# Samford Undergraduate Research Journal

Fall 2015

# Table of Contents

# Graves, Ducks, and Totems:
## The Christianization of England through a Durkheimian Lens

Logan Greenhaw

Abstract

Historians often face an interpretive dilemma when addressing particular areas of history that lack a variety of sources and evidence. This notion is especially true for portions of history in which a society undergoes a cultural or religious change. Here I attempt to establish the advantages of turning to varying disciplines for the sake of interpreting such areas of history. Specifically, I utilize Emile Durkheim's philosophy of religion in order to interpret the Christianization of England in the seventh century. Different portions of history with their accompanying sources and evidence require a variety of interpretive lenses, and Durkheim's philosophy of religion appears to best suit the given evidence for interpreting the Christianization of England in the seventh century. To validate this claim, I discuss a variety of sources from religious and political written record as well as archeological findings concerning graves and burial customs. As a conclusion, I posit the scope of applying Durkheim's philosophy of religion to other portions of history.

## *Graves, Ducks, And Totems:*
## *The Christianization Of England Through A Durkheimian Lens*

### *Bede In Context And The Durkheimian Lens (Introduction)*

In the year 596, Augustine of Canterbury[1] and a group comprised of monks and translators landed on the Isle of Thanet, located on the east side of Kent. Upon arrival, Augustine sent word to the King of Kent, Æthelbert, in order that they may meet. King Æthelbert, curious about the Christian religion, agreed to meeting with Augustine and his men. It is said that Augustine and company "...bore a silver cross for their banner, and the image of Christ painted on a board; and after singing the litany and offering prayers for themselves and the people whom they had come to convert, they preached the gospel through their Frankish interpreters."[2] Although King Æthelbert rejected conversion in this particular meeting, he was impressed by the liturgical and ritualistic Christianity Augustine promoted. As a result, King Æthelbert provided great generosity for Augustine and his fellow evangelists, allowing them to reside in the City of Canterbury, and even permitting them to preach to the people of England. Following this success, Augustine sent word to Pope Gregory I in Rome asking for further assistance in preaching and delivering the sacraments to the English people. In the year 597, King Æthelbert converted to Christianity, establishing the necessary foothold Augustine needed to convert the entirety of the English nation. Thousands of the English people flocked to Augustine on hearing word of the conversion of King Æthelbert.

This is the story according to the Venerable Bede, the great eighth-century historian. In his Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, Bede records the story of Æthelbert's conversion in a simplistic form. To what extent, however, can the Venerable Bede's account of the conversion of King Æthelbert be trusted? Undoubtedly, Bede's reasons for writing such a history influenced the form and content of his work. How, then, can one begin to understand the historicity of the events that occurred in early seventh-century England? Henry Mayr-Harting explains the various motivations for Bede's composition: to describe how the English Church united and adapted to Roman customs, to promote ideal moral individuals as examples to those reading the history, and to promote certain monasteries and saints that Bede associated with.[3] Additionally, scholars offer a breadth of criticism in regards to Bede's sources. For one, Bede wrote his history using "...traditions preserved orally and partly on his attempts to rationalize an incomplete set of papal correspondence...."[4] The three potential incentives Mayr-Harting reveals for Bede's writing, as well as the probable sources Bede utilized, expose the problematic features of the historicity of the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation.

This is not to say, however, that Bede's work cannot be trusted as a viable source for conducting historical research. Rather, read alongside other sources, the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation offers a unique Christian retelling of the Christianization of England. Additionally, Bede's incentives for writing are just as insightful as the stories and ideas he conveyed.

To return to an earlier question: how can one most fully approach the coming of Christianity to the Anglo-Saxons during early seventh-century England? With a variety of sources, data, and postulations at

---

1: To disambiguate, this refers to Augustine of Canterbury, not the more commonly mentioned fourth-century theologian Augustine of Hippo.

2: Schaff, 32.

3: Mayr-Harting, 42-49. Bede's work, once completed, would have been passed to various monasteries. The monks and nuns therein would have greatly appreciated a mention of their monastery or founding saint. Telling miracles stories associated with these individual monasteries was a similar methodological tool Bede had an affinity for. The retelling of a particular miracle story would have been greatly valued by monasteries that venerated the relevant saint.

4: Dunn, 55.

work, this is a difficult task. There is not one single source, as comprehensive as Bede's, that can explain the entire, factual account of how Christianity developed in England. Other fields of research, however, may offer the most beneficial tools in approaching such an immense topic.

French sociologist Emile Durkheim defined religion as "...a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them." [5] Durkheim builds upon his definition, affirming that what is most sacred for a moral community is the community itself. In other words, the community or clan is the community's god. All beliefs and practices of the group, then, are for the benefit of, and are a result of, the group's deification of itself. A community, according to Durkheim, need not identify this self-deification in order for the concept to maintain its validity. If Durkheim's philosophy is valid, it has substantial consequences for our comprehension of religious activity at different times and locations, including those related to the Christianization of the English people. When seen through a Durkheimian lens, the Christianization of England during the seventh century can be most comprehensively understood.

Compare Durkheim with 20th century American philosopher William James, who defined religion as, "...the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine." [6] Seventh-century England does not yield appropriate evidence describing the 'feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude.' Trying to understand what individuals experienced in seventh-century England from a Jamesian perspective is an impossible task, given that the available evidence is inherently social, not autobiographical. James' theory of religion, then, cannot adequately countenance the Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons. Durkheim's theory, on the other hand, yields an encompassing explanation of the social evidence pertaining to seventh-century Anglo-Saxons. If religion centers on that which promotes group homogeneity and the available evidence surrounding seventh-century England is inherently social, then Durkheim's theory, to repeat, is well suited for understanding the Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons.

### A Unified System: Paganism, Christianity, And Syncretism

In order to meet Durkheim's standards, a religion must firstly be composed of "...a unified system of beliefs and practices...." [7] These beliefs and practices are both significant in understanding the nature of the clan's dynamic. Daniel Pals explains that Durkheim considered beliefs and practices to be of the foremost importance in understanding the essence of a religion because they "...are in the last analysis symbolic expressions of social realities." [8] That which is real for a clan, group, cult, or community flows from the beliefs and practices of that clan.

Durkheim reasons that practices (or rituals) hold a higher degree of precedence for a group in that a belief "...is often modeled on the rite in order to explain it...[and that] there are beliefs that become clear only through the rites that express them." [9] One could argue, however, that Durkheim saw what Clifford Geertz would label an "intertransposability" between belief and practice. Durkheim explains this intertransposability in saying that rituals "...are shaped by beliefs, but they also inform beliefs." [10] Regardless of the particulars of the correlation between belief and practice, these two aspects of religion for Durkheim, then, are critical inasmuch they relate to social constructs. In other words, belief and practice in and of themselves are interesting phenomena, yet their true value rests in the way in which they contribute to a "...unified [social] system...." [11] All religions, according to Durkheim, have this unified system.

---

5: Durkheim, 46.
6: Pals, 172.
7: Durkheim, 46.
8: Pals, 105.
9: Durkheim, 87.
10: Carol Crosman, 347.
11: Durkheim, 87.

The unified system of beliefs and practices of the Anglo-Saxons prior to the advent of Christianity provides an essential framework in understanding the conversion of the English nation. The paganism that occupied England throughout the Christianization of the nation has grown increasingly difficult to explain due to discoveries in archeology. Thus, Marilyn Dunn explains that "...Anglo-Saxon paganism [was a] fluid and constantly developing phenomena." [12] That is, it remains difficult to produce empirical claims in regards to the paganism and mythology undergirding the coming of Christianity to England. One must not fall prey to either broad or vastly specific claims about the process of conversion in the early seventh century due to the ambiguity of much of the evidence. But while significant debate surrounds the details of Anglo-Saxon religiosity during the late sixth and early seventh centuries, certain beliefs and practices have been verified through archaeology.

### Burial Customs And "Gravegoods"

Gravesites and apparent burial customs offer fundamental insight into Anglo-Saxon belief and practice. Drawing historical-religious conclusions based upon archeology at gravesites is methodologically tenuous. Regardless of chronological placement, a religious artifact found in or near a tomb does not provide sufficient data to prove an individual's, or community's, religious affiliation. Simon Burnell and Edward James add to this point: "An object might have been acquired and valued on account of its intrinsic material worth, or prestige value as an exotic import or a novelty in the experience of the owner..." [13] Furthermore, if one desires to use archeological evidence for the sake of distinguishing between 'Christian' and 'pagan' graves, another difficulty arises, namely, the art of distinguishing Christian from pagan.

