April 2012

The Hilltop Review, vol 5, no 2, Spring 2012

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The Hilltop Review:
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Graduate Student Research

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Published by the Graduate Student Advisory Committee

Website: http://www.wmich.edu/gsac/publications.html

ISSN: 2151-7401

Cover Art: “Rug Fixers,” Oil on Canvas. By Muthanna Yaqoob, Department of Geosciences.
THE HILLTOP REVIEW:
A JOURNAL OF WESTERN MICHIGAN
UNIVERSITY GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

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SPRING 2012
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Call for Papers, Fall 2012
Notes from the Editor

The Hilltop Review is a peer-reviewed journal representative of graduate student research and artwork at Western Michigan University (WMU). Twice a year, The Hilltop Review issues a call for papers. Each successive issue builds on the last, and I am happy to report that the authors selected for publication in this volume live up to the spirit, if not the letter, of the most recent call for papers.

As editor, I work to publish papers that discuss critical issues in the author’s field of study, while simultaneously addressing the concerns of neighboring fields of study. Both of these goals have been brilliantly fulfilled in this issue of The Hilltop Review. The lead paper, and the winner of the five hundred dollar cash prize for best paper, is Sara Bijani’s “Imagining Women in U.S. Politics: The Problem of Sisterhood in the Long 1960s.” Bijani critically assesses the gendered construction of women congresswomen in historical perspective. She finds that despite ideological diversity among congresswomen, these same politicians were forced to respond to gendered expectations of women as second class citizens. The identity of women politicians in the long 1960s is shown to have been constructed by men against an imagined “sisterhood” of women.

The second paper, and the winner of a three hundred dollar cash prize, is Becky De Oliveira’s “Harvard Cowboys: The Role of Silas Weir Mitchell’s Creative Works in Defining Western-Style American Masculinity.” Written from the perspective of literary criticism, Oliveira discusses the identity of the American male. Oliveira analyzes the historical phenomenon of men from the east traveling to the American west in order to get in touch with their imagined rugged “cowboy” selves. For Oliveira this phenomenon typifies a widespread process of identity formation which characterizes the dual nature of the contemporary American male—both striving to be ruggedly ‘cowboyish’ as well as cultured and cosmopolitan. The third paper, and the winner of one hundred and fifty dollar cash prize, is Patrick Harris’ “Power, Piety, and Rebellion in Al-Andalus: The Reception and Influence of Al-Ghazālī’s Political Philosophy in Islamic Iberia.” In his paper, Harris discusses the way Al-Ghazālī’s call for pious rulership and his criticism of the religious leadership of the Arab and Persian variants of Islam structured the historical identity of greater Islam. The remaining papers are drawn from The School of Music, The Department of History, The Department of Philosophy, The School of Communication, and The Medieval Institute at WMU.

This issue also features a collaborative effort on behalf of The Hilltop Review and WMU’s Center for the Humanities. On February 24, 2012, the Center for the Humanities hosted a conference showcasing graduate student research at WMU. The Hilltop Review is pleased to publish the two best papers from the Graduate Humanities Conference. Becky De Oliveira and Benjamin Wright were the winners of the best papers at the Humanities Conference. A special thanks is due to Jason Aiello for coordinating the conference and for partnering with The Hilltop Review.

As always, the efforts of the chairs and directors of the various fields of academic research and science at WMU are indispensable to the peer-review process. The chair or director of each author’s home department is contacted and he or she is asked to suggest one faculty member and one graduate student who might serve as a peer-reviewer. The prompt responses and helpful suggestions of the chairs and directors are gratefully acknowledged. Once completed, the peer-review forms are forwarded to the authors, and then each author completes a process of revise and re-submit.

I could not be more thankful for the hard work of the peer-reviewers and quick turn-round with the papers they agreed to review. The members of the Editorial Board also read and copy-edited one paper each. Their thoughtful commentary has undoubtedly improved the overall quality of this issue of The Hilltop Review. The authors are to be congratulated on their timely completion of this process and for taking advantage of this outstanding feedback and constructive criticism. The support and assistance of GSAC members and the folks at the Graduate College is also gratefully acknowledged. The publication of The Hilltop Review is
made possible with funds from the Graduate Student Assessment Fee.

There are now established prizes for best papers and artwork for every issue of The Hilltop Review. We hope this incentive will increase the profile of The Hilltop Review as well as encourage more graduate students to consider submitting their work for review. I am confident that The Hilltop Review will continue to receive and publish more papers and artwork by graduate students at WMU. A painting by Muthanna Yaqoob of the Department of Geosciences titled, “Rug Fixers,” graces the cover of the Hilltop Review and won a five hundred dollar cash prize for best artwork. For the Call for Papers and Artwork see the end of this issue or our website: http://www.wmich.edu/gsac/publications.html.

Over the semester GSAC went through another set of leadership changes resulting in a completely new leadership team. After a highly successful year, our former Chair, LaTasha Chaffin has stepped down. Our new chair is Britne Amos, who is a graduate student in Counseling Psychology. Our new Vice Chair, Rebecca Sametz is a graduate student in Counseling Education/Counseling Psychology (CECP) and Blindness and Low Vision Studies (BLS). In addition, I am both saddened and thrilled to announce that this is my last year as editor. I will miss the editorial processes but I welcome the new leadership of Tim Bauer as editor in chief of The Hilltop Review. Bauer is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Sociology and has been an active member of both GSAC and the editorial board of The Hilltop Review. Under his leadership this Review is sure to continue to improve both in its academic import as well as its popular appeal for graduate students at WMU.

Finally, at the end of these editor’s notes, I shall indulge in a little wishful thinking. Over the past two years, The Hilltop Review has grown in terms of the number of issues distributed, as well as becoming more well-known on campus. The groundwork is in place for The Hilltop Review to provide a forum for graduate students to interact and learn from each other’s work, to showcase graduate students’ passion for research at WMU, and as a way for us to speak in a common voice on campus and within the greater community. Moving into the future, it is my hope that The Hilltop Review will continue to grow as a well-known and significant reflection of graduate student research and artwork at Western Michigan University.
IMAGINING WOMEN IN U.S. POLITICS: THE PROBLEM OF SISTERHOOD IN THE LONG 1960s

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The gendered expectations of the masculinist political establishment of the long 1960s made it difficult for women to define their own unique terrain as politicians. Even with the guarantee of formal political rights firmly in place, women’s status as second class citizens persisted throughout the long 1960s. Often, women were forced into frames that defined their political interests around their embodied sex, rather than the needs of their constituents. This imagined construction of women as a separate subject class established a fundamentally unequal platform for women’s participation as first class citizens of the United States. While ideological differences between male politicians were accepted as the normal business of a two party political system, women in Congress were frequently expected to form a politically coherent coalition around issues of sex equality. Feminism during the long 1960s provided little relief from this rigid construction of women’s political interests. With the growing popularity of second wave feminism’s imagined “sisterhood” for all women, female politicians were increasingly defined by their relationship—or lack thereof—to the women’s movement by feminists and anti-feminists alike. This single issue framework, however, had little historical precedent as an accurate barometer of women’s real political concerns and alliances.

In 1917, Jeannette Rankin became the first woman to serve in the U.S. Congress. The first and last woman elected to the U.S. Congress from Montana, Rankin was a pacifist, a suffragette, and a lobbyist for the extremely progressive Sheppard-Towner Act. Four years later, Alice Robertson became the second woman to serve in the U.S. Congress. Robertson, an anti-suffragette from Oklahoma, refused to support civil rights and women’s equality legislation and was in favor of increasing the U.S. military commitment abroad. These two pioneering women, politically polar opposites, frustrated their contemporaries as well as future scholars in any attempt to define a uniquely female style of legislating. Rankin, an avowed feminist, actively promoted legislative discussions of social equality. Robertson, a social and political conservative, was openly dismissive of all class based legislation and venomously critical of the early feminist political agenda. While Rankin attempted to break open the hegemonic political class from the inside, Robertson positioned herself as an outside defender of the traditional order.

Congresswomen who followed in these political footsteps were forced to contend with a largely unchanging patriarchal praxis in national political culture, resulting in implicit challenges to their status as equally empowered first class citizens. An entrenched connection between sex and gendered capability characterized the political culture of the U.S. in the late 1960s. Popular concern for the preservation of normative gendered authority influenced the composition of many of the nation’s most powerful arenas during the period, including the U.S. Congress. The composition of the congressional body, even today, reflects this deep inequality. Despite their majority status in the overall population, only 274 of the approximately 12,000 individuals who have served in the history of the United States Congress have

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1 Karen Foerstel and Herbert N. Foerstel, Climbing the Hill: Gender Conflict in Congress (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996), 4, 6.
been women. Of those 274 women, only 24 have served in party leadership positions, and just 26 have chaired congressional committees. These congressional women, moreover, have been overwhelmingly white. In one hundred and twelve Congresses, only forty-three “women of color” have served as U.S. Representatives, and only one has served as a U.S. Senator. No African American women served in the U.S. Congress before Shirley Chisholm’s landmark election of 1968. During the long 1960s, establishing a position of authority in this white male dominated cult of masculinity—where feminization, as a metaphor, and women, as a reality, posed a distinct gendered threat to the normative models of power—was no easy task for any woman.

At the height of political feminism in the long 1960s, partially as a result of the visibility of the informal feminist political caucus, the public and the press often associated female candidates with the more liberal Democratic party. This presumptuous, and often false, association encouraged the popular supposition that women politicians would demonstrate a stronger tendency toward liberal policymaking. Constituency, far more than a single identity factor such as candidate sex, had the strongest overall impact on a congressperson’s voting record. For women, as for men, gender identity was one factor in a complex formula of political ideology. In order to fully conceptualize the operation of power in gendered terms, an analysis of political influence must take these multiple variables into account.

The methods by which individuals and groups ultimately prioritized their political activism in the long 1960s were far more functions of various intersectional cultural positions than they were simply the product of sex difference. Systemic relationships of economic and cultural advantage were far more constraining than simple sex and gender identity. In determining political activism, several political scientists have argued that “among more advantaged citizens, the gender differences are relatively muted; among those less well off, there is a decided focus of attention among women on issues associated with poverty and poor living conditions.”

These intersectional influences on political identity help to explain the differences in legislative interests between women members of Congress during the long 1960s. Disregarding these intergroup differences, social constructions of women’s embodied similarities were commonly expressed by influential men in the long 1960s, emphasizing popular stereotypes that described women as weaker, more unpredictable, and more unreliable human beings. Numerous Congresswomen and Congressmen defended these perspectives on women’s essential difference, presenting challenges to women’s status in the imagined community of the U.S.

Dr. Edgar Berman, a close confidant of Hubert Humphrey who served as a White House and State Department consultant for over a decade, eventually resigned in 1970 after offering numerous public pronouncements on women’s inferior biological conditioning. In a discussion with Representative Patsy Mink, Dr. Berman argued that women were physiologically incapable of serving in demanding and high stress national positions. Offering the example of a “menopausal woman President” forced with an international crisis, Berman argued the President’s rationality would be limited by “the curious mental aberrations of that age group.” Outraged, Mink wrote to Humphrey, demanding Berman’s resignation. Ultimately, while Berman did resign, he rejected Mink’s protests as “a typical example of an ordinarily controlled woman under the raging hormonal imbalance of the periodical lunar cycle.” Refusing to apologize for his claims, Berman instead publicly lamented the “uptight” nature of “the wh-

Women in the long 1960s faced an uphill battle for election to national political office. Historically underrepresented and socially coded as fundamentally different, women politicians were frequently dismissed as less serious than their male peers. The U.S. Congress in the 1960s did not bend easily to the demands of women’s integration. While women’s low prestige committee appointments and infrequent election to positions of party leadership imply this inequality, the discourse on Congressional facilities confirms Congresswomen’s separate status. The well-publicized fight for women’s equal access to Congressional exercise facilities illustrates the presumption of certain Congressmen that “a woman’s place is in the home, not the House.”

Referring to women’s election to the U.S. House and Senate as “an intrusion,” the journalist who reported this particular story on women’s access to congressional facilities was hardly more sensitive than the unnamed Congressman to the rights of female Representatives and Senators. Casually erasing these women’s political differences from one another, the story opened with the warning that, “the 11 ladies of the House, determined suffragettes all, are clamoring shrilly for equal swimming privileges.” Reducing women’s fight for equal access to workplace facilities to a battle for equal “privileges,” the article entirely avoids any discussion of larger rights violations experienced by women in Congress. Playing to a presumed opposition between men and women’s distinct legislative interests and activities, the article generously concludes, “It would be wrong to suppose that congresswomen are unappreciated. The men have welcomed their feminine frills, courted their votes, even admired their minds.” Despite their increasing presence in Congress during the long 1960s, women politicians were still frequently coded as anomalous and inconsequential.

Recognizing the challenges faced by women in Congress, the underground feminist newsletter NOW Acts, printed by the National Organization for Women, published a “Blueprint for Political Action” in the winter of 1970. This tract encouraged women to challenge the traditional gendering of political roles through the development of a feminist political stance. According to this publication, “It is vital that women become active in political clubs. It is equally vital that this activity focus on ‘our thing’ rather than get absorbed into routine, supportive roles in which women have been traditionally locked.” This opposition between the traditional political roles for women and the new feminist demands of the 1960s and 1970s offers a useful perspective for analyzing the gendered activity of women in Congress during the long 1960s. While the call for women’s political empowerment was clearly intended as a call for social justice, a close analysis of women in the Congressional body during the long 1960s demonstrates the difficulty of defining women’s unique political “thing.” Elected by different constituencies, shaped by different social and political influences, each Congresswoman defined her agenda around a broad set of interests and objectives. While the public and the press may have imagined a separate women’s agenda, Congresswomen themselves rarely all agreed on any policy issues. A few case studies illustrate this broad range in women politician’s identification with the feminist movement and an imagined “women’s”

6 Anderson, 22.
7 Anderson, 23.
political agenda.

Margaret Chase Smith was one woman politician who disagreed with the majority of feminist demands for women’s political and social empowerment. One of the longest serving women in the U.S. Congress, Smith was first seated by special election to fill the vacancy caused by the death of her husband in 1940. Over the subsequent three decades, she became the first woman to serve as both U.S. Representative and Senator. Re-elected to the House of Representatives for the 77th-80th Congresses, Smith won a seat in the Senate on November 2, 1948, where she served in the 81st-92nd Congresses. Smith was also the first woman elected to the Senate during a regular election, without first having been appointed to fill a vacant seat. Despite these pioneering achievements, however, Smith maintained a very traditional view of her gendered responsibilities in government.

Smith’s perspective on her political role was not uncommon among conservative female Republicans. Conservative female legislators have commonly rejected the liberal feminist construction of “women’s” legislative priorities. In the long 1960s, these conservative women actively and passionately challenged “the feminist perspective that liberal policies are in the interest of women.”

Entering politics as a congressman’s wife, Smith described her role in those early years of her career as first and foremost “Clyde’s wife,” emphasizing that “though I knew it was important to Clyde to cultivate the women’s vote for him, I had never been a feminist.” Throughout her political career, Smith persistently maintained this pose of feminine subservience, emerging as a strong supporter of the Johnson administration’s rhetoric of defensive masculinity. In her memoir, Smith was careful to refuse any allegations to the contrary, noting:

I was perhaps identified more with WAVE [Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service] legislation than any other. It left the impression, I’m afraid, that I was a feminist concentrating on legislation for women. And if there is any one thing I have attempted to avoid it is being a feminist. I definitely resent being called a feminist.

Smith’s position on military policies was, indeed, far more aggressive than most feminists and other members of the 1960s counterculture would have countenanced, tying her political opinions very closely to those of the masculinist establishment. In the official record and in her memoirs, Smith presented an unequivocally masculinist approach to national policy, explicitly resentful of the idea of being assigned a feminist political identity on the basis of her identity as a woman.

Catherine Dean May, a far more moderate Republican than Smith, served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1959 until 1971. While May advocated for women’s increased political presence, in this sense aligning herself with one aspect of the second wave liberal feminist agenda, she also actively positioned herself as a traditional Republican.

11 Margaret Chase Smith, Declaration of Conscience (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), 65.
12 Margaret Chase Smith, Declaration of Conscience (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), 65.
May’s support for the Equal Rights Amendment, for example, was tempered by her frequent warnings that she was not a member of any feminist organization. In a legislative sense, she firmly believed that “we should and must amend the Constitution to provide that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.” May’s perspectives on feminism as a social movement, however, were heavily guarded. As she reassured one of her constituents, “I certainly can agree with you that many of those involved in the Women’s Liberation movement are not expressing my views on equal opportunities for women.”

Although she strongly approved of legislation that attempted to improve gender parity in U.S. society and politics, May hesitated to align herself with feminist organizations and repeatedly demonstrated her suspicion of any platform that presumed to speak for all women. Referring to the National Woman’s Party as a “kookie outfit,” May revealed her discomfort with the political ties she had forged of necessity with members of the organization. In an unguarded moment of frustration, May complained, “I am stuck with this battle to get equal rights for women, though I’m not so darned sure we would want them if we got them!” This same resistance to universal discussions of women’s interests was evident in May’s response to Representative Silvio Conte’s request for cosponsors of a resolution to designate August 26th as Susan B. Anthony Day. While May enthusiastically agreed to sponsor the resolution, she also warned Conte, “I did note in your letter that you are ‘inviting all the women members of the Congress to cosponsor it’ and wonder if this isn’t a wee bit discriminatory?” Rejecting the assumption that all women legislators would share an interest in the resolution, critical of the presumption that male legislators would be uninterested, May pointed to the implicit bias in Conte’s treatment of the resolution.

Shirley Chisholm, a markedly different politician from Margaret Chase Smith and Catherine Dean May, was elected to the 91st Congress and seated on January 3, 1969. Reelected to the 92nd through 97th Congresses, Chisholm was the first black female Representative elected to the U.S. Congress. While Smith, May, and Chisholm shared little in the way of legislative agendas, the three were similarly unwilling to claim a feminist identity. While Margaret Chase Smith rejected feminism as contrary to her own interests, Catherine Dean May pursued a feminist agenda while persistently denying her identity as a feminist. Like May, Shirley Chisholm was proud to describe her political career as one marked by the advocacy of marginalized people, but she hesitated to describe herself as a feminist. As Chisholm described her candidacy for the Presidency of the United States:

I am not the candidate of black America, although I am black and proud. I am not the candidate of the women’s movement of this country, although I am a woman, and I am equally proud of that. I am not the candidate of any political bosses or special interests. . . . I am the candidate of the people.

This same construction applied to Chisholm’s earlier campaign for congressional office, where she developed a careful rhetoric that emphasized local ideological affinity over national

18 Lewis, Women and Women’s Issues in Congress, 122.
19 Chisholm, The Good Fight, 71.
political affiliations.

Following the 1968 court ordered redistricting of the Brooklyn, NY neighborhood of Bedford-Stuyvesant, Chisholm faced James Farmer in an open seat election for the U.S. House of Representatives. Farmer was a fairly daunting opponent for the relatively unknown Chisholm. For the most part, the two candidates held similar positions on local, domestic, and international issues. Furthermore, Farmer's affiliations with the Congress for Racial Equality and the Freedom Riders defined his deep significance for the civil rights movement. Farmer, however, possessed a deeply misogynistic rhetorical flourish, and frequently targeted female politicians in general and Chisholm in particular. Farmer was fond of claiming that in black communities "women have been in the driver's seat" for too long, arguing that the new congressional district needed "a man's voice in Washington." Referencing Chisholm's early work as a public school educator, Farmer frequently referred to his opponent as a "little schoolteacher," and publicly questioned her ability to lead the community.20 Chisholm, in her campaign slogan "unbought and unbossed," successfully answered Farmer's challenge, using Farmer's misogynistic rhetoric to draw attention to the discrimination that she and other women faced.

Despite Chisholm's defeat of her well regarded and more politically experienced opponent, many congressmen remained skeptical of her effectiveness as a politician. When Chisholm announced her highly symbolic candidacy for the 1972 Democratic Party's Presidential nomination, many members of the political establishment dismissed her as frivolous and insignificant. Chisholm openly acknowledged the impossible nature of her campaign, admitting that "as a black person and as a female, I do not have a chance of actually gaining that office in this election year." Nonetheless, she described her candidacy as vital for the political consciousness of marginalized people in the U.S. As Chisholm claimed, "my candidacy itself can change the face and future of American politics—that it will be important to the needs and hopes of every one of you—even though, in the conventional sense, I will not win."21

Reflecting on her 1972 campaign, Chisholm wrote, "I ran because most people think the country is not ready for a black candidate, not ready for a woman candidate."22 Unfortunately, however, many politicians demonstrated that Chisholm was right to assume they were unready for her candidacy. Displaying the same casual misogyny as Farmer, numerous politicians dismissed or ignored Chisholm's efforts. U.S. Representative Louis Stokes of Ohio, a prominent civil rights politician, simply shrugged and laughed when a reporter asked for his opinion on Chisholm's candidacy. U.S. Representative Clay Stokes, brother to Louis and also of Ohio, answered the same reporter, "Who's Shirley Chisholm?"23

Aware of the alienating potential of a political platform that openly criticized the ideological constructions of dominant political and social culture, Chisholm was careful to qualify her public expressions in ways that would not estrange her larger constituency. In her 1970 autobiography Unbought and Unbossed, published in the early years of her political career, Chisholm offered a careful positioning of the dimensions of gender and race in her politics. Responding to political attacks that accused her of racial and sexual radicalism, Chisholm equivocated:

I am not antimale any more than I am antiwhite, and I am not antiwhite, because I understand that white people, like black ones, are victims of a racist society. They are products of their time and place. It is the same with men. This society is as antiwoman as it is antiblack. It has forced males to adopt discriminatory attitudes toward females.24

Three years later, established in her national political role, Chisholm offered a less careful analysis of male privilege. Responding to criticisms of her presidential candidacy from within the black male community of the U.S., Chisholm wrote, “if anyone thinks white men are sexists, let them check out black men sometime.”25 While operating in political solidarity with the black community at large, Chisholm nonetheless found it necessary to describe and critique the dialogues of masculinist privilege operating within that community. Discussing the complex social realities of class based inequality, Chisholm argued for the value of a comprehensive approach to both racial and sexual equality. Critical of the stark categorical differences set up by mainstream feminists, Chisholm pointed out that “white women are at an economic disadvantage even compared to black men, and black women are nowhere on the earnings scale.”26

As a non-traditional politician, and as an African American woman who lived within multiple communities of class-based oppression, Chisholm saw herself as a necessary agent of change within national politics. Discussing the instruments by which gendered difference was maintained in political society, Chisholm argued, “one distressing thing is the way men react to women who assert their equality: their ultimate weapon is to call them unfeminine. They think she is antimale; they even whisper that she’s probably a lesbian.”27 This awareness seems evident in Chisholm’s warning to male Senators during the 1970 Senate Hearings on the Equal Rights Amendment. Arguing for women’s equal rights, Chisholm argued that men and women alike had a responsibility to uphold a fully equitable social contract. Rejecting women’s separate status, Chisholm carefully played to cultural fears of women’s masculinization. If men agreed to support the legal foundation for women’s social and political equality, she promised that the existing gendered order of society would remain intact, and women would not be forced into radical rebellion.28

Regardless of their positions on the political aisle, many women members of Congress resisted making direct alliances with the feminist movement. Patricia Schroeder was one of few women in politics to claim a feminist agenda during this period. An outspoken critic of the racial and sexual status quo, Schroeder was a proud feminist and a Democrat who opposed excessive defense spending. First elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1972, Schroeder served in the 93rd-104th Congresses, a portion of which she spent in service on the powerful Armed Services Committee.29

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26 Chisholm, Unbought and Unbossed, 165.
27 Chisholm, Unbought and Unbossed, 168.
Schroeder met a great deal of resistance from the more senior—and overwhelmingly conservative—members of the Armed Services Committee. Outspoken feminists in Congress were rare in the early 1970s. Representative Bella Abzug was one of the earliest Congresswomen to be elected on an explicitly feminist platform, and Schroeder’s male colleagues often compared the two women, describing them both as unwelcome outsiders. F. Edward Hebert, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee in 1972 and an unrepentant self-described “male chauvinist,” resented Schroeder’s election to the committee. In one of their earliest meetings, Hebert warned Schroeder, “I hope that you aren’t going to be a skinny Bella Abzug.” 30 Accustomed to vetting all appointees to the Armed Services Committee, Hebert was unprepared for the emergence of political feminism and the changing concerns of the national Democratic Party platform.

Remembering this early period in her career, Schroeder argued that Hebert, “a conservative Southern Democrat who boasted about his male chauvinism, did not consider me worthy of the seat. Women, he claimed, knew nothing of combat, since they had never been a part of it.” Under Hebert’s leadership, Schroeder was originally forced to share a seat in the committee room with Ron Dellums, a newly elected representative of the Congressional Black Caucus. Describing this remarkable display of racism and sexism, Schroeder wrote that Hebert “said that women and blacks were worth only half of one ‘regular’ member, so he added only one seat to the committee and made Ron and me share it.” 31 Of course, black men in recent U.S. history knew disproportionately more combat than any other demographic in the population. 32 Hebert’s hostility toward Dellums, a veteran of the U.S. Marines, undermined his emphasis on combat experience as a deciding factor in appointment to the Armed Services Committee. Ultimately, Hebert was simply reluctant to accept any committee member whose politics radically contradicted his own.

Schroeder’s experiences on the Armed Services Committee illustrate the catch-22 of women’s quest for political citizenship in the long 1960s. Women’s mandated exclusion from combat service was frequently used to justify their restriction from deliberations on nearly half of the federal budget. Rhetoric that emphasized the cultural and biological differences between women and men was often used in the attempt to justify women’s exclusion from formal combat roles. Proponents of limiting women’s access to combat positions in the U.S. military argued that society viewed women—along with children—as members of a protected class, implying that women protecting themselves undermined the gendered ideology of U.S. society. The elite membership of the Armed Services Committee used these ideas of women’s difference to build their own poorly justified logic of women’s incompetence on matters of national defense.

As Schroeder argued, “the committee often justified its actions in the name of defending women and children and yet it never bothered to ask women and children what they wanted.” 33 This paternalism deeply offended Schroeder’s feminist sense of justice. Despite the emphasis placed by numerous Congressmen on Schroeder’s lack of combat experience, military service was not actually a requirement for election to the Armed Services Committee.

32 Lowy, 5.
33 For one discussion of these demographics, particularly in terms of casualties of U.S. troops in Vietnam, see Christian Appy, Working Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993).
34 Schroeder, 25.
Many of the male committee members had never served in the armed forces, and yet they frequently dismissed Schroeder’s opinions as those of an amateur civilian. Schroeder remembers these non-veterans asking, “How can you serve on this committee? You have never been in combat.” On this point, she would remind these men, “you and I have a lot in common.”

Schroeder, despite her immense popularity in her own district, was never without her share of detractors. In 1972, Schroeder was the second youngest woman ever elected to Congress, and the first woman with young children to serve in national political office. Media coverage of Schroeder’s early campaign emphasized these feminine and maternal parts of her identity, as journalists often referred to her as a mother rather than an accomplished attorney or a public school teacher. Even Bella Abzug, perhaps the most zealous feminist in Congress at the time, contacted Schroeder shortly after her election to warn that “I don’t think you can do the job” while also caring for young children.\(^5\) Clarence Decker, Schroeder’s opponent in the 1972 congressional primary, went so far as to distribute flyers door to door, “condemning Schroeder for premeditated neglect of her three pre-schoolers.”\(^6\) Once in office, these attacks only reinforced Schroeder’s support for the legislation that improved the lives of various classes of working women.

Dismissing the concerns of her critics, Schroeder argued that women could be highly effective as both mothers and women with careers. As Schroeder explained:

I soon learned that children don’t care who does their laundry or grocery shopping or who makes their beds. In fact, they don’t care if anyone does it. The mystique that such tasks must be done by the hands of the mother should be buried forever so that no more guilt will be generated by it.\(^7\) Sweeping away many of the remaining threads of the century old Cult of True Womanhood, Schroeder argued that women were not defined by their domestic roles. When politicians rejected right to work and welfare legislation, they often used rhetoric that portrayed their choices as a defense of the traditional family. These arguments entirely failed to take the experiences of millions of working mothers like Patricia Schroeder into account. Responding to a reporter who asked how she could be both a U.S. Representative and a mother, Schroeder famously retorted, “I have a brain and a uterus and I use them both.”\(^8\) Feminists like Schroeder strongly rejected traditional pressures for women to choose either a career or a family, claiming a woman’s right to choose both.

Schroeder’s concern for working mothers was most strongly expressed in her work on the Family and Medical Leave Act. When Schroeder first authored the act in 1983, she wasn’t able to find a single member of Congress to cosponsor the legislation. Although Schroeder reintroduced the bill in subsequent congressional sessions, it wasn’t passed until 1993, following the surge of new women Representatives in Congress.\(^9\) Meanwhile, in her work on the Armed Services Committee, Schroeder extended her feminist agenda to the needs of military women. Often positioned as the sole voice on the committee for ordinary service men, servicewomen, and their families, Schroeder pushed through a number of important legislative changes. As Joan Lowy explains, “Schroeder tried to improve the lot of military families, pushing to spend more defense dollars on such things as moving allowances and

\(^{35}\) Schroeder, 25.
\(^{36}\) Lowy, 41.
\(^{37}\) The Schroeder’s, incidentally, were and are a family of four. “Women Who Made It,” Off Our Backs: A Women’s Newswomen 3 no. 3, (30 November 1972): 6.
\(^{38}\) Schroeder, 15.
\(^{40}\) Karen Foerstel and Herbert N. Foerstel, 128.

