success.[20] Success in Renaissance Italy was defined in terms of a family's honor and wealth, two interconnected phenomena that women could rarely contribute to directly, but could easily diminish through disorderly conduct such as mismatched marriages or an overabundance of sexuality.[21] Women were thus often bound to private spheres like the home or neighborhood in attempts to control the seemingly natural disorder of their gender. Gavitt notes that although this enclosure was not confined to the familial sphere, it "began at home and in the family and spiraled out from there."[22] This process facilitated women's absence from public spheres and provided justifications for men to rule over women and their bodies both in public and private. Women required strategies to rage against their confinement and survive in a society that was actively constructed to exclude them.

The language of binding is useful to describe the expectations and restrictions on women in Lucrezia's world. Historian Guido Ruggiero takes up this language in *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage, and Power at the End of the Renaissance* to describe the forces that sought to enclose and discipline women in Renaissance Italy. He highlights the central role of marriage in Italian society and expands on it as a common factor in the binding of women. Ruggiero writes: "Simply stated, marriage was a significant form of social and economic placement for all involved, and the easiest and surest placement was one where both partners and their families belonged."[23] And yet, in these structures women similar to "the lively and independent Nanna" occasionally found themselves "virtually sold into slavery" in marriage.[24] Due to the commonality of arranged marriages for an honorable and advantageous match, marriage became yet another site of enclosure and discipline for women.

Unmarried women also faced many challenges. In

[17] Nicholas Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity: Women, Politics, and the Reform of Poor Relief In Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013), 5.
[18] Laura Gowing, "Women's Bodies and the Making of Sex in Seventeenth-Century England," *Signs* 37, no. 4 (2012), 817, 814.
[19] The Council of Trent reaffirmed the sanctity of marriage in the Catholic Church and added a stipulation that a valid marriage must take place in the presence of witnesses, including the parish priest. Wiesner, *Christianity and Sexuality In the Early Modern World*, 124; Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, 59. Such shifts sought to prevent unofficial unions (such as in the case of Giovanni and Lusanna) that could have facilitated the births of illegitimate children, see: Gene Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna: Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
[20] Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity* , 6.
[21] Ruggiero, *Binding Passions* , 14-15, 67-68.
[22] Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity* , 6.
[23] Ruggiero, Binding Passions, 14.

response to dangers like rape, murder, and dishonor, unmarried women often clustered in homes and neighborhoods for communal protection. The investigation record reveals an incident in which Lucrezia faced such dangers, yet survived by the protection of a neighbor. She had a brush with death when a client, "a captain Tomasso wanted to kill her."[25] Fleeing the scene, Lucrezia sought refuge with a neighborhood friend whom she lived with for a time as a courtesan. Surrounded by a network of other women thus worked to Lucrezia's advantage. After arriving in a strange new land, she forged relationships that offered protection.

Neighborhood relationships were a survival resource for Lucrezia and other women of her time. Historian Monica Chojnacka, in *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, describes three reasons why early modern Italian women forged relationships in their neighborhoods. The first, companionship, could ward off the loneliness that both married and unmarried life could bring.[26] Isolated from many aspects of public life, the presence of another woman in the home could provide pleasure and entertainment for early modern women. This companionship may have sometimes exceeded platonic friendship. Judith Bennett, in her 2000 article "'Lesbian-Like' and the Social History of Lesbianisms," calls on historians to look for "lesbian-like" behaviors, such as cohabitation or close relations between women, in the archive.[27] It is possible that some of the companionships that brought women together in their neighborhoods, and even in the same household, were romantic or sexual attractions. I will explore how Lucrezia may have maintained similar relationships in her neighborhood later in this essay.

The second reason Chojnacka gives for close bonds between women within a neighborhood is economic bonds.[28] This could include hiring another woman in the neighborhood to perform housework or other tasks around the home. Control over household finances would have been relatively rare for a married woman, but for unmarried women and widows, it would have been necessary. Such was the case of Alessandra Strozzi, a widowed mother who took up the business of an average (and typically male) Florentine property owner by managing tenants, collecting rents, and paying taxes after her husband passed away.[29] Women like Lucrezia who led unconventional lifestyles may have also managed their own finances or turned to other women, such as a biological or adoptive mother who lived in close proximity, to act as their financial manager.[30] Finally, Chojnacka describes women facilitating neighborhood relationships out of "simpl[e] kindness," just as we do today.[31] Largely excluded from other public spheres, women constructed webs of relationships for these three reasons - companionship, economic bonds, and kindness - in order to survive and thrive within the neighborhood.

Bonds between women in the home could prove just as important as those outside. Two of the witnesses who testified were likely in Lucrezia's employ, building their stories from scenes they claimed to have witnessed in her home. The first, Caterina Nanzi of Lorraine, lived with Lucrezia for only "the space of eight or ten days."[32] It seems likely that she was a servant of Lucrezia's based on the details of their

[24] Ruggiero, Binding Passions, 25.
[25] Cohen and Cohen, Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome , 190.
[26] Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* , 64.
[27] Bennett, "'Lesbian-Like' and the Social History of Lesbianisms," 20-21.
[28] Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* , 73.
[29] Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi and Heather Gregory, *Selected Letters of Alessandra Strozzi* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 6.
[30] Ruggiero, *Binding Passions* , 36.
[31] Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* , 73.
[32] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 189.

relationship, but had met her prior to coming to work in the house. Perhaps the neighborhood helped them form an economic bond that resulted in Caterina coming to stay in Lucrezia's home. Another woman named Lucrezia also testified against her madame, Lucrezia the Greek. She had worked in the Greek's home for almost two years prior to the investigation.[33]

Caterina and the other Lucrezia provided the most damning evidence against Lucrezia the Greek during the investigation. Yet Caterina in particular did not seem afraid of the repercussions of her testimony. She concluded by reiterating that she had nothing to fear: "I said all these things to Lucrezia [the Greek]'s face and I will say them to her again when the need comes."[34] She did not appear concerned about her employment at all, nor about the social ramifications of testifying against a courtesan of at least some social standing.

It is possible too that Caterina did not fear testifying against her employer because Lucrezia the Greek was a courtesan. Lucrezia's profession, however, was not entirely taboo; in fact, sex work was quite common in the early modern world of Catholic Europe. Merry E. Wiesner, in *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice*, writes: "In general, major Italian cities such as Florence and Venice were the most tolerant, favoring regulation over suppression and often viewing prostitutes as significant sources of municipal income."[35] In Rome in particular, where the number of men who could not marry due to religious obligations was remarkably high, sex work was not only common but facilitated important and occasionally protective connections for many women that would have otherwise been possible only through marriage.[36] Despite this general tolerance of sex work, however, early modern Europe was occasionally gripped by moments of moral panic over womens' bodies. These fluctuating desires to control and discipline women's bodies were related to the abundant opportunities for disorder that many found there. Catholic reformers dedicated to clarifying the boundaries of acceptable sexual behavior (which to them resided solely within the sacrament of marriage) and preventing the proliferation of illegitimate children occasionally cracked down on sex work by closing licensed brothels and imprisoning or banishing sex workers.[37] Punishments often included sending women to convents where they could be reformed.[38] These efforts were often framed in terms of a patriarchal protection over women's bodies, but many women did not seek protection from this profession. For women like Lucrezia, sex work was a choice, a method of survival that also provided opportunities to thrive.

Although Lucrezia was new to town, she had the resources to become a well-connected (and thus relatively protected) sex worker — a courtesan and not a mere "whore." A courtesan, or cortigiana, was a sex worker with honor, one who was "privileged,

[33] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 191.
[34] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 190.
[35] Wiesner, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World* , 149. It was not uncommon in sixteenth-century Italy to tax sex workers based on their income. Most had to claim this profession on the census (Chojnacka 55), and in this way became required to pay. In the case of Florence in particular, these taxes often went to charities or convents where women could go if they decided to give up the profession (Wiesner 149). Additional taxes "would allow a woman to live where she wished in the city and wear whatever type of clothes she chose" (Wiesner 149). We can see by these examples that sex work was highly regulated but also provided certain freedoms women may have been unable to enjoy otherwise.
[36] Wiesner, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World* , 149.
[37] Wiesner, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World* , 149.
[38] Ruggiero also notes that these punishments were not always effective, as in the 1561 Convertite scandal where "reformed" prostitutes, or new nuns, continued to sell sex out of the convent where their father confessor served as a pimp. Ruggiero, *Binding Passions* , 52-53.

wealthy, recognized."[39] Life in this profession contrasted that of lower tiers of sex workers. *Puttana* was an insult comparable to "whore" that was used to describe the poorest sex workers.[40] A courtesan also differed from a *meretrice*, which was a neutral mid-sixteenth century word for a sex worker.[41] That Lucrezia the Greek was described as a courtesan rather than a *meretrice* thus conveys a higher social standing from her role as a sex worker.

We do not know the process by which Lucrezia became a courtesan after arriving in Italy, but by examining the life of an elite Venetian courtesan around the same time, we may have a better understanding of why Lucrezia pursued this profession. Born to a native Venetian family of the professional class, Veronica Franco had substantially greater connections than Lucrezia.[42] Franco was married for a brief time to a doctor, but for unknown reasons they quickly separated.[43] Shortly after the dissolution of her marriage, Franco took up the life of a courtesan. Similar to Lucrezia, Franco was no ordinary meretrice. She worked with the elite of Venice in addition to merchants, ambassadors, and even kings who passed through the city.[44] Historians Ann Rosalind Jones and Margaret F. Rosenthal, who translated Franco's works, reiterate that to be a successful courtesan, "a woman needed to be beautiful, sophisticated in her dress and manners, and an elegant, cultivated conversationalist."[45] With success in these areas, Franco, like Lucrezia, was able to support a substantial household of servants, in addition to her children and their tutors.[46]

Lucrezia clearly had knowledge of such prominent courtesans. In her trial, one of the acts of magic she is accused of engaging in is the collection of dust from the doorways of "the most favoured whores, saying that she was carrying off the good fortune from that whore and carrying it to her house."[47] If this allegation was true, it meant that Lucrezia viewed her profession as a mode of social mobility that could bring her wealth and prominence similar to that enjoyed by courtesans like Veronica Franco. It is likely that Lucrezia did not have to travel far to collect this dust. It was common especially for unmarried women to live in proximity to those engaged in a similar profession.[48]

As evident by her label, clientele, and household staff, Lucrezia had already become a relatively well-off courtesan. Cohen and Cohen note that she must have been "attractive enough in body, clothing, and domestic furnishings to entertain a cardinal," who is mentioned in the record as one of her clients.[49] By building her clientele list to include the cardinal, Lucrezia made herself eligible for a mutually beneficial relationship with other high-ranking members of the Church such as Giovanni Maria.

The growth of her connections apparently did not happen fast enough for Lucrezia. Her alleged use of love magic appears to have been an attempt to solidify her ascension into higher-class status through associations with powerful men like Maria who was a servant to the pope. Magic, however, was an increasingly controversial tool of resistance. Over

[39] Franco, *Poems and Selected Letters* , 3.
[40] Franco, *Poems and Selected Letters* , 3.
[41] Franco, *Poems and Selected Letters* , 2.
[42] Franco, *Poems and Selected Letters* , 2.
[43] Franco, *Poems and Selected Letters* , 4.
[44] Franco, *Poems and Selected Letters* , 1.
[45] Franco, *Poems and Selected Letters* , 1.
[46] Franco, *Poems and Selected Letters* , 4.
[47] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome*, 193.
[48] Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* , 54.
[49] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 196.

the course of the early modern period, it had become a contentious point in the battles between church and state. The Counter-Reformation sought to consolidate spirituality within the confines of the Church, and magic was seen as a threat to this process in its democratization of the sacred. Cohen and Cohen write that "sixteenth-century magic is not the negation of an orthodox religion that itself often conjures the supernatural for terrestrial good, but its extension into a zone outside clerical control."[50] Restricting magic during this period then was yet another site where power struggles played out as the Church sought to articulate its control by suppressing magic.

Why, then, was Lucrezia's case brought to a state court rather than an ecclesiastical court? It is possible that 1559 was a moment when the state had momentarily triumphed over Church authority in their centuries-long struggle. The regulation of magic would have fallen within the state's control and, as Cohen and Cohen describe it: "in prosecuting magic, the state's court thus polices the boundaries of religion and wards over the church's prerogatives."[51] A case like Lucrezia's would demonstrate that state authority superseded the Church. Alternatively, the unclear jurisdictions of the three Roman courts also make it possible that Lucrezia's case had simply slipped accidentally between the authorities of church and state.[52] Either way, Lucrezia was lucky that her case was not pursued as part of the Inquisition, where the politicization of magic could have resulted in steeper punishments in the Church's attempt to police the sacred and punish its misuse.[53]

The primary accusations against Lucrezia the Greek were that of love magic. Magic to bind another individual to you in love was understandably rather common in a society that placed such an emphasis on marriage as a mode of social mobility. We do not know if marriage was Lucrezia's end-goal, but even a less formal connection to a man of high-status would have been useful to a courtesan who was motivated to better her social standing. Thus, "to kindle the heart of Giovanni Maria, or some other heart," Lucrezia was believed to have taken to love magic.[54]

The magic Lucrezia allegedly conducted to win Giovanni's heart took many forms. She is described reciting spells and conducting strange actions. Allegedly, "the Greek went to cut the cords of the bells and that she had them burnt in a lamp with oil and holy water so that messer Giovanni Maria might love her."[55] In addition to this warping of religious symbols to fit her needs, Lucrezia also supposedly called on her professional connections. Her servant Lucrezia recalled:

> Afterwards, whenever she slept with someone, and above all with cardinal Strozzi, she gave me certain ragged handkerchiefs, telling me, 'Put this aside. I sponged my genitals with it because I slept with the cardinal.' … And with them, she took a lamp with oil and made those wicks burn… And she said certain words over them, like the others, or like them in meaning, to kindle the heart of Giovanni Maria, or some other heart.[56]

[50] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 197.
[51] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 197.
[52] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 16.
[53] Wiesner, *Christianity and Sexuality In the Early Modern World* , 155.
[54] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 192.
[55] Cohen and Cohen, Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome , 190.
[56] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 192.

