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Many thanks to the College of Arts & Letters for generously supporting the production of the *Journal of Undergraduate Research*. We are proud to represent the College and to showcase exemplary research from some of its more than sixty academic majors and minors. Special thanks to Brenda Teshka for her steadfast encouragement and assistance.

We also express immense gratitude and pride for our board of dedicated Editors. They have devoted respect and care to each paper considered. It has been an honor and a pleasure to oversee the *Journal* with them this year.

Lastly, it is the *Journal*'s readership that makes possible this publication. Thank you!

NOTE FROM THE EDITORS

The cultural and political twists and turns of this past year have underscored the importance of nuanced, credible news coverage and thorough, reflective research. As social media and broadcast television increasingly appear as conduits for fast, opinion-laden commentary, thoughtful academic research continues to provide poignant, vibrant insights on how and why human communities of every scale transform in violence, solidarity, and belonging. Research of this variety, in turn, contrasts the ever-churning media cycle by allowing for the possibility of a continually growing body of knowledge concerned with an ever deeper understanding of the social world.

Undergraduate researchers at the University of Notre Dame have undertaken the challenge of socially conscious knowledge production with zeal and affection, and we are proud to showcase their work herein. This year's publication includes seven pieces - four in print, and three online - spanning a wide array of topics from Filipino identity to early modern medicine, and beat spirituality to biblical epic poems. In an effort to publish research representing the full breadth of disciplines within the College of Arts and Letters, our Editorial Board has approach each paper with discipline and open-minded criticism.

We hope you enjoy.

Pete Freeman and Tianyi Tan
Editors-in-Chief

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KELLY SMITH grew up with a passion for words and the feelings they invoke in their readers – influenced by her mother, a devout Springsteen fan and writer. Her thesis combines her love of writing, music, and the ever-present feeling of nostalgia. Writing it would not have been possible without her incredible advisor, Romana Huk. She graduated from the University of Notre Dame in 2017 with a bachelor's degree in English and a minor in Business Economics. Kelly now works in Indianapolis as an Orr Fellow, and can usually be found combing the area for the city's best burger or listening to Cleveland Indians games on the radio.

ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I will examine two important questions. First: How do the writers Bruce Springsteen and John K. Samson take their utilization of familiar landscapes and turn them into spaces that seem familiar to listeners and transcend their own localities? Second: Why do Springsteen and Samson perpetually return to their hometowns in their writing? The two writers work within what we might recognize as new paradigms of nostalgia, particularly on the margins – nostalgia that can be positive and poignant, rather than negative. Additionally, they operate in between-spaces that allow their deeply personal lyrics to move beyond the specific areas about which they are written. The writers are able to transcend their own specificities through the use of liminalities and between-spaces – spaces such as highways and construction sites, that seem to exist on the periphery of our own world.

Ultimately, Springsteen and Samson diverge in their types of nostalgia – Springsteen works toward a restoration of his personal past, while Samson retraces histories. Both write about leaving and returning - residents of the towns are pulled away, yet there is always a pull back. These qualities could describe any number of towns in today's Canada or United States. By operating within spaces of liminality and within ideas of restoring or retracing nostalgia, both Samson and Springsteen capture what is perhaps the most natural and familiar feeling in the world: the desire to escape from your hometown, only to realize, when you have matured, what you've left behind, or left unfinished in your personal life. The process of Springsteen's and Samson's attempts to grapple with those feelings reveal the different, yet powerful ways that nostalgia, space, and place allow them to transcend the localities of their lyrics.

PREFACE

In this thesis, I will examine two important questions. First: *How* do the writers Bruce Springsteen and John K. Samson take their constant utilization of local landscapes and turn them into spaces that seem familiar to listeners from all around the world, spaces that transcend their own localities? Second: *Why* do Springsteen and Samson perpetually return to their hometowns in their writing? The two writers work within what we might recognize as new paradigms of nostalgia, particularly framing those examples as being on the margins – types of nostalgia that can be positive and poignant, rather than negative. Additionally, they operate in "between-spaces" that allow their deeply personal lyrics to move beyond the specific areas about which they are written. Ultimately, Springsteen and Samson diverge in their types of nostalgia – Springsteen works toward a restoration of his personal past, while Samson retraces the histories of his hometown.

INTRODUCTION

In January 1973, a 20-something-year-old musician from Freehold, New Jersey released his debut album through Columbia Records. Columbia policy at the time was simple – its newly signed stars' debuts featured full-length snapshots of the musicians on the album covers. This artist, however, wanted something different. He had found a vintage postcard at a ragtag shop on a rundown New Jersey pier that he thought would be the perfect cover and title for his album. Surprisingly, Columbia acquiesced, and Bruce Springsteen's *Greetings from Asbury Park, N.J.* was the public's first look at the soon-to-be rock star. Why was Asbury Park so central to Springsteen's vision? What is it about that cover, and the various other references to New Jersey peppered in songs throughout his expansive career, that resonate so strongly with listeners? A consistently powerful track of nostalgia runs throughout Springsteen's lyrics as he returns and revisits the streets of his former towns. Asbury Park was always a mythical place for me, growing up as a Springsteen fan. Small-town New Jersey was "Boss" territory, and listening to his music evoked intense feelings for places in which I had never stepped foot.

I've found a similar experience interacting with the work of Canadian musician John K. Samson, formerly of the band "The Weakerthans." Samson hails from Winnipeg, Manitoba, and his works reflect his upbringing. Canadian scholar Sue Sorenson goes so far as to dub him the "Poet Laureate of Winnipeg Rock" because of his lyrical prowess (Sorenson 1). His song is intensely literary – he writes with rich, figurative language, dabbles in the sonnet form, employs an "uncommonly sensitive ear for metre and rhyme and an apparently inexhaustible supply of original imagery," and his songs are rife with allusions to other Canadian poets (Sorenson 1). He, like Springsteen, draws upon his locality in many of his lyrics. Samson navigates the streets of Winnipeg throughout his albums, painting portraits of small moments on street corners, of a bus driver struggling to get his lover out of his head during the evening commute, of the Winnipeg Sunday evening tradition of "Cruise Night," and more. Like Springsteen's, Samson's work evokes a kind of nostalgia as well – but not necessarily the same type that Springsteen employs, nor for the same purpose. Springsteen works to restore while Samson works to retrace.

How is it, in the cases of both Springsteen and Samson, that such deeply personal lyrics about the trials and triumphs of their particular hometowns can transcend those communities and find a global audience? As I examine the question of how their local writings take on more boundless qualities, two important concepts arise: first, that of "space and place" and the relationship of humans to both, and second, the changing idea of nostalgia.

SPACE AND PLACE

The concepts of space and place aren't easy to define or differentiate, but they are essential to characterize for the purposes of my argument, and to come to an understanding of the ways that these spaces can take on qualities of what I refer to as betweenness. Scholarly discussion on the differences between space and place offer a variety of perspectives on how to neatly delineate space and place. In John Agnew's chapter titled "Space and Place" in the 2011 *Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, he grapples with the differences between space and place. His basic definitions are as follows: "In the simplest sense place refers to either a location somewhere or to the occupation of that location…Place becomes a particular or lived space...Place is specific and location (or space) is general" (Agnew 6). This idea of place being a "lived space" is key as I think about the locations and scenery of Springsteen's and Samson's songs. The "places" of the hometowns function importantly as these lived spaces, places that are often named to identify them as such. "Spaces" are broader and less restrictive – for example, the space of the highway crops up over and over in both musicians' works. "In this frame of reference, places are woven together through space by movement and the network ties that produce places as changing constellations of human commitments, capacities, and strategies," writes Agnew. "Places are invariably parts of spaces and spaces provide the resources and the frames of reference in which places are made" (19). The movements and ties of spaces such as the highway in Springsteen's lyrics work to become the scaffolding of the places of his hometown and represent localities that become so important to his songs.

Space and place also interact in the transition between the two – the becoming of place, from space. Samson utilizes the trope of construction sites over and over again in his lyrics – these are, in key ways, *between* spaces, sites that have not yet become named places. There are also sites being torn down – former places that are now merely spaces. It is these areas of betweenness that interest me.

Scholar Edward Casey writes in his work *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* that we create "built places to stave off chaos" (Casey 112). The action of building is important to Casey, and is especially interesting to me as I consider the building and rebuilding that occurs in the lyrics of Springsteen and Samson. Casey also emphasizes the ability to "dwell" in places, and cites two properties of dwelling – "repeated return" and "felt familiarity" (Casey 116). The lyrics of Springsteen and Samson offer a kind of dwelling in using both of these properties – we all do this kind of repeated return, and these two artists write it from their own perspectives.

The spaces and places that Springsteen and Samson write construct landscapes throughout their music that are at once wholly personal to the writers and yet deeply familiar to listeners.

I'll explore the ways that these spaces and places – and especially those sites of betweenness – contribute to that transcendence.

NOSTALGIA: THE CASE OF BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN

In his book *Everyone Dies Young: Time Without Age*, Marc Auge posits that there are two kinds of nostalgia: "one that focuses on the past that we lived and one that focuses on the past that we might have lived" (75). It's important to differentiate between the two as I examine the works of these authors. As writers exploring complex histories and pasts, Springsteen and Samson toy with both types. I will refer to the first type of nostalgia as a "retracing" nostalgia – the act of going back to a time that once was, of recollecting and observing. I will refer to the second type of nostalgia using a phrase borrowed from scholar Elizabeth Seymour in her 2012 essay on Springsteen's *Nebraska* album: "restorative" nostalgia. This is the act of nostalgia that doesn't want to simply retrace the past, but to change it. I will explore the ways that Springsteen and Samson retrace and rework both their personal histories and the histories of their communities and hometowns, linking their local writings with more widely familiar nostalgias to give their work a transcendent quality.

Bruce Springsteen was born in 1949 to a Dutch-Irish father and Italian mother in Freehold, New Jersey. At age seven, he saw Elvis Presley on *The Ed Sullivan Show.* He speaks of this moment in his biography *Born to Run*:

> This music was filled with deep longing, a casually transcendent spirit, mature resignation and… hope… hope for that girl, that moment, that place, that night when everything changes, life reveals itself to you, and you, in turn, are revealed. Records that longed for some honest place, some place of one's own… (Springsteen 45).

He got his first guitar a few years later and went through high school as a loner, never really belonging. His first band, the Castiles, gave him the bug for performing. His next venture, Steel Mill, thrust him onto the radar of several music executives. It wasn't until 1972, however, that he landed that coveted Columbia contract and formed what would eventually be called the E Street Band. Springsteen's lyricism is what immediately endeared him to legendary music producer John Hammond, who had signed Bob Dylan a decade earlier. Indeed, Springsteen could never quite escape comparisons to Dylan – but even so, it's clear that he was indebted to Dylan's style. "The world he described was all on view, in my little town, and spread out over the television that beamed into our isolated homes, but it went uncommented on and silently tolerated," writes Springsteen of Dylan's influence in his life – an influence similar to the one that he would later have on millions of lives (167).

Springsteen's songs are lyrical tour de forces, powerhouses of imagery and character. The worlds that he constructs seem to float between existing on the periphery and being right in front of us, allowing the lyrics to transcend their own specificities and appeal to listeners. His

process of nostalgia hinges on these settings throughout his songs. Images of blue-collar workers, beaches, cars, and highways persist throughout his songs, a reflection of the world that he comes from. He explores his New Jersey roots through his lyrics – both Freehold, where he spent his early years, and Asbury Park and the surrounding areas, where he spent his formative years. The landscapes of small-town New Jersey pop up repeatedly in his writing, sometimes explicitly, as in *Greetings*, and sometimes more subtly, such as in the *Nebraska* album, as I will discuss later; the places of his childhood infuse his songs with poignant familiarity.

Perhaps Springsteen's most well-known motif is that of the highway. Throughout his songs, his characters seek escape, redemption, and fulfillment, and many of them seek it on the open road. Cars and interstates form the scenery of Springsteen's songs, literal vehicles for the characters within them to find what they're looking for. In "Thunder Road," the narrator sings that "these two lanes can take us anywhere." For the characters in these songs, the highways aren't linear —there is no point A to point B. Instead, they exist in an ethereal balance between grounded reality and boundless possibility. "In Thunder Road, the road represents unlimited, uncertain, and urgent possibilities," writes Marya Morris in "From 'My Hometown' to 'This Hard Land': Bruce Springsteen's Use of Geography, Landscapes, and Places to Depict the American Experience" (7). The highway serves as a liminal space both literally between Springsteen's New Jersey and some kind of "Promised Land," as well as a bridge between the local and the transcendent within his writings.

For Springsteen, the highway is often escape. However, even when he uses a real-world signifier, such as "Highway 9" in "Born to Run," the space of the road is able to move beyond just Highway 9. Springsteen grounds the initial space of the song in real-world New Jersey, but the highway brings a psychological escape from that "death trap." Again, it's not a linear space — "Someday girl, I don't know when, we're gonna get to that place we really wanna go and we'll walk in the sun," he sings. There is no concrete final destination, no named place such as the ones that locate the characters at the start of the song – and this destination, whatever it may be, is superseded by the locale of the highway itself. It offers escape in a psychological sense, beyond just a physical one. The highway is a "between-space," offering refuge from the emotional trials of the past.

"Racing in the Street" from his 1978 album *Darkness on the Edge of Town* offers Springsteen's most compelling example of the highway being used as an escape – not simply as a linear escape to take the narrator to another space, but also as a space itself that offers a departure from a dead-end, blue-collar life. The song describes the exhilaration the narrator feels racing his souped-up Chevy on the strip after he gets home from work. The pain and struggles of the narrator's life melt away on the street. Even more than the male narrator, suffering is present in the character of his lover in this song. The song ends with the image of the two of them riding down the highway together, seeking some kind of redemption:

"Tonight my baby and me, we're gonna ride to the sea / And wash these sins off our hands. / Tonight, tonight the highway's bright..." This stark use of the highway allows Springsteen to connect the struggles and idiosyncrasies of his small town – and indeed, small towns across America – with more broad themes of escape and recovery. Again, this liminal space of a highway, a space that is neither here nor there but has the ability to take you somewhere, allows its riders to escape and seek redemption in its potential.

On a smaller scale, the streets of Springsteen's hometown achieve these same themes for Springsteen himself. In *Born to Run,* he describes his obsession with returning to drive through the streets of his old neighborhood, past the memories and spaces of his youth, "waiting for something to change." "I would return and return, in dreams and out, waiting for a new ending to a book that had been written a long time ago," he writes. "I would drive as if the miles themselves could repair the damage done, write a different story, force these streets to give up their heavily guarded secrets. They couldn't" (113). Springsteen struggles with themes of damage and pain in his songs the only way he knows how – and indeed, in the same ways he dealt with these issues in his own life – logging miles, letting the highway take him to new places, arriving, then leaving, each new place with the space of the road as the only constant. The road takes Springsteen, in life and in lyric, through the streets of his old town, and then out of them forever as he looks for answers to questions of belonging. This attempt at restorative memory by returning to his hometown indicates the power of the liminality of those streets, those between spaces.

Springsteen's localities and his ability to infuse them with recognizable significance can be found most prominently in his sixth studio album, *Nebraska*. Released in 1982, *Nebraska* is a stark, haunting body of work, originally recorded as demos on a cassette-tape Portastudio. Springsteen intended to record and release the album with the full E Street Band, but found that the sparseness of the demo recordings fit the subject matter of the album in a way that wouldn't be possible with a full band. *Nebraska* is the album that has generated the most scholarship surrounding Springsteen – the themes that he explores make it a masterful examination of small-town America and blue-collar characters dealing with existential dread, marginalized or fringe characters who are living in this perpetual "between" world that he writes so effectively.

The songs in *Nebraska* take place in many different places in America – some real, some less so – and yet, there is a quality to the entire album that suggests the scenery is more familiar than one might think. "Springsteen appropriated the local – the familiar landscapes of New Jersey – and transformed and transcended the local in the universal concerns of *Nebraska,"* writes scholar Frank Fury. Fury claims that, while the album is not explicitly set in Springsteen's hometown, Springsteen uses the same tools to write the locations of *Nebraska* that serve his writing about New Jersey in other songs. Despite these familiar landscapes, a

sense of isolation permeates the characters – a dislocation from their surroundings as they exist in these spaces.

"Highway Patrolman" situates its narrator, Joe Roberts, as a sergeant from a real town in New Jersey ("I'm a sergeant out of Perrineville barracks number 8"), yet the song takes place in a fictional "Michigan County" as the narrator's brother drives toward the Canadian border. Springsteen blurs the lines between reality and fiction, and thus creates a world that is not wholly either. He is again playing with themes of betweenness. The narrator's brother, Franky, "ain't no good," and Springsteen explores the tension between familial love and civic duty as Joe intentionally lets Franky get away over the border. It is a haunting moment:

> It was out at the crossroads, down round Willow bank
> Seen a Buick with Ohio plates behind the wheel was Frank
> Well I chased him through them county roads till a sign said Canadian border five miles from here
> I pulled over the side of the highway and watched his taillights disappear.

Springsteen's characters are often situated at these types of "crossroads," here made explicit. The chase between the two brothers occurs in this kind of "no-man's-land" in the fictional Michigan County, also literally situated at a border between the U.S. and Canada. Springsteen's characters are perpetually *between* – on a highway (between home and an imagined destination), at a crossroad (as in the song above), or in a liminal space between grounded reality and non-reality. And yet, this world he constructs is still so familiar – it employs the familiar landscapes of his upbringing, familiar tropes of nostalgia for the past. Fury writes, "It resides metaphorically in the nameless and countless small-town communities that dwell at the core of his music" (83). I take Fury's statement a step further and argue that it's not necessarily the communities that offer this familiarity, but the sensibilities of a deep longing to return to one's home. In this way, *Nebraska* is perhaps the best example of how Springsteen uses familiar landscapes to evoke deeply recognizable feelings – in these cases, feelings of isolation and nostalgia.

Nebraska is an album about isolation in many ways. The title track tells the story of real-life couple Charles Starkweather and his girlfriend, Carol Fugate. The two teens went on a shooting rampage from December 1957 to January 1958, killing 11 people. Springsteen writes from the perspective of Starkweather. The final line of the song gives his justification for the murders: "Sir, I guess there's just a meanness in this world." This line is a direct echo of Flannery O'Connor's short story, "A Good Many is Hard To Find," in which The Misfit declares that the only pleasure in life is "meanness." Springsteen delved deeply into O'Connor's works in the mid-1980s – the themes of her writing resonated powerfully with Springsteen as he struggled with his identity as a Catholic and his views on human nature. The dread that the song "Nebraska" evokes speaks to the familiar dread that Springsteen writes into the album as a whole: a dread of not fitting in, of not belonging – evoking the

"meanness" that Springsteen cites. It's this feeling of dread or pain that Springsteen so often counters through his use of the highways, through these *between* spaces where a feeling of placelessness takes precedence – you can't not belong to a place if there is no place to which to belong.

The nostalgia throughout *Nebraska* is palpable, especially in songs where Springsteen explores his past, such as "My Father's House," "Mansion on a Hill," and "Used Car." Elizabeth Seymour writes in a 2012 essay that Springsteen's "restorative nostalgia stresses nostos (return home) and attempts a reconstruction of a lost home." These motifs of return and reconstruction are key. "My Father's House" was the last song completed on the album. In a 1990 concert, he introduced it with the following story:

> I had this habit for a long time: I used to get in my car and drive back through my old neighborhood in the town I grew up in. I'd always drive past the old houses that I used to live in, sometimes late at night. I got so I would do it really regularly - two, three, four times a week for years. I eventually got to wondering, 'What the hell am I doing?' So, I went to see the psychiatrist. I said, 'Doc, for years I've been getting in my car and driving past my old houses late at night. What am I doing?' He said, 'I want you to tell me what you think you're doing.' I go, 'That's what I'm paying you for.' He said, 'Well, something bad happened and you're going back thinking you can make it right again. Something went wrong and you keep going back to see if you can fix it or somehow make it right.' I sat there, and I said, 'That is what I'm doing.' He said, 'Well, you can't' (Springsteen).

Springsteen's compulsion for returning indicates this *nostos* that Seymour describes, and the desire to rebuild what has been lost. "Atlantic City" is another song that speaks to these desires to rebuild what has been lost: "Everything dies, baby that's a fact / But maybe everything that dies someday comes back."

A town in ruin is an image that plays prominently in Springsteen's songs, and the song "My Hometown" from *Born in the U.S.A.* deals with the trials of living in such a place. The narrator has always been told by his father, "This is your hometown." However, the town is slowly dying – "Main Street's whitewashed windows and vacant stores / Seems like there ain't nobody wants to come down here no more," writes Springsteen. The narrator and his wife contemplate leaving for better opportunities. The hometown described here is a transitory space, in the process of unbecoming "place" in many ways as the signifiers and buildings that identify it as such are stripped away. The deconstruction of home fuels that desire to either escape or rebuild – Springsteen works with both throughout his songs, escaping and still returning in an attempt to rebuild.

JOHN K. SAMSON

John K. Samson was born in 1973 and grew up in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Samson started his music career playing bass for punk band Propagandhi in the mid 1990s. In 1993, while still a member of Propagandhi, Samson released a 15-track solo cassette titled *Slips and Tangles*. Since then, his lyricism and ability to capture the unique sensibilities of his hometown have made him one of Canada's best-loved artists. He released four studio albums with his indie rock band The Weakerthans and has released two solo albums since 2012 (The Weakerthans officially broke up in 2015). In 2012, he published a collection of his lyrics and poems, signaling the literary seriousness of his endeavors. Indeed, he served as an adjunct professor with the Creative Writing Program at the University of British Columbia (Feibel 1). It's clear that for Samson, the literary and the lyrical are one and the same. His songs are profound and affecting, and his lyrics hold up on the page, just as Springsteen's do.

Where Springsteen is undeniably American, Samson is thoroughly Canadian. While Springsteen emulated Elvis growing up, Samson bought his first guitar after being deeply moved by the Neil Young score on the 1995 movie, *Dead Man.* Samson explores his hometown and his version of Canada consistently throughout his work, returning again and again to unique aspects of Winnipeg. Perhaps even more so than Springsteen's New Jersey, Samson's Winnipeg is a collection of totally unique and unprecedented characteristics, and Samson is not afraid to delve into the specifics. In Matt Schild's 2012 "AV Club" interview, Samson discusses his affinity for creating landscapes through song, and his desire to write small-town life:

> In my mind, I wanted to—it sounds dumb—I wanted to make a little musical map of these places. It's really like I could take a map of Manitoba and with scissors, just cut out a circle of this record. I like that idea, that I could make a little musical map of these places. I like the idea that if someone were to want to go for a couple days of driving with me, I could take them to the site of every song, which I thought was fun (Schild 1).

Samson's songs indeed create colorful and powerful landscapes, and his tendency toward the specific contributes to the mappability of his songs.

Many of Samson's songs are explicitly situated within Winnipeg, and even the ones that aren't exist within the same landscape – similar to how Springsteen appropriates New Jersey landscapes and moods even without setting songs explicitly in the state. "One Great City" is Samson's best known and most obvious ode to his love-hate relationship with his hometown. The lyrics move the listener through the city: "Late afternoon, another day is nearly done. A darker grey is breaking through a lighter one." And later: "The same route every day. And in the turning lane, someone's stalled again. He's talking to himself, and hears the price of gas repeat his phrase: 'I hate Winnipeg...'" England-based folk-rock singer-songwriter Frank

Turner, a massive fan himself of both Samson and Springsteen, once covered the song in Winnipeg. While singing it, he changed the chorus to "I hate Winchester" to reflect his own hometown. Turner speaks to the connection he feels to that song, and his decision to change the lyric:

> I think it's a reasonably common path through life, to grow up dying to escape from the place where you're raised, and then to spend the rest of your life cautiously and sheepishly wheeling back around towards it again… It's like the old adage, that locals can diss the town as much as they like, but if outsiders try it, the locals close rank. It's quite a human thing (Turner).

It is, indeed, a human thing to have that love-hate relationship with the place where you grew up, and Turner's changed lyrics tap into both the universality of that feeling as well as how personal it can be. The process of writing these familiar lyrics transcends where you come from – it doesn't have to be small-town New Jersey, it doesn't have to be Winnipeg – simply having a place that is familiar to you will connect you to the feelings that Samson (and Springsteen) evoke in their writing.

Samson's awareness of the deeper past of Winnipeg separates him from Springsteen. While Springsteen's nostalgia is deeply personal, Samson explores the history of his town and its cultures (that's not to say that he doesn't also work within this personal nostalgia in other songs). "Letter in Icelandic from the Ninette San" is one of Samson's most compelling songs, an imagined letter from a tuberculosis patient in the Ninette Sanitorium in Manitoba, writing home to his brother. The Icelandic heritage that runs through Winnipeg shines through in this song, as Samson invokes the Icelandic sagas and discusses the narrator practicing his English on nurses – it is a profound piece of writing that captures the experience of that culture, a culture to which Samson is clearly drawn. "Requests" is another song that incorporates the history of Winnipeg, invoking Icelandic genealogy. "I want you to dream in all the languages we couldn't learn," sings Samson. "I want you to watch the generations sprawl, / Constellations in a northern sky" (Samson). The haunting song perfectly captures Samson's fascination with the history of Winnipeg culture. It is a retracing nostalgia, a desire to enter these stories and know more about the people - Manitoba residents - who occupied this space before.

Winnipeg is situated right at the center of North America – indeed, its nickname is "The Heart of the Continent." Paths to and from the city, connecting it to the rest of the continent, take on an important role in Samson's work. Just as in Springsteen's work, the highways are key spaces, taking people to and from Winnipeg. Samson's song "Left and Leaving" speaks to this pull: "I'm back with scars to show, back to the street I know will never take me anywhere but here," writes Samson. The song closes with the image of counting yellow highway lines "that you're relying on to lead you home." A magnetism to the hometown runs

through this song, and the highways surrounding Winnipeg seem to exist purely to carry disillusioned natives away from their home, and then, later, to lead them back to it.

Like Springsteen's highways, Samson's roads are between-spaces, as noted explicitly in his poem, "Liminal Highway." "When you fall asleep in transit / you rarely wake much closer to where you want to be… and you know there is a word / for those seconds between / consciousness and sleep… you think that word might be 'liminal.'" Samson associates travel on highways with this idea of liminality, a non-dimensional, dreamlike location that doesn't adhere to normal rules of time and space.

Samson frames Winnipeg as a geographically central place surrounded by highways in his 2012 solo album, *Provincial*. The album begins with the song, "Highway 1 East," placing the narrator in a remote area that escapes the reach of his GPS: "…some sarcastic satellite says I'm not anywhere (Samson). The state of not being anywhere continues to feed into this idea of highways as neither here nor there, but simply a tie in between places. The album's middle song is "Longitudinal Center," and the phrase "where the Atlantic and Pacific are the very same far away" acts as a chorus. This song clearly situates the listener within the city of Winnipeg – the narrator takes us "Past the Mint, where a circle of provincial flags are flagging in the front yard." The penultimate song, "Highway 1 West" rounds out the geographical trio. Again, Samson situates the highway as a desolate space – the song opens and closes with the repeated phrase "too far to walk to anywhere from here." Samson frames Winnipeg between these two highways, both of which reach out like arteries to connect the city to the expansive country around it.

The final song on the album, "Taps Reversed," speaks again to the boomerang-like action of Winnipeg natives. "The sidewalk cracks spell the way back home / In one uninterrupted palindrome" writes Samson, indicating that wherever you go , you will repeat the journey in reverse to return home. Where Springsteen focuses on the power of possibility bringing people away from the hometown, Samson never privileges that possibility over the pull of the hometown itself. Springsteen writes linearly, Samson in a loop.

The highway is a prevalent instance of the use of between-spaces in Samson's lyric, one that he shares with Springsteen. A motif that he employs more explicitly, however, is that of construction. Springsteen deals with the ruin of a town in "Atlantic City" and "My Hometown," but Samson confronts it head on. Acts of construction – building up, tearing down, and rebuilding – pepper his songs. "My Favourite Chords" features a changing town – "they're tearing up streets again, they're building a new hotel." "One Great City" ends with the following image: "Up above us all, leaning into sky / our golden business boy, will watch the North End die, / and sing 'I love this town' / then let his arching wrecking ball proclaim: I hate Winnipeg." Samson seems to be writing a dying town, a town full of gaps and places that are now just spaces, its buildings torn down leaving nothing but cavernous emptiness in

those spaces. If Casey's assertion that we build places to stave off chaos is true, then Winnipeg is a town descending into deeper chaos as more and more tearing down occurs.

And yet, rebuilding persists. Samson's characters often hang out at construction sites – in "My Favorite Chords" the narrator asks his lover to "meet [him] at the construction site / and we'll write some notes to tape to the heavy machines." "Virtute the Cat Explains her Departure" features a cat who has run away from her owner and finds refuge in a construction site: "Found this noisy home / Full of pigeons and places to hide / And when the voices die/ I emerged to watch abandoned machines / Waiting for their men to return." The quietness of the machines enhances the fascination with these sites. The construction site itself is already a liminal space – a space in the process of becoming a place, a site "in-between." Visiting it at night furthers that experience. You can imagine the eeriness of these hulking machines sitting completely still, and yet Samson finds a way to grant them a strangely comforting quality, despite an ambiguity to what this construction might entail. It is not the result of the machines that seems to fascinate him, but rather a space that is in the midst of being either torn down or built up – a space of potential. The night serves as a liminal time in the already liminal space – Samson is operating in a world that feels like it's on the periphery of our own, yet somehow wholly familiar.