Archaeology does not produce evidence for a gradual decay of paganism or a distinct rise in a Christian religion throughout seventh-century England. Despite these hesitations and areas of potential rebuttal, there still exists

> ...an extensive archaeological record in the shape of the many Anglo-Saxon cemeteries excavated in the last two centuries...[which] have provided archaeologists and historians with an invaluable guide to the Anglo-Saxons lifestyle: dress, diet, health and disease, longevity and mortality, and social status. [14]

Since gravesites offer commentary on social dynamics of the Anglo-Saxons, Durkheim would argue that gravesites intrinsically comment on the religious dynamics of the Anglo-Saxons.

The Anglo-Saxons prior to the Gregorian Mission as well as throughout the seventh century practiced both cremation and inhumation. Additionally, in both types of treatments of the body post-mortem, the Anglo-Saxons commonly observed the practice of 'gravegoods.' [15]  As previously noted, however, items found, in the case of cremations, alongside urns or ashes of human remains or, in the case of inhumations, buried with human remains, cannot definitively determine the religious affiliation of the particular individual. Nevertheless, the very practice of 'gravegoods' "...suggest[s] to anthropologists that the Anglo-Saxons viewed death as a liminal process in which the soul gradually detaches itself from the vicinity of the body to pass into another world." [16] The 'goods' found with cremated or inhumed bodies insinuate an agreed upon social belief, reinforced by practice, concerning the soul. Mayr-Harting notes, "Within pagan society the choice of rite was probably a matter for the kindred group as a whole." [17] The practice, then, is inherently social and religious in a Durkheimian sense. Specifically, Durkheim places these practices under his own category of 'piacular rites.' [18]

---

12: Dunn, 59.
13: Burnell and Edward James, 85.
14: Dunn, 85.
15: Ibid, 87. Dunn notes that, "...a 'reasonably high' proportion of contain either items which had placed on the funeral pyre along with the body, or added later to the interred urns-mostly brooches, glass beads and vessels, spindle-whorls, tweezers, shears and combs."
16: Dunn, 89.
17: Mayr-Harting, 23.
18: Durkheim, 289.

These rites are those that "...are celebrated in worry or sadness." [19] What worries or produces the most sadness in a social construct, according to Durkheim, would be the death of an individual, as it is a direct affront on the community's god: the community itself. When an individual dies, there are certain practices that take place, namely piacular rites. The burial practices and customs are expressions of the Anglo-Saxons' piacular rites. Prior to the Gregorian Mission, then, burial customs among the Anglo-Saxons were integral to religious dynamics not of individuals, but of communal adherence. But what were the exact impacts on burial customs as Christianity fused with paganism during the early seventh century?

Archaeological evidence leads to the conclusion that Christianity did not alter burial customs in any drastic manner. Although inhumation becomes a more common practice amongst Germanic peoples throughout the seventh century, the practice of 'grave-goods' continued among the Anglo-Saxons. Additionally, the Anglo-Saxon community as a whole continued the same burial customs despite the influx of Christianity.

As Christianity spread, however, particular items commonly associated with Christian tradition, such as wooden or golden foil crosses, appear in graves across seventh-century England.[20] These 'Christian' artifacts appeared in tombs not unaccompanied, but with other items commonly associated with the paganism prior to the Gregorian Mission. Furthermore, "A belief in the magical and healing properties of stones and other natural objects, for instance, was held in common by Christians and pagans; and it is possible that the customs and rituals connected with burial were another area of shared practice and tradition." [21] Archaeological evidence thus leans in favor of the development of syncretism, a blending of pagan and Christian practice, among the Anglo-Saxons during the seventh century. Syncretism homogenized the Anglo-Saxons as a certain belief (the liminality of death) and accompanied practice (gravegoods) shifted in a new direction.

### Conversion Of Temples And Festivals

The syncretism evident in the burial practices of seventh-century Anglo-Saxons can also be observed through the lens of Christian literature written during the same time period. According to Bede, thousands of the English people flocked to Augustine in hearing word of the conversion of King Æthelbert. With the syncretizing form of Christianity that spread across England came a plethora of theological and ecclesiastical issues for Augustine, Pope Gregory, and the Church. Bede records nine individual questions Augustine asks of Pope Gregory I regarding specific issues faced in the attempted conversion of the English people. Among the topics of the questions were marriage, infant baptism, clergy, punishment, and various customs of the churches arising in England. Contrary to the majority of papal leadership up until this time, Pope Gregory I did not instruct Augustine to rid the arising English churches of their unique practices. Gregory wrote to Augustine: "choose from every individual church whatever things are devout, religious, and right." [22] Along with this statement, Gregory also declared his desire that Augustine convert, rather than destroy, pagan temples into churches and monasteries; to worship relics rather than idols; and to slaughter cattle, not to devils, but to God.[23] Pope Gregory I wrote to Mellitus, a laborer that had been sent to England after Augustine asked for further assistance, "...directing the idols to be destroyed, and their temples to be changed into Christian churches..." [24] Augustine and his fellow missionaries followed the instruction of Pope Gregory I, and this "...facilitated the nominal conversion of England, but swept a vast amount of paganism into the Christian Church, which took centuries to eradicate." [25] In other words, Pope Gregory I's missionary philosophy failed to remove paganism from England. Rather, his philosophy promoted the spread of a syncretizing, homogenizing form of Christianity, despite his intentions.

---

19: Ibid. 289.
20: Burnell and Edward James, 95
21: Ibid, 86
22: Bede, 43
23: Schaff, 34.
24: Butler, 413.
25: Schaff, 35.

Pope Gregory I and Augustine's famous Responsiones, as well as the aforementioned letter to Bishop Mellitus, offer the most insight into ecclesiastical life in the sixth and seventh centuries of the available literature.[26] What can be said or deduced regarding these letters and pieces of literature? To make claims inconsistent with the Christian perspective presented in these writing would be fallacious. From this angle, Pope Gregory I does indeed seem to be promoting a highly tolerant[27] missionizing of the English people. Practically, the landscape of seventh-century paganism in England could continue with little to no change despite Gregory I's judgments. Certain pagan beliefs and practices, such as burial customs, could continue along with the continual 'conversion' of the English people. Although Gregory's response to Augustine commands the destruction of idols in temples, there is evidence that this command was not severely enforced, especially at a national level. The attempt to 'convert' pagan temples into Christian churches also embodied a multitude of issues in and of itself. This information furnishes more evidence that the Christian response to paganism in England further promoted syncretism between Christianity and paganism.

### Franks Casket

Why is there an unmistakable promulgation of syncretism resulting from both the side of paganism and the side of Christianity? Durkheim's theory would suggest that syncretism is the mechanism by which a society remains unified despite the introduction of a different religion into that society. For the Anglo-Saxons, a blend of Christianity with the presiding paganism prior to the Gregorian Mission defines the syncretism which homogenized their community.

Perhaps one of the most prolific pieces of archaeological evidence that describes this mechanical syncretism is the late seventh century[28] artifact known as the Franks Casket[i]. This whalebone box contains a variety of images and inscriptions including scenes depicting a number of Christian, Classical, Jewish, and pagan myths and histories, as well as several carved inscriptions in runes and in Latin.[29] One side includes a panel with two identifiable myths or stories associated with the Anglo-Saxons during the late seventh century. The left side of this panel is "...generally agreed to be a depiction of Weland or Wayland the Smith, alluded to in the Anglo-Saxon poem Deor and in later Norse legend...." [30] According to legend, Wayland the Smith was "...the most famous representative of a craft to which magical powers were often attributed amongst the ancient Germans." [31] On the right side of this same panel there is a depiction of the adoration of the magi. Although there appear to be other symbols and carvings on this side of the panel that are not explicitly Christian, the depicted story embodies the Christian nativity narrative.

Why would the craftsman of this box include two myths side-by-side that draw from varying worldviews? Some scholars suppose, given the rarity of the whalebone material,[32] that the box was originally constructed for a member of the nobility. Additionally, since multiple panels of the box "...function as protectors of the wealth therein..." it appears that the box itself "...was intended to serve as a jewelry box on which the pictures act, along with the runes and letters, as a charm." [33] In this manner, the function of the box dictates its form. The carvings, however, tell another story concerning Anglo-Saxon belief during

---

26: Wright, 31.
27: Wright comments, however, "It should be noted...that such a policy of variegated tolerance was already well on the way to being adjusted and even reversed before then."
28: Much debate surround the exact date of the Franks Casket. For more scholarly discussion of the dating of the Franks Casket, see pages 65-66 of The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons, c. 597-700 by Marilyn Dunn.
29: Dunn, 65.
30: Ibid, 65.
31: Mayr-Harting, 222.
32: Ibid., 223.
33: Dunn, 65.

the seventh century. The box, particularly the panel including the myth of Wayland the Smith alongside the adoration of the magi, demonstrates the previously mentioned syncretism. In other words, the artist of this box seems to have placed worth in both Norse mythology as well as the biblical nativity narrative. The artist even links the two myths through the medium of a duck appearing in both carvings. Although the Franks Casket is only one piece of Archaeological evidence, the artwork itself clearly presents the identifiable form of syncretism prevailing even into the late seventh century of the English people.