These practices reveal how Lucrezia called on what she knew to gain what she wanted. Although she likely knew magic was an affront to the Church, she confidently stole and used religious symbols to practice magic. She also called again on her own sexuality, the tool she already employed in her profession. Melding religion with sex work, Lucrezia sought to transform her world to fit her desires.

How did Lucrezia gain the knowledge of such magic? She was illiterate, so how could she recite the spells? These are questions that the notary posed to the individuals questioned, but ones we will never know Lucrezia's answers to, unfortunately. Her servant, Caterina, claimed that Lucrezia purchased a love spell in the form of two written pages from another woman who testified, Madonna Imperia, daughter of the late maestro Giovanni di Caravaggio.[57] She went on to name Christoforo, a servant boy whose master was one of Lucrezia's clients, as the individual who recited the spells aloud.[58] Although Cohen and Cohen interpret Lucrezia's reliance on the "dubious loyalty" of Christoforo and Imperia as evidence that she "cannot master the charms herself," I argue instead that such connections offer further evidence of Lucrezia's extensive and surprising connections despite being a courtesan and immigrant.[59] If Caterina's accusations were true, these networks facilitated Lucrezia's ability to access magic, which itself was an act of resistance against the patriarchal and hierarchical Church.

It remains difficult to verify the information Caterina readily provided. Imperia denied the charges against her on the record, noting in her brief testimony: "I never knew that Lucrezia did things to draw to her any man, or that served the cause of love, because I never have been close with her."[60] Christoforo too denied any and all knowledge of Lucrezia practicing magic.[61] Though we may take them at their word, Imperia and Christoforo may have been protecting themselves from investigations into magic. Wiesner describes the steep punishments for involvement in love magic at this time: "love magic was uniformly condemned, with punishments ranging from scoldings to whipping and exile."[62] These punishments reveal both the prevalence of love magic and its particular offense to the Church. Both Imperia and Christoforo were in precarious social positions, and thus could not risk such punishments and the dishonor that accompanied them. Wiesner notes that "the making of love charms was often a specialized practice of networks of women on the margins of society."[63] It is possible then that Imperia, as the alleged procurer of the charms, was particularly vulnerable in the investigation. As a servant, Christoforo also had a lot to lose, including his employment with the man who had sent him into Lucrezia's home solely to recover from an illness, not to help her practice magic.[64] Therefore, their denials of Caterina's charges are difficult to interpret in full.

In contrast to the confidence with which Caterina made these accusations, Lucrezia the servant timidly recounted the events of Lucrezia's love magic. Aware of her proximity to the alleged practice of magic over the two years she had been in Lucrezia the Greek's home, this Lucrezia, the servant, seemed to want to distance herself from the whole affair by claiming that while she had seen the Greek casting

[57] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 190.
[58] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 190.
[59] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 198.
[60] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 194.
[61] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 195.
[62] Wiesner, *Christianity and Sexuality In the Early Modern World*, 155.
[63] Wiesner, *Christianity and Sexuality In the Early Modern World*, 155.
[64] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome*, 195.

spells at various times, she "didn't hear the words."[65] Whether or not this is true, it is significant enough that Lucrezia felt she had to clarify it on record. Such a reaction speaks to the seriousness of a crime of magic — a crime that was believed to manipulate the sacredness of Catholicism — in Renaissance Rome.

Given the seriousness of her crimes, it is surprising that we do not know exactly what Lucrezia wanted from a union with Giovanni. Her reasons could be as simple as expanding her client-base to include a powerful man, but why this specific man — what made him worth the risk? It is possible too that she had truly fallen in love with him, and sought to be not just a courtesan but also his lover or even his wife. This was not entirely unheard of. Ruggiero recounts the story of Andriana Savorgnan, a Venetian courtesan accused by her in-laws of using love magic to bind a noble heir to her in love and marriage.[66] Although the marriage and Savorgnan's methods of securing it were eventually interrogated by inquisitors, her case serves as an example of other courtesans who seem to have successfully used love magic to win the love of upper-class men despite the social guards that ordinarily accompanied a marriage. It is possible too that what Lucrezia sought from Giovanni was protection. Perhaps this protection was financial. Lucrezia seems to have ascended the socioeconomic ladder fairly quickly after arriving in Rome, proving herself as a successful courtesan. She comfortably employed at least two servants, and it was at least reasonable that she was able to purchase the spells to practice magic. Yet there was always more wealth and prestige in a city that emphasized patronage. By solidifying a union with a servant to the pope, Lucrezia would have ascended even further up Rome's social hierarchy.

Perhaps instead, the type of protection Lucrezia sought was legal. There are a number of cases where courtesans were protected from various legal charges through their connections to powerful men. Ruggiero offers the example of Giulia Napolitana, a Florentine courtesan who embarrassed the Venetian noble Luigi Dolfin when her friends in the court protected her from his charges against her. Ruggiero writes: "Not only had Giulia bantered with the judge like an old friend… the latter had even had the gall to reassure her that he would not listen to Dolfin's complaints."[67] Lucrezia could have similarly faced a scorned lover or some trouble during a moral panic over prostitution. There is even evidence in the transcript that Lucrezia may have had other brushes with the law, for reasons not listed.[68] Legal protection could have also exempted her from disclosing her profession on the census, thus allowing her to forgo paying the taxes specific to sex workers.[69] The possibility of such protections could have encouraged Lucrezia to focus her charms on Giovanni Maria.

For any of these economic or legal reasons, Lucrezia may have sought protection in a relationship with Giovanni. Bennett's framework, however, offers a less conventional possibility. While Lucrezia seems to have been primarily involved with male clients, her relationships with women could also signal "lesbian-like" preferences. In Renaissance Italy, same-sex relationships were largely understood as acts of sodomy between two men, with punishments as severe as death and burning.[70] Women still pursued sexual and romantic relationships with one another of course, but because the courts were less con-

[65] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome*, 191.
[66] Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, 20.
[67] Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, 41.
[68] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome*, 191.
[69] Ruggiero, *Binding Passions* , 41.
[70] Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996), 4.

cerned with these interactions, there are few existing records of their particular details.[71] Thus when some of Lucrezia's acquaintances claimed to have slept with her, it is understandable that the notary did not pry into the details of their relationships, for such interactions between women were not prohibited by law.

The investigation provides evidence that Lucrezia may have had such relationships. A woman named madonna Laura Mosti, aka Laura the Sienese, may have had a sexual or romantic relationship with Lucrezia. The two lived together for a time while Lucrezia escaped Tomasso's violence, and there is evidence of some sort of falling out after Lucrezia apparently unjustifiably called Laura a whore.[72] While it was relatively common for women to live together, we should not overlook the possibility that some of these women may have been lovers. Spite is a powerful emotion that could drive an ex-lover to drastic actions such as spreading rumors that could lead to an official investigation. Laura, though not questioned in the investigation, is mentioned as a major informant to Caterina, the servant who provided the most accusations against Lucrezia.[73] Though Caterina did report a few first-hand accounts of Lucrezia's magic, this mention of Laura brings into question whether or not Caterina did indeed ever see Lucrezia conduct magic in person, or if she instead took Laura's side in a lover's dispute that got out of hand.

Lucrezia may have also had a sexual relationship with Imperia, the woman who may or may not have sold her the magic spells. Despite claiming that she did not know Lucrezia very well, Imperia reports to the notary that she too "slept with her several times."[74] While this phrasing was commonly used during the early modern period to refer to an individual housing another, we should also not overlook the possibilities either of a romantic or a transactional relationship here. Maybe Imperia did not testify against Lucrezia because the two of them were in a committed relationship. It is possible too that Lucrezia's relationships with Imperia and Laura signal that she was a courtesan to both genders. Either way, exploring Lucrezia's lesbian-like relationships broadens the possibilities of her resistance strategies into the realm of sexual resistance or agency.

Following these threads, Lucrezia and one of these other women may have sought social protection in a heterosexual marriage for one or both of them. In Female Husbands, historian Jen Manion explores the privileges queer individuals in the early modern period could access through the appearance of a marriage between opposite genders.[75] Lucrezia could have similarly used heteronormative expectations to her advantage by gaining protection through a relationship with Giovanni while carrying on relationships with other women. Perhaps Lucrezia was attracted to men and women, or just women while carrying on a career where she mostly slept with men. Through interactions like these, she would have resisted the rules and expectations society placed on women to be virgins, wives to men, mothers, and little else.

Like so many other women in early modern Europe, Lucrezia the Greek operated in a world that sought to bind her within restricted spaces, occupations, and relationships. The consequences of some of these restrictions could have led her to a miserable or short life. Yet Lucrezia and other women fought

[71] Gowing, "Women's Bodies and the Making of Sex in Seventeenth-Century England," 817.
[72] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 190.
[73] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 190.
[74] Cohen and Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome* , 194.
[75] Jen Manion, *Female Husbands: A Trans History* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

back, actively employing strategies to resist and survive in their worlds. These strategies encouraged Lucrezia to call on the people, practices, and beliefs available in the early modern world. In her home and neighborhood, she forged alliances and possibly lesbian-like relationships that protected her in the court's investigation and during other moments where her precarity as an unmarried woman and courtesan became evident. Her occupation, though dangerous at times, helped her to facilitate these connections, accumulate wealth, and dream of winning the love of Giovanni Maria. And while the trial provides evidence that these acts of resistance and survival did not go uncontested by the forces of authority that sought to rule over her life, it also brings to light her story and her turn towards magic to achieve her dreams. We can learn a lot from Lucrezia — that is, about early modern women and courtesans — but also about ourselves and the forces we can choose to accept or resist in our lives.

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Would the CIA Sell a Country for a Banana? It Sherwood:

Assessing the Contributions of Radio Propaganda to Intervention in Guatemala, 1954

by *Rocket Drew*

"The United Fruit Company / reserved for itself the most juicy / piece, the central coast of my world / the delicate waist of America." — Pablo Neruda[1]

"A modern revolutionary group heads for the television station, not the factory. It concentrates its energy on infiltrating and changing the image system." — Abbie Hoffman[2]

I. Introduction

Radio waves carried Franklin Delano Roosevelt's fireside chats condemning Germany's Nazi regime to a global audience, including to the Guatemalan schoolteachers who rose up against Jorge Ubico's dictatorship in 1944.[3] A testament to the resonance of Roosevelt's anti-authoritarian words in Guatemala, the incoming president Juan José Arévalo "cited Roosevelt as his inspiration" during his inaugural address.[4] In March of 1951, Jacobo Árbenz assumed the presidency and inherited his predecessor's admiration for Roosevelt. By the CIA's own admission in a 1952 report, "Árbenz' personal idol is FDR and his reforms are patterned after New Deal reforms."[5] Instead of feeling flattered by Árbenz's imitation of its past president, the CIA responded by launching Operation SUCCESS, the agency's most ambitious and expensive operation up to that point, to depose the Guatemalan president.[6] These developments reflect a pattern established in the aftermath of the First World War, when Woodrow Wilson's odes to "self-determination" stoked anticolonial sentiment in European colonies.[7] [8]

One key difference, however, between the Wilson and Roosevelt stories was the dawning of the Golden Age of Radio between their terms.[9] [10] [11] Radio

[1] Neruda, P. (1950). "United Fruit Co.," Pablo Neruda (1950). Retrieved November 29, 2020, from https://library.brown.edu/create/modernlatinamerica/chapters/chapter-14-the-united-states-and-latin-america/primary-documents-w-accompanying-discussion-questions/document-35-united-fruit-co-pablo-neruda-1950/

[2] Abbie Hoffman Quote. (n.d.). Retrieved November 25, 2020, from https://www.azquotes.com/quote/134302

[3] May 27, 1941: Fireside Chat 17: On An Unlimited National Emergency. (2017, February 23). Retrieved November 25, 2020, from https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/may-27-1941-fireside-chat-17-unlimited-national-emergency

[4] Kinzer, S. (2007). *Overthrow: America's century of regime change from Hawaii to Iraq*. New York: Times Books/Henry Holt.

[5] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

[6] Kinzer, S. (2020, October 20). *Economic and Strategic Motives for Intervention; Coup in Guatemala*. Lecture presented at History of American Intervention.

[7] Kinzer, S. (2020, October 6). *Rise of Woodrow Wilson; World War I and Versailles Treaty; Punitive Expedition; Occupation of Veracruz; Retrenchment in the 1920s; Good Neighbor Policy*. Lecture presented at History of American Intervention.

[8] Manela, E. (20). Imagining Woodrow Wilson in Asia: Dreams of East-West Harmony and the Revolt against Empire in 1919. *The SHAFR Guide Online*, 111(5). doi:10.1163/2468-1733_shafr_sim120120023

[9] The Fireside Chats: Roosevelt's Radio Talks. (n.d.). Retrieved November 25, 2020, from https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-fireside-chats-roosevelts-radio-talks

[10] Scott, C. (n.d.). The History of the Radio Industry in the United States to 1940. Retrieved November 25, 2020, from https://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-history-of-the-radio-industry-in-the-united-states-to-1940/

[11] A Science Odyssey: People and Discoveries: KDKA begins to broadcast. (n.d.). Retrieved November 25, 2020, from http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aso/databank/entries/dt20ra.html

amplified the incendiary speeches by Roosevelt that influenced Arévalo and Árbenz, and radio continued to play a dramatic role in US-Guatemalan relations in the years following the 1944 revolution, from the CIA's propaganda campaign to the live broadcast of Árbenz' resignation on June 27, 1954.