CLOSE READINGS

"*Thunder Road*"

The screen door slams
Mary's dress waves
Like a vision she dances across the porch
As the radio plays
Roy Orbison singing for the lonely
Hey that's me and I want you only
Don't turn me home again
I just can't face myself alone again
Don't run back inside
darling you know just what I'm here for
So you're scared and you're thinking
That maybe we ain't that young anymore
Show a little faith, there's magic in the night
You ain't a beauty but hey you're all right
Oh and that's all right with me

You can hide 'neath your covers
And study your pain
Make crosses from your lovers
Throw roses in the rain
Waste your summer praying in vain
For a savior to rise from these streets
Well now I'm no hero
That's understood
All the redemption I can offer, girl
Is beneath this dirty hood
With a chance to make it good somehow
Hey what else can we do now
Except roll down the window
And let the wind blow back your hair
Well the night's busting open
These two lanes will take us anywhere
We got one last chance to make it real
To trade in these wings on some wheels
Climb in back, heaven's waiting on down the tracks

Oh come take my hand
We're riding out tonight to case the promised land
Oh Thunder Road, oh Thunder Road
oh Thunder Road
Lying out there like a killer in the sun
Hey I know it's late we can make it if we run

Oh Thunder Road, sit tight, take hold
Thunder Road

Well I got this guitar
And I learned how to make it talk
And my car's out back
If you're ready to take that long walk
From your front porch to my front seat
The door's open but the ride ain't free
And I know you're lonely
For words that I ain't spoken
But tonight we'll be free
All the promises'll be broken
There were ghosts in the eyes
Of all the boys you sent away
They haunt this dusty beach road
In the skeleton frames of burned-out Chevrolets

They scream your name at night in the street
Your graduation gown lies in rags at their feet
And in the lonely cool before dawn
You hear their engines roaring on
But when you get to the porch they're gone on the wind
So Mary climb in
It's a town full of losers
And I'm pulling out to win

"Thunder Road" opens cinematically, with "Mary" dancing across the porch. When Springsteen sings "don't turn me home again / I just can't face myself alone again," he may be speaking about his New Jersey home, but the desire to escape transcends that place exclusively. "There was so much familiarity in the music that for a lot of people it felt like home," states Springsteen in a 2005 interview. "It touched either your real memories or just your imaginary home, the place that you think of when you think of your hometown, or who you were, or who you might have been" (Hornby). Springsteen constantly grapples with this idea of a reluctant return home, and of the potential of what *might have been* in that place. This line offers a hint of the way that the struggle to return and restore will become a motif for Springsteen in much of his later music.

The narrator talks Mary into joining him in his car: "Show a little faith there's magic in the night." The temporal, not just the spatial, operates in a world of liminality as well – the night is timeless, infinite, and full of magic. The night serves as a dream site that allows Springsteen to access his own internal spaces in attempts at restorative nostalgia.

The narrator gives Mary a choice to remain in the town or to come with him. He knows he can't promise much: "All the redemption I can offer, girl, is beneath this dirty hood."

However, that engine beneath the hood is all that is necessary. The car, the girl, heading for the highway: it encapsulates so many tropes of Springsteen's songs. The vehicle has the power to take them somewhere – *where* doesn't exactly matter, but the redemptive power of the liminal space of the highway is enough. By trading their wings for wheels, ("these two lanes can take us anywhere"), the narrator and Mary embrace that limitless possibility.

"We're riding out tonight to case the Promised Land / Oh Thunder Road, Oh Thunder Road," writes Springsteen. Thunder Road is not an actual highway, and there is no "Promised Land" on any map you'd find of New Jersey. But the spaces feel real. The highway and the end destination are written as fantasy versions of Springsteen's New Jersey landscape, and are allowed to progress to a redemptive role. Again, there is no concrete destination. The song is not about that Promised Land that they're heading for – it's about the possibility that exists on the road. "Tonight we'll be free, all the promises will be broken," writes Springsteen, as they look to escape the burdens of their hometown.

The song closes with a final invitation from the narrator to Mary: "So Mary, climb in / It's a town full of losers / And I'm pulling out of here to win." The space of the highway invites Springsteen in, offers possibility to escape, physically or psychologically, the trials of his hometown by finding refuge in this liminal space. In a 2005 interview, he says this of "Thunder Road": "The music sounds like an invitation. Something is opening up to you… the idea that it is all lying somewhere inside of you… just on the edge of town" ("Bruce Springsteen", *VH1 Storytellers*). In "Thunder Road," and in much of his work, Springsteen's lyrics transcend their own specificities as he writes possibility into worlds that feel like they're our own, but on the edges – existing in liminal spaces.

"Left and Leaving"

My city's still breathing (but barely it's true) through buildings gone missing like teeth. The sidewalks are watching me think about you, all sparkled with broken glass. I'm back with scars to show. Back with the streets I know. They never take me anywhere but here.

Those stains in the carpet, this drink in my hand, these strangers whose faces I know. We meet here for our dress-rehearsal to say " I wanted it this way" and wait for the year to drown. Spring forward, fall back down. I'm trying not to wonder where you are.

All this time lingers, undefined. Someone choose who's left and who's leaving.

Memory will rust and erode into lists of all that you gave me: some matches, a blanket, this pain in my chest, the best parts of Lonely, duct-tape and soldered wires, new words for old desires, and every birthday card I threw away.

I wait in 4/4 time. Count yellow highway lines that you're relying on to lead you home.

Samson's "Left and Leaving" is the title song of the Weakerthans' 2000 album. Like Springsteen's "Thunder Road," it speaks to many important themes that recur throughout Samson's work, namely that of leaving from and returning to a hometown. The "buildings gone missing like teeth" speaks to themes of a city full of holes and gaps, a dying town. The streets of the town bring him back in a constant return – he mixes the personal pain with the pain of the city by writing "I'm back with scars to show. Back with the streets I know. They never take me anywhere but here." This speaks to the aforementioned boomerang-like action of Winnipeg natives.

Liminality extends to the temporal in this song as well – "Spring forward, fall back down," writes Samson. There is a tone of resignation to the passage of time as the year goes on. And then he furthers the liminality of the temporal through the line, "All this time lingers, undefined." Time works in strange ways in these lyrics, as Samson constructs a world grounded in the streets of Winnipeg yet still on the periphery of reality. "Memory will rust and erode into lists of all that you gave me," writes Samson next. Here, importantly, he differs from Springsteen. Where Springsteen restores, Samson retraces –his nostalgia is manifest in specificities, oddities, and the mundane, such as matches and birthday cards. Small acts of building are again present here – duct tape and soldered wires. Samson captures a world seemingly "between" in space as well as memory.

Finally, the song concludes with the lines "I wait in 4/4 time. Count yellow highway lines that you're relying on to lead you home." Again, time seems to stand still, or at least seems to behave in unusual ways that contribute to the feeling that this exists on the edges of a very concrete world. Samson creates a peripheral space that allows him to access that "retracing nostalgia," collecting poignant moments from his own life or the lives of others that offer powerful, familiar feelings. Samson's collections of memory offer a different type of nostalgia than Springsteen's attempts to return and restore. Lastly, the motif of the highway is the final image in the song. The yellow lines beautifully wrap up this song and speak to larger themes in Samson's work about returning home. "Left and Leaving" captures a

phenomenon that Samson clearly feels is prevalent in Winnipeg, but is far from unique – the idea that a city's residents are in a constant state of either leaving or having left, yet still are drawn back in a return home. Samson uses that motif to work within paradigms of nostalgia and return in order to make the song about so much more than Winnipeg itself.

CREATION OF CHARACTERS

As two writers who use their own experiences so consistently when creating settings for their songs, Springsteen and Samson share an interesting commonality: both frequently write outside of themselves by creating characters. By simultaneously inhabiting familiar landscapes and unfamiliar characters, Springsteen's and Samson's creation of characters is indicative of the way that their songs tend toward a broader recognition The ideas of betweenness and liminality that I have applied to the spaces of the songs similarly apply to the isolation and situations on the fringes for characters they create.

Springsteen's *Nebraska* album is full of confessional-style songs from narrators who conclusively are *not* Springsteen – as mentioned, the title track is written from the perspective of convicted murderer Charles Starkweather. "Highway Patrolman" and "State Trooper" similarly deal with characters with dark or questionable pasts. I argue that, just as Springsteen appropriates the landscapes of New Jersey throughout this album, he also expresses an outsider's sensibility, writing ordinary blue-collar characters that exist on the edges of society. Fury points out the isolation of these characters – they exist on the margins, on borders, in *liminal spaces*. Springsteen writes outside of himself toward an attempt at understanding humans and human sensibilities of other people who exist on these margins.

Samson deals with similarly marginalized characters – more than Springsteen's working-class marginalized narrators, he seems fascinated by oddities and the unusual, characters living in a seemingly mundane landscape that are curious in some way. The previously mentioned "Letter in Icelandic from the Ninette San" deals with an immigrant tuberculosis patient. The haunting "Hymn of the Medical Oddity" is told from the perspective of Winnipeg native David Reimer, who was born a boy but raised as a girl in a well-known and tragic medical experiment. The narrator in "Bigfoot!" is a similarly marginalized character – a northern Manitoba man who claimed to have seen Bigfoot and was subsequently taken advantage of and ridiculed by the media and members of his own small town. "Won't go through it all again, / Watch their doubtful smiles begin / When the visions that I see believe in me," writes Samson. There is a distinct melancholy to this lonely outsider. Just as Springsteen works with characters on the fringes of society, Samson also writes into existence the thoughts and characteristics of men and women on the edge.

The ability to inhabit the minds of characters other than yourself – real or imagined – is no easy task, but Springsteen and Samson consistently prove that this is a powerfully affecting way to reach listeners who may not share those life experiences but still understand the feelings behind them. Whether these lyricists are writing about personal experiences or the experiences of others, they often use the first person "I." Counterintuitively, this subjectivity does not isolate the listener, but rather by situating the characters on the margins of society, such personal revelations of marginalized characters have quite the opposite effect. By continuing to work within these between-spaces, both physical and societal, Springsteen and Samson eclipse their own specificities and resonate with people from many landscapes and social situations.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

Springsteen and Samson operate in spaces of liminality, spaces that allow their writings to transcend their own specificities. In trying to answer the question of *how* those liminalities operate, however, one must also consider *why*. Why do Springsteen and Samson continually return to the landscapes of their respective small towns? What do their respective nostalgias seek to accomplish? I believe there is a distinction between Springsteen's attempts to restore and Samson's to merely retrace and shed light on history. This desire to restore and rebuild is made explicit in Springsteen's own words in his biography. His shattered childhood drove him toward an effort of rebuilding. He describes his relationship with his grandparents' former home, where he spent many of his early years, and how it still haunts him and drives his music:

> The grinding hypnotic power of this ruined place and these people would never leave me. I visit it in my dreams today, returning over and over, wanting to go back. It was a place where I felt an ultimate security, full license and a horrible, unforgettable, boundary-less love. It ruined me and it made me. Ruined, in that for the rest of my life I would struggle to create boundaries for myself that would allow me a life of some normalcy in my relationships. It made me in the sense that it would set me off on a lifelong pursuit of a "singular" place of my own, giving me a raw hunger that drove me, hell-bent, in my music. It was a desperate, lifelong effort to rebuild, on embers of memory and longing, my temple of safety (*Born to Run* 11).

Springsteen's struggles with his past are laid out in his music, and he uses songwriting as a force to not only revisit those struggles but also to attempt to overcome them. His pursuit of a "place of [his] own" reveals itself through the landscapes he employs. Through his lyrics, he reflects his New Jersey home, yet in many ways writes spaces that lead toward a transcendent understanding of those places.

Samson's work, the subject of less academic study, is harder to describe, yet on the surface we know that he tends toward the historical and the past. He paints character portraits of Canadians, both real and imagined, who are defined by the small moment, by the mundane and/or the particular, as he gives us glimpses into the interiority of everyday figures operating within the familiar landscape of Winnipeg. He retraces the nuances and peculiarities of his hometown, recent or not. His fascination with construction and roads – particularly the acts of leaving and returning – speak to a fascination with a city that is simultaneously dying and being reborn, changing under his very feet. Samson critiques the situation in Winnipeg, yet still feels the personal power of the town that he calls home. Its residents are leaving, yet there is always the pull back. These qualities could describe any number of towns in today's Canada or United States.

Both Samson and Springsteen truly capture what is for many a natural and familiar feeling – the desire to escape from your hometown only to realize, when you have matured, what you've left behind or left unfinished. The process of Springsteen's and Samson's attempts to grapple with those feelings reveal the different, yet powerful, ways that nostalgia, space, and place allow them to transcend the localities of their lyrics.

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ABSTRACT

As an ethnolinguistically diverse nation, the Philippines and its citizenry are presented with the intricacies of navigating a pluricultural society. Following 333 years of Spanish colonial rule and 48 years of occupation by the United States, the adoption of Western cultural traits by the native population has profoundly transformed the cultural landscape of the Philippines. The ideologies, religions, and codes of social etiquette imported by its former colonial masters have seemingly bisected Philippine society into a mainstream, "Filipino" majority and an indigenous minority. In examining narratives of nationalism and ethnic consciousness amongst the Itawis people of Northern Luzon – who have been ascribed an indigenous status by government-sponsored publications – this study endeavored to explore the nuances of this mainstream-indigenous dichotomy and investigate its role in the lives of indigenous Philippine citizens. In spite of their ascribed indigeneity, the Itawis consistently self-identified with mainstream Filipino culture, thus muddling the definitions of indigenous and mainstream. Ultimately, the findings abandon the idea that the categories of mainstream and indigenous occupy distinct cultural spheres, and much rather suggest that the interplay between these categories was and continues to be key in the formation of a so-called "Filipino" political and cultural entity.

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INTRODUCTION

The historian William Henry Scott once referred to the vast linguistic and cultural diversity of the Philippines as a "kaleidoscope." This complex fractal vision of the Philippines is distinguished by its 170 ethnolinguistic groups that trace their origins from the Neolithic expansion of the Austronesian-speaking peoples into the archipelago thousands of years before present (Scott, 1976) – a portrait of colorful cultural variety that endured even in the face of the Spanish and American colonial periods that gripped the islands for many, many generations. The Cordillera Administrative Region alone contains the Kalinga, Ifugao, Kankanai, Isneg, Bontoc, Ibaloi, Ga'dang and Ilocano (Scott, 1976). However, given the intricacies of history, the various Philippine groups as they exist today can be more broadly bisected into two groups, generalized as either that of the "mainstream" Westernized Filipino society that accounts for the demographic majority, and a minority made up of "indigenous" non-Westernized groups. This begs the question as to what exactly defines mainstream, and what defines indigenous?

The origin of this cultural stratification can be linked back to the native[1] Philippine population's colonial experiences under the Spanish and American regimes. A period of 400-plus years under the influence of these Western powers has undoubtedly left its mark on the region's religious, political, and cultural landscape, a colonial legacy that is easily observed in contemporary Philippine societies. What processes then, led to the mainstream-indigenous divide, and what processes perpetuate it? How do indigenous peoples conceptualize not only themselves but also their role in Philippine society? These are the types of questions that this study will seek to answer, particularly in relation to the Itawis ethnolinguistic group of Northern Luzon, Philippines, among whom I spent five weeks conducting ethnographic interviews during the summer of 2016. Using the data from the Itawis, I will go on to discuss this paper's central argument – the mainstream Filipino identity became focal to nationalist movements that culminated in the establishment of the Westernized Philippine state, while the status of indigeneity was conferred to native populations who were increasingly viewed as culturally backwards and evasive of state authority. It was through receptiveness to Western cultural traits and the degree to which native Philippine populations embodied and appropriated colonial socio-political dynamics that the divide between the Hispanicized majority and the "pagan" indigenes became more apparent from the 1600s and onwards.

[1] "Native" will be used throughout this paper to refer specifically to descendant populations of peoples who were present in the Philippine archipelago prior to a colonial, European presence in the islands, which, arguably, applies to the vast majority of the present day residents of the Philippines.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A Briefing on Philippine History

To understand Philippine cultural diversity as it applies today, we must first undertake a greater investigation of pre-colonial societies and colonial-era ethnogenesis. To begin, all contemporary Philippine native populations are speakers of languages belonging to the Austronesian language group, a family of languages that first entered the Philippine archipelago an estimated 5,000 years ago (c. 3000 B.C.) with the arrival of Austronesian-speaking settlers from Taiwan, as proposed by Peter Bellwood (1995).[2] Within the Philippines, these Austronesian-speaking migrants diversified, and by the era of European colonial contact in the 16th century, particularly with Spain, Spanish accounts were taking note of various native Philippine groups such as the Iloko and the Tagalog, groups that are extant to this day (Keesing, 1962).

Spanish intrusion into the Philippine Islands came in the form of militaristic assimilationism, as seen in the forced relocations and displacement of native populations and a colonial policy dictated in a large part not only by the extraction of natural resources, but by a Spanish *mission* to convert the indigenous populations to Roman Catholicism (Scott, 1976). Interestingly, Spain's political and religious intrusion in the region may have been responsible for further ethnogenesis – the creation of new common-descent communities – through the dynamics of two systems: the pooling together of populations resisting Spanish hegemony, and the novel yet intensifying dichotomy between Christians and non-Christians. The Philippine scholar, Felix M. Keesing, for example, postulated the origins of the Ifugao (considered indigenous to the Cordilleran region) traceable to the lowland peoples escaping the 16th century Spanish military invasions of the Magat River Valley, with native groups migrating to the mountains for protection (Keesing, 1962). On the same note, William H. Scott attributed the coalescence and solidification of Cordilleran ethnolinguistic identities to a common interest in resisting Spanish cultural influences and political rule, and more importantly, a shared aversion for their once-neighbors remaining in the lowlands who became Christianized and increasingly Hispanicized (1976).

In better illustrating this Hispanicized, Christian and non-Hispanicized, non-Christian divide, the history of the Gaddang people is a noteworthy example. Felix M. Keesing made note in his *Ethnography of Northern Luzon* that the Gaddang in the 18th century internally divided into a Hispanicized, Christian group and a Spanish-resisting group – the latter retreating to the highlands of the Cordilleras, while the former integrated into the lowland, mainstream Christian Filipino culture (1962). After many failed appeals of conversion by the

[2] Bellwood's position on the origin and dispersal of the Austronesian language family is but one among many other models regarding this subject.

Christianized Gaddang to the unconverted Gaddang, armed and economic tensions between the two groups led to a process of mutual, cultural "othering" that culminated in an ultimate ethnic split (Keesing, 1962). In spite of still sharing similar cultural practices and speaking the same language, the Hispanicized and Christian Gaddang came to be absorbed in the identity of the Hispanicized, lowland Filipino, while the highland Gaddang (also referred to as Ga'dang) are contemporarily recognized as "indigenous" by mainstream Philippine society (Keesing, 1962).

Indeed, Spain's presence in the archipelago played a significant role in the modern development of the Philippines, however, Spain's ousting from the islands in 1898 led to the Philippines' being occupied by another Western power – the United States of America (Bacdayan, 2009). Assuming control of the region in the early 1900s, the United States split the governance of the Philippine Islands under the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly – the former, populated by American government officials, was to serve the demands of the indigenous, non-Christian minority, while the latter, populated solely by Filipinos[3], dealt with the Christian majority (Bacdayan, 2009). The purpose of such, was to prevent the possible abuses to non-Christians were the Christian majority to solely govern the islands – American officials observed that the Christians viewed the non-Christians with contempt, considering them backwards, uncivilized, and inferior (Bacdayan, 2009). During this period of split rule, the governance of the non-Christian, indigenous groups fell under the exclusive oversight of the American regime, which hoped to stamp out and purge all things "uncivilized" and "barbarous" from these societies (Bacdayan, 2009). This Christianizing and civilizing mission taken on by the United States ignored, for the most part, the already Roman Catholic majority, and focused heavily instead on the "highland" tribes that were not subjugated by Spain (Cardova, 2009). This system would go on for the first 25 years of American rule in the Philippines, after which there was a gradual move towards all-Filipino governance in the islands (Bacdayan, 2009).

The end of the American occupation of the Philippine Islands, however, came in 1946 (Bacdayan, 2009), and the new Republic of the Philippines busied itself with cultivating a national identity to unify the republic's various ethnolinguistic groups. As per Kathleen Weekley, in creating this national identity, nation-states must reinterpret or formulate anew altogether "shared memories" that did not exist prior to independence, which, for the Philippines, entailed envisioning the struggle for independence from Western powers as the unifying and defining factor of a Filipino identity (2006). The struggle of creating a definitive Filipino collectivity was especially crucial, as native Philippine populations had no unifying state allegiances prior to Spanish colonization, much unlike their other Asian neighbors (San Juan, 1989). As suggested by Eric A. San Juan, the new Republic of the Philippines was thus prompted to preoccupy itself not with deriving its legitimacy from a

[3] Note that "Filipinos" in this context does not include indigenous peoples who are, by virtue of being residents of the Philippines, are technically, also Filipinos.

preexisting, archipelago-wide sense of Filipinoness, but rather, with the creation of governmental vehicles that aimed to secure the loyalty of its loosely associated citizenry and herding them towards a sense of national unity (1989). One such mechanism was the implementation of a national language, now dubbed as "Filipino," a language which is essentially a standardized version of the Tagalog language (spoken in the regions surrounding the capital, Manila) and purposed to be used as the official language of government and education and as a lingua-franca amongst all Filipinos (Sibayan, 1985).

Notwithstanding, in the backdrop of pursuing this Filipino identity, the Philippines continued to maintain the tradition of dividing society into mainstream and indigenous, culminating in the codification of the official definition of indigeneity in the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997, stating the following:

> **Indigenous Cultural Communities/Indigenous Peoples** . . . refer to a group of people or homogenous societies identified by self-ascription and ascription by other, who have continuously lived as an organized community on communally bounded and defined territory, and who have, under claims of ownership since time immemorial, occupied, possessed customs, tradition and other distinctive cultural traits, or who **have, through resistance to political, social and cultural inroads of colonization, non-indigenous religions and culture, become historically differentiated from the majority of Filipinos** (Congress of the Republic of the Philippines, 1997).

Additionally, the Country Technical Note on Indigenous Peoples' Issues published in by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (United Nations) in collaboration with the Republic of the Philippines conferred the designation of "indigenous" to 109 Philippine ethnolinguistic groups (Cariño).

The Itawis People of Northern Luzon

In his Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon, Felix M. Keesing described the Itawis as a Christian and Hispanicized ethnolinguistic group occupying the lower plains of the Chico River in Cagayan, Philippines (1962). The homeland of the Itawis, the lower Chico plains, was mentioned by Keesing to have been in the past plagued with the constant turbulence of war and fighting between native peoples (1962). In relation to neighboring ethnolinguistic groups, Keesing made note of the close linguistic affiliations between the Itawis and a neighboring group, called the Isneg, postulating that the indigenous Isneg represent a highland, un-Westernized sister group of the Itawis that splintered from the latter during pre-Spanish times (1962). Historically, Spanish officials have also mistaken the Itawis for Northeastern Kalinga peoples who are indigenous to a region directly west of Cagayan known as the Cordilleras, a locale known for its various indigenous communities (Llamzon, 1978).

Cagayan, according to Dr. Edilberto de Jesus, was officially incorporated into the Spanish colony of Las Islas Filipinas in 1583, with the Itawis being "fully subjugated" some years

later by the Spanish government in 1594 (Malabad, 2015). At present, the main Itawis centers in Cagayan include the towns of Enrile, Iguig, Peñablanca, Tuao, and Piat, wherein the Itawis make up the entirety if not majority of the local population (Rocero, 1982), numbering at 134,000 as per a 1990 census (Ethnic Groups of the Philippines, 2011). The Joshua Project reported an Itawis population of 202,000 in their 2017 update on the Itawis people. Moreover, the Joshua Project reports that 95% of the Itawis identify as Christian; 12% of the 95 are evangelical while the remaining are Roman Catholic (2017). The Itawis are also listed as one of the 109 identified indigenous groups in the Country Technical Notes on Indigenous Peoples' Issues mentioned earlier (Cariño, 2012).

FIGURE 1. An illustration of a native of Cagayan province, taken from a manuscript dating to circa 1590 in the library of C. R. Boxer (Phelan, 1967).

METHODOLOGY

Landing at Tuguegarao Regional Airport in the province of Cagayan, hot, Northern Philippine air seeped into the plane's cabin as soon as the doors were opened. Regardless of the heat, however, work had to start immediately given the five weeks I had in my itinerary to conduct interviews with the local Itawis people. From June 20th to July 23rd, 2016, I travelled daily – save for weekends – by jeepney[4] on both paved and gravel roads from my base in Enrile to the other Itawis towns of Iguig, Peñablanca, Tuao, and Amulung. It would be at these five principal towns of the Itawis where the study's ethnographic interviews would be undertaken. One week was dedicated to each town: the first week to Enrile, the second to Tuao, the third to Iguig, the fourth to Amulung, and the fifth to Peñablanca.

FIGURE 2. At the Amulung Public Market in the town of Amulung, Cagayan, Philippines (Photo by Author).

Jeepney rides went on for thirty minutes and up to two whole hours depending on the road conditions and the amount of stops the driver was asked to make before the final destination. At the end of the ride, as per jeepney etiquette, the driver would unload all passengers at the jeepney hub, which was always situated on a roadside adjacent to the town's central open-air market. It is in the vast expanses of these open-air markets where I wandered about,

[4] Jeepneys are the cheapest and most popular form of mass public transportation in the Philippines, especially in the provinces where public transport is much more limited. It is essentially a much larger, four-wheel tuk-tuk.

approaching prospective interviewees regarding their willingness to pause briefly amongst the hustle and bustle and step under some shade-bearing structure for an interview. Age and gender were both taken into keen consideration; all prospective interviewees were confirmed to be above the age of 18 before any further action on my part as the investigator, and an attempt at gender balancing was made by talking to as many Itawis men as I did Itawis women (though willingness to interview was not guaranteed for either gender). At the opening of the five-week interview period, I endeavored to collect at minimum 40 interviews.

Most interviews were audio recorded. However, certain respondents expressed discomfort with being audio recorded and their responses were manually transcribed. All willing participants were subjected to semi-structured interviews with questions that drew from the following themes using Itawis or Filipino as mediums of communication:

I. Defining "indigeneity"
II. Defining Filipino and what being Filipino entailed
III. Whether the Itawis were indigenous or Filipino
IV. Whether there was a difference between being indigenous and being Filipino

Examples of such questions include:

I. Do indigenous peoples exist in the Philippines? What are characteristics of indigenous peoples in your mind?
II. What does it mean to be Filipino in your opinion? Is Filipino an ethnicity or a nationality?
III. Do you, as an Itawis, consider yourself indigenous? Would you consider the Itawis community a distinct tribe?
IV. Is there a difference between being Filipino and being indigenous? If so, what are they?

Given the semi-structured nature of the interview process, there was no rigid set of prompts in the survey instrument, but rather, novel questions were posed to the interviewees as the discussions progressed naturally. Nonetheless, the nature of the questions did not stray from the themes highlighted above. My analysis of the collected interviews proceeded through grounded theory methodology and discourse analysis.

RESULTS / ANALYSIS

What cultural factors create and perpetuate the divide between mainstream and indigenous in Philippine society? How do the indigenous peoples of the Philippines perceive their status in the Filipino nation? These were the questions that this study aimed to tackle during fieldwork, and the five weeks spent among the Itawis proved that, indeed, there was merit in considering these questions when thinking about the outward appearance of Philippine society. From defining indigeneity to drawing the boundaries of the Filipino identity, the interviewees tackled each prompt with remarkable calculation.

Altogether, the interview process was no easy task. The anticipated minimum of 40 interviewees was not reached during fieldwork due to time restrictions and weather complications. The Northern Philippines – known throughout the country for its climatic mood swings from stifling heat to washout rainstorms lived up to its name with heat waves, sudden heavy rainstorms, and debris-laden roadways. Come the end of the interviewing period in Cagayan, I collected a total of 32 interviews: 7 from Enrile and Tuao each, and 6 each from Iguig, Peñablanca, and Amulung. Of the 32 interviews, 20 were from women and 12 from men.

More interestingly, 28 out of the 32 respondents believed that the Itawis were not indigenous peoples. Why? With each response – each idea or moment of indecision and uncertainty – the interviewees painted a larger, much more complicated picture of the topic at hand. The discussion outgrew the binary of mainstream and indigeneity, and leaped into the intricacies of self-identity, stereotype, nationalism, political ramifications, personal experiences, and so much more. As such, while fieldwork progressed and as analysis ensued, the focus shifted from simply exploring the cultural factors that *appear* to create the mainstream and indigenous divide, to the more daunting task of making sense of these cultural processes in the context of situationality and history for the Itawis as a specific ethnolinguistic group, but more generally as well for the entire Philippine population. And so, in order to unpack the seemingly monolithic terms of "mainstream" and "indigenous" as they apply to the Itawis and to the Philippines, we must consider the collected interviews in closer detail and examine, in piecemeal, their nuances and specificities.

Poverty, Isolation, and Otherness

"*Ang mga katutubo, para sila yung mga tao na nakatira sa mga malayo-layong lugar* (FIL)[5]*…ammu mun, tu alle nipa peba la ya balay da nga nyan da kang kabundukan* (ITW)"

[5] Philippenic words will be labeled as either ITW for Itawis or FIL for Filipino.