Archaeological evidence reveals therefore that syncretism was the method by which the Anglo-Saxons remained, as Durkheim would say, a 'unified system of beliefs and practices' amidst the introduction and promulgation of Christianity. Durkheim's philosophy of religion, however, includes much more than the concept of religion as this unified system. In order to more clearly understand the Christianization of England through a Durkheimian lens, one must consider what the Anglo-Saxons viewed as sacred and profane.

### The Sacred And Profane

Durkheim tells us that "The division of the world into two comprehensive domains, one sacred, the other profane, is the hallmark of religious thought." [34] Regardless of placement in time or space, according to Durkheim, all religions include this division of the sacred and profane. But that which is sacred is not limited to the worshipped divinity or spirits; this category may also be applied to objects or ideas. In The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, Durkheim explains that Buddhism, despite the fact that there is or are no 'god(s)' in the religion, maintains its position as a religion in that it still upholds the sacredness of the Four Noble Truths. [35]

Throughout his work, Durkheim explains this concept further, saying that ideas, objects, divine beings, spirits, or whatever a religion considers 'sacred' or 'profane' are inherently 'sacred' or 'profane' inasmuch as they aid the group that adheres to that religion. The reason for this, as previously mentioned, rests in the concept that the group itself is what is most 'sacred.' The Durkheimian 'sacred,' then, is anything that supports, benefits, or maintains the group's sacredness. Resultantly, the Durkheimian 'profane' is anything that destructs, hinders, or destroys the group's sacredness. How, then, could one discern that which is sacred or profane for the Anglo-Saxons during the Christianization of England?

Unsurprisingly, discerning what ideas, objects, or divinities the Anglo-Saxons considered sacred and profane is a complicated undertaking. With a lack of written primary sources from the seventh century, historians are left to hypothesize, using the varying perspectives of secondary sources, what Anglo-Saxons might have considered sacred and profane in a Durkheimian sense. With each piece of proposed evidence, however, the qualifications as well as the credibility of each source must be considered and met with a healthy skepticism. Despite these complexities, a number of sources offer insight to the Anglo-Saxon sacred and profane.

### Christian Sources And Laws Of Æthelbert

The previously mentioned questions Augustine posed to Pope Gregory I offer key insight into not only the Anglo-Saxons' conception of the sacred and the profane prior to the Gregorian Mission, but also into the life of the church in the sixth and seventh centuries. [36] Logistically, Pope Gregory I was familiar with Anglo-Saxon society, culture, and religion insofar as Augustine and other missionaries informed him. Yet deriving conclusions from questions and responses cannot offer definitive answers regarding Anglo-Saxon

---

34: Durkheim, 36.
35: Ibid, 37.
36: Wright, 31.

society, culture, and religion. Therefore, one must hesitate in concluding evidence from the Responsiones regarding these aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture. Augustine's questions, nonetheless, contain a semblance of the Anglo-Saxons ethos at some level, which is why they are useful to us here.

Augustine's first question[37] regarding bishops along with Gregory's response reveals the seventh-century Christian zeal for "...the connection of the primitive church with the sharing of goods." [38] In his response, Gregory describes the common, Christian practice during the Middle Ages of the "...fourfold division of revenues..." [39] Although this particular question and response does not necessarily suggest anything about Anglo-Saxon society, it does explain one of the many facets of Christian sacredness that would be spreading during the Christianization of the English nation. The Christian thrust for ideals of the primitive church, particularly sharing goods via the fourfold division of revenues, express the reality of the Durkheimian sacredness of those very ideas.

Augustine's second question,[40] along with Gregory's response,[41] elucidates the potential for the previously described syncretism, as well as for a diversity among Anglo-Saxon religious practice. Augustine's apparent confusion in regards to which church customs ought to be implemented suggests that he has observed a wide range of church customs amid the Anglo-Saxons. More significantly, Augustine's second question reveals his desire for a Durkheimian unification of practices among the Anglo-Saxons. Gregory's response confirms the Christian desire for unification, as he explains that Augustine ought to choose all that is upright from these customs and "...[collect] these as it were into one bundle, see that the minds of the English grow accustomed to it." [42] In this manner, Gregory discloses another insight into what the Christian 'sacred' is: liturgy.

Although Pope Gregory I appeared to advocate for a variegated tolerance as seen in his letter to Mellitus, he is primarily concerned with collecting the varying Anglo-Saxon religious practices into a homogenized system. Such a unified system pertaining to Christian worship would most properly be labeled 'liturgy.'[43] If liturgy contains the ability to unify the Anglo-Saxons, then Durkheim would certainly see such liturgy as sacred. The Christian devotion to sacred liturgy, then, played a significant role in the Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons, for it encouraged the unification of the nation's religion. However, this process clearly spread slowly [44] and met many quandaries.

Augustine's third question[45] to Pope Gregory potentially confirms an issue with robberies among Churches. The robberies may suggest an Anglo-Saxon resistance to the implementation of the Christian religion in their newly converted temples. If this is the case, Durkheim may explain the resistance by saying that it is a response to the profaning of the Anglo-Saxon sacred.

Regardless of the factuality of the robbery issue, there is a written record of response to this issue from both ecclesiastical and political sources. Ecclesiastically, Gregory's reply to Augustine's question explains that those who rob churches ought to be punished, but that this punishment must be in accordance with the crime.[46]  Politically, however, according to eleventh-century copies of seventh-century sources, King Æthelbert responded to and implemented Church discipline through his own laws. His law, especially

---

37: Bede, 42. "How should bishops live with the clergy? How are the offerings which the faithful bring to the altar to be apportioned, and how ought a bishop to act in the church?"
38: Wright, 32
39: Ibid, 32
40: Bede, 43. "Even though the faith is one are there varying customs in the churches? And is there one form of mass in the Holy Roman Church and another in the Gaulish churches?"
41: Gregory's response to Augustine's second question can be found earlier in this work in the discussion regarding the conversion of temples and festivals.
42: Bede, 43.
43: For further information regarding Anglo-Saxon liturgy, see Wright 33.
44: J.M. Wallace-Hardrill suggests such a process taking as long as a century and a half.
45: Bede, 43. "I beg you to tell me how one who robs a church should be punished."
46: Ibid, 43.

when compared to Gregory's advice for Augustine, appears to be quite strict. For instance, Æthelbert implemented a "...twelve-fold restoration of church property," [47] whereas Pope Gregory advises, "...God forbid that the Church should make a profit out of the earthly things it seems to lose and so seek to gain from such vanities". [48] In addition to this law regarding the Church specifically, Æthelbert's laws provide fundamental insight into the Anglo-Saxon conception of the Durkheimian 'sacred' from a political perspective.[49]

Before analyzing Æthelbert's laws further, it is essential to understand how certain factors would have influenced a king in the seventh century, and how he operated within a societal context. An Anglo-Saxon king during the early seventh-century would have had "...the responsibility for the maintenance of the law and order in his kingdom and his legislation covered all ranks of society – nobles, freemen (ceorls), unfree peasants and slaves." [50] Due to a deficiency in written sources, it is hard to determine when the Anglo-Saxon conception of kingship began until the start of seventh century. Scholars propose, given the nature of particular gravesites,[51] that kingship was a process that gained momentum during the latter half of the sixth century.[52] Yet the seventh century offers a clear look into the existence of kingship through the recorded laws of King Æthelbert of Kent. All records of laws of Anglo-Saxon kings prior to Æthelbert are lost. Additionally, the laws of Æthelbert are only copies, dating back to the eleventh century, of original sources. The laws themselves, however, appear to have been "...drawn up not long after [Æthelbert's] conversion." [53] If this is true, Æthelbert's laws offer a unique blend of not only his concept of the Durkheimian sacred, but also of his converted conception of the sacred.