However, recent historical scholarship has inflated radio propaganda's contributions to SUCCESS. |Despite the CIA's investments in its broadcasting program, the intervention's ultimate triumph owed far more to the threat of US military force than to the psychological war. Before evaluating the role of radio in the operation, this paper will explore the historiographic debate over the importance of corporate interests versus anti-communism as motivating factors in the intervention —– a false distinction in my belief.. Finally, this paper will conclude with an assessment of the radio landscape in Guatemala in light of the intervention's long-term effects.

II. Motivations: United Fruit vs Anti-Communism

The million-dollar question, or, rather, the six-plus-million-dollar question remains: Why did the US intervene in Guatemala in 1954?[12] A number of motivations have been explored in the historiography, including that the CIA's rapid and successful coup in Iran the previous year had given rise to a hunger for covert actions "on a grander scale, over a longer period, and for higher stakes than ever before."[13] [14] Another theory holds that Dwight Eisenhower, the President at the time, was eager to pilot covert actions in attempts to reduce the military budget, satisfying his "New Look" policy, which demanded, in the words of his Secretary of Defense, "more bang for the buck." [15] [16]

These motivations offer intrigue and color to analyses of the coup, but historians have placed far more emphasis on the dual factors of protecting the United Fruit Company from land expropriation and preventing the spread of Soviet influence. Historian Nick Cullather summarizes, "Some accuse the Eisenhower administration and the Agency of acting at the behest of self-interested American investors, particularly the United Fruit Company. Others argue that anti-Communist paranoia and not economic interest dictated policy."[17] A survey of the arguments underpinning these two perspectives reveals that the distinction between them is a false one, and historians would do well to disrupt this artificial dichotomy.

In the above quote, Cullather is careful to identify the UFC motivation with the unprecedented influence the company commanded in the White House. Indeed, the company was more represented in the

[12] Prados, J. (2009). *Safe for democracy: The secret wars of the CIA*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
[13] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[14] Abrahamian, E. (2015). *The coup: 1953, the CIA, and the roots of modern U.S.-Iranian relations*. New York, NY: New Press.
[15] Kinzer, S. (2020, October 20). *Economic and Strategic Motives for Intervention; Coup in Guatemala*. Lecture presented at History of American Intervention.
[16] "Charles Erwin Wilson". Encyclopedia of World Biography. Encyclopedia.com. 16 Oct. 2020. (2020, November 25). Retrieved November 25, 2020, from https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/history/us-history-biographies/charles-erwin-wilson
[17] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

Oval Office than any other company in US history up to that moment.[18] The legal careers of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and CIA Director Allen Dulles had brought them in contact with UFC; the family of Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs John Moors Cabot owned UFC stock, and his brother had been UFC president. Further, UN Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge owned UFC stock; Eisenhower's secretary was married to UFC's public relations director; Undersecretary of State Walter Bedell Smith was looking for a job with UFC; and the ambassador to Costa Rica had UFC ties through his previous work for a shipping company.[19] [20] The camp of historians who assign primacy to the UFC motivation also notes that though the previous administration had expressed interest in Guatemala under Truman, then-Secretary of State Dean Acheson had intervened to prevent the execution of those plans. Once UFC enjoyed broad support in Eisenhower's administration, the argument goes, the Guatemala operation could be revived. Corporate influence explains why the US "paid such intense attention to the few Communists in Guatemala," despite the fact that "larger numbers [of Communists] had taken part in political activity on a greater scale during the postwar years in Brazil, Chile and Costa Rica."

The rival camp of historians argues that anti-communist paranoia played the more decisive role in bringing about US intervention. "NSC 162/2," the document that formalized the New Look, called for "covert measures to counter any threat of a party or individuals directly or indirectly responsive to Soviet control"; according to NSC staff, Guatemala fit the bill by providing "a prototype area for testing means and methods of combating Communism."[21] [22] These historians respond to accusations regarding conflicts of interest in Washington that favored UFC by pointing out that those implicated in the US government could not have individually or even collectively caused the coup. For example, the UN ambassador, the ambassador to Costa Rica, and Eisenhower's secretary lacked the political capital and proximity to the CIA's decision-making apparatus to wield significant influence, while those who did command influence, such as the Dulles brothers, are implicated only indirectly.[23] [24] Moreover, merely holding stock is not a particularly good reason to overthrow a government; a more likely response from investors with government connections would involve leveraging insider political information to sell off UFC and IRCA shares before the market devalues them, pricing in the risk presented by Árbenz's land reform program. Cutting losses with UFC would have appeared especially reasonable in light of the "stagnation and decline" that plagued the company following WWII.[25]

Even the most effective intervention in Guatemala would not address the threats UFC faced, which

[18] Kinzer, S. (2020, October 20). *Economic and Strategic Motives for Intervention; Coup in Guatemala*. Lecture presented at History of American Intervention.

[19] Russell, S. (2015, October 27). A Country for a Company – The 1954 US Backed Guatemalan Coup To Support United Fruit Company. Retrieved November 29, 2020, from https://www.warhistoryonline.com/war-articles/country-company-1954-guatemalan-coup-support-united-fruit.html

[20] Schlesinger, S. C., & Kinzer, S. (1990). *Bitter fruit: The untold story of the American coup in Guatemala*. New York: Anchor Books.

[21] Report to the National Security Council by the Executive Secretary. (n.d.). Retrieved November 25, 2020, from https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1952-54v02p1/d101

[22] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

[23] John Dulles worked for Sullivan and Cromwell, whose client, the Shroder Banking Corporation, advised the International Railways of Central America (IRCA) in its dealings with UFC. Allen Dulles served on Shroder's board of directors, and the bank held stock in IRCA, but it is not unusual for banks to invest in corporations in this way.

[24] Hartman, D. (2017, February 07). Can Banks Invest Money in Stock? Retrieved November 28, 2020, from https://finance.zacks.com/can-banks-invest-money-stock-8324.html

[25] Nåden, R. (n.d.). United Fruit Company Abroad: A Study of the Change in Landholdings, Relationship to Labor Force, and the Transportation System in an Oli Perspective. Retrieved 2009, from http://bora.uib.no/bitstream/handle/1956/3345/56492295.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

ranged from: "the emergence of Ecuador as a large exporter of low-cost bananas," diseases that ruined harvests (and required expensive and dangerous treatments), and rising unionization and labor unrest across the region. Moreover, UFC faced the prospective nationalization of sugar operations (the second-largest division of the company) in Cuba due to Castro's Revolution, which began the year before SUCCESS.[26] Moreover, Guatemalan land reform would have left untouched two-thirds of UFC's total land holdings, including plantations in Costa Rica, Honduras, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Panama, Honduras, and Colombia.[27][28][29] Indeed, UFC itself "decided not to take part in Project Success."[30] The anti-communist lens holds that, though UFC asked the CIA to overthrow Árbenz through the lobbying of Thomas Corcoran, the company's offer merely presented a convenient partnership for hard-liners in Washington.[31] Historians who subscribe to this view point out that the Eisenhower administration, perhaps bowing to public pressure, re-initiated the antitrust action against UFC that it had suspended in 1951, effectively discarding the government's co-conspirators once they had outlived their usefulness.[32]

It is tempting to rebut the notion of anti-communist motivations by exposing the unfounded fears of a communist takeover under Árbenz, but even a shallow familiarity with Cold War history is sufficient to dismiss this line of reasoning. Proof of communism was not a necessary condition for anti-communist intervention during this period as operations in Iran, Indonesia, Lebanon, and the Congo attest.[33] Ultimately, both the views on anti-communist and pro-UFC motivations hold merit, but a closer examination of the figures predisposed and able to assist UFC from Washington reveals that the distinction in the literature between these two camps has grown too deep. From the list of UFC-affiliates in the Eisenhower administration, John Moors Cabot and Walter Bedell Smith distinguish themselves as the most suspicious figures in the Guatemala operation. Sensitivity to the influence that individuals can wield over the course of history invites a closer examination of these figures.[34] Cabot is absolved by an account that in the Fall of 1954 he suggested a CIA coup to Smith, who implied in response that such a coup was already in process.[35] While Cabot may have exhibited corrupt pro-UFC motives, his support for a coup did not provide the impetus for the operation.

Walter Bedell Smith, on the other hand, played a larger role in bringing about SUCCESS: he attended the August 1953 meeting that officially approved the operation, communicated daily with Ambassador John Peurifoy, whom Smith had helped select, and successfully advocated for expanded US air support during the invasion. Smith had disclosed to Corcoran that he sought the UFC presidency, but Smith's complex motives could not be reduced to purely professional ambitions. His admission to Corcoran only occurred after—and perhaps as a result of—

[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Bucheli, M. (n.d.). Chronology. Retrieved November 28, 2020, from http://www.unitedfruit.org/chron.htm
[29] United Fruit Company. (2020, November 29). Retrieved November 29, 2020, from https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/news-wires-white-papers-and-books/united-fruit-company
[30] Prados, J. (2009). *Safe for democracy: The secret wars of the CIA*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
[31] Schlesinger, S. C., & Kinzer, S. (1990). *Bitter fruit: The untold story of the American coup in Guatemala*. New York: Anchor Books.
[32] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala*, 1952-1954. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[33] Kinzer, S. (2020, October 27). *Challenges in Africa; Suez Crisis; Overthrow of Lumumba*. Lecture presented at History of American Intervention.
[34] Kinzer, Stephen. "Historical Roots of American Foreign Policy; Expansion Within North America; First Ventures Abroad; Barbary Wars." History of American Intervention. 10 Sept. 2020.
[35] Schlesinger, S. C., & Kinzer, S. (1990). *Bitter fruit: The untold story of the American coup in Guatemala*. New York: Anchor Books.

joining the State Department in 1953, which he considered a stinging decline from his previous CIA position.[36] Smith's obsessive anti-communism preceded his unhappy under-secretaryship; in fact, "he once reportedly called Nelson Rockefeller a 'Red' for a lukewarm statement in favor of trade unions."[37] Under President Truman, Smith had led Operation FORTUNE, an earlier effort to overthrow Árbenz, before the State Department thwarted the undertaking, which indicates that his anti-communism likely rivaled his pro-UFCism during his second attempt in Operation SUCCESS.

Thus, an analysis of Walter Bedell Smith exposes the shortcomings of the anti-communist versus pro-UFC debate because both sides of the discourse can claim Smith as their evidence while Smith did not adhere exclusively to one camp or the other. Instead, at the time, the lines were blurred: "United Fruit executives regarded any trespass on the prerogatives they enjoyed under Ubico as an assault on free enterprise… 'Whenever you read 'United Fruit' in Communist propaganda,' United Fruit's public relations director told audiences, 'you may readily substitute 'United States.''"38 These conceptual leaps occurred seamlessly because Árbenz "was imposing a plan that was harmful to a giant American interest … Why would he do that if he were not anti-American? And anti-Americanism at that time meant being a tool of the Soviet Union."39 John Prados of the National Security Archive corroborates that the CIA acted on behalf of "democracy as defined by American foreign policy, which came to mean governments that assumed pro-American stances."[40] That is, a dichotomy between anti-communism and pro-UFCism does not comport with how Smith and other members of the Eisenhower administration tied to UFC saw themselves and their allegiances at the time.[41] More generally, UFC was a capitalist entity, so to defend it against the threat of nationalization was necessarily to uphold US capitalism, both in an immediate sense by protecting a capitalist organization and in a symbolic sense, supporting a corporation that epitomized free market globalization. Thus, ahistorical accounts that insist on a binary between these two US motivations obscure the intimate links between them.[42]

III. Revolution Radio

While anti-communism and corporate interests were familiar aspects of US intervention by 1954, the more pronounced development in the Guatemala operation was radio technology. In 1921, a total of five radio stations operated in the US, but the 1930s brought the dawn of the Golden Age of Radio; by 1937, "nearly ninety percent of the US population had access to a radio."[43] [44]

[36] Walter Bedell Smith. (2020, October 01). Retrieved November 29, 2020, from https://www.britannica.com/biography/Walter-Bedell-Smith
[37] Schlesinger, S. C., & Kinzer, S. (1990). *Bitter fruit: The untold story of the American coup in Guatemala*. New York: Anchor Books.
[38] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[39] Kinzer, S. (2020, October 20). *Economic and Strategic Motives for Intervention; Coup in Guatemala*. Lecture presented at History of American Intervention.
[40] Prados, J. (2009). *Safe for democracy: The secret wars of the CIA*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
[41] Rockman, S. (2018, September 26). *Organizing Slaving Voyages*. Lecture presented at History of Capitalism.
[42] Haviland, J. B. (2003). Gesture. Retrieved from https://pages.ucsd.edu/~jhaviland/Publications/HavilandGesture.pdf
[43] Scott, C. (n.d.). The History of the Radio Industry in the United States to 1940. Retrieved November 25, 2020, from https://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-history-of-the-radio-industry-in-the-united-states-to-1940/
[44] The Fireside Chats: Roosevelt's Radio Talks. (n.d.). Retrieved November 25, 2020, from https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-fireside-chats-roosevelts-radio-talks

Interestingly, the United Fruit Company had made early investments in the nascent technology to "keep in constant communication with its ships and plantations."[45] In 1903, the company created a radio network; by 1907 it owned four stations in Central America; and in 1913 it formed the Tropical Radio and Telegraph Company.[46] When the monopolistic Radio Corporation of America formed in 1919 with support from the US Navy, United Fruit became one of its owners.[47 48] In 1953 the State Department assessed the threat of nationalization of US corporations by foreign countries. The Department bemoaned the prospect of "loss of United States control of the largest communications and transport network in the area, represented by the United Fruit Company's . . . direct ownership of the Tropical Radio Company, the only commercial wireless communication service. These essential facilities, in friendly American hands, constitute a strategic interest in time of war."[49 50] While the CIA deemed its radio program highly successful in the aftermath of the intervention, its contemporary analysis suggests that the contributions of the psychological war were secondary to the threat of US military force.