– "The indigenous folks are like those people who live in very far off places…you know, the ones whose houses are still made of nipa[6] and they are in the mountainous areas." –Ramon

When prompted on the definition of being "indigenous," responses such as the one above were a common occurrence. These centered around the idea of indigenous peoples living pristine, isolated lives, living in highly inaccessible areas untouched by civilization; of being uneducated or receiving less education; and living in greater poverty than the rest of the Philippine population. These ideas – a block trio that will be referred to as ULP (un-contacted/less education/poverty) – surfaced together simultaneously in 27 of the 32 interviews, and separately[7] for the remainder of the interviews.

ULP proved to serve as the basis for the interviewees in defining indigeneity. As per the words of Joel, the indigene is one that "lives in the mountains where 'we' can't really get to [them] easily, and they stay away from the rest of 'us' and…they are not really well educated and don't know much about 'our' lives…indigenous people live in those marginal areas and they don't have much, and their houses are still very rustic." Similarly, Joy referred to indigenes as, "*Tu nyan kang utun ira* (ITW)," or "those who live above," in reference to the Cordillera Mountains that rise to the West of Cagayan, and "still live simple lives with not much of the amenities 'we' have here," and are "probably not very well educated because of poverty."

Joel and Joy introduce us to the popular envisioning of indigenous peoples in the Philippines as typically poverty-stricken. With this, it is no surprise that Joy mentioned the Cordillera Administrative Region – an area situated in the central, mountainous spine of Luzon Island, notable for its politically autonomous indigenous communities. The "Cordilleras," as the region is also known, is home to over one million indigenous individuals, and out of this population, 42 percent of indigenous households in the region are reported to live below the international poverty line (Rovillos & Morales, 2002). Indeed, the data supports the notion of poverty existing in certain indigenous-populated locales, yet, Joel and Joy's assertions of indigenous poverty become strikingly thought provoking when considering that in the Itawis home province of Cagayan, one out of every six families is reported to live under the international poverty line as of 2015 (National Anti-Poverty Commission, 2015). In spite of the poverty that permeates Itawis society itself, it appears as though there is nonetheless a disjunction between the poverty experienced by the Itawis community and the poverty experienced by indigenous peoples. Moreover, this economic distancing seems to be strongly attached to the notion of isolation – that the indigenous live in the wilderness or rugged areas. This is apparent in response sets wherein ULP is not realized as a block, such as in the

[6] Palm/ palm fronds

[7] "Separately" is used here to mean that ULP did not surface as a block in certain interviews. Mena, for example, defined the meaning of indigenous along the lines of poverty and inaccessibility, but not along the lines of education.

response of Claudia who made no mention of indigenous educational deficiencies, but upheld that the indigenous were "extremely poor" – *mahirap na mahirap* (FIL) – and lived in far-off communities in the jungles and mountains – *kagubatan at kabundukan* (FIL).

We see that the association of indigenous peoples with geographically inaccessible areas instills imagery of poverty and rustic living. Owing to indigenous isolation, indigenous poverty appears to be generally imagined as a much more severe experience, one that is, I would dare to say, *lesser*, compared to the poverty faced by the Itawis themselves. Perhaps this stems from the expectation that being cut off from larger society translates to having limited access to the comforts afforded to integrated populations, and thus, overall, having lower standards of living. In aggregate, the responses suggest a notion of in-group/out-group, wherein the Itawis perceive themselves to belong in the economically sound in-group, the mainstream Philippine population.

In addition to assertions of poverty and isolation, another reccurring theme in the responses was in regards to governance. Interviewee Andoy, for example, stated that indigenous peoples were "difficult to govern" owing to the fact that "they prefer their own old systems of governing their people, and they don't really listen to the government and instead use their own justice systems to solve fights between themselves." Moreover, Andoy added, "*Ya katutubo mari ra maytu nga makigubyernu* (ITW)," which translates to, "The indigenous people, they just don't allow themselves to be governed." On a similar note, Maring mentioned that indigenous peoples preferred their own justice systems as they "depend on solving their own problems using the government they already had from before, and it is from within their group that they make decisions, and they don't really show interest in 'our' government." Moreover, Maring stated that, "*Alle mari ra kuru kayat makigubyernu kannittera e* (ITW)," translating to either 1. It is as if they do not want to be governed with us, or 2. It is as if they do not want to be governed by us. These sentiments were repeated in 11 of the 32 interviews.

These points of view are undoubtedly anchored in the Itawis community's own history in dealing with indigenous groups, particularly those residing directly west of them in the provinces of Apayao and Kalinga that border Cagayan. Interestingly, whatever interactions the Itawis may have had with adjacent indigenous groups that would lead to these ideas of ungovernability were probably less recent in origin, and are most likely cultural memories that stem back to the time when the Spanish colonial government failed to pacify the non-Christian highland groups on the fringes of the Itawis region. While the Itawis were experiencing the full force of Dominican missionizing and the strengthening of local Spanish administrative power by 1637 (Newson, 2009), the *Igorots*[8] to the west were in constant, open rebellion to Spanish colonial encroachment. During the 320 years of Spanish presence

[8] A term used by the Spanish to collectively refer to the "Un-Christianized" groups residing in the highlands west of Cagayan

in Northern Luzon, the Igorots proved to be formidable enemies to the Spanish, burning down missions, attacking exploratory expeditions, and, in the event of defeat against the Spanish, retreated even further into the Cordilleran mountains only to regroup and reorganize their assault on the Spanish administration (Scott, 1970). According to William H. Scott, the Spanish did not manage to build and protect a permanent Garrison in the Cordilleras until the Remington Rifle (1970).

Lastly, when asked to describe indigenous peoples or to express how they envisioned indigenous people to be, the vocabulary used by the interviewees revolved around the ideas of untrustworthiness and barbarism. Barbarism here was represented by the term *pagano*, which is a Spanish loanword in Itawis meaning "pagan," and was mentioned in 27 of the 32 interviews. Mona, for example, said, "*Ammu mun tu alle ya ugali da e alle pagano peba nga naporay ra en kang tanakwan yo futufutu da* (ITW)," which translates to, "Oh you know, it is as if their comportment is pagan-like still and they are fierce and their hearts are different." Additionally, Lino believed that the indigenous were still stuck in the ways of the past, refusing to acculturate themselves into the broader Philippine society and are hostile towards people they deem to be strangers to them. "*Mari ra nga makitaytayu kang tanakwan nga tolay ira, entre alle pagano peba ya ug-ugali da* (ITW)," Lino added, meaning, "They do not mix themselves with other people and their temperament is like that of pagans."

It seems as though the participants' conceptualization of the indigene as unruly and ungovernable is a direct reflection of past colonial administrations' difficulties in establishing formal government in the Igorot territories west of Cagayan, mainly alluding to the fervent Igorot repudiation of Western rule. Claims of indigenous hot-bloodedness and mercurial emotionality are all also undeniably linked to this image of the rebellious Igorot. Moreover, the idea of indigenous un-governability suggests that, at some point in history, the ancestors of today's Itawis community came to see themselves as formal subjects of the Spanish administration *in friction* with resistant populations. This friction is captured in the participants' use of *pagano*, a term signifying resistance to Spanish cultural traits and keeping instead to non-Hispanicized ways of life. It is a term contextualized in the negative connotation of "pagan" – one who voluntarily embraces wrongful ways. As such, the bias is thus *against* the indigene, wherein the Itawis assume the point of view of correctness – Hispanicized society – while the indigenous become the un-relatable, unrelenting, and wrongful other.

Defining Filipinoness and its Boundaries

After defining indigeneity, the interviewees were then asked to describe the meaning of "Filipino," a prompt that saw an overwhelming sense of "we/us." Berto, a younger subject, defined a Filipino to be someone who is Philippine-born and feels a sense of cultural belonging to the Philippines. His response opened in Itawis and closed in Filipino, stating,

"*Ya Filipino ira…e…gitta tera ngam nga taga kanyaw, nga kanyaw tera nga ne-anak ngin* (ITAW)…*Yung parang nararamdaman mo na taga dito ka at Pilipino ka at na Pilipino ang kultura mo* (FIL)," meaning, "Filipinos are those who are like us in that we are from here, and we were born here… As if it's like you feel it [within you] that you're from here and you're Filipino and that your culture is Filipino." The themes in Berto's response carried over to the rest of the interviews, wherein the words *tera* (ITW) and *tayo* (FIL), meaning "we," were used in defining what being Filipino meant as an identity. Interestingly, the inclusive[9] form of "we" was used by all of the subjects. This became especially apparent in Pilar's response, "*Kagaya natin, Pilipino tayo* (FIL)*, alle ittera lahug ya Filipino ira* (ITW)" – "Like us [both], [you and me both] are Filipino; it's like [you and me both] who are the Filipinos." In this sense, the subjects were including me, the investigator, in their definition of Filipino.

Intriguingly, the idea of government and governability, encountered first in the definition of indigeneity, reappeared in the definition of Filipino. Out of the 32 interviewees, 22 linked the Filipino identity with the idea of being under the same government and being bound by and compliant to the rules of that government. As per Pia, the condition of existing under the same governmental body – *gubyernu* (ITW) – was an important factor alongside being part of the same Filipino culture – *kulturang pinoy* (FIL). In her response, Pia said, "*Ya pagiging Filipino e alle tu gitta tera nga parehas ya gubyernu tera, tu makigubyernu tera* (ITW), *at sinusunod natin ang kagustuhan ng ating gobyerno kasi…walang hustisiya kung hindi* (FIL), *en kang…tu parehas ya kultura tera nga* (ITW)*…kulturang pinoy*[10] (FIL). In English, this translates to, "Being Filipino is like, like us in that we have the same government, and that we allow [ourselves] to be governed, and we follow the will of our government because if we don't there would be no justice; it is also about having the same culture, the Filipino culture." Other responses included that of Bosang who suggested that Filipinos are those willing to be governed and follow the laws set by the government, and Leti, who defined the Filipino as being from the Philippines and shares the same cultural traits as the rest of the country – *parehas ang kultura* (FIL) – as well as being subject to the laws of the Philippine state.

In relation to governance, another prevalent theme centered on the term *nasiyonalidad* – nationality – a Spanish word that penetrated the vocabularies of both Itawis and Filipino. Nineteen of the 32 interviewees brought forth the idea of nationality independently, claiming that "Filipino" represented a nationality of people, people who were born in the Philippines and are thus legally Philippine citizens. This is reflected in Lando's response wherein he asserted that, "If you were born here in the Philippines then you are Filipino because you

[9] In both Itawis and Filipino, the subject "we/us" takes both an exclusive and inclusive form. The exclusive form includes the speaker and their party but excludes the person being spoken to, while the inclusive form includes the speaker and their party and the one being spoken to altogether.
[10] "Pinoy" is the diminutive of "Filipino," used by Filipinos as an adjective such as in *ugaling pinoy* (FIL), or "Filipino comportment." It is additionally used inclusively by Filipinos to identify other Filipinos, such as in, "*O, Pinay ka pala* (FIL)*,"* or, "Oh, you are a Filipina!"

were born here. My nationality is Filipino because I was born in the Philippines and my parents are from here." Similarly, Enzo stated, "*Para siyang nasiyonalidad kasi diba ang Pilipinas ay isang nasiyon, at dahil duon, kung taga dito ka e di Pilipino ang nasiyonalidad mo* (FIL)" – "It's like a nationality because the Philippines is a nation, is it not? So because of this, if you are from here, your nationality is Filipino." Moreover, when asked to clarify whether "Filipino" as a nationality was distinct from being "Filipino" as an *etniko o tribo* (ITW, FIL) – an ethnic group or a tribe – all interviewees, while commonly rejecting the idea of "Filipino" being synonymous to tribal affiliations, agreed that Filipino represented both a nationality as well as an ethnic affiliation. This is seen in Alma's interview, wherein she claimed that "Yes, in my mind, Filipino means both having a Filipino nationality but also meaning that you're culture is Filipino." Similarly, Andoy said, "*Oon, pareparehas tera ngammin nga Filipino. Nyan laman nga nerruman tera nga bissang, pero alle kanyakan isa laman ya naggafanan tera ngammin nga Filipino e* (ITW)," meaning, "Yes. We Filipinos, we are all the same. We have some small differences from [one another] but, in my view, it's as if we Filipinos all came from the same [origins]."

This all led nicely to the question of whether or not the Itawis were Filipino. Unsurprisingly, 100 percent of the interviewees said yes – the Itawis were Filipino. "Yes, the Itawis are Filipinos," Tiyago said; "*Oon ngam, Filipino tera ngammin* (ITW)," meaning, "Yes, of course, we [you, me, and everyone else here] are Filipino," added Garda. All the 32 interviewed subjects also identified directly as being Filipino themselves, most commonly affirmed through the phrase, "*Pilipino ako* (FIL)," or, "*Filipino nak* (ITW)," meaning, "I am Filipino." Additionally, all participants believed that being Itawis simultaneously translated to being Filipino, and that the designation of Itawis connoted that you were a Filipino who comes from a specific part of the country where the Itawis "dialect" is spoken. As per Malou, "*Oon ngam! Nu Itawit ka e Filipino ka pay. Awan mamba nerruman yo Itawit kanya tanakwan nga Filipino ira nuzi ya dialecto tera laman mamba, ta alle ya nerruman la yo Filipino ira bitu e kang tantanakwan ya naggafanan tera tsa Filipinas pati tantanakwan pay yo ergoan tera nga dialecto ira* (ITW)" – "Why of course! If you are Itawis you are also Filipino. The Itawis do not differ from the other Filipinos except for the dialect that we speak, because it's as if the only differences between Filipinos is that we come from different places in the Philippines and we have different [types of dialects]."

It is clear from the interviews that the respondents themselves identified as belonging to the Filipino identity, both politically speaking in terms of birthplace and in recognizing the sovereignty of the Philippine government, as well as culturally, as highlighted by Berto and Pia's use of the term "Filipino culture." By alluding to the role of the Philippine government, the respondents underline the concept of Filipino as a political affiliation, as a nationality – *nasyonalidad* – but the employment of the term "Filipino culture" – *kulturang pinoy/Pilipino* – insists that the Filipino nationality, in some way, carries a certain cultural baggage that is understood and shared by those who self-identify as Filipino. This shared culturality is

exceptionally emphasized with the interviewees' affirmation of "Filipino" as both a nationality and an ethnic group – *etniko*. The acceptance of the term *etniko* and the rejection of *tribu* – tribe – hints that "tribe" is perceived as a small, local entity, something that the respondents felt inapplicable to the concept of "Filipino" which assumes a more nationwide appeal. As such, I argue that the participants understood the term "Filipino" to be as much as a marker of a broader cultural entity as much as it served as a political label. I further stipulate that this broader cultural entity is synonymous with the political borders of the modern Philippine state.

In relation to the entity of the Philippine state, it is particularly interesting that any mention of a "Filipino culture" is done so through the use of the Filipino language. Berto is a noteworthy example, initially engaging the discussion using Itawis but switching later to Filipino when expressing the sentiment of belonging to a larger Filipino identity and partaking in Filipino culture. This phenomenon of linguistic switching is observed as well with Pia, who switched from Itawis to Filipino when talking about compliance with the Philippine government and suggesting the existence of a common, Filipino culture. The prevalence in which these political and cultural aspects of "Filipino" are simultaneously realized throughout the interviews merits further examination. Either Filipinoness represents the union of a monolithic cultural identity with a single political affiliation, or it implies the unification of different populations under one politico-cultural dialogue. However, the respondents' preference for the Filipino language in defining the Filipino identity is a valuable clue – perhaps they found it easier to express their interpretation of Filipinoness using Filipino, or, perhaps they found no other way to explain the idea of Filipinoness except through the implementation of the Filipino language.

FIGURE 3. Bilingual signage at the market of Enrile. The top line reads "*Kasaganaan, Kalusugan, Kaunlaran*" in Filipino, while the lower line reads "*Nalolohon Nu Pavvurulunan*" in Itawis (Photo by Author).

In revisiting Sibayan's work regarding the development of the Filipino language, we remember that it is a speech based on the Tagalog language found in the Philippine capital region, purposed as the official language of government, the official medium of education, and as *the* lingua franca to be used by all Filipinos who, by virtue of hailing from different parts of the Philippines speak various regional languages (1985). We can argue then, that the Filipino language is laden with the dialectics of engendering a sense of Filipinoness and creating the idea of belonging to a greater Philippine politico-cultural identity. If we understand language to play a role in the transmission of culture and facilitating the communication of ideologies from one member of a population to the next, then surely the "Filipino language" can be grasped to contain the necessary vocabulary and ideologies to express Filipinoness. It is perhaps *only* through the use of the Filipino language then that individuals can *fully* and most *holistically* explain their sense of being Filipino and of being practitioners of Filipino culture. If conceptualized in this sense, the suspicious skeptic might point out that Filipinoness is in itself a seemingly artificial idea, a topic that will be fleshed out in greater depth later on in our discussion.

For now, however, the discussion will proceed with the analysis of the Itawis' own interpretation of their Filipino identity, especially in juxtaposition to the idea of indigeneity. Having been given the opportunity to verbalize their respective conceptualizations of Filipinoness and indigeneity early in the interview process, the participants were then prompted to give their stance on the Itawis peoples' own supposed indigeneity. To this, 28 of the 32 respondents declared that the Itawis were not indigenous; two admitted that they were

not sure; while the remaining two interviewees stated that the Itawis were indigenous. Among the 28 responses that refuted the idea of Itawis indigeneity, the three most reoccurring reasons involved the belief that the Itawis were *angat* (socially uplifted) compared to the "*firmi nga indiheno ira* (ITW)," or the true indigenous people; that the Itawis were nice, peaceful people, and were not prone to barbarism; and finally, that the Itawis have relinquished the *pagano* past and now live a new lifestyle. The following are some examples of responses.

> Leti: "*Ammum maytu, ittera nga Itawit ay angat tera payin e. Nyan ginilammuan tera. Mari tera ma kagitta pay tu katutubo ira ta, innammu, nyan sibilizasyon tera annet kattu firmi nga indiheno ira* (ITW)." You know, we Itawis, we are socially uplifted. We are educated. We aren't like the indigenous people because, look, we have civilization compared to the true indigenous people.
>
> Malou: "*Nasimpat tera maytu nga Itawit. Mari tera nga naporay. Mari tera kagita tu alle…pagano ira nga naporay da. Basta mari tera nga indiheno, awan pay* (ITW)." We Itawis are very peaceful. We aren't hot-blooded[11]. We are not like pagans who are hot-blooded. Just…we are not indigenous, surely not.
>
> Andoy: "*Ittera maytu nga Itawit ay kwa, mas aranni yo kostumbre tera kanya Castilla ira. Ar-aru ya nalak tera kannira e. Alle neruma pay yo kultura tera kanya katutubo iran ta tanakwan yo kokkostumbre tera kanniran e* (ITW)." Us Itawis, we are…our customs are closer to those of the [Spanish]. We took [after] a lot from them. It's as if our culture is different from that of the indigenous people already because our customs are different now.

The above responses demonstrate that those who rejected the notion of the Itawis as indigenous peoples conceive of the Itawis-speaking community to be both culturally and historically separated from indigenous communities. This is exhibited in the use of the term *pagano*, which, as discussed earlier, alludes to the voluntary embracing of the wrongful ways of the past. This is directly related to the assertion that the Itawis are culturally closer to the Spanish, as it expresses the belief that, at some point in history, the Itawis abandoned their *pagano* ways and adopted Hispanicized culture, integrating into the larger, Hispanicized society of Spanish-era Philippines. It is this utter rejection of being a *pagano* and the constant insistence of cultural proximity to Hispanicized culture that, together, underline the state of being *Westernized* as the defining factor to being Itawis – and Filipino by extension – as opposed to being an indigene. Additionally, it is even more thought provoking that the self-perception of being Westernized and being integrated into the larger Filipino society lead the respondents to believe that, in some way, they occupied a superior station in Philippine society, as exemplified by the use of the term *angat*. Moreover, the use of *angat* alongside claims of being Hispanicized hints that the concept of social and moral uprightness falls in

[11] The Itawis word, *naporay*, can be translated along the lines of being hot-blooded, aggressive, easily angered.

extremely close correlation, if it is not already synonymous, to the ingestion of Westernized culture and assuming a Westernized identity.

As for the respondents who admitted uncertainty as to whether the Itawis were indigenous or not (Ramon, Raiza), for both cases, the uncertainty stemmed from dialogue regarding poverty. Ramon, for example, pointed out that the indigenous peoples of the Philippines were often portrayed to live in poorer areas such as the Cordilleras, an idea that Bosang found applicable to the Itawis in that the Itawis are found in a less-developed region of the Philippines. Raiza used the same logic, stating that the Itawis might be *indiheno* given that many in the Itawis areas live in poverty like the indigenous peoples. Lastly, the interviewees who considered the Itawis to be indigenous (Berto, Bosang) did so along the lines of the Itawis being a minority in the Philippines. Berto said, "I think we're indigenous because there are not many Itawis," while Bosang similarly stated that, "When I think of indigenous…actually I think of small, minority groups like us, so I think the Itawis are indigenous."

What is striking in the responses above was, even among these four respondents who were more or less unsure of Itawis indigeneity, the notions of indigenous poverty and isolation explored earlier resurface once more. While Ramon and Raiza's responses momentarily blur the lines separating Itawis poverty and the broader idea of indigenous poverty, the conflation of poorness with an indigenous existence is still the defining factor of their seeming uncertainty nonetheless. Moreover, Berto and Bosang's responses also demonstrate that perhaps there is also a conflation of the indigenous image with the idea of being a minority group. This debatably derives from the perception of minority groups as being *isolated* within the bounds of a larger, dominant society. This idea of minority may, in hindsight, also have been a contributing factor to Ramon and Raiza's uncertainty of their own Filipinoness, perhaps in consideration of the fact that the Itawis language is known to be a "minority dialect" among the Itawis themselves. It may be perchance that the uncertainty faced by these four respondents does not emanate then from a true admission or profession of indigeneity, but perhaps from a logical reaction to the facts and ideologies brought up during the interview process.

The Question of Separation

Given all that we have discussed thus far, how distinct then, did the respondents believe the Filipino identity was from an indigenous identity? The participants were also prompted on this topic, the main question being: Are Filipinos and indigenous peoples different, or can you be both at the same time? A response of no, there is no difference between Filipinos and indigenous peoples (and that indigenous peoples were also Filipino) was asserted by 23 of the 32 interviewees; an answer of yes, indigenous peoples are different from Filipinos, was offered by four respondents; while two subjects admitted to not being sure; and the remaining

three subjects stated that the indigenous were also Filipinos, only that they were different in some way.

Those who upheld that there were no differences between Filipinos and indigenous peoples appealed to the idea of "Filipinos" and indigenous peoples originating from a common origin. Ramon, for example, claimed that Filipinos and indigenous peoples shared the same ancestry in that both groups developed from the "same branch" - *parehas nga fungut* (ITW). His direct words were as follows, "*Yan bitu ya kayan da, diba? Nga parehas laman ya naggafanan tera ngammin ta…naggafu tera kang parehas nga fungut, bali pareparehas tera la ngammin…Filipino tera ngammin* (ITW)," meaning, "Is it not that they say this? That our origins are all the same because…we all came from the same branch, and so we are all the same…we are all Filipinos" Moreover, Ramon additionally expressed that, "*Kanyakan maytu laman ay…nu panonotan ku…yo indiheno ay…ira tu firmi nga ginafanan tera ngammin kaso laman kang ittera pay ay moderno tera payin* (ITW)," – "[Only] as for me…if I think about it…the indigenous are like the ones from whom we really came from except only that we are modern now." Ramon's response was mirrored in that of Mila, who suggested that there were no major differences – *walang malaking pagkakaiba* (FIL) – between indigenous peoples and Filipinos, and that, by virtue of both groups sharing the same ancestral origins – *isang pinagmulan* (FIL) – indigenous peoples were also Filipino. What is seen in these responses is an admission on the part of the participants that, although now culturally different, it is not inconceivable or impossible to think that the Itawis – and other Filipinos by extension – at one point were "indigenous" themselves. These professions of common origin also raise the topic that, possibly, the respondents still recognize the existence of "blood" ties between themselves and indigenous populations by virtue of common descent, even if the indigene is now culturally unrelatable to the interviewees. I believe that the respondents understand this idea of "coming from the same branch" to not refer to the distant, distant past, but rather, to the more recent periods of Western colonialism in the Philippines.

This idea of common origins was also a key factor among the participants who believed indigenous populations were distinct from Filipinos. These interviewees held a belief that Filipinos and indigenous peoples, at some point in history, sprang from one common source, but rejected the idea that indigenes were Filipinos. "It's true that we probably came from the same origins, I believe this," said Maria, "But I don't consider them Filipino because when I think of Filipino, I think of my *kababayan*[12] (FIL), and indigenous people just seem so different from me and my countrymen." Similarly, Leti stated, "*Oo, siguro parehas nga rin ang pinagmulan natin lahat, pero saakin lang kasi kung banggitin mo 'Pilipino,' parang tayo na ang iniisip ko. Modern na kasi tayo mga Pilipino* (FIL)," – "Yes, perhaps we all came from the same origin, but if you mention 'Filipino,' then what I think of is us. We Filipinos are modern already, you see." Here, in these responses, we see the sentiments of the

[12] *Kababayan* means countrymen/compatriots.

backwards *pagano* and the *angat*, Hispanicized native being reiterated once more by the interviewed subjects, albeit through different terms. While these responses maintain the validity of pondering common descent like the majority of the interviewees as discussed above, the main gist of Maria and Leti's responses simply point to the idea that the present, cultural distance amidst indigenous peoples and *themselves*, as Filipinos, disqualifies the indigene from partaking in the Filipino identity – period.

Lastly, the remainder of the respondents identified indigenous peoples as also being Filipino, although still different in some way. The degree of difference, it seems, stemmed from the problem of relatability once again. According to Malou, for example, indigenous peoples were Filipino, but she could not relate to them due to indigenous peoples' isolation from the rest of society. "Yes, I consider them Filipino…I just don't know a lot about them because they live so far away from everyone else up in the mountains or the forests. I think people think they are different because they are so far away," she said. On a slightly different note, Dado expressed that, for some reason, he simply just could not relate fully to indigenous peoples – "*Oon, Filipino da pay ngam ta kababayan tera lahug ira, pero…basta marik laman maytu firmi maka-relate kannira ta alle nereruma da e* (ITW)" – Yes, they are Filipino because they are our fellow countrymen, but…I just cannot relate to them because they are so different."

What is highly ambiguous amongst all the responses, however, was whether the interviewees were treating "Filipino" as a political label or as a cultural affiliation. Admittedly, the ambiguity is not as great in the responses of Maria and Leti in that the indigenous are not afforded the title of "Filipino" at all, but even then, all of the respondents seem to use "Filipino" interchangeably as having both political and cultural meanings when discussing the status of the indigenous community in the backdrop of mainstream, Filipino society. The use of the term *kababayan* – countrymen – by the participants, most prominently by Maria, demonstrates that at least some of the interviewees were using "Filipino" in its joint political and cultural form. The word *kababayan* itself is derived from *bayan*, which means "nation" or a "nation of people," hinting at both political entities and populations linked through a shared culture or identity. Otherwise, for the rest of the interviews, whether the participants were referring to indigenous peoples as fellow nationals, or co-culturals, or *both*, was rather unclear.

Situating the Data in History and Theory

On a more general standpoint, I argue that the underlying factor in the mainstream-indigenous divide is the introduction of Western culture to the native Philippine population, particularly during the three and a half centuries of Spanish rule in the archipelago. A timespan of this length produces social changes, especially in the native society given the power dynamics of a colonizer-colonized relationship. If anything, the flow of culture is one

way, trickling down from the occupying powers to the subdued societies, the latter of which then accepts and incorporates this inflowing culture into the frameworks of its own native life-ways. In the context of Western colonization, this is the process of Westernization. More specifically, in the context of the Spanish colonial presence in the Philippines, this would then be called the Hispanicization of the islands' native inhabitants. And while this explanation is purposely quite simplistic and un-nuanced, it is a starting point from which we can begin to analyze the responses collected during the interview process.

Hispanicization and the outcome of being Hispanicized explain many of the responses regarding the rejection of Itawis indigeneity. This is especially prominent in Andoy's open and direct assertion that the Itawis are culturally closer to the Spanish in attitude and custom – *kostumbre* – and are therefore not indigenous. Other reactions are not as direct in their allusions to Hispanicization, such as the employment of the term *pagano* by Mona and Lino to culturally distance themselves from indigenous peoples. At minimum, the very use of Spanish loanwords by the respondents to describe their distinctness from the indigene is already a hint of their ingestion of a Hispanicized point of view, but the greater takeaway is that, it appears, by aligning themselves in *contrast* to the indigene (who are seen as backwards and culturally different), the participants are in essence assuming the role of a Westerner.

Let us prod this claim using the idea of aesthetics as proposed by John Dewey. Dewey's experiential ideologies purport that the very lived experiences of people are themselves reflections of the individual's own, internalized ideologies of being (Alexander, 2002). Life is lived by the individual through a series of perceptions that are dictated by embodied frameworks of existence that shape the individual's understanding of how life should be lived, the meaning of power and authority, and so on (Alexander, 2002). In essence, these perceptions aggregately create a default bias – a lens – through which the individual will proceed to interpret developments within his environment. Yet, how does this relate to Hispanicization? If we firstly assume that the Spanish brought with them a set of ideologies, a religion, a political theory, and non-native cultural traits, and we combine this with the fact that, in the colonizer-colonized relationship, the Spanish had the upper hand, it would then be reasonable to deduce that Spanish-era Philippines was an environment where non-native, Spanish cultural traits dominated the socio-political spheres of influence in the archipelago. This Spanishness was an aesthetic – an experience of being Spanish as well as a system of expressing Spanishness – that the Spaniards introduced to the local Philippine populations through the act of *ruling* these conquered peoples. If we further assume that ideological frameworks belong to the realm of culture, then this aesthetic of Spanishness must have been reiterated in native Philippine society after initial introduction through the passing down of cultural traits from one generation to the next in the backdrop of a social environment that favored the acculturation of natives into Western culturality, if it did not pressure natives to assimilate altogether.