The modern translation of Æthelbert's first law reads, "The property of God and of the church, twelve-fold; a bishop's property, eleven-fold; a priest's property, nine-fold; a deacon's property, six-fold; a clerk's property, three fold; 'church-frith' two-fold; 'm.....frith' two-fold." [54]

Whether this is a political ploy on Æthelbert's part in order to be in good standing with the church and, in turn, with Rome as it spreads across the English countryside, or an onslaught of discipline Æthelbert has always commanded, is an open question. In either case, Æthelbert clearly professes a concept of the Durkheimian sacred. His severity in law regarding the property of the church indicates a profession in the sacral nature of the church itself.

One may argue that Æthelbert may not be expressing an affirmation of the sacred of the 'christian' church in the declaration above, but rather of the sacred nature of the space itself. Archaeologists have uncovered large, undeveloped fields that appear to have functioned as a space for cultic ritual.[55] This implies that the Anglo-Saxons' religious beliefs and practices included the notion of particular sacred spaces, and these large, open fields are an example. Bede's writings contain mention of this very space when he discusses the first conversation Augustine and Æthelbert had regarding the Christian tradition. Bede writes,

---

47: Wright, 33.

48: Bede, 44.

49: This is not to say that Æthelbert or the Anglo-Saxons consciously acknowledged the Durkheimian 'sacred.' Rather, this is a sociological implication resulting from the evidence at hand.

50: Yorke, 18.

51: Yorke, 18. Yorke notes: "By the end of the sixth century particularly significant individuals were being buried under mounds, either on their own or as a part of a cemetery of similar barrows, and with a rich array and variety of gravegoods including foreign imports and objects made from gold, silver and semi precious stones. Such burials are commonly referred to as 'princely burials' and, as has been argued for the appearance of rich burials in the prehistoric period, the focusing of attention on the burials of the élite of the community may be an important indicator of 'state formation,' or, in Anglo-Saxon terms, the growth and development of kingship during the latter half of the sixth century."

52: Ibid, 9.

53: Ibid, 18.

54: Thorpe, 1.

55: Blaire, 182.

"...[Æthelbert] came to the island and, sitting in the open air, commanded Augustine and his comrades to come thither to talk with him." [56] Bede clarifies this comment of 'sitting in the open air' by explaining that Æthelbert feared to meet Augustine and his comrades inside a building because of 'traditional superstition.' [57] Given the archaeological findings mentioned above, one may argue that Æthelbert desired to meet in one of the undeveloped fields that would have been used for cultic ritual. As a result, both archaeological findings as well as Bede's writings support the existence of an Anglo-Saxon sacred space. It is noteworthy to add that these sacred landscapes would have "...given [the Anglo-Saxons] coherence and meaning for their inhabitants." [58] This coherence is essential in understanding the Durkheimian sacred for the Anglo-Saxons, in that the sacred must produce group cohesion.

Landscapes used for cultic ritual were not the only objects the Anglo-Saxons considered sacred. Given the remaining laws of King Æthelbert, the Anglo-Saxons appear to have considered the body a sacred object, in that it unified communities in war, in injury, and in death.[59] Additionally, Pope Gregory's instruction to Mellitus[60] includes the notion of Anglo-Saxon temples and idols. If this instruction is taken at face value, then the Anglo-Saxons appear to have considered particular buildings and objects, most likely associated with particular gods from their mythology, sacred. These buildings and objects were communal spaces for Anglo-Saxon belief, practice, and unification. The various sacred places, practices, and objects as discussed thus far, however, are best seen in light of the Anglo-Saxon totem: the king himself.

### Æthelbert's Conversion And The Political Totem

Central to Durkheimian thought rests the concept of the totem. Durkheim explains, "The species that designates the clan collectively is called its totem." [61] This totem, as Durkheim observed in various tribal religions in Australia, is typically an animate object, and also a generic species rather than a specific individual. For instance, a clan or group might uphold the elephant in general rather than a particular elephant as their totem. What, then, was the Anglo-Saxon totem and how did this influence the unification of their society? Given their societal structure, archaeological evidence, and undergirding mythology, the Anglo-Saxons appear to have held the king as their totem.

Moreso than as a lawgiver or keeper of the peace, the king in Anglo-Saxon society "...owed their positions to their abilities as warleaders..." [62] For an Anglo-Saxon to first establish power, he must demonstrate power and leadership in war. Since this was the case, the Anglo-Saxons, at least prior to the coming of Christianity, held war itself as an important, perhaps sacred, event.

Holding war as a priority complements the undergirding mythology of the Anglo-Saxons. Yorke comments, "Woden was an appropriate progenitor for rulers who were essentially warleaders because he was the god of battle." [63] Since the Anglo-Saxons' chief god, Woden, was directly associated with battle, it was essential for their kings to embody the war-like mentality of their god. To further this ideology, "All royal houses for whom genealogies exist claimed to be descended from one of the pagan gods. In the majority of cases the god was Woden..." [64] In his description of the totem, Durkheim notes the tendency for the totem to descend from generation to generation through a paternal line.[65] For the Anglo-Saxons, the totem would have passed paternally in that kings were named after particular gods from their mythology. In this manner, the king was both the self-professed and communally upheld physical totem that embodied that

56: Bede, 39.
57: Ibid, 39.
58: Blaire, 182.
59: For further information regarding the body as sacred, see Æthelbert's laws 32-72 concerning injuries of the body.
60: See above.
61: Durkheim, 88.
62: Yorke, 16
63: Ibid, 16
64: Ibid, 15
65: Durkheim, 89

which the Anglo-Saxons considered sacred.

The support for the king as the totem in Anglo-Saxon society, however, extends beyond theory and mythology. Archaeological evidence adds further insight on the totemic reality. The practice of gravegoods, as previously noted, sheds light on this topic. The majority of the gravegoods found alongside male burials during the late sixth and throughout the breadth of the seventh century consists, in large part, of weaponry.[66] Furthermore, archaeological evidence supports the notion of Anglo-Saxon kings receiving special gravegoods at burial:

> The king buried, or commemorated, in Mound 1 at Sutton Hoo[67] was not only provided with a veritable arsenal of everyday weapons, but took with him to the grave a magnificent set of war-gear, consisting of helmet, shield and an elaborate, jeweled harness and belt to support his sword. The outfit must have been for ceremonial rather than practical wear and suggests the personification of the king as a great warrior. This picture is reinforced by the object generally interpreted as a scepter which is in effect a giant whetstone; it seems the ideal symbol for a ruler whose basis of power was his military strength.[68]

The special items found at this kingly burial indicate the reality of the king as the Anglo-Saxon totem.

All of this evidence, however, does not comment on the changes that occur when Christianity comes to England. How does a group's totem change upon the infusion of a new religion to that group? In the case of the Anglo-Saxons, there is no evidence that supports an immediate change in totem upon the advent of Christianity. The king, in other words, can remain the totem even within Christianity. Yorke hypothesizes the reasoning behind the somewhat effortless transition between paganism and Christianity[69] in the role of the king, "...the Christian God was seen as a superior god of battle, replacing Woden from whom most Anglo-Saxon royal houses traced decent...." [70] In other words, if a king understands the Christian God to offer authority and power in war, then there would not be an issue for a king to 'convert' to this Christianity. The king might have even be held in a higher position of authority, if this hypothesis is correct. Regardless of a king's conversion, however, the coming of Christianity does not appear to alter the Anglo-Saxon totem. The king can still exist as the political totem.

From a Christian perspective, Bede also seems to have held the king in a high, perhaps totemic, position.[71] Although he writes a century removed from the time itself, Bede wrote with a very clear idea of what the king's role within the Christian church should be and of the impact which they wished to have upon contemporary rulers.[72] Bede, like Gregory and Augustine, understood the political power a king carried. This is precisely why Gregory sent Augustine to Æthelbert before the average Anglo-Saxon. Gregory understood the authority a king carried in the societal structure of the Anglo-Saxons. Even if Gregory and Augustine never affirmed Æthelbert as a totem, both men surely comprehended Æthelbert's totemic authority. Additionally, Bede "...projected upon [Northumbrian kings] the ideals which he hoped contemporary rulers of the eighth century would espouse." [73] Thus, the king appears to have, from both pagan and Christian perspectives, possessed totemic authority and reality even through the eighth century.