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schools.” She was also concerned with the status of military housing, education, health care, and childcare.  

Not all feminists understood or agreed with Schroeder’s concern for women in the military. As Schroeder confessed, “I really get an awful lot of flak from women who normally support me saying they don’t approve of my support for women in the military.” In response to these critiques, Schroeder argued, “feminism isn’t about opening up the jobs you want, it’s about opening up jobs some women may want.”  

Later in her political career, Schroeder was very critical of the military’s explanations that women were restricted from certain combat positions for their own protection. As a feminist, Schroeder defended equal opportunities for women in all fields. Discussing women’s access to equal promotion in the military, Schroeder explained, “we are not asking for a separate competitive system, we are not asking a quota or anything else, but rather that sex would not be considered as a disqualifier before you got to any of the other qualifications.”  

This same reformed set of qualifications, taken in a less literal context, could have also been demanded of popular perceptions of women in elite political positions during the long 1960s. While women were explicitly barred from full participation in the U.S. military, stereotypes and tradition also prevented them from truly achieving equal status as first class political citizens. Women members of Congress were marked as women first and foremost, regardless of their radical spectrum of legislative interests.  

In the long 1960s, a small number of congressional women were actively attempting to blur the boundaries between culturally oppositional identity markers such as race and gender. While these women often disagreed on the specific outlines of their targets, they were occasionally able to orchestrate highly visible and successful protests of the status quo. Although retired by 1968, former Senator Jeannette Rankin famously led the Jeannette Rankin Brigade in a march on Washington to protest U.S. involvement in Vietnam. In 1918, Rankin had openly opposed the Great War, campaigning for the U.S. House of Representatives on an anti-war platform.  

Sixty years later, Rankin used the march as a political vehicle to connect “well behaved and orderly” women in Congress with women in the New Left “in miniskirts and high boots,” forming a temporary political coalition that crossed commonly established boundaries of culture. Shortly after this march, in 1971, Bella Abzug “rode the anti-Vietnam War movement to Capitol Hill,” using experience gained through her work in the New Left to enter the sphere of traditional politics.  

For a brief period in the political history of the U.S., the outspokenly feminist political voices of politicians like Abzug struck fear into the political cult of masculinity, appearing as a salient challenge to the established masculinist order of the national community.  

The strength of this unofficial openly feminist political caucus, however, was short lived. Evaluating the actions of the Jeannette Rankin Brigade, radical feminist Shulamith Firestone argued:

41 Lowy, 80.  
42 Anne Summers, “Pat Schroeder: Fighting for Military Moms,” Ms. 1 no. 6 (May 1991): 90.  
43 U.S. Congress, House, Subcommittee No. 2 of the Committee on Armed Services, Hearings on H.R. 9832: To Eliminate Discrimination Based on Sex With Respect to the Appointment and Admission of Persons to the Service Academies, 92nd Cong., 2nd Sess., May, June, August 1974, 22.  
44 Karen Foerstel and Herbert N. Foerstel, 4.  
It is naive to believe that women who are not politically seen, heard, or represented in this country could change the course of a war by simply appealing to the better side of congressmen. [. . .] They came as wives, mothers and mourners; that is, tearful and passive reactors to the actions of men rather than organizing as women to change that definition of femininity to something other than a synonym for weakness, political impotence, and tears.47

Refusing to accept the traditional patterns of privilege in culture, an emergent class of self-identified feminists outlined new terms for the conversation on gendered equality.48 Although a majority of women in political office refused to explicitly or publicly align with these feminist objectives, they were all impacted by the gendered bias that feminists sought to remove from politics. The straightforward and aggressive challenges to hegemonic systems of gendered identity posed by the feminist movement influenced the boundaries of women’s activities in political office, regardless of their individual alignment with the feminist movement, while simultaneously posing implicit challenges to limits on women’s opportunities in other elite national arenas.


48 Groups of radical feminists that emerged during the late 1960s and early 1970s include Redstockings and its precursor New York Radical Women, Radicalesbians, and the National Organization for Women’s splinter group The Feminists. Although short-lived as an organized movement, radical feminism offered a challenge to the traditional ideology of liberal feminism that has since influenced many conversations on the construction of gendered identity.
HARVARD COWBOYS: THE ROLE OF SILAS WEIR MITCHELL’S CREATIVE WORKS IN DEFINING WESTERN-STYLE AMERICAN MASCULINITY

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A BUNCH OF JANE DANDIES?

It could be argued that comfortable Eastern men who went West in search of romantic cowboy adventures were nothing more than wannabe Westerners—“Jane Dandies” and “Punkin’ Lilies” in the style of the insulting nicknames hurled at Roosevelt when he first travelled to North Dakota as a “feeble asthmatic” seeking to beef up “his frail political image and marketing himself as an embodiment of the ‘strenuous life’” (Tuttle 106). The draw of the West in the years approaching the twentieth century could be viewed as nothing more than a rather quaint symptom of the classic male midlife crisis. In more recent times perhaps these men would be purchasing Ferraris, getting hair plugs or trading in their wives for younger—and hotter—models, eventually returning to reality with a sigh, resigned at last to their sagging chests, thinning hair and waning libidos, the sports cars and girlfriends little more than vague reminders of their last-ditch attempts to be the men they’d always wanted to be. The excesses of mid-life crises tend to be short-lived, perhaps because they are ultimately inauthentic and unsustainable.

Certainly, many of the journeys made by men seeking the “West Cure”—popularized when Dr Silas Weir Mitchell sent Owen Wister to Wyoming as a treatment for his neurasthenia—also had a certain “dude ranch” ring of inauthenticity. For instance, Barbara Will reports that in his 1879 trip to Yellowstone, Mitchell himself—who used the West throughout his life as a cure for various physical and emotional problems—travelled in relatively ostentatious style with “twenty two soldiers, four packers, one chief packer, one guide, one hunter, two cooks, fifty-five horses, twenty-one mules and a dog” (301). There is quite a gap between this seemingly excessive entourage and the typical Western image of the lone cowboy riding the range in solitude, cooking his freshly-killed dinner over an open fire and under a big sky.

But far from making Mitchell or others like him feel inauthentic, this simulation of the Western experience, without any real hardship, danger, hunger or discomfort was hardly viewed as a problem or source of embarrassment. It even seems to have been part of the point. These men were quite comfortable moving between worlds and taking both the best of the Eastern life of relative scholarly ease and privilege, and the romantic ruggedness of the West with its aura of barely-contained danger and potential heroism. Roosevelt, for instance, would typically “finish a day of hunting by seating himself next to the kill and reading an important book of verse or philosophy” (Will 302). The eastern men who went west, in other words, made no pretense of giving up their Ivy League educations, affection for fine clothes, or taste for high culture. There was nothing particularly inauthentic about them at all. They were in fact creating a whole new type of man—one that hadn’t been seen before in this precise model. This man embraced both worlds and could move with ease between them—being refined and rugged simultaneously.

The dichotomy between rugged strength and sensitivity is actually built right into the Mitchell cure. “Following Mitchell’s lead, a whole generation of nervous men accordingly
journeyed westward to recuperate not only by working on ranches and hunting game in the Rockies, but also by writing about their experiences” (Will 295). They worked—but they also wrote. This seems significant because this approach stands in stark contrast with the reality of the Western man—the real life rancher or cattle hand—who would not have typically had the leisure time or inclination to write poetry, novels or self-reflective journals. This further underscores the idea of the Western cowboy as an intentionally created persona, less an attempt at authenticity than one focused on the projection of an image. Will writes that, “Mitchell, Wister, and Roosevelt imagined an improbable yet potent new national hero, one produced by, and inseparable from, a neurasthenic view of the world” (Will. 296). What else could they do? There was no turning back the clock and actually returning to a simpler life—nor would many men from the large Eastern cities necessary want to give up the more sophisticated aspects of their lives permanently. Fast-paced American culture apparently drove many men to the point of nervous breakdown—but since it was impossible to deal with the root causes of this type of stress—while retaining the benefits of income and prestige it brought—a retreat back to nature, a holiday on a ranch, was the next best thing. After all, neurasthenia1 was part of the culture, “particularly when manifested in men,” it provided “cultural proof of... exertion, a sign of the greatness and immensity of the effort (Will 298).

THREE MEN, A DIVIDED COUNTRY, AND A CURE

Just like individuals, entire nations can experience crises of identity. Perhaps the Civil War could be viewed as America’s national mid-life crisis—or at the very least, the catalyst that caused the country to keen for a time, seemingly unable to find its bearings. William Deverall, who has written about the great migrations to California around this time in America’s history, points out that by the time the Civil War ended, the United States was broken and “in search of itself” (69). During the years leading up to the onset of the twentieth century, Americans from both the North and South traveled to the West, “because they wanted to get away, because they wanted to heal physically, emotionally, or otherwise” (64). Even before Wister became the most famous recipient of the Mitchell “West Cure,” the West had already become a “cure” for much of what was wrong with America—offering the nation a chance at rebirth, distinct from the animosity between the North and South. The post-war national identity crisis resulted in the brief but influential emergence of the West as the defining character of America. And, according to Marta Jackson who wrote about Frederic Remington, an artist who captured the same period in the West, it “has probably given birth to more American legends and folk heroes than any other single time or place in our past. It holds for us... the same kind of meaning that Camelot once held for England” (6). This re-creation of the American identity had a profound influence on the vision of the ideal man. According to Michael O’Malley, who has written about nervousness in American culture around the turn of the twentieth century, American men had previously been perceived—especially in Europe—as lazy and somewhat indolent, but the suffering of the war had shown them in a different and more impressive light. The “strenuous life... had made Americans strong, and prevented degeneracy and nervous collapse. It built (or revealed) a character that could withstand the pressures of modern life” (387).

Three pivotal characters in the creation of the ideal Western male that endures even now were President Theodore Roosevelt—who invented his own persona as a “rough rider,” avid hunter, and literary force, Owen Wister—creator of the modern Western novel, and Dr Silas Weir Mitchell—a physician, novelist and poet whose equally famous “Rest Cure,” for

1 Editor’s Note: “Neurasthenia” is defined as “an obsolete technical term for a neurosis characterized by extreme lassitude and inability to cope with any but the most trivial tasks” (http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/neurasthenia?s=0).
a general psychological malaise, was mostly prescribed to women. These men had their literary interests in common—but they also shared remarkably similar health histories in that they had all been, at one point or another in their lives, sickly and emotionally distressed, and they turned to the West for a “cure” that would restore vigor, strength and a distinctly American brand of masculinity.

The “West Cure”—although widely associated with Mitchell and popular during the post-Civil War era, was actually invented by Francis Parkman, who “helped to develop the idea of the West as a cure for ailing masculinity” earlier in the century and was actually an occasional patient of Mitchell’s (Tuttle 106). President Theodore Roosevelt was the best-known beneficiary of the cure—although in his case it was self-prescribed following the deaths of his mother and wife on the same day—February 14, 1884. His transformation into a hunting, big-stick-carrying “rough rider” was so complete that it is now somewhat startling to think of Roosevelt as a sickly child who suffered from severe asthma and poor eyesight that rendered him almost blind until the age of 14 when his vision was corrected with spectacles.

Young adulthood did not initially treat him much better; his first wife initially declined his offer of marriage, apparently unimpressed by the “thin, pale youngster with blue eyes and a weak heart” (Felsenthal 16). Longtime friend Owen Wister, in describing his first meeting with Roosevelt, tells of a man “in vigorous action” (4) at Harvard where he boxed as a light-weight, weighing only 135 pounds and taking a “heavy blow on his nose, which spurted blood” after which his “slender figure stood quiet” (5). Roosevelt was, of course, a prolific writer, and one often oddly obsessed with the correct features of both American femininity and masculinity. The ideal American man, according to him, “must not be a coward or a weakling, a bully, a shirk, or a prig. He must work hard and play hard” (“American Boy” 1), as well as “practice decency,” and be “clean and straight, honest and truthful, gentle and tender, as well as brave” (para, 6).

Of Wister, who suffered from the all-purpose emotional disorder labeled “neurasthenia,” Jennifer Tuttle explains that, “Before his trip West, Wister complained of exhaustion, vertigo, oversensitiveness, and other ailments. But after having settled into his cattle roundup routine in Wyoming he became ‘a picture of health,’ leading hunting expeditions and mounting horses to join the cowboys . . .” (104). Not only did he engage in vigorous outdoor pursuits; Wister wrote, penning his most famous novel The Virginian, “considered the prototype of the modern Western” in which he “fictionalized his own treatment by Mitchell” (104). Wister appears to have quickly shed the maladies that sent him out West in the first place, focusing in his published work on perfectioning stories about an idealized version of himself.

Both Roosevelt’s and Wister’s experiences in the West helped form their careers—but in this case of Mitchell, it was more his career that helped form the West. While Mitchell’s cures were controversial and, for instance, Charlotte Perkin’s Gilman’s “struggle against the patriarchal medical establishment of the late nineteenth century” (Tuttle 103) is well documented, Wister’s enthusiasm for the “West Cure” is equally well-articulated and created in Mitchell a lifelong friend. This difference in male and female reactions to Mitchell is in itself interesting as much could—and has been—said about the inherent sexism evident in the two approaches, but the “West Cure” is particularly interesting because of the masculine image it helped create—an image that was born of an apparent compensation for emotional and physical weakness. Jennifer Tuttle writes “. . . the West Cure urged supposedly feminized men to embrace the more ‘masculine’ traits and pursuits embodied in a western model of manliness” (Tuttle 105)—an approach certainly evident in the cases of both Roosevelt and Wister, men who appear to have created powerful literary alter egos to speak for them—and to distance them from their weaknesses. Mitchell’s work as a writer—particularly his creative writing—is far less well known today than either Roosevelt’s or Wister’s. Yet his work is equally significant in the formation of the new-style Western man.
The Importance of Being Silas Weir Mitchell

There were probably few men better placed in the latter part of the nineteenth century to help other men create a persona of strength and vigor—based quite firmly, too, in the tradition of literature and writing—than Silas Weir Mitchell (1829-1914), a physician who “achieved great success in popularizing the idea of a correlation between mental activity and nerve strain” (Will, 293). Interestingly, according to his biographer and other sources, Mitchell himself had one point suffered from neurasthenia, which he attributed to the overemphasis on “mental work” evident in American society, a work he described as “more taxing in general in America than in Europe” (“Wear and Tear” 42) and advocated instead for an “open-air life” which he claimed “has a large share in protecting men who in many respects lead a most unhealthy existence” (50). Mitchell’s philosophy regarding good health for men can be summed up as follows:

The man who lives an outdoor life—who sleeps with the stars visible above him—who wins his bodily subsistence at first-hand from the earth and waters—is a being who defies rain and sun, has a strange sense of elastic strength, may drink if he likes, and may smoke all day long, and feel none the worse for it (“Wear and Tear” 5).

Trips to the West enabled Mitchell “to pursue what he saw as perhaps the most important reason for self-transplantation—putting experiences into writing” (Will 302). For an individual whose primarily job was not writing, Mitchell appeared to have a strong need to express his unique voice through creative means; he achieved a staggering number of literary publications during his life—particularly during middle age—including fanciful children’s stories such as Fuz-Buz the Fly and Mrs Grabem, novels such as Roland Blake, and The Adventures of Francois: Foundling, Thief, Juggler, and Fencing-master; and volumes of poetry. At the same time, he rejected the literary establishment in his refusal to accept membership in the Academy of Arts and Letters, stating rather caustically, “I do not want to belong to the Academy or to any more institutions than I do at present” (Updike 21). Perhaps Mitchell had reason to be somewhat snobbish. His accomplishments, after all, led one enthusiastic biographer to describe him as, “almost a genius,” going on to note, “His contemporaries believed that he was one, an opinion Mitchell came to share” (Ernest v). His supposed genius aside, a perusal of youth and young adulthood offer some clues as to why health, vigor, and the masculinity of the classic cowboy may have been attractive to Mitchell, and why he may have felt that “an excess of physical labor is better borne than a like excess of mental labor” (“Wear and Tear” 10)—but also why he would have held onto the mental labor of writing with such passion.

A biography on Mitchell by Ernest Earnest reveals that while his boyhood contained the “ideal” elements of a vigorous outdoor life with “pranks . . . fights . . . constant scrapes . . . skating on a pond” (8) with his brothers, Mitchell was “a frail, bookish boy in the midst of a house hold of active, vigorous people” (11) who “once set a table on fire and burned his hand in an attempt to cast lead bullets” (9) and who, at the age of sixteen, “spat blood and was advised to spend as much time as possible indoors” (11). His graduation from the University of Pennsylvania was put on hold “by reason of ill health in his senior year” (Tucker 9). His illness at sixteen gave him the opportunity to buy a boat so that he could spend time outdoors in the fresh air. According to Earnest, “Here he learned that aesthetic appreciation of nature which was to last throughout his life” (16). As a student he was reported to have had “a certain modesty . . . as distinct as that of a girl which kept him from seeking the local prostitutes” (Earnest 16). All these details speak of a young man who fails to fit in with others and who actually stands out as particularly “lacking” in certain expected masculine traits and be-

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haviors. Perhaps his generally sickliness contributed to other aspects of his personality, including his disinterest in seeking out women for sex—in apparent contrast to the norms of the other students he associated with.

Mitchell also had difficulty finding favor with his father, John, whom he idolized as “a model of manly beauty, of perfect courtesy, quick to resent the least imputation upon his honor, believing there was only one way to settle serious difficulties among gentlemen” (Earnest 6). While Mitchell was clearly intelligent and talented, he was not good at cricket—his father’s favorite sport (11)—and when he announced his intentions to pursue a career in medicine, his father replied, “You are wanting in nearly all the qualities that go to make a success in medicine, You have brains, but no industry,” later adding, “You have always been an undecided person,” (Earnest 18). Mitchell, described as “frail” and “imaginative,” may have “felt hesitant and inept” around his father, who may have initially been correct in his analysis of Mitchell’s aptitude for medicine. In medical school, Mitchell “fought his own horror of surgery,” repeatedly fainting, “awkward,” and “in despair” (Earnest 19). Although his medical skills eventually improved, his health became worse, and in the spring of 1849, “he developed severe jaundice. due, he believed, to overwork and lack of exercise” (Earnest 20). His ill health seems to have continued, with reports that he developed a tremor in his hand at about the age of forty (Louis 1220). In 1872, following the death of his mother, he reportedly developed neurasthenia—although whether this was self-diagnosed is not clear. Mitchell, described as a “harassed and unhappy man,” apparently “became very weak and was troubled with insomnia” (Earnest 20). By 1874, Mitchell had “lost a wife, three brothers, a mother, and his beloved sister” in just over a decade. With his sons away at school, Mitchell also suffered from loneliness (Earnest 72).

None of these problems, however, appear to have stopped his acute mental energy or his ability to write—and in fact, it is likely that his loneliness and health problems encouraged his immersion in his work. Most of his creative work was completed past the age of forty and quickly became popular—with influential people counting themselves as fans. William Dean Howells, in writing of Mitchell’s work, notes, “I like nearness to life, and this is Life, portrayed with conscience, with knowledge, both deep and quick...” (Earnest 99). Of one of Mitchell’s novels, Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker—a best seller in 1896—Theodore Roosevelt himself apparently remarked, “I do not know when I have read a more interesting novel” (Louis “Neurologic Content” 403). Mitchell, however, did not appear to be equally impressed by Roosevelt. He wrote a note comparing him with President Taft, which read, “Talk of the strenuous life! This man wastes no time, as Roosevelt did—altogether a more balanced, thoughtful person” (Will 297). It’s not surprising that Roosevelt was an early fan—since the combination of strength and frailty in men, along with a value system very much in accordance with that of “the strenuous life” is evident in many of Mitchell’s characters—although it is perhaps more surprising that the two men never formed a stronger alliance. They shared strikingly similar ideas about what the American character should entail. According to Tim Armstrong, author of American Bodies: Cultural Histories of the Physique, in 1903, Roosevelt “introduced a stringent immigration act designed to ‘purify’ the American race” (88). This is very much in line with the thoughts of Mitchell, who “saw neurasthenia as a pathology linked to a feminized internal constitution, a physiological aberration which needed to be purged from the upper-class American body in order for the nation to assume its power over threatening primitives within a rapidly expanding world” (88).

LITTLE BOYS IN FAIRY-LAND

While he wrote explicitly about his concerns for men’s emotional and physical health
in his non-fiction work, these themes—not surprisingly—are evident in his creative work also. In spite of their differences, Mitchell’s father instilled in him “the Virginia code of honor,” a value system Weir carried throughout life and made a recurring theme in his novels” (Earmst 7). While this code of honor is largely reported as one in which “fighting a duel” with firearms (Victor 219) features prominently, it presumably also includes the attributes of the elder Mitchell that young Silas found admirable, including his literary interests, dignity and sense of excellence. And perhaps not unusual for a man who came of age with physical limitations, his works often highlight the emotional sensitivity—even frailness—undergirding the strength and swagger of the ideal Western version of masculinity. This is illustrated particularly well in a statement made by a character in the novel When All the Woods Are Green—and may provide an insight into Mitchell’s motivations for writing fiction: “Folks complain that we women speak too loud. I am sure our men have lost their voices” (3). In addition to providing a vehicle for Mitchell to articulate his thoughts on character and national identity, writing may have also served as a way for him to regain his own voice in middle age—to escape the tedium of his summer holidays (Louis 406)—as well as a method of creating masculine alter egos that could speak for him, in the same way that Wister’s Virginian and Roosevelt’s “rough rider” persona spoke for them.

The “Virginia code of honor” favored by Mitchell’s father may be evident in the character of Mr. Lyndsay in When All the Woods Are Green, who is the father of a large family of children spending some time in the country following the death of a child, and is described as “a fine figure . . . tall, strong, ruddy, with a face clean-shaven, except for side-whiskers” (“Woods” 23). Lyndsay is a devotee of Marcus Aurelius, the “Stoic Emperor,” and references to Aurelius occur frequently throughout the book, usually in a situation that warrants some kind of moral lesson. Aurelius was said to have, “enjoyed the open-air life of the country, which did something to offset his bookishness, and lightened a little the seriousness of a nature which was in the last resort moralistic rather than intellectual” (“Meditations”).

The Emperor also claimed to have learned certain virtues from friends and members of his family that tie in very closely with the ideals expressed by Roosevelt, Wister and Mitchell. From his grandfather, he learned “the lessons of noble character and even temper,” from his father, “modesty and manliness,” from his mother “piety and beneficence, and abstinence, not only from evil deeds, but even from evil thoughts; and further, simplicity in my way of living, far removed from the habits of the rich,” from Apollonius, “to see clearly in a living example that the same man can be both most resolute and yielding,” and “how to receive from friends what are esteemed favours, without being either humbled by them or letting them pass unnoticed.” From Maximus, he learned “self-government, and not to be led aside by anything; and cheerfulness in all circumstances, as well as in illness; and a just mix in the moral character of sweetness and dignity, and to do what was set before me without complaining.” Of Maximus, he also says, “He was accustomed to do acts of beneficence, and was ready to forgive, and was free from all falsehood; and he presented the appearance of a man who could not be diverted from right rather than of a man who had been improved” (“Meditations”).

Mr Lyndsay is a man of clear principles whose admiration for Aurelius evidently runs deep. At one point in the story, when visiting the home of a dying child, he remarks indignantly to the drunken father, “Good Lord, my man, that child is dying,—will be dead, I am sure, before night; and here you are in liquor just when that poor woman most wants help” (“Woods” 57). But although he upbraids the man for his lack of sensitivity to his wife, Lyndsay is also said to have seen enough of life “not to wonder that drink could be distinctly regarded as, under stress of circumstances, an available resource” (59). Furthermore, in a show of big-heartedness, he notes that, “Respect for the moods of men is one of the delic-
delicacies of the best manners" (58). When describing a friend who appears to meet all the ideal qualities of masculinity with a "genius for friendship," who attracted friends wherever he went though "they could hardly say why," Lyndsay remarks, "He was quick of temper, cultivated, but not a profound man,—unselfish. I think it must have been chiefly because he took a large and unfailing interest in other men's pursuits, and was not troubled if they made no return in kind. He gave interest and affection, being easily pleased, and exacted no return" ("Woods" 96). Lyndsay is careful to reinforce the principles of manly virtue in his sons—when one of them gives up claim to a fish, "Lyndsay nodded gently, smiling at the youngest son, and no more was said; but the boys understood well enough that neither the selfishness nor the self-denial had gone unnoticed" ("Woods" 107).

This attention to morality is evident in many of the short stories in Little Stories, all of which have a male central character trying to do the right thing. "The Consultation" contains a conversation between two men in which one confesses that he is caring for the sickly and much older husband of the woman he loves. Should he help speed along the man's demise? When the husband eventually dies of natural causes, the man does not marry the woman. When his friend, an older doctor, is pressed to explain this behavior, replies that the answer is "clearly set forth in the New Testament" (12), and while this is somewhat cryptic, it does imply a strong commitment to a Biblical Christian belief system. In "Two Men," a "pale young man" (15) with a bag of tools meets up with a "small sallow man" (15) who tries to steal the tools. One has just been released from hospital, the other from prison. The ex-con is already set up with a job ("There's a society helps a fellow...Gives you good clothes, too," 16) on the outside, whereas the man released from the hospital, who is by trade an iron worker, has no work. The ex-con advises him to "Go and grab somethin'. Get a short sentence; first crime. Come out, and get looked after by nice ladies" (16). The pale man has not been provided any assistance on his release from hospital because he is "only an honest mechanic" (17). In "A Man and a Woman," a man throws himself into the water, but when a woman does the same, "Something stronger than the longing for death mastered him, He caught at the woman, and held up her head. He must save her—he knew that" (46). But after he drags her to the shore, he wonders, "Why did I save her? She had a right to choose death" (46). "Then he laughed low, and said aloud: "But it is she who has saved me" (47). When she begins to breathe, "the man knew that he had here a thing to care for and assist" (47-48). In all of these situations, men are dealing with temptations and circumstances that test their virtue, their courage, their sense of honor and their masculinity. Should a man take the woman he wants? Should he commit a crime in order to get work? Should he interfere in the wishes of another human being? These kinds of questions appear important to Mitchell and often feature in his work, underscoring a fascination with defining just what it means to be a "good" man or a man of honor.

There are fine distinctions in how appropriate masculine behavior presents itself. In The Youth of Washington, written in the form of an autobiography of George Washington, Mitchell has Washington confess, "I flatter myself that I have now learned to command my temper, although it is still on rare occasions likely to become mutinous. I do not observe that mere abuse ever trouble me long, but in the presence of cowardice or ingratitude I am subject to fits of rage" ("Youth" 10). He goes on to comment on the qualities he has in common with his great-grandfather—"great personal strength, inclined to war, very resolute, and of a masterful and very violent temper" (15). It would seem acceptable—even appropriately manly—for a man to have a temper so long as he has learned to control it, the way he has learned to control all his other base instincts in the pursuit of gentlemanly honor. Impulse control and attention to decorum are emphasized, as in the case of the surgeon character in In War Time, for instance, who makes certain to offer a salute of "excessive military accuracy" (2) to every
ill man brought into his hospital and states that "nothing less than paralysis" (2) would prevent him from doing do. Honor and morality are largely to be found in nature, in what Roosevelt would have called "the strenuous life." According to Barbara Will, "For Mitchell, male nervousness was a question of will, a quality put to the test 'only by the sturdy contest with Nature' tempered by a 'healthful' engagement with literature of moral uplift" (294). Mitchell himself wrote, in Camp Cure, "The surest remedy for the ills of civilized life is to be found in some form of return to barbarism" (Will 301), which falls very much in line with the romanticized view of the West with noble savages living close to and in accordance with nature. Harper’s Monthly, in a 1884 review of The Hill of Stones, and Other Poems, notes that, "Few of our poets have penetrated as closely as he to the heart of Nature." Many of Mitchell’s characters and themes represent a distinct pro-nature and anti-city perspective, seeming to agree with the statement, "The restlessness of cities, their excited pleasures and harsh ambitions, seem foolish and intangible" (Tucker 348). Lyndsay notes that, "the pleasantest people for a woodland walk are those naturalists who see far more than the poet, and combine with their science, or have with it, the love of things for the more beauty in them" (88). When the young daughter, Rose, asks her father how long it takes him to adjust to life in nature, away from work, he replies

"Three or four days; not more. I like at once the feeling that I have nothing I must do. After awhile the habit of using the mind in some way reasserts its sway. At home I watch men, it is part of my stock in the business of the law. Here I readjust my mind, and it is nature I have learned to watch, I was not a born observer; I have made myself one. After a day or two on the water, I begin to notice the life of the woods; the birds, the insects. This grows on me day by and, and. I think, year by year. It is a very mild form of mental industry, but it suffices to fill the intervals of time when salmon will not rise" (33).