Echoing Tropical Radio's motto "the voice of the Americas" and the name of the government station "La Voz de Guatemala," the CIA launched its phony radio program La Voz de la Liberación (The Voice of Liberation) on May 1st 1954, a day when most channels fell quiet in observance of Labor Day.[51 52] Purportedly run by anti-Árbenz rebels but in fact run by agent David Atlee Phillips, the program continued its mendacious reports through the beginning of the invasion in mid-June, until going off the air on July 2.[53 54 55] Initially, Al Haney, field commander for SUCCESS, based the Guatemalan writers and announcers at the Opa Locka, Florida headquarters known as LINCOLN.[56] After the imported recordings began to raise eyebrows among customs officers, the radio program relocated to SHERWOOD, a dairy farm in Santa Fe, Honduras, across the Guatemalan border. CIA radio transmitters also appeared in Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and in Guatemala itself.[57 58]

Historians continue to dispute the contribution of the Voice to the success of the intervention. Phillips himself became a staunch advocate for SHERWOOD. According to Prados, Phillips believed the "psywar report had been the engine of victory," and Cullather notes that "in Phillips's account of the operation, SHERWOOD was singularly responsible for the triumph of PBSUCCESS."[59 60] However, Phillips'

[45] United Fruit Company. (2020, November 29). Retrieved November 29, 2020, from https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/news-wires-white-papers-and-books/united-fruit-company
[46] Fraser, R. (1978). WBF - A Typical Ute. Retrieved November 29, 2020, from http://www.pateplumaradio.com/genbroad/utes/wbf.htm
[47] RCA Corporation. (n.d.). Retrieved November 29, 2020, from https://www.britannica.com/topic/RCA-Corporation
[48] Scott, C. (n.d.). The History of the Radio Industry in the United States to 1940. Retrieved November 25, 2020, from https://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-history-of-the-radio-industry-in-the-united-states-to-1940/
[49] Fritz, J. (2012, October 11). Waxed Fruit. Retrieved November 29, 2020, from https://tenwatts.blogspot.com/2012/10/waxed-fruit.html?m=1
[50] National Security Council Planning Board. (n.d.). United States Department of State / Foreign relations of the United States, 1952-1954. Volume IV: The American republics (1952-1954). Retrieved November 29, 2020, from http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=turn
[51] Fraser, R. (1978). WBF - A Typical Ute. Retrieved November 29, 2020, from http://www.pateplumaradio.com/genbroad/utes/wbf.htm
[52] Phillips, D. A. (1982). *The Night Watch*. New York: Ballantine Books.
[53] Fritz, J. (2012, October 11). Waxed Fruit. Retrieved November 29, 2020, from https://tenwatts.blogspot.com/2012/10/waxed-fruit.html?m=1
[54] Schlesinger, S. C., & Kinzer, S. (1990). *Bitter fruit: The untold story of the American coup in Guatemala*. New York: Anchor Books.
[55] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[56] Prados, J. (2009). *Safe for democracy: The secret wars of the CIA*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Schlesinger, S. C., & Kinzer, S.(1990). *Bitter fruit: The untold story of the American coup in Guatemala*. New York: Anchor Books.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

autobiography Night Watch reads more like a James Bond thriller than an academic work of history, and according to the book's account, Phillips reached his valorized assessment of SHERWOOD's contributions on the authority of an unnamed British diplomat who flattered him at a dinner party.[61] In a subtle indictment of Phillips' proclivity for exaggerating the Voice's impact in his telling, "Guatemala Station's weekly 'Psych Barometer Reports' were also at odds with Phillips's version, claiming that the initial sensation caused by the appearance of the clandestine radio quickly wore off."[62]

Some historians, free of vested interests in the radio program, have shared Phillips' assessment of its importance. In 1982, historians Stephen Kinzer and Stephen Schlesinger wrote that "the most successful covert enterprise of all was the CIA's clandestine radio campaign launched against Guatemala seven weeks before the invasion."[63] Fifteen years later, National Security Archive researchers responded to a release of previously classified documents by claiming that the CIA considered assassinating Árbenz until the day of his resignation, when the success of the Voice rendered assassination unnecessary.[64] Cullather, however, disagreed. While working at the CIA, where he enjoyed unprecedented access to confidential materials, he wrote:

> Agency officers invested SHERWOOD with more effort and creativity than any other aspect of the Guatemala operation . . . [But] shortly after beginning my research I came across cables from the Guatemala City station complaining that SHERWOOD's signal was too weak to be heard in the capital. In this, and in many other instances, the elaborateness of the scheme seemed inversely related to its effectiveness.[65]

Prados perhaps shares some of Cullather's skepticism regarding the radio program, instead according the honor of "most successful endeavor" to the 32 Campaign, which "involved planting stickers or painting walls with this number, a reference to an article of the Guatemalan constitution prohibiting foreign political parties—thus an attack on the Guatemalan Communists."66

Struggling to surpass the influence of a juvenile graffiti campaign is a poor showing for the CIA's most effortful program, but this assessment is less surprising in light of the unfavorable conditions for such a radio program at the time. To understand the Guatemalan context, it is necessary to recognize that "most people in Guatemala today are descended from the Maya Indians; many don't speak Spanish," and Guatemalans speak over twenty indigenous languages. [67] [68] [69] Despite the country's linguistic diversity, scripts for the Voice were prepared only in

[61] Phillips, D. A. (1982). *The Night Watch*. New York: Ballantine Books.
[62] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[63] Schlesinger, S. C., & Kinzer, S. (1990). *Bitter fruit: The untold story of the American coup in Guatemala*. New York: Anchor Books.
[64] Doyle, K., & Kornbluh, P. (n.d.). CIA and Assassinations: The Guatemala 1954 Documents. Retrieved November 29, 2020, from https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB4/
[65] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[66] Prados, J. (2009). *Safe for democracy: The secret wars of the CIA*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
[67] Kinzer, S. (2020, October 20). *Economic and Strategic Motives for Intervention; Coup in Guatemala*. Lecture presented at History of American Intervention.
[68] Language data for Guatemala. (2020, February 10). Retrieved November 30, 2020, from https://translatorswithoutborders.org/language-data-for-guatemala/
[69] Sigel, N. (Director). (1983). *When the Mountains Tremble* [Video file]. New York, NY: New Yorker Films.

Spanish and English, and broadcasts occurred exclusively in Spanish.[70] [71] Perhaps this outcome reflects the CIA's infamous inability to assess foreign contexts or betrays the CIA's inability to recruit indigenous speakers to their operation, but it more likely demonstrates the CIA's decision to target appeals to "the groups in Guatemala most likely to take action against the regime: the Army, conservative students, and landowners," who often belonged to the Spanish-speaking *Ladino* population.[72]

In addition to the country's linguistic diversity, radio appears unpromising in retrospect because only one-sixth of the country had access to a radio, and only one in fifty Guatemalans owned a radio receiver in 1954, though the Voice's target audience were more likely to possess a radio than the average Guatemalan.[73] [74] The CIA had encountered a similar problem when it attempted to establish a radio propaganda program in China in 1951. While the CIA abandoned that earlier project upon learning that most Chinese radio owners were officials in the Communist party, a limited audience did not phase the CIA in Guatemala.[75] Because of their concentration in urban areas, the Voice's listeners may have shared radios with others, but public listening was probably less common for the Voice than for other programs due to its controversial content. Geography also conspired against the Voice through tropical thunderstorms that disrupted broadcasts with static when the rainy season began in early May.[76] [77] [78]

Despite these unfavorable conditions for a radio program, the CIA remained bullish about the idea for several reasons. For one, radio, as opposed to written media, could reach the 75% of Guatemalans who were illiterate. Though illiteracy was most concentrated among Indians, a significant proportion of the Voice's target Ladino audience was illiterate as well.[79] A second reason for the CIA's radio mania was simply that radio propaganda had ostensibly played a critical role in its recent Iran operation, and the agency was eager to replicate that success.[80] Finally, the country's mountainous terrain made radio communication a more attractive option than media, which required land travel.

The debate over the Voice's significance remains partly inadjudicable due to the nature of the medium itself. The anonymity that attracted the CIA to radio propaganda was a double-edged machete: it precluded feedback on the extent of the Voice's listenership, such that the CIA "could not always measure progress, and it was difficult for even those close to PBSUCCESS to know what was happening, whether they were succeeding or failing, and why."[81] [82] However, the Voice was offered a glimpse of its

[70] Schlesinger, S. C., & Kinzer, S. (1990). *Bitter fruit: The untold story of the American coup in Guatemala*. New York: Anchor Books.
[71] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[72] Ibid.
[73] McIntosh, J. (1982). Radio and Revolution: The Importance of Broadcasting in Central America. Retrieved from https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/03064228208533430
[74] CIA. (1954). Notes on Radio Broadcasting - Guatemala. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000917063.pdf
[75] Prados, J. (2009). *Safe for democracy: The secret wars of the CIA*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
[76] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[77] Kinzer, Stephen. "Historical Roots of American Foreign Policy; Expansion Within North America; First Ventures Abroad; Barbary Wars." History of American Intervention. 10 Sept. 2020.
[78] Fraser, R. (1978). WBF - A Typical Ute. Retrieved November 29, 2020, from http://www.pateplumaradio.com/genbroad/utes/wbf.htm
[79] Schlesinger, S. C., & Kinzer, S. (1990). *Bitter fruit: The untold story of the American coup in Guatemala*. New York: Anchor Books.
[80] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[81] Arnold, L. (2018). *Language and Media*. Lecture presented at Sounds and Symbols: Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology.
[82] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

listenership when the program responded to a government blackout in Guatemala City by beseeching residents to aid rebel pilots by putting out candles in tin cans. Phillips reported that "candles flickered in hundreds of courtyards"—a relatively unimpressive figure for a city of 180,000.[83] Over the next two days, both the government and the rebel forces respectively issued threats against those who lit candles and those who did not.

Following this exchange, "candles burned as never before in all parts of Guatemala City, including some in military camps," indicating that the Voice's programming did penetrate the capital.[84] The increase in candles is a particularly impressive testament to the rebels' reputation in light of the free rider problem the candles presented: If you lit a candle on your patio, you exposed your household to the risk of government persecution. If, however, your neighbors had already set out candles of their own, you faced no incentive to do the same because their candles protected you against bombing as well. That residents of Guatemala City indulged the Voice's requests, despite the risk of persecution and incentive to free ride, demonstrates the success the propaganda machine had found in reifying the rebellion in the minds of Guatemalans.

Al Haney impressed LINCOLN visitors with the elaborate flowcharts he had plastered across multiple walls at the headquarters, which categorized the operation's activities into "political, paramilitary, psychological, logistics." By the time the operation was set in motion, "final plans included three areas of action: propaganda, paramilitary, and political."[85] [86] The distinctions between these categories were more fluid than what Haney's diagrams perhaps suggested, and the Voice demonstrated their mutability. The primary difference between the propaganda initiative and the political "K Program" lay in their intended audiences. Early in the operation, propaganda efforts were premised on the notion that "the present state of things in the country is largely determined by intellectuals," but George Tranger, Guatemala CIA Station Chief until April, eventually convinced his colleagues that propaganda "should be designed to (1) intensify anti-Communist, anti-government sedition and create a disposition to act; and (2) create dissension, confusion, and FEAR in the enemy camp."

The K Program, on the other hand, "aimed to undermine the Army's loyalty to Árbenz and bring it over, whole or in part, to the side of the rebellion."[87] The Voice bridged the gap between propaganda and politics, appealing to both civilians and military members. Like the air campaign, SHERWOOD also "linked the paramilitary and propaganda sides of the operation, enabling the rebels to strike directly at the government in full view of the entire city." More directly, the Voice supported the paramilitary initiative by encouraging defections to Carlos Castillo Armas' rebel forces, which in turn "served a psychological rather than a military function" to "intimidate Árbenz and incite an Army revolt."[88]

The propaganda aspect of the Voice deserves further examination because this effort dramatically exposed the CIA's hubris. On April 24, Deputy Director of Plans Frank Wisner predicted that "somewhere between six thousand and nineteen thousand"

[83] 51. Memorandum for the Record. (1953, September 11). Retrieved November 30, 2020, from https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1952-54Guat/d51
[84] Phillips, D. A. (1982). *The Night Watch*. New York: Ballantine Books.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Prados, J. (2009). *Safe for democracy: The secret wars of the CIA*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
[87] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[88] Ibid.