### *The Durkheimian Method*

Graves, ducks, temples, kings, and laws – the evidence available to interpret the history of the Christianization of England – calls for a method that can unite these disparate threads of historical evidence. Given

---

66: Yorke, 16.
67: For further reading on Sutton Hoo see: M.O.H. Carver, Sutton Hoo: A Seventh-Century
Princely Burial Ground and Its Context (London, 2005), xl, 347, 459. Dunn, 65,77,80, 93-
96,98,149,163-4,176-8,179,194. Blair, 53. Wallace-Harding, 76-7.
68: Yorke, 18-9.
69: As discussed at length earlier, a more accurate term may be 'syncretised Christianity'
70: Yorke, 173.
71: As notes earlier, Bede would not have consciously acknowledge the king's totem position.
Rather, this is a sociological implication resulting from the evidence at hand.
72: Ibid, 173
73: Ibid, 173

swyields a strikingly comprehensive explanation of the cultural and religious change occurring in seventh-century England. As noted earlier, other theories of religion would not yield such a comprehensive explanation of this period of English history. Historical evidence requires varying interpretive methodologies depending on the particular area of study. Durkheimian theory, then, is useful for seventh-century England, but may not be as useful in other areas. William James' theory of religion, for example, would be most useful in a context in which vast amounts of writing from people is available as it pertains to individuals rather than societies. Given that little evidence as such exists surround seventh-century England, a Jamesian theory of religion is not useful for understanding the Christianization of England. Conversely, the Durkheimian lens offers the most extensive explanation of this area of time.

Correspondingly, Durkheim's theory of religion might best be used for contexts in which a nation or society is undergoing religious change. Whether the transition is from paganism to Christianity or, for instance, from Catholicism to Protestantism,[74] Durkheimian theory offers a comprehensive explanation of such a period of time, as these religious transitions are intrinsically communal. Moreover, Durkheim's theory as methodology clarifies the process of religious change within people groups.

---

74: Such is the case for the Protestant Reformation in England. For more information regarding this subject, see Christopher Haigh's The English Reformation Revised.

## Works Consulted

Bede. The Ecclesiastical History of the English People: Oxford World's Classics. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Blair, John. 2005. The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Burnell, Simon, and Edward James. 1999. "The archaeology of conversion on the continent in the sixth and seventh centuries : some observations and comparisons with Anglo-Saxon England." In St Augustine and the conversion of England, 83-106. Stroud, England: Sutton Pub, 1999.

Butler, Alban. The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and Other Principal Saints. New York: P. J. Kenedy, 1903. Print.

Cavill, Paul. 2004. The Christian tradition in Anglo-Saxon England : approaches to current scholarship and teaching / edited by Paul Cavill. n.p.: Rochester, NY : D.S. Brewer, 2004.

Clarke, Peter B. 2009. The Oxford handbook of the sociology of religion / edited by Peter B. Clarke. n.p.: Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press, 2009.

Dunn, Marilyn. 2009. The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons, c. 597-700 : discourses of life, death and afterlife / Marilyn Dunn. n.p.: London ; New York : Continuum, 2009.

Durkheim, Émile, Carol Cosman, and Mark Sydney Cladis. 2008. The elementary forms of religious life / Émile Durkheim ; translated by Carol Cosman ; abridged with an introduction and notes by Mark S. Cladis. n.p.: Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press, 2008.

Durkheim, Émile, and W. S. F. Pickering. Durkheim on religion : a selection of readings with bibliographies / [compiled by] W. S. F. Pickering ; new translations by Jacqueline Redding and W. S. F. Pickering. n.p.: London ; Boston : Routledge & K. Paul, 1975.

Hines, John. "Social structures and social change in seventh-century England: the law codes and complementary sources." Historical Research no. 233 (2013): 394.

Hough, Carole. 2007. "Women and the Law in Seventh-Century England." Nottingham Medieval Studies (Institute For Medieval Studies) 51, 207-230. Humanities International Complete.

Mayr-Harting, Henry. The coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England / Henry Mayr-Harting. n.p.: University Park, Pa. : Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991.

'Middle Saxon' Settlement and Society: The Changing Rural Communities of Central and Eastern England." 2013.

Schaff, Philip. History of the Christian Church: Volume 4 Mediaeval Christianity A.D. 590-1073. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers Inc., 1996.

Scull, Christopher. 2011. "Social Transactions, Gift Exchange, and Power in the Archaeology of the Fifth to Seventh Centuries." The Oxford Handbook Of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology Oxford Handbooks Online.

Sims-Williams, Patrick. 1995. Britain and early Christian Europe : studies in early medieval history and culture / Patrick Sims-Williams. n.p.: Aldershot, Great Britain ; Brookfield, Vt. : Variorum, 1995., 1995.

Thacker, Alan. 1998. "Memorializing Gregory the Great: the origin and transmission of a papal cult in the seventh and early eighth centuries." Early Medieval Europe 7, no. 1: 59.

## Works Consulted

Thein, John. Ecclesiastical Dictionary: Containing, in Concise Form, Information upon Ecclesiastical, Biblical, Archeological, and Historical Subjects 1900 : n. pag. Print.

Thomas, Gabor. 2013. "Life before the Minster: the Social Dynamics of Monastic Foundation at Anglo-Saxon Lyminge, Kent." Antiquaries Journal 93, 109-145. Humanities International Complete.

Thorpe, Benjamin. Ancient laws and institutes of England [electronic resource] : comprising laws enacted under the Anglo-Saxon kings from Aethelbirht to Cnut, with an English translation of the Saxon; the laws called Edward the Confessor's; the laws of William the Conqueror, and those ascribed to Henry the First; also, Monumenta ecclesiastica anglicana, from the seventh to the tenth century; and the ancient Latin version of the Anglo-Saxon laws, with a compendious glossary, &c. n.p.: [London] : Printed by command of his late Majesty King William IV, under the direction of the commissioners on the public records of the kingdom, 1840., 1840.

Tyler, Damian. "Reluctant Kings and Christian Conversion in Seventh-Century England." History: The Journal Of The Historical Association no. 306: 144. 2007.

Yorke, Barbara. 1997. Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England. London: Routledge, 1997.

Wright, J. Robert. 2008. A companion to Bede : a reader's commentary on The ecclesiastical history of the English people / J. Robert Wright. n.p.: Grand Rapids, Mich. : William B. Eerdmans Pub., 2008.

## End Notes

i
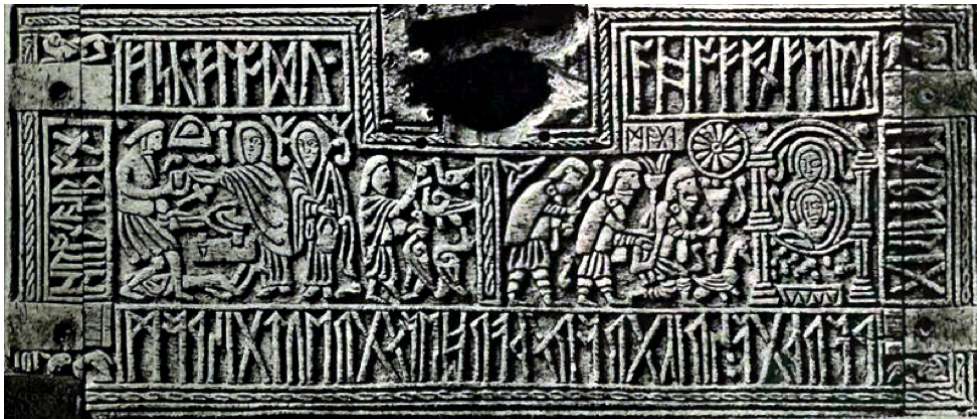
# Rhetoric, Allegory, and Imagination

Rachel Ray

### Introduction

In Apuleius' telling of the myth of Cupid and Psyche, he crafts his language to enhance his allegory through captivating the listener's imagination. Full of vivid, descriptive language, this is a literary project that suits an orator like Apuleius. Since Apuleius also dabbled in philosophy, allegory provides an appropriate genre in which Apuleius may flourish rhetorically and communicate a spiritual message. His use of description and the rhetoric he employs throughout this myth are closely related to the philosophy this myth espouses. Cupid and Psyche provides a platform to look at the relationship between rhetoric and philosophical allegory.

I examine the relationship between Apuleius' vivid language, his rhetoric, and the meaning of his allegory by closely reading the central scene of the myth—when Psyche sees and recognizes the true nature of Cupid for the first time. Apuleius utilizes a host of finely tuned rhetorical devices to paint a vivid and moving picture. The allegorical power of the tale centers on this scene, and the vibrant description increases its allegorical impact. The vividness, far from interrupting the story, stimulates and captures the listeners' imaginations.