Nature is clearly free from the hustle and bustle that seems to have caused neurasthenic men so much stress and unease. Lyndsay notes that "Nobody elbows you here; no rude world jostles your moods . . . You may be gay and noisy,—no is shocked, and then, the noble freedom of a flannel shirt and knickerbockers! Why do we ever go back!" (34). Harkins, in writing about Mitchell’s work and perspectives notes that "The restlessness of cities, their excited pleasures and harsh ambitions, seem foolish and intangible" (348). Some lines of Mitchell’s poetry also speak to the benefits of nature over the city. In "Elk Country” he writes

“To think of the camp fires we builded
To baffle those terrible pungies;
To think how we wandered, bewildered
With wood-dreams and delicate fancies
Unknown to the life of the city” (“Hill of Stones” 61)

The poem continues with:
“Ay, here in the face of the woodman,
You see how the woods have been preaching,
As he leans on the logs of his cabin
To watch the prim city-folks coming” (“Hill of Stones” 62).

The lines “unknown to the life of the city” and “to watch the prim city-folks coming” are especially revealing here. Clearly there is a whole system of life in nature that is foreign—at

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least initially—to those used to an urban existence. Nature contains “wood-dreams and delicate fancies,” and the “woods have been preaching” —a fact evident on “the face of the woodman” who is comfortable and at one with his environment, so much so that he “leans on the logs of his cabin.” The city folks are “prim”—implying a certain level of discomfort with the new environment. As they approach they are watched and assessed by the woodman who, one imagines, finds their primness amusing.

In addition to their noble aspirations and love of nature, many of Mitchell’s male characters exhibit sensitivity, weakness, or illness. In “Prince Little Boy,” the main character “Little Boy” likes to visit a place he calls “Fairy-land.” This does not sit well with his father, who responds that the “boy was only fit to sing songs and be in the sun, and would never make bricks worth a penny” (“Prince Little Boy” 8). and forces him to go to work making “bricks for a palace which the King was building” (8). Francois, the main character in The Adventures of Francois, is described as “emotional and imaginative, fond of color, and sensitive to music” (4). Earnest claims that the most interesting character in the novel In War Time, “is a man of unusual sensitivity and imagination, but with a fatal strain of weakness” (96). This fictional character had “the same first name” as Mitchell’s brother and “both yearn to go to war but are prevented by illness” (Earnest 108-109). Mitchell wrote the following lines of poetry about his brother:

“Painfully He sickened, yearning for the strife of War
That went its thunderous way unhindered of him;
And then he died. A little duty done; A little love for many, much for me,
And that was all beneath this earthly sun” (Earnest 109)

Here, war is obviously a terrible thing, “thunderous” and containing “strife,” but it is nonetheless a force healthy young men “yearn” to be part of. Only sickness will present a young man from his duty—and there is a sense of having been cheated when one can only do “a little duty.” These lines contain a terrible sense of finality and regret—of a young man gone before he could fully realize his potential. He had a “little love for many” although “much” for his brother—“and that was all beneath this earthly sun”—implying that these small tokens of love and duty were all he was able to accomplish in his short life. They are valued, but incomplete.

Even when boys and men are portrayed in potential negative ways—as spirited and perhaps careless—these attributes invariably come across as desirable and evidence of robust energy and vitality. Mr Lyndsay remarks, “Remember, boys, no nonsense in the canoe. mind. This water is too cold and too swift to trifle with. You are a pretty bad lot but I should not like to have to choose which I would part with, As Marcus Aurelius said, “Girls make existence difficult, but boys make it impossible” (16). Another character is described as one who “hates books but he also hates defeat—a first rate quality. He is one of the three people I have seen in my life who honestly enjoy peril” (20). The pride the speakers take in describing boys this way is evident. Francois is said to be, “a long-legged, active fellow, a keen-witted domestic brigand, expert in providing for his wants, and eagerly desirous of seeing more of the outside world, of the ways of which he was so ignorant” (11). But in a group of boys or men, there is often at least one—in this case another Ned, just like Mitchell’s brother—who is different from the others. Ned is described as “sure to see certain things and not others. He is a dreamer” (19), and “too absent-minded for this world’s uses” (20). However, all three brothers have reflective qualities, with Dick “diligently counting a beetle’s legs—a process the animal seemed to resent. Ned, at a window...staring at the falling shadows on the farther hills, and Jack, at the door...deep in a gruesome book of adventures by sea and land” (“Woods” 94). Mitchell seems to find value in each of these manifestations—probably at least partly

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because they each represent a part of himself—scientist and doctor, imaginative dreamer, reader and writer.

HEROES WITHOUT WINGS

The novel Roland Blake received its title as “combination of the names of the chivalric hero Roland and the mystic poet and artist William Blake” (Ernest, 100). Roland, of course, refused to surrender to the overwhelming force of a stronger enemy, finally giving his life and causing himself to be “transformed into the saintly through the martyrdom of his death in a battle of ultimate Christian purpose” (Huppé 16). William Blake’s work contains recurring themes of good and evil, heaven and hell, knowledge and innocence, and external reality versus inner” (“Online Literature”). Silas Weir Mitchell’s Roland Blake, the title character in the novel of the same name is described as, “A thoughtful, quiet young fellow, he lived a wholesome outdoor life, with sea and winds for comrades, while his uncle’s personal attention to his education amply prepared him for his life at Harvard” (“Roland Blake” 1). This description could easily sum up the approach to life of Roosevelt, Wister and Mitchell—all of whom aspired to be Harvard-style cowboys—men who could hold their own in both the East and West, roping cattle in the morning and writing in their journals at night. They aspired—perhaps as a result of the horrors of the Civil War—to be men who could stand against an enemy, no matter how fierce, as the legendary Roland did, while retaining a strong sense of social justice (albeit one, in keeping with the times, skewed in favor of the white male!) reminiscent of Blake. One of Mitchell’s poems, titled “Elk Country” contains the following lines that illuminate the essence of the dual character of the new American male:

“Ay, he too has learned in the forest,
One half of him Nimrod and slayer,
Unsparing, enduring, and tireless,
In wait for the deer at the salt lick;
Yet one stronger half of his nature—
This rough and bold out-of-door nature
Hath touches of sadness upon it,
And is grown to the ways of the forest,
Till wildness and softness together
Are one with the sap of his being” (“Hill of Stones” 63).

Nimrod is, of course, a Biblical character—the great-grandson of Noah and a legendary hunter, said to be the first “hero” in the Bible—and his image is juxtaposed against the idea of “touches of sadness” and a nature that has brought “wildness and softness together.” The “rough and bold out-of-door nature” of this man is tamed and “grown in the ways of the forest” until the two parts of his nature (“wildness and softness together”) are merged as part of his whole—they are “one with the sap of his being.” In addition to being named as a great warrior, Nimrod also apparently bears some blame for conceit and arrogance, as well as for the Tower of Babel incident in which the early people demonstrated their lack of faith in God by building a tower they could escape to if he should choose to destroy the earth again by flood. Perhaps the American male at this time also felt some responsibility for having brought horrors upon the nation in the form of the Civil War. The sadness comes as a result of this guilt—and from the knowledge that “wildness and sadness” will have to co-exist, that the neurasthenic condition is an inextricable result of the society American men have created and that the role of the cowboy can only ever be a weekend gig, temporary and temporal, serving only to hold the unbearable stress of modern in life momentarily in check.

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One wonders whether Harvard cowboys created much of their own neurasthenic stress through their seemingly rigid and unrealistic expectations of themselves as men. In reading Roosevelt’s, Wister’s and Mitchell’s idea about what men should ideally be like, I am continually reminded of the concept of the “superwoman” which has recently (or maybe not so recently!) taken hold in American culture. Such women—typically upper middle-class—are supposedly meant to marry, raise several high-achieving children, enjoy a fabulously successful career, stay slim, fit, well-groomed and well-clothed, and able to bring home-baked scones to a school event at short notice. They have to effortlessly straddle the worlds of motherhood/home and career/achievement. E. F. Harkins writes that although, “the cowboy has gone, the stuff out of which he was made remains. . . . His wild kind has been among us always, since the beginning: a young man with his temptations, a hero without wings” (355-356). This is perhaps true—but what has also remained with us is the American tendency for overreaching and excess, for going to extremes, for creating the very situations that cause us to forever strain to define and redefine ourselves, both as individuals and as a nation. Roosevelt summed up his philosophy of life as follows: “In short, in life, as in a football game, the principle to follow is: “Hit the line hard; don’t foul and don’t shirk, but hit the line hard!” (para. 11). This is a good metaphor for the American identity over at least the past hundred years—or at least the perception Americans have tried to maintain in their own minds—hard working and fair; good sportsmen. Like the “Virginian” who has “slashed his own way against hostility” and in whose “careless figure” resides the “strong young West, alert and watchful and commanding” (Harkins 348) the American faces the world. This man, also like the Virginian, is “thoroughly the result of his calling and his environment” (349). He knows that he is a hero, but too often forgets that he doesn’t have wings—and is therefore limited in what he can achieve. Like a boisterous child leaping off the garage roof to see whether he can fly through sheer force of will, the hero takes a great leap realizing just a second too late that he is hurtling all too quickly toward a devastating contact with the earth.

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POWER, PIETY, AND REBELLION IN AL-ANDALUS: THE RECESSION AND INFLUENCE OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ’ S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY IN ISLAMIC IBERIA

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Dissident Muslims have utilized discourses of pious rulership to justify their revolt against centralized authority at least as far back as the Kharijite rebellion in the 1st/7th century, which, in turn, resulted in the first major schism within the Islamic community. One may, indeed, interpret the very founding of Islam, in part, as a pietist response to a Meccan regime which fostered an environment of injustice and iniquity. Thus, the need for a pious rulership has been at the heart of Islamic political sensibility, if not from its very foundation, then at least from its first division. Rebels and reformers have deployed this discourse many times and in many places throughout the history of the Islamic world. Medieval Islamic Spain, or al-Andalus, was no different. This paper proposes to examine discourses of piety prevalent in al-Andalus from the late 5th/11th through the 6th/12th centuries, and how they related to the political upheavals of the time, focusing specifically on the influence of the philosophy of Abu Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (450-505/1058-1111) within these events.

A cultural and intellectual milieu existed within al-Andalus that would be receptive to the ideas of al-Ghazālī, as his work echoed ideas that were already fomenting there. After his work gained a large degree of acceptance, it would furthermore provide a catalyst for the overthrow of the Almoravid regime (c. 1040-1147), or at least be remembered as such. Through this conjunction of al-Ghazālī’s thought with the Andalusian and North African political and cultural situation, one will see that this area was not so removed from the cultural center of the Islamic world in the East, but rather existed in discourse with it. One will be able to see how ideas emanating from the intellectual center influenced a region perceived to be peripheral, and how these same ideas become absorbed and reflected back to the center from that very same periphery.

The cultural milieu of al-Andalus in the 5th/11th century

The collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus in the early 5th/11th century ushered in a period of political fragmentation under the Taifa kings. Centralized authority had completely broken down leaving a patchwork of petty kingdoms throughout the Islamic domains of the Iberian peninsula. Berber and “Slavic” rulers asserted themselves and demolished the facade of Arab hegemony. The mawāli, or non-Arab Muslims, could now safely voice their previous feelings of political alienation and proclaim themselves as proper Islamic rulers as they had previously been disenfranchised by the Arab Muslim political elite.

1 For those unfamiliar with this dual dating system, which is preferred by some Western scholars of Islamic history, the first date indicates the Islamic century after its traditional beginning with the hijra, and the second indicates the Christian century.

The Kharijite rebellion began during the Caliphate of Ali in the mid-7th century CE when a pietist group attempted to break away from caliphal authority after becoming discontented with Ali’s conciliatory attitude towards the Umayyad clan who attempted to usurp Ali’s authority.

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The *shu’ubiyya* letter of Ibn Garcia provides an ideal example of this *mawāli* mentality. Ibn Garcia was a court secretary under the Taifa king of Denia, which is located in the south-eastern portion of the Iberian peninsula, during the mid to late 5th/11th century. This particular letter can be dated sometime between 443/1051 and 469/1076. James T. Monroe states in the introduction to his translation of the letter, "the risāla [letter] does not differ much from those written by eastern Shu‘ubites with whose works Ibn Garcia seems to have been well-acquainted...Ibn Garcia’s cultural horizon extended eastward." *Shu’ubiyya* literature has its roots with the *mawāli* under the Umayyad Caliphate in the East (c. 40-132/661-750), namely with Persian intellectual elites dissatisfied with the ethnic favoritism displayed by the ruling Arabs there.

Ethnic tensions provided the basis in which *shu’ubiyya* writers launched their assault on their Arab overlords, and they rationalized their position through questioning the Arabs’ piety. Göran Larsson deftly observes:

> Given al-Andalus’ heterogeneous composition, tensions arose relating to distinctions of boundaries, power and group identity. These tensions mostly manifested themselves in clashes over how to define Islam. Consequently, contemporary power structures had a great impact on the articulation of Islam and the development of society. Mainly through the possession of authority, it became possible to label contrasting and competing opinions as heterodox. However, in their turn contesting groups not in power questioned the legitimacy of the current rulers. Thus it seems that definitions of both orthodoxy and heterodoxy are closely related to the concept of power.

Because the *mawāli* now had power, they were free to define Islamic rulership as they saw fit, which meant eliminating its ethnic basis and replacing it with pietism. Ibn Garcia did not define Islamic rulership in Qur’anic terms, however. He never cites the Qur’an nor any of the *sunna*.

He contrasted, rather, historical examples from the pre-Islamic period to those from the early period of Islamic conquest to prove his point. One criticism he cast against the Arabs was their perceived “worldliness.” He states:

> If your people have made you wealthy to such an extent that you can manage without the whole world, according to what has been mentioned; then why this eagerness to accumulate possessions and to abandon your abodes? seldom do poets begin a journey, save from an abandoned encampment!...who incited you to reject a virtuous wife whose chastity is stronger than a fortress and the close company of noble stallions...you feigned stupidity and became like unto a small calamity on top of a large misfortune, hoping for good fortune and striving after a precious reward.

3 Monroe, 12.
5 The *sunna* roughly translates as “the tradition of the Prophet,” meaning the sayings and deeds of the prophet Muhammad, which were used as a guide for proper Islamic behavior and helped provide a basis for Islamic law.
6 Monroe, 23.

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Ibn Garcia asserts here that covetousness was the cause for the Arab conquests—they desired the riches and wealth of Sassanians and Byzantines. Of course, he is also contrasting the barbaric and low state of the Arabs to the glory of the great empires to their north. For Ibn Garcia, the Greeks and the Persians “civilized” the Arabs. He goes on: “The non-Arabs are wise, mighty in knowledge... And they mastered what you will of investigation and research. They made themselves masters of the physical and religious sciences, and not of the description of towering camels.” According to Ibn Garcia, the patronage and development of the arts and sciences are a mark of good rulership, which was a tradition the Arabs inherited from their Greek and Persian predecessors.

Ibn Garcia does not just draw attention to the advanced state of the Persians and Greeks in terms of the “secular” arts, but he also draws attention to their superior spiritual development: “He [Muhammad] delivered us from the worshipers of the Trinity and the reverence of the Cross; whereas you he delivered from the followers of an abominable religion and from the worship of idols.” In a sense, the non-Arabs were more worthy inheritors of Islam as they had already received and followed the earlier monotheistic prophets. It should not be surprising, though, that Muhammad appeared among the Arabs as “pure gold is found in the dirt, and musk is a part of the secretions of the gazelle, and sweet drops are deposited in foul-smelling waterskins.” This observation is not meant to redeem the Arabs, however. Rather, he implies that the Arabs never truly abandoned their former ways. At their heart, the Arabs are still the covetous, lowly, uncivilized nomads of the desert, unworthy of inheriting or ruling over a great kingdom.

Ibn Garcia was not the only one who held the belief that the wisdom of pre-Islamic Greek, Persian, and Roman rulers had something to offer. Al-Ghazâlî also makes frequent allusions to non-Arab, pre-Islamic rulers in his Naṣīḥat al-Mulâk, or “Counsel for Kings.” This piece represents a genre related to shu‘âbiyya literature. Larsson observes:

Ibn Garcia’s references to both Byzantine and Persian traditions should also be seen as an attempt to formulate and legitimize non-Arab rule. During the eleventh century most parts of the Muslim world, including al-Andalus, were tormented by internal tensions due to a lack of political leadership. In this vacuum the literary genre known as the ‘Mirror for Princes’ became popular and significant in most parts of the Muslim world.10

F.R.C. Bagley, in his translation of al-Ghazâlî’s Naṣīḥat al-Mulâk, went further, asserting that this genre represented a synthesis between Arab and Persian cultures created by the rise of Persian nationalism.11 This work appears to have been one of al-Ghazâlî’s last, dating between 502/1109-504/1111.12 He depended heavily upon his previous work, Ihyâ’ ‘Ulâm al-Dîn’ or “Revival of Religious Sciences,” for its conceptual content.13 However, he draws out the concepts of proper Islamic piety contained within the “Revival” more fully by citing examples of pious rulership, in which he depends heavily on pre-Islamic examples. A rough sketch on the section “Qualities Required of Kings” displays this pattern. Of the approximate-
ly sixty-five anecdotes concerning historical kings and emperors, twenty-six refer to Islamic rulers, twenty-four to Persian rulers, twelve to the Greeks, while al-Ghazālī cites the hadith only four times and Jewish tradition three.\footnote{14} The pre-Islamic king alluded to most in this work is the Sassanian Khusraw Anūshirvān (r. 531-579). Al-Ghazālī calls him, "the pride of Iran; his qualities were justice, equity, beneficence and helpfulness."\footnote{15} Ibn Garcia also features this prominent figure in his letter:

Do you not know that the empire of Anūshirvān and the kingdom of Ardashīr cut open your bodies and dislocated your shoulders, after which they inclined toward you and acted benevolently, making you kings of Hira after you had been thrown into great confusion, having been paltry and downtrodden, choosing for your wives girls filled with dread and seized by force on night raids, without a dowry?\footnote{16}

The "benevolence" of Anūshirvān represents a ruling ideal for both al-Ghazālī and Ibn Garcia. However, while al-Ghazālī focuses solely on Anūshirvān’s righteousness, Ibn Garcia uses him as a contrast against Arab barbarism, lust, and ingratitude saying:

Then your Gassān and Nu’mān grumbled about this kingship, and the displeasure of the latter was a reason for the loss of the amnesty given to you, so that after the proud trailing of robes he came to be trampled under the feet of elephants.\footnote{17}

This particular passage reveals Ibn Garcia’s belief in Arab racial inferiority. Yet, the Arabs were given the Prophet who could have redeemed them, but instead they betrayed their inheritance by ruling unjustly. On the other hand, non-Arabs, namely Greeks, Romans, and Persians came from a grand and glorious tradition, who, by taking up the mantle of Islam, fulfilled their own pious traditions.

One can see that Ibn Garcia and al-Ghazālī were drawing from a similar body of literature and represent a certain intellectual milieu that existed throughout the Islamic world in the late 5th/11th century. As stated previously, the rise of mawāfi power facilitated this cultural environment. The Islamic East had already been in the process of splintering with the reassertion of political power by the Persian nobility and the influx of Turkish warriors from Central Asia. Islamic Iberia, similarly, was being divided by regional petty kings of various ethnic origins. The breakdown of hegemonic power meant intellectual freedom for many. Gone was the push to create a normative Islamic identity as the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba attempted to accomplish previously. Replacing it was "a newly revived intellectual liberty, thanks to the protection that the chiefs of the provinces gave to the intellectuals, Philosophical studies were reborn with new vigor."\footnote{18} The respite offered by the Taifa kings meant that mystics and philosophers, who had been considered renegades, could now preach their doctrines freely. Thus, it should be no surprise that this was the very period in which the writings of al-Ghazālī, particularly his 

\[ \text{Riyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn}, \]

gained some acceptance in al-Andalus at this time. All of this would change, however, with the conquest of the Almoravids and the subse-

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\[ \text{14 See Bagley, 45-105.} \]
\[ \text{15 Bagley, 53.} \]
\[ \text{16 Monroe, 26.} \]
\[ \text{17 Monroe, 27.} \]
\[ \text{18 Miguel Asín Palacios, The Mystical Philosophy of Ibn Masarra and his Followers, translated by Elmer H. Douglas and Howard W. Yoder (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 119.} \]
quent rise of the Maliki jurists in Islamic Spain and North Africa.\textsuperscript{19}

\textit{Intolerance towards al-Ghazālī under the Almoravids}

Although the disunity of the Taifa period allowed for an environment of intellectual freedom in al-Andalus, it left Islamic Iberia in a politically weak position. The tide began to turn towards the Christians’ favor in the long struggle for power over the Iberian peninsula during this period. The Christians consolidated while the Muslims splintered. As a result, the Christians, who were based in the north, made substantial advances southward. Yet, the Christians did not always adopt the strategy of outright conquest. Sometimes they would “soften up” the Taifa kings by bullying them into a relationship of clientage, demanding massive amounts of tribute which drained Taifa coffers. This relationship not only disrupted the Taifa economy, but also gave the Christian kings a powerful voice in Taifa politics. Should a Christian king find a Taifa ruler unqualified or troublesome, he could conceivably dissolve the relationship and take control over the Taifa territory himself.

This scenario occurred in the conquest of Toledo by the Castilian king Alfonso VI (r. 1065-1109) in 477/1085. The loss of Toledo sent shockwaves through al-Andalus, and after Toledo, Alfonso set his sights on Seville, causing the Taifa kings to ally themselves with the rising Maghribi power to their south, the Almoravids. A united Taifa-Almoravid alliance led by the Almoravid ruler, Ibn Tashfin, soundly defeated the forces of Alfonso outside Seville in 478/1086. Ibn Tashfin, however, did not take this opportunity to seize control of al-Andalus for himself, nor was he particularly enthralled by its legendary riches. Ronald Messier states:

\ldots the delights of Andalusia held no appeal for him. Rather, he turned the booty over to the Andalusian chiefs, saying, “I came not to this country for the sake of booty; I came to wage jihad against the infidel and to merit the rewards promised to those who fight for the cause of God.”\textsuperscript{20}

The Maghribi historian, al-Maqqārī (c. 1578-1632), citing the fifteenth century \textit{Kitāb ar-Rawd al-Mīʿār}, relates, “as he had passed the greater part of his life in his native deserts, exposed to hunger and privation, he had no taste for the life of pleasure and enjoyment which was recommended to him.”\textsuperscript{21} Ibn Tashfin’s rejection of wealth and disinterest in gaining power in al-Andalus illustrates the historical conception of him as a pious Muslim ruler—an image that has seemingly persisted to the present day. The episode cited by al-Maqqārī directly contrasts the piety and ascetic nature of Ibn Tashfin to the luxury and vanity of al-Mu’tamed, king of Seville:

Yūsuf Ibn Tāshefin inquired how Al-mu’tamed conducted himself in his pleasures; whether he always led the same dissipated life or whether he sometimes refrained and lived more soberly. The answer was that al-

\begin{itemize}
  \item The Malikites represented one of the four major schools of Islamic law. The Maliki school, whose origin was in the Islamic holy city of Medina, was particularly popular in al-Andalus and North Africa.
  \item Ronald A. Messier, \textit{The Almoravids and the Meanings of Jihad} (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2010), 84; unknown quotation.
  \item As cited in Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqārī, \textit{The history of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain} : extracted from the Nafha-t-tib min ghsni-l-Andalus-i-r-rattib wa tārkh Lišānud-Din Ibn-i-Khattāb / by Ahmed ibn Mohammed al-Makkārī, a native of Telemosin, Vol. 2, translated from the copies in the library of the British museum, and illustrated with critical notes on the history, geography, and antiquities of Spain, by Pascual de Gayangos (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1964), 290.
\end{itemize}

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mu'tamed always led the same life [of dissipation and pleasure]. “And do Al-mu’tamed’s friends, do his allies, and the high functionaries of his court, approve of his conduct and imitate him?” —“No, they do not.”—“Well, then, how are they pleased with him?”—“They are not pleased at all,” was the courtier’s answer.  

Later, it is revealed that al-Mu’tamed sought to seize Ibn Tashfin from fear that the Almoravid ruler desired his kingdom.  

In 480/1088, the Taifa kings again called for Ibn Tashfin’s aid in the siege of the fortress of Aledo in the southeastern portion of the peninsula. The Taifa kings, however, spent much of their time using Ibn Tashfin as an arbiter in their own petty disputes, constantly attempting to flatter and bribe him, to Ibn Tashfin’s frustration.  

The impiety of the Taifa kings had succeeded in alienating the religious elite, as indicated above. One particular qadi, Ibn al-Khalayyî, had been accused of treason of Abd Allah, king of Granada, because the king feared that Ibn al-Khalayyî had discriminated him to Ibn Tashfin for his un-Islamic ways. Abd Allah briefly imprisoned Ibn al-Khalayyî, but popular pressure forced his release. This qadi, along with other religious elites, then approached Ibn Tashfin with a fatwa condemning not only Abd Allah, but all the Taifa kings. After gaining the approval of his own faqîhs, Ibn Tashfin sought the opinion of the eminent al-Ghazâlî himself, who also approved it and confirmed Ibn Tashfin’s status as amîr of the Almoravids. All al-Andalus would soon fall to Almoravid power.

The power of the Malikite jurists within these events cannot be overstated. Indeed, it was a Malikite legal scholar from Tunisia, Yahya Ibn Ibrahim, who previously helped spark the founder of the Almoravid regime, Abu Iman, to action. The Almoravid movement was reformist in nature, interested in eradicating unorthodox Islamic practice and impious rulership. The leader of the Islamic community had to be morally upright in their opinion—an idea which had it roots in the Kharijism that had helped originally convert the region to Islam.  

However, the increased power of the Malikite religious elite would alienate other intellectuals in al-Andalus, who saw qadi involvement in worldly affairs as a betrayal of their religious ideals as they were paid well from the public treasury and became heavily involved in politics, which was seen as a corrupting influence.  

Almoravid hegemony, which facilitated Malikite attempts at establishing a normative Islam, led to tensions with the more independent-minded mystics and intellectuals who had previously flourished under the Taifa kings. One possible indicator of growing Sufi influence can be seen with the rise of miracle stories associated with the Prophet Muhammad during the Taifa period.

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Again, this was also the period where the work of al-Ghazālī began to circulate in al-Andalus and gain a degree of acceptance. In the early 6th/12th century, the Almoravids had begun a book-burning campaign against al-Ghazālī’s *Ihya’ Ulūm al-Din*; however, approximately fifty years later, a second book-burning campaign would ignite some mystics to outright revolt.

The Malikite jurists had a vested interest in repressing the work of al-Ghazālī as his hierarchical paradigm placed those with knowledge of God above legal scholars, which “would give Sufis a position of superiority with respect to traditional scholars.” For al-Ghazālī, law had become rotten at its core—it was form without function. In the *Ihya’*, he argues that the “purity” claimed by the jurists has become “coquetry”, and that the situation has become so confused that what should be forbidden is licit, and what is licit, forbidden. Al-Ghazālī blames these corrupt jurists for the corruption of their rulers. As Messier quotes him, “Better to be a fly on a heap of excrement... than be a theologian at the door of kings.” The criticisms of al-Ghazālī may have stung the Malikite jurists in al-Andalus and rang true for their opponents as:

…the general trend of fifth and sixth-century Maliki jurisprudence, especially in Muslim Spain, had been to withdraw into an extreme form of sectarianism in which Malik’s adherence to the sunna of Medina was replaced by a form of legal practice based on the precedents established by a select group of scholars, with little regard being given to the sources of law found in hadith.

However, one may ask, why the change in attitude towards al-Ghazālī on the part of the Almoravid rulership? According to Madeleine Fletcher, al-Ghazālī had an interest in becoming a qadi in the Almoravid court, which threatened the head qadi of Cordoba, Ibn Hamdīn, the very mastermind behind the initial book-burning. Should al-Ghazālī achieve his goal, the Almoravid ruler would have the “three elements necessary for political effectiveness: a ruling elite, an ideology and a popular following.”

The book-burning did not achieve its intended effect. Instead, some Sufis became militant in defense of the master they so highly revered. A second burning program took place in the mid 6th/12th century. Madeleine Fletcher cites a letter from 538/1143 indicating the Almoravid’s renewed concern:

When you come across a heretical book or a person inciting to heresy, be wary of them, and especially (God grant you success!) of the books of Abū...
Hamid al-Ghazali. Track them down and let their memory be erased through uninterrupted burning; investigate about them and question under oath those suspected of hiding them.37

During this time, a disciple of al-Ghazali’s teachings, Ibn Qasim, launched a full-blown insurrection in Silves, in modern day southern Portugal, where he had established a ribat, proclaimed himself imam, and ruled as sovereign in the region for about ten years until his death in 546/1151.38 However, it would be a Maghribi mystic and follower of al-Ghazali who had already incited a new pious movement that would lead to the downfall of the Almoravid regime, Ibn Tumart.