Nonetheless, this Spanish culturality was, in itself, sterile, unless of course the native population found incentive to adopt it and superimpose this "Spanishness" on their own native cultural systems. As to why the native population adopted this Spanish aesthetic, I propose that, above all else, the notion of behaving Spanish was an aesthetic of power – it became the ideology of existing in a society wherein Spain was the hegemon. The aesthetic of Spanishness dictated what it meant to be civilized, socially and morally upright, and represented the idea of being able to evolve with the demands of modernity (as seen in Leti's assertion, "We Filipinos are modern…"). As mentioned earlier, the Spanish brought with them their religion of Roman Catholicism, their political theory, and their ideologies on civility and morality. And, interestingly, though their Christian religion spread to encompass the vast majority of Philippine inhabitants, their outlooks on civility were insofar incompatible with the native population; the Spanish entered the Philippines with a paternalistic view, branding the native Philippine peoples as uncivilized barbarians, immoral, and even sub-human. The aesthetic of being civilized – of holding power – was thus imprisoned and closely guarded within the white, Western Europeanness of the Spanish colonizers (Pagulayan, 2016). With this, the culturality and physicality of being Spanish came to represent in the native mind the very definition of what it meant to live a proper existence, something that the natives thought best to emulate in a socio-politically Spanish dominated society (Pagulayan, 2016). As such, if acculturation to Hispanicized society translated to partaking, even in some small way, in the dialectics of social power and mobility, it would have been beneficial for subjugated native peoples to entertain and perhaps even appropriate Spain's hegemony.

Yet, how valid was the Spanish appeal to superiority over the native populations of the Philippines when, historically, Spain had no prior claim of ownership on the archipelago? It was perhaps only through military conquest, the conversion of natives to Roman Catholicism, and the organization of conquered territories into *encomienda* societies that Spain could finally assert its hegemony on its colony in the East. For the Itawis, specifically, the subjugation of ancestral Itawis communities to Spanish power began as early as the late 1500s and ensued through the late 1600s, as Cagayan witnessed a series of brutal, "pacifying" military expeditions on the part of the Spanish administration to suppress native rebellions, followed by the setting up of *misiones* – missions – which sought to convert the local populations to Roman Catholicism en masse (Malumbres, 1918). According to Julian Malumbres, come the mid 1600s, the Itawis region had already been largely pacified through the decisive, Spanish crushing of rebellions led by local Itawis chiefs (1918). It would not be insensible then, to deduce that ancestral Itawis communities adopted Spanish cultural traits after their formal submission to Spain's colonial administration in the Northern Philippines. These traits, we can assume, would either have been enforced (such as Roman Catholicism) or naturally incorporated into the native, Itawis cultural framework through the interactions of local culture with the occupying Spanish culture. This native acculturation to a Western-centric lifestyle would have brought with it the ingesting of Spanish biases, which would

explain, for example, the interviewees' imagining of indigenous peoples as irrational, ungovernable, and barbaric. Indeed, through the consumption of the aesthetic of Spanishness, the Itawis would have also come to see the unconquered indigenous Igorots to their immediate west in just as problematic of a light as their Spanish masters did.

It appears that Hispanicization has created for a native who has *assumed* the point of view of a Westerner in relation to the indigene who has now become the ethno-cultural other. Let us recall, for example, Dado, who failed to accept the indigenous as fellow countrymen – *kababayan* – owing to their seeming cultural un-relatability to him; or Leti, who rebuked Itawis indigeneity with the claim that the Itawis were much more civilized compared to the "true" indigenous populations; or Malou, who referred to indigenous peoples as hot-blooded – *naporay* – pagans. And, of course, we cannot forget Andoy's flat-out assertion that the Itawis were culturally much closer to the Spanish to begin with, and were therefore not at all indigenously affiliated. All these examples are impregnated with the dialectics of Hispanicization, of adopting a "superior" Western worldview. These responses reflect an appropriation of Spanishness by the respondents who used it as a vehicle to define the soundness of their own cultural identities at the expense of those whom they perceived and derided to be un-Westernized. By gravitating towards a sense of Spanishness, the respondents have included themselves within a Westernized in-group, an in-group which, by virtue of the Philippines' colonial experience, has come to represent social mobility and political power in Philippine society. Perhaps it is through this that the respondents' rejection of Itawis indigeneity should be contextualized; if the interviewees did otherwise and shed the mainstream Filipino identity, they would have effectively relinquished their perceived social power.

FIGURE 4. The Basilica of Our Lady of Piat, which houses an image of the Blessed Virgin acquired by the Itawis in 1604 and has since become a focal point of religious piety in the Itawis region (Photo by Author).

And so, in summary, it is in the scope of Hispanicization that the characterization of the indigene by our interviewees (and perhaps mainstream Filipino society in general) must be understood. Indigenous cultures are not inspected by the mainstream through the lens of a native, Philippenic culture, but against the backdrop of a Spanish way of being that is not at all native to the islands. Ironically, indigenous peoples are perceived to be almost alien in an environment wherein they are endemic, and, as per the interviews, are seen as impoverished, unreasonably isolated, and incapable of cultural transformation and innovation. Moreover, an ingested aesthetic of Spanishness accounts for the respondents' distancing themselves from the idea of indigeneity. To be Filipino and to be a practitioner of the so-called Filipino culture – *kulturang pinoy* – is in a sense, both an open admission to being Hispanicized and a subtle rejection of clinging to old "pagan" – *pagano* – ways. This is an idea that resurfaces in the interviews and our analysis here time and time again in which those who identify as Filipino reaffirm their Filipinoness through an opposition to what they perceive to be un-Filipino, which, in this case, would be *indiheno*.

Ana María Alonso writes of a similar dynamic between *Ladinos* and *Indians* in Guatemala, another former Spanish colony. In her article, "The Politics of Space, Time and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism and Ethnicity," Alonso characterizes the Ladino to be the "Self" in that the Ladino identity is the basis of the "national race"[13] and is the "Subject" of Guatemalan nationalism (1994). In stark contrast to the "civilized" Ladino who inhabits

[13] Alonso uses this concept of the "national race" to refer to the dominant cultural group that is central to the nationalistic movement. The cultural traits of this group become synonymous to the resulting state's national culture.

urbanized areas is the "backwards" Indian Other whose backwardness stems from his historical regional autonomy and resistance to Ladino nationalism (Alonso, 1994). Here, Alonso puts forth that the Indian Other is the "source of national distinctiveness" (1994), which, in essence, suggests that the Ladino identity reaffirms its reality and defines its boundaries using the Indian Other as a point of reference as to who and what is not aesthetically Ladino. Alonso's example bears a striking resemblance to our respondents' acceptance of "Filipino" as an "ethnic" affiliation (*etniko*) and nationality (*nasiyonalidad*) and staunch rejection of the idea that "Filipino" had any tribal connotation (*tribo*). The rejection of *tribo* represents a repudiation of autonomous isolation from society and evasion of state authority, and instead frames the Filipino identity concurrently within the realms of both state and culture. Moreover, the proximity in which *etniko* appears alongside *nasiyonalidad* in the collected interviews hints that this distinct Filipino cultural entity is in tight propinquity to the characteristics of the Philippine state. Is the Filipino then, the Subject of Philippine nationalism as the Ladino is with Guatemalan nationalist movements?

If we consider all of our previous discussion points, we can follow that, through the process of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines, subjugated native populations came to adopt and acculturate to Hispanicized lifestyles and institutions. This Hispanicization would have been a unifier of sorts as different native populations and societies came to inhabit similar cultural spaces, thus shrinking the cultural gap that once divided them. According to John N. Schumacher, Westernized natives were already developing a sense of commonality in as early as the late 1600s, such as in the 1660s rebellions in Northern Luzon during which groups from different ethnolinguistic and provincial origins united against the local Spanish administration, or, more prominently, during a rebellion in 1763 led by the Pangasinense,[14] Diego Silang (1975), who successfully inspired a revolt amongst the Iloko[15] against the Spanish government (Palanco, 2002). The greatest unifier, however, would come in the 1880s and 1890s. When it became apparent that the late-1800s Propaganda Movement would not bear fruit in soliciting political reforms from Spain in respect to the administration of the Philippine Islands, native Philippine intellectuals began to ponder total independence from Spain altogether (Hidalgo, 2008). As per the words of John N. Schumacher, the Propaganda Movement saw the "Filipino people" become more aware that they, "Were not merely Tagalogs, Visayans, or Ilocanos, not merely a people united under a common Spanish colonial rule, but one people with a common destiny of its own" (1975). As calls for independence from Spain became reality, the Philippine Revolution was in full swing come 1896, and it was "no longer a local mutiny, but a national revolution" (Schumacher, 1975).

Indeed, one can argue that oppression and political mismanagement by Spain was the leading unifying factor in the Philippine Revolution, but if we contemplate the fact that the motivating agents behind the revolutionary movement were Western-educated natives, or

[14] An ethnolinguistic group of Pangasinan Province, Philippines
[15] An ethnolinguistic group of the Ilocos provinces in the Philippines

Illustrados (Hidalgo, 2008), it becomes apparent that both political and cultural factors were at play. These intellectuals preached revolution, a concept learned through their exposure to Western literature and history, to an audience of laborers that was already receptive to Eurocentric cultural traditions. The mass mobilization of the entire archipelago during the revolution is proof of this receptiveness. Indeed, apart from the armed masses, the revolutionary movement was fueled by the rhetoric of intellectuals such as Jose Rizal who, himself, hailed from the Hispanicized mainstream, was educated in Spain, and was well-acquainted with Marxist ideologies (San Juan, 2011). These native Philippine intellectuals drew much of their revolutionary fervor from Marx's theories of revolution and just government (Schumacher, 1975). Thus, Western ideologies fueling a Westernized peoples' fight against a Western power cemented the Westernized native culture at the forefront of the nationalist movement. It is as per Katherine Weekley's assertions; nation building requires the fictional glorification of common, unifying experiences (2006). We can thus claim that, if the Westernized native Philippine population did not possess much of a sense of commonality and nationhood before the late 1800s, come the war-filled years of the revolution from 1896-1898, they most definitely understood that, though hailing from different provinces and ethnolinguistic backgrounds, they aggregately became the components of a new Philippine state. Their common, Hispanicized culturality thus became synonymous to being *part* of the Philippine state – the "Filipino" became the Subject of the revolution against the Spanish crown, and the "national race" of a new Filipino nation.

Perhaps then, the mainstream and indigenous divide transcends the friction between Westernized versus un-Westernized aesthetics, and should also include the vocabulary of "national race," as employed by Alonso. The ethnogenesis of the "Filipino" national race finds its origins in the unification of disparate, but similarly Westernized (Hispanicized) ethnolinguistic groups during the Philippine revolutionary era, and whose consolidation through wartime and shared colonial experiences culminated in the Filipino pan-ethnicity. Filipino, "to be from the Philippines," became then, both a marker of political loyalty to the Philippine state as well as, *finally*, a term to collectively refer to the various Westernized native groups of the archipelago. This simultaneous political and cultural label harkens back to the description of "Filipino" by the interviewees as those who are governable, those who accept the authority and sovereignty of the Philippine government and abide by its rules, and those who practice Filipino culture. By invoking these ideologies and by identifying as Filipinos, the interviewees were grounding themselves in the revolutionary, nationalist tradition that saw the birth of the Filipino nation. In essence, the respondents' rejection of Itawis indigeneity entails an internal rhetoric among the Itawis themselves that aligns their community with those who historically championed the cause of independence from Spain – those who witnessed firsthand the emergence of a unifying pan-ethnicity. Indeed, Itawis participation in the nationalist movement is attested in history. The town of Enrile, one of the main Itawis settlements in Cagayan, gave refuge to the revolutionary leader Emilio

Aguinaldo after his retreat from American forces[16], organized a ball in his honor, and informed him of American military movements in the province (Bain, 1984).

On this note, it could be then that the rejection of indigenous peoples as fellow Filipinos by some of the respondents, namely Maria and Leti, may be due to the imagination of the indigene as a non-participator in the nationalistic movement owing to his perceived isolation, cultural backwardness (un-Westernized), and traditional preference for autonomy away from the state's bureaucracy. It is unfair, however, to assume that no indigenous communities participated in the revolution against Spain. Perhaps, the exclusion of indigenous peoples from the national race is a result of ancestral indigenous communities' not possessing the cultural traits that allowed other groups to coalescence into the broader Filipino identity.

All in all, what we have essentially explored thus far is the profound role that Western colonialism played in the social development of native Philippine communities. On a general note, all inhabitants of the islands more or less were once "indigenous" in that they were untouched by Western cultural traits. In a sense, the interviewees were cognizant of this, as reflected by Ramon and Mila who suggested that, perhaps, Filipinos and indigenous groups were all the same people, having originated from the "same branch" but have since taken different routes in their cultural developments. Nonetheless, the latter part of their responses reflects how Spanish intrusion and the Hispanicization of native Philippine societies broke this uniform indigeneity in that Westernization disrupted the practice of aboriginal, Philippenic cultures, creating pockets of pre-colonial culture groups in a sea of Westernizing populations. "Indigenous" morphed from simply meaning endemic and aboriginal to the Philippine Islands to a concept that conflated indigeneity with the ideas of backwardness and otherness. The prevalence of native Westernization in the archipelago then allowed for the birth of the Filipino national race after the Philippine Revolution, a cultural entity that indigenous populations were excluded from due to their traditional resistance to Western cultural traits.

Looking Back: Reflections on Fieldwork

Fieldwork is truly an experience of the unexpected and the uncontrollable. After all, the field is essentially the real world, and the struggle with ethnographic fieldwork is employing the theoretical basis of proposed research to an environment where it is oftentimes the local people who are controlling *you*, the ethnographer, and your data. As someone who was born in Tuguegarao, Cagayan, Philippines, whose first language was Itawis, and as someone who identifies as culturally Filipino (though living abroad), I assumed myself to already be in a state of natural participant-observation even before entering the markets of Cagayan's Itawis

[16] Spain ceded the Philippines Islands to the United States in 1989 as part of the Treaty of Paris. Instantly, the anti-Spanish revolutionary forces regrouped and remobilized to counter the new American regime. (Hidalgo, 2008)

region. And yet, as much as I was syntactically affirmed to be Filipino during the interviews through the use of the inclusive "We," as discussed earlier, I was also greeted with bouts of suspicion regarding my identity and my motives. On several occasions, I was thought to be government researcher dressed in casual attire. In one instance, a woman even mistook me for a Christian missionary investigating the lifestyles of local peoples.

Indeed, in hindsight, a prominent obstacle during the interview process was performance – people saying things, producing statements, that they believed would reaffirm the ethnographer's point of view. We can assume that the respondents, as people often are in most situations, did not wish to appear misinformed or unknowledgeable in front of others, especially in front of me, someone from an academic background. Moreover, if the interviewees were secretly convinced that I was a government researcher or even a missionary – an observer from an outsider society – then in aggregate, it would be reasonable to assume that some responses were formulated in the interest of presenting oneself, and perhaps one's entire society in general, in a favorable light. Let us recall, for example, that a large majority of the interviewees (23 out of 32) claimed that there were no differences between Filipinos and indigenous populations and that indigenous peoples were, in fact, also Filipinos. I find merit in pondering these responses through the scope of saving face and in restraining oneself from spewing prejudice, and perhaps also through a desire to "cover one's tracks" in safeguarding against criticism or negative judgment. After all, if there were a possibility that I *was* indeed a government researcher, it would only have been sensible to therefore produce politically correct and socially acceptable responses. However, these are but mere assumptions, and in order to contextualize the data in a more holistic manner, it is important to recognize that there are other developments within Philippine society, particularly in the realm of politics, that could have affected the interviewees' ideological bases during the interview process.

More broadly, today's global political climate has grown to be more sensitive and attentive to diversity especially in relation to multiethnic states, observable for example, in the United Nations' championing of its International Decade of the World's Indigenous People that spanned from 1995 to 2004 (Hirtz, 2003). The Philippines has likewise followed suit, and, in recognizing the diversity of its many ethnolinguistic groups, has set itself on a trajectory towards multiculturalism. As implied by the term, multiculturalism alludes to an environment composed of various cultural groups wherein they interact to form one national society united in theoretical social and legal equality. It is an ideology that has been central to the national agendas of many nations in the last few decades. For example, the "multicultural turn" of education in the United States is observable in the increased awareness of cultural diversity in fields such as literary studies whose curriculums have become forums for discourses on Black/African-American or Latino/Hispanic experiences (Giroux, 2003). It appears that multiculturalism is, at face value, a celebration of cultural diversity to display a

community's self-perceived tolerance towards outward cultural differences and demonstrate moral uprightness.

In the Philippines, it is through the protection of minority languages where governmental policy has shown great dedication to the multicultural appeal. The Philippines is the only nation in Southeast Asia to have nationalized and implemented a mandatory program of mother tongue-based multilingual education in the elementary years of children's academic careers (Burton, 2013). The program, effectively formalized in 2013, mandates that all Philippine children shall be instructed and assessed through the "regional or native language of the learner" from kindergarten up to the third grade (Burton, 2013). The strict use of the Filipino language in the Philippine educational system has thus made way for the greater implementation of not only the Philippines' eight main, "mainstream" languages – Bikolano, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Iloko, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, Tagalog, and Waray – but also languages with less numerous speakers, especially "indigenous" languages such as Kalinga, Kankanai, and Manobo, to name a few (De Dios, 2013).

The institutionalized teaching of less dominant Philippine languages, mainstream or indigenous, arguably underlines the Philippine government's recognition of an uneven attention dedicated to the preservation and development of the nation's diverse cultural patrimonies. As a multicultural state, it is theoretically the responsibility of Philippine politicians to admit to the culturally stratified nature of the state, and paint an image of solidarity through the coexistence of disparate, but somehow united, cultural groups. It is in this context that less known indigenous languages are given the chance to be taught in institutions of education alongside the Filipino language. It appears as though, with the propagation of the multicultural image by the Philippine government, the indigene has finally risen in the Filipino psyche as less of a historical and cultural other, but more or less as a fellow Filipino compatriot. It was perhaps awareness of this multicultural agenda or a genuine belief in national inclusivity that may therefore have inspired the respondents to reclassify indigenous peoples as fellow Filipinos, as their *kababayan*.

However, if affirming the Filipinoness of indigenous populations within the Philippine state was performance on the respondents' part, it could just as easily be pointed out that self-affirming as a Filipino was, in itself, also a performance. Stating, "*Pilipino ako* (FIL)" – "I am a Filipino" – is a performance that defends the interviewees' belonging to the national race, and, in essence, their centrality to the Philippine state as Subjects of Filipino nationalism and as the consequent holders of agency and socio-political power in the Filipino nation. Responses such as, "We have civilization," by Leti or, "The Itawis are peaceful…we are not like the pagans," by Malou, are statements that, in the end, may reflect a desire to produce declarations and commentaries that align to the aesthetics of the national race. As such, the rejection of Itawis indigeneity, the affirmation of Itawis Filipinoness, and the process of defining the Filipino identity were performances of divulging "insider information"

from within the national race to the broader ethnographic audience. Moreover, while certainly the use of the Filipino language alongside Itawis may have been due to the former's greater technical and nationalist vocabulary, Filipino may have been used in that fluency and knowledge of the language is a clear and definitive signal of one's belonging to the Filipino nation and culture, seeing as it is the chosen language of the national race after all.

Nonetheless, it is the rejection of Itawis indigeneity that we must return to. Even if 23 of 32 respondents upheld the unity of Filipinos and indigenous peoples, we cannot ignore the fact that 28 out of 32 interviewees ultimately rejected the idea that the Itawis represented an indigenous community. I argue that the rejection of Itawis indigeneity is ultimately representative of an insistence to exclude the indigene from the identity of the national race, harkening back to the historical friction between the Westernized native and the un-Westernized native. This is an element that a surface performance of national inclusivity could not mask. Suggesting that indigenous peoples are Filipinos whilst claiming that the Itawis are Hispanicized and "civilized" and are therefore not indigenous represent seemingly contradictory assertions, and at best confers only the political branding of "Filipino" to the indigene while still excluding him from Filipino culturality.

FIGURE 5. More bilingual signage: "Welcome" - *Maddulot Tera* – is in Itawis, while the declarations for the town of Piat and the province of Cagayan are rendered in Filipino (Photo by Author).

Moreover, apart from the respondents' selectivity and overall agency over their given responses, another obstacle was arguably the dilemma of reification. Reification is, of course, an ever-present danger in anthropological research. In regards to this particular study, one that deals with national and minority identities and their boundaries, a wariness to avoid the

imagination of seemingly discreet, cultural delineations was a methodological reality. This fear of reification stems in large part from the very historicity of so-called ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines in the first place. The majority of pre-Spanish native Philippine populations lived in un-centralized societies where even two polities speaking the same language would go to war with one another (Hirtz, 2003). The beginning of the Spanish colonial era in the Philippines, however, presented the Spanish regime with the task of quantifying and qualifying its new subjects, and it is through these lines that nominal identifiers were parceled out and assigned to certain groups based on linguistic affiliation and shared beliefs and practices (Hirtz, 2003). For example, polities speaking the Itawis language were lumped together to form the Itawis people, speakers of Tagalog became the Tagalog, speakers of Pangasinan the Pangasinense, and so on. In a sense, the Spanish reified ethnic boundaries for the sake of political and administrative efficiency, albeit from pre-existing cultural traits. There was thus the danger of superimposing additional reified classifications on already, somewhat artificial lines of identification.

Regardless, even if ethnic affiliations were institutionalized in large part by the Spanish colonial administration, these ethnolinguistic identifiers have survived to this day and have become social realities throughout the span of history. And while certain ethnolinguistic groups, such as the Tagalog, the Cebuanos, or the Ilocanos are considered to belong to the Westernized national race, there are other groups who are indeed perceived to be culturally distinct from the rest of Philippine nationals, such as the Cordilleran peoples, the "Lumads" of the southern isle of Mindanao, or the "Negrito" populations that are scattered throughout the Philippines. This I can account for through my own experience as previously having been a Philippine national, and I therefore counter the dangers of reification not only through my five weeks of participant-observation among the Itawis, but primarily through my experience in having lived in the Philippines, in having learned Itawis as my first language, and in identifying as part of the Filipino national race. If anyone were to scrutinize the legitimacy of this study's subject of exploring the mainstream-indigenous divide in Philippine society and suggest that "mainstream versus indigenous" is in itself a reified phenomenon, then I would be hard-pressed to examine my own experiences in Philippine society as a reified reality as well. Perhaps, then, it is the idea of personal experience that could have predetermined the interview process as opposed to reifications, as, in the ethnographer-respondent relationship, my own particular interpretations of Philippine society, nationalism, and Filipinoness may have bled through to ultimately influence the nature of collected responses. I am, after all, a product of my own society, sure to have ingested and embodied the nationalist traditions and aesthetic frictions much like the study's participants about whom I now write.

Lastly, in the face of my self-ascription as a Filipino and my experiences in Philippine society, I was surely still envisioned as somewhat of an outsider by the interviewees. Suspicions as to my true motives – my true nature – as a researcher as discussed earlier, are hints of wary misgivings towards an outside observer (me, the ethnographer). These

suspicions, when considered alongside remarks regarding my supposed "Americanness" or "from abroad" demeanor, suggest that I must have been perceived as an intruder and an interloper to some degree. As such, my use of the Itawis and Filipino languages in the interviews was also representative of a performance on my part as the ethnographer, a performance wherein I grappled to demonstrate my intimacy with the Itawis community, Filipino culture, and my own inclusion in the "in-group." In looking back at the interview process, I now realize that I believed myself to be partaking in a discussion from one Filipino (me) to another without realizing that my respondents secretly may not have afforded me the Filipino identity in their minds. However, it is noteworthy to mention that, through the use of inclusive "We," I was indeed, at least syntactically, included in the conversations as a fellow Filipino. It appears that, even though my political affiliation was perceived to be less apparently tied to the Philippine state, the culturality of my Filipino identity was apparent enough.

CONCLUSION

The Philippine Archipelago is an ancient geological formation peopled by native populations who have called these islands home for thousands of years. The Philippines as we know it today, however, is a more recent creation; it is a state fashioned from the legacy of Western colonialism. After a period of 333 years as a Spanish colony and 48 more years as an American protectorate, a period described to be "'300' years in a convent and '50' years in Hollywood" (Vargas, 2006), the Philippines emerged into the 20th Century as a Westernized nation-state populated by, for the most part, a Westernized populace. More specifically, three centuries of acculturation to Spanish cultural traits has produced a society that is largely Roman Catholic and Hispanicized to a high degree from diet to social etiquette, et cetera. Nonetheless, in the backdrop of a Hispanicized majority were pockets of resisting groups who evaded acculturation into the larger Westernized society. These groups are known today as "indigenous" Philippine groups.

The relationship between this indigenous minority and the Westernized majority is a story that is situated in the crossroads of history, politics, and human agency; it transcends the mere simplicity of a mainstream-indigenous binary and entails instead the intersectionalities of nationalism, ethnogenesis, and cultural friction. In spite of their historical, cultural divergence, the Westernized mainstream and the indigenous minority were and still are integral players in the development of the Hispanicized native identity which allowed for the ethnogenesis of the Filipino panethnicity. Indeed, the results of this study give depth to and seemingly undermine the idea of modern nation-states which are often perceived to be homogenous and made up of one national race that subscribes to one national culture. In the case of the Philippines, nationalism and the promotion of a singular national identity have strong ideological reiterations that appear in our collected interviews time and time again. It is a national identity that is rooted in the era of Western colonization in the Philippines; it is, in essence, an endemic Philippine society that has promoted a syncretic, Westernized-native identity as the Subject of the Philippine state. Yet, as our data suggests, even the idea of Filipinoness itself is not univocal, and is riddled with the multiplicities of the Philippines' own ethno-linguistic and regional complexities.

Given the centrality of the Hispanicized native culture in Philippine nationalism, what politico-cultural space then, do indigenous populations occupy in an environment where a supposed Westernized majority is held to be dominant? As per the interviews, the indigenous are largely portrayed as isolated, impoverished, and resistant to the state's authority. They are imagined as historical relics of a distant cultural past – a past that has since been forgotten by Westernized Filipino society. The indigene is un-relatable cultural "Other". As such, we can contextualize the mainstream-indigenous divide in relation to a self-professed nationalistic

Subject who forms the cultural and demographic default of a so-called Philippine state and a *marginalized* minority of indigenous peoples.

The experience of marginalization by Philippine indigenous peoples is a complex, tangled story. I would even go so far as to argue that indigenous marginalization in the Philippines borders the discourse on race and racialization, as othering through the lens of cultural differences proves to be just as capable in engendering frameworks of inequality as, say, a society segregated along the lines of "biological race." The story of the mainstream-indigenous divide demonstrates that the visual cues of human physical variation are not the only channels for differentiation and othering, and that cultural borders can become just as prominent in the sociocultural divisions of the racial experience. Though Philippine society does not function on the assumptions of biological races, the introduction of European *whiteness*, represented in the discussion through the aesthetics of Spanishness, has arguably created a parallel system of social division – the distinction between a Westernized cultural elite and an indigenous minority. In this case, the majority mainstream culture, having assumed the role of the Westerner, has become the "racializer" while the indigene has become the "raced." This viewpoint has merit, especially when considering that it was the very adoption of *whiteness* that catalyzed the rift between Westernized natives and their indigenous counterparts. The superimposition of Western European ideals and lifestyles over indigenous cultures essentially severed the ties between Westernized natives and their Western-resistant neighbors, and effectively, the mainstream culture's own ties with their native, "indigenous" past.

Nonetheless, if we argue that race and ethnic delineations are created, reified categories set in place in the interest of creating systems of inequality and boundaries of being, then the perceptual rift between the Filipino national race and an indigenous Other underlines the artificiality of the national race itself. The Westernized "Filipino" identity is multiplicitous in that it is a broad amalgam of Hispanicized ethno-linguistic groups who cling to their regional loyalties but who nonetheless consider themselves to be central in the existence of the Philippine state, which is, at base, a product of Western colonialism. This becomes apparent in the respondents' self-identification as simultaneously Itawis from Cagayan but also ultimately Filipino. As such, the existence of an "indigenous" category may be representative of a sense of national insecurity and urge to create social divisions and rules of exclusivity in maintaining the validity of a fragile national race that is prone to fragmentation. The aesthetics of an antiquated and elusive indigene, then, is created and necessitated by the aesthetics of Filipinoness in which the latter reaffirms itself through a constant comparison to the former. As such, the term "indigenous" becomes a political tool to institutionally make apparent those who are perceived to be out of alignment with the aesthetic of the national race. Perhaps, indigenous has even become conflated with the idea of far-flung ethno-linguistic minorities, accounting for why the Itawis, who inhabit a less industrially productive and developed province, are envisioned to be indigenous even if the Itawis themselves

believe the opposite. This all additionally brings forth the question of the Philippine state's own legitimacy. The Philippines as a 21st Century state is an artificial creation – there was no "Philippines" before the Spanish colonial era. Pre-Spanish native populations, for the most part, did not operate in state-based societies and were diverse groups dispersed throughout the Philippine Archipelago. In essence, Spanish rule united an otherwise fragmented populace who, without Western colonial influence, would most likely have emerged into the 20th Century in a still as fragmented of a state. Arguably, it was the initial fragmentation of native Philippine populations in the first place that allowed Western powers to incorporate the islands in their own colonial empires.