## *Rhetoric, Allegory, and Imagination*

At the center of the only extant Latin novel, Metamorphoses by Apuleius, rests a tale that has captured the imaginations and attentions of scholars ranging from Augustine to C. S. Lewis. Written in the middle of the second century CE, Apulieus' Cupid and Psyche provides considerable insight into the spiritual, philosophical, and rhetorical culture of the Silver Age of Rome. The language of this episode deviates from the rest of the novel in content and style, revealing a more thoughtful side of Apuleius. This tale allows for exploration of the ancient understanding of the relationship between rhetoric and allegory. Nowhere is this relationship more apparent than in the central scene of the tale, which depicts Psyche's emotional responses when she sees and recognizes Cupid's true form. Apuleius here utilizes a host of finely tuned rhetorical devices to paint a vivid and moving picture. This powerful, memorable passage merits close examination, particularly of the rhetorical devices Apuleius uses and their effect on the audience. The allegorical power of the tale centers on this scene, and the vivid description increases the allegorical impact for the listeners. The vividness, far from interrupting the story, stimulates and captures the listeners' imaginations, drawing them into the allegory. By using sophisticated rhetorical devices to describe this scene, Apuleius attempts to engage the imagination of his listener and thus strengthen the power of his allegory.

As an orator and a philosopher, Apuleius capably combined rhetoric and allegory, engaging his listeners' imaginations as well as persuading them towards a higher truth. Born around the year 125 CE in North Africa, Apuleius lived at the peak of the Roman Empire. Culturally, this period was marked by gilded ennui; dazzling exteriors masked vapid interiors.[1] Apuleius remains a prime example of the era's values: "Apuleius was a quintessential product of his time, for both were bicultural, prosperous, nostalgic for the classical past, and enamored of display." [2] And who has a better platform for display than a celebrated orator? Educated men like Apuleius desired to be masters of oratory, and such sophists were celebrities. Apuleius was an excellent sophist, and he achieved fame and status due to his oratorical skills. Apuleius delighted in displaying his oratory prowess, and he self-promoted to no end. The elevated status of successful orators reveals the values of the time: sophists were culturally savvy and well versed, as well as experts in self-display. They dressed up the substance of their words to be as appealing and persuasive as possible. As part of this culture, Apuleius knew how to communicate effectively and captivatingly; he was capably equipped as an orator-celebrity who was concerned with remaining attractive and popular.

Nevertheless, he also engaged in philosophical pursuits, and (like any other orator of the time) considered himself a Platonic philosopher. Although he may not have had a complete understanding of Platonic philosophy, Apuleius still demonstrated an avid interest in spiritual and metaphysical matters.[3] In his Apologia, Apuleius defended himself against charges of magic, and he pursued philosophical topics in his De Deo Socratis. As a self-proclaimed philosopher, an acquitted magician, and a famous traveling orator (or sophist), Apuleius was well equipped to turn the myth of Cupid and Psyche into an elegant allegory. He both exemplified and recognized the need for spiritual meaning in his culture, and he attempted to fill this hole with his own brand of Platonic philosophy.

In order to satisfy this spiritual longing, Apuleius turns to the philosophical and rhetorical tool of

---

1: 1Aldo Schiavone, The End of the Past, trans. Margery J. Schneider (Cambridge: Harvard)
2: Julia Haig Gaisser, The Fortunes of Apuleius and The Golden Ass: A Study in Transmission and Reception (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008) 2.
3: Ben Edwin Perry, The Ancient Romances: A Literary-Historical Account of Their Origins (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967) 239.
4:

allegory. Allegory makes the intangible visible; it clothes the transcendent in a physical form through language. Allegories provide humanity with a method of understanding immaterial truths and a way of handling the supernatural.[4] In the hands of Plato and other early thinkers, allegory was used as a purely philosophical technique, a tool of education. However, as the concept and term transitioned from Greek into Latin, "its emphasis on the text as 'speaking' rather than merely 'meaning' allowed the Latin term allegoria to gravitate into the orbit of the rhetoricians . . . Thus it was that allegory, which had begun in philosophy, moved into poetics." [5] Allegory became a literary technique of Latin poets, a way to deepen their poetics. And now "genuinely talented poets could make use of [allegory] strategically in order to add an appearance of depth and sophistication to their works." [6] Allegory was a tool of both poets and philosophers, and it serves Apuleius's purposes perfectly. The allegory adds a layer of rhetorical sophistication to his bawdy novel as well as a level of philosophical direction.

Although he uses allegory for rhetorical purpose, Apuleius also understands its philosophical power. He believes that allegory is a way of describing what is intangible, but real nonetheless. It is a way of making "the supernatural visible" and comprehensible. Allegory creates a metaphor of what is transcendent so that humans can understand Reality. This understanding of allegory is rooted in antiquity; Plato himself used the Allegory of the Cave to explain the journey of the philosopher who ceases to look at poor imitations of reality and beholds what is true, unchanging, and eternal.[7] Apuleius took the myth of Cupid and Psyche and transformed it into an allegory; however, he did not craft a didactic and dry narrative. Rather, Apuleius used his rhetorical skills to create an imaginative and moving drama to describe what he saw as a universal human condition. Not only do listeners rationally recognize that they should identify with Psyche, but the captivating story actively engages their imaginations, stirring their souls, as Apelius thought, to move toward what is true.

The central scene of the myth (and therefore of the whole novel) describes Psyche's vision and recognition of the true nature of Cupid (Metamorphoses 5.21.3-5.23.6). Due to its central location, it is clear that it is an important scene; nevertheless, it represents a pause in the narrative. Apuleius slows down and describes Psyche's emotional state before she beholds Cupid, and he slows even more to describe Cupid's appearance, endeavoring to engage the imagination of the listeners. In other words, Apuleius pulls out all the stops and uses his oratorical prowess to draw his listeners into the moment. As he describes Psyche's vacillation, Apuleius uses long, complex sentences. But he does not ramble; he balances his phrasing, strengthening the sense of being torn in two, describing Psyche and affecting the listener.

> *At Psyche relicta sola, nisi quod infestis Furiis agitata sola non est, aestu pelagi simile maerendo fluctuat et, quamvis statuto consilio et obstinato animo, iam tamen facinori manus admovens adhuc incerta consilii titubat multisque calamitatis suae distrahitur affectibus.*

At the beginning, Apuleius claims that Psyche is alone: relicta sola;[8] however, he immediately opposes himself. In fact, she is not alone, but provoked by the spirits of Hades—the Furies: *nisi quod infestis Furiis agitata sola non est.* The listeners fear for her isolation, but to be plagued by the Furies is worse! In just a

---

4: In The Cambridge Companion to Allegory, the introduction cites Jane K. Brown's definition of allegory: " 'a mode of representation which renders the supernatural visible'" (5). C. S. Lewis, in The Allegory of Love, defines allegory as a "fundamental equivalence between the immaterial and the material . . . you can start with an immaterial fact, such as the passions which you actually experience, and can then invent visibilia to express them . . . this is allegory" (44-45).

5: Rita Copeland and Peter T. Struck, introduction to The Cambridge Companion to Allegory, ed. Rita Copeland and Peter T. Struck, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 4.

6: Glenn W. Most, "Hellenistic Allegory and Early Imperial Rhetoric," in The Cambridge Companion to Allegory, ed. Rita Copeland and Peter T. Struck (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 37.

7: Plato, Republic, trans. G.M.A. Grube (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1992) 187-189.

8: Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

dozen words, Apuleius transports his listeners (alongside Psyche) from fear to pure terror and crafts the balance of the phrases to stimulate a subconscious panic in the listeners.

Then, to conjure an image, Apuleius compares Psyche to a stormy sea: aestu pelage simile maerendo fluctuat ("like the rage of the sea she fluctuates in mourning"). Psyche's emotional state is like a maelstrom—out of control. With such a simile, Apuleius pushes his listeners toward imaginative visualization: knowing what a stormy sea looks like, they can better understand her emotional turmoil. Therefore they can successfully imagine Psyche's inner emotional state—not just as objective third party observers, but also as active participants in her agony.

Having agitated his listeners with a vision of turmoil, Apuleius does not provide a soothing break. Rather, he continues his effort to throw them off balance, stimulating their imaginations to strengthen his allegory. The "quamvis . . . tamen" (although . . . nevertheless) construction strains an already tense situation. Now, there is disagreement between Psyche's resolved spirit (obstinato animo) and her faltering hands (manus . . . titubat). Imaginatively engaged listeners are strengthened with her resolve, but the quamvis (although) prepares them for the tamen (nevertheless). Further, Apuleius divides their minds from their bodies. By describing Psyche's resolved mind yet indecisive hands, Apuleius creates more internal dissonance. The listeners feel the insubordination of her hands, yet they also are unable fully to commit their hearts to Psyche's plan. Finally, with a mention of her many distresses and dividing tugs, Apuleius finishes the sentence.