Al-Ghazali Triumphant

An account of the meeting between al-Ghazali and Ibn Tumart from the 8th/14th century chronicle, al-Hulal al-Mawshiyya, gives the following account:

[Al-Ghazali asking Ibn Tumart] “Did you go to Cordova?”
  “Yes”
  “How are the theologians there?”
  “Well”
  “Did they receive the Book of the Revival [Kitab Ihyai’ Ulum al-Din]?”
  “Yes”
  “And what did they say about it?”

Then the old man [Ibn Tumart], ill at ease, kept silent; the imam besought him to answer. The other shook his head told how the book had been burned...then the imam...said these words: “May their empire [the Almoravids] fly to pieces, as they destroyed this book, and may their dynasty disappear as they burnt it.”

Abu ‘Abd Allah Ibn Tumart al-Susi, later called the Mahdi, began to speak so: “O imam, ask God that He commit this task to my hands.”39

Whether or not this meeting actually took place has been the subject of some scholarly debate. Nevertheless, it remains important for achieving an understanding of the perception of al-Ghazali’s role in the rise of the Almohads and the downfall of the Almoravids.

Piety is essential for legitimate rulership in the view of al-Ghazali. Without the presence of a true imam, the state has no legitimacy and its functionaries have no legal basis to enforce the Law. It is incumbent upon the imam to guide the community. He must first be without reproach, however. In the “Counsel for Kings”, al-Ghazali begins by imploring the ruler to always be mindful of the true nature of God, and from this root, the branches of faith can grow and blossom.40

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37 Fletcher, 327
38 Asín Palacios, 122; Mackeen, 402.
40 Lauter, 234-235: “L’existence d’un imam à la tête de la communauté, pour Ghazâli...est une nécessité formelle à la raison mais dont le caractère obligatoire repose sur la Loi révélée...L’imam est la source de toute légitimité...En l’absence d’un imam légitime, ces fonctions publiques n’auraient plus de fondement juridique.”
and blossom. \textsuperscript{41} Proper Islamic belief ensures that the ruler will act righteously and the affairs of state will be kept in proper order. For al-Ghazālī, purity of belief trumps mere practice, as seen in his criticisms against the legal scholars of his day. This idea is also seen through his inclusion of pre-Islamic rulers in the “Counsel for Kings.” These rulers are models not because they blindly follow established religious practice, but because their true faith and piety come from within.

Consequently, it should come as no surprise why al-Ghazālī places the Sufi above the legal scholar in his spiritual hierarchy. Similarly, Ibn Tūmart insisted that \textit{tawḥīd}, or belief in the oneness of God, was the source of all proper knowledge and practice. Yet, also like al-Ghazālī, Ibn Tūmart believed one could attain proper knowledge through rational introspection—God was a logical imperative.\textsuperscript{42} Thus, Ibn Tūmart’s main criticism against the Malikites under the Almoravids was one of anthropomorphism, i.e. they had become worshippers of their own body of legal precedents.\textsuperscript{43}

Ibn Tūmart’s focus on internal reform can be seen in his conception of the \textit{imām}:

There is no Imam who is not ‘free’...from falsehood...for falsehood does not abolish falsehood. He is also free from misguidance...for misguidance does not abolish misguidance. Likewise the sinful...does not abolish sin, for sin does not abolish sin. The Imam must by all means be free from these upsets.\textsuperscript{44}

It follows from this conception of the \textit{imām}, that the immorality of society was a symptom of the ruler’s sinfulness as its center. Ibn Tūmart actually began his reformist career as an enforcer of morals under Almoravid rule. He was often appalled at people’s behavior, sometimes striking out with violence such as breaking musical instruments or smashing wine barrels.\textsuperscript{45} Such behavior inevitably aroused a reaction by the Almoravids forcing him to find refuge in the Atlas mountains from which he would launch his long campaign that would eventually take down the Almoravid empire itself.

Ibn Tūmart died in 524/1130, before the Almohads ventured into al-Andalus. They crossed the Straits of Gibraltar in 540/1146 and sided with Andalusian rebels, including the aforementioned Ibn Qasī, not only destroying the last remnants of Almoravid power, but also achieving impressive victories over the Christian kings.\textsuperscript{46} Despite maintaining an intolerant attitude towards Christians and Jews, they presided over one of the most intellectually vibrant periods for Muslims in the history of al-Andalus.

Ibn Tufayl was a witness to this tumultuous period, born in 498/1105 around the time of the first burning of al-Ghazālī’s \textit{Iḥyā’} and dying eighty years later. He was a minister, philosopher, and physician at the court of Granada from the mid-6th/12th century almost until his death.\textsuperscript{47} He is best known for his philosophical tale about the autodidact \textit{Hayy Ibn Yaqẓān},

\textsuperscript{41} Bagley, 3-12.
\textsuperscript{43} Messier, 139-141.
\textsuperscript{44} As quoted in Cornell, 101.
\textsuperscript{45} See Le Tourneau, 15-16; Messier, 140-141.
\textsuperscript{46} Richard Fletcher, \textit{Moorish Spain} (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1992), 120-123.
In this tale, he allegorizes some of the key tenets of al-Ghazālī's philosophy. Ibn Tufayl actually begins his book by briefly explaining the works of some major Islamic philosophers, in which al-Ghazālī features prominently.  

_Hayy Ibn Yaqẓān_ is the story of a man who grew up on a deserted island, completely isolated from any contact with society. As a child he was nurtured by a doe, or more specifically, a gazelle. Avner Ben-Zaken explains that this is no coincidence—the physical nourishment offered by the gazelle to_Hayy_ is a direct metaphor for the spiritual and intellectual nourishment al-Ghazālī gave to Ibn Tufayl. Ibn Tufayl intentionally utilized this play on words (“gazelle” and “Ghazālī”). As_Hayy_grows and develops, he uses his reason to discover the truth behind the world around him, eventually gaining a sort of mystic enlightenment; even the world of the spirits and the nature of God are eventually revealed to him. The progression that Ibn Tufayl traces is a parabolic device that seeks to explain al-Ghazālī’s position on the role of reason in spiritual development—true understanding of God must come from within.  

Eventually, _Hayy_ is visited by a mystic named Absāl from a neighboring island, which happens to be inhabited by Muslims. Dissatisfied with the corrupt society around him, Absāl sought seclusion. This particular character represents the idea of _gūrba_, or “feeling of alienation,” felt by mystics toward the trappings of civilization, which had a strong influence on the sense of piety in the initial phases of the Almohad movement. This idea also echoes al-Ghazālī’s teaching that one must turn inward to discover true Islam rather than blindly mimic the legalistic mandates enforced by the jurists. Once the communication barrier is broken, _Hayy_ and Absāl discover they are kindred souls. Absāl explains the basis of Islam to_Hayy_. Yet, to_Hayy_many of these ideas are not new; he had already discovered them himself through his own philosophical introspection:

He [Absāl] related all the religious traditions describing the divine world, Heaven and Hell, rebirth and resurrection, the gathering and the reckoning, the scales of justice and the strait way. _Hayy_ understood all this and found none of it in contradiction with what he had seen for himself from his supernal vantage point. He recognized that whoever had offered this description had given a faithful picture and spoken truly.

After hearing about the sinful state of the society on the neighboring island, _Hayy_ agreed to go there and preach; but once he got there he could make no headway:

_Hayy_ Ibn Yaqẓān began to teach this group and explain some of his profound wisdom to them. But the moment he rose the slightest above the literal or began to portray things against which they were prejudiced, they recoiled in horror from his ideas and closed their minds...He saw “every fiction delighted with its own.” They had made their passions their god, and desire the object of their worship. They destroyed each other to collect the trash of this world.  

This passage appears to be a thinly veiled criticism of the anthropomorphism of the Malikites

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49 Ben-Zaken, 22.  
51 Goodman, 161.  
52 Goodman, 163.
that had disillusioned Ibn Tūmart. The ruler of this island was a man named Salāmān, who believed only in a literal interpretation of the Law. Salāmān tortured and killed those who strayed from his strict interpretation, to the effect that people only practiced their religion from the fear of pain and death rather than from the love of God. He writes, “the weak-minded... throw over the authority of prophets to ape the ways of fools.” Again, one can see that Ibn Tufayl is referring to the previous Almoravid regime, who chose the legal precedents of the Malikites even over the Qur’an itself. In Ibn Tufayl’s view, the obstinacy of the Almoravids and their Malikite supporters prevented people from recognizing the truth, e.g. the message of al-Ghazālī. Thus, Ibn Tufayl builds upon the discourse on the piety of rulers established by al-Ghazālī and Ibn Tūmart—the piety of a ruler is not determined only by adherence to the proper Islamic practice, but must have an internal spiritual aspect as well.

The following generation produced one of the most influential minds of Sufism and Islamic philosophy, Ibn ‘Arabī, who carried on the message of al-Ghazālī and his disciples. While in Tunis in 590/1193, he studied the work of Ibn Qasī and wrote a commentary on his Khat‘ al-na‘lān." Yet, al-Ghazālī would hold a special place in Ibn ‘Arabī’s heart. He writes:

Down the centuries the Sufis have striven to keep alive that essential and immediate experience of divine truth which filled those first fuqārā’ (poor in God) who lived beside the Prophet and received through his mouth the words of God. As such they have been the leaven of the Muslim community as a whole, especially in troubled and chaotic times. Externally they were also, as in the case of the celebrated al-Ghazālī, the champions of Islam’s doctrinal integrity."

The burning of al-Ghazālī’s books still resonated with Ibn ‘Arabī, who relates the following anecdote:

Ibn Ḥamdīn, who was the judge at Cordova, had al-Ghazālī’s books burned and uttered anathemas against him. Sometime later Ibn Ḥamdīn saw al-Ghazālī in a dream with an iron chain in his hand with which he was pulling along a pig. Ibn Ḥamdīn relates that he greeted al-Ghazālī and enquired about the pig. Al-Ghazālī replied that the pig was Ibn Ḥamdīn and that he would remain in his power until he was shown how he had merited his curses."

Ibn ‘Arabī hurled an extraordinary insult at Ibn Ḥamdīn by representing him as a pig. However, the symbol of the pig here does not just represent Ibn ‘Arabī’s disgust with the man. He is implying that Ibn Ḥamdīn’s work is as illicit for Muslims to read as pork is to eat. He also provides the following anecdote about an Andalusian Sufi named Abu ‘Abdallah ibn Zain al-Yabari:

He was from Seville, a man of great merit, much given to the practice of austerities...He devoted himself to the study of the works of al-Ghazālī... One night he was reading the book of Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥamdīn which attacks al-Ghazālī, when he was suddenly struck blind. He immediately

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53 Goodman, 165.
55 Austin, 50-51.
56 Austin, 137.

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prostrated and abased himself, swearing that he would never again read the book. When he had put it away from him God restored his sight to him.\footnote{37}

These two stories are interesting not only because they reveal Ibn ‘Arabī’s own opinions about al-Ghazālī, but also because they imply that he could have been drawing upon a developing mythology about the notorious book burnings. The burnings had only occurred in the previous couple generations, yet already Ibn ‘Arabī and perhaps other Sufis were forging the memory of these events for posterity. Of course, it would be the Sufis whose views would win out in the end, condemning the Malikite jurists to infamy.

The philosophical intricacies of Ibn ‘Arabī’s work and its relation to al-Ghazālī will not be dealt with here. What is important to note is that Ibn ‘Arabī thrived because the Almohads promoted a culture where mystics could freely express their admiration for al-Ghazālī, which was due directly to his influence on their founders.

Conclusion

The political instability of the Taifa period mirrored the situation in the Near East—the Islamic world was fragmenting and facing new military threats, which caused Muslim intellectuals to redefine proper rulership. Furthermore, the Arab ruling class was being replaced by the mawaŷib who looked to their own ancestors for guidance. Thus, when al-Ghazālī’s works reached al-Andalus, they reached a receptive audience whose situation was similar to his. His works gained such popularity, that they were seen as a significant threat by the Almoravids who were attempting to reconsolidate Islamic Iberia both politically and spiritually. However, the Almoravids were dedicated to a Malikite legal tradition seemingly guilty of the criticisms al-Ghazālī cast at all legal scholars who valued external conformity to internal refinement, which was an idea not lost on the mystics and philosophers of the Iberian peninsula who came under increasing persecution. This message also resonated with Ibn Tūmart in North Africa, whose successors quashed the Almoravids and actively promoted al-Ghazālī’s thought. In turn, al-Ghazālī’s work would spark some of the most influential writings produced in al-Andalus. The confluence of al-Ghazālī’s philosophy with the Andalusian environment had repercussions that would influence the world.

“Worldliness” is the common theme that runs throughout Islamic discourses on pious rulership in the period examined here. From Ibn Garcia to the Almohads, internal refinement is a quality necessary in order to be a proper Islamic ruler. Although this idea existed in Islamic Iberia before the introduction of al-Ghazālī’s works there, he gave them the language and the paradigm that they would adopt towards later Islamic rulers—much like Absāl did for Hayy.

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“SOMEDAY WE’LL FIND IT.” AN INSIDE LOOK AT THE MUSIC AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE MUPPET MOVIE

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Introduction – “A Rainbow Connection”

Tradition in any culture helps showcase a group of people’s identity. Whether it is food, music, politics, college football, family rituals, you name it, people are looking to feel appreciated because they associate with a certain group of people. When people within a group break tradition, name-calling, bullying and even physical harming becomes more common, because they do not “fit the norm.” Sadly, these kinds of negative behaviors can cause serious mental and physical damage to those who try to “think outside the box.” Interestingly though, the ones who tend to think creatively are ultimately the ones who bring something new to culture that everyone falls in love with. Steve Jobs changed the world with his personal computer; George Lucas changed the way we look at movies, and Jim Henson brought light into a limited world of family and children’s entertainment outside of Walt Disney’s creations. Jim Henson set out to convey an anti-bullying message with his friendly cast of friends from Sesame Street and The Muppet Show, and he inspired kids like me to keep dreaming, keep believing and do just what you set out to do, even if it is not easy “bein’ green.”

Even though my father passed the tradition of watching The Muppet Movie to me, this message from the 1970s had such an impact even in the 1990s during my childhood, and I am sure I will continue to pass this on to my own kids. So how did a frog, and a pig and a bear and a... a whatever come to steal the hearts of kids like myself in the 1990s and others from the 1980s and 1970s? Hopefully looking at the music of Paul Williams and Kenny Ascher from The Muppet Movie will give us an insight to why their popular music score helped this movie become a National Film Registry member. The music of The Muppet Movie demonstrates how popular music in film can help depict timeless cultural values, even in the setting of one particular decade.

What’s So Special about The Muppet Movie?

With the music from The Muppet Movie presenting an array of popular styles, the film’s music can connect to audiences of all ages at various levels. Before diving into the specifics of the films, it is important to focus on some ideas considering popular film music in general. Kathryn Kalinak writes in her book Film Music: A Very Short Introduction, “The contemporary theorist Michel Chion argues that film needs music because it makes images pliable. Music allows film ‘to wander at will through time and space.’”

She goes on to say, “Film is produced through culture, but it is perceived by individuals.”2 These two short quotes introduce why the music from The Muppet Movie can depict certain emotions throughout the film, and how the audience can embrace the ideas heard and seen on the screen. For example, Kenny Ascher and Paul Williams use melodies from their songs as a part of the score in the film, giving us continuity in time and space, and these melodies also hint at the emotions we felt during the songs as the dialogue occurs between the characters. For example, Ascher uses a short melodic line from “Rainbow Connection” during Kermit’s conversation with himself in the desert scene, and the music reinforces the audience’s feelings for Kermit when he’s sad for letting people down (8:20).3 Ascher also relives Miss Piggy’s emotional high on her date with Kermit at the hotel by using a melody from “Never Before and Never Again” (5:20).4 Observing these two examples of why film music works in this movie, it is necessary to be clear on how popular music affects our outlook on culture and how films that use popular music—in this case, a film musical—help establish a sense of identity in time.

The Muppet Movie can be classified as a “Hollywood musical,” not because the gang of Muppets travels to Hollywood, but because it is a film with musical numbers, as opposed to a stage musical. Given this information, the roles that the music provides in terms of emotional connection and cultural context are evident. Heather Laing writes in her essay, Emotion by the Numbers, “One of the primary roles of music in narrative film is the representation of an emotional level that it would be impossible to convey through the visual or other soundtrack elements.”5 This quote alludes again to why film music works, but it also provides us the fact that in Hollywood musicals every song, every cue and every score element serves a purpose and reiterates emotions to the audience. For these reasons, she also suggests that film music does not rely on self-contained form, much like a symphony or any other art music form that has no visual aid to keep the music from sounding spontaneous or congested. In an opposite light though, within the film musical are songs that rely heavily on form.6

Even in viewing films, audiences need consistency and familiarity with each other and with music, so songs in a movie may be easier to relate to than abstract score samples, since choruses and verses repeat during a given number. This element allows the audience to hear the songs and interpret the lyrics more thoroughly as opposed to focus on the instrumental score elements seen in non-musical films. In his essay, Cinema and Popular Song, Rick Altman discusses these attributes that allow for song to connect with emotions. He says, “Popular song depends on language, and is predictable, singable, rememberable, and physically involving in ways that ‘classical’ music usually is not.”7 Since songs have a central form to them, this allows people to also look at the songs in a film as an outside art form, and in the case of The Muppet Movie, many of the songs gather inspirations from popular traditions during the 1970s, when the film was produced.

3 The Muppet Movie. DVD, directed by James Frawley (1979; Burbank, California: Walt Disney Home Entertainment, 2005), Chapter 8.
4 The Muppet Movie, Chapter 6.

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Popular music at the right place and the right time can lead to emotional and cultural success on screen. *The Muppet Movie* gathers many dramatic and comedic elements to create the tone of the film, so it is difficult to describe the film as either a “serious” or a “funny” film. What other film features a frog, a bear and a pig journeying across the country with a greedy salesman chasing after them, to start their own television show? What other film features an alien from outer space singing a ballad about how he dreams of returning to his homeland? Thankfully, because the film plays to both sides of the spectrum, comments regarding both sides are valuable concerning the popular music and the score. Robb Wright, author of the essay, Score vs. Song, comments on popular music in film and the “proper” usage after discussing certain elements that may appear dated, such as language, clothing and hairstyles. He says, “For dramatic films therefore, it appears that there are significant risks in using popular music rather than score.” After reading what he says about dated material, this quote about the risk of using popular music in dramatic or comedic film would concern any director.

Choosing the right music to connect with the audience plays a factor in how successful a film can be. He goes on to say, “The right song in the right place can be an extremely powerful device, which enables a film to effectively build on the work that the song has already done.” In the substance of the article, it is clear that Wright emphasizes his focus on popular songs in films that are not musicals, but that does not mean musical films cannot apply to this same principle. *The Muppet Movie* with its original songs from a 1970s composer and songwriter demonstrates an excellent example of using the right songs at the right time. Paul Williams had enjoyed so much success with The Carpenters during the 1970s, and he also loved working with Kenny Ascher, so having the two write the music turned out to be a smart move by the production staff. The *Muppet* franchise took a risk by using popular music from this decade in a later film, *Muppets from Space* (1999), and recorded the lowest box-office success of the seven-movie franchise. Sure, the music from the film highlighted some excellent funk tunes from the 1970s, including “Brick House,” “Celebration” and “Shining Star,” and the use of these tunes could have paid homage to the era of *The Muppet Show*, but overall, a late 1990s audience was not going to connect with the film as much as a 1970s audience did with the first film, because the right songs were used at the wrong time.

Up until now this essay has discussed a general sense of why film music works, how musical numbers and cues play to the emotions of audiences in film musicals, and what constitutes popular music’s ability to be successful in film. Using these ideas, the following sections will explore the film in-depth from a musical perspective, not just as a separate art form, but how the music helps carry the narrative and highlight the messages that Jim Henson and his crew set to portray in this masterpiece.

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Musical Features in The Muppet Movie

The score and songs during The Muppet Movie represent a popular style of songwriting from the 1970s, but the placement of cues and song lyrics gives the audience a timeless appreciation. Though some of this material may appear chronological, the point is not to present each musical moment as a “run-down” of the film, going scene by scene and analyzing every detail of the music. Rather, these are key examples that show how the music, both singing and non-singing elements, helps carry the story, and how the music emphasizes the overall themes or messages for audiences to reflect upon.

The film opens with a short introduction at the first screening of The Muppet Movie, in which all of the main characters from the film are watching. The camera starts at the top of the revolving globe and glides down to show the setting: “World Wide Studios.” This first shot features no character appearances until Stuntler and Woldorf (the heckling duo from The Muppet Show) crack the joke about nobody wanting to see this movie in public. Kenny Ascher and Paul Williams, during those forty-five seconds before their appearance, cleverly set up the scene with an “overture-like” cue including eighth notes in the piano and a triumphant brass and woodwind melody (0:27–1:16). How else would you likely start an American musical, other than an overture? Even though Kermit and the gang’s road trip does not start until later, the two composers set up the audience with the same expectations as a stage musical by using this technique in the cue.

After the initial scene filled with nonsense so typical of the Muppets, Kermit sings the most popular song from the film: “Rainbow Connection.” Paul Williams described a few insights to writing this song in an interview for Songfacts saying, “It’s the one that establishes the lead character... how do we show that he’s a thinking frog, and that he has an introspective soul, and all that good stuff?” He goes on to say, “I think the song works because it’s more about questions than answers.” These two quotes are so crucial to the plot and the overtones of the movie. Many scholars and critics have often praised the Muppets for being “believable,” even though they are Muppets, not human beings. In this three-minute song, Williams and Ascher establish that Kermit has been exposed to culture by singing and asking questions about what is going on in the world. Kermit has high hopes, and he is a dreamer. Ascher’s beautiful scoring filled with orchestral strings, banjo, and bass guitar along with Williams’s lyrics send a message to all of us: keep searching, keep dreaming and “someday we’ll find it” (4:37–7:50).

Williams’s comments about this song having more questions than answers add depth for the upcoming plot of the film. With too many answers, the movie is going to be very short, leaving little to learn from our felt friends. For the audience, the lyrics also demonstrate a personal message to our daily lives. With have too many answers about our own future, the need to learn, grow or be molded into the person we become means nothing. Everyone searches for purposes to life, whether immediate or long-term, and this song encourages the audience to keep dreaming and keep asking. “Rainbow Connection” connects the audience to those inspirational thoughts, and it attaches us to the character that wants to make “millions of people happy” after being confronted by the Hollywood agent in his home swamp.

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12 The Muppet Movie, Chapter 1.
13 Wiser, “Songwriter Interviews: Paul Williams.”
14 Wiser, “Songwriter Interviews: Paul Williams.”
15 The Muppet Movie, Chapter 1.
Kenny Ascher’s instrumentation choice also adds to the emotional connection of this song.

The banjo and bass guitar function as a stereotypical “folk sound,” helping establish the swamp setting, but that sound also helps define a sense of “home” for Kermit, as many folk songs and traditions help us establish “home” in our own lives. On the other side are these beautiful violin countermelodies, which can be associated with “art music,” so the instrumentation almost “bridges the gap” between folk and art. With the song connecting to so many people inside and outside of the film, this mix of folk and art music becomes popular to our culture. “Rainbow Connection” along with other songs in the film, address these values of pursuing your dreams, whether it is love for another, such as Ms. Piggy’s ballad “Never Before, Never Again” (6:46–9:16),16 or The Electric Mayhem’s dream to “land that big gig” with their funky rock tune “Can You Picture That?” (3:50–6:10),17 but the film’s music also explores this idea of a journey throughout the story.

The very next scene showing Kermit on the bicycle not only demonstrates great technological achievement, but it also shows us how music can be flexible in time and space. Williams and Ascher again use “folk-like” sounds with harmonica, fiddle and a single snare drum to help the audience see Kermit ride the bicycle from his swamp home into town. Once he reaches civilization, the music changes as well to using more orchestral instruments. In this short clip, the viewers also hear the first of many cues to an upcoming song: “Moving Right Along” (2:57–3:01).18 Ascher and Williams’s utilizing this quote from the upcoming song symbolizes this overall journey throughout the movie as a growing, changing character, not just the trip to Hollywood.

Journey as a concept plays a large role in character development and fuels the music for this film. After meeting Fozzie Bear in the “vaudeville-like” El Sleezo Café, characterized by its stereotypical tango music (3:47–7:49),19 Journey as a concept plays a large role in character development and fuels the music for this film. After meeting Fozzie Bear in the “vaudeville-like” El Sleezo Café, characterized by its stereotypical tango music (3:47–7:49),20 With the fun-filled, nonsensical characters to the hope and joy that many of these songs embody, Jim Henson clearly aimed this movie at “family” audiences, so that everyone could enjoy watching. This song and scene demonstrate how these unforgettable qualities embody the journey and fits into this “family-oriented” genre. A bear and a frog singing about a road trip to Hollywood, while driving a car would be nonsense in every day life, but instead, it has become an enjoyable expectation of films aimed at this audience. American and British societies have been associated with these nonsense traits in literature since the nineteenth century. Michelle Ann Abate’s article, Taking Silliness Seriously, says, “With their unusual appearance and equally bizarre names, many of Henson’s Muppet creatures resemble the fantastical Jabberwockies, Bandersnatches, Sneetches and Zooks found in the work of Caroll and Seuss.”21 With the fun-filled, nonsensical characters to the hope and joy that many of these

16 The Muppet Movie, Chapter 5.
17 The Muppet Movie, Chapter 4.
18 The Muppet Movie, Chapter 2.
19 The Muppet Movie, Chapter 2.
songs embody, Jim Henson clearly aimed this movie at “family” audiences, so that everyone could enjoy watching. This song and scene demonstrate how these unforgettable qualities embody the journey and fits into this “family-oriented” genre. A bear and a frog singing about a road trip to Hollywood, while driving a car would be nonsense in every day life, but instead, it has become an enjoyable expectation of films aimed at this audience. American and British societies have been associated with these nonsense traits in literature since the nineteenth century. Michelle Ann Abate’s article, Taking Silliness Seriously, says, “With their unusual appearance and equally bizarre names, many of Henson’s Muppet creatures resemble the fantastical Jabberwockies, Bandersnatches, Sneetches and Zooks found in the work of Carroll and Seuss.”

Nonsense in this film does not stop at the character’s appearance, though. The lyrics for “Moving Right Along” contain so many nonsense phrases that help the viewers further themselves from reality and deepen their connection to the story and characters. Additionally, Henson’s small group of “misfits” can be seen as minority group to their human counterparts, given the continual persecution of characters like Kermit and Fozzie. Given this mindset, the Muppets moving through space so freely in the film is a huge statement about cultural values in the United States. Richard Dyer writes in an essay concerning race in Hollywood musicals about minority groups being restricted to “entertainment” roles, such as a bandleader or a performer, staying in one space rather than moving freely as a developing character. The Muppets exemplify the exact opposite persona, as they are the main characters traveling across the nation. As a message to families, the song and scene also encourages certain activities such as singing in the car together, dreaming of special places we want to visit, and being generous to help friends.

Songs like “I’m Going to Go Back There Someday,” “Never Before, Never Again,” and “I Hope That Something Better Comes Along,” reveal a deeper perspective on the journey concept. Journey does not always relate to reaching goals, rather it is a search to find a place or a group of people we call “home” or even a search within oneself for personal identity.

Tara Parmiter writes in her essay for Kermit Culture, “This sense of belonging highlights one of the most important philosophies of all the Muppets movies: we will find ourselves when we find our home, and that search for home is the true purpose of our travels.” Miss Piggy’s one “claim to fame” in this film, “Never Before, Never Again,” represents (or stereotypes) not only her femininity but also her satisfaction in her identity through this film. While we find character changes in Kermit, Fozzie and Gonzo, having been hunted down by Doc Hopper and continuing to build their relationships, the dominant female character Miss Piggy never really changes her attitude after falling in love at first sight with Kermit. She even sings, “For me this is the first time and the last. Is this an angel’s wish for men? Never before and never again” (0:22–0:32).

She has made up her mind, and she will not stop at anything to fall into her lover’s arms, even if that means demonstrating her martial arts skills on the villains. Some would argue that Miss Piggy may not need to have dreams like Kermit does, because she already has commercials and beauty pageants lined up to be featured in. One could also argue

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though, as I mentioned earlier, that her journey is pursuing her dream of loving Kermit. Instead, with all of these other distractions, she comes back to Kermit, almost as a last resort as she hitchhikes following her failed commercial session, and her character as well as her dreams never truly develop into anything more than her love for our green friend.