However, is it fair to claim that the Philippine state promotes the mainstream-indigenous divide? Perhaps not. Though the divide may exist in the minds of the Philippine populace, the state's policies may not necessarily be totally reflective of this. Though the mainstream-indigenous divide continues to this day in the Philippines, an era of multiculturalist governance has created pathways for the increased integration of the indigene into the larger Filipino nation. However, in thinking of the multiculturalist politics of the Philippines, it is essential to consider the specific realities of indigenous people's lives and their lived-in environments. Policy-making, if the Philippine government truly has the wellbeing of indigenous peoples in mind, should be crafted in accordance to the necessities of its indigenous citizenry. Great race thinkers such as Franz Fanon would argue that the ideal government for the marginalized being is one that formulates policies which specifically and explicitly address the needs of a marginalized community, focusing on its extended wellbeing (Rabaka, 2009). However, in an ethnically stratified society such as the Philippines, this can prove difficult, especially when decades of cultural othering by the dominant, Westernized majority has landed many indigenous communities in the trap of generational poverty and political marginalization. Perhaps Fanon would even argue that the indigenous Filipino should be given the reigns to his own governance, but whether or not the Philippine national government is willing to parcel out and decentralize its power is another question.

Yet, is multiculturalism adept enough to begin to mend the mainstream-indigenous divide, which, in itself, is an overwhelmingly massive issue to tackle, let alone unravel? The marginalization of the Philippine indigene is rooted in the social structures of cultural othering and an internalized colonial mentality that has run rampant in Philippine society over the course of centuries. Even if there was a strong political will to address the issues of inequality in the Philippine state, it would nevertheless be a feat to topple a social order that has been in place for hundreds of years in the Filipino people's minds and environments. After all, human societies operate in frameworks that perpetuate socio-economic and cultural inequalities throughout time and space. Yet, in the end, it may be in recognizing the structurality of governing a historically fragmented society that the Philippine government's multiculturalist policies may serve to one day be the driving mechanisms in changing the colonized spirit of the native psyche. The structures of marginalization not only lie within the

frameworks of *physical* social existence, but also, and perhaps most prominently, in the *mind*. Decolonizing the mind is thus *key* to a just, pluralistic Philippine state.

Ultimately, at the very least, we can continue to remain optimistic that the Philippines will progress into the 21st century as a more integrated society. Yet, alongside our hopes we must also act, and seeking a greater, unbiased understanding of the Philippines' kaleidoscope of cultural diversity is a meritable first step. It is in this spirit of discovery, understanding, and national unity that I offer my efforts and my thoughts, not only to the broader anthropological audience, but more importantly, to Philippine scholars, politicians, and a new generation of "Filipinos" in all senses of the term.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores Beat Generation icon Allen Ginsberg's epic protest poem, *Howl*, and the ways in which it is the piece of Beat literature most representative of the countercultural movement. To do so, it considers the term "beat" in its four primary connotations: first, "beat" as a pulse or rhythm, as in jazz; second, "beat" as a condition of being outcast, marginalized, down-and-out; third, "beat" as a state of emptiness that encourages sympathy, understanding, and human connection; fourth, and most profoundly, "beat" as in beatitude, which refers to blessedness and spiritual illumination. The progression of these senses of "beat" within the text confirm a movement toward religious illumination that is central to the poem. The condition of being "beat" has a purpose that is redemptive; the suffering associated with being "beat" is redeemed by the religious and beatific illumination made manifest by the end of the poem.

On the night of October 7, 1955, a subterranean community of artists, academics, and hipsters gathered in San Francisco's Six Gallery for a poetry reading. It was here that a young poet named Allen Ginsberg, largely unknown at the time, first read the poem that would become the manifesto of the Beat Generation: *Howl*.

Ginsberg's reading was incendiary. Michael McClure, who also read at Six Gallery that night, recalls that—as Jack Kerouac began chanting "go!" along with the beat of Ginsberg's intense and lucid shouts—the audience recognized they had reached "a point of no return" (*Scratching the Beat Surface* 13). "A barrier had been broken," McClure says, and "a human voice and body had been hurled against the harsh wall of America and its supporting armies and navies and academies and institutions and ownership systems and power-support bases" (15). Today, *Howl* is one of the most well-recognized pieces of Beat Generation literature. As I will argue in this paper, it's also the piece most representative of the movement as a whole.

The Beat literary movement began with a group of friends and writers producing semi-autobiographical works. Generally, the term "Beat Generation" brings to mind its driving forces: William S. Burroughs, Kerouac, and Ginsberg. Aside from this triumvirate, such friends and lesser-known authors as Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Gregory Corso, Peter Orlovsky, Kenneth Rexroth, Lucien Carr, and Beat Generation icon Neal Cassady are often included in the group. These authors shared a common desire to find both a deep, spiritual meaning and a way to communicate it in their writing. They called this the "new vision," and, as critic John Lardas explains, it became a "platform for both belief and action, a religious sensibility that not only referred to each writer's personal understanding of the world but also to the world they yearned to glimpse" (*The Bop Apocalypse* 5). The group rebelled against mainstream American culture in search of freedom.

And they weren't alone. The Beat Generation came to be seen as a countercultural movement in addition to a literary one. The phrase expanded to encompass the like-minded individuals concerned with the socio-political philosophies of the Beat movement, to whom the terms "beatnik" and "hipster" also apply. "Beat Generation" in this context, then, refers not only to the prominent literary figures of the movement, but also to artists working in other media and the growing countercultural youth population of the era. In his essay "A Definition of the Beat Generation," Ginsberg identifies the issues with which the bohemian beat generation was primarily concerned, which include the following: spiritual liberation; sexual liberation, "i.e. Gay Liberation, Black Liberation, Women's Liberation, Grey Panther activism, etc."; ecological consciousness; decriminalization of drug use; the evolution of underground music genres, particularly jazz and rock, into high art; and "opposition to the military-industrial machine civilization" (238-239).

I am particularly interested in the origins of the term "beat" and the reasons for which it is an applicable title for the movement. For the purposes of my exploration, I will consider four primary connotations of the word itself: first, "beat" as a pulse or rhythm, as in jazz; second, "beat" as a condition of being outcast, marginalized, down-and-out; third, "beat" as a state of emptiness that encourages sympathy, understanding, and human connection; fourth, and most profoundly, "beat" as in beatitude, which refers to blessedness and spiritual illumination.

Each of *Howl'*s four sections reflects one or more meanings of the term in both form and content. As such, it is highly representative of the Beat movement and that for which it stood. The progression of these senses of "beat" confirm a movement toward religious illumination and fulfillment that, in my view, is central to the poem. The condition of being "beat" has a purpose that is redemptive; the overwhelming tone of suffering associated with the condition of being "beat" is redeemed by the religious and beatific illumination made manifest by the time we reach Part IV of the poem. Beatness is, at its heart, an opening to transcendent, religious encounter. This essay—which will largely take the form of my own close reading of the poem's four parts—will explore the ways in which the presence of each connotation of "beat" lays the foundation for this beatific redemption.

Both the form and content of Part I of *Howl* reflects the first two connotations of "beat." The sound of the poem, which begs to be read aloud, mimics jazz. The poem reflects jazz music's expressive freedom; like jazz, *Howl* defies conventions to allow space for improvisation. Jazz was the "quintessential expression of individual freedom" at the time; it was rebellious in and of itself (Lardas 108). George Rodosthenous suggests that *Howl* functions similarly to jazz music in its rejection of classical form; rather, it "elevates improvisation into a valid art form which … is tremendous to experience" (58). Ginsberg captures the rhythm of '50s jazz—and the spontaneous creativity it allowed—in the sound of his words. The anaphoric repetition of "who" is the heartbeat of Part I. It provides a steady beat. It is the opening word of most of the first sixty-nine lines, and it serves to anchor each long line, thereby signaling a separate thought. This form allows the reader to catch his breath—literally and figuratively—before diving into the next long line. "Who" becomes a point of reference, a comfortable constant among the meandering lines detailing madness, desperation, and hopelessness. This chant-like repetition "encourages the reader not to stop and savor nuances, but to surrender instead to the [poem's] insistent rhythm," suggests literary critic Paul Breslin (23). The form of this section takes the reader on a turbulent journey; it draws him into the bleak world of the Beats' subterranean culture before jarring him back to the beat of "who." In his essay "Notes Written on Finally Recording *Howl,*" Ginsberg explains that each "who" serves as "a base to keep measure, return to and take off from again onto another streak of invention" (229). These streaks of invention take the form of remarkably long lines. Ginsberg intended for the long-line form to be an experimental reinterpretation of Walt Whitman's line length; he hoped to utilize long lines "in light of early twentieth century organization of new speech-rhythm prosody" to best capture a tone reflective of Beat culture ("Notes" 230). In the same

way that jazz encouraged improvisation, the long, unbound lines granted Ginsberg the space to express freely, in a stream-of-consciousness form. The meandering long-line form gives the impression of spontaneous composition in a way that suggests honesty, urgency, and authenticity. Line 58, for example—one of the poem's longest lines—offers a vivid description of manifestations of Beat ecstatic madness:

> who sang out of their windows in despair, fell out of the subway window, jumped in the filthy Passaic, leaped on negroes, cried all over the street, danced on broken wineglasses barefoot smashed phonograph records of nostalgic European 1930s German jazz finished the whiskey and threw up groaning into the bloody toilet, moans in their ears and the blast of colossal steam whistles[.]

Here, one fragmented thought blends into the next in a rapid and overwhelming assault of the senses. Notably, the line references jazz. More interestingly, though, it operates like a series of linked notes, with each staccato phrase ringing out like the notes of a saxophone solo. Ginsberg refers to the lines in Part I as "long saxophone-like chorus lines" that he knew "Kerouac would hear the *sound* of" ("Notes" 230). The lines' musical quality interacts with the poem's images to create a "synaesthetic experience," Rodosthenous suggests (57). *Howl* acts powerfully on both our senses of sight and sound by rapidly bombarding us with vivid images in a form that is distinctly musical.

The saxophone cry laments the downtrodden, outcast, marginalized nature of the Beats. Ginsberg expresses this second connotation of "beat" throughout Part I—and continued into Part II—by means of depicting the madness of the Beats through intense and nightmarish imagery. It is this passionate, all-consuming madness that separates the Beats from mainstream society. Paradoxically, madness seems to be both destructive to one's wellbeing and conducive to positive spiritual illumination; that is, it is unclear whether Beat madness is a result of or a condition necessary for the pursuit of divine truth.

The poem introduces the Beats' condition in a three-line description before it shifts into the anaphoric pattern of "who" described above:

> I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by madness, starving
> hysterical naked,
> dragging themselves through the negro streets at dawn looking for an
> angry fix,
> angelheaded hipsters burning for the ancient heavenly connection to
> the starry dynamo in the machinery of night. (1-3)

Here, madness has led the Beats to "dragging themselves through the negro streets" in a drug-related frenzy, a haunting image that is only built upon as the section progresses. They cower in "unshaven rooms"; they experience "waking nightmares"; they chain themselves to subways; they howl on their knees; they are shuddering, screaming, vomiting, whoring, crying. They are, nevertheless, referred to in a positive light: here, they are the "best minds" and "angelheaded hipsters." Line 3 renames them as specifically religious figures; as "angelheaded," they are both reminiscent of the divine and are committed to considering the

divine. They are burning—consumed entirely, as if by flame—with a need for an "ancient heavenly connection." At its very opening, the poem introduces the concept that madness is both a burden and a blessing. By joining "the language of mystical illumination and the language of the street," as critic James E. B. Breslin notes, Ginsberg both immerses his reader in the spirit of the era and lays foundation for transcendent vision (119). Despite the Beats' desperate state, there are glimmers of hope: descriptions of desolation linked to religious language. There is a tension between the physical realm and the spiritual one, and Part I illustrates the Beats' experience of bringing the two into alignment.

Religious imagery occurs, largely, in one of three contexts in Part I: in conjunction with wandering, in conjunction with drug use and expressions of sexuality, and in conjunction with mental instability or suicidal thought. These instances foreshadow a redemption of this suffering through beatific illumination. Seeking the divine within the ordinary was central to Beat philosophy. Lardas suggests that the Beats' debauchery was, after all, motivated by their pursuit of "a macrocosmic reality that nevertheless could be understood in the here and now" (81). They weren't just seeking kicks, but rather were relishing the spiritual aspects of joyful, ecstatic experiences. This reinforces the concept that madness and blessedness go hand-in-hand; expressions of corporeal desperation or ecstasy—as harrowing and desolate as their descriptions may be—are the basis for potential spiritual illumination.

The Beats often roamed from city to city seeking inspiration, and the poem frequently situates religious encounter in the context of travel and movement. Line 20, for example—"who vanished into nowhere Zen New Jersey leaving a trail of ambiguous picture postcards of Atlantic City Hall"—creates a connection between nomadic travel and spiritual enlightenment through syntactic parallelism. The line as a whole refers to the often-unpredictable nature of the Beats' travels, but it suggests more than mere aimlessness. By stringing together "nowhere Zen New Jersey" as parallels, the poem equates the three nouns. "Zen" is particularly interesting when one considers Ginsberg's own pursuit of Buddhist practice. Zen isn't a physical space, but rather a transcendent state of enlightenment. The poem points to a spiritual component in the ordinary, physical realm:

> who studied Plotinus Poe St. John of the Cross telepathy and bop
> kabbalah because the cosmos instinctively vibrated at their feet in Kansas,
> who loned it through the streets of Idaho seeking visionary indian
> angels who were visionary indian angels
> who thought they were only mad when Baltimore gleamed in
> supernatural ecstasy. (24-26)

Like line 20, line 24 utilizes syntactic parallelism to connect both religious and secular images from a variety of philosophies. It references figures and movements that span much of history—from ancient Greek philosopher Plotinus to the prevalent "bop" jazz of the time of the poem's publication—and suggests that the Beats dedicated a great deal of effort to

exploring a variety of philosophies in the pursuit of spiritual truth. Locating this pursuit in ordinary spaces like Kansas, Idaho, and Baltimore reinforces the idea that the Beats sought enlightenment within the everyday.

The Beats were famously heavy drug users, and references to drugs—both medicinal and recreational—are common in *Howl.* The poem presents much of its drug-related content negatively; there are several haunting depictions of strung-out Beats, in accordance with the second connotation of "beat" that suggests exhaustion, desperation, and rejection. The poem depicts a particularly desperate scene at its beginning:

> who cowered in unshaven rooms in underwear, burning their money
> in wastebaskets and listening to the Terror through the wall,
> who got busted in their pubic beards returning through Laredo with a
> belt of marijuana for New York,
> who ate fire in paint hotels or drank turpentine in Paradise Alley,
> death, or purgatoried their torsos night after night,
> with dreams, with drugs, with waking nightmares. (8-11)

Conversely, though, drug use was another way for the Beats to seek enlightenment. It placed them in a state of "supernatural ecstasy" (26). It was a method through which the Beats might connect to spiritual truths that transcend ordinary perception.

Around line 34, the poem's content largely shifts to focus on expressions of sexuality, both hetero and homosexual. Interestingly, sex acts are frequently presented in the context of religious images. As Robert K. Martin observes, this reflects the Beats' "search for the sexual encounter as perfect religious experience" (54). A concentration of these instances occurs in the following lines:

> who howled on their knees in the subway and were dragged off the
> roof waving genitals and manuscripts,
> who let themselves be f***ed in the ass by saintly motorcyclists, and
> screamed with joy,
> who blew and were blown by those human seraphim, the sailors,
> caresses of Atlantic and Caribbean love …
> who hiccupped endlessly trying to giggle but wound up with a sob
> behind a partition in a Turkish Bath when the blond & naked angel came to
> pierce them with a sword,
> who lost their loveboys to the three old shrews of fate the one eyed
> shrew of the heterosexual dollar the one eyed shrew that winks out of the womb
> and the one eyed shrew that does nothing but sit on her ass and snip the
> intellectual golden threads of the craftsman's loom. (35-40)

Line 35's image of people "on their knees" has two implications: the first is fellatio, and the second is those posed in prayer. The latter of the two meanings is repeated in line 62, when Ginsberg describes people falling "on their knees in hopeless cathedrals praying for each

other's salvation." The twofold meaning of the phrase illustrates the connection between sexuality and religious experience that is prominent throughout the poem. Worth noting, too, is the use of the term "howling" in this context. Challenging the widespread conception of homosexuality as inherently sinful, line 36 presents "saintly motorcyclists" engaging in homosexual acts. Similarly, "human seraphim" and a "blond & naked angel" engage in homosexual acts in lines that follow. The use of conventional Christian religious imagery shifts in line 40 to that of ancient mythological imagery with allusions to the Three Fates. Ginsberg equates the loss of male lovers to spiritual death; traditionally, the Fates were responsible for overseeing the metaphorical golden thread of life, which, when cut, resulted in death. The poem celebrates expressions of sexuality, particularly homosexuality, as transcendent experiences. Ginsberg suggests they possess a life-giving quality, as sexual repression is metaphorically linked to death.

There is, too, a definite contemplation of mortality. What exists beyond these physical experiences of ecstasy? What exists when the physical ceases? Ginsberg poses "Time" and "Space" in contrast with "Eternity," again building tension between the physical and spiritual. The physical realm is illustrated as a desolate, maddening space. Madness pushes the Beats to the verge of suicidal thought: line 57 tells of those "who jumped off the Brooklyn Bridge," line 58 of those who "fell out of the subway window," line 66 of those who give "harlequin speech of suicide" on the steps of the madhouse, and line 76 of the "madman bum and angel" who contemplates "what might be left to say in time come after death." These images are jarring, and some even allude to events in Ginsberg's own life. As Gregory Stephenson notes, the insertion of personal stories, such as those alluding to Tuli Kupferberg having jumped off the Brooklyn Bridge and Bill Cannastra having fallen out of a subway window, are powerful whether or not one understands the allusion. For Ginsberg, "the personal communicates the universal; the images are ultimately autonomous and multivalent, engaging our poetic understanding by their very intensity and mystery" (Stephenson 151).

Interestingly, these allusions are juxtaposed with glimpses of divine ecstasy. As James Breslin notes, lines often "twist into moments of shuddering ecstasy" (121). Line 60 answers lines 57 and 58 with the hopeful image of Beats who "had a vision to find out Eternity." Line 62 tells of Beats "who fell on their knees in hopeless cathedrals praying for each other's salvation…until the soul illuminated its hair for a second." Line 69 describes a lobotomized man as having "a wig of blood," which is strikingly reminiscent of a blood-spattered Jesus in a crown of thorns. This comparison of madmen to Christ continues in line 77, where the madman rises "reincarnate in the ghostly clothes of jazz." These instances provide hope—hope that despite the overwhelming and assaulting sense of desperation, the poem's protagonists might find redemption.

At the end of Part I, the poem becomes self-reflective. This begins just after line 71, the section's longest line, which is seemingly interrupted by line 72. Both the tempo—guided by

line length and the anaphoric repetition of "who"—and the content of the poem shift with the interruption:

> with mother finally ******, and the last fantastic book flung out of the
> tenement window, and the last door closed at 4 A.M. and the last telephone slammed at
> the wall in reply and the last furnished room emptied down to the last piece of
> mental furniture, a yellow paper rose twisted on a wire hanger in the closet, and
> even that imaginary, nothing but a hopeful little bit of hallucination—
> ah, Carl, while you are not safe I am not safe, and now you're really in
> the total animal soup of time. (71-72)

Interestingly, at the same time as the poem becomes increasingly self-referential, it begins to reflect on its own formal techniques. Ginsberg directly addresses Carl Solomon, to whom the poem is dedicated, and refers to himself as "I" for the first time. In the following lines, we can see how the technical elements of the poem work to capture its themes. Ginsberg describes those

> … who therefore ran through icy streets obsessed with a sudden
> flash of the alchemy of the use of the ellipse the catalog the meter & the vibrating
> plane,
> who dreamt and made incarnate gaps in Time & Space through
> images juxtaposed, and trapped the archangel of the soul between 2 visual
> images and joined the elemental verbs and set the noun and dash of
> consciousness together jumping with sensation of Pater Omnipotens Aeterna
> Deus
> to recreate the syntax and measure of poor human prose and stand
> before you speechless and intelligent and shaking with shame, rejected yet
> confessing out the soul to conform to the rhythm of thought in his naked and
> endless head,
> the madman bum and angel beat in Time, unknown, yet putting down
> here what might be left to say in time come after death. (73-77)

Ginsberg names the specific technical elements he had employed earlier in Part I. Moreover, he expresses the ways in which these technical elements are meant to reflect and convey spiritual, transcendent concepts. Line 73's reference to Ginsberg's "use of the ellipse" and unique "meter" is described as a "sudden flash of alchemy," suggesting a connection between these elements and reflecting on religious concepts. Line 74 suggests that the use of juxtapositional imagery is able to capture spiritual truths that transcend "Time & Space" and trap the "archangel of the soul." The presence of the phrase "Pater Omnipotens Aeterna Deus" in this line is particularly interesting. On its own, it is another instance of religious ideation in the text, but the phrase is also particularly significant as an allusion to the work of Post-Impressionist artist Paul Cezanne, whom Ginsberg admired. As Tony Trigilio notes, Cezanne included the phrase in a 1904 letter to his friend, writer and painter Emile Bernard, in explaining his "theory of nature portrayal." This letter described the ways in which Cezanne

attempted to convey supernatural ideas in his paintings of the natural world—that is, to "find the 'All-powerful Father, Eternal God' in his art." According to Trigilio, Ginsberg desired to mimic, poetically, Cezanne's ability to depict "the eternal in the everyday world" (782-783). The last line of this section, line 77, is particularly striking. It indicates the contemplation of mortality and communicates the desire to know what follows life on earth; it separates the physical realm from the spiritual one.

Ginsberg repeatedly refers to the Resurrection, which underscores the idea that the suffering in Part I lays the foundation for an eventual redemption of suffering. Line 78 in particular—the last line of Part I—contains this idea:

> and rose reincarnate in the ghostly clothes of jazz in the goldhorn
> shadow of the band and blew the suffering of America's naked mind for love into an eli eli lamma lamma sabacthani saxophone cry that shivered the cities down to the last radio. (78)

"Eli eli lamma lamma sabacthani," or, loosely, "My God, My God, why have you forsaken Me?" were Jesus's last words on the cross. This equates the protagonists of Part I to Jesus, the Lamb of God, who suffered with redemptive purpose. Ginsberg refers to Part I of *Howl* as a "lament for the lamb in America with instances of remarkable lamb-like youths" ("Notes" 230). The final lines of Part I self-reflectively address both the form and content of the poem, affirming that the loneliness, suffering, and madness described throughout will be ultimately redemptive.

Part II identifies a specific cause of the suffering described in Part I—"Moloch". Whereas Part I is concerned with *who* is being affected, Part II moves to explore *what* is prompting such suffering. The first lines of Part II provide this transition:

> What sphinx of cement and aluminum bashed open their skulls and
> ate up their brains and imagination?
> Moloch! Solitude! Filth! Ugliness! Ashcans and unobtainable dollars!
> Children screaming under the stairways! Boys sobbing in armies! Old men weeping in the parks! (79-80).

Along with its content, the form of Part II differs from that of Part I. There is still a word to provide a jazz-like beat—Moloch—but the tempo becomes much more rapid. As in line 80, each phrase throughout the whole of the section is punctuated with an exclamation point, indicating urgency and power. Part II is declarative rather than descriptive. Almost every line in the section begins with "Moloch," and this word is repeated frequently within the lines.

Moloch is a powerful choice for an anchoring word. Originally a pagan god who demanded child sacrifice, Moloch has been used as an antagonist in other noteworthy works of literature, including John Milton's *Paradise Lost.* In *Howl,* Moloch is linked closely with capitalism,

government violence, oppression, and militarization. Ginsberg points to these evils as the root of Beat suffering, and, in doing so, he widens the divide between the subterranean Beats and mainstream culture. Moloch rules over the hellscape described in Part II, and his power is suffocating. Despite the Beats' desire for rebellion, Part II ends with what James Breslin calls, "loss, futility, and self-contempt" (128).

Part II is particularly dense. Each line contains several staccato sections, each of which redefines Moloch in terms of harmful societal forces. Lines 82 and 83, for example, confront several issues in rapid succession:

> Moloch the incomprehensible prison! Moloch the crossbone soulless
> jailhouse and Congress of sorrows! Moloch whose buildings are judgment!
> Moloch the vast stone of war! Moloch the stunned governments!
> Moloch whose mind is pure machinery! Moloch whose blood is
> running money! Moloch whose fingers are ten armies! Moloch whose breast is a
> cannibal dynamo! Moloch whose ear is a smoking tomb!

In the span of only two lines, Ginsberg points to several evils in society: militarization, detached and apathetic government, violence and war, and so on. At line 86, however, Ginsberg shifts from focusing on broad social evils to more personal subjects; that is, with his use of "I," Ginsberg seems to name the facets of his own life in which society's "Moloch" has affected him:

> Moloch in whom I sit lonely! Moloch in whom I dream Angels! Crazy in
> Moloch! Cocksucker in Moloch! Lacklove and manless in Moloch!

Because of Moloch's society, Ginsberg is rendered "lacklove and manless." He is viewed, in Moloch, as "crazy" and a "cocksucker." Here, he confronts social standards of masculinity and heteronormativity, and the way in which they have marginalized him.

The end of Part II illustrates the way in which Moloch—society's misaligned values—has pushed the Beats to the outskirts, causing madness and suffering. Ginsberg criticizes mainstream society for valuing money, fame, and power, and he notes that many "broke their backs" in the attempt to find spiritual fulfillment through them (89). The frantic last lines explain the Beats' choice to remove themselves from this type of society:

> Visions! omens! hallucinations! miracles! ecstasies! gone down the
> American river!
> Dreams! adorations! illuminations! religions! the whole boatload of
> sensitive bullshit!
> Breakthroughs! over the river! flips and crucifixions! gone down the
> flood! Highs! Epiphanies! Despairs! Ten years' animal screams and suicides!
> Minds! New loves! Mad generation! down on the rocks of Time!
> Real holy laughter in the river! They saw it all! the wild eyes! the holy

> yells! They bade farewell! They jumped off the roof! to solitude! waving! carrying flowers! Down to the river! into the street!

The harmful values of American society had pushed the "best minds" to abandon it. This had lead them to reckless behavior, however. With images of suicide and insanity, the closing lines of Part II show the "best minds" frantically searching for fulfillment amidst a harmful sociopolitical climate.

The third part of the poem expresses the connotation of "beat" as a state of emptiness that encourages sympathy, understanding, and a raw human connection. Part III homes in on the real-life relationship between Ginsberg and Carl Solomon, providing a humanizing example of one of the "best minds" who has been destroyed by madness caused by society's evils. The section is framed as Ginsberg speaking to Solomon, whose madness has left him in Rockland, a fictitious psychiatric hospital based on the real one in which they met. Solomon's mental health is deteriorating. Despite his deplorable condition, Solomon is a savior figure, and the relationship between Solomon and Ginsberg is a transformative one. Their condition of being "beat" has freed them from the harmful values of society—capitalism, oppression, conformity, violence, militarization, and so on. This freedom granted them the ability to connect freely, deeply, and truly in an empathetic and understanding way.

In his introduction to *Howl*, William Carlos Williams makes note of the remarkable connection between Ginsberg and Solomon. Their friendship is beautiful, but all the more noteworthy is their ability to form such a connection at all considering their circumstances:

> On the way he met a man named Carl Solomon with whom he shared among the teeth and excrement of this life something that cannot be described but in the words he has used to describe it. It is a howl of defeat. Not defeat at all for he has gone through defeat as if it were an ordinary experience, a trivial experience. Everyone in this life is defeated but a man, if he be a man, is not defeated.
>
> It is the poet, Allen Ginsberg, who has gone, in his own body, through the horrifying experiences described from life in these pages. The wonder of the thing is not that he has survived but that he, from the very depths, has found a fellow whom he can love, a love he celebrates without looking aside in these poems. Say what you will, he proves to us, in spite of the most debasing experiences that life can offer a man, the spirit of love survives to ennoble our lives if we have the wit and the courage and the faith--and the art! to persist. (8)

Their relationship is an instance of two kindred spirits meeting, and it provides comfort and refuge from the unforgiving world of Moloch. It's because both men were "beat" in the sense of being marginalized that they might be "beat" in the sense that allows for raw, human connection. They were both "emptied out, exhausted, and at the same time wide-open—perceptive and receptive to a vision" (Ginsberg, "A Definition" 237).

Part III, like the other sections of the poem, uses a specific phrase to anchor the verse. In this case, the phrase "I'm with you in Rockland" underscores the solidarity that results from their connection. James Breslin suggests that this refrain "establishes a context of emotional support and spiritual communion, and it is from this 'base,' taking off in increasingly more daring flights of rebellious energy, that Ginsberg finally arrives at his 'real' self" (133). The repetition of the phrase gives it the tone of an oath of loyalty. The lines that follow build upon each other, and they become increasingly longer until the final line, in which Ginsberg and Solomon are reunited in a dreamscape. In this way, the reader is drawn into Solomon's madness. Although the section opens with conventionally-written sentences, it builds to meandering long lines.