Guatemalans would respond to the propaganda effort by joining Armas. As it turned out, "in reality no Guatemalans would rebel."[89] Despite this errant outcome, the Voice did manage to score one high-profile defection from the Guatemalan military. On June 5, Rodolfo Mendoza Azurdia, who had previously served as the Air Force's Chief of Staff, fled to El Salvador in a Cessna, and the SHERWOOD team promptly tricked him into exhorting his Guatemalan colleagues to defect, which the SHERWOOD team recorded and broadcasted.[90] Though none took Mendoza up on his offer, Phillips celebrated Árbenz's subsequent grounding of the Air Force as the achievement of a "major goal" for the Voice.[91] However, Kinzer and Schlesinger expose this ostensible windfall for Phillips as one of his convenient confabulations: Though Mendoza's defection may have had a significant psychological effect on Árbenz, the Guatemalan president effectively "had no functioning Air Force" to begin with, so the Voice's victory rang hollow.

A more nuanced argument in favor of SHERWOOD's contributions suggests that holding the Guatemalan government's actions fixed, the Voice's record would seem unimpressive, but the government's clumsy response amplified—so to speak—SHERWOOD's impact. The government's first error began two weeks after the Voice's debut when the government initiated the three-week undertaking of replacing its own radio antenna. The Voice responded by strengthening its own signal before May 22nd. How it managed to outpace the government's infrastructure upgrade remains unclear but perhaps owes in part to the breadth of the Voice's network of radio transmitters.

Historians have depicted the government's effective concession of a media monopoly to the Voice as an "accident of timing," but this narrative mischaracterizes the events: The Voice did not actually secure a monopoly in those weeks; the government station, TGW, returned to the air weeks before D-Day. Thus, the "accident" analysis erases the agency and foresight of the Árbenz administration. Though the government station was the most prominent in Guatemala at the time, during its hiatus the Voice still had to contend with twenty-seven other active stations, two of which were government-owned. Additionally, TGW was known to pressure other stations to censor content critical of the administration, which would have remained a possibility during its antenna upgrade.[92] While it may simply have neglected the threat that the Voice posed to its power, the government had already begun a crackdown on dissidents before the Voice went on the air, and by Phillips' account, by the time TGW began its upgrade, "unrest became anxiety and, in some sectors, panic."[93] [94] Rather than a glaring omission by the government in the midst of its frantic effort to suppress the resistance, TGW's hiatus more likely represented a strategic attempt to compete with the Voice and an overconfident assessment of the Voice's

[83] 51. Memorandum for the Record. (1953, September 11). Retrieved November 30, 2020, from https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1952-54Guat/d51
[84] Phillips, D. A. (1982). *The Night Watch*. New York: Ballantine Books.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Prados, J. (2009). *Safe for democracy: The secret wars of the CIA*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
[87] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Prados, J. (2009). *Safe for democracy: The secret wars of the CIA*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
[90] Schlesinger, S. C., & Kinzer, S. (1990). *Bitter fruit: The untold story of the American coup in Guatemala*. New York: Anchor Books.
[91] Phillips, D. A. (1982). *The Night Watch*. New York: Ballantine Books.
[92] CIA. (1954). Notes on Radio Broadcasting - Guatemala. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000917063.pdf
[93] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[94] Phillips, D. A. (1982). *The Night Watch*. New York: Ballantine Books.

ability to grow its audience.

The government's second error lay in its unwise public reaction to the Voice, which inadvertently lent ethos to the radio program. Most notably, the Voice staged a government raid during a live broadcast, which duped an Árbenz commentator into confirming the veracity of the program's reports, which endowed the program with credibility.[95] Eager to replicate the success the CIA's radio program had found in Iran, the Voice benefited from the same missteps the Iranian government had committed in that previous operation by "unwittingly legitimizing the coup-plotter's propaganda."[96]

The government also failed to directly combat the Voice with the same temerity that the Voice exhibited in its targeted attacks on the Árbenz administration's legitimacy. The first CIA station broadcasted on the same wavelength as TGW, directly competing for listenership.[97] Multiple CIA stations were equipped with technology to jam government broadcasts, which they used to disrupt Árbenz' efforts to calm the nation during the invasion as well as his resignation speech. The Voice also leveraged its technology to record and replay sampled audio from TGW broadcasts and "snuggled" up to TGW's frequency, dissembling to listeners who had intended to tune in to the government program. Eventually, one thousand farmers took to the mountains to seek out the rebel transmitter, but they found nothing because many of the stations were located beyond Guatemala's borders, and one of the Guatemala transmitters was located in the US Embassy.[98]

Though the Guatemalan government mishandled its radio battle against the Voice, the CIA radio program failed to live up to Phillips' glowing assessments. Phillips saw SHERWOOD as something of a flashlight, projecting the fearsome shadow of Armas' meager force across Guatemala. When Árbenz capitulated, Phillips attributed success to his efforts, but "in fact, Árbenz was deposed in a military coup, and neither the radio nor the air attacks had much to do with it."99 The officers who replaced Árbenz were not scared of Armas' forces or even the shadowy myth of those forces the CIA had concocted; rather, they were responding to their fear of the real monster: the United States. Phillips and his CIA ilk failed to appreciate the motivations of the Guatemalan officers, preferring events that "seemed curious and magical."[100] An inability to learn from its mistakes has plagued the CIA since its inception when it neglected to institute a mechanism for reviewing its past operations.[101] On the occasions when the CIA has attempted to learn from the past, it has relied on the work of historians who reproduced the agency's own propaganda, rather than searching for classified documents it may have already destroyed indiscriminately.[102]

In light of these deficiencies, it is not surprising that a similar pattern, in which the US attributed its success in an operation to precisely the wrong factors, played out less than a decade later in the Cuban Missile Crisis. In this later operation, the US government came

[95] Ibid.
[96] Roberts, M. (2012). Analysis of Radio Propaganda in the 1953 Iran Coup. Retrieved November 30, 2020, from https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00210862.2012.726848
[97] Schlesinger, S. C., & Kinzer, S. (1990). *Bitter fruit: The untold story of the American coup in Guatemala*. New York: Anchor Books.
[98] Phillips, D. A. (1982). *The Night Watch*. New York: Ballantine Books.
[99] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Shryock, R. W. (2005). The Intelligence Community Post-Mortem Program, 1973-1975. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/1977-09-01.pdf
[102] Ibid.

to believe that the unflinching military threats had won the day, when in fact President Kennedy's back-room diplomacy deserved the credit for success.[103] Similarly, Phillips, unaware of the developments in the Guatemalan military in the days before Árbenz's resignation, happily bought into the "Agency legend" that radio propaganda bore responsibility for the victory, but contemporary analysis exposes SHERWOOD's underwhelming contribution.[104]

IV. Long-Term Effect of Intervention

In November 2020, protests continued to convulse Guatemala City in an uproar over government corruption that began last week in response to the latest government budget.[105] It is not difficult to establish a through-line from the coup that toppled Árbenz to the present unrest. Following Árbenz' deposition, an assortment of rulers rapidly cycled through power before Armas assumed the presidency. His ascendence was short lived, however, and his assassination in 1957 created a power vacuum, which the Guatemalan military readily filled.[106] In 1960, a failed coup marked the beginning of a genocidal civil war, which claimed 200,000 lives before its conclusion in 1996, though its legacy of repression and corruption persists, as evidenced by recent assassinations of indigenous leaders and the ongoing unrest in the capital.[107] [108]

In 1954, Guatemala possessed significantly fewer radio receivers per capita than Cuba, Mexico, and Costa Rica, but by the late 1960s, ninety private radio stations operated in Guatemala, and by the late 1980s, Guatemala boasted one of the most developed radio broadcasting systems in Central America.[109] [110] [111] Radio played an important role throughout the Guatemalan Civil War as military dictators transmitted their messages over the airwaves and Campesinos organized educational radio programs to promote literacy. On multiple occasions, guerillas took over large commercial stations to broadcast to a national audience. The military responded to the rebels' radio presence with violence, including "raids, equipment seizures, interrogations, threats, kidnappings, disappearances, and murders."[112] Ríos Montt, the notorious dictator who ruled Guatemala in the early 80s, was himself the host of a weekly Evangelical radio show. The prominence of radio media and the military's repression of community programs during the conflict attest to SHERWOOD's enduring influence.

[103] Kinzer, S. (2020, October 9). *Transition from Eisenhower to Kennedy; Rise of Cuba; Bay of Pigs Invasion; Cuban Missile Crisis*. Lecture presented at History of American Intervention.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Abbott, J. (2020, November 28). 'We are fed up': Guatemalans continue anti-government protests. Retrieved December 01, 2020, from https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/11/28/guatemalans-return-to-protest-as-anger-at-government-persists
[106] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
[107] PBS. (2011, March 07). Timeline: Guatemala's Brutal Civil War. Retrieved December 01, 2020, from https://www.pbs.org/newshour/health/latin_america-jan-june11-timeline_03-07
[108] Abbott, J. (2018, July 22). The Assassinations of Indigenous Leaders in Guatemala Trigger Fear as Political Cycle Begins. Retrieved December 01, 2020, from https://truthout.org/articles/assassinations-of-indigenous-leaders-in-guatemala-trigger-fear/
[109] CIA. (1954). Notes on Radio Broadcasting - Guatemala. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000917063.pdf
[110] Moore, D. (1989). The Sociolinguistics of Guatemalan Indian Languages and the Effect on Radio Broadcasting - Part Two. Retrieved November 30, 2020, from http://www.pateplumaradio.com/central/guatemala/guatlg2.html
[111] Lauer, P. W. (2017). Community Radio in Guatemala: A Half-Century of Resistance in the Face of Repression. Retrieved from https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2094&context=honorstheses
[112] Ibid.

When the civil war concluded in 1996, military repression of community radio seamlessly gave way to government criminalization with the passage of a Telecommunications Law that auctioned off radio frequencies to the highest bidder and imposed astronomical fines on stations that continued to operate without a license. In 2008, Government raids on unlicensed stations which were legalized in an extension of the repression of the civil war.[113] The initial broadcasting law, passed the year after Árbenz left office, mandated that all radio programming occur in Spanish, so by the late 1980s only a single commercial station used an indigenous language in its broadcasts, and TGW broadcasted exclusively in Spanish. Meanwhile, government stations offered programming in indigenous languages in Peru and Bolivia, both countries with sizable Indian populations, indicating the unique relationship between government repression and radio media that had developed in Guatemala. Today, Spanish-speaking stations continue to dominate the commercial radio landscape by pricing-out community stations that cannot afford to bid for a license.[114] In a reminder of the United States' ongoing imperialist influence in Latin America, the Telecommunications Law and its consequent denial of the cultural media rights found in the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People are modeled after the neoliberal auction policies that the US Federal Communications Commission pioneered in 1994.[115] [116]

While the most dramatic long-term effects of Operation SUCCESS pertain to Guatemala, in the shorter term, the intervention left an enduring impression on the CIA as well. Following its valorization of SHERWOOD, in 1960, the CIA continued to incorporate radio propaganda in its covert actions. In Indonesia in 1958, the CIA financed a radio station which rebels used to broadcast their declaration of a revolutionary government.[117] Eager to employ the creative approaches that had characterized SHERWOOD, the Technical Services Division even went so far as to produce "Happy Days," a pornographic film featuring an actor who resembled Indonesian President Sukarno.[118] The CIA retired from the pornography industry after Sukarno publicly requested hundreds of copies to screen in Indonesian theatres, but the CIA maintained its emphasis on radio in subsequent interventions. In 1960, the agency issued "'black' broadcasts from a radio station in nearby Brazzaville, across the border in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to encourage a revolt against [Patrice] Lumumba."[119] Similarly, "as originally conceived," the Cuban Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 "would contain a radio propaganda operation like SHERWOOD," though this operation resulted in disaster, which underscored the lesson that the CIA should have learned in Guatemala: A radio station does not a coup make.120

[113] Lauer, P. W. (2017). Community Radio in Guatemala: A Half-Century of Resistance in the Face of Repression. Retrieved from https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2094&context=honorstheses

[114] Olson, J. (2019). In Guatemala, Finding a Voice in Indigenous Community Radio. Retrieved December 01, 2020, from https://nacla.org/news/2019/07/11/guatemala-finding-voice-indigenous-community-radio

[115] Auctions. (n.d.). Retrieved December 01, 2020, from https://www.fcc.gov/auctions

[116] Lauer, P. W. (2017). Community Radio in Guatemala: A Half-Century of Resistance in the Face of Repression. Retrieved from https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2094&context=honorstheses

[117] Weiner, T. (2011). Legacy of ashes: The history of the CIA. Retrieved December 01, 2020, from https://www.amazon.com/Legacy-Ashes-History-Tim-Weiner/dp/0307389006

[118] Kinzer, S. (2020, October 22). *Emergence of Neutralism; Bandung Conference; Fomenting Civil War in Indonesia*. Lecture presented at History of American Intervention.

[119] Robarge, D. (2014). CIA's Covert Operations in the Congo, 1960–1968: Insights from Newly Declassified Documents. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol-58-no-3/pdfs-vol-58-no-3/Robarge-FRUS%20and%20the%20US%20in%20Congo-1960-68-12Sep2014.pdf

[120] Cullather, N., & Gleijeses, P. (2014). *Secret History The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

V. Conclusion

The history of the CIA intervention in Guatemala in 1954 cannot be divorced from the context of US imperialism in Latin America and Cold War paranoia in which it occurred. A legacy of colonial ambitions dating back to Thomas Jefferson's designs on Cuban annexation manifested in Guatemala in the form of the United Fruit Company. Blinded by the lens of Cold War polarization, decision-makers in the US government pronounced Árbenz a communist threat for a land reform policy that the US administration had inspired less than twenty years prior. These factors dovetailed in an intervention that destabilized Guatemala and continues to haunt the country today. The US began radio transmission to Latin America in 1941, the same year that Robert Sherwood became the first director of the Foreign Information Service. The following year heralded the debut of Sherwood's international radio news program Voice of America, which had become a mouthpiece of Cold War propaganda by 1954. In this context, the CIA took for granted the strategic value of radio propaganda for covert actions, just as it assumed the communist politics of the Árbenz administration. Failing to accurately assess SHERWOOD's contributions in Guatemala, the CIA then exported its model of radio propaganda to interventions in subsequent countries.