Though it is an opposite reaction of Miss Piggy’s feelings, Rowlf’s solo piano buster, “I Hope That Something Better Comes Along,” depicts a flat journey as a male without a love interest. There is no denying that this song embodies a popular trend throughout many musical genres: male self-pity. After proclaiming his nightly routine of drinking beer and walking to tire himself for rest, Rowlf sings, “You can’t live with ‘em, you can’t live without ‘em. There’s something irresistible about ‘em. We grin and bear it ’cause the nights are long. I hope that something better comes along” (1:33–1:48).25 He has made up his mind that all women have an irresistible quality, but he hopes that something other than a woman comes in his life to take his mind off of life’s stresses. Though he finds a group of friends to associate with and joins in on their travels, his stubbornness does not allow for him to grow into anything better than what he already is. On screen, we have the one connection between Rowlf and Miss Piggy during the hitchhiking scene, and in the background (or on the car radio) we hear a slow swing trumpet version of Rowlf’s song (1:50–3:00).26 These two characters show us a few things about gender roles, given the circumstances. However, this is not a 1950s sitcom or variety show, featuring the standard false reality of Mom cooking in the home and Dad reading the newspaper with a pipe after dinner in Leave it to Beaver. Instead, an established woman hitchhikes to fall back into her lover’s arms, and a struggling male musician tries to make ends meet, relying on alcohol and self-pity to keep his sanity level. Is that “family” entertainment? Is that material to expose to children? Given these two examples, the journey does not always mean, “I am going to do that someday!” Sometimes it is a need for a character to be comfortable about his or her identity, and other times the journey stretches into searching for “home,” such as Gonzos’s beautiful ballad, “I’m Going to Go Back There Someday.”

The new car breaks down in the middle of the desert the night before the audition, and it seems as though Kermit is not going to become “rich and famous.” The only incident to make this scene more miserable would have been some rain, and after the last song, “I Hope that Something Better Comes Along,” one could assume Gonzos might start singing about how miserable life can be when goals seem unattainable. Instead, our blue friend sings a song wishing to go back “home” to the stars (5:00–7:36).27 On a side note, Gonzos does not officially find out he is from outer space until the film Muppets from Space, but provided the lyrics to this song, everyone can assume he is not from this world. Fozzie strums his guitar, and Rowlf blows his harmonica to introduce this song, reminding us again of this “folk sound” associated with “home” for Kermit and the other characters. Gonzos sings, “Come and go with me, it’s more fun to share. We’ll both be completely at home in midair. We’re flyin’, not walkin’, on featherless wings. We can hold on to love like invisible strings” (1:15–1:45).28 The song may allude to the idea of pursuing dreams, but the main focus here is Gonzos wishing he could find his way home, because that would be so much better than sitting in misery, being stuck in the desert. One review says about Gonzos singing this song, “Gonzos’s now more

26 The Muppet Movie, Chapter 8.
27 The Muppet Movie, Chapter 8.

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than the blue puppet from space... He's something else, he's some of us; still here, still weird, and still wondering what's out there and still blue."

Do we not find ourselves wondering the same things? I just want to go home. I am so weird, why would anybody want to fall in love with me? What happens if I fail? Luckily, Gonzo provides the audience with hope in this song by saying that he is going to go back; he is not going to give up; he wants us to come with him; he is going to be okay with who he is, and he will find home, someday. Eventually, the Muppets band together to become a family, giving everyone a sense of security, an element of feeling at home in their new habitat: Hollywood.

After examining many of the songs and some of the score elements of The Muppet Movie, Paul Williams and Kenny Ascher composed a soundtrack worthy of high recognition, adding popular and "classical" elements to grab the hearts of audiences everywhere. Before concluding this essay, it is important to understand some of the ways the movie and the music continue to live their legacies, even after thirty years since the theatrical release.

**What legacy does this movie leave?**

With the Muppet franchise spanning over four decades now, the legacy of this movie will continue to remain in the homes of many family traditions, including my own. In particular, since the film was aimed for people of all ages to enjoy, especially children, the experience of the movie on television is a way that the movie will continue to live on for generations as long as we allow it to. Karen Lury's essay on popular music in children's television explores the relationship between children's experience with television and their tastes in popular music. She says, "The experience of television is understood as entwined with this 'evolution' of musical taste." If we continue to show The Muppet Movie DVD to our children, not only will they enjoy the nonsensical elements, but also their tastes in "popular music" may extend past the current "top forty" songs on the radio. Lury also discusses that the television is a private experience within the safety of the home, so there are more opportunities to experience the television with more activity, such as dancing along to the songs. The more children actively participate in the viewing experience, the more likely they will remember the amount of fun they are having and the material they are learning. Lury's article focuses on television shows as opposed to movies, but since this film is no longer being shown in theatres, watching the DVD on television is the closest venue to exposing this movie's legacy to upcoming generations.

While many of the values and visual experiences of this movie start in the home, there is opportunity for musicians and educators to pass on the recurring messages from the film to audiences and students. Many artists have covered songs from The Muppet Show and The Muppet Movie, including "Rainbow Connection" and "Bein' Green." Musicians are always striving for authenticity in performance, but many are also striving to realize their own voices, so covering these songs is a way to convey the messages underneath to new listeners. Live performances and recordings of these covered songs can create a much stronger connection between the musicians and listeners with convincing interpretations. Educators also play a large role in relaying these values into the youth of this nation. Julie Maudlin writes in her essay for Kermit Culture, "Like Henson, I always have been, and always will be a dreamer..."

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31 Lury, "Chewing Gum for the Ears," 299.
I believe that imagination is the only way to find ‘more vibrant ways’ of being, doing, and teaching.” Not just music teachers, but all teachers carry the legacy of these messages within Williams and Ascher’s music by continuing to dream and pursue their highest educational potential. Savvy teachers carry the legacy of this film by relaying these messages to students, even in the face of adversity and persecution, in order to better this next generation. Gender, race, search for home, journeying and dreaming are all subjects from this film and its music to implement into curriculum and mentoring. Yes, this may be the formal way of inspiring new generations to experience the film and the music, but the messages are timeless values to our culture, so it is important to expose students of all ages to these issues.

Conclusion—“The Magic Store”

On November 23, 2011, Walt Disney Pictures released The Muppets as a new adventure for Kermit, Fozzie, Gonzo and Miss Piggy to gain popularity with audiences in today’s culture of high speed chases, scandals and epic battles highlighting American cinemas. A new generation brought new styles of music that work for today’s audiences, and like the original, the movie uses the right music at the right time, allowing for financial and musical success. If you have made it this far into the paper, you may be thinking to yourself, what else can have to talk about? I get it, The Muppet Movie and its music show us timeless values in our culture.

The Muppet Movie with its “socially redeeming value” exemplifies how one film can influence generations of people through singing and performing. Nearly three decades have passed before this latest film has brought back some of the same “magic” qualities that the reviewers loved about the original. James Bobin’s film direction and Christopher Beck’s original music finally brought back some of the traditions including witty humor, memorable melodies and nonsensical lyrics with songs such as “Pictures in My Head,” “Are You a Man or a Muppet?” and the “The Whistling Caruso,”*4 that fans have been dying to relive since “Rainbow Connection,” “Moving Right Along,” and “I’m Going to Go Back There Someday,” hit the big screen. The Muppets shows us how the legacy of The Muppet Movie continues to grab audience’s hearts now and hopefully forever, therefore promoting a timeless appreciation of Jim Henson, Paul Williams and Kenny Ascher’s masterpiece of a movie and soundtrack. The journey certainly does not stop here, even if the Muppets do not remain an icon in American “family” entertainment forever. Yes, the Muppets have established a tradition that people do not like to veer far away from, but they also continue to inspire us to keep our hopes alive for the future, and to try new experiences along the everlasting, ever-changing journey. “Someday, we’ll find it,” and together, we can build a better tomorrow at “The Magic Store,” can you picture that?

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VIKING WOMEN IN THE ISLE OF MAN

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The gender roles of important women in the Viking controlled Isle of Man has never been studied before. This is an exceptional case as women were not normally so influential in the Middle Ages, especially in Viking controlled regions. By examining memorial stones, burial goods, and their excavated skeletal remains, certain facts about Viking women's life in Medieval Manx society can be discerned. The visual remains of the Viking period in Mann, covering the ninth to thirteenth centuries, emphasizes the influence of women, confirming their importance in the kingdom's language, society, and religion.

The Isle of Man is situated in the Irish Sea at the geographical center of the British Isles. 1 The native Manx were Gaelic speaking Celts, connected with Ireland, Dal Riata, and Wales. 2 In the late ninth century Vikings raided and began to settle on the island. 3 Archaeological remains substantiate the assimilation of the native Manx with Viking settlers.

Graves laid out according to the pagan ritual of the first Viking settlers included a rich variety of grave goods. These burials were probably of first generation Vikings raised in Norway and practiced their burial rites. At Ballateare, on the northwest side of the island, is an isolated burial mound by Jurby. 4 Excavation revealed a warrior's skeleton with a broken sword inlaid with silver, bronze and copper wire of Norwegian origin. 5 The sword and a shield were purposely broken and rendered useless, 6 which is a Viking practice. The top of the grave mound was sprinkled with the remains of a sacrificed canine. 7 The layer below revealed a female skeleton whose skull was slashed and whose body was found in an unnatural position, indicating that she was also a sacrificial victim. 8

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1 See image 1.
4 Wilson, The Vikings in the Isle of Man, 28-36.
6 Wilson, The Viking Age in the Isle of Man: The Archaeological Evidence, 26; Wilson, The Vikings in the Isle of Man, 30, 34; Bersu and Wilson, Three Viking Graves in the Isle of Man, 47-8, 59-61.
7 Wilson, The Vikings in the Isle of Man, 28, 34-5.
8 Wilson, The Viking Age in the Isle of Man: The Archaeological Evidence, 26; Wilson, The Vikings in the Isle of Man, 28-9, 32-4; Bersu and Wilson, Three Viking Graves in the Isle of Man, 47-8, 50.

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Many women were taken as slaves in Viking raids; they were definitely involved in human trafficking with Ireland and the Hebrides as a major supply source.⁹ The woman discovered at Ballatare is recognized as a sacrificed slave from the earliest Viking settlements in Mann.¹⁰

The most noticeable evidence of Viking-Manx assimilation can be seen on the many stone cross memorial slabs that are found throughout the island.¹¹ Some cross slabs have inscriptions, which include the name of the remembered dead, and often the surviving relatives. Norse names appear frequently on the stones, but many Celtic names are also found. There are twenty-three Norse names and seventeen Gaelic and Non-Norse names found on the stones.¹² This implies that the natives and the settlers lived alongside each other peacefully, and that Manx natives also held positions of power. A cross slab in Kirk Braddan was inscribed with runes reading “Thorleif Hnaakki erected this cross to the memory of Fiac his son”.¹³ The father’s name is clearly Norse, while the son, Fiac, has a Celtic name,¹⁴ indicating the intermarriage and assimilation of the native Gaelic culture with the Viking settlers.

At least eight women were commemorated in runic inscription on the stones, indicating respect shown by their loved one. A couple women were mothers, one was a daughter, and another was a man's brother's wife.¹⁷ The foster-son, foster-mother, father all have Gaelic

¹⁰ See image 2.
¹¹ Wilson, *The Vikings in the Isle of Man*, 57; Kermode, Manx Crosses, (1907; reprint, Bal- gavies, Angus: Pinkfoot Press, 1994), 1; A. M. Cubbon, *The Art of the Manx Crosses*, 3rd ed. (1983; Douglas: Manx National Heritage, 1996), 3-4. These crosses can be viewed today at various parish churchyards, inside churches, covered buildings of the parish, and at the Manx Museum (I have viewed all of them at each of the various sites). See image 3.
¹⁴ Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, 89, 90-95, 205; Cubbon, *The Art of the Manx Crosses*, 38; Wilson, *The Vikings in the Isle of Man*, 77.
names, yet the commemorated woman was married to a man with a Norse name. The Norse grammar on the cross was erroneous in much of its syntax, which may have been a corruption of the language by the native relatives, since it was not their normal language. The native women may have been forced into marriage, yet this seems unlikely, especially by the second generation of settlers where the women’s Gaelic Manx culture is predominant. Archaeological evidence indicates affection was shown in the relationships. Integration was reasonably attained and continued increasingly through the Viking Age.

Female burials also reveal women of high status. In the late tenth century female skeleton was excavated in 1984 on St. Patrick’s Island, near Peel. The woman was middle-aged and must have held high status as the grave held valuable grave goods displayed in a pagan fashion. The woman was buried in a lintel grave of native Christian type. She was dressed in a native wool dress, a woven sash, and a head covering. Feathers were discovered near the skull showing that her head rested on a pillow. Household goods were placed with her: an iron roasting spit, cooking herbs, two needles, cords, shears, a mortar and pestle made of limestone and ammonite, and three knives. Two of the knives were decorated with inlaid silver wire.

The grave also contained two personal items: an antler comb and a rare necklace. The necklace has 73 beads of colored glass, amber for the Baltic, and Whitby jet. Some of the beads were even 300 years old at the time this wealth lady wore them. This is the richest Viking age female grave outside of Scandinavia. The necklace, itself, caused discussion to reevaluate the woman’s role in Viking Age society. It was common for men to be buried with so many high-status goods; the fact that this lady was buried in a similar way, indicates that some women on the island held stature in the island that may have been on par with the Viking chieftains.

The grave goods clearly show a pagan style of burial, however, it lacked distinctive Viking jewelry such as brooches and she was dressed in native attire (this is the same of all Manx female burials of the time). This lady is believed to be a native Christian buried in pagan fashion by her relatives. There is good reason to believe this theory as the area was a Christian burial site for an Irish monastic site at this time, with lintel graves, lack of many grave goods, Gaelic clothing, and all graves were facing East as in Christian tradition. The monks controlled the funeral site, but relatives held on to old traditions. In fact, none of the other burials with grave goods in this cemetery had a strong pagan influence. She was probably a member of a wealthy family in the first or second generation of settlers, of mixed ethnic origin. Scandinavian parallels show that similar burials found in churchyards were at least nominally Christian.

18 Kermode, Manx Crosses, 90-5; Jones, “Early Medieval Manx Names.”
19 David Freke, Excavations on St Patrick’s Isle, Peel, Isle of Man 1982-88 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 66-73.
20 Wilson, The Vikings in the Isle of Man, 48; Freke, Excavations on St Patrick’s Isle, 66-8.
21 Wilson, The Vikings in the Isle of Man, 48; Freke, Excavations on St Patrick’s Isle, 73.
22 Wilson, The Vikings in the Isle of Man, 48-9; Freke, Excavations on St Patrick’s Isle, 73.
23 Wilson, The Vikings in the Isle of Man, 49; Freke, Excavations on St Patrick’s Isle, 73.
24 See image 6.
25 Wilson, The Vikings in the Isle of Man, 47-8. Neil S. Price, The Viking Way: religion and war in late Iron Age Scandinavia (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2002), 160. Price suggested that this lady was a Viking seer and that the iron roasting spit was a seer’s staff. There are too many grave goods that indicate a high status married woman such as all the domestic items that Price’s proposal is very difficult to support.
26 Freke, Excavations on St Patrick’s Isle, 66-8.
27 Wilson, The Vikings in the Isle of Man, 50.

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In 1079, Godred Crovan established a Viking kingdom in the Isle of Man that lasted until 1256.\textsuperscript{28} Godred brought many changes to the religious customs of Mann, shifting former traditions from a tribal Gaelic basis to the parochial and diocesan system of the Roman Church by creating the foundation of an ecclesiastical system and a diocesan episcopacy. His son, Olaf I, the second King of Man, founded a Savigniac monastery called Rushen in 1134 on the Isle of Man Olaf I.\textsuperscript{29} Rushen Abbey was the burial site of the royal family,\textsuperscript{30} in particular, the north transept of the abbey church.

Skeleton remains in the north transept were discovered buried in a common grave.\textsuperscript{31} Three female skeletons were found with the same genetic deformity on their skulls.\textsuperscript{32} An interesting point is that the three females were buried in a Cistercian church. The Cistercians did not ordinarily allow women, even dead, within their church. These women must have been the family of a considerable patron or founder to be interred there. The grave is currently thought to belong to Olaf I, the founder of Rushen, and his close family.\textsuperscript{33} He was assassinated by his nephews,\textsuperscript{34} and to secure the throne the usurpers would have tried to dispatch the entire family.

The Cistercians of Rushen were connected with the Cistercian nunnery established at Douglas, in the early thirteenth century. The sparse historical sources on the island and the dilapidated ruins make the early history of the nunnery nearly impossible to interpret. A grave stone found on the nunnery’s grounds indicates the burial of a nun, named Cartesmunda, in 1230.\textsuperscript{35} The nunnery is first mentioned in literary sources in 1313, when Robert Bruce imposed upon the hospitality of the nuns at Douglas on May 18th before attacking Castle Rushen the following day.\textsuperscript{36} The prioress was a baroness of the Isle, holding courts in her own name, and having considerable temporal authority in the island.\textsuperscript{37} Her authority on

\textsuperscript{28} Chronicle of Man, f. 33v - f. 33r, f. 50r.
\textsuperscript{29} Chronicle of Man, f. 35v.
\textsuperscript{32} Cubbon, Rushen Abbey, Isle of Man: A short sketch, 8-14; Davey, Rushen Abbey: First Archaeological Report, 64-5.
\textsuperscript{33} Davey, Rushen Abbey: First Archaeological Report, 34, 64: the remains were carbon dated to approximately 1160; King Olaf died just before in 1153.
\textsuperscript{34} Chronicle of Man, f. 36r - 36v. The coup did not prevail as Godred II, Olaf’s son, was in Norway at the time. [Chronicle of Man, f. 36r-v.]
\textsuperscript{35} The monks probably collected the bodies of the slain from the Tynwald site and interred them within the north transept of the abbey church. However, it is not known whether the grave site was part of the abbey church at that time, as the abbey was enlarged in 1192.
\textsuperscript{36} [Joseph G. Cumming, “Notes on Rushen Abbey in the Isle of Man” in Archaeologia Cambrensis Vol. XII, 3rd Series, no. XLVIII (1866), 434.]
\textsuperscript{38} Chronicle of Man, f. 50 r.
\textsuperscript{39} “Cox’s Magna Britannia,” in William Harrison, The Old Historians of the Isle of Man, Manx Society 18 (Douglas: Manx Society, 1871), 88. [From Thomas Cox, Magna Britannia et Hibernia, antiqua et Nova, 6 vols. (London, 1720-31).]

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island increased as shown by a charter of Manx people in 1408 against the claim of Sir Stephen Lestrop to be Lord of the Island. The charter names the most influential people on Mann, the bishop of Sodor, the abbot of Rushen, the archdeacon of Man, and the prioress of Douglas, Christina.

The prioress of Douglas was not the only woman to hold political power in the Isle of Man, but she was the most influential being a landed baroness. Other free women could, since the early Viking days, take part in Tynwald, the national assembly on Mann. Tynwald was similar to the Scandinavian thingvellir, resolving disputes and promulgating laws. The language of the Chronicle of Man makes certain that all free people, not only men, had the right to participate at Tynwald. The chronicle states on folio 40 verso omni mannensi populo and folio 45 recto totius Mannensis populi.

After the initial Viking contact in the ninth century, women gained influence on the Isle of Man. The Viking males married native Gaelic Manx women which quickly assimilated the two cultures, with the native culture of the women dominating the everyday life on the island. This is proven most by the easy conversion of Vikings to Christianity and by the continued use of Gaelic names and language. As presented, women influenced and held great positions of power during the Viking Age on the Isle of Man.

When the Viking Kingdom of the Crovan dynasty (1079-1265) was taken over alternately by the English and Scottish, Lady Affrica de Conaught as the closest direct ancestor of Magnus, the last King of Man, became the ruler of Man in 1293. Thus even at the end of the second Viking age in Mann, women were not seen as second class citizens. The Manx people approved of a woman in control of the island then, as they still do, since Queen Elizabeth II is, now, Lord of Man.

Figures —

Figure 1. Map of UK, with red circle indicating Isle of Man.

39 *Chronicle of Man*, f. 40v and f. 45r
Figure 2. Skull of a sacrificed woman at the Jurby burial mound.

Figure 3. Stone memorial crosses in parish at Kirk Bruddan.

Figure 4. Thorleif’s Cross, Manx Museum No. 135.
Figure 5. Sandulf’s Cross, Manx Museum No. 131.

Figure 6. “Pagan Lady’s” necklace
Castle Rushen
Valerie D. Hampton
Department of History
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The Heroine’s Journey
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*Ghost2*

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Castle Rushen

The picture features Castle Rushen, the royal seat of the Kingdom of Man on the Isle of Man, UK, during the 12th-15th centuries. The Isle of Man is also home to the internationally renown TT races. The motorcyclist rounding the curve of Castle Rushen links a "modern knight" on mount with armor in a very historic setting.

A Heroine's Journey

My current research focuses on representations of gender in contemporary literature and visual culture, with a particular emphasis on feminist criticism. Furthermore, I am interested in the ways in which ancient mythology, fairy tales, and folklore have shaped—and continue to shape—societal ideals about normative gendered behavior. While some myth critics profess the benefits of framing one's life in terms of a grand narrative—an archetypal "hero's journey"—feminist critics and queer theorists argue that these sweeping narratives can be damaging to people of all genders by forcing them into limiting social scripts. Much of my recent research has explored the question of whether or not there can be such a thing as a "feminist hero's journey," a type of storytelling that reconciles the problematic epic/quest trajectory with more feminist values. In these images, I am attempting to juxtapose several thematic tensions that emerge out of this work.

Ghost2

I’m a ghost; unseen, unheard, untie me
Untimely demise, one word describes me
Damaged; a phantom I float over rhythm
Vanish in thin air and reappear like apparitions
I’m at the mercy of a vengeful god, a lost soul
I float alone unnoticed in this city of ghosts
Those kids all thought they knew me so I tried to fit the mold
But conformity’s a fake ID and loneliness is cold

Rug Fixers (Cover)

1800s Orientalists inspired paintings showing the humble daily life of a rug fixer's family with the father, head of the household, doing his job of fixing rugs for living along with his sons whom are helping him, and their sister feeding the pigeons. Notice the simple tools used in this job, the needle and thread in this case, and other household supplies, like the jar and cups, and the "Nirgilla", a hose hooked to a pipe like jar that is used as a tobacco smoking pipe.
NOT TO BE: MODALITY WITHOUT POSSIBLE WORLDS

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For many with broadly Aristotelian intuitions the Humean usurpation of work in philosophy is a frustrating landscape. This is most obviously demonstrated in the arena of the metaphysics of modality, and talk of “possible worlds” specifically. Famously, the Humean denial of necessary connections in the world has led to the most strongly defended thesis on modality to date: the extreme modal realism (EMR) of David Lewis. *Pace* Lewis, actualism ought to be the preferred position, but whose version, which actuality? The thrust of this paper shall be to argue that the truth makers, or grounding, for modal claims are not to be found in possible worlds. We need to be, in the terms of Gabriele Contessa, hard-core rather than soft-core actualists. Such is to take possible worlds as, at most, a useful formal device in modal logic but to have little, if anything, to do with the metaphysics of modality. If a direct actualist account of the grounds for modal claims can be provided, then, *ceteris paribus*, it is to be preferred. One can see this as the ambition of the so-called new actualists, who deftly avoid the Scylla of Quinean skepticism to modality and the Charybdis of Lewisian EMR. The focus of this paper is on the truthmakers of modal facts and the neo-Aristotelian solution: essences and properties. It is a rather common sense view. This solution allows us to remove “possible worlds” from our ontology as a needless clutter and, given that Hume is simply wrong about necessary connections in the world, causal powers can be sufficient for grounding the truths of modal metaphysical claims.

Motivation for Possible Worlds

Perhaps one is impressed by the vast array of modal locutions employed in everyday discourse. After all, “I might have been six feet tall”, “Possibly, there are alien civilizations”, and, “If the Germans had won the war we would all be speaking German” seem to be true statements, expressing true propositions. Alethic, truth-ascribing, modal language plays a large role in our lives, often dictating our courses of action; realism seems paramount. Clarification of modal discourse, then, is called for and Kripke gave us just that with models for a formal semantics of modality. Here we have the notion of possible worlds, and the objects they contain, to fill the role of explaining the modal primitives: possibility and necessity. If we want a complete description of reality we need to countenance the ways things could have been in toto. Possible worlds give us a way to speak about what might have been and what must be, and in a way that allows us to drop the primitive operators ◊ and ◯ by simple first order quantification over worlds and objects with our well-understood ∀ and ∃ logical operators. The thought is that, only when we have a complete, categorical description of not only the goings on in the actual world but also the various possible worlds have we determined

1 As Jonathan Jacobs put it, “It is the view that, pre-theoretically, just seems right. We tend to think of ourselves and the world around us, it seems, in a way reminiscent of the old Batman television series. It’s not just Batman’s fist constantly conjoined in a loose and separate way with criminals falling down. There’s also the biffs and bangs, or if you prefer a technical term, the causal oomphs” [12], 7.
what is necessarily true, possibly true, or contingently true. Hence, given the Liebnizian bi-
conditionals, we can quantify over worlds:

◊ Possibility: A proposition is possible if and only if it is true in some possible world. A being
is possible if and only if it exists in some possible world, i.e. ◊x ⇔ ∃w1
Exw1.

Contingency: A proposition is contingently true if and only if it is true in this world and false
in another world. A proposition is contingent if its contrary does not imply a contradiction, i.e.
x is contingent ⇔ ∃w* & ¬ ∃w1 [Exw* & ¬ Exw1].

□ Necessity: A proposition is necessarily true if and only if it is true in every possible world,
i.e. □ x ⇔ ∀w Exw.

Impossibility: A proposition is impossible if and only if it is not true in any possible world,
i.e. x is impossible ⇔ ¬ ∀w Exw.

These bi-conditionals are inter-definable so that given only possibility (or necessity) we can
derive all other modal terms. Kripke incorporated these bi-conditionals into his model theory
for modal logic and the metaphysicians took the bait. As Michael Loux puts it,

If we are to make sense of the various modal systems, we have to suppose
that in some sense there really are possible worlds other than our own and
that in some sense there really are possible objects not found in the actual
world.

So it might seem that we are committed to worlds in a way, reminiscent of good Quinean dogma,
that our best theories commit us.

There are further reasons to desire possible worlds, beyond the semantics. As Plantinga points out the notion of possible worlds (and their objects) have allowed us to elucidate
the nature of propositions, properties, sets, counterfactuals, the function of names, causality,
and perhaps even perplexing theological issues such as the ontological argument and the problem of evil. Perhaps it is the case that when we wonder whether some fact is possible it only
seems to be a local fact when indeed it is a global fact, one about the (actual) world as a
whole. Thus, when we say, “The Red Sox might have beaten the Yankees” we don’t mean just
facts about the pitcher, or the coach, such that it is logically possible that the (actual) world is
different; rather, we mean that there is some world very much like ours such that, in it, the
Yankees lost. This might mean that the history of the worlds remain the same until then, the
laws of nature are identical, etc. Thus, in order to do justice to the possibility, we need global

The explanation of counterfactuals is particularly promising: X o→ Y, read as “if it were
that X it would be that Y” if in the closest possible worlds where X obtains Y also obtains.
So if X were “Nixon pushes the button” and Y is “nuclear war occurs”, then the counterfactual
is true just in case in all the nearby worlds where Nixon pushes the button nuclear war occurs.
For the Lewisian/Humean, when our quantifiers are unrestricted, there are worlds where
the war does not occur even though the button is pushed. However, for Lewis, we are only
cconcerned with the worlds most closely resembling the actual* world (that is, our world).

[20], 29, emphasis mine.
[4] Properties for Lewis are simply sets of worlds, and likewise for propositions.
[5] The explanation of counterfactuals is particularly promising: X o→ Y, read as “if it were
that X it would be that Y” if in the closest possible worlds where X obtains Y also obtains.
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For the Lewisian/Humean, when our quantifiers are unrestricted, there are worlds where
the war does not occur even though the button is pushed. However, for Lewis, we are only
cconcerned with the worlds most closely resembling the actual* world (that is, our world).

[27], 253.
(and, hence, possible worldly) possibility. On this view, then, the truthmakers we seek for aetetic modal claims are not (just) objects in the actual concrete world we know and love, but (also and for the most part) whole distinct possible worlds.

World Options

There are, generally, two competing theories of possible worlds (with outliers). These theories agree that the modal semantics requires worlds but disagree on the metaphysics of the worlds. Just what are these possible worlds and what is going on in them? Neo-Humean David Lewis is refreshingly clear on what he holds. His is an extreme realism: there really do exist simpliciter a plurality of other worlds, they are ontologically on par with ours (the actual world), they are isolated (in no way spatiotemporally connected), they are merely possible (but, at their own world, are actual), and there is a plenitude of them (for any way the actual world could be, or any part of the actual world, there is a possible world or part of a world that is that way). Possibility and necessity, then, are accounted for via counter-part relations between worlds and worldmates. That is, given that worlds are spatiotemporally isolated there cannot be identity across worlds, so we have worldmates (objects that are spatiotemporally related) that stand in counterpart relations with other worldly objects such that X is possibly Y just in case X has a counterpart X* in a possible world and X* is Y. The plenitude of possibilities is assured, given that the Humean doctrine of independence (the denial of necessary connections) is in play. Roughly, as Lewis puts it, the idea is that “anything can coexist with anything else, at least provided they occupy distinct spatiotemporal positions. Likewise, anything can fail to coexist with anything else.” Thus, at least seemingly, we arrive at a true infinity (though, perhaps not a set) of possible worlds instantiating every conceivable possibility.