Part III, besides being a lament for Solomon, cries out for all of the best minds lost to madness and Moloch. Because of their connection, Ginsberg recognizes himself in Solomon, and he empathizes with his condition, demonstrated by line 99:

> I'm with you in Rockland
> where we are great writers on the same dreadful typewriter[.]

Ginsberg strategically shifts from the pronoun "you" to the pronoun "we" as the section moves into exploring Solomon's madness more deeply, which has the effect of drawing in the reader.

The religious language with which Solomon's madness is described indicates that Ginsberg believes in a connection between madness and spirituality. Solomon becomes a savior figure, particularly in lines 108 and 109:

> I'm with you in Rockland
> where fifty more shocks will never return your soul to its body again from its pilgrimage to a cross in the void
> I'm with you in Rockland
> where you will split the heavens of Long Island and resurrect
> your living human Jesus from the superhuman tomb.

Solomon, as madman, has the ability to bring salvation to the masses. He is the so-called pilgrim; he will bring a "living human Jesus" among the Beats from the inaccessible "superhuman tomb." The "best minds" might be redeemed through Solomon, the hero and savior figure, who seems to have been sacrificed on "a cross in the void" owing to the shock therapy he has undergone.

The last section of the poem, "Footnote to Howl," or, as I will refer to it, Part IV, is the point at which the redemptive arc of the poem becomes clear. It draws upon the religious imagery utilized in the previous three sections, and sings praises to the enlightenment made possible by the condition of being Beat.

Like Part II, the form of Part IV relies on the repetition of a phrase. Whereas the repeated phrase in Part II was "Moloch!" the one in Part IV is "Holy!" The section can be read as a direct answer to Part II, where Ginsberg had identified the societal evils that destroyed the "best minds." Part II tells of a demonic world, but Part IV illustrates an angelic one. In Part IV, Ginsberg celebrates this subterranean holiness that the "best minds" are able to find as a result of their removal from the evils of society. By celebrating the power and resilience of the human spirit, he redeems the suffering, devastation, and destruction described earlier in the poem. The condition of being "beat" strips one from harmful, mainstream societal views, and opens one up for the opportunity for true empathy and human connection; and grants one the ability to find religious illumination—a beatific redemption of suffering.

Part IV opens with the repetition of "Holy!" fifteen times. This gives it an incantatory tone from its very beginning, which is appropriate for its religiously-oriented content. The first three parts of the poem allude to a sacred and special quality associated with the Beats and their madness; here, it is made explicit. Their madness, largely related to their sensitive and creative nature, has allowed the Beats to find spiritual illumination where others may not.

The second line of Part IV, line 114, again associates holiness with things that may be considered obscene:

> The world is holy! The soul is holy! The skin is holy! The nose is holy!
> The tongue and cock and hand and asshole holy!

Ginsberg subverts traditional conceptions of what is holy and beautiful. He uses language that may be considered obscene, namely "cock" and "asshole" here, in juxtaposition with religious language and hymn-like rhythm. While instances of sexual ecstasy are described with religious imagery elsewhere in the poem, it becomes overt in Part IV. They are celebrated; they are holy.

This ability to find beauty in that which was not traditionally considered beautiful is a trait prefigured by the condition of being Beat. In the next lines, Ginsberg continues to celebrate the holiness of things on the outskirts of society in lines 115 and 116:

> Everything is holy! everybody's holy! everywhere is holy! Every day is
> in eternity! Everyman's an angel!
> The bum's as holy as the seraphim! the madman is holy as you my soul are holy!

Here, Ginsberg insists that there is a world of holiness beyond what society values.

Those who are able to recognize this world are those who have been driven to madness by society's evils. In line 118, Ginsberg makes this clear by exalting not only the poem's main Christ figures—Neal Cassady and Carl Solomon—but all of the Beat figures and those like them:

Holy Peter holy Allen holy Solomon holy Lucien holy Kerouac holy

Huncke holy Burroughs holy Cassady holy the unknown
buggered and suffering beggars holy the hideous human angels!

This expands beyond just the literary figures, though. There is a subterranean community of "human angels"—considered "hideous," perhaps, by the general society—who have separated themselves from the evils that society values. They, too, are holy; they are savior figures of "best minds" alongside Solomon, Cassady, and the Beats.

The last two lines of Part IV—and of the poem—emphasize the power and resilience of the human soul:

Holy forgiveness! mercy! charity! faith! Holy! Ours! bodies! suffering!
magnanimity!

Holy the supernatural extra brilliant intelligent kindness of the soul!

The poem ends on a hopeful note of beatific redemption. The suffering described in Parts I and II of the poem lay the necessary foundation for the Beats' eventual spiritual fulfillment. Through their emptiness and marginalization, the Beats are in a position to foster empathy and human connection. This sensitive, caring nature grants the opportunity to find beauty in unexpected places. By the end of Part IV, it becomes apparent that Heaven "exists and is everywhere about us" if we open ourselves to it (89).

By encompassing each connotation of "beat" in both its form and content, *Howl* proves to be highly representative of the Beat Movement as a whole. In each part of *Howl*, Ginsberg utilizes a form that is rebellious in and of itself. It, like jazz, defies the boundaries of classical, conventional form. The four parts build upon each other to provide readers with a hopeful message of redemption and human connection. The poem reflects the zeitgeist of its composition, but nevertheless retains the capacity to ring out strongly to readers as time moves on—as its cult following today evidences.

Perhaps the reader to whom *Howl* particularly speaks today must too be "mad." This madness may take the form of sensitivity, creativity, passion, or eccentricity in a culture that discourages them in favor of conformity and complacency. This condition of being marginalized, outcast, down-and-out—"beat," that is, in the first sense—is not unique to the Beat era, nor is the desire to find illumination and redemption in the face of it. By connecting viscerally to universally-experienced emotions, Ginsberg reminds readers that they are not alone. This both justifies the readers' experience and provides comfort and support.

Though Moloch may change with time, oppressive societal forces persist. Similarly, there is always a subterranean culture that rebels against the Moloch of its time. From the Beats of

the 50s, the hippies of the 70s, the punks of the 90s, to the hipsters of today, nonconformists battle isolation. It's easy to feel impotent; how can a single person efficaciously confront Moloch? *Howl*, as well as the larger Beat Movement it represents, creates a space of inclusion for those who relate to it.

This raw connection reaches through the text across decades to touch readers who themselves feel downtrodden, outcast, and marginalized. Just as Ginsberg promises "I'm with you" to Solomon, so is his promise to the reader. We are invited into the transformative connection among like-minded people. The single, humanizing example of salvific friendship provides an example for those who feel alone; Ginsberg's personal experience speaks universally. It encourages a change of perspective. It proves that there is an "angel in Moloch," a holiness that can be found among the everyday. Those who are in search of spiritual illumination witness beatific redemption as the poem unfolds.

Howl is a hopeful promise to its readers. It empathizes. It encourages. It reassures. The poem accompanies the downtrodden on their journey to hope, truth, and illumination, and, by doing so, will never lose its force.

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ABSTRACT

The early modern period was a time of incredible change and progress particularly in the areas of science and medicine as empiricism had begun to transform the way people thought. In particular, the theory of experimentation was gaining supporters as a way to gain information about the natural world. However, simply looking at the transition from monastic scholarship to empiricism overlooks an important part of the scientific tradition, household medicine. While not as comprehensive or scholarly as the books held by monasteries, these households often held copies of books that had a variety of recipes, including medical treatments. Furthermore, these texts were passed down through generations and possibly show an alternative view of scientific development.

This project looks at the recipe books themselves to better understand their contents and the way in which they were used by the practitioners of home medicine. In particular, I have focused on and collected remedies from books compiled in the 17th and 18th centuries in England. This project looks closely at their contents in order to understand, the effectiveness of this medicine in terms of modern science as well as the way in which these books were in their original context. It then looks at the practitioners of this medicine and tries to understand their role in the medical landscape and in the larger narrative of scientific development.

INTRODUCTION

As historians, we are called to do more than just talk about the past. We are called to unravel complexities, reveal subtle nuances and act as a lens through which to see past events. However, in this role, many forget the singular most important role of the historian, that of a storyteller. So often, historians deal with great themes and movements, looking for the broad currents of history, forgetting that people drove all of these things. These very same people are often overlooked amongst the grand narratives of themes and progress that historians tell.

This trend is especially evident in the history of science and medicine. Andrew Cunningham and Perry Williams say, regarding this grand narrative that, "science is taken to be as old as humanity itself, so that the history of science can in principle run continuously from prehistoric megaliths and Bronze Age metallurgy to the human genome project."[1] This view has dominated this subdiscipline of history, influencing the work of many historians of science. Scientific knowledge does grow through incremental change, with each discovery building on previous work. However, justas the biological theory of evolution is driven by mistakes as much as it is driven by success, so too is the development of science as a field. Cunningham and Williams discuss this in their "De-Centring the Big Picture," stating that origins of science are best termed as an invention particular to a specific time and place.[2] It is this "invention" that reveals that there are multiple ways of obtaining knowledge about the world and that the linear narrative of scientific history does not allow for its complexity. In particular, it obscures stories that deserve to be told but do not fit into this model of progress. For example, stories about women in the seventeenth century who practiced medicine outside of established medical education. These women worked with remedies passed down through generations, filling an important role within their households.

In a field dominated by "the big picture," it is important to start with a close look at the actual subject, the people themselves. Historians of medicine have often been doctors. As a way to support their understanding of medicine, they developed a narrative that far too often, "produced exultant chronicles of medical progress…or even hagiographic biographies of famous medical men."[3] In particular, the history of the diagnosis and treatment of scurvy suffers from this poor interpretation. This disease arises from a deficiency of vitamin C, resulting in damage to the body's immune and support structures. Commonly held as a disease of ocean travel or sailing, scurvy was actually present throughout early modern Europe, particularly in large cities where access to fresh food was limited.[4] Scurvy most

[1] Andrew Cunningham, and Perry Williams. "De-Centring the 'Big Picture': 'The Origins of Modern Science' and the Modern Origins of Science," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 26, no. 4 (1993): 407–32.
[2] Cunningham and Williams, "De-Centring the 'Big Picture,'" 407-23.
[3] Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*. 2 edition. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 4.
[4] L. H. Roddis, *James Lind: Founder of Nautical Medicine*. (New York: Henry Schuman, 1951), 47.

often impacted sailors because the impossibility of maintaining stores of fresh food at sea led to an inadequate amount of vitamin C in their diets. According to the prevailing history of the disease, people did not understand the cure until James Lind conducted his experiments to prove that scurvy was treated through administration of citrus, high in vitamin C.[5] This account aligns very well with the traditional view of scientific progress as driven by influential and brilliant men. However, this narrative is not fully accurate and imposes a schema on this history that brushes over the true complexity of the development of the medical understanding of scurvy.

The linear and "whiggish" interpretation of scientific history replaces complexity and depth with a false impression of uninterrupted progress. It excludes men and women who do not help to paint this larger picture, despite the fact that their work is a part of the history of science and medicine. Recent scholarship has moved away from this approach and instead looks at modern science as one way of obtaining information about the world out of many. This scholarship has also focused on how biomedical science has subtly changed the perception of history through its effect of defining illness based on the laboratory.[6] Andrew Cunningham in particular notes that the nature of disease has changed over time. Diseases are no longer defined by the symptoms, as they were in the past, but rather are defined by the laboratory and given their identity through it.[7] For example, in the modern era a diagnosis of scurvy is only obtained after a laboratory confirms a Vitamin C deficiency through blood testing. Before that point, the symptoms pointed to the possible diagnosis but it was only given an identity through laboratory testing. In practice, as James Lind first identified scurvy he has, been characterized as the first to know how to cure it. However, there have been alternative views on the disease that still led to effective medicines and warrant consideration in order to gain a full understanding of scientific history. The major focus of this project is the women who practiced household medicine in early modern Europe, a group which, until recently, has been largely ignored in histories of science.

Household medicine represents a nearly ubiquitous practice in early modern Europe, with several prominent examples in both England and Germany.[8] Women were expected to have at least a general knowledge of medicine in order to support their households.[9] This knowledge primarily came from the collection and manufacture of medical remedies, such as salves, ointments, or healing waters for a variety of ailments. These remedies were compiled into recipe books that were then passed down to their children, preserving the remedies. The

[5] Roddis, *James Lind*, 52-62.
[6] Andrew Cunningham, "Transforming Plague," in *The Laboratory Revolution in Medicine*, ed. Andrew Cunningham and Perry Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 209.
[7] Cunningham, "Transforming Plague," 215-218.
[8] Alisha Rankin, *Panaceia's Daughters: Noblewomen as Healers in Early Modern Germany*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).
[9] Harold John Cook, *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London*, (Cornell University Press, 1986).
Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 122.

diverse and disparate nature of this form of medicine does not lend itself well to the older scientific historiography. Their work was relatively confined to their own homes and, though it was widespread, did not lead to the development of science as it is traditionally seen. However, these women's alternative form of obtaining knowledge is still significant for several reasons. First, their remedies were widespread and greatly impacted daily life. Their collections contained medical, cooking, and baking recipes and thus were a central depository of knowledge for the early modern home. Furthermore, because women dominated the field of household medicine, these remedies offer a potential analysis of the nature of gender in early modern England. One such woman is Mary Doggett, a practitioner of household medicine whose work has been obscured by the linear narrative of medical history.

A housewife living and working in the early part of the seventeenth century, Mary Doggett is a fantastic example of the women who practiced household medicine. However, as is the case with many women of this period, relatively little evidence exists containing details about her life. What little evidence available has been reconstructed from the imprint she made in the lives of her husband, the actor Thomas Doggett, and her grandfather, Richard Owen. Born in the mid 1600s, Mary Doggett grew up in Eltham, a modern day suburb of Greater London. Her family was of means, with her grandfather having been the former vicar of Eltham Church. Though he had been turned out from the vicarage in 1653, he was nonetheless able to retain the income of a sister property, preserving some measure of the family's wealth.[10] Records show that Mary was mentioned in her grandmother, Mary Owens's, will.[11] This suggests that Mary may have led a life of relative comfort. When she was around 25, she married the famous London actor, Thomas Doggett, and established a home with him in Eltham.[12] During this period, Mary composed her recipe book, a compilation of cures for all manner of diseases.[13] Through this recipe book, Mary makes her mark on history.

Mary Doggett shares many commonalities with other women who practiced household medicine. Many were well off, with the majority of practitioners belonging to an upper middle class. This allowed them the leisure to learn about and to explore their medical practices.[14] Mary also came from an established family, one in which money was relatively stable. This would suggest that other members of her family possibly had the leisure and incentive to learn about medicine and to collect remedies themselves. Indeed, her recipe book, though written in one hand, is methodical and looks as though it has been re-copied from original sources. Though this is not known for certain, it would fit with the existing pattern of

[10] England, Historic. 2016. "Eltham Palace, Greenwich - 1014833| Historic England."
[11] Ibid.
[12] Theodore Andrea Cook, and Guy Oliver Nickalls.. *Thomas Doggett, Deceased: A Famous Comedian*. (London: Archibald Constable, 1908).
[13], Mary Doggett and Samuel William Henry "Recipe-Book of Mary Doggett, Wife of Thomas Doggett, the Actor; (Ireland: 1682).
[14] Rankin, *Panaceia's Daughters*, 139-145.

household practitioners receiving their medical remedies from an older family member, particularly an older woman such as a mother or a grandmother.[15] Housewives were expected to collect and be proficient in these remedies, as doctors were not always economically practical or available.[16] It has been estimated that the ratio of available doctors to patients was as low as 1:400 rising to 1:200 in some more populated areas.[17] Due to the both relative scarcity of physicians and the great number of health threats, household medicine, found in recipe books, was an essential part of the medical landscape. While many women would use these recipes around their houses for their children or livestock, many others would supply them as a form of charity or to supplement their family's income, as the childless Mary likely did.[18] Whatever her motivation, Mary's recipe book served as a reservoir of medical knowledge, allowing it to be transmitted to others who could benefit from her work.

Disease is one of the few universal experiences, although the understanding of these experiences varies along with the diversity of humanity. As societies have encountered disease, they have had to explain it and learn to treat the various manifestations and ailments known as symptoms. Treatments are accumulated and are compiled based around the dominant understanding of the human body and the diseases from which it can suffer from. Gradually, a corpus of medical knowledge is accumulated. It is important to note that this medical knowledge may not be, by our understanding, scientific. It could be more spiritual or perhaps more holistic. Its guiding principles, however, follow the conceptions of the human body as defined by its society. In many ways, medicine can be seen as a reflection of the prevailing culture, revealing how the body itself is seen, as well as how this body interacts with the world.

In the modern western biomedical tradition, the body is defined as a biological entity with disease being a manifestation of improper interactions between this entity and other organisms or itself. This is very different from earlier conceptions of the body and disease in the western tradition, including the humoral system. This system envisioned the body at the balance of four fluids or humors with disease caused by imbalances between these fluids.[19]

Understanding the way in which disease occurs is a job for doctors and researchers. However, looking at the development of this medicine, and of medical systems reflective of different cultures, is the job of historians.

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[15] Elaine Leong and Alisha Rankin. *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science, 1500-1800.* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2011).
[16]Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 239-43.
[17] Harold John Cook, *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London.* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1986), 30.
[18] Rankin, *Panaceia's Daughters*, 30-5.
[19] Vivian Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*. (London: Routledge, 2013), 292-309.

This project attempts to use both a historical and a biomedical approach to better understand the efficacy and the development of the remedies found in these recipe books. It seeks to build off of previous work that used biological lab tests to further explore history. The University of Nottingham has recently begun a project called AncientBiotics, a biological study using medieval household medical texts to look at the efficacy of these medicines. In the short time since the program started, the study has shown success in combating MRSA, an antibiotic resistant bacterium, with a medieval salve killing over 98% of the bacteria in a resistant culture. This antibiotic resistance makes MRSA very difficult to treat and has made it a severe problem in the sanitation of hospitals and emergency rooms.[20] This type of interdisciplinary work has the potential to impact both the fields of biology and history in a truly meaningful way. From a biomedical perspective, the fact that this salve can eliminate these invasive bacteria forces us to rethink how we approach bacterial diseases and antibiotic resistance. From a historical perspective, this adds evidence in the ongoing debate about the efficacy of pre-modern medicine and, in particular, the medicine practiced in households during that period.

The debate concerning the efficacy of pre-modern medicine is not exclusive to early modern England. In many ways, it mirrors debates concerning any other form of alternative medicine – that is, any form of established or semi-established medicine which does not have its theoretical basis in western biomedicine. This definition can include the forms of medicine that were practiced before the invention of science, such as the medicine of the early modern or the Anglo-Saxon period. Arguments for the efficacy or lack thereof of Anglo-Saxon medical treatments can be used as a reflection of a similar debate concerning household medicine in the early modern period. Both sides of this debate have used empirical scientific evidence to suggest that, as a general corpus, the Anglo-Saxon medicine was either effective or ineffective. However, due to the widespread and variable nature of early modern household medicine, a claim of total efficacy is largely impossible. Therefore, instead of making far-reaching claims about the effectiveness of the entire body of knowledge, I will instead use the measure of efficacy as a way to suggest mechanisms of development and maintenance, namely through a form of trial and error testing.

My project takes this idea of impactful interdisciplinary research and uses it to gain a better understanding of the development and the maintenance of these early modern remedies. In particular, it looks at recipes for curing scurvy and seeks to understand if these remedies had an appreciable benefit to the patient. As the only cure for scurvy is the administration of vitamin C, or ascorbic acid, looking at remedies for this deficiency allows one to control for conflicting variables that could impact antibiotic trials or other anti-infectious remedies. These variables include the immune response of the human body as well as the body's ability to metabolize compounds into antimicrobial compounds. In simple *in vitro* experiments these

[20] Freya Harrison et al., "A 1,000-Year-Old Antimicrobial Remedy with Antistaphylococcal Activity," *mBio* 6, no. 4 (September 1, 2015).

effects are absent, potentially providing a negative antimicrobial response where there would an *in vivo* response. Scurvy, in contrast, is a disease of deficiency and its symptoms are the result of a lack of vitamin C, not any external pathogen. This means that various symptoms only require a vitamin C supplement to correct the deficiency and cure the disease. To this end, measuring the ascorbic acid in remedies is sufficient to determine if there was a significant difference between the completed recipe and the various ingredients used to manufacture it. This showed that many of these remedies had actual medical efficacy proven by modern standards. However, some recipes analyzed had no vitamin C and would not be effective as medicine. These remedies persisted and were passed on, preserving what seems like a failed experiment. Together, these two different recipe types provide insight into how these remedies were perceived by the women who used them and perhaps how they were originally developed.

In particular, evidence from the analysis of these recipe books provides support for the idea that the practitioners of household medicine practiced an intermediate form of experimentation between the medieval concept of *experimentum* and the empiricism of later centuries. Alisha Rankin argued for the existence of this form of experimentalism in her discussion of the court practices of Anna of Saxony in the sixteenth century.[21] In her discussion, she argued that these practices moved away from the medieval concept of *experimentum* or "'fortuitous practical discoveries' that, while useful, had no broader bearing on theory."[22] These discoveries were singular in nature and "held a lower position than recipes and principles derived from ancient texts."[23] In contrast, the court experimentalism practiced by Anna of Saxony moved into a more methodical approach, and became somewhat more interested in understanding some basic principles. This increased focus on empiricism has also been noted in some established physicians, such as Georg Handsch, a sixteenth century Bohemian physician. Handsch's notebooks contain a great deal of knowledge gained through sensory experience and show an emphasis on these empirical findings as a way to enhance treatment.[24] Evidence from recipe books draws parallels between the medicine practiced by women in the early modern household and practitioners of these other forms of medicine, such as Anna of Saxony and Georg Hansch.

Interdisciplinary research allows scholars to look at a question from different angles.e. This project looks into the nature of the medical practice of housewives in the seventeenth century and uses biochemical analysis to show that their medicine could be effective. However, it

[21] Alisha Rankin, "Becoming an Expert Practitioner: Court Experimentalism and the Medical Skills of Anna of Saxony (1532-1585)," *Isis; an International Review Devoted to the History of Science and Its Cultural Influences* 98, no. 1 (2007), 23–53.
[22] Rankin, "Becoming an Expert Practitioner," 52.
[23] Rankin, "Becoming an Expert Practitioner," 52.
[24] Michael Stolberg, "Empiricism in Sixteenth-Century Medical Practice," *Early Science and Medicine* 18, no. 6 (2013), 487–516.

also examines the women themselves and their understanding of their medicines and their conceptions of health. This narrative is about Mary Doggett, whose legacy has been defined by the recipe book that she left behind as the rest of her history faded into obscurity like thousands of other household healers. This project is their history and the history of the recipe books they compiled, preserved and passed on, and which survive to the modern day.

CHAPTER 1:
THE WORK AND WOMEN OF HOUSEHOLD MEDICINE

Throughout the history of civilization, humanity has had one constant and enduring companion: disease. Microorganisms and the diseases they cause have profoundly affected the course of history. Plagues have wreaked havoc on society, decimating populations and even destroying entire cultures. Bubonic plague alone killed nearly 20 million people, almost a third of Europe, during the Middle Ages, while smallpox all but destroyed the Aztec empire. These are the major players, the genocidal tyrants of the disease world. However, there are those diseases which impact history more subtly: scurvy both limited and fueled the age of exploration; syphilis disturbed the mind of many kings and nobles; and polio dominated the American imagination throughout the early twentieth century. All together, these diseases have played almost as large of a role in the world as humans.[25]

As disease has been a constant presence in human lives, so have attempts to cure and understand it. These have evolved with scientific thought, reflecting the prevailing ideologies of the time. Religion, magic, and philosophy have all had a profound influence on science, changing its nature to match the times. Western science is commonly seen a a universal human enterprise,[26]the culmination of inquiry from the earliest days of civilization. While this view allowed early scientists to press the importance of their field, it ultimately serves to limit understanding of scientific history and its complexity. In particular, this definition of science fails to adequately define and understand alternate methods of inquiry. The remedies created by women in early modern households arose from one of these alternate methods of inquiry and, as such, represent an important aspect of the history of medicine.

Much of the traditional historical work done on recipe books was viewed through the lens of the scholarship of the 1940s and its view of the universal benefit of biomedicine.[27] This has often denigrated them as either superstition rooted in tradition or a dissemination of scholastic texts composed in universities and monasteries. There has historically been a lack of work done on the effectiveness of these recipes as well as the nature of household recipe books. However, recent developments in scholarship, particularly since the 1990s, have begun to look at the developments made in common and household medicine.

The place of women in the practice of household medicine during the early modern period is a relatively new question that has not been fully addressed in earlier scholarship. Authors such as Elaine Leong and Alisha Rankin have looked at the history of women's involvement in medicine in their book, *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science, 1500- 1800*, but

[25] Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity*. 1 edition. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999) 3-13.
[26] Cunningham and Williams. "De-Centring the 'Big Picture'," 407–32.
[27] Cunningham and Williams, "De-centering the 'Big Picture'," 411.

have spent relatively little time looking at the effectiveness of the medicines that were made. However, they do bring up the idea of "women's secrets" and the nature of women's involvement in these books. Their work further reveals the influence of women on the recipe books and argues for the fact that women should be included as a part of the emerging body of research done in this field.

Therefore, in order to try and better understand the medicine practiced in early modern England, it is better to use a more modern definition of science and its origins provided by Andrew Cunningham and Perry Williams. Their paper "De-Centering the 'Big Picture'" reflects on this and defines the origins of science as an invention as opposed to an emergence. This allows modern science to be seen as just one way of obtaining knowledge amongst many. They say, "This term 'invention'… helps fix the revised view of science as a contingent, time specific and culture-specific activity."[28] They locate this invention during the Age of Revolutions, or from 1760-1848, due to the change in the nature of academic thinking brought about in part from societal change and upheaval. Modern science, therefore, rose out the development of secular thought which emphasized individual experiences as opposed to authoritative sources. For the purposes of this project, this definition is useful to describe the state of science and medicine during the seventeenth century, as the specific combination of cultural and social factors resulted in multiple different ways of understanding the world.

However, it is important to note that evidence was not usually described as experimentally-determined data. Instead, this evidence could be textual, found in the authoritative works of earlier scholars, or even quasi-mystical in an attempt to come to understand the world through a personal connection with the divine.[29] The medicine practiced by Mary Doggett and other housewives represents one of these different ways of understanding the world. Namely, it is representative of an intermediate form of experimentation similar to the court experimentalism of Anna of Saxony.

Looking at the effectiveness of these remedies in an attempt to judge the efficacy of the medical system as a whole is impractical due to the incredible diversity of medical recipes. Furthermore, it is inappropriate to do so, as any judgment is based on modern standards, revealing little about the nature of this type of medicine in a historical context. Looking into the development of these remedies, however, is an underexplored yet important topic of study. Although it is inappropriate to look at the efficacy of household medicine as a whole, the biological effectiveness of certain recipes can be used as a way to understand their development and persistence. While some remedies would have had clear biological effects, others theoretically would be of no value in curing the disease they were prescribed for. Despite this, some of these remedies still persisted in the historical record. Looking at these

[28] Cunningham and Williams, "De-centering the 'Big Picture'," 407–32.
[29] Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 310-2.

cures, therefore, allows for some insight into their development as well as the theoretical basis underlying treatment. However, as the medical field in this period was far less centralized than it is today, it is important to first look at the state of medicine at this time in its entirety, as a way to sketch the historical context in the histories of science and medicine.

Medicine in the seventeenth century was a very diverse and fragmented field, with only the earliest semblances of the type of centralization later seen in university medicine. There were numerous different professions, including physicians, barber-surgeons, and midwives. Each profession dealt with slightly different diseases and issues, and each had a different level of medical education.[30] This environment fostered innovation in medical practice and a development of a professional medical elite of physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries.[31] The subtle differences between these professions highlights some of the emerging issues within medicine at the time. "One way to distinguish between physicians, on the one hand, and surgeons and apothecaries, on the other, is to argue that until almost the very end of the eighteenth-century surgeons received training, while physicians became educated."[32] Already, this dichotomy shows the greatest conflict in the medical community: learning based on authority against knowledge gained through experience. During the medieval and into the early modern period, the basis of a physician's learning was through texts and was a "method of 'proof' rather than that of 'discovery.'"[33] This was a part of the established university education as medical knowledge was seen as coming through authoritative texts and through their dissection.[34] However, in addition to this conflict, this period was also marked by the beginnings of the erosion of the dominant medical theories. This meant a gradual decline in the theories of Galen and a development of new medical theories such as Paracelsian thought as well as new advances in chemical medicine.[35]

Taken together, these conflicts resulted in a climate that may have been conducive to a method of inquiry that used existing theories and then built on them through experience, an early form of trial and error testing. Alisha Rankin in her paper, "Becoming an Expert Practitioner," argues that the kind of experiments practiced in the court of Anna of Saxony represent a kind of intermediate between the medieval concept of *experimenta*, or singular pieces of practical knowledge gleaned from observation and empirical observations which characterized the later concept of experimental observation.[36] This later empiricism is best described in contrast to the views of Aristotelian practitioners. These practitioners, "made no attempt to explain their cures as part of a broader system of nature," and "worried neither

[30] Cook, *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London*, 44-7.
[31] Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice*. 1 edition, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 128
[32] Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 128.
[33] Harold John Cook, *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London*. (Cornell University Press, 1986) 50.
[34] Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 100-101.
[35] Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 103.
[36] Rankin, "Becoming an Expert Practitioner," 52.

about signs nor about causality, but presented empirical method without theoretical explanation."[37] In this context, observational data was seen as useful in its own right. This meant that before the sixteenth century, practitioners very not overly concerned with connecting these observations to a larger theoretical framework.