Asyndeton[9] drives the next sentence: Festinat differt, audet trepidat, diffidit irascitur... ("she hastens, she scatters, she dares, she fears, she distrusts, she rages..."). Verb after verb describes Psyche's indecision. There are no conjunctions, nothing to soften the blow or smooth the transitions. There is no room for pause between the verbs, and so Apuleius confronts his listener with Psyche as she switches from one extreme to the other. These six verbs build the momentum of the moment, climaxing in the next phrase quod est ultimum, in eodem corpore odit bestiam, diligit maritum ("that which is the most extreme, in the very same body, she hates the beast, she loves her husband"). Conflicting desires and emotions divide Psyche's soul, and the lack of conjunctions gives great power to the sentence. Psyche's dilemma is perfectly apparent, and the listener—ideally having imagined and therefore experienced this whole ordeal—is stuck as well. How do you kill what you love? How do you love something so ugly and evil? In the next sentence, Apuleius simply narrates Psyche's decision. After beginning with an ablative absolute, the independent clause is short and clear. Psyche determines to commit the horrible deed.

Having been given a glimpse of the sleeping, trusting husband, Apuleius returns to Psyche as the subject and continues to build tension as the scene moves toward the revealing of Cupid, true Love.

> *Sed cum primum luminis oblatione tori secreta claruerunt, videt omnium ferarum mitissimam dulcissimamque bestiam, ipsum illum Cupidinem formonsum deum formonse cubantem, cuius aspectu lucernae quoque lumen hilaratum increbruit et acuminis sacrilegi novaculam paenitebat.*

Apuleius has built the anticipation so well that listeners can imagine the darkness around them as if they were present with Psyche. Then, the lamp shines out; the mysteries of the bed become clear (*tori secreta claruerunt*). Apuleius introduces the vision with a simple verb: videt (she sees). He emphasizes Cupid's beauty, using superlative adjectives (*mitissimam dulcissimamque*), the intensifier ipsum illum, and the repetition of forms of formonsus. The language is emphatic and intense, giving the impression that words fail to describe the vision of beauty. Magnificence literally surrounds the god (*formonsum deum formonse*), and Apuleius strives to invoke awe into his listeners through overwhelming language.

In the face of such tremendous splendor, Apuleius provides his listeners with examples of the proper response. He personifies the lamp and the knife in order to describe appropriate reactions to the initial

---

 9: Regarding asyndeton, Longinus states, ". . . the words tumble out without connexion, in a kind of stream, almost getting ahead of the speaker . . . Disconnected and yet hurried phrases convey the impression of an agitation which both obstructs the reader and drives him on." On Sublimity, 19.1-2.

impression of the divine. The lamp grew bolder and shone more brightly to behold the spectacular vision, and the knife was ashamed of its intent at sacrilege (*cuius aspectu lucernae quoque lumen hilaratum increbruit et acuminis sacrilegi noaculam paenitebat*). At this point, the listeners are desperate to see the stunning view, but Apuleius continues to build the tension, shifting the focus onto Psyche's response.

Although listeners briefly get to 'see' (or imagine) the breath-taking beauty of the vision, Apuleius endeavors to further suspense by describing Psyche's response before he details the divine image, captivating his listener even more. Psyche blanches; she trembles; she falls to her knees. She is so overcome with fear and dread at her attempt at murder that she seeks to hide the knife in her own chest (*ferrum quaerit abscondere, sed in suo pectore*). The mention of suicide intensifies the conviction that her husband must indeed be terribly beautiful, stimulating the imagination of the listener to wonder at the sight. Thankfully for Psyche, the knife takes matters into its own hands and flings itself away from her. Once again, the personification of the knife adds drama to the scene—we can visualize Psyche's distress and passion and are overcome with relief that her suicide attempt was thwarted. Finally, Psyche pauses to examine closely the divine face of her lover. Through sentence structure, personification, and emphasis, Apuleius cultivates the imagination of his listeners, leading them through indecision, panic, anticipation and finally relief. He is preparing his listener's imagination to receive and respond to the description of beauty and love. He aims to involve his listener in the allegory imaginatively, and through this imagination persuade them of the truth of his allegory.

Finally, Apuleius gives his listeners the anticipated vision of the divine. This description begins with the long-awaited videt, "she sees". And what follows as the object of videt is the image of the divine.

> *Videt capitis aurei genialem caesariem ambrosia temulentam, cervices lacteas genasque purpureas pererrantes crinium globos decoriter impeditos, alios antependulos, alios retropendulos, quorum spledore nimio fulgurante iam et ipsum lumen lucernae vacillabat.*

Apuleius begins with Cupid's hair and immediately the picture gleams: "c*apitis aurei genialem caesariem ambrosia temulentam,*" the abundant hair of the golden head, dripping with ambrosia. His golden locks are anointed with divine perfume and the liquid 'l' sounds drip off the tongue, matching the image of his hair. Apuleius then moves to Cupid's face and neck: his complexion is flawless, both milky-white and rosy (*lacteas, purpureas*). And his hair wanders around his neck attractively. The adjectives and adverbs not only add detail to the description, but they also slow the pace of the sentence. Further, only two words out of the first sixteen, and seven out of the whole thirty words in the sentence have fewer than three syllables. Apuleius slows down the listeners and invites the eyes of their imaginations to wander over Cupid's sleeping form just as Psyche's do. He has directed the listeners' gaze over Cupid's glowing face and down onto his chest where his hair roams (*pererrantes*). Here Apuleius pauses, interposing *alios antependulos, alios retropendulos*, and prompting his listener to contemplate pure Love.

Here, rather than stating outright the glow emanating from such beauty, Apuleius shifts attention to the paleness of the lamp in comparison. Its light flickers (*vacillabat*) in the glory of such beauty. By describing the paleness of the lamp's light when next to Cupid, Apuleius stimulates the imagination of his listener more than if he had expressed the overwhelming glow of the beauty of Cupid. He frames the nimio within the splendore fulgurante, emphasizing pervasive and overwhelming splendor of Cupid: "The radiant beauty of the sleeping figure, made effulgent by a series of words denoting light and colour, inspires wonder and awe." [10] So far, there is a certain gentleness to the beauty of Cupid; Love is overwhelming, but Good. This description draws the listeners to long for such a vision. Apuleius has built the anticipation and now fulfills

---

10: E.J. Kenney, Cupid and Psyche, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 169.
11: Ibid. Kenney notes, "Conformably with standard rhetorical doctrine and practice the description begins with the head and proceeds downwards (Kenney on Moret. 32-5; cf. 5.2.2n): the living god is treated as a work of art."

their desire to see, but also leaves enough up to the imagination that they wish for more.

After this sentence, Apuleius follows the traditional use of ekphrasis and moves down Cupid's sleeping form, describing his feathery wings and the rest of his body.[11]

> *Per umeros volatilis die pinnae roscidae micanti flore candicant et quamvis alis quiescentibus extimae plumulae tenellae ac delicatae tremule resultantes inquieta lasciviunt. Ceterum corpus glabellum atque luculentum et quale peperisse Venerem non paeniteret.*

His wings and feathers gleam and quiver, dance and frolic (*micanti, candicant, resultantes, lasciviunt*) yet they simultaneously rest and remain still (*quiescentibus*). The soft 'l' sound combined with the hard 'c/q' sound creates balance through tensions, surprising and delighting the ear. Further, the words balance motion with stillness. Apuleius contrasts the resting wings (*alis quiescentibus*) with the restless feathers (*inquieta*). In these two sentences he uses six verbs of movement (*temulentam, pererrantes, micanti, resultantes, vacillabat, and lasciviunt*) and five verbs of passivity or stillness (*impeditos, antependulos, retropendulos, candicant, quiescentibus*). The overall effect is one of still energy, of powerful beauty. Gleaming, flickering light; trembling, dancing feathers; anointed, golden hair: Apuleius intends the image to captivate his listeners' imaginations.

However, the description is neither exact nor complete. Apuleius provides his listeners with an atmosphere and allows them to finish the vision in their own imaginations. The description compels them to enter the scene and unlock their imaginations, thus keeping them engaged. The elegance and beauty culminates in the divine when Apuleius declares that the rest of Cupid's naked body is so splendid that Venus herself would not be ashamed to call him her son (*quale peperisse Venerem non paeniteret*). In addition to attributing divinity to this beauty, this phrase also tosses in a touch of irony. For, this is in fact Cupid, the son of Venus. Up to this point in the description, the sentences have been long and complex, promoting the idea that our gaze is wandering over Cupid just as Psyche's is.