Lewis touts this as a full-blooded reductive account of modality, such that these worlds and the relations they bear to each other (and the counterpart relations) do not rely on primitive modality for explication of modal intuitions. There is a main contender, though, in the form of Platonistic theories. Here the most developed are those of Alvin Plantinga and

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7 Of course, I am skeptical that this is indeed what we mean. Are we not just imagining a way that our world could have gone, rather than the way some possible world did go? And that seems to depend on the ways our world is already, or was, or will be.
8 See Divers [9], especially the first three chapters, for more on this and Melia [22] chapter 1.
9 [18], especially sections 1.1 and 1.5-1.9.
10 And Lewis wonders why Stalnaker calls his views “extreme”.
11 Ibid, 71.
12 Ibid, 88. Now, one ought to worry that already Lewis is sneaking in primitive modality here. After all, as Kit Fine or E. J. Lowe would be quick to point out, is it not a necessary fact that two material objects cannot co-locate? And is this not a fact dependent upon the things themselves, not upon the makeup of logical space? So, essences seem to be doing some work here.
13 As Lewis remarked in Counterfactuals, “If an argument is wanted, it is this... there are many ways things could have been besides the way they actually are. On the face of it, this sentence is an existential quantification. It says that there exist many entities of a certain description, to wit ‘ways things could have been’. I believe that things could have been countless different ways; I believe permissible paraphrases of what I believe; taking the paraphrase at face value, I therefore believe in the existence of entities that might be called ‘ways things could have been’. I prefer to call them ‘possible worlds’.” [17], 182.
14 Lewis takes this as a significant theoretical advantage of his theory of those of Ersatzists.
Robert Adams. These actualists (or as I will call them, soft-core actualists) take the actual world to be all there is; there are no merely possible worlds. Possible worlds are abstract objects actually existing (as opposed to Lewis’ concrete merely possibly existing worlds). These abstract worlds are usually taken to be maximally consistent sets of propositions, or states of affairs, or some such suitable Platonic entity. I shall focus on Adam’s account of propositions, for simplicity. Worlds, for Adams, are maximally consistent sets of propositions such that the true propositions relate to the actual world and represent possibilities. Hence the name ersatzist: something abstract is standing in for something concrete as the truthmaker for modality. Notice that on this view the actual world is abstract: it is a set of propositions that is actualized into a concrete reality (you, me, etc). That is, possible worlds are akin to blue-prints for the universe, where the true propositions represent possible ways concreta in the actualized world might be. The absolutely maximal set of true propositions just is the actual world, the set that is actualized.

One might wonder what this representation relation between possible worlds and the actual world might amount to, but this must be taken as primitive. Indeed, one should wonder at how it is that any possible world, ersatzist or otherwise, manages to represent actual possibilities. Platonic theories look a bit out of this world. Perhaps one should rather deny allegiance to either of these approaches and, rather, reap the benefits of their theoretical pay-offs. This is the move of fictionalism. Fictionalism concerning possible worlds finds, perhaps, its best defense in Theodore Sider’s work; but if fictionalism can be avoided then so much the better. It is not entirely clear just what the fictionalist hopes to gain from their elaborate story telling other than simply that: an elaborate, yet false, story. If it is meant to elucidate our modal concepts then perhaps it can to some extent, but it does nothing to answer the pressing question of modal truthmakers. Gideon Rosen so much as admits this, when he contends that the position forces us to revise our patterns of modal concern. If we are consigned to speaking about worlds while not believing in them, then why not simply abandon worlds altogether and search for a genuine grounding of alethic modality? If worlds are no help to extreme modal realism (EMR), then they will be no help to the Fictionalist.

The Rejection of Worlds

It would seem that the obsession with the Leibnizian bi-conditionals has gone to extremes. What began as an innocent suggestion by Kripke, to take “worlds” as the “objects” of the semantics, has led to a veritable Cold-War arms race for the metaphysics of these worlds. As Loux admits, then brushes aside, nothing in the semantics commits us to entities such as possible worlds with possible objects. The whole picture is backwards: why are we starting with semantics and then building an ontology? Why assume that the correct ontology could be read off of our semantics? This is wrong-headed; rather, begin with ontology, with the foundational metaphysics, as E.J. Lowe would put it, and then build a semantics for modality.

There are several general concerns with EMR, too many to be fully examined here. It is not clear just how reductive the account is; as William Lycan has pointed out Lewis refuses,

15 See Lewis [18], 182 for a criticism of this representation relation.
16 Aside from the obvious issues with fictionalism, Sider’s version fails to save bivalence and seems to be lacking in ability to ground modal truths. See Sider, [32], page 295 and Pruss, [29], pages 147-155 for more.
17 Perhaps one could make the case that fictionalism does answer the truthmaker challenge precisely by showing that all modal discourse is a useful fiction. This, however, is borderline modal nihilism and ought to be avoided where possible.
19 See [5], page 25, footnote 12.
by fiat, to countenance impossible worlds.\textsuperscript{20} EMR is then at a disadvantage compared to the Ersatzist, who can easily countenance impossible worlds: they are worlds with falsities, that is, they are not maximally consistent. But EMR must rule out these: there are no actual impossibilities and, since each world is indexically actual, worlds rule out impossibilities. Worlds for Lewis are just, simply, possible worlds and as such are modally primitive. The irony is that Lewis rules out impossible worlds so as to avoid primitive modality: with impossible worlds we would need to restrict our quantifiers so as not to quantify over impossibilities, but this is merely more primitive modality. So EMR loses some of its theoretical virtue. The alternative to denial, however, is to accept indexically actual impossible worlds. Takashi Yagisawa has recently argued for this as a natural extension of the Lewisian framework and, if correct, the Lewisian must quantify over impossible worlds and over differing logical spaces.\textsuperscript{21} In brief, contradictions are impossible, therefore we should countenance impossible worlds.

If this is a natural extension of the EMR framework, then this is no virtue. Impossibility worlds are notoriously ill behaved (and one should expect that, they are impossible after all). Such worlds are a gateway to explosion: \textit{ex falso, quodlibet!}\textsuperscript{22} There would be an infinity of logical spaces and thus the Lewisian ontology becomes even more bloated.

Possible worlds themselves are problematic. It is rather strange indeed to think that it is worlds, of any kind, doing the modal work for us. What if there were only 18 worlds and each world contained stars, would stars suddenly become necessary existents? Or only one world? In which case everything would become metaphysically necessary. The point being that possible worlds are an ad hoc stipulation and have nothing to do with the metaphysics of modality (do we really believe that simply having more worlds alleviates the problem?). It is highly plausible that many have, as Michael Jubien puts is, “fallen under the spell” of the word “possible” in possible worlds.\textsuperscript{23}

Worlds are not even relevant to our notions of possibility and necessity. What, after all, do entirely detached realms offer? If we remove the word “possible” from possible worlds and just see them as potential worlds, other realms, then quite simply they seem to be aspects of the one actual world and have nothing whatsoever to do with modality. Counterpart theory is a case in point. The counterpart of Humphrey is supposed to represent of him that he won the election against Nixon. How is it that Humphrey’s counterpart represents Humphrey? It cannot be, as Lewis holds, simply because of similarity relations given that representation is not, after all, a matter of similarity. Intentionality is needed for representation.\textsuperscript{24} Thus a legate or an ambassador represents because they are intended to do so, or a carved statue of David represents David, not because it is similar to him (which is difficult enough to determine), but because it is intended to represent him. A flower petal could represent a planet in a film where flowers are solar systems, but this does not mean that a flower petal could be a planet (or a planet a flower petal); only that it was intended to represent one. Hence, just what relevance worlds have for grounding the metaphysics of modality is mysterious. If Kripke is correct that origins are essential (asume for argument’s sake), then Queen Elizabeth II could not have been born to the Trumans. Nevertheless, she could be represented as being such (perhaps in a film), yet this would not change the modal facts. Again, representation by worlds is entirely irrelevant to the metaphysics of modality.

\textsuperscript{20} [22], 224-225, and 227.
\textsuperscript{21} [34], see page 186, 200-203.
\textsuperscript{22} That is, from what is false, whatever you like!
\textsuperscript{23} [16], 62.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid, 64-65.
The magic bullet seems to be Kripke’s semantics. It should be clear, however, that the modal semantics are merely mathematical formulations; the metaphysics is silent. Most have simply assumed that this merely mathematical device must play the central role in our metaphysics of modality, when really the worlds of the logician have nothing to do with our intuitive modal notions. To demonstrate this point, try to imagine a shark that was not a fish and see that it cannot be done. There is no possible non-fish shark. What is doing the modal work here? Surely it is that one imagines something being a shark and it not being a fish and fails, but these are simply properties. That is, there are no worlds involved in understanding that it is impossible, yet suddenly from this most metaphysicians jump to the conclusion that in no possible world is there a non-fish shark. Worlds, if there are any, are simply reflecting our thoughts about the properties, and this is simply a psychological phenomenon. What this ought to demonstrate is that the real metaphysics of modality, the truthmakers for modal statements, lies beyond the veil of possible worlds and directly in the properties themselves. More will be said on that in section 6. Possible worlds analysis simply says nothing about the metaphysics of modality, regardless of how fruitful it may seem to be. This conclusion holds whether one is an ersetzer or a possibilist like Lewis. As Lycan put it, speaking of Lewis’ EMR, possible worlds analysis has the stunning advantage of removing unclarity at the expense of its outrageous falsity.

Truth and Truthmakers

Perhaps one does not accept the need for truthmakers and as such is not motivated by considerations of the metaphysics of modality. Perhaps one accepts truthmaker theory but, for one reason or another, does not believe that modal truths need truthmakers. If one is the latter, then perhaps two assumptions are in play (perhaps implicitly): (1) that if <p> is necessary then it does not need a truth maker and (2) that modal truths are simply a subset of all necessary truths. Thus Hugh Mellor says,

Because the identity of a necessary proposition entails its truth, I cannot see why any other entity must exist to make it true. So, in particular, since any contingent proposition ‘p’ is necessarily contingent, I, . . . see no need of a truthmaker for the necessary truth that p is contingent and hence that . . . ¬p is possible.

The argument depends upon S5 and seems to be, generalized, the notion that if <p> is necessary then <p is necessary> is necessary, and the same follows if <p> is possible then <p is possible> is necessary, and hence, since all is necessary, there is no need for a truthmaker for modal truths.

While this is brilliant, it is misleading. Why think that necessary truths do not require truthmakers? Is it because, since they are necessary, there is no other option? This is reminiscent, as Ross Cameron points out, to the debate over why there is something rather than nothing.

25 One that Kripke understood well when he suggested we think of worlds and objects for the modal semantics.
26 [21], 219.
27 Perhaps someone like the early Lewis fits here.
28 Hugh Mellor seems to fit in here.
29 Here I abbreviate the proposition that p by <p>.
30 [7], 262.
ing: there is something because it just had to be that way, there’s no other way for things to be. The confusion here is one of giving an explanation versus giving the ontological ground for some fact. It is an explanation that there is something rather than nothing simply to point to, say, a chair and say “there!” but this does not explain the ontology. Everything is a truthmaker for the proposition <something exists>, that tells us nothing important. The demand for an ontological grounding does not disappear in the ‘something or everything’ case just because the fact that there is something makes the proposition <something exists> true. Likewise, just because <p> is shown to be necessary does not vitiate the demand for an ontological grounding. Necessary truths need truthmakers just as much as contingent ones, and this also follows from a standard correspondence theory of truth. To assume that necessary truths do not need truthmakers would be to assume that there is no fact of the matter, no state of affairs, in the world to which the truth of the necessary truth corresponds. This would commit one to a strangely disjunctive theory of truth. This ought to be avoided; let us hold then that there are substantive truthmakers for modal truths such that, at the very least, modal statements are true iff they correspond to certain facts of the actual world. That is, truth is determined by reality.

Starting the Analysis With Essences

Kit Fine, in his seminal article “Essence and Modality”, argued that accounting for modality beginning with worlds and then analyzing essence in terms of possible worlds was backwards. On the standard worlds account, an essential property of some x is a property that x has necessarily (i.e. in all possible worlds in which x exists). This, however, does not do justice to essential facts. Fine’s example, demonstrating this, is of Socrates and singleton set {Socrates}. It is essential to {Socrates} that it contains Socrates as a member, but it is not essential to Socrates that he be contained in {Socrates}. The standard possible worlds analysis, however, confuses this asymmetry: given that both exist in exactly the same possible worlds, it makes Socrates’ membership in his singleton set essential to both Socrates and {Socrates}, since it is necessary (i.e. true in every world where Socrates exists). Such is not taking essential ascriptions seriously. Rather, modal terms such as essentiality must begin with essences and then, if needed, one can build an ontology of possible worlds.

It is often objected that Fine, and those after him, have traded one less obscure notion (possible worlds) for a rather obscure notion (essences). However, take the following example from E. J. Lowe: the discovery that Hesperus is Phosphorus. When astronomers discovered that Hesperus is Phosphorus it was an empirical discovery, but not purely such. Astronomers discovered that, at every stage of their orbit, Hesperus and Phosphorus coincide. This, however, can only be taken to imply identity if what coincide are of the right kinds. That is, we must know beforehand that material beings, in this case planets, are such that they cannot co-locate. Before the astronomers knew that they were identical they had to know that they were of the

32 See [7], 263.
33 What David Armstrong calls a dualism about truth.
34 See Timothy Pawl [26] for an excellent argument as to why David Armstrong’s version of truthmaker theory for modal truths fails.
35 Thus Kit Fine, “Indeed, it seems to me that far from viewing essence as a special case of metaphysical necessity, we should view metaphysical necessity as a special case of essence... The metaphysically necessary truths can then be identified with the propositions which are true in virtue of the nature of all objects whatever.” [11], 9.
36 See [11], 4-5. The standard possible worlds account stipulates that if it is necessary for Socrates to be a member of {Socrates}, then it is essential for Socrates to be a member of his singleton, and this Fine rejects.
37 See [19], 43-44, and also 26-27.

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same kind, and as such could not co-locate, and that is an \textit{a priori} principle not an empirical
discovery. That is, it is an \textit{a priori} principle implied by what it is to be a planet—a truth
grounded in the essence of what it is to be a material being. This is entirely modal, for several
reasons. First, we have identity grounded in essence: Hesperus is Phosphorus, but that is only
known after the grasp of an \textit{a priori} principle grounded in the natures of material objects. Giv-
en that, further, we know that Hesperus \textit{cannot} co-locate with Phosphorus.\footnote{It is not
metaphysically possible, it may be logically possible but we are not concerned with that here.}

Essences, then, ground metaphysical modality. Hence, one of the reasons why it can be the case
that $\Theta$ \textit{necessarily} $\Psi$ is that it is part of the \textit{essence} of $\Theta$ to be $\Psi$.\footnote{[19], 45.}
Notice that relations can also enter in here. Hamlet is necessarily the subject of the play \textit{Hamlet} (assume
that Hamlet was a real person), even though it is not of the essence of Hamlet to be the subject
of \textit{Hamlet}. Nevertheless, he is the subject because it is of the essence of \textit{Hamlet} that Hamlet
be the subject of that play. This is not to say that Hamlet could not have lived a different life
and, say, been the prince of Spain rather than Denmark, but no one but him could have been
the subject of the play. Lowe, following Fine, ventures that, "all facts about what is necessary or
possible, in the metaphysical sense, are grounded in facts concerning the essences of
things—not only existing things but non-existing things."\footnote{Ibid, 46.} And these essences are not
as mysterious as many would make them out to be. Indeed, if Lowe is correct, then we \textit{must}
be able to grasp essences to \textit{some} extent quite easily given that we are capable of thought \textit{at all}.\footnote{As Lowe puts it, “Moreover, there \textit{must} be knowledge of essences if there is to be any
kind of knowledge \textit{at all}, including empirical and conceptual knowledge. For example, concep-
tual knowledge that bachelors are not married depends on knowledge of the essences of
\textit{concepts}... But concepts are just one kind of entities amongst many and if we can grasp
\textit{their} essences—as we must, I believe, in order to possess conceptual knowledge—then why
should we not equally be able to grasp the essences of other actual and possible kinds of enti-
ties, such as material bodies, times, and places?” Ibid, 33.}

Knowledge of essences, and hence of the boundaries of metaphysical modality, is acquired
through rational reflection upon \textit{being qua being} and its \textit{modes}.\footnote{We can see that Lowe is a classical rationalist, nevertheless this does indeed seem to be
the first and foremost role of metaphysics: the study of being. His argument is primarily an
epistemological one in that modal knowledge can only arise from our \textit{sui generis, a priori}
\textit{grasp} of the essences of things. See Oderberg [25] for a distinct but potentially not incom-
patible view that takes a traditional Thomistic view of essence as form to be the correct account,
with the possible existence of non-actual objects grounded in prime matter.}

\textbf{Hardcore-Actualism}

The neo-Aristotelian, hard-core actualist, theory being defended here is intuitive and
simple.\footnote{Versions have been defended by [5], [8], [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], [19], [28], [29],
and see also [33] for a well written overview of the various thoughts.} It does not posit any worlds other than the actual; it does not depend upon mysterious
relations to abstracts or counterparts. To put it metaphorically, when God looks out his win-
dow all he sees is the cosmos, \textit{and nothing else}. There are no worlds for God to contemplate
other than the one, concrete, actual world. One nice feature of Lewis’ counterparts is that they
demonstrate a crucial point on this subject. I could have been a contender, but this
is not because I have a counterpart that is a contender, even though he could be very similar to me. He is similar to me, though, given that there are certain facts grounding that similarity: properties. My contender counterpart and I share the same properties, powers, and capacities and people with those (plus, perhaps, a few more) can be contenders. This is a rather commonsense view. I could be a contender, or an astronaut, or... because of the properties I have (or had), which could start a chain of events or causal processes such that I am a contender, or astronaut, or... The only reason my counterpart might be relevant would be if we shared the same properties. Right away we must disagree with the Humean here: independence is violated. There are necessary connections in the world such that my properties are powerful, bringing about modal changes and possibilities in the actual world. The world is not chaotic, as the Humean would have us believe; it is self-governed.

The actual world can be seen as an inter-related web of properties and it is this that all modality hangs on. The hard-core actualism of this view is one of powers (or, as Williams and Borghini put it, dispositions, I shall use the terms interchangeably). These powers have at base irreducibly powerful properties that produce manifestations, and this is causal potency. To have these properties is just to have dispositions. Importantly, dispositions can go unmanifested; that which is required for the manifestation may never be actualized, and so there will be merely possible manifestations. Importantly, the best promise for a semantics of powers is one such that is couched in terms of counterfactuals. Borghini and Williams do not offer such an account in their work, but are not opposed in principle to such a move. We can then have a properties based semantics for counterfactuals. Jacobs (2010) has offered the preliminary sketches of such a semantics in hopes that an alternative to a possible worlds semantics will remove much of the spell. Modal facts are counterfactual facts, grounded in the natures of powerful properties. Modality can be reduced to counterfactuals in the following way: P is necessary iff it is true come what may, and P is possible iff it would not be false come what may. More formally, letting T stand for tautology, possibility and necessity can be defined as:

$$\Diamond \Phi \equiv \neg (T \rightarrow \neg \Phi)$$ That is, it is not the case that, whatever else is the case, \(-\Phi\) would be the case, and

$$\Box \Phi \equiv (T \rightarrow \neg \Phi)$$ That is, whatever else is the case \(\Phi\) would still be the case.

These formulas preserve inter-definability, such that \(\neg \Diamond \neg \Phi \equiv \Box \Phi\)

Jacobs claims that this defining of modality in terms of counterfactuals allows the hard-core actualist to reduce all of modality, needing only a semantics. That semantics, roughly, is the following. Using the idea of “chains of property complexes” or “stages”, which are simply groupings of natural properties (what Lewis called sparse properties). Then, a counterfactual is true iff the “stage” picked out by the antecedent is a power, the exercise of which would bring about the property complex (what Borghini and Williams term a state of affairs) designated by the consequent. Roughly, chains are complexes of properties such that they are pow-

44 Compare this account of causal power to Lewis, who transfers causality to counterfactual analysis across worlds.
45 See [5], 26.
46 [13], 241.
47 Ibid.
48 Compare this to Borghini and Williams’ definition of possibility: “State of affairs S is possible iff there is some actual dispositional property D, which supports a disposition d, the manifestation of which is (or includes) S.” [5], 28. As I read it, there is no conflict with these definitions.
ers to bring about more complexes of powers. Context, of course, will determine how charitable we are in what goes into the antecedent, but this is no worry for the semantics. 49

The domain of discourse here is, naturally, the actual world. Hence the scope of possibility will be limited to the range of manifested, and possibly manifested, dispositions in the actual world. If one is tempted to think that this sounds suspiciously similar to elements of Armstrong’s Combinatorialist thesis, note that there is no principle of recombination at work here; there are no worlds that need to be filled. Properties have powers to bring about manifestations, many of which are higher order manifestations, and many of which may go on never to be manifested. So the scope of possibility is much larger than one might at first suspect. This view has several virtues to weigh against worries, however. As we have seen, powerful properties (or, dispositional properties) serve as the truthmakers for counterfactuals and modality in general. These are this worldly, everyday entities, not some mysterious possible worlds. Causation, pace Hume, is a matter of the real relations between properties and their manifestation. 50 Hence we have Stephen Mumford’s notion of “passing powers around”. Further, we can understand laws of nature as the descriptions of the natures of powerful properties, such that science has a firm foundation in the actual world.

Properties Explained

Fair enough, one might say, properties ground modality and make it such that they, along with their relations, are the truthmakers for modal facts. Properties are basically modal, intrinsically powerful. But what are these properties? They seem mysterious; can nothing be said about them? There are two recent accounts defended in the dispositionalist camps, roughly a pure powers view and a powerful qualities view. Stephen Mumford, with others, has been a champion of the former. Both of these views are opposed to an understanding of properties as pure qualities, a view that has much adherence in Humean circles.

The properties as pure powers view holds that there is nothing to a property but its causal role. The essence of a property is exhausted, in other words, by its relations: a property is nothing more than its relations to other properties. 51 If R is the manifestation relation holding between a property that is a power and the resulting manifestation of the power, then the view is that every property P is identical with the set of the instances of R (where P bears R to some property or some property bears R to P). 52 Properties, then, are no more than the relations into which they enter, but what is this they? Consider the following four possibilities: substances, properties, instances of R itself, or nothing at all. 53

Examining the options, begin with substances. This is prima facie rather strange, since this is, in effect, the view that properties are identical with relations that substances enter into. On this view I have properties means that I am related in various ways to other objects, presumably those objects that are related to other objects themselves. I find this unacceptable.

49 Lewis, after all, uses context to pick out worlds.
50 See Mumford, [24], especially page 108-109: “...I would criticise the tradition, deriving from Hume, for being too simple. The dispositionalist, instead of seeing causation as a matter of clearly distinguishable cause and effect, with the appropriate relation between them, sees causation as almost always complex, involving multiple powers combining to produce something together through a process.” We do not need to countenance the extravagances of a Lewisian plurality of worlds with no necessary connections. Theoretical simplicity, here, is a significant virtue and one that weighs in favour of the Aristotelian.
51 See Mumford [24] and Jacobs [14].
52 [14], 84.
53 Here I am drawing upon Jacobs [14], 84-87.
since it is a form of impure nominalism. It is impure, given that relations are real, but there are no qualities on this view, no intrinsic properties.\footnote{Note, intrinsic properties on the view being defended are essential properties, but not understood in the way Lewis understands essential properties (such that they could be had in isolations). On the power theory of properties, properties are interconnected such that they are mutually dependent in many respects and are not had in isolation. I do not have a positive view to counter the Lewisian, however.} Maybe there could be intrinsic properties, but they would have to be bundles of relations. However, this should be seen to be an elimination of properties altogether and this can be nicely demonstrated by example of phenomenal qualia. On this version, pure powers eliminate qualia since, if anything, qualia are not purely relational (unless everything is zombie-like).\footnote{As Jacobs notes, there is far too much R going around in a world like this!} I will come back to the importance of qualia later.

Perhaps what the pure powers view relates with R, however, are properties. This is no good, for it simply is a disguised way of saying that the relation R relates instances of itself to itself (since properties, on the pure powers view, are identical to the relation!). This, then, is nothing more than the next option, namely instances of R itself. The structure here is a relational structure: the world is entirely relational, substances as well as properties. That is, this version commits us to an implausible bundle theory of substances and properties.\footnote{See earlier work by C. B. Martin and John Heil on this subject in addition to what is cited herein.} The final option, no relata, is no better. For, if there are no relata for R to be a relation to, then how is R a relation? Further, how could a substance (construed however one likes) instantiate a relation with no relata? It could instantiate it as being one of the relations, but then there are relata, and if the substance is an instance of the relation then it seems we are back to a bundle theory: relations upon relations.

Properties, then, need to be both qualitative and powerful.\footnote{[14], 90 ff.} This is what Jacobs calls the truthmaker view.\footnote{Ibid, 90.} That is, properties are at the same time qualitative and powerful. They are qualitative in that they are identical to a thick quiddity and they are powerful in that every (natural) property is a nature sufficient to be a truthmaker for a counterfactual. This sufficiency is important since, as we saw with Borghini and Williams, a property may never bring about a manifestation, \emph{but it still could}. So, being a power such that it is a truthmaker for a counterfactual is too strong, it need only be \emph{sufficient}; the counterfactual may never manifest. One may see this as stipulative, but this is what is needed to ground the claims of section 6 to the effect that there are powerful properties that are the truthmakers for modal claims. The powerful natures of properties here are such that they can make (or be a part of a chain making) a counterfactual true.

The qualitative nature of a property is, on this view, identical with its powerful nature. One and the same property is both powerful and qualitative, a thick quiddity and a nature sufficient to be a truthmaker.\footnote{I am rather disposed to keep qualia in my ontology, so this view has serious drawbacks} Being a thick quiddity is simply to be a quality that differs, not simply numerically but by its nature, from all others. A simple view to hold then would be that \emph{all} properties are such that they are thick quiddities (and this squares nicely with the position that we have irreducible mental qualia). But, given that these properties are qualities differing by their nature from all others, they can also function as the \emph{powers} sufficient to be (at least in part) truthmakers for counterfactuals. So properties are unitary beings, not properties upon properties, and are qualitative powers.
Objections, Concerns, and Responses

There are several avenues for criticism of the view defended herein. I will mention and comment only on the most salient for our purposes. Firstly, if this Aristotelian account is correct, then it seems, as mentioned already, that the scope of possibilities is significantly smaller than we thought (given possible worlds). Is it not possible that there could be different properties, and alien properties? There are several ways to answer this, depending on how strong one takes their Aristotelianism. Broadly speaking, the intuition that things could have been otherwise is preserved. Different causal chains give rise to different manifestations of dispositions such that, had events been otherwise the outcomes would have been different. Had the course of evolution differed there would have been talking donkeys; this is acceptable. Remember though that we are denying Humean independence, and in fact need to deny it in order to have properties do modal work. But once we deny this independence why should we assume before hand that there is a plenum of possibilities that our metaphysics is in need of accommodating? Is not this, as Borghini and Williams put it, putting the cart before the horse? Some conceivable states of affairs are going to be metaphysically impossible but this is no new news: the conceivable is a bad guide to the metaphysically possible (pace David Chalmers). Further, as we have seen, we have room for some alien properties. Many powers will not manifest their dispositions, perhaps infinitely many; but there is no reason to think that we need or will arrive at as many possibilities as David Lewis thinks we have.

Perhaps one is worried that, on the view defended here, there is no room for epiphenomenal facts. Can there not be existing yet causally independent properties? On this the Aristotelian will bite the bullet: no epiphenomenal facts. Qualia on this view are not epiphenomenal but are grounded in beings, having causal efficacy. 60 This may seem to be a strange outcome of a theory of metaphysical modality; after all, would it not be preferred to argue for this on separate grounds? Indeed, if there is a weak point of the theory this is one of them, nevertheless, I would submit that there are strong independent reasons for holding that epiphenomenal facts do not exist.

Alexander Pruss has argued 61 that the Aristotelian can in effect have her cake and eat it too. That is, if we posit a necessary being, God, as the source and ultimate ground of all truthmakers for modal facts then we can have a thoroughgoing causal powers theory and worlds to account for un instantiated possibilia. All we need is to incorporate the Leibnizian position that worlds are thoughts in the mind of God and we can account for all the possibilia that the more pure Aristotelian might leave out. As a bonus, for Pruss, he is able to help himself to the standard picture of possible worlds while adding the grounding work of powers. 62

While Pruss is correct in noting that if we add God to the picture we can fill in the gaps that one might suspect exist on a bare powers thesis, I disagree with his positing of worlds. Aside from the issues of taking on the added responsibility (burden?) of arguing for

60 One can see this as fitting nicely with an emergent individuals view of the mental. For further on this see the excellent overview given by Timothy O’Connor and Jonathan Jacobs in “Emergent Individuals”, The Philosophical Quarterly, Vol. 53, no. 213, pp. 540-555, 2003.
61 See [27] and [28].
62 Hence, “In a precise sense, the possible worlds exist in the actual world: it is true at the actual world that possible worlds exist. But this is not paradoxical: the possible worlds are just divine ideas, one of which is actualized, and the actualized one contains within itself an account of all the other divine ideas... Moreover, the account squares nicely with the intuition that attributions of the possibility of doing something should be claims precisely about the beings to which this possibility is attributed and their environment, something which neither Lewisian nor ersatzist approaches allow for.” [29], 279.
the existence of God, if powers are doing the real metaphysical work for Pruss’ account, why posit worlds at all? That is, why assume that God has worlds on the mind? Now, the representing relation that divine ideas have is not as problematic as ersatz worlds, since God has causal powers. But, rather than stipulate worlds we should simplify and stipulate that God simply has causal powers and use a semantics of counterfactuals to fill in the rest.