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“The Women Know Full Well:”

Niddah and Mikvaot in 1765 Bützow

by *Nesya Nelkin*

The mikveh is a female space, and not only because women control it...It is difficult to imagine women who would allow a man to penetrate their "holy of holies," the center of their Jewish way of life.

- Evyatar Marienberg, "The Women's Synagogue"[1]

In this perspective, the domains of the prohibited and forbidden, with regard to sexuality, are determined...by the need for a moralizing and disciplining purity that allows the rabbinical order to exercise an almost unlimited control of women's behavior."

- Danielle Storper Perez and Florence Heyman, "Rabbis, Physicians, and the Woman's/Female Body"

Who controlled early-modern Ashkenazi mikvaot, and to what end? The above quotes are representatives of two broad frameworks common in contemporary scholarly approaches to these questions. According to the first, the mikveh was in this period a deeply sacred, exclusively female space, the women's counterpart to the inner sanctum of the Temple. According to the second, laws around niddah[2] and mikvaot were particularly potent and visceral means of patriarchal oppression, through which women were totally subordinated to rabbinical power. Whether or not either of these arguments hold up when analyzing large, well-established Jewish communities such as that of Altona-Hamburg-Wandsbek,[3] they fall apart when applied to the communities which were emerging in the duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in northern Germany in the mid-eighteenth century.

A series of letters between the schoolteacher of one such town, Bützow, and a highly controversial, highly influential rabbi in Altona, illuminate the dynamic between the local Jewish women and the men with whom their use of the mikveh brought them into contact and conflict. In this young community, where communal structure and organizations were not yet firmly established and positions of authority were subject to frequent challenges and changes, women were able to claim expertise and control over the local mikveh. At the same time, unstable communal structure meant that men in positions of middling status also had more space to seek authority, and may have seen asserting their limited power over women as one way to do so.

[1] Translation mine. Here Marienberg is questioning how male, Christian, eighteenth-century European artists knew what the mikvaot they drew looked like if, as he believes, they could not enter them.

[2] Ritual baths. See section I for a more detailed explanation.

[3] In this period the Ashkenazi communities of these three cities were, for most purposes, joined, and together formed the largest Jewish community in Germany. Debra Kaplan, "'To Immerse Their Wives': Communal Identity and the 'Kahalishe' Mikveh of Altona," AJS Review 36, no. 2 (November 2012), 258-259 provides a summary of the official relationship between these communities as it related to their mikvaot.

I. Background

a. Key Terms

Some background is necessary for these letters. Jewish religious law (halacha) associates uterine blood with a state of impurity, called niddah. Women[4] enter this state if they menstruate or give birth, regardless of their marital status, but only married women are able to go through rituals of purification. The origins of some of the laws of niddah are first outlined in the Torah but are elaborated in the Talmud and later halachic codes. According to these laws, as they stood by the eighteenth century, a woman in a state of niddah must abstain from sexual intercourse and other forms of marital intimacy. In some medieval and early-modern Jewish communities, women in niddah were also restricted from full participation in synagogue prayer or were expected to refrain from synagogue attendance entirely.[5] Once a woman believes she has stopped menstruating, she must start daily examinations for blood, performed by inserting a piece of white cloth into her vagina. Days on which she finds no blood on the cloth are called "clean" or "white days." She is still in niddah during those days.[5]

Once she has counted seven consecutive "clean" days, a woman is supposed to prepare for purification in a type of bath called a mikveh.[6] To ready herself she bathes very thoroughly, combs her hair, and cuts her nails, so that there will be no barrier to prevent the water of the mikveh from touching every part of her body. When night falls, she goes to the mikveh itself. There she undresses and immerses fully in the water. In some communities, a woman watches her to ensure that all of her hair goes below the surface of the water; if the immersion is not complete, it does not count. She then repeats this immersion, usually two more times.[7] Many rules govern the construction and maintenance of mikvaot. Among other specifications, a mikveh cannot be filled in its majority with water that was drawn with any sort of vessel; water must flow naturally into the mikveh.

She'elot u-teshuvot (questions and answers, usually translated as responsa) are correspondence between rabbis in different locations, in which the sender seeks a reply to a halachic question that he cannot answer himself. These questions are generally practical and specific, and have not been answered in earlier, more general halachic sources. The replies draw on principles and rulings from these earlier sources, other responsa, and practical experience to come to a conclusion, which then itself becomes a potential source of legal precedent.

[4] Though not everyone who menstruates or bears children is a woman, all of the primary sources discussed in this paper, and nearly all of the secondary sources, assume otherwise. Some queer Jews today are thinking and writing about how they can meaningfully engage with the laws of niddah, but in eighteenth-century Germany those laws were aggressively gendered. This shapes the way authority plays out in these sources, and I want to make that clear in my language.

[5] See Evyatar Marienberg, "Menstruation in Sacred Spaces. Medieval and Early-Modern Jewish Women in the Synagogue," *Nordisk Judaistik/Scandinavian Jewish Studies* 25, no. 1 (January 1, 2004): 7–16, for one discussion of the development of synagogue-related restrictions on menstruating women.

[6] Though in most times and places married women have been their main users, mikvaot are not exclusively used for purification from niddah, and are not exclusively used by women.

[7] One contemporary description of the choreography of the ritual can be found in a Yiddish-language book of blessings from 1741 Altona, probably given to a woman as a wedding gift. Jakob Sofer Ben Juda Löb aus Berlin, "Seder Birkat Hamazon," Parchment, 26 ff., 10.5 x 7.2 cm (Altona, e-codices - Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland, 1741), https://www.e-codices.ch/en/list/one/bc/b-0351. The quote in the paper's title introduces the books' section explaining niddah and mikveh practices.

b. Setting

The events discussed below took place in 1765 in Bützow, Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Mecklenburg-Schwerin was a duchy in northern Germany; it is today part of the German state of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Jews of Mecklenburg suffered a series of expulsions and persecutions carried out both by their neighbors and by their rulers. Medieval Jewish presence in the region concluded in 1492 with the "Sternberg Burning." A Jew from Sternberg was accused of converting a priest to Judaism and. The duke ordered the Jews of the city imprisoned and tortured, and when they did not confess to these crimes, 26 or 27 of them were burned. The duke then expelled the Jews who still remained in the duchy.[8]

Jews first began to return to Mecklenburg in the late seventeenth century, initially only to its larger cities. In order to live in Mecklenburg at that time, adult male Jews needed documents called Schutzbriefe, or protection letters. Men who held such documents were called Schutzjuden. Jewish women and children could live in the duchy only if they had a husband or father who held a Schutzbrief. This requirement, along with high taxes, restrictions on job choices, and the fact that Jews were not permitted to own land, limited Jewish settlement in Mecklenburg.

In the 1760s, Bützow was a rural town in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, "not above two miles in compass."[9] Having burned down in 1716, it was "not well inhabited" in 1766, though it did briefly contain a university.[10] Jews started to return to Bützow in 1738, earlier than they did to most provincial towns in Mecklenburg. Nonetheless, in 1765 it was still a small and relatively volatile community. It had a rabbi and some other religious officials, but many of these men seem to have brought their own trouble; as the events of these letters unfolded, the larger Jewish community of the region was suing the rabbi of Bützow.[11] The ban on Jewish land ownership also prevented Bützow's Jews from establishing fixed, communally controlled structures and institutions like a permanent synagogue--or a Jewish-owned mikveh.

Jewish population information is first available for Bützow in 1787, when there were 69 Jews in the city; the population at the time of the responsa was almost certainly smaller.[12] In 1769, according to the report of a professor at the local university, there were eight Schutzjuden in Bützow.[13] Of course, for each man with a Schutzbrief there were a number of Jews without them, either because they were dependents or because they lived in the town illegally. It is these Jews with whom this essay is most concerned, because among their numbers were the wives of the Schutzjuden, whose names were Schewe, Hanna, Händelche, Bräundl, Jütel, Zirl, Gütelche, and Beile. Also not listed by the professor, because by 1769 he was long gone from Bützow, was Joshua Aaron Lipschitz.

[8] Jürgen Gramen and Sylvia Ulmer, "Sternberger Hostienfrevel," Juden in Mecklenburg, September 20, 2015, http://www.juden-in-mecklenburg.de/Geschichte/Sternberger_Hostienfrevelprozess_1492.
[9] Thomas Nugent, *Travels through Germany*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1768), 142.
[10] Ibid, 134; Jürgen Gramen and Sylvia Ulmer, "Bützow," Juden in Mecklenburg, May 28, 2016, http://www.juden-in-mecklenburg.de/Orte/Buetzow.
[11] Jürgen Gramen and Sylvia Ulmer, "Chajim Friedberg," Juden in Mecklenburg, May 21, 2016, http://www.juden-in-mecklenburg.de/Synagogen/Synagoge_Buetzow.
[12] Based on the trends shown in the population graph (ibid).
[13] Oluf Gerhard Tychsen, *Bützowische Nebenstunden*, vol. 6 (Bützow: Bützow Rostock Universitätsbibliothek, 1769), 7-14.

c. People

Lipschitz was likely born in Opatow, Poland.[14] By 1765, he had been ordained as a rabbi but was working as a religious teacher in Bützow. His brief and tumultuous time there is mentioned in Oluf Gerhard Tychsen's *Bützowische Nebenstunden*.[15] He was driven out of the town in 1765, but his expulsion was discussed in writing only vaguely. Tychsen claims the assistant rabbis of the rabbinical court in Schwerin arranged Lipschitz's persecution because he was so much brighter than them, despite his lower position. Lipschitz himself simply blames the "evil people of Bützow."[16] When he had concerns about these villains, or about the similarly problematic residents of the towns in which he would later work, he turned to Jacob Emden.

Jacob Emden was born in Altona, Hamburg in 1697 and died in the same city 99 years later. He was the head of Emden's rabbinical court from 1728 to 1733, after which he returned to Altona. There he had a private press, a synagogue, and no official rabbinical post, which left him quite free to levy wild attacks against even his most respected and powerful rabbinical contemporaries. He is best known for his feud with Jonathan Eybeschütz, the chief rabbi of the triple community of Altona-Hamburg-Wandsbek, whom he accused of Sabbateanism.[17] He grudgingly paused his involvement in these larger dramas to respond to Lipschitz's comparatively mundane inquiries.

Lipschitz's questions and Emden's responsa provide almost no information about the women of Bützow. Lipschitz did not provide any of their names,[18] and frequently spoke of them as if they were of a single mind and practice. I hope that this paper will demonstrate that they were not. As part of my attempt to center and differentiate these women in analyzing sources in which they are so thoroughly marginalized and homogenized, I have organized the names and scant information Tychsen provided Jewish women of Bützow into a chart, which is attached as an appendix to this paper.

II. "A Nonsense Custom... From Antiquity:" Bützow, January 20th, 1765[19]

As a schoolteacher in Bützow, Joshua son of Aaron Lipschitz probably did not command much respect. Historian Robert Liberles writes that religious teachers in Germany "were", as Lipschitz was "largely transient." This "hindered the efficacy of their instruction" and kept them from becoming very involved in the communities where they taught. Teachers were widely mocked by rabbis, among others, as ignorant.[20] Lipschitz seems to have been a subject of particular ridicule, even before he was expelled from Bützow. The Jewish women of the town tormented him, referring to him by the

[14] He refers to himself as "m'Afta," "from Opatow," in several of his letters.
[15] Tychsen was a professor first at the University of Bützow and later the University of Rostock. He knew Lipschitz personally and corresponded with him even after Lipschitz left Mecklenburg. Tychsen, *Bützowische Nebenstunden*, 6:16.
[16] Jacob b. Tzvi Emden, *Sheilat Yaavetz*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Lemberg, 1884), #53.
[17] Solomon Schechter and Gotthard Deutsch, "Jonathan Eybeschütz," in *Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1906), http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/5471-eibenschutz-jonathan. He also accused him of cannibalism and incest.
[18] This is typical of responsa; the people discussed in such texts often go unnamed regardless of gender.
[19] Emden, *Sheilat Yaavetz*, #51-52. All unattributed quotes in this section are my translation of this responsum.
[20] Marion A Kaplan, *Jewish Daily Life in Germany*, 1618-1945 (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 49-50.

diminutive form of his name, Schue.[21] Nonetheless, when he sensed a crisis brewing in Bützow, he seemed to have felt the need to intervene.

A Jew in the community had borrowed money from a non-Jew, but when the latter came to collect his due the former claimed that he had forged the signature on the promissory note. Three other Bützow Jews received letters from Duke Frederick II summoning them to testify regarding the authenticity of the signature. These witnesses-to-be knew full well that the signature was real and that their fellow was a liar. So did Lipschitz, who warned them that halacha forbade them to testify against a Jew in any non-Jewish court, on pain of fines and excommunication. The men replied with a detailed halachic argument in favor of telling the truth, but also admitted that they would testify accurately no matter what Lipschitz said, because they feared for their lives if they lied.

Frightened as well, and unsure what to do, Lipschitz wrote a multi-page description of the matter to Jacob Emden, asking for advice and urging him to reply quickly. Tacked on to this long request was "one little question" regarding a crisis on a smaller scale, and it is this crisis which concerns me here. A woman who had recently given birth had come to Lipschitz with a question regarding a "nonsense custom which [the women] had among them from antiquity," and his dismissal of the custom had landed her in hot halachic water.