Alisha Rankin describes the practices of Anna of Saxony as a form of trial and error, as Anna combined her own observations with inherited ideas from other practitioners such as Dorothea of Mansfield.[38] Similarly, Michael Stolberg's analysis of the notebooks of Georg Handsch, an established Bohemian physician in the sixteenth century, provides evidence that established physicians were placing an increased emphasis on sensory experiences as a part of medical treatment and diagnosis. On Handsch's use of experience, Stolberg says, "They were well aware that a single instance of a seemingly successful use of a certain medicine provided no definitive proof of its value."[39] This shows a progression to larger, more empirical thinking, as opposed to the idea of singular *experimentum*. Like those who practiced court experimentalism, these empirically minded physicians show that experiences increasingly were important in the treatment of disease in the early modern world.

Those who practiced household medicine in England may have used a similar form of trial and error testing in the development of their medicines. Competition between physicians meant that physicians needed to appeal to the "ideas and preferred approaches of his patients."[40] This led to a great deal of interaction between patients and physicians, resulting in a two-way transmission that was important to both parties. As a result, current medical knowledge would have been widely available to those with a basic understanding of medical principles, such as household practitioners. These people were in an ideal position to adapt their remedies to fit new theories of disease and to correspond to the experiences they themselves had had with their own treatments. This could have also emerged as a result of interactions between the practitioners of household medicine and the other medical fields operating at this time. Therefore, it becomes important to look at these practitioners and their unique position within the medical community.

Within this diverse medical environment, many women practiced a form of medicine based around medical recipes that very often had been passed down from their mothers or grandmothers. Since most families cared for their own sick, "housewives were expected to know basic medicine, and they kept medical remedies at hand."[41] These remedies were widespread and the women who kept them in recipe books comprised a diverse group, though they shared some similar characteristics. Analyzing the female practitioners of

[37] Rankin, "Becoming an Expert Practitioner," 52.
[38] Rankin, "Becoming and Expert Practitioner," 46.
[39] Stolberg, "Empiricism in Sixteenth-Century Medical Practice," 510.
[40] Michael Stolberg, "Learning from the Common Folks. Academic Physicians and Medical Lay Culture in the Sixteenth Century," *Social History of Medicine* 27, no. 4 (2014), 665.
[41] Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 121.

medicine allows one to see often overlooked commonalities and expands the understanding of their unique position in the medical landscape as well as broader context in which they worked. However, it is important to understand that, because of the widespread nature of these remedies, these exemplars do not represent all the women or perhaps even a majority. They do, however, reflect many of the women who were developing the remedies and allowing for their circulation, potentially resulting in a separate way of gaining information about the world.

In looking at their background, many of the women who actively practiced home remedies were similar in that they came from families which had some money or influence. This gave practitioners the freedom to work and to practice.[42] This freedom was twofold. First, the degree of wealth allowed for the pursuit of activities that were not essential to daily life. This included the collection of medical recipes, as well as the maintenance of their supplies of medical remedies and ingredients, some of which were expensive in their own right. As seen in the discussion of the remedies themselves, the maintenance of these stores of medicines served a valuable role as both "treasure stores of practical information" as well as a "'secondary' medicine cupboard" offering a wide supply of medical knowledge.[43] The second freedom afforded to women of some money or influence also drew on their social status, allowing them to circumvent challenges by the medical establishment. This is particularly clear in the comparison of the cases of the Anna of Saxony and Dorothea of Mansfield, two contemporaneous healers in Germany during this time. As Dorothea of Mansfield was less influential than Anna, the wife of the Elector of Saxony, her career was marked by mostly charitable healing, avoiding conflicts with the establishment through her good works.[44] Anna of Saxony, meanwhile, was able to craft her remedies without the need to provide them to charity, due to her husband's position as the powerful Elector of Saxony,.[45] Furthermore, Anna's considerable influence and her husband's scientific curiosity allowed her the freedom to innovate and to explore different variations of her medical remedies.[46] Anna of Saxony did not have to worry about her identity's creating issues in the medical field as a result of her position in society. This let her use the observations that she made in her other scientific endeavors to create new remedies. The comparison between Dorothea and Anna shows some of the issues that these women had to face in order to actively practice their medicine so as not to come into conflict with the medical elite.

These factors also worked to provide these women with positions in which they were able to interact with scholastic and experimental traditions, possibly forming the basis for the development of their medicines. Using the correspondence between Dorothea and Anna,

[42] Rankin, *Panaceia's Daughters,* 165-7.
[43] Elaine Leong, "Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82, no. 1, (2008), 145–68.
[44] Rankin, *Panaceia's Daughters*, 126-7.
[45] Rankin, "Becoming and Expert Practitioner," 23–53.
[46] Rankin, "Becoming and Expert Practitioner," 23-53.

Alisha Rankin shows that these women did not work in isolation. There was an exchange between these two women, and others, resulting in the transmission of these medical works across Europe.[47] This exchange was often a form of patronage, serving not only as a way to pass on medical knowledge, but also as a way to strengthen the bonds between medical practitioners and link them through their works.[48] These exchanges show contact with established university medicine as well as with the emerging scientific ideas of the time. In particular, Anna of Saxony's position as the center of her husband's court put her in direct contact with some of the most innovative minds in the scientific community. Both she and her husband used this to further their own scientific and alchemical interests.[49] Her interests in medicine, therefore, reflect this innovation as she used newer methods in her own manufacture of medicine.[50] The focus on new ideas and new methods reflects the nature of court experimentalism and its focus on practical knowledge in subjects such as medicine.[51] As a result, these ideas entered into her medical vocabulary and influenced both how she developed her own variations of remedies as well as how she judged the efficacy of those medicines.

Although these two women lived and practiced in Germany a century earlier than Mary Doggett and others, parallels exist between their work and the work of practitioners in England. In many cases, such as that of Mary Doggett and her medical text, the women had money themselves and, though they were not as powerful as Anna of Saxony, their families had a measure of influence with which to support them. This influence would have also put them into contact with the various aspects of the medical field. However, influence may not have even been necessary for this type of contact between home practitioners and the different aspects of established medicine. The medical field in England was incredibly varied and widespread, with English common law stating that "anyone could practice medicine as long as the patient consented."[52] This created a very fragmented medical system, with physicians competing through displays of their medical expertise and skills.[53] Through this competition, a kind of a medical marketplace developed in larger towns and cities, such as in London. This was not necessarily a physical marketplace, but the metaphor works well to describe the "economic medical milieu," of these cities.[54] In this "marketplace," practitioners of all skill levels competed in order to attract patients, proving their superiority through their textual analysis and writing of medical treatises or through stories of their effective treatments.[55] Together with circulating almanacs and medical advertisements, descriptions of

[47] Rankin, *Panaceia's Daughters*, 54-6.
[48] Rankin, *Panaceia's Daughters*, 54-6.
[49] Rankin, *Panaceia's Daughters*, 128-136.
[50] Rankin, *Panaceia's Daughters*, 138-9.
[51] Rankin, "Becoming and Expert Practitioner," 47-5.
[52] Cook, *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London*, 28.
[53] Cook, *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London*, 28-69.
[54] Cook, *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London*, 22.
[55] Cook, *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London*, 43-47.

treatments and medical theories permeated society and were widely available for public consumption.

The widespread availability of medical treatises and descriptions of medical treatments means that a basic understanding of current medical theory would have been easy to attain. In particular, women, who would have been expected to have a basic proficiency with medicine, would have been exposed to these ideas in a more informal way than learned physicians. This familiarity with the basics of medicine, combined with emerging ideas concerning the nature of experimentation, would have likely been influential in the development of the home. Unbound by the traditional textual adherence of the universities, these women would have been able to try novel medicines more freely and to record recipes for effective treatments.

These collections represent an alternative form of medical inquiry. Recipe books had emerged in the early Middle Ages out of the scholarly tradition influenced by Christianity. European attitudes towards the natural world were very much linked to the Christian perception of the world. Drawing on elements of the Christian doctrine of revelation, medieval scholars mostly relied on transmitted knowledge obtained from insight gleaned from books or other authoritative sources. There was a special reverence attached to this knowledge and the secrets of the natural world that it conveyed.

As a part of the evolving nature of scholarship on the period, these recipe books have begun to be a major focus of investigation done on the scientific and medical knowledge of the period. In particular, these books reveal an emphasis on preserving the secret knowledge of the natural world,.[56] "As long as secrets were kept secret, they were valuable; once they became public property, they could be exploited by anyone and hence were worthless."[57] This emphasis on secrets and the secret nature of knowledge was seen in the correspondence between Anna of Saxony and Dorothea of Mansfeld. Their recipes for crafting remedies were very special and extremely valuable. As such, they were unwilling to allow the recipes to spread far, lest others know their secrets and taint their techniques. This emphasizes the precious nature of the remedies and the way in which they were perceived by those who collected them.

These recipe books contain a reflection of what their compilers deemed worth preserving. This could have been either because of their perception of them as a secret technique worth preserving, similar to the view of Anna of Saxony, or because of their perception of the remedies as effective. These books, therefore, were dynamic documents reflecting a combination of medical theory and knowledge learned through experience. This can be seen when looking at the physical documents themselves and the modifications made to the texts.

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[56] William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 16.
[57] Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, 90.

Crossed out passages and scratch marks are seen through some of the remedies in these books, potentially representing the acknowledgement that the remedy was not effective. These markings could feasibly represent examples of an early form of trial and error experimentation. Without the strict adherence to textual sources, these women were able to change remedies based on their own experience of healing. Furthermore, many of these recipe books have "proven by" or "probatum est," written in the margins, certifying the validity of these remedies through experience. This shows that in these cases, the authors equate first-hand experience as having equal validity as experiences described by others. These modifications to the text show that there was a sense that these collections were fluid and could be changed based off of new observations. In a similar way, Anna of Saxony used the observations of others as well as her own firsthand observations in order to determine the efficacy of remedies.[58] This similarity further emphasizes how, like Anna of Saxony, the women who practiced household medicine may have represented an intermediate stage between the theoretical basis of the medical theory of the Middle Ages and later empirical thought.

Continuing with this work, the use of biological analysis allows historians to look at these early modern medical texts in a new light, showing that not only were they a form of experimentalism, but that they also represent an important part of the history of science in general. This will be shown through the specific degree of efficacy of specific medicines chosen as representative of the types of medicines made during the period. It is this efficacy, or lack thereof, that can show how these medicines were created and maintained, revealing the initial thought behind their conception. These women were in a unique position within the medical world; their sheer number and diversity gave them the opportunity to interact with many different fields and disciplines. As a result, their medicines may represent a combination of these fields and these approaches, creating something of an intermediate form of practice that deserves to be acknowledged in the history of science.

[58] Rankin, "Becoming and Expert Practitioner," 46.

CHAPTER 2:
THE DYNAMIC NATURE OF RECIPE BOOKS

The recipe books found in many early modern homes had a variety of uses, reflecting the diversity of authors who compiled them. These books tell a story of their own, with their structure and modifications revealing dynamic documents that were actively used in homes. This is what makes the work of Leong and Rankin innovative, as it uses work done on the history of books of secrets to reveal the part that women played in their authorship.[59] In particular, a paper done by Elaine Leong, "Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household," looks more closely at the nature of these household remedies, specifically their creation.[60] In it, she elaborates on the role of the household medicines in the actual functioning of the household. She describes their nature as both "treasure stores of practical information" as well as "'secondary' medicine cupboard(s)," offering a wide supply of medical knowledge.[61] Because of their importance, a great number of these books survived over the years and are now kept in archives such as those at the British Library and the Wellcome Library.

Despite the variety of these books, a result of their sheer number and distribution, many of them have a similar structure and contain many of the same elements. As befits their nature as reservoirs of information, these books contained a variety of recipes including, but not limited to, culinary and bakery recipes as well as remedies for both humans and animals. Most of the books observed had a mixture of medical and culinary recipes; it was very rare that a book contained only one type of recipe. These books were repositories of knowledge, important for both everyday use as well as long-term maintenance of remedies obtained over several generations. As such, the variety of recipes found in these books reflects an attempt to gather practical knowledge for future use.

Additionally, the presence of cookery recipes highlights the importance of food and proper diet in the Galenic understanding of the body. In this understanding, food became the body after it was converted to the four humors following ingestion.[62] This made a proper diet essential to health and to averting imbalances that could cause disease. This link between diet and wellness made the distinction between what was considered culinary and what was considered medical vague, holding implications for household medical practitioners who themselves were a product of this vague distinction.

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[59] Leong and Rankin, *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science.*
[60] Leong, "Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household," 158-167.
[61] Leong, "Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household," 167.
[62] Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 170.

As a result, many recipes for medicines read as though they are for common household foods, with ingredients such as oranges or horseradish found alongside various 'medical' herbs. As Andrew Wear noted, "Cooking and medicine, the worlds of health and illness, and hence of lay and expert medical cultures, were thus perceived as closely connected."[63] This may have been a contributing factor as to why there was such a dominant culture of home medical practice as lay medicine was inexorably linked to the professional class. The lack of a clear distinction could have contributed to the sense that household medicine could be as effective as the treatments offered by professional physicians.

In terms of structure, these recipe books were varied, but generally did not have a well-defined structure, save for a few notable exceptions. For example, one book had a split structure with one half devoted to what in the modern day would be cookery recipes and the inverted half containing medical remedies for both animals and humans.[64] However, this organization seems to be a rarity, as many books contain no set structure at all. Medical recipes often show no pattern in terms of their organization, with remedies for the same disease sometimes separated by several pages of either medical or cookery recipes. As stated earlier, the distinction between food and diet, and medicine, was far from clear. However, this still suggests that these books were not planned in advance and that remedies were added as they were discovered or collected from other practitioners. The dynamic nature of these remedy books is further supported by the textual modifications that were made to certain passages, presumably after the recipes were first recorded.

Modifications can be found throughout these recipe books, suggesting that they were not static texts but in essence living documents that changed as practitioners deemed them effective or not. This supports Alisha Rankin's argument that these women practiced an intermediate form of science, between the understanding of *experimenta* in the Middle Ages, and the empiricism of later centuries. Modifications to the text came in several forms but there were two which were most prevalent. The first was the addition of phrases attributing efficacy to remedies. These were mainly statements saying that a remedy was "proven by" themselves or by another practitioner or doctor.

[63] Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine*, 171.
[64] James Parker, MS.*3769*. Manuscript. From The Wellcome Collection Archives. Accessed 5/25/16.

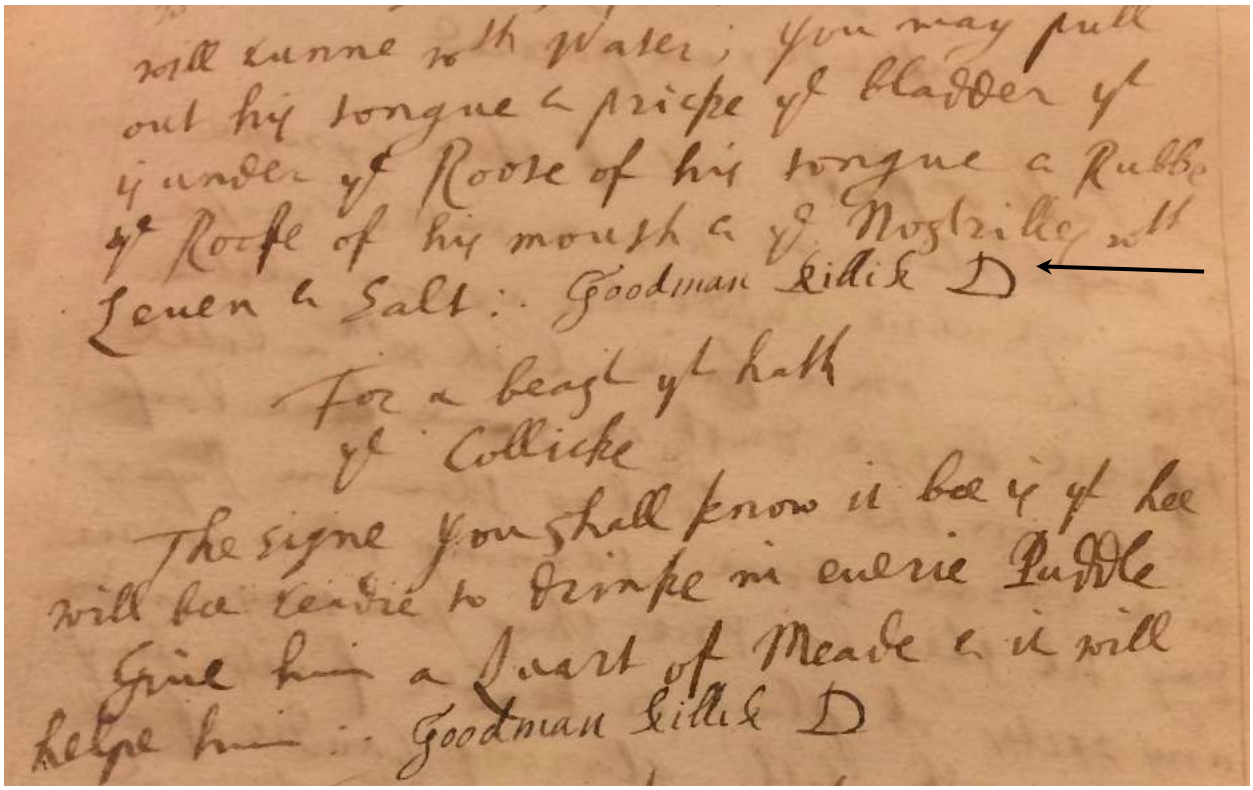


FIGURE 1 The addition of the name at the end of the remedy shows how observational data made its way into these remedy books and were influential in how they were seen. The fact that these modifications were made in a different pen and hand show that someone else made these modifications after the original recording of the remedy.[65]

It is interesting that, in these cases, personal experience with the efficacy of a remedy is not required to accept its validity. Secondhand experience is equated as equally valid. This shows that while there is a gradual transition towards later scientific thought, it is not the same as our modern definition of experiential learning. Modern tests for efficacy rely on double-blind testing which ensures that the results are not clouded by the prior expectations of either the researcher or the patient.

The idea of these remedy books as dynamic documents is further corroborated by modifications made to the actual recipes themselves. While the addition of statements attesting to efficacy of treatments shows an appreciation of actual experience with treatment, modifications made to the text itself show that the remedies were changed based on these experiences. These modifications came in three main forms: a rejection of an entire recipe, the addition of instructions on how a particular remedy should be used, or a change to the ingredient composition through a change in either the ingredient itself or the amount of ingredient used.

[65] Add MS 45196**.** Manuscript. From The British Library Archives. Accessed 5/23/16.

Throughout these recipe books, there are remedies that are completely crossed out, in an attempt to remove them from completely from the book. This shows that the authors of these remedies saw them as ineffective or possibly impractical.

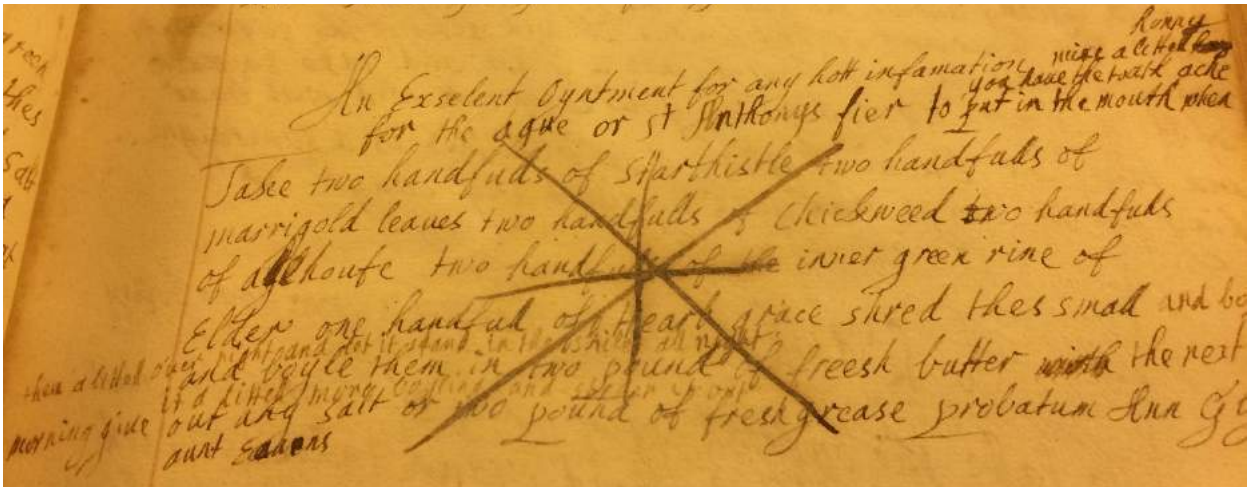


FIGURE 2 The crossed-out remedy suggests that this remedy was no longer to be considered an effective treatment. This is particularly interesting in this case as there are already noticeable modifications made to the recipe. This may indicate that despite attempts to make this recipe better, the basis of this treatment was in error. [66]

Their removal from use shows that those people who were compiling these remedies did so with efficacy in mind. Therefore, when a remedy was no longer seen as effective, it was no longer of any value.

Figure 2 can be analyzed further as it contains many other alterations that were made before the recipe was crossed out. The original prescription of this remedy was for hot inflammation, a disease with very apparent symptoms. As such, both the doctor and the patient would have readily assessed the efficacy of treatment. However, underneath this prescription, additional uses are listed, saying that the remedy was effective in treating a general ache, St. Anthony's fire (ergotism) as well as a toothache. These later additions have similar symptoms and it is easy to see how this remedy was generalized to include these other diseases as targets. Additionally, in the margins of the recipe there are instructions for how to better prepare this remedy by either boiling it longer or letting it sit overnight. Despite these adjustments and the generalization of this remedy to other diseases, this recipe was crossed out as if it was not effective. This is a clear indication that there may have been different views of efficacy among the women and men who practiced this type of medicine. This kind of conflict within the community could have been one mechanism by which these recipes evolved, with different views of efficacy serving as a kind of selective pressure.

[66] Add MS 45196, Manuscript. From The British Library Archives. Accessed 5/23/16.

The addition of instructions to a remedy shows an engagement with the remedy and suggests that it was used multiple times before this change was made. While there are many examples of this, including the recipe above, two in particular stand out as good examples of this deeper engagement. The first is a remedy for an ache which states underneath the text that says that a child would require half a dose for effectiveness.

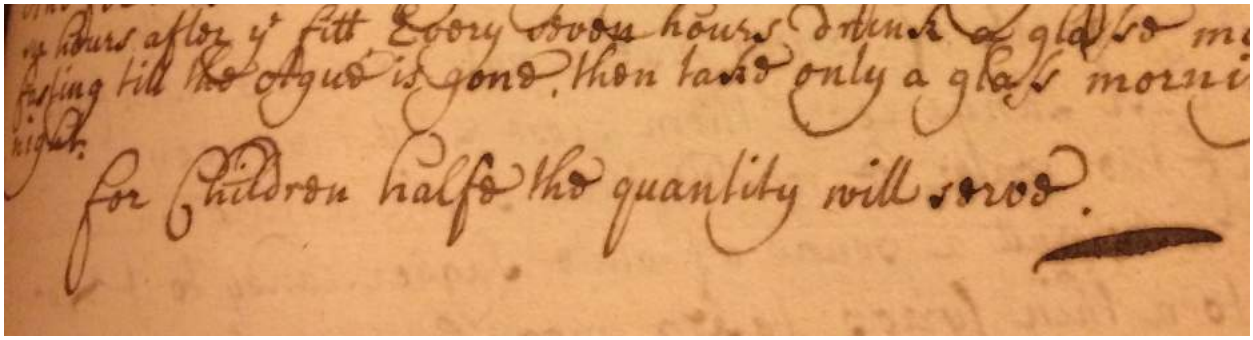
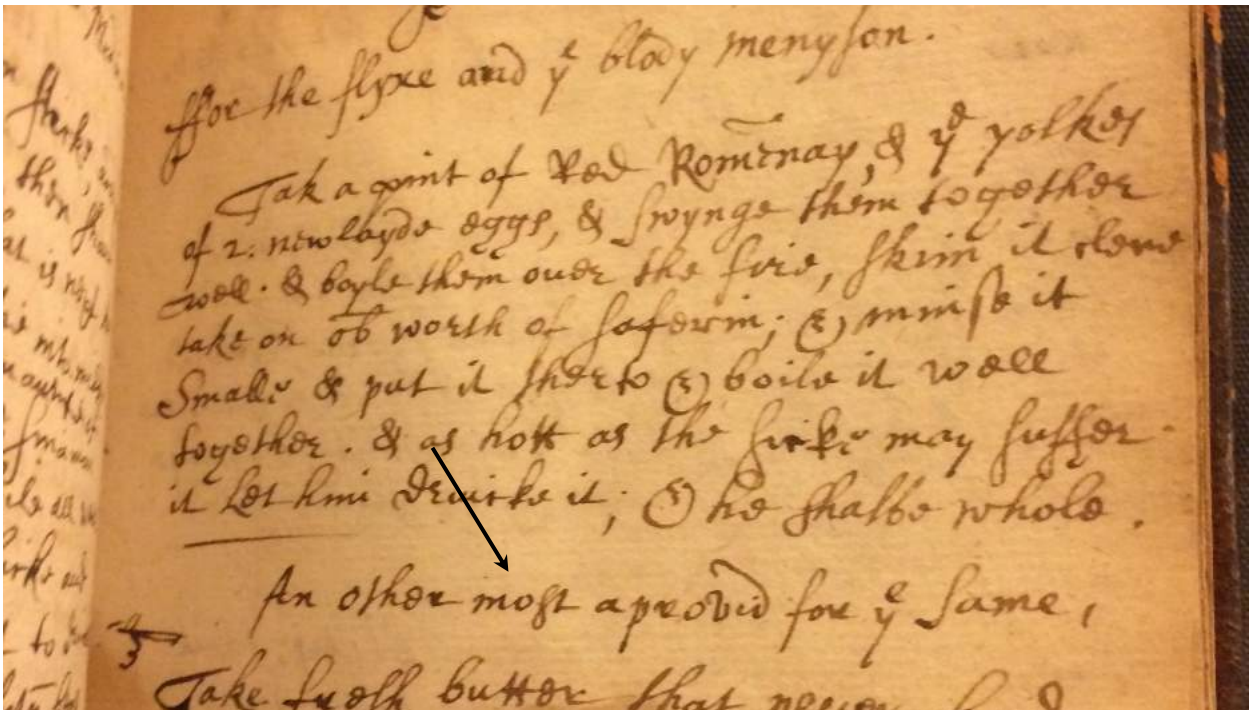


FIGURE 3 The acknowledgement of a lessened dose for children, along with the fact that other remedies lack this precaution, shows that this remedy had been used several times and that practitioners had learned that children required a smaller effective dose. [67]

This change shows that there is enough of a familiarity with this remedy to understand that a smaller child would require less. Indeed, this remedy does call for the inclusion of Jesuit's Bark, an antimalarial medicine that has been known to be toxic in improper dosing in the elderly and potentially in children. Furthermore, while the idea of child doses seems like common sense based on modern conceptions of medicine, other remedies do not have this provision, suggesting that this addition is made based on actual experiences with this remedy. These types of experiences may have led many practitioners to write their own opinions on the effectiveness of own remedies. This is shown through post script statements found in some recipe books, stating that certain remedy books were more appropriate or more approved than others.

[67] Add MS 27466, Manuscript. From The British Library Archives. Accessed 5/23/16.


for the flyxe and ye bloody menyson.

Take a pint of Red Romney, & yd yolkes of 2. newlayde eggs, & Swynge them togethor well. & boyle them ouer the fire, skim it clene take on ob worth of safforn; & mince it Small & put it thereto & boile it well togethor. & as hott as the Sicke may suffer it Let him drinke it; & he shalbe whole.

An other most aproued for ye Same,

Take fresh butter that

FIGURE 4 "An other most approved for the Same." This recipe shows how there was sometimes a preference for what remedy used for a particular disease. This is very important in terms of understanding how these recipes were compiles as well as why some remedies were preserved despite not being favored. [68]

This shows that not all of the remedies compiled were viewed equally. Not only was there a preference for one remedy, presumably based on past experience, but also the other, non-preferred remedy remained unaltered in this book. This further shows how views on efficacy were fluid and also supports the idea that these recipe books were viewed as reservoirs of practical knowledge.

In addition to instructions or previsions on how to use specific remedies, there were also alterations made to the ingredients of these remedies. These kinds of alterations most clearly support the idea of trial and error testing, as multiple rounds of treatment with these remedies would be required before it was known that these changes were effective.

[68] Egerton MS 2214, Manuscript. From The Wellcome Collection Archives. Accessed 5/25/16.