Reacting to speculations by Mumford and others that real powers provide the truthmakers for necessities in nature, Eagle (2009) and Schrenk (2010) have both argued that, in effect, counterfactual relations cannot be doing the work of necessity since they can be prevented. This is the general problem of finks and antidotes. That is, a disposition’s manifestation, even when triggered, can always be interfered with. For instance, external circumstances can affect the outcome of the counterfactual: ‘if \( x \) were an electron and negatively charged it would move away from another electron’ depends on the external circumstances beyond the possession of the power of \( x \) to be repelled. Here we have a fink: the disposition can be gained or lost (in this instance due to external circumstances, say, the presence of intense pressure). A response to this line of argument has not been given in the literature by hard-core actualists, but it should be apparent that it is not at all clear why one is needed. It is plain, by what has been presented in section 6 above, that properties are often interdependent for the manifestation of their dispositions. Context is often regnant, and context is external to the powers of properties (although, context can be brought about by complexes of properties). The natures of properties are such that they bring about different manifestations in different circumstances, so they do exactly what they are supposed to do. Hence, I do not find this objection telling.

Schrenk offers a similar objection, to the effect that dispositions and their manifestations can always be circumvented, or blocked, thus rendering counterfactual analysis of necessity impotent.\(^6\) That is, there are antidotes to counterfactuals given that we can alter the circumstances in which a power finds itself. As Schrenk puts it,

> Suppose, for the sake of argument, that there is a disposition \( D \) to react with \( E \) in circumstance \( C \). (the disposed uranium pile is triggered to react, \( E \), for it has critical mass, \( C \))... this is to say that there is a natural kind of process: the process from \( C \) events to \( E \) events. Further, \( C \) events and \( E \) events are (when mediated by the disposition) joined as a matter of metaphysical necessity... The problem is not that in antidote cases, \( E \) does not come about although \( C \) occurs. Yet, how can that be possible if \( C \) and \( E \) are, due to \( D \), linked by metaphysical necessity? Not even an antidote should be able to interfere with necessary connections.\(^6\)

The antidote in Schrenk’s case being a rod of boron inserted into the uranium pile and lowering its critical mass. If this works, then this demonstrates not only that Humean independence holds (since the necessity is not in nature after all) but also that counterfactual conditionals do not capture metaphysical modality. Additional factors should not prevent necessity.

On the account presented in section 6, however, I do not see how this is detrimental. Necessity is presented as what would hold come what may, so on the preferred account it is not a matter of necessity that the uranium reach critical mass but contingency. However, there is a rather simple and, it would seem, obvious answer to Schrenk. The causal necessity relations are holding even though additional factors interfere with the manifestation of the disposition. For, remember, manifestations “hang together” in mutual support from other properties. In order to bring about the manifestation, despite the interference, simply add more uranium. It may well be a law of nature that, at certain equilibriums, boron interferes with the critical mass of uranium; but not in sufficient quantities. Hence, the antidote is not truly such.

\(^6\) As he puts it, “the powerlessness of necessity”, see [7], 731-735.
\(^6\) Ibid, 731-732.
If we add the notion, as I have suggested here in so many words, that there is causal completeness to a property complex, then antidotes are no challenge to counterfactual analysis.\(^{65}\)

There is one final problem that could be detrimental to the hard-core actualist. Ross Cameron has argued that on this view it is impossible to make sense of some possibilities, in particular that none of the actually contingently existing substances existed.\(^ {66}\) The Aristotelian can account for the contingency of my existence (presumably, my parents could have chosen not to have children), but of the intuitive possibility that none of the actually existing contingent beings existed—what could be the truthmaker for this? Indeed, on a pure Aristotelian theory this would be rather difficult to ground, since no actually existing being could make it such that none, including itself, did not ever exist.

One perfectly natural and obvious strategy would be to take an Alexander Pruss route and ground further powers in the nature of a necessary being, and this necessary being has the power to ground the truth of the possibility that no contingent beings ever existed. Hence, as Cameron himself thinks, if there really are truthmakers for modal facts and this is a genuine possibility, then it needs a truthmaker. Cameron takes this as a cut and dry reason to hold to a version of soft-core actualism (namely, one similar to Adams’). However, there are two ways out for the Aristotelian. The first has already been mentioned: go theist. After all, on Cameron’s own account, truthmakers are needed even for necessary existents and if possible worlds are necessarily existing abstract objects then what are their truthmakers? One finds oneself right back to Pruss’ views fairly quickly. The second option would be to deny that the cosmos is contingent, perhaps in favor of a view such as that of Timothy Williamson where everything exists necessarily.\(^ {67}\) I doubt that Cameron would find that view enticing either, but the hard-core actualist is not without options.

**Synthesis Attempted**

I stated in section 5 that essences ground modality (following E. J. Lowe and Fine) and then proceeded in section 6 to state that properties and their relations ground modality. Have I contradicted myself? I think not, for I want to argue that, at the end of the day, these two are the same thesis. My sketch shall be, admittedly, sketchy but this is where the real work in the metaphysics of modality needs to be accomplished.

This claim is not uncontroversial. *Prima facie* natures/essences and properties are distinct, and if they are grounding metaphysical modality then they are doing so in different ways. But consider the following. Finean-style essentialism attributes essences to numerous entities, including properties; hence, the properties of the dispositionalist/powers theorist are acting out of their essential natures, their thick quiddities. Nothing bars a concrete object, say Socrates, from grounding modal truths by his essence or from various properties he has, chiefly given the fact that the properties he has are going to depend to a great extent on the essence he has. Essentials and properties are acting out of innate, primitive powers and, given that properties have natures of their own they are acting from their essential nature. Essentials, further, are one form of powerful property and thus are included in the “web” of powerful properties grounding metaphysical modality. Thus, in the end, essences really are doing the work for us and we have a more robust theory rather than separate and sparse rivals. A single account, then, would capture the intuition we have that, as Gabriel Contessa puts it,

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65 See [14], 96-96 for more on the notion of a causally complete property complex.
66 [7], 273.

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“truths about how the world could possibly be are no less grounded in the concrete, actual world than truth about how the world actually is.”\textsuperscript{68} It is hard to shake the deep intuition that possibilities have nothing to do with possible worlds.

**Conclusion**

One might be concerned that modality on this view is still primitive. Indeed, it is but not in a troublesome way since some reduction was made in the form of finding a genuine ontological grounding. Natures, whether the essences of things or the qualitative/powerful natures of properties, are grounding metaphysical modality. This is a significant improvement over the stipulation of possible worlds, which have nothing to say about the metaphysics of modality, as far as truthmakers are concerned. They are entirely the wrong sort of entity. The neo-Aristotelian metaphysic outlined and defended here is significantly simpler than its alternatives, and avoids the many pitfalls and back-alleys of possible worlds discourse (impossible worlds being a pertinent example). If David Lewis’ extreme modal realism is the most promising theory of possible worlds, then the option to give up Humean independence and take up the cause of powers is attractive indeed. Let us, then, return to a metaphysics of simplicity and common sense; that is, the metaphysics of Aristotle.

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\textsuperscript{68} [8], 350.
LEADERSHIP COMMUNICATION AS A BARRIER TO ORGANIZATIONAL LEARNING

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explore leadership as a significant role in the organizational learning process. It will also recognize it as a potential communication barrier to the effectiveness of learning. Organizational Learning Theory will be explored, along with leadership and its role in communication, to get a foundation of previous literature. The current crisis at Penn State will be used as a case study for theory application. Finally, results of the observed content and its implications will be discussed.

The scandal at Pennsylvania State University, commonly known as “Penn State”, reveals areas of opportunity for the learning process to take place. The recent crisis in its sports department (specifically football) has pressured the organization to disclose information that goes deeper into issues of leadership and response. Due to the timeliness of the allegations, investigators must bring information that dates back 15 years. Current information forms miscommunication links between coaches and assistant coaches, the athletic director, executive board members, the president, staff, and invested organizations. The title positions of these people place them in leadership roles, meaning that decisions can be made among them that will affect the entire Penn State football department. Even among these leaders, there is a hierarchy of command, which places the lines of communication in a certain flow. As a result, the behavior of the department’s leadership communication should be observed for evidence of miscommunication.

Organizational learning is a critical and essential part to the strategic activity of an organization’s improvement and success. When incidents such as scandals or emergency situations occur or get out of control in an organization, these incidents are considered crisis situations. Organizational crises present an opportunity for observation, assessment, and evaluation of procedure and cultural norms (Seeger, Sellnow, & Ulmer, 2003). The importance of this crisis event is that there is an opportunity for resolution to old problems while opening a discussion for improvement of previous behaviors. Organizations that incorporate a complete double-loop learning process are able to minimize the consequences of crises and provide an effective response strategy in its communication strategies.

Research in crisis communication and manage lacks in its amount of information on leadership duties in crisis response (Devitt & Borodzicz, 2008). Organizational learning takes on a structure that requires action and guidance from its leadership. Although, leadership is difficult to define (Slaven & Flin, 1997), leadership is still essential in the implementation of lessons taken from crises. When evaluations and assessments are made, the leadership of the organization is significantly involved in carrying out new procedures and cultural behavior. Therefore, it can be said that leadership is essential to the organizational learning process.

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This means that leadership must take action in order to make necessary changes throughout the organization. Contrarily, leadership’s failure to change behavior after a learned lesson becomes a barrier to the learning process.

Review of the Literature

Organizational Learning Theory

Organizational learning is described as an adaptation process that organizations can participate in for their improvement (Seeger, Sellnow, & Ulmer, 2003). In other words, when a crisis event takes place in an organization, organizational learning is the process used to “learn” from that event and make the necessary changes to improve the organization. The ability to adapt keeps an organization open to the necessary restructuring of their behaviors and cultural norms. When crises present themselves, the learning process provides organizations with the opportunity to evaluate their current procedures. These current procedures, in the midst of crises, are no longer valid and new behaviors must be established.

The learning process for organizations uses different learning types that can be applied depending on the crisis situation. There are two types of learning processes considered the most in organizational learning, which are single- and double-loop learning (Deverell, 2009). These two learning types refer to the way an organization decides to evaluate its procedures. When using single-loop learning, organizations evaluate and change behaviors at the first level. This means that behaviors, which can be quickly seen and adjusted, are the only ones that will be resolved. The organization does not choose to go deeper into its investigation. As a result, resolutions may only be temporary and not completely solved. This establishes the possibility of another occurrence of crisis.

The double-loop learning process applies a complete restructuring of the organization (Deverell, 2009). Investigation looks to the root of the organization’s procedures and behaviors in order to reduce the frequency of risks and crisis situations. The decision to use the double-loop learning process seeks to change the culture of an organization in its present and future existence. More importantly, it gives an organization the ability to start without the lingering of previous risks.

The Role of Leadership in Crisis

Leadership plays an important role in the presence of crises. In these situations, decisions must be made to guide the organization in its next direction. Additionally, leadership in crisis is difficult because of the nature of the situation. Decisions are being made in the presence of chaos, including information from organization staff, stakeholders, the general public, and the media which may receive incorrect information at times (Boin & ‘t Hart, 2003). As a result, leadership during this time must be effective so that change occurs and the image of the organization is not damaged beyond repair. Organizational leaders face the challenge of making sure they communicate with their staff, the media, and the public as needed. Information needs to be dispersed throughout the organization, while the appropriate information gets passed to the media and the general public (Deveritt & Boródzicz, 2008). As a result, the role of leadership during a crisis is one of the most essential to the success of the organization’s image and existence.

When considering the Penn State scandal, leadership can be clearly seen as the focus of the scandal. In the midst of all the questions and concerns from public and media, leaders from the football department were constantly looked at for answers and comments.
Especially as the beginning news broke, the first people looked at were the leadership figures (Sandusky, Paterno, Penn State Provost, etc.). They were expected to give constant update and answer all questions, while many media sources provided their opinions and information which was not always accurate. This adds a chaos factor, and requires these leaders to be prepared for all of the misinformation that will be spread while they themselves try to hold the organization together.

Within organizational settings the communication and relationships that develop between leaders and subordinates becomes the centerpiece for pathways to success. In accordance, Leader-member exchange theory becomes an imperative measurement and discovery tool that encompasses the dynamic relational quality exchanges between leaders and followers. The primary contribution that the leader-member exchange (LMX) perspective has brought to researchers’ understanding of leadership lies in its fundamental premise: leaders form different types of exchange relationships with their subordinates (Sparowe & Liden, 1997, p.522).

LMX emphasizes the differing relationships that supervisors develop with subordinates within a work unit (Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975; Greene & Scandura, 1987). In nearly all units, leaders differentiate among their subordinates in terms of leader behavior. A “nonwritten” contract seems to be established between leaders and subordinates on an interpersonal basis, as leaders differentiate among subordinates (Liden & Graen, 1980). An example of this process can be seen within the hierarchical formation of college athletic programs. The coach acts as a leader while his/her players play the role of the subordinate. Often the leader can simultaneously play the role of leader and subordinate. For instance, a coach can be a leader, but may also enact the role of a subordinate when he reports to someone of higher departmental stature, such as the athletic director. The difference in leadership style and quality of exchange between leaders and subordinates is determined through several factors that exist within the individual relationship with each group or team member. Factors such as competence and skill, extent to which subordinates can be trusted, and motivation to assume greater responsibility in a unit result in “preferential treatment” by the leader (Liden & Grean, 1980, p.2).

Sagas and Cunningham (2004) provide research attributing that Leader-Member Exchange quality is pertinent in determining the success of formalized groups of all dynamics. This framework may serve as a generalization and may be applicable for athletic teams and organizations. When LMX quality is low between members, communication often breaks down during periods of high stress. Players, coaches, and departmental participants are susceptible to communication breakdowns because of varying levels of LMX between each level of persons in an organization. Research has indicated that each superior-subordinate relationship within a group differs in nature (Yammarino & Dubinsky, 1992; Somech, 2003). Therefore we can draw the conclusion that the relational, personal, and tactical differences among leaders in each level of superiority (such as coaches, players and directors of an athletic program) can create a division among all organizational participants, creating a lack of homeostasis in communicative transactions.

During crisis, effective response is normally evaluated by the performance of the organization’s team (Pearson & Clair, 1998). However, the decisions made by an organization’s leader will make an impact on its staff, board, stakeholders, and associates. As a result, it is significant to understand how leadership performs with the organization during a time of crisis (Deveritt & Borodicz, 2008). These contributions, together, form an effective response and develop a positive result for the organization.

It is valuable to note that the assessment of an organization’s crisis management goes beyond task-oriented details. The way in which an organizations people are managed, during and after crisis, is equally important to the success of the culture’s restoration.
During crisis, effective response is normally evaluated by the performance of the organization's team (Pearson & Clair, 1998). However, the decisions made by an organization’s leader will make an impact on its staff, board, stakeholders, and associates. As a result, it is significant to understand how leadership performs with the organization during a time of crisis (Deveritt & Borodziez, 2008). These contributions, together, form an effective response and develop a positive result for the organization.

It is valuable to note that the assessment of an organization's crisis management goes beyond task-oriented details. The way in which an organizations people are managed, during and after crisis, is equally important to the success of the culture’s restoration (Deveritt & Borodziez, 2008). Therefore the role of leadership is significant not only in its technical responsibilities to repair void procedures, but its responsibility to its surrounding people who must experience crises with leaders.

Often times the changes made during crises evaluation is in its leadership, signaling a change in the direction of the organization (Seeger, Sellnow, & Ulmer, 2003). This means that no matter what the issue of the crisis may be leadership is at the front of the investigation. Leaders are the face and voice of the organization and as a result are subjected to the majority of the blame. Since leaders make the decisions, it is on their shoulders that any credit or criticism is placed. The role of leadership in crisis is key to success or failure of an organization especially sports related organizations. Changes in leadership can be made if the organization is not satisfied.

Communication in Crisis

Considering communication, leaders must be aware of the communication process that is used within the organization. During crisis it is important for communication to take place at all levels so that the organization is informed across the board (Heath, 1998). When communication is effective, an organization is able to take better control of the crisis situation and filter messages to the appropriate audiences. Therefore, communication must be present in an organization for crises to be managed (Seeger, Sellnow, & Ulmer, 2003). Within the case of the Penn State scandal, it cannot be said that communication was effectively used. The differing messages between leadership of the same sports department, explained later on, will show a clear breakdown of the communication lines.

Organizations may have specific ways that they communicate; this is considered to be a intentional language used by the organization (Moynihan, 2009). Frontera’s (2010) work showed an emphasis on how leaders in sports use communication to keep everyone aware of that culture's issues. Sports leaders were shown to have increased amount of disclosure within their organization for a more cohesive unit. As a result, information can be safely disseminated within an organization without compromising the image or releasing confidential information. An organization’s ability to use appropriate language, inside and outside the crisis, will allow for all parties to receive their necessary information correctly. Proper communication will also keep the media and general public satisfied as the organization will be seen as staying transparent in the duration of the crisis (Deveritt & Borodziez, 2008).

It is important to note that miscommunication can be increased during crises as the organization and inquiring entities often disconnect (Boin & McConnell, 2007). Communication can be disconnected from outside members of the organization, allowing for an increase in rumor and misinformation. As a result, the organization must not only repair the crisis but also re-inform the public about the previous information they have received. The danger in this situation is that by the time the organization responds, the damage is done and the opportunity to receive the truth may be lost. Frontier’s (2010) study supports this as he explains not only the significance of communication, but the significance of timing communication in and
Case Study

Procedure

The present scandal at Pennsylvania State University (Penn State) provides an opportunity for leadership and organizational learning to be explored. This paper used articles posted on the internet from three news sources, including CNN.com, NYtimes.com, and USAtoday.com. Only articles published between November 7 and March 12, 2012 were collected and observed. From these sources, four representative articles were primarily used for coding from that time period. Since this case is ongoing, new developments and information have not been considered, making the cutoff date for included information March 12, 2012. It is important to note that articles posted at the beginning of the crisis (November 4, 2011) were not used as the information was partial and not enough significant information was provided for observation.

Article One

An article posted to USAtoday.com on November 7, 2011 gives an in-depth look into the nature of the case. The allegations of child sexual abuse shocked the campus of Penn State and put a spotlight on the life of previous assistant coach, Jerry Sandusky. The article notes other cases of scandal at other colleges, but frames them as “common” financially-related issues and dishonesty. When referencing Penn State, the author notes the highly respected name of the school and the practically unblemished reputation it had until the current allegations were made.

The writers, Steve Wieberg and Jack Carey, state that Sandusky has been buried under at least 40 counts, with over half (21) being felonies and the rest being misdemeanors, that allege that he abused eight young boys over a period of 15 years. Dating back to 1994, these cases are related to Sandusky’s years of employment with the university and his association with his founded charity organization, Second Mile (1977). The boys in this case were participants in the organization’s youth program. The writers noted that Sandusky encountered the boys through this program.

Most importantly, the writers mention two significant points pertaining to the scandal. The first is that there were already ideas that abuse was taking place. In their article, the authors use a quote from a season ticket holder and former student:

"There were whispers about it," said Alex Ricker, a former Penn State student and current football season ticket holder who has worked several Second Mile camps in State College and Reading, Pa. "But when it came out, I don’t think anybody expected that big of a hit or that serious of an indictment, as well as that many charges. It was sad."

Second, the article mentions the issue of reporting. A former graduate assistant, identified as Mike McQueary, is noted in the grand jury’s document as reporting an incident he allegedly viewed between Sandusky and a young male. The document says that McQueary first reported the incident, which occurred over 9 years ago, to Head Coach Joe Paterno. After receiving the news, Paterno is recorded to have reported the news to Penn State Athletics Director, Tim Curley. Later in the article, the writers question why the allegations were not investigated after being reported. Additionally, they inquire why coach Paterno did not move
Stephan Spates and Jordan Tyler

forward with the allegations after receiving no action from Curley.

Another article posted by CNN.com’s Mallory Simon supports the fact that Paterno indeed reported the incident immediately after becoming aware. However, university officials released a statement noting their reasoning for firing the head coach as a “failure of leadership”. Since Paterno did not make any moves to involve the police or go beyond Curley, officials say that he did not go beyond the minimal process of reporting. From this information it can be seen that while the proper communication took place initially, it was not reciprocated to resolve the situation. The lack of response from Curley shows a clear break in the flow of communication, adding to the trouble of the situation. It also supports the questioning of why Coach Paterno did not pursue more activity to resolve the issue with the chain of command.

From this article, evidence can be seen that there are present holes in the line of communication within leadership. As the allegations are reported, leaders become aware of the potential for crisis but there is no action taken. Since leadership was aware of the risks, but provided no response, a barrier to organizational learning is formed. This blocks the communication process and distills the lessons from being implemented into changed behaviors (Deverell, 2009). An opportunity for learning was presented as the allegations, which were only an internal crisis at the time, were presented to decision makers. The failure of leaders to engage in evaluation and assessment lessen the effectiveness of their crisis management. As a result, risks factors were increased and leaked information (as noted above) had a better chance of damaging the organization.

Article Two

Another key article was posted on November 16, 2011, by CNN.com, which was a reported timeline of Penn State scandal. The significance of this article is that the timeline begins over 15 years ago, in 1994, where the alleged sexual abuse takes place with boys from Sandusky’s Second Mile organization. According to the grand jury report, several people viewed alleged abuse between Sandusky and the young boys. Among this group is graduate assistant Mike McQueary (previously mentioned), a Penn State janitor, and a wrestling coach at a Pennsylvania high school were Sandusky volunteered. One of the failures of leadership to effectively report and resolve the issue can be seen in this passage:

March 3, 2002 -- Paterno reports the incident to Athletic Director Tim Curley, saying the graduate assistant had seen Sandusky "fondling or doing something of a sexual nature to a young boy," according to the grand jury. Later, the assistant is summoned to a meeting with Curley and Senior Vice President for Finance and Business Gary Schultz.

[Specific date not provided] 2002 -- The Second Mile learns of the alleged shower incident. Curley tells the charity that "the information had been internally reviewed and that there was no finding of wrongdoing," the group said in a statement Monday.

According to the article’s timeline, Athletic Director Tim Curley assured the Second Mile organization that the issue was solved, and more importantly, Sandusky was not guilty of wrongdoing. Further, between 2005 and 2006, Sandusky befriends another boy from the Second Mile organization and the same allegations are eventually reported. From the information provided, a consistency can be seen in the allegations formed while there are several inconsistencies made from leadership. Minimal communication between leaders and police officials occurs, leaving risks and doubt within the university and the charity organization. The lack of decision making from university leadership, and the charity’s leadership, allowed for repeated
occurrences. As a result eight boys are able to make the same allegations with potential witnesses to back up their story.

Organizational learning would suggest that the inter-crisis learning type be applied in this situation (Deverell, 2009). There are at least three opportunities that university or Second Mile leadership could have evaluated the incidents enough to see where they could improve in their response. In addition to their assessment as an organization, Sandusky should also have been evaluated for his consistent role in the allegations. Incident reporting was constantly brought to leadership with the expectation to make decisions, but leadership proved to be a barrier to the learning process, as there was no response that was communicated to resolve the situation. As noted in the review of the literature, leaders are expected to effectively use communication to improve the situation to the satisfaction of their organization and the public.

Article Three

The third article is again from CNN.com and deals with the beginning of the lawsuit process as the first victim files. According to the article, the victim’s lawyer reports that they are suing the university, Sandusky, and the Second Mile organization. The key point of this article is the reasons stated for the lawsuit. The article reports that the lawsuit is for the “institutional failure” of the university, Sandusky, and the charity organization, which it states allowed for Sandusky to continue his activity.

The alleged victim, like the others, has come forward in an attempt to put a stop to any further incidents and bring closure to personal suffering. The article notes that all the defendants are investigating the issues, but Sandusky’s attorney says they plan to prove his innocence. The difficulty in the matter, according to the article, is the high amount of allegations and alleged victims who have come forward. In addition to those numbers, the article is clear in wanting to understand why something wasn’t done earlier. This passage from the article sums up the issues of the general public:

In addition, Penn State President Graham Spanier and legendary head football coach Joe Paterno lost their jobs soon after Sandusky’s arrest, following criticism that the football program and university in general did not adequately handle the matter when allegations arose years earlier. (p.2)

Again, with over 15 years of alleged abuse being presented, one can only wonder why nothing has been done even though leadership was aware of the allegations. Throughout that time, it would have benefited the football department to have proper internal and external communication strategies so that information would not hurt the organization. The communication among its leadership was not effectively used to keep harmful information from being leaked to the public, while resolving the issue at the same time. The application of a double-loop organizational learning process would have greatly improved the lines of miscommunication that were present and reduced the amount of image repair needed for image restoration.

With this inquiry in mind, Penn State held a town hall meeting where students were able to share their concerns. According to the article students were able to voice their feelings and talk about what direction the university would move in. Among popular discussion was the fate of Joe Paterno, who after previously stating that he would move in. Among popular discussion was the fate of Joe Paterno, who after previously stating that he would retire at the end of the season, was terminated.
This passage from the article shows where the university is with its direction in leadership. Interim President, Rodney Erickson comments on the new direction:

Asked why Paterno had been let go before an investigation into what happened was complete, Erickson said he wanted to look forward. "We have to remember what happened here; we have to learn from it, but we also have to look ahead."

It is not until the crisis has completely escalated that leadership sees fit to learn from this scandal. While it is a positive decision that they’ve decided to move forward, it must be said that the bulk of these incidents could have been avoided. The failure of the leadership, across the board, caused what could’ve been one isolated instance to turn into years of negligence. To the damage of the university, lack of proper communication and decision making leave it in a position that may hurt its reputation for some time. Subsequently, the university will have to spend a significant amount of time correcting and restructuring its entire environment. An action that is long overdue.

Article Four

The final article was posted from the NYtimes.com (New York Times Online) on December 3, 2011. In this article, writer Jo Becker gives an exclusive insight with Jerry Sandusky in his first interview since the allegations were released. One of the main points of this article is related to the communication between Sandusky and Coach Joe Paterno. In his interview, Sandusky states that he never had any conversations with Paterno about the allegations. He states that Joe Paterno only stated his concern about kids from the Second Mile charity being on the sidelines at football games.

Another point noted in the article is that Sandusky mentions that he was never restricted access from the Second Mile charity. He states that he was in full contact and association until he left last year. He notes that leadership at the university and the charity organization were aware of the allegations, but he was not stripped of any duty or penalized (outside of the incident investigated by Penn State police in 1998). The article mentions that Paterno was terminated due to his failure to aggressively do more investigation in the 2002 case. Although Sandusky said he felt bad about Paterno’s firing, he states that he has no recollection of ever discussing matters of sexual abuse with Paterno. The significance of this article is that Sandusky’s exclusive interview shows direct miscommunication in the leadership of the university and the Second Mile charity. It also reveals answers to why the case has to be drawn out longer than it had to. The accounts of different leaders have to be observed and compared since no two stories are similar. If communication was effective, leaders would be united in their responses and have the necessary documents proving an innocent or guilty verdict. The report of the grand jury says that the leadership failed to report incidents as they should have. One of the main reasons that could be is that no one communicated anything to Sandusky as far as receiving penalty or found guilty of wrongdoing. As mentioned previously, the first investigation noted in a report to the Second Mile charity that no wrongdoing was found by Sandusky. Other than that incident, no further reporting can be found. This matches Sandusky’s claim that no one, including Paterno and other leadership, were in conversation with him about the cases.
Discussion

Organizational learning in crisis is significantly related to the future success of organizations post-crisis (Seeger, Sellnow, & Ulmer, 2003). When crises present themselves, they should be observed and evaluated to ensure improvement for the organization. The decisions made post-crisis that affect the organization are usually made by those in leadership positions (Boin & 't Hart, 2003). In the midst of a distracting crisis and constant need of staff, media, and public, leaders have to make important decisions that will move the organization into its next direction.

The failure of Penn State’s leadership to effectively make decisions caused the outcry from the media and the public to result in the loss of positions. In the middle of the crisis, many leaders stepped down or were terminated at the university and at the Second Mile organization. This removal from position is a normal occurrence when leadership is not found to be satisfactory (Seeger, Sellnow, & Ulmer, 2003). Considering the leadership of Penn State, Paterno had years of success with the school but his failure to do more as a leader did not satisfy the public and resulted in his termination. Other leaders decided to resign or retire, also due to the pressure of the crisis situation.