According to Leviticus 12, a woman is impure as if she is a menstruant for seven days after bearing a son. She is in the more ambiguous state of "blood of purity" for 33 days following birth. Both the period of menstrual impurity and the period of "blood of purity" are doubled after the birth of a daughter. According to the Shulchan Arukh,[22] a woman may immerse in a mikveh and be intimate with her husband after only the initial one or two week interval of menstrual impurity, as long as she has stopped bleeding and counted seven clean days. Moses Isserles[23] notes that some places have a custom to postpone immersion until the woman is no longer in "blood of purity." In places where this custom is already practiced, he writes that such stringency should be maintained. In places where such a custom has not been established, however, women should immerse after the initial one or two week period.[24]

A woman had come to Lipschitz to ask him about a variation on the custom which Isserles described. Apparently, she knew of a long-standing tradition of delaying immersion for seven weeks and three days after the birth of a daughter. She wanted to know if immersing after seven weeks was "wicked." I know of no extant halachic sources which mention, either positively or negatively, a delay of this specific length. It seems that Lipschitz didn't either, given that he ignored the particulars of the woman's question. He said only that if there was no custom among "them" to wait 40 days after a son and 80 after a daughter, she could immerse after only the initial one or two week period, provided that she had counted seven clean days. Lipschitz, itinerant and most likely unmarried, does not seem to have known himself what the custom of Bützow's postpartum women was. He therefore invoked the halachic principle "puk chazi" — "go and see" — a command to examine local practice and determine the law on its basis.

The woman immersed after seven weeks and what she initially believed were seven clean days. Sever-

[21] Tychsen, *Bützowische Nebenstunden*, 6:16.
[22] A Sephardic halachic code written by Joseph Karo in Safed in 1563. The Shulchan Arukh, the Ashkenazi gloss to the Shulchan Arukh, and several major commentaries on the Shulchan Arukh, are Lipschitz's main sources for his arguments in all of his letters.
[23] The author of the sixteenth-century Ashkenazi gloss to the Shulchan Arukh, the Mappah.
[24] Shulchan Arukh Yoreh Deah 194:1. On a practical level such immersion must have been very rare, because postpartum bleeding usually lasts longer than two weeks.

al days after immersion, she returned to Lipschitz and told him that she had accidentally counted only six clean days. He told her that this was "a simple matter:" she should wait six full days, count one more clean day, and then immerse again. She could not assume that she had been pure for any seven consecutive days, because he assumed that after immersion she had had sex with her husband, and it was therefore possible that she had expelled semen from her body on the day which should have been the seventh clean day.[25] The woman replied that "she had not expelled anything." Besides, she continued, even though she had not counted correctly, she could not have slept with her husband until the seven clean days had elapsed, because he had been traveling and had returned home a full day after she had immersed. She therefore argued that, even though she had not acted according to halacha, the sex she had had with her husband was permissible ex-post-facto. Her claim seems to have stumped Lipschitz. He gave her no further response, or at least none worth writing down, and could only hope that Jacob Emden would have a better answer.

Five days later, Emden wrote his reply. Though an impassioned discussion of the witness issue comprised over three-quarters of his letter, its conclusion makes clear that he saw the immersion question as more urgent. He wrote that "because of a minority of spare time and urgent haste…and so as not to delay the mitzvah" he had "pressed the hour and turned [away] from all his [other] engagements, so as to reply with the next mail carrier after the reception of this letter."

Emden agreed with the woman that after the fact, her immersion could be considered legitimate, but not for the reasons she had suggested. Immersion before seven clean days have been counted does not qualify as immersion and does not purify, so he was shocked that Lipschitz could suggest that intercourse after early immersion might be permissible. However, he believed that this woman, like most women, probably had a custom to wait an additional day beyond what the law required before beginning to count clean days. He noted that it was Ashkenazi custom to add two additional days before beginning the count.[26] The first extra day was used to ensure that bleeding had actually stopped, but the second could qualify ex-post-facto as a clean day, even though at the time it was not intended to be counted as such. This loophole was possible on the condition that the woman had checked herself for bleeding at least once daily since the day before she started counting her clean days, which Emden felt was likely, given that it was "generally women's practice to check themselves frequently."

If she had checked herself diligently there "was room to be lenient ex-post-facto." Nonetheless, Emden felt the need to be harsh, because he "saw and sensed frivolity in this woman, and…one who forgets is a transgressor." Therefore, if she had not yet returned to a state of niddah, it was proper to require her to immerse again in order to create a barrier against future sin. If, however, the woman had not checked herself and found herself pure before she began to count, it was clear to Emden that her immersion had not counted. In that case, she needed to wait six days, count one clean day, and immerse again, as Lipschitz had initially instructed. Emden concluded his reply by dismissing "that foolish custom," writing that it was "certainly not necessary to worry [about it], and not advisable to speak of it."[27]

Let's ignore Emden's advice for a moment. The woman's first question highlighted an obscure variation in custom regarding ritual immersion after child-

[25] Semen is a source of halachic impurity; it renders a woman ritually impure when it leaves her body.
[26] He writes later in the letter that Sephardim only wait one extra day.
[27] Emden says the topic is discussed by David HaLevi Segal in a responsum. I can find no such discussion among published responsa.

birth. Waiting seven weeks and three days before purification is not advocated by any halachic codes. Such a custom, which is much longer than the widely-held lenient practice but shorter than the stringent one, raises a number of questions.

Who followed this custom? It is hard to imagine that a tradition specific to the Jewish women of Bützow, who had been in the city for 27 years at most, could have been described as ancient. Little information is available about where the women of Bützow lived before moving there, but their fathers and husbands seem to have come from all over Germany.[28] This suggests three possibilities. This woman may have been referring to a custom specific to her own family or hometown. If not, this custom may have been more widespread than extant halachic sources describe, common enough that many of Bützow's women accepted it despite their different origins. Finally, it is possible that one or a few of Bützow's women came from families which adhered to this custom, and then convinced the other women of the town to adopt it.

The custom is curious, regardless of who practiced it and where they learned it. Such a timeline for immersion is rather specific, yet, unlike the other schedules, it does not have an obvious biblical source. Nor does it align with the schedule by which at least some early-modern German Jewish women returned to their household duties and to the synagogue after childbirth.[29] It does, however, align with the timeline of the revelation of the Torah at Mount Sinai, which is traditionally believed to have occurred seven weeks after the Exodus from Egypt, and for which the Children of Israel (or at least the men) had to prepare by abstaining from sexual intercourse for three days.[30] The relative timing of the Exodus and the giving of the Torah are commemorated yearly in the cycle of Jewish holidays, so the women would no doubt have been aware of it.

Whatever the source of the custom, this woman found it suspect. It is not clear from the language of her inquiry whether she wanted to know whether the custom itself was "wicked" or whether disregarding and immersing after only seven weeks was. The former question would demonstrate some level of awareness that the customs she saw around her conflicted with halachic norms, and therefore awareness of the norms themselves. The latter might mean that she wanted to immerse as early as possible. This is not at all surprising; if she was nearly as strict in her separation from her husband as the Shulchan Arukh demands, the restrictions would have complicated care for their newborn.

The woman's decision to go to Lipschitz both with this question and with news of her counting error demonstrates that she wanted rabbinic approval of her niddah-related practices. Still, she does not seem to have regarded him as the ultimate authority on the topic. She felt qualified to challenge his rulings with an argument that asserted understanding of both her own body and of halacha, and he was defeated, at least temporarily, by her challenge. While Emden was not convinced, and found the woman foolish, his criticism was that she was negligent, not that she was wrong to argue with Lipschitz. Nor did he challenge Lipschitz's suggestion that the answer to her initial question should be determined in part by local women's customs.

As for that custom which both Lipschitz and Emden dismissed as silly, this responsum demonstrates its merit, though neither rabbi admitted it. Had the woman had waited an extra three days before immersion, her later miscount would have been of no concern.

[28] See Section V.
[29] This occurred four to five weeks after birth. Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe*, Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), 105.
[30] "Be prepared for the third day; do not approach a woman." Exod. 19:15.

III. “The Women had a Mikveh for Themselves:” Parchim, 1765[31]

Something in Lipschitz and Emden’s exchanges, quite probably something in their discussion of this woman, ignited a new controversy in Bützow.[32] In April, Lipschitz left the town to visit the court in Schwerin. He went there first to prove that he had ruled correctly on several disputed cases, including that of the woman above, and secondly, to convince the rabbi there to make good on an earlier promise to help him find a better job in a different place. To aid him in his goals, he brought with him responsa from Emden and other rabbis which supported his views and which praised his character.

While Lipschitz was away, men entered his home and broke into his trunk, intending to steal the responsa he had received from various highly esteemed rabbis. They were especially seeking Emden’s reply regarding the woman who immersed too early, discussed above. When the men found the letters missing, they were furious, or so Lipschitz assumed. In their anger, they decided to burn the documents he had left behind. Among these documents were Lipschitz’s hatarot, documents from other rabbis granting him permission to pass judgement on ritual and financial matters. Without these documents, he could no longer function as a rabbi.[33]

When Lipschitz returned to Bützow and saw what the men had done, he was too distraught to write. But now, months later, he had regathered himself and come up with a plan, which he explained in a remarkably flowery[34] letter to Emden. He intended to present his skill with halachic reasoning, his literary style, and his good attitude before rabbis and ask them to consider his character and give him permission to judge as before.

Ever subtle, Lipschitz immediately began heaping praise and gratitude on Emden. He claimed that Emden’s support in earlier conflicts had prevented his enemies from pursuing him with power given to them by the duke. He asked Emden to continue to watch over him, and to look out for possible new jobs he could take. Finally, he got to the crux of the matter: presentation of the conclusions he had reached the previous winter regarding a mikveh which “the women had for themselves.” Lipschitz was confident that after reading his reasoning on the subject Emden would be convinced he was fit to serve as a rabbi. He therefore asked Emden to read his case and write him a new hatarah.

The women’s mikveh was full of mud and muck.[35] Sometimes it had plenty of water, but sometimes it had none, and it lacked a cover. It stood in the courtyard of a non-Jewish man. When the women

[31] Emden, *Sheilat Yaavetz*, #53. All unattributed quotes in this section are my translation of this responsum. I am very grateful to R. Moshe Moskowitz, who spoke with me about this responsum at length, helping me to understand some legal points and terminology I would have otherwise missed or misunderstood.

[32] In Tychsen’s view Lipschitz’s troubles were the result of meddling on the part of the court at Schwerin, whose associate rabbis felt threatened by his superior intellect, and not necessarily by any particular ruling of his. However, Lipschitz himself seems to think that the men who broke into his home were especially interested in stealing his discussion of this woman. Since they failed, and therefore did not leave evidence of this particular intention, Lipschitz’s opinion may have been based on previous tension around the case.

[33] Teachers did not generally have rabbinical certification; in another responsum, Emden allowed someone he felt was not qualified to serve even as a slaughterer to continue to teach. Kaplan, *Jewish Daily Life in Germany*, 1618-1945, 50. However, Lipschitz’s journey to Schwerin shows that he sought to rise to a position on a rabbinical court, which he certainly could not do without hatarot.

[34] Responsa are always flowery, and Lipschitz’s are particularly so; this one is still a standout.

[35] Here Lipschitz uses two different words for mud.

immersed themselves in the mikveh they would pay him for the service.[36] The women asked the owner to fill in the muddy mikveh and dig a new one. They requested that he not dig too deep, so that it would not become impossible to heat the water within. The owner dug another mikveh in his courtyard according to the women's specifications, and they immersed in this new mikveh from then on.

Lipschitz claims that he was oblivious to the whole situation, until that winter someone told him about the women's new mikveh. He measured it to check if it had the requisite amount of water. When he found that it did not have nearly enough, he forbade the women to immerse in it, apparently without telling them why. In reply, they proposed digging into the side of the mikveh and allowing water to flow from the resultant trench into the bath itself. This solution, though ill-fitted to the situation at hand, is an acceptable fix for some other cases in which a mikveh does not have enough water.

What made this case too complicated for the women's solution was the fact that the mikveh was owned by a non-Jew. This is only permissible if the mikveh's water volume never dips below twenty-one se'im.[37] If a mikveh below that volume is refilled with water from an unacceptable source, it is rendered void. Since the non-Jewish owner of the mikveh had no reason to know or care about halachic technicalities but plenty of reason to be concerned about his livelihood, it is assumed[38] that he would refill the mikveh improperly.[39] In this particular case there would be concern even if the mikveh remained above the minimum requisite level, for two reasons. Firstly, the women had stipulated to the owner that he had to try to ensure that the mikveh would have enough water for immersion—at least 40 se'im—any time a woman needed it. Secondly, the small amount of water which was in the mikveh when Lipschitz visited it was dirty and foul-smelling. He thus concluded that the owner had motive to change the water out completely to ensure that the women were willing and able to continue using the mikveh, rendering all the water in the mikveh suspect.

In an explicit attempt to show off to Emden, Lipschitz sought convoluted ways to invalidate every possible argument to permit the mikveh's continued use. He concluded that the mikveh had to be emptied, sealed up, covered, and locked. Once it filled up naturally with groundwater, he would examine it again and determine whether it was usable. In the meantime, said Lipschitz, "woe to [the women] to immerse in that mikveh."