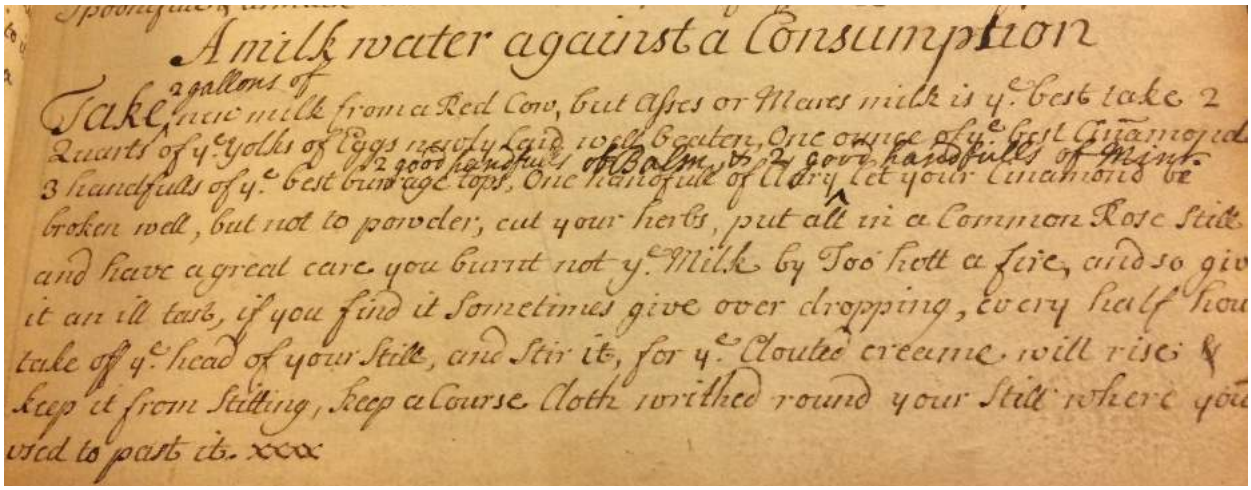


FIGURE 5 This particular remedy comes from Mary Doggett's own recipe book. As is the case with many of her remedies, it has been altered through the addition of ingredients or other phrases to create more effective remedies.[69]

These modifications show that the authors experimented with the texts to the point where they felt that these changes added efficacy to their recipes. While their views of efficacy may not align with modern view of biomedical effectiveness, these textual modifications still show an engagement with the recipes. Furthermore, these types of measured changes to remedies most strongly support the idea that the practitioners of household medicine represent a kind of intermediate in experimental thought between the *experimenta* of the middle ages and formal empiricism that emerges out of the invention of science in the 18th century.

Looking at the recipe books themselves reveals a great deal of information about the practitioners of household medicine and how they used these books in their work. These books were dynamic in nature and were edited and changed after they had been compiled. This shows an engagement with the work and reveals potential differences between practitioners in how they perceived efficacy. Understanding that these remedies were altered or changed in order to increase perceived effectiveness, the question then becomes what that perception of effective medicine was or what aspect of these medicines allowed them to be preserved in these books.. This is where an analysis of the active ingredient in some of the remedies allows historians to better understand what the perception of efficacy was and how these remedies were developed and maintained.

[69] Add MS 27466, Manuscript. From The British Library Archives. Accessed 5/23/16.

CHAPTER 3:
SCURVY AND THE EFFICACY OF REMEDIES

A Short History of Scurvy and Vitamin C

As a disease, scurvy has long captured the attention of popular culture because of its relationship with one of the most compelling time periods of history, the age of pirates. Scurvy has become the disease of pirates and even its symptoms, swollen putrid gums and loosened or missing teeth, have become synonymous with common pirate stereotypes. Because of this, there is a false perception that scurvy was restricted to people on long ocean voyages and that those who remained on the mainland did not suffer from this disease. However, as malnourishment was a significant issue in early modern society, the symptoms of scurvy were found throughout Europe.[70] The medical establishment's attempt to alleviate these symptoms highlights issues inherent in medical theory at the time and reveals the conflict between empiricism and authoritative learning. This makes the treatment of scurvy a good model by which to look at these issues.

One of the defining issues in the early modern medical field was the conflict between empirical evidence and evidence based on authoritative texts. At the time, the predominant sources of medical knowledge for university-trained physicians were texts written far earlier. They delineated the body into four humors, an imbalance of which was understood to be the root cause of disease and illness. Galen wrote that, "A disease is a disposition of the body which is such as primarily to impede one of its activities… only that which primarily harms an activity [should be called] a disease, while what precedes it should be called a cause of the disease, but not indeed a disease."[71] This meant that while imbalances caused disease, a disease was only considered as such when it manifested external symptoms. Without these symptoms, there was nothing that could be called a disease. Evidence gained through empirical observation was, therefore, seen as additional information that could support the humoral diagnosis. In fact, there is evidence showing that there were some physicians who viewed knowledge gained through experience as incredibly important to medical diagnosis. Michael Stolberg's analysis of the sixteenth century physician Georg Handsch showed that there was an emphasis on, "sensory experience(s)," and that his "teachers and mentors instilled a certain measure of distrust in bookish medicine."[72] This emphasis on sensory experience, an important part of practical medicine, is noteworthy as it is also seen in the recipe books of household medicine practitioners. The modifications made to these recipe

[70] Roddis, *James Lind*, 47-8.
[71] Trans. from R. J. Hankinson, "Philosophy of nature," in *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, ed. R. J. Hankinson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 210-241, p. 230, citing *Symp.Diff.* VII 50.
[72] Stolberg, "Empiricism in Sixteenth-Century Medical Practice," 494.

books show a similar emphasis. Furthermore, the chemical analysis of these remedies shows that, in some cases, the result was extremely effective remedies.

As scurvy is a disease of deficiency, patients will not recover without treatment. Scurvy is caused by a lack of ascorbic acid or vitamin C found in fresh fruits or vegetables. Because this vitamin is essential for several biosynthetic pathways in the human body, the result of deficiency is a decline in physical function. In particular, the lack of collagen, a long fibrous protein which provides a great deal of structural support to various tissues in the body, causes several issues. Without this protein, the body's natural repair mechanisms and support tissues are impaired resulting in the symptoms of the disease. The symptoms that most often mark scurvy are lethargy and the swelling of the gums and legs. However, these symptoms will abate quickly with the administration of vitamin C. As such, the only treatment needed is an administration of citrus, such as orange or lemon juice. This means that the efficacy of medicines for scurvy is easily determined because recovery is very rapid. This is very different from antibiotic or antifungal remedies, the efficacy of which could be confounded with the body's natural immune response. Therefore, it is far more difficult to definitively determine efficacy for these remedies based on sensory experiences.

Though scurvy appeared throughout Europe, sailors were especially vulnerable to this disease. During long voyages, fruits and vegetables, the major sources of natural vitamin C, would spoil. This forced the sailors to rely on heavily preserved foods that were deficient in the vitamin.[73] From the first appearance of the word "skurvie" in 1589 to the recorded use of lemon juice in 1617, sailors came to see that there was a correlation between eating acidic foods, such as oranges or lemons, and the abatement of symptoms.[74] When this supposed cure was brought to the medical establishment, there was an attempt to explain it in terms of prevailing doctrine. They argued over these observations and tried to fit the disease into categories created by Galenic theory. By 1667, the prevailing medical scholarship split the disease into two forms in an attempt to understand it.[75] The two major forms of scurvy that they described were acid or "hot" scurvy and alkaline or "cold" scurvy, each of which could be treated with the opposing solution.[76] The convoluted nature of what should have been a simple diagnosis reveals some of the issues within academic medicine at the time. It was not until 1753 that James Lind published his *Treatise on Scurvy*, proving that citrus fruits were the correct treatment for this disease.[77] However, evidence from early modern recipe books does suggest that some practitioners had a clear understanding of an effective treatment. Furthermore, this evidence would suggest that this understanding was based on insight gained through actual experiences.

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[73] Kenneth J. Carpenter, *The History of Scurvy and Vitamin C* (Cambridge University Press, 1988).
[74] Carpenter, *The History of Scurvy and Vitamin C*, 13-20.
[75] Carpenter, *The History of Scurvy and Vitamin C*, 41.
[76] Carpenter, *The History of Scurvy and Vitamin C*, 40.
[77] James Lind, *A Treatise on the Scurvy: in Three Parts, Containing an Inquiry into the Nature, Causes, and Cure, of That Disease*, (London, 1757).

Unclear in the debate on the nature of scurvy is the response of housewives and of household medicine. The medicine practiced by housewives was often the most readily available, and, in situations where scurvy was suspected, remedies created by these practitioners was probably used first. There are cures and treatments for scurvy found throughout recipe books written by Mary Doggett and others. However, despite their number and importance, the basis for these remedies, as well as their theoretical effectiveness, has not been investigated. Looking at this effectiveness from a biological perspective would generate data which could be used to better understand the nature of household medicine as a unique form of experimentalism, similar to the court practices of Anna of Saxony.

Using remedies for scurvy as a subject maximizes the effectiveness of a very powerful tool while minimizing some of the conflicting variables that have come with earlier experiments detailing the effectiveness of other pre-modern medicines. Scurvy remedies are the best subjects for analysis primarily because of the simplicity of an effective treatment. An introduction of vitamin C into the patient's diet will result in a rapid abatement of symptoms. This means that efficacy would be easily visible, and modifications to the test would most likely be based off of experiences with this efficacy. Additionally, as scurvy is a disease of deficiency, conflicting variables, such as metabolic or immune system reactions, are not factored into the analysis. Metabolism is significant as it can be incredibly variable. As a result, when conducting *in vitro* lab experiments, it cannot be easily taken into consideration. However, in the human body, metabolism plays a very significant role in drug effectiveness and can change certain compounds resulting in a different level of effectiveness. In an experiment, therefore, a test of the efficacy of certain medicines can appear as a false negative or a false positive, particularly in instances where the drug is meant to be an antibiotic or antifungal agent. As the body does not metabolize vitamin C before its effects are seen, these conflicting variables are minimized.

Looking at the effectiveness of remedies for scurvy, therefore, can provide evidence that allows historians to better understand the nature of early modern English household medicine. Again, it is important to note that any claims to the extent of the effectiveness of early modern medicine as a whole is an overreach. This analysis is done on a very small sample size and may not truly represent the entirety of this form of medicine. Judging the household medical practices on the standards of the modern day, therefore, is pointless and inappropriate from a historical perspective. It reveals little about the nature of the medicine itself or about the way this household medicine was perceived in society. However, this analysis of the effectiveness of some early modern remedies does allow historians to better understand these remedies in their natural context.

In particular, this analysis adds evidence that supports the idea that household medical practitioners practiced a similar form of experimentalism as Anna of Saxony and other court experimenters. For example, if an analyzed remedy for scurvy shows a very large amount of

vitamin C, it suggests that the remedy was formulated with the intention of maximizing this ingredient. This then provides insight into the way in which the housewives understood their remedies and potentially shows that their remedies were based around more of their own observations as opposed to the medical theory that was being learned in universities. Similarly, if it was found that remedies were low in vitamin C, it would suggest that the remedies were selected for a reason other than medicinal effectiveness, as, without vitamin C, the remedy should not have been effective. In this case, the question then becomes what was the rationale behind these remedies and why did they persist in these remedy books? Through analyzing the vitamin content of these recipes, these questions can be better addressed and more fully answered.

A Selection of Remedies and Their Effectiveness

This analysis adds to the understanding of the place of the practitioners of household medicine in the history of science. Recipes for scurvy are ideal candidates for such an analysis, as their effectiveness by modern standards is very easy to analyze; Vitamin C is all that is required to resolve symptoms, so the effectiveness of such a remedy by modern standards can be determined by looking at the vitamin content of these recipes alone. In looking at the recipe books maintained in the British Library and Wellcome Archives, two distinct types of remedies emerged several times in various different books. The remedies within these types contain the same basic formula with only minor variations in some cases. The similarity of these remedies adds evidence in support of the idea that the men and women who wrote these books were in contact with one another and shared recipes among themselves. This also suggests that there was a shared sense of what constituted an effective medicine between practitioners who recorded the same remedy type. In order to differentiate these types, the ingredient that makes up the base of the remedy will be used as the basis of classification. The two major recipe types will be called white wine and cream of tartar remedies.

The Ingredients

Looking at the vitamin C content of the ingredients themselves versus the number of times that these ingredients appear in the archival record reveals a great deal about these ingredients. In the eight recipes analyzed, there were eighteen unique ingredients. Several were found multiple times, with scurvy grass (*Cochlearia anglica*) found most frequently, in five of the recipes.[78] When the ingredients are graphed against the number of times that they appear, those with a higher concentration of vitamin C tend to appear more frequently (see Figure 1). This suggests that as these remedies were transmitted, there was a focus on

[78] Rich, *Crucifers of Great Britain and Ireland. Botanical Society of the British Isles Handbook No. 6* (London: Botanical Society of the British Isles, 1991).

efficacy and that those ingredients that had an appreciable amount of vitamin C persisted because of this efficacy in treating scurvy. Outlying ingredients that show effective vitamin C content but only appear once suggest that these remedies were similarly formulated with the same perception of efficacy but did not come from the same source.

Several ingredients found in these recipes did not contain any vitamin C at all. These ingredients may have served different functions in the recipe. For example, white wine may have been a way to make a recipe more palatable or even could have acted to sterilize the recipe, as the alcohol would reduce the risk of infection. However, there are other ingredients that, while they appear multiple times, do not seem to have any discernible effects based on our modern understanding of the disease and of illness in general. These ingredients, including cream of tartar (potassium bitartrate) and sulfur, potentially reveal a great deal about the ambiguities in this form of medicine, as well as how these remedies were viewed by those who created and compiled them.

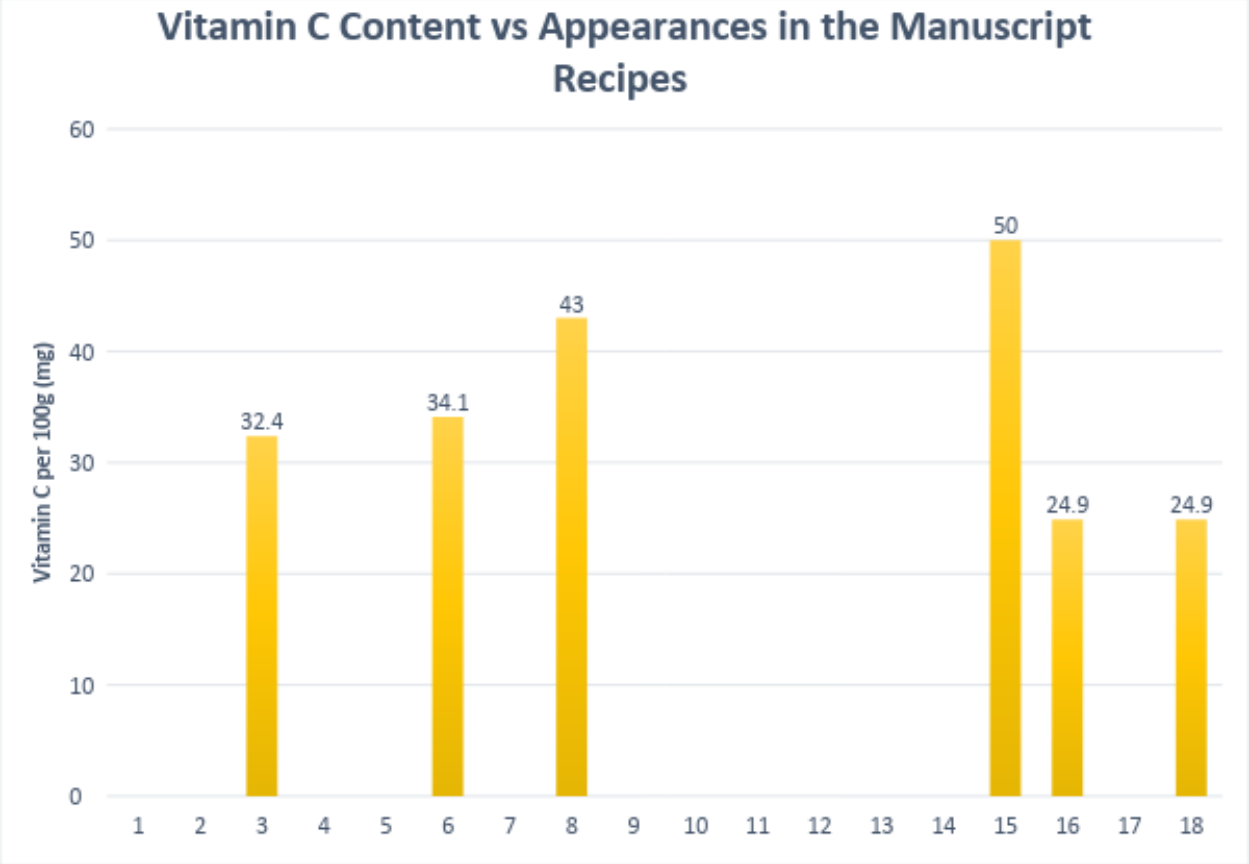

FIGURE 6 The vitamin C concentration of a selection of ingredients. This is graphed against the number of times that an ingredient appears in a recipe. The most commonly occurring ingredients had a very high concentration of vitamin C and in fact appear together in the same remedies. This suggests that practitioners had a basic understanding of how to cure scurvy.

The White Wine Remedies

The first recipe group is made up of remedies that seem to consist of the same three basic ingredients: white wine, orange juice, and scurvy grass or *Cochlearia anglica*. There were minor variations on this concept, with horseradish roots added in several cases and ginger shavings added in one other, but the three basic ingredients seem to remain constant. The fact that these remedies are so similar suggests that they share a common origin or, at the very least, a shared understanding of the type of ingredient that would make a remedy most effective. The idea that these remedies were shared and transmitted is not novel. In her book, *Panaceia's Daughters*, Alisha Rankin looked in depth at the working relationship between Anna of Saxony and Dorothea of Mansfield during the sixteenth century. This work showed that remedies did not exist in isolation and that, in addition to being passed down over generations, they were distributed and shared with fellow practitioners for a variety of reasons. Looking at the physical distribution of these remedies, one recipe book is dated earlier than the others, MS. 3769. Created in 1651 in Derby, this recipe book was compiled about 30 years before two other books containing a white wine remedy, MS. 8450, and Add MS. 27466. Derby, furthermore, is found in the middle of the locations for these remedies, with MS. 8450 found in Northumberland, and Add MS. 27466, found in London. While it cannot be definitively proven, the temporal and spatial location of these remedies suggest an outward radiation of this recipe. At the very least, it suggests that all three of these remedies, and others, may have had stemmed from a common recipe "ancestor." That these remedies possibly originated from the same basic concept, is not particularly surprising. What may be far more interesting is that in addition to being the most common, these remedies are the most effective in terms of vitamin C content.

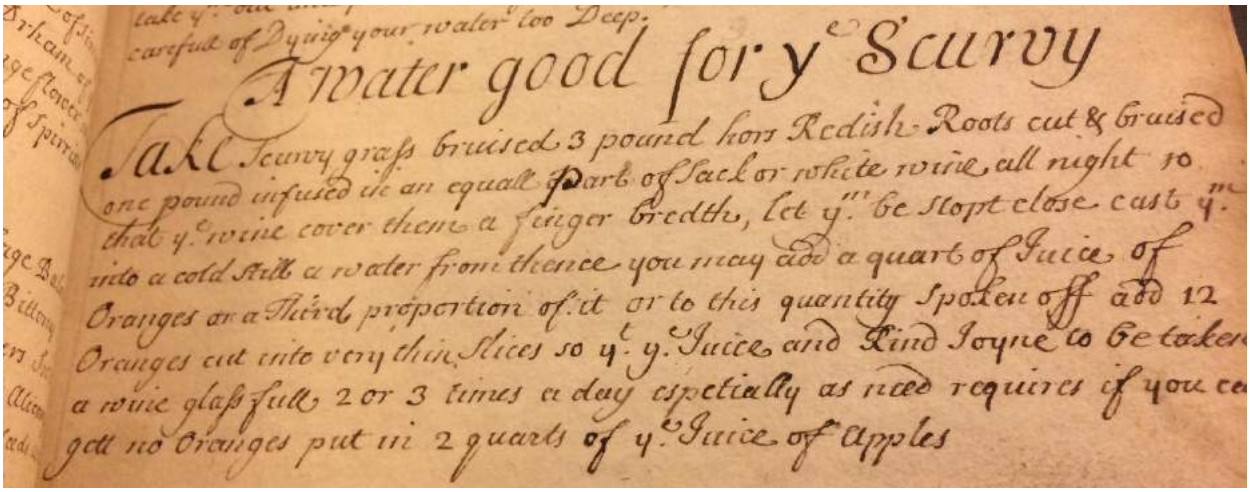

FIGURE 7 "A Water Good for the Scurvy." This remedy comes from the recipe book of Mary Doggett and can be seen as representative of the types of ingredients found in this first group of remedies. Scurvy grass and orange juice both contain a high concentration of vitamin C, and are found in all five of the remedies in this group. Similarly, the horseradish roots are very high in vitamin C content and are found in all but one remedy. The only ingredient that does not contain vitamin C is the white wine, which may have been included for taste or perhaps as a way to prevent a secondary disease.

The recipe in Figure 1 is a good example of this first group of effective remedies. Taken from the recipe book of Mary Doggett, it contains all of the basic ingredients found in this group of remedies, including scurvy grass, horseradish roots, orange juice and white wine. All of these ingredients, except for the white wine, have a very high concentration of vitamin C and may have been sufficient to cure scurvy individually, depending on how severe the case was. As the exact cause of scurvy was unknown, the fact that these vitamin C rich ingredients were put together suggests that there was a familiarity with the curative properties that these ingredients had on this disease. The best explanation for this familiarity would be that the repeated use and manipulation of these recipes left practitioners with several ingredients known to be effective, even if their mechanism of action was unknown.

The evidence here points to the same kind of intermediate form of experimentalism found in Rankin's study of Anna of Saxony and Dorothea of Mansfield. In both cases, these practitioners are using the idea of *experimenta* to modify and enhance their remedies.[79] This was also seen in some established physicians, such as Georg Handsch.[80] Anna of Saxony and Dorothea of Mansfield practiced medicine in a very similar form to those household practitioners in Early Modern England, such as Mary Doggett. This strengthens the argument that the household practitioners similarly modified their remedies based on experiences that

[79] Rankin, "Becoming and Expert Practitioner," 52.
[80] Stolberg, "Empiricism in Sixteenth-Century Medical Practice."

they had with the remedies. Looking at these modifications showed evidence of a form of trial and error testing. The effectiveness of these remedies, therefore, supplements this evidence and shows that there was a strong bias towards ingredients and remedies that were effective by modern standards based on their vitamin C content. Furthermore, the fact that the distribution of these effective remedies can be clearly seen shows that the understanding of the effective nature of these ingredients was not limited to one or two practitioners but was instead more widespread.

The Cream of Tartar Recipes

The other group of remedies for the scurvy can be termed the cream of tartar group, as this ingredient can be found in each of the recipes. Unlike those remedies containing white wine, these remedies contain a negligible amount of vitamin C and would have been ineffective in curing scurvy. Of the ingredients found in these remedies, those held in common are cream of tartar, sulfur, and heated water. Additional ingredients, including treacle, or molasses, and Aethopilis's Mineral, a form of Mercury Sulfide, similarly show no vitamin C. Together, this suggests that these remedies would have been completely ineffective at treating the disease and may have even been unpleasant, potentially reflecting the ubiquity of purgatives as a part of medical treatment. The larger question, however, is why were these ineffective remedies created originally and why did they persist unaltered?

If the practitioners of household medicine practiced only a reliable form of experimentation, then these remedies should have been eliminated due to their ineffectiveness. However, as argued previously, these practitioners were linked to the medical establishment of their time. This means that these practitioners were in all likelihood influenced by the prevailing medical views, which at the time were confused about the nature of scurvy. These remedies, which would seem ineffective due to their lack of vitamin C, may have been intended for what they saw as different variants of scurvy. New concepts emerged in the sixteenth century as to the nature of scurvy, splitting scurvy into two blood disorders, one “acidic or hot, and in another it was alkaline, cold.”[81] Perhaps the remedies that were ineffective were intended to treat one of these specific variants. Similarly, as was the case with all diseases before the advent of the modern laboratory, illness and diseases were defined by the symptoms. This creates the possibility that what was defined as scurvy was not actually a deficiency in vitamin C. As such, these remedies, such as a “More radical cure for scurvy,” may have been used when conventional remedies, effective in treating scurvy, failed. One recipe in particular is listed as being a recipe for scurvy that “won’t cost more than 3 pence per week,” suggesting that the marginal effectiveness was perhaps overcome by the lowered price of the remedy.[82]

[81] Carpenter, *The History of Scurvy and Vitamin C*, 40.
[82] MS 7852, Manuscript. From The Wellcome Collection Archives. Accessed 5/24/16.

Although these remedies did not show the same effectiveness of the earlier white wine remedies, they are still helpful as a way to better understand how these remedies were perceived and used by the practitioners of household medicine. It reveals some of the ambiguities inherent in this medical system and highlights the areas that are still unclear. There was a great deal of debate over the theoretical basis of some diseases. This led to many different treatment options many of which may not be effective in curing the modern definition of that disease. Scurvy treatments outline this ambiguity but also show how the understanding of diseases was as complex as the medical field itself. Although the results do not strictly correspond to a modern definition of efficacy, they do still advance our understanding of the practice of household medicine. Furthermore, these results still support the idea that these practitioners used an intermediate form of experimentation.

CONCLUSION

Looking solely at the idea of linear progress in history constructs a false and overly simple narrative. Nowhere is this more evident than in traditional histories of science and medicine. These narratives focused on the developments that led to the idea of modern science as it is understood today. However, in the process, much of the diversity underlying the true story of humanity's comprehension of the natural world, and of medicine in particular, is lost. Recent scholarship has begun to reveal this diversity, reintroducing key characters into this story. These characters include the practitioners of court experimentalism, such as Anna of Saxony and Dorothea of Mansfield, as well as those who practice household medicine, like Mary Doggett. This paper shows that not only were these two practices very similar, but also that some of their treatments would have been effective at curing diseases such as scurvy. These findings show that many household practitioners understood how to effectively treat this disease and that this treatment was not isolated to only a few practitioners. Even more, this work shows the importance of understanding the more obscure aspects of medical and scientific history, as these stories contribute to the true picture of scientific progress and development.

Recipe books provided practical remedies for a variety of purposes and allowed healing to take place within the home. In particular, this paper shows how there is strong evidence that the men and women who participated in household medicine practiced a form of experimentalism very similar to the court model of healers such as Anna of Saxony. This type of experimentalism, marked by the distinction between *experimentum* and the more modern concept of an experiment, allowed the development of effective remedies for treating diseases such as scurvy. Rankin describes the concept of *experimenta* as, "a piece of practical knowledge learned directly through experience. *Experimenta* could not be foreseen and held no broad conclusions for the rules that governed the natural world."[83] This distinction is important in understanding how practitioners of household medicine developed effective remedies. They were not overly concerned with broad conclusions about the nature of disease or health. Rather, they used their own observations, in conjunction with the observations of others, to find what did and did not work for treatment. This gradually created remedies that were, in many cases, effective.

Modifications in the remedy books show a high level of experience with the remedies and suggest an active and fluid engagement with the texts. This aids in the recognition of the accuracy of Alisha Rankin's argument claiming that this practice was an intermediate form of experimentation. She says that, "court experimentalism occupied a liminal space between the medieval concept of *experimentum* (as a singular event) and the search for universal

[83] Rankin, "Becoming and Expert Practitioner," 52.

truths that characterized experimentation in seventeenth-century natural philosophy."[84] Modifications made to the texts show that this type of early medicine occupied a similar liminal space.

The analysis of the active ingredients in some of these remedies revealed that those treatments would be effective. In fact, in these remedies for scurvy, the concentration of vitamin C was so high that it suggests an extreme familiarity with the ingredients themselves. This familiarity most likely came about because of previous experiences with these ingredients in a medical or even culinary context. It also suggests that the methods that household practitioners used could detect efficacy in their experiences treating scurvy and that they used these experiences to enhance their own work. Furthermore, recipes containing the exact same effective ingredients were found in various books throughout England. This would suggest either that these remedies may have come from the same original source and were spread by practitioners themselves, or that these remedies were based around the same theory of what made these remedies effective. Although it occurred in Germany in the sixteenth century, Dorothea of Mansfield's instruction of several noblewomen illustrates the kind of network that could exist among practitioners.[85] Evidence from recipe books illustrates that similar networks may have existed in England, including the potential radiation of remedies from a common source, as well as postscript statements providing evidence of efficacy.

Household medicine was a common and very important practice in early modern England. It gave people access to healthcare at a time when professional physicians were often inaccessible, either due to their small number or prohibitive cost. The recipe books associated with this medicine provide a wealth of information about the practices of women like Mary Doggett. Analysis of remedies showed evidence that many remedies were effective. Furthermore, these highly effective remedies for diseases such as scurvy seem to be widely distributed through England. This evidence connects the practitioners of household medicine to the type of court experimentalism practiced by women such as Anna of Saxony.

Most importantly, it confirms that these women and men have a place in the narrative of scientific history. There seems to be an innate drive in the construction of historical narratives to try and find linear order and progress. The traditional history of science is an exemplar of this tendency, and of its shortfalls. These constructed stories suffer as those people and events which do not fit easily into traditional narrative are often buried behind larger figures of progress. Anna of Saxony, Dorothea of Mansfield, and Georg Handsch are some of those people who, until recently, were obscured by the larger scientific narrative of progress. Similarly, the recipe books and practitioners of household medicine have been overlooked in this narrative. This paper shows how much a better understanding of their

[84] Rankin, "Becoming and Expert Practitioner," 53.
[85] Rankin, *Panaceia's Daughters*, 111-112.

work enriches the history of science. Their work may not have directly led to the development of modern science as it is seen today, but their careful, recorded attention to medical experience and detection of effective remedies for scurvy represents an important contribution to the to the knowledge and practice of medical healing in early modern England.

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