This vision of Love captures the listener just as it did Psyche, and the language captivates the listeners' imaginations, drawing them into the scene and stirring in them a response that is more than purely rational. Apuleius engages the imaginations and emotions of his listeners, using his rhetorical skill to communicate with the souls of his listeners. By tapping the imagination, Apuleius pulls his listeners into the story; he gives them a glimpse of the profound beauty and power of Love, uniting them through pathos with Psyche and strengthening his allegory.

Apuleius endeavors to compel his listeners to experience an encounter with the image of the divine. In order to cultivate such an experience, he must engage more than the listeners' rational faculties. Longinus explains the powerful effect of visualization, of engaging the imagination: "There is much it can do to bring urgency and passion into our words; but it is when it is closely involved with factual arguments then it enslaves the hearer as well as persuading him." Apuleius knows this; he wants to capture his hearers in his allegory through vivid description. If they can visualize Love and experience the rapture of the Soul, then they will have a deeper understanding of his philosophical message. The revelation of divine Love is a beautiful and moving passage because the form matches the content. Listeners rationally understand the content, but the rhetoric of the passage moves their souls toward the divine, just as Psyche moves toward Cupid and does not stop until she regains eternity with him.

---

11: Ibid. Kenney notes, "Conformably with standard rhetorical doctrine and practice the description begins with the head and proceeds downwards (Kenney on Moret. 32-5; cf. 5.2.2n): the living god is treated as a work of art."

# Works Cited

Apuleius. *Cupid & Psyche*. Translated by E.J. Kenney. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Apuleius. *The Golden Ass.* Translated by P.G. Walsh. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Copeland, Rita, and Peter T. Struck. Introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory*, Edited by Rita Copeland and Peter T. Struck, 1-14. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Dietrich, B.C. "The Golden Art of Apuleius." *Greece & Rome* 13, no. 2 (1966) 189-206.

Gaisser, Julia Haig. *The Fortunes of Apuleius and the Golden Ass: A Study in Transmission and Reception.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Goldhill, Simon. "What is Ekphrasis for?" *Classical Philology* 102, no. 1 (2007) 1-19.

Kennedy, George A. *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Kenney, E.J. Introduction to *Cupid & Psyche,* Edited by E.J. Kenney, 1-38. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Lewis, C.S. *The Allegory of Love*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936.

Longinus. On *Sublimity*. Translated by D.A. Russell. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Most, Glenn W. "Hellenistic Allegory and Early Imperial Rhetoric." In *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory*, edited by Rita Copeland and Peter T. Struck, 26-38. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Perry, Ben Edwin. *The Ancient Romances: A Literary-Historical Account of Their Origins.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

Plato. *Republic.* Translated by G.M.A. Grube. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.,    1992.

Quintilian. *The Orator's Education: Books 6-8*. Translated by Donald A. Russell. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Schiavone, Aldo. *The End of the Past*. Translated by Margery J. Schneider. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Walsh, P. G. *The Roman Novel.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Webb, Ruth. "Ekphrasis ancient and modern: the invention of a genre." *Word & Image* 15, no. 1   (1999) 7-18.

Webb, Ruth. Ekphrasis, *Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2009.

# Artificial Intelligence Apocalypticism:
## Transhumanism's relationship to Christianity

Melanie McConnell

### *Introduction*

The possibilities of an increasingly technological future captivate the public imagination. Predictions of cyborgs, robots, and superhuman intelligence played out in movies like Her or Transcendence are characteristic of transhumanism, a movement fueled by the belief that "humans can improve their own minds and bodies technologically, then they will gain the intelligence and longevity to devise even more methods for self-improvement." [1] The eschatological discourse that arises from transhumanism, often called Artificial Intelligence apocalypticism, is distinct and unmistakable, but not always well-understood, requiring an introduction and explanation of why some Christians might oppose its religious claims. Although Artificial Intelligence apocalypticism in some ways challenges Judeo/Christian apocalypticism due to the atheism of some of its advocates, the science of transhumanism does not oppose Christianity necessarily. Instead, it invites Christians to further develop understandings of what it means to be human.

---

1: William Sims Bainbridge, "The Transhuman Heresy," Journal of Evolution and Technology 14, no. 2 (August 2005): 21.

# Artificial Intelligence Apocalypticism:
## Transhumanism's relationship to Christianity

Artificial intelligence (AI) is just one field within the realm of transhumanism. Simply put, it is "the field of research that attempts to emulate human intelligence in a machine." [2] Scientists in this field do not work to recreate intelligence exactly as it exists in humans, but instead develop computer procedures "that enable machines to do things that would require intelligence if done by people." [3] In this way, AI is ushering in a new era in an incredibly short amount of time, bearing a profound impact on modern culture. When scientific data is motivated, interpreted, and put to use, a non-empirical element is introduced. This is particularly evident in the case of AI—the narratives told by AI scientists are strikingly apocalyptic in nature, forming a perspective that is known as AI apocalypticism.

Apocalypticisms are worldviews "sharply divided between good and evil and between a new era and an old or dying age." [4] They are largely based on apocalypses, books of a literary genre "wherein a prophet receives divine revelation through a vision of a transcendent reality distinct from the everyday world." [5] The apocalypses Daniel and Revelation provide most of the material for Judeo/Christian apocalypticism, whereas AI apocalypticism arises from the work of scientists like Kurzweil, Warwick, Moravec, and de Garis, transhumanists who describe how they envision technological advancements will impact society.

As these researchers describe, the "singularity point" will be the moment when machines possess intelligence equal to that of humans. From there, machines will begin to create themselves without any further need of human facilitation. The processing power of the machines, today already exponentially greater than humans, will allow them great abilities. They will never be human, but their differences may only enhance their superior capabilities.[6]

While some transhumanists foresee a relatively peaceful transition through the singularity point, some anticipate global conflict between those who value progress and innovation and those who prioritize the continuation of human life as it currently exists.[7] Most leading AI apocalyptics, however, agree that humanity cannot survive unchanged in an age of increasing technology. By uploading one's mind to software, improving brain function using technologies like neural chips, or altering one's genetics, humans may be able to participate in the mechanical future, but at the cost of organic life as we know it.

The hope of AI apocalypticism is that this new and mechanical future will usher in a world of peace. The selfish altruism principle guides the imagination of many transhumanists toward anticipating a future in which super-intelligent machines overcome lapses in moral behavior by realizing the benefits of kindness much more aptly than the comparably ignorant, slow-witted community of humans.[8] Furthermore, this age could potentially make eternal life possible for humans by offering a transcendent state with new bodies.

---

2: Ray Kurzweil, The Age of Spiritual Machines: When Computers Exceed Human Intelligence (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 298.

3: K Warwick, March of the Machines: Why the New Race of Robots Will Rule the World (London: Century, 1997), 67.

4: Ronald Cole-Turner, "The Singularity and the Rapture: Transhumanist and Popular Christian Views of the Future," Zygon 47, no. 4 (December 1, 2012): 778.

5: Robert M. Geraci, "Apocalyptic AI: Religion and the Promise of Artificial Intelligence," Journal of the American Academy of Religion 76, no. 1 (March 2008): 140, doi:10.1093/jaarel/lfm101.

6: Warwick, March of the Machines, 256.

7: Hugo de Garis, The Artilect War: Cosmists vs. Terrans: A Bitter Controversy Concerning Whether Humanity Should Build Godlike Massively Intelligent Machines (Palm Springs, CA: ETC Publications, 2005).

8: Hans P Moravec, Mind Children: The Future of Robot and Human Intelligence (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

9: Hava Tirosh-Samuelson, "Transhumanism as a Secularist Faith," Zygon 47, no. 4 (December 1, 2012): 725.

### Challenges

Hava Tirosh-Samuelson, "Transhumanism as a Secularist Faith," Zygon 47, no. 4 (December 1, 2012): 725.[10] But fundamentalists like Hal Lindsey feel that the two worldviews could never collaborate. Lindsey insists, "Without benefit of science, space suits, or interplanetary rockets, there will be those who will be transported into a glorious place more beautiful, more awesome, than we can possibly comprehend." [11]

Why should some Christians, like Lindsey, discredit the mission of transhumanism? While there is a distinction to be made between the science and philosophy of some transhumanists, it is important to understand the points of contention that some Christians might have with certain versions of transhumanism. Despite the similarities between the