Therefore it can be said that leadership is essential to organizational learning. Organization’s opportunity for restructuring and new direction will come from the decisions made by its leadership. As a result, it is possible for leadership to become a barrier to the organizational learning process. This means that leadership’s role is significant enough to help or hinder learning. Final decisions in an organization can only be made by leaders, so it is important for leaders to use effective communication. The lack of communication will not only increase the risk, but leave the opportunity for an organization’s reputation to be destroyed.

Although these findings cannot be found directly in the literature used earlier, the implications of the literature show an obvious need for more information to be provided on the role of leadership. The case of Penn State shows a fitting example of the importance of leadership in organizational learning. More importantly, it confirms the significance of organizational learning from crisis.

Limitations

This article focused on leadership communication as barrier to organizational learning. Some limitations can be found in this study. One limitation is the lack of research on leadership in crises. While there are numerous studies on leadership, there is a minimal amount that focuses on leadership during crisis. Lack of research makes it difficult for full discussion on related literature.

Another limitation is in the amount of information that can be provided at this time. The Penn State scandal is still a developing case that has yet to complete a full trial. All parties are innocent until proven guilty by a court of law, therefore all allegations cannot be considered true or false which limits the amount of discussion on what can be done in the organization. Additionally, any articles posted after March 12, 2012 have not been considered leaving content filtered to an estimated time of four months.

Considering the present crisis, a limitation of this study is that no direct interviews or interaction with primary participants was involved. Since content was gathered from public news sources on the internet, no exclusive information is collected. This also limits the study in its ability to gain extra inside information and accounts from all the parties involved. Since this case is based on allegations made by specific people, it would have been beneficial to have some interviews and collected accounts from victims, leaders, or even Penn State students and football players.
Future Research

Future research should be completed on leadership within organizational learning. The role of leadership is one of the most criticized and blamed positions. In addition to that, leaders are put under a different type of pressure when experiencing crises. Decisions have to be made and communication must be flowing between all appropriate parties. With such significant responsibility, leadership should be observed to see what types of characteristics make effective leaders and non-effective leaders in crisis situations. This would also contribute to understanding how leaders are expected to communicate and behave under the stress and chaos of the event.

With the presence of many groups looking for answers, research should focus on how these different groups prefer to receive communication. Depending on the receiving audience, the language of the message will be different. Effective leaders are able to prove appropriate messages to the right audience and keep confidential information reduced to the right people. It would be interesting to understand what expectations various audiences have during crisis situations and the amount of transparency needed for satisfaction.

Conclusion

Organizational learning is an effective process that will allow an organization to improve its procedures and cultural norms. Decisions made in the learning process come from leaders of the organization. In the presence of crisis leaders are put under an extreme pressure and spotlight that will criticize their every move. The role of leaders and their communication is essential to the success of crisis management. Lack of communication among leaders can create a barrier to the learning process, resulting in a failure to resolve the issue.

References


RITUAL, CULTURE, AND POWER: POLITICS AND THE SHRINE OF NORTRE-DAME DE CAMBRON, 1322-1329

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Does religious ritual transform political identities? Political identities often rise out of culture; and cultures in turn are shaped by the countless manifestations of religious ritual. It should come as no surprise that this triangle of ritual, culture, and power is used as a tool for the construction of the homogenous political identities upon which nation states are created. The case study of the religious cult center of Notre-Dame de Cambron, a 14th century pilgrimage shrine in Belgium a few miles from the French border, provides one example of this triangularity. In the midst of its bicultural region, Cambron’s shrine illustrates how religious ritual homogenizes diverse cultures and transforms political identities in borderlands.

Cambron’s bicultural context has long sought political homogeneity. Belgium was born as a nation by treaty in 1830, incorporating a diversity of cultural identities under one government. This hybrid state, constructed in the interests of French and German diplomacy, was always an uneasy product of cultural contact and fusion. Among the numerous regional identities, the two main cultural groups of Belgium are formed along a linguistic plane: German speaking Flemings and Francophone Walloons. These linguistic divisions are predominantly north/south, but are not completely geographical and many regions host sizeable linguistic minorities. This rolling topography of culture stands in contrast to the otherwise flat geography and attempts to level power imparities are troubled by disputed questions over identity and culture.

Such debates are not merely the constructions of contemporary politics, however. The history of such contacts and confrontations are coeval with the recorded history of the region. The Walloon scholar Henri Pirenne characterized the early history of Belgium as a contact zone between cultures. At the beginning of the Roman period, the region was inhabited by the Celto-Germanic tribe known as the Belgii, namesakes of the present day country of Belgium, and centuries of Roman colonization created a bi-cultural Gallo-Roman society. Later, Germanic migrations deposited yet another layer onto the strata of cultures constituting the political environment of the region.¹

This plasticity of culture and identity has long presented the opportunity to shape the political identities through the manipulation of ritual and culture. Peter Arnade’s groundbreaking study of ritual in the civic life of 15th century Flanders is the first work to analyze public culture and political identity in the medieval Low Countries. Arnade discusses Flanders under the house of Burgundy, beginning in 1384, and traces the evolution of civic processions and ceremonies under these counts over the following century. The scope of Arnade’s monograph therefore limits the analysis to predominantly 15th century rituals, most of which have origins going back before the arrival of the counts of Burgundy.²

This study follows Arnade’s approach to the ritual acts of the late medieval Low Countries, yet pursues this analysis to the beginning of the 14th century, when the first docu-

mentary evidence of public rituals begins to emerge. First, a brief introduction to the political and cultural history of the region will provide the context for the legend of the cult at Cambron. Within this tragic story are narrative difficulties, necessitating a return to the political context, providing an opportunity for an historical analysis of the political context which will dissect the triangularities of ritual, culture, and power to reveal the political motivations and implications for the events narrated in the legend. By examining these implications, this paper will demonstrate how ritual, culture, and power, are interdependent causes and effects in the process by which societies are both the constructed and constructors of themselves.

The Political Background of Hainaut

The monastery of Cambron exists in the province of Hainaut. Hainaut the province was formed during Belgian independence from the part of the medieval County of Hainaut that was not claimed by France. The county of Hainaut was formed over a thousand years ago from the union of several ancient Frankish regions, in the border region known as Lotharingia. Lotheringia’s border identity was formed in 843 by Charlemagne’s grandsons as a third state dividing what would become the modern countries of France and Germany. After the death of the eldest grandson a few years later, his territories became the object of contention between his remaining brothers’ French and German speaking kingdoms for over a millennium. Hainaut’s position in this no-man’s-land shifted numerous times between French and German rulers. From the beginning of the 10th century, Hainaut had retained strong connections with the German, East Frankish rulers, but there were several periods when the rulership of Hainaut was united with a French vassal, the count of neighboring Flanders, which was partly in Lotharingia and partly in France.¹

At the beginning of the 13th century, Flanders and Hainaut were united under one house. The last ruler of this dynasty, Margaret of Flanders, presented a unique problem of succession. Before becoming countess, she married Bouchar d’Avesnes, a knight of Hainaut. Margaret had a son, John, by this marriage. Margaret’s older sister, then countess, opposed Margaret’s marriage to Bouchard, and had it annulled by the pope in 1215, forcing her sister to marry William II of Dampierre, a French nobleman. Margaret had another son by her second marriage, William III. Upon becoming countess of Hainaut and Flanders, Margaret disinherited her eldest son John on account of the questionable legitimacy of his birth. John responded by seeking the support of his brother-in-law, William of Holland, who was also recently elected as German Emperor. The conflict that ensued continued for over a half century, fueled by the political ambitions of the French king and German emperor.⁴

The resolution to this conflict came shortly before the events of Cambron. The heir of the Dampierre line, Louis de Nevers, who had lived his entire life in France, had inherited his grandfather’s title to Royal Flanders in 1322. Louis pursued a much more obsequious course towards his French sovereign than his grandfather Robert had, and agreed to the

French King’s demand that he end the war between Flanders and Hainaut. On March 6th, 1323, Louis entered into a pact with William, heir of the d’Avesnes and count of Hainaut, ceding to William every title Louis might claim in the county of Hainaut, for which William in turn agreed to disclaim any interest in Flanders. By concluding this treaty, the King of France engineered the cultural division of these regions and ended a half-century of war.  

Cambron and the Religious Significance of Legitimacy

During the year 1322, Count William sent out one of his sergeants on a mission, a man also named William. The coincidence of their names was not accidental. William the Sergeant was born with a Jewish name that was forgotten upon his conversion. At his baptism, he took the name of his sponsor: Count William. Before becoming his baptism, William had emigrated to Hainaut sometime after 1306, the year in which the King of France expelled all Jews from the Kingdom and seized their assets in an attempt to shore up a major financial crisis. William’s name first appears in a charter from the city of Mons, the center of civil administration for central Hainaut in 1310. From continued appearance in charters, several facts about William are known: First, he spans the gap between two major waves of Jewish immigration to Hainaut, the first beginning in 1306-1314, and the second from 1322-1326. During the period from 1314-1322, the Jews in France were briefly welcomed back by Philip the Fair’s son, and it appears that most of the Jews in Mons took him up on his offer. William is the only Jew attested in charters in the City of Mons for that period, and the names from that wave are different from the names of the second group of immigrants. Nevertheless,

6 The documentation for the events of this episode as reported by the monks is gathered from several sources. In every case, minor variations in the reporting of what allegedly took place casts the account in a skeptical light. The earliest report, albeit lacking certain details, is John XXII’s letter (translated below), dated March 22nd, 1329, Arnold Fayen, Lettres de Jean XXII (1316-1334): Textes et Analysses, 2 vols. (Paris: H. Champion, 1908), 279-281. The earliest historical accounts are scattered throughout chronicles of the period. Guillelmus Procurator mentions it already in the 1330s and Jean de Bekai and Guillaume Heda record it by 1346. The story also features in Francois Vincelant’s extensive Annales de la Province et Comité d’Haynau, (Mons: Jean Havart, 1648), 326-328. More recently are Theophile Lejeune “La vierge miraculeuse de Cambron” Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons 7 (1867):67-95 and Félix Hachez, “La littérature du sacrilège de Cambron” Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons 27 (1897): 97-152.
7 John XXII’s letter elliptically states that he “falsely” received the name of William (“nomen Willemifictae recipiens”) but the Francophone Vincelant reports that the count was his patron and sponsor in baptism, Annales de la Province, 326.
9 Waelput has carefully studied the charters in published and archival sources, noting the existence of two distinct waves of Jewish immigration to Mons. Gerard Waelput, “Les Juifs à Mons au Moyen Âge” Le Moyen Âge 107 (2001), 293.
further charters indicating his status as sergeant, and payments to him from the count make it
clear that he probably found permanent employment in his patron’s retinue.\textsuperscript{12}

William’s business on behalf of the count took him across the county, and in 1322 he
was engaged in business near the town of Chièvres, about a mile from the monastery.\textsuperscript{13} Along
his way, William stayed at the guesthouse of the monastery of Cambron, a member of the Cis-
tercian order of monasteries. Among monastic houses, the Cistercians hold a unique position
at the borders of cultures on account of their unique institutional structure. The Cistercian or-
der, founded in 1098 as a single monastery, branched out in the early 12th century, founding
hundreds of branches in France, Spain, England, Italy, and the German Empire by the middle
of 12th century in a process known as filiation. It is thought that as early as 1132, the order
had acquired a grant of immunity that allowed its branches to operate with a degree of inde-
pendence from local authorities that would enable its monks to operate across political and
ecclesiastical boundaries with relative ease.\textsuperscript{14} Throughout the 13th century, succeeding papal
privileges would grant the order autonomy from local regulations in a process it is tempting to
come to the immunity from local laws enjoyed by many multinational corporations today.\textsuperscript{15}
In place of these local customs, the Cistercians held meetings every few years at their mother-
house of Citeaux, in the heart of French Burgundy. These meetings, dominated by French ab-
bots, would decide on the issues faced by the order as a whole, and exerted a tremendous in-
fluence in shaping the cultural identity of the individual monastic houses.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{12} Waelput, “Les Juifs à Mons,” 291.

\textsuperscript{13} Lejeune says the exact location of the business was “Herimelz, près de Chièvres” but I
have been unable to locate the geographical location of Herimelz. Lejeune, “La vierge mi-
raculeuse,” 69.

\textsuperscript{14} The early privileges of the Cistercian order and later confirmations are well repre-
resented from the 12\textsuperscript{th} century on in collections of cartularies such as Cambron’s. Jean-Jacques De
Smedt’s edition, Cartulaire de l’Abbaye de Cambron, (Brussels: Hayez, 1869), follows an
original 15\textsuperscript{th} century manuscript in reproducing ninety such privileges granted from between
1172 and 1351. More specialized documents were also produced, often copied with other
institutional texts. Two examples of this type of documentation are held by Western Michi-
gen University as a part of the Dom Edmund Obrecht manuscript collection, manuscript 13
(a 16\textsuperscript{th} century copy of the privilegia and other legal texts appended to a 15\textsuperscript{th} century copy
of Usuard’s Martyrology) and manuscript 22 (a 15\textsuperscript{th} century copy of the privilegia with oth-
er legal texts).

\textsuperscript{15} Privileges such as Alexander IV’s confirmations in 1256 granted numerous immunities
to the monastery, such as requiring all litigation against a monastery to also be addressed
against the order corporately, or the right to construct churches on lands owned by the mon-
astery without the privilege of the local authorities. De Smedt, Cartulaire de Cambron, 53-61.

\textsuperscript{16} These meetings were first held in the early 12th century and continued to meet every
few years to address important developments in the order and promulgate the public deci-
sions of the gathered abbots. The collected decrees of this council were last edited by Jo-
seph-Marie Canivez, Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab Anno 1116
ad Annum 1786, 8 vols. (Louvain: Bureau de la Revue, 1933).
William’s stay at the monastery was ill fated, however. The account of what happened was told by a single monk who claims to have seen the incident: Jean Mandidier, a laybrother working in the monastery’s carpentry shop claims he saw a miraculous incident: William the Jew was standing in the guesthouse in front of an image of the virgin Mary on the wall. Furious with rage, the Jew was spouting all manner of insults at the image for some time, then took his pike and struck the image five times, thrice in the face, and twice in the chest.\textsuperscript{17}

Jean was enraged and readied himself to strike William with his carpenters’ axe, but was stopped by another monk, Matthieu de Lobbes, who cautioned him that they should go and report the incident to the abbot. When they had told the abbot, Nicholas de Herchies, he gathered together a large group of monks and they confronted William. They found him still raging in front of the statue, but when they arrived, the saw that the statue had, miraculously, begun to pour forth blood from the wounds it had been dealt. Shocked, they asked William to leave, and he, raging, stripped out of his clothes and fled away from them naked.\textsuperscript{18}

Or at least that is the story the monks told. Shortly after this incident, the abbot Nicholas contacted count William about what he claimed had been done, requesting the count to punish his sergeant for this sacrilege. William seems to have taken little note of the complaint about his official and appears to have ignored it entirely. The community at Cambron, however, had recourse to the resources of the order. Abbot Nicholas sent the brothers Jean and Matthieu, the monks who had been closest to the alleged incident, to Pope John XXII, one of the French-influenced Avignon popes.\textsuperscript{19} The monks explained their story, but the pope found no reason why William the Jew should be punished the claims of only one eyewitness. Nevertheless, John decreed that if William were subjected to inquisition and incriminated himself, he could be sentenced for blasphemy on the basis of his self-incrimination.\textsuperscript{20}

Returning to Hainaut with their papal order, Nicholas the abbot pressed the case against William and the count was forced to give up his sergeant to the torturers William braved this round of torture and interrogation and insisted upon his innocence. Because of his steadfastness in maintaining his testimony, he was released and resumed his work for the count.\textsuperscript{21}

The monastery itself was stymied, but news of the alleged sacrilege spread. Over the next four years, nothing came of it, until the message reached an 80-year old retired blacksmith in the village of Estines, ten kilometers from the city of Mons and almost thirty from Cambron. This blacksmith, Jean le Flammens, had a vision of the Virgin who urged him to defend his lady’s honor by challenging the unpunished sacrilege. Urged on by this apparition, Jean made his way to the city of Mons, where he demanded to see William the Jew. The bailiff who managed the city in the count’s absence, tried to diffuse the anger of the situation, but Jean le Flammens insisted he was here to challenge William the Jew. At length, the bailiff convinced the old man to wait until the count himself returned to handle this matter. When William the count returned to the city the old man, the count, and William the Jew met to discuss the challenge. In a ritually charged gesture, the old man threw down his glove in front of William. William was reticent to engage his servant in this affair, but William himself allegedly picked up the glove.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{17} Lejeune, “La vierge miraculeuse,” 70.
\textsuperscript{18} Lejeune, “La vierge miraculeuse,” 70.
\textsuperscript{19} Lejeune, “La vierge miraculeuse,” 71. The decision to send an envoy to the Avignon Pope is a significant indication of Count William’s perceived allegiances during the time of Papal Schism, an observation Pirenne supports on different grounds. Henri Pirenne, \textit{Histoire de Belgique}, 2:9.
\textsuperscript{20} Lejeune, “La vierge miraculeuse,” 71.
\textsuperscript{21} Lejeune, “La vierge miraculeuse,” 71.
\textsuperscript{22} Lejeune, “La vierge miraculeuse,” 72.
The day of the fight was set, and William the Jew came in, ready to fight. The old man also came, and the fighting commenced. Initially the younger William overcame Jean le Flammens, so much so that he was nearly prepared to give a deathblow to the old man. The count intervened and ordered both contestants to rest. Returning to the combat, the old man fought with renewed vigor and forced William to submission. Because William’s guilt was proven by this trial by ordeal, he was immediately seized and bound. Tied to a stake, William the Jew, the count’s loyal servant, burned to death that very same day. 23

The “champion” of the Virgin, Jean le Flammens, set off at once on an impromptu pilgrimage to the monastery to present his Lady the bouquet with which he defeated William. Count William is also said to have made a journey to monastery, barefoot, in the fashion of a penitent. 24 After this spontaneous, symbolically charged ritual, the abbot of Cambron seized upon popular enthusiasm in a building campaign to create a shrine for the vindicated image. The humble stone structure was completed quickly, and within two years, the papal curia was being lobbied by none other than the King of France to grant an indulgence to those who would participate in the public rituals surrounding the cult of Notre Dame de Cambron. The answer to the Kings requests came in a papal letter to the monastery in Spring, 1329:

To all the faithful in Christ who will read these letters, greetings: The glorious God, rejoicing in the glorification of his saints, takes even greater delight in the veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, because she, insofar as she became his mother, deserved to be placed higher than all the other saints in heaven. Indeed, our dearest son in Christ, Philip, the honorable King of France, took pains to bring this to our attention: a little while ago certain Jew, falsely receiving the name of William and the sacrament of baptism, had secretly been practicing Judaism under the cover of the Christian faith for a long time. One day, when he was present in Cambron, a monastery of the Cistercian Order, in the Diocese of Cambray, he was wickedly compelled by a spirit and punctured a certain image of the glorious virgin painted on the wall with five blows. A little while later, the tremendous disgrace of such a detestable act continued to spread among the people, and this Jew, falsely claiming to be innocent and protected from this deed, remained too long unpunished by means of his false oath. And it came to pass that a certain Catholic Christian, of honest and praiseworthy life, Jean Flammens from Estiennes, a blacksmith of the same diocese, saw that there was no fitting vindication for so detestable an offense. Therefore, he provoked that Jew to a contest over this cause... he knocked down and vanquished the Jew, who, defeated, was tied to a stake in the same place and burned to death, before which he publicly confessed to the abominable crime. Thereafter, a chapel was constructed for the honor and worship of the glorious Virgin.... Desiring therefore that this chapel be visited with fitting honors by the faithful in Christ for the praise and glory of almighty God and the reverence of the glorious Virgin, we assent to the devout prayers of the King, who petitioned us in this matter. Therefore, to all who truly confess, do penance, and visit the eight-day feast in person at the chapel, to them, by the power conferred in us, we grant mercifully forty days indulgence every year from the mercy of almighty God and the mercy of Blessed Peter and Paul, his apostles. Given

23 Lejeune, “La vierge miraculeuse,” 73-76.
24 Lejeune, “La vierge miraculeuse,” 76.
at Avignon, March 22nd, 1329.25

Stories of Ritual, Culture, and Power

The story of William the Jew, how he was protected by the count in 1322, but given up to his accusers in 1326, and whose death was declared a week-long holiday in 1329 is an example of the cultural influence the King of France had in the county of Hainaut, and in how he sought to use the triangularity of ritual, culture, and power to build a basis of political power in a region drifting away from the orbit of Francophone dominance. Politically, the handing over of William the Jew was a means of attacking William’s sovereignty as ruler, and the ritual commemoration established in memory of the event was a cultural lightning rod, channeling the immense power of culture and ritual into a the monastic space of the French-monastic institution of Cambron.

William the Jew’s initial immunity from prosecution is understandable when the broader context of politics in the county of Hainaut is considered in respect to William’s particular status within that polity. As both a Jew and a servant of the count, William was a protected person, and his submission to torture notwithstanding, a method all to often employed in the judicial procedures of the time, he was shielded from the powerful influence of his monastic enemies. Yet when William’s protector ran afoul of the King of France, his enemies gained a powerful advocate by providing him with the cultural and ritual power that his political affiliations would not allow.

The legend of Cambron reports that William the Jew willingly accepted Jean le Flamens challenged to a judicial duel. Granted that William’s status as a convert is exceptional, judicial dueling between Christians and Jews, is generally thought to have been impermissible. As with other persons exempted from the requirements of military service, Jews, together with

25 “Universis Christi fidelibus presents litteras inspecturis salute. Gloriosus Deus in sanctis suis de ipsorum glorificamine congruentes, in veneratione B. Marie Virginis eo jocundus delectatur, quo ipsa, utpote mater ejus effecta, meruit altius sanctius ceteris in celestibus collocari. Sane carrissimus in Christo filius noster Philippus, rex Francorum illustres, nobis significare curavit quod olid quidam judeus sacramentum baptismatis ex nomen Willemi ficte recipiens et diutius sub christianitatis nomine judaizans, dum quodam die in monasterio de Camberone, Cisterciensis ordinis, Cameracensis dioecesi, existet, nequum inductus spiritu, quondam ymaginem ejusdem Virginis gloriosae in quodam pariete depictum ibi quemadam ense quam vicibus nequiter perforavit, quodque postmodum, cum de tam abhorrendo selera contra dictum judeum aliquis infamia in populo laboraret dictusque judeus, eo mendariter assente facto jujusmodi inculpabilem et immune, per jujusmodi suam falsam negationem remansisset a predicto crimine diutius impunitis, contigit quod quidam catholicus christianus vitae laudabilis et honeste, vocatus Johannes Flamens de Lestines, faber prefate dioecesi, attendens de tam scelesto flagiisio nullam vindictam fieri condecentem, prefutum judeum super hoc ad certamen provocavit... divina cooperante gratia, judeum prostravit et devicit predictum et ibidem dictus judeus devictus et ligatus ad stipitem ut cremaretur, publice fuit confessus se oredactus seclus abominabilem perpresse. Dein vero ob honorem et reverentiam ipsius Virginis gloriosae... quodam capella constructa extitit... Cupientes igitur ut eadem capella ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei ac honorem et reverentiam ipsius gloriosae Virginis, a Christi fidelibus congruis honoribus frequentetur, ejusdem etiam regis, nobis in hac parte supplicantis humiliter... omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis... qui per octabas festivitates eadem immediate sequentes cappellam ipsam devote visitaverint annuatim, quadraginta dies de injunctis sibi penitentibus... de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum Petri et Pauli, apostolorum ejus, auctoritate confisi, misericordiæ relaxamus. Dat. Avis. 11 kal. Aprilis anno 1329” Arnold Fayen, Lettres de Jean XXII (1316-1334): Textes et Analyses, 2 vols. (Paris: H. Champion, 1908), 279-281.

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women, serfs, and the clergy, would have fulfilled challenges to duels by means of an appointed champion. Moreover, William’s relationship to his Lord implies that he could expect the protection of his Lord’s protection, and his acceptance of the duel indicates that he either refused the counts protection, in an attempt to gain recognition of an elevated social status and silence criticisms that he was a crypto-Jew, or was denied it in a severing of the serf-lord relationship. This question of legality addressed in the leeter of John XXII, who comments that Jean challenged William to the duel “legally or perhaps illegally.” Whatever the case, the very fact of William’s duel and the count’s passive participation in it indicates a deterioration of the counts role in the social hierarchy. The King of France’s support for cultural ritual which commemorates the weakness of his political rival is indicative of the deteriorating relationship between 1322 and 1329.

In 1322, the King of France was pursuing an amicable policy with respect to Hainaut in the months leading up to the 1323 between the counts of French Flanders and Imperial Hainaut. Yet after the treaty guaranteed official peace between the counties, William’s loyalties drifted in the direction of Germany. William’s sovereign, Henry of Bavaria made a politically sensitive request to make a survey of the exact border between the kingdom of France and the Empire. William, who had just been freed from the need to appease the King of France, complied. This survey, partisan as it was, could only serve to increase the lands owned by the Empire at the expense of those owned by the King of France.

Yet land was not the only property William was alienating from the King of France. According to the royal ideology expressed by the French monarchs, the Jews as a people were considered to be the personal serfs of the King. This theory had been first proposed in France by Philip the Fair in support of his desire to claim ownership over the property of Jews living in land of his vassals. Concomitant with the status of serf was the commitment to protection, which explains the acceptance of this legal doctrine among the Jews themselves. In 1322 came the second expulsion from France, so the king would certainly not be bothered by a Jew’s presence in the border region of Hainaut. Yet by 1326, influential Jews like William living successful and protected lives just a few miles outside of his borders made a living witness to the Empire’s ability to effect protection which the Kingdom could not. The tragic spectacle of William’s public execution in 1326 also served as a terrifying warning to Jews who might think of shifting their loyalty to a lord other than the King. The annual commemoration of this holocaust would perpetuate this sense of fear and despair and would send the Jews living in the border regions back to the King who was alternately their protector and tormentor.

Yet the terror was also directed more broadly at the people influenced by and seeking to influence the count. Six months after the burning of William, a memorandum was issued by the count to all of his sergeants—the office previously held by William the Jew— instructing them that they were still under orders to collect all tax-

26 For the legal background to Jews as participants in judicial duels, see Bernard Blumenkranz, Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental, (Pairs: Mouton, 1960), 362.
27 “licet forsan illicita,” Fayen, Lettres de Jean XXII, 280.
28 The document containing this edict is published by Leopold Devillers, Cartulaire de Hainaut, (Brussels: Bayez, 1874), 185.
29 For Philip the Fair’s formulation, see William Jordan, The French Monarchy and the Jews, 133.
es and fees assessed by the count and the aldermen of the city of Mons, without exceptions. Such an order is indicative of the difficulty the count had in collecting taxes after William’s death, a severe economic impairment for a ruler. The execution also would have had an impact in matters of foreign policy. Count William was defeated on the eve of receiving an important delegation, including Queen Isabella of England, after she was banished from Paris by her brother, the King of France. Froissart’s Chronicle begins with this diplomatic mission to William of Hainaut, in the summer of 1326, only a few months after the count’s humiliating pilgrimage to Cambron. In the years that followed, the remembrance of this event through ritual pilgrimage would be of strategic importance in the conflict which would become the Hundred Years War.

Conclusion

The pilgrimage shrine at Cambron, and its accompanying Carnival-like processions were an artifact of local culture and religious devotion for centuries after their inception. After the French revolution, the abbey’s property, including the memorial chapel, were seized during the revolution by looters, possibly from Chièvres, the village a mile away that William the Jew was visiting on the day his life was changed forever. Numerous decorations and commemorative objects in the chapel made their way to disparate places over the years. A statue of the Virgin carved for the chapel around 1550 was moved to the church of Sainte-Élisabeth in Mons. It was stolen from the church only a few years ago in 1998.22 Other traces of the past culture—booklets, medallions, engravings—have made their way across the world, including here in Kalamazoo.23 There is no eight-day remembrance of the Virgin of Cambron today, at least as Pope John XXII described it in 1329. Forgetting is perhaps more convenient in an age that has enough of its own holocausts to remember. Just beyond the border of the past, we may feel safe from the clutches of yesterday’s totalitarian monarchs, free from their strangling nooses of ritual, culture, and power, even elevated by our immigration to a new age of postmodernity that promises the tyranny of the past to have no authority in the present.

Yet ritual is everlasting. Even today, Belgium is a country of public festivals. One of the few Northern European countries with widespread Carnival-like celebrations, some would argue that these festive processions, sometimes known by their Flemish name, Ommegang, represent a quintessential ingredient in the construction of a Belgian national identity. For those who participate in them, they are moments when the power of ritual creates a culture that fuses the borders of the past and present, and crosses the boundaries of language. One need not speak French or Flemish today to see public ritual creating culture, and even constructing political identities.

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33 A copy of a commemorative publication, L’Histoire Admirable de Notre-Dame de Cambron, published at Mons in 1760 exists in the Cistercian Studies Collection at the Waldo Library.
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