While his conclusions were not unprecedented, on his path to stringency, Lipschitz rejected concerns raised both by earlier halachic texts and by a peer about the effect his ruling would have on the women. As he noted in his letter, several earlier scholars permit leniency in cases of doubt about the legitimacy of a mikveh when stringency would force women to delay immersion.[40] Such delay kept women in a liminal state they considered religiously inappropriate[41] and which was no doubt unpleasant in its limitation both of women's public activities and their interactions with their husbands. Lipschitz dismissed this argument, claiming that there were many rivers in which the women could immerse while the mikveh

[36] Here Lipschitz claims that he knew nothing of this situation.
[37] A seah (pl. se'im) is a halachic volume measure.
[38] By Emden, but also by many medieval responsa authors, several of whom he cites.
[39] Which is of course much easier than filling it correctly.
[40] Lipschitz cites the Shach, the Maharik (a fifteenth-century French-Italian rabbi), and the Ateret Zekenim, a 1720 commentary on a different section of the Shulchan Arukh by Austrian-Polish rabbi Menachem Mendel Auerbach here).
[41] This, and not concern for the women, is the reason that this leniency exists. Immersion and procreation are both religious obligations and the fulfillment of such obligations should not be delayed. For this reason, women are supposed to immerse as soon as possible even when their husbands are out of town or otherwise unavailable. The woman in the first responsum tried to follow this rule, and it is out of concern for this rule that Emden replied so hastily.

was closed. He was also approached by "a teacher"[42] who said that leniency was necessary to avoid casting aspersions on all of the women who had immersed in the mikveh before, which may have been all the married Jewish women of Bützow. If the mikveh was invalid, so were their immersions, and they had all had sex in a state of niddah. The punishments for violations of laws of menstrual impurity are quite serious, at least theoretically.[43] Retroactively deciding that all of the women who immersed in Bützow had done so improperly impacted their relationships with their husbands and with G-d, and damaged the social standing of their children.[44] Lipschitz's argument therefore reads not only as pretentious but as dangerous.

Emden rejected much of Lipschitz's reasoning, noting that he had ignored traditional stringencies in favor of much less substantial and more convoluted ones. Most significantly, Emden took issue with Lipschitz's claim that the women could immerse in rivers while the mikveh was unusable. Many rabbis did not permit immersion in rivers. They feared that women would rush immersion out of concern for their modesty, and therefore not take care to immerse correctly. Despite these qualms about Lipschitz's argument, Emden accepted most of his conclusions.

The brief reply Emden sent to Lipschitz does not so much as acknowledge the latter's request for a hatarah, but a later note at the end of the document describes a whole drama of its own. Emden was unimpressed by Lipschitz. He felt that Lipschitz exaggerated the depth of his knowledge and in his ignorance had nearly made some catastrophically wrong rulings. Still, he wrote him a hatarah, because he saw that Lipschitz never relied on his own judgment, but instead wrote to him in cases of doubt.

The women of Bützow's concerns were marginal to the rabbis' exchange; they were merely a tool which Lipschitz could use to demonstrate his legal prowess. What is truly central to the various interconnected anecdotes of these letters is authority. The rabbinical court at Schwerin persecuted Lipschitz, possibly because its members saw him as a threat to their authority. As a result, Lipschitz appealed to a more powerful rabbi to help him relocate. In the process he suffered tangible damage to his authority, through the destruction of his hatarot. He sought to repair this damage by demonstrating both his knowledge and his loyalty to the more authoritative Emden. Though the particulars of Lipschitz's letter and arguments were questionable and arguably harmful to the people over whom he had previously held rather limited authority, Emden was still willing to help him gain a more powerful position elsewhere, because Lipschitz understood where he fit in the halachic hierarchy: in full subservience to Emden.

As a mere schoolteacher, Lipschitz's authority was already limited. When his hatarot were burned, Lipschitz's authority was further damaged, and he found himself in the rather uncomfortable position of needing to pass a judgment to prove that he should be allowed to pass judgment. Though his status as a rabbi was now in question and his job as a schoolteacher clearly precarious, he remained more authoritative than the women, who were categorically prohibited from making halachic decisions, even for themselves. Religious literature aimed at Jewish women was careful to remind them of this prohibition. If any

[42] The term used here for "teacher" is ambiguous as to rank. Based on the way Lipschitz refers to himself in later letters, I think it is most likely that he is using it to one of the lower members of a rabbinic court.

[43] Possible punishments include: divorce without receiving the money typically due to a divorcee, "karet," a spiritual state in which a person is "cut off" from the Jewish community in both life and death and which was often assumed to result in premature death, or execution.

[44] Children conceived by a mother in a state of niddah are called "bnei niddah," or niddah children. Such children were undesirable matches for marriage. An earlier Bützow schoolteacher, angry at his treatment in the city, sent its residents a letter referring to them with a remarkable list of insults, including "bnei niddah" Tychsen, *Bützowische Nebenstunden*, 6:15. This was not an actual accusation but a generic invective. Still, it acknowledges the low status of children of this sort.

of the Jewish women of Bützow were literate, and I suspect that at least a few were, they may have read any of a number of genres of writing on women's commandments. These texts informed them, sometimes in great detail, about the laws which applied to them. At the same time they repeatedly reminded them that they could not rely on their own judgment to resolve legal questions, especially those related to niddah, but should instead go to a rabbi with all their doubts.[45]

Contrary to this ideal, however, it was not the women of Bützow who scrupulously deferred to rabbinic authority; it was Lipschitz. Lipschitz seems to describe women whose mikveh use was relatively independent of rabbinic authority. They established the terms of their use of the mikveh with its owner directly; they determined when a new mikveh was built and shaped how it was constructed in accordance with their own needs. Lipschitz's emphasis on his ignorance of the issues with the mikveh in his town in a letter aiming to prove that he was effective in his position there suggests that it was not his responsibility to supervise the mikveh closely, or even to have any knowledge of it. Lipschitz was not officially the rabbi of Bützow, but I have not come across evidence of any other religious authorities of the city involving themselves with the mikveh.

Prior to Lipschitz's intervention, the mikveh of Bützow was controlled day-to-day by the women who used it. Their choice to reply to Lipschitz's ban with a legal principle of their own suggests that they felt that they had knowledge worth sharing about how it should be run, even if they ultimately yielded to Lipschitz's conclusion. That they did yield is not clear. By the time he wrote this letter, Lipschitz was in Parchim 33 miles away, never to return,[46] and no mikveh has been found in Butzow.[47]

IV. Conclusion

The dynamic between these women and Lipschitz contrasts strongly with the politics of mikvaot in Altona-Hamburg-Wandsbek. Debra Kaplan describes the lengths to which that community's Jewish authorities, both lay and religious, went to control mikvaot. They decreed in a long and severe series of entries in communal records and rabbinic ordinances in which mikvaot where women were allowed to immerse and exactly how they should do so. Though Kaplan argues that this control was limited and noncompliance common, both rabbis and lay leaders in these cities felt authorized and were motivated to

[45] Jakob Sofer Ben Juda Löb aus Berlin, "Zürich, Braginsky Collection, B351," is a book of blessings from 1741 Altona which explains some of the laws and customs associated with these commandments. Though this book is particularly interesting for its inclusion of two illustrations and two tekhines (extra-liturgical Yiddish-language prayers) in its niddah section, it is not unique among books of blessings in its discussion of this topic. Some tekhines themselves provide instruction on women's commandments. A genre of Yiddish books specifically devoted to explaining proper observance of these commandments also emerged from the sixteenth century on. The most popular of these was Benjamin Slonik's *Sefer Mitzvot Nashim*, which was first published in Cracow in 1577. It was republished dozens of times, including several editions in eighteenth-century Germany. Edward Fram and Agnes Romer Segal, *My Dear Daughter: Rabbi Benjamin Slonik and the Education of Jewish Women in Sixteenth-Century Poland* (Hebrew Union College Press, 2007), http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt166sb3q provides extensive context for and analysis of the book, as well as an English translation.
[46] After Parchim he was briefly a minor rabbi in Neustadtgödens; later he wrote Tychsen from Amsterdam, and someone who seems to be him is documented extensively as the rabbi of Middelburg until from sometime in the 1760s until at least the 1790s. Emden, *Sheilat Yaavetz*, #64; Tychsen, *Bützowische Nebenstunden*, 6:16; Tehilah van Luit, *Mediene Remnants: Yiddish Sources in the Netherlands Outside of Amsterdam* (Boston: Brill, 2009), 167-174.
[47] It is possible that a mikveh was once in the basement of the synagogue, which was built in 1787 and which collapsed in 1988. Jürgen Gramen and Sylvia Ulmer, "Synagoge Bützow," Juden in Mecklenburg, May 28, 2016, http://www.juden-in-mecklenburg.de/Synagogen/Synagoge_Buetzow.

regulate women's behavior to a much greater extent than parallel figures in Bützow. Kaplan discusses similar regulations in several other large communities.[48] While these large Jewish communities are important and well-documented, it is also necessary to examine those communities which were smaller and less stably structured, for they reveal different patterns.

Both of these responsa demonstrate clearly that mikveh and niddah laws did not allow rabbis to "exercise an almost unlimited control of women's behavior."[49] The women of Bützow seem to have been accustomed to little rabbinical oversight, let alone control, over this area of their lives. Still, they did not, at least as far as these sources describe, tend to seek to break with halachic norms, as they might have if they had interpreted them the way that Storper-Perez and Heyman do.[50] They generally seemed to want to remain in alignment with halacha. They recognized Lipschitz, a representative (if a weak one) of rabbinic authority, as a factor in determining how to do so, but not the only factor; their own knowledge was another.

The latter responsum also makes clear that their mikveh was also far from the pure, private, female space Marienberg imagines, especially once rabbis got involved with it. Even beforehand, it was owned by a man, and a non-Jewish one at that, the very sort of person Marienberg assumes never even saw the insides of mikvaot. Once Lipschitz described these women and their mikveh in writing to Emden, their activities became more widely known; men from Schwerin to Altona were concerned with them. This source suggests that it is necessary to consider the mikveh not just as a sacred space but as a social and political one. I believe that further examination of differences in the functioning of mikvaot from community to community, as revealed through responsa, among other sources, is one way into such consideration.

V. Appendix: Jewish Women in Bützow in 1769, according to Bützowische Nebenstunden 6:7-14

In *Bützowische Nebenstunden*, Tychsen described every man in Bützow who held a Schutzbrief at the time of his writing. He included limited information about their wives and occasionally daughters. Though the specific women in described in Lipschitz's letters cannot (and probably should not)[51] be identified, I have compiled as much information as possible about each woman named as living in Bützow at this time.

Because Tychsen was primarily interested in Schutzjuden, who were all men, he almost exclusively named married women. It is unfortunate that Tychsen defined women through their husbands, but since in most cases unmarried women do not immerse in mikvaot, the chart below may still provide a relatively complete list of the users of the Bützow mikveh.[52]

[48] Kaplan, "'To Immerse Their Wives;'" Perez and Heymann, "Rabbis, Physicians, and the Woman's/Female Body: The Appropriate Distance."
[49] Perez and Heymann, "Rabbis, Physicians, and the Woman's/Female Body: The Appropriate Distance," 131.
[50] While published halachic sources might have reason to omit descriptions of blatant violation of halacha, plenty describe practices their authors abhor, including practices related to niddah. See Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Purity, Piety, and Polemic: Medieval Rabbinic Denunciations of 'Incorrect' Purification Practices," in *Women and Water: Menstruation in Jewish Life and Law*, ed. Rahel Wasserfall (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press; University Press of New England, 1999), 82–100.
[51] Though niddah/mikveh emerge in these responsa as more public than they are today, and more public than I had expected them to be, it still seems likely that the women discussed would not want the ways they may have failed to uphold various intimate and severe laws discussed in connection with their names and the names of their family members.
[52] One woman, Mündel, was not married in 1769.

woman's name	husband	parent(s)	sibling(s)	child(ren)	other
Schewe (Bathsheba)	Nathan Hersch Cohen, Parnas		Chaim Friedberg (Jochim Gumpertz) Rabbi of Bützow	Zirel (Sarah)	**Hanna's** sister-in-law. **Gütelche's** sister-in-law.
Hanna	Chaim Friedberg (Jochim Gumpertz) Rabbi of Bützow	Lebh Bamberg	David Berlin, Chief Rabbi of Altona	Had a son, but he died.	Her husband was the 1st Jew to return to Bützow (1738). It is not clear when she moved there. **Schewe's** sister-in-law. **Zirel's** aunt.
Händelche	Aaron Isaac, engraver? and poet. Secretary and Chaver	Levien, an earlier Bützow school-teacher		12, includ-ing 1 set of female twins and 1 of male twins.	
Zirel (Sarah)	Dovid Heuman (Salomon) metallurgist? Gabai Tzedakah and Chaver	**Schewe** and Nathan Hersch Cohen the Parnas		Number not listed, but had a private teacher for them.	**Hanna's** niece.
Jütel	Isig (Isac Levien/ Itzik Rebnitz) cloth printer? Chaver.	Meir of Kremnen ben Berlin			Started a kosher cheese business with her hus-band. It failed; they could not pay the manager. She was used as a deposit for their debt for 6 mos.[53]
Gütelche	Yitzchak Liebman (Isaac Phillip/ Phillip Ruhlbars) Gabai Tzedakah	Meir of Kremnen ben Berlin			**Schewe's** sister-in-law.
Bräundel	Nathan/Natan Halberstadt	Salman Hirsch		**Mündel**	
Mündel	Engaged for three years to Hirsch Joschen of Jaroslow	**Bräundel** and Nathan/ Natan Halberstadt			Her parents could not afford her dowry, so no wedding date had yet been set.
Beile	Mousche (Moses) Levien	Saul Jochim of Goldberg			

[53] At which time Aaron redeemed her with a watch. I assume Tychsen means Aaron Isaac, but I do not know what his relationship to Jütel was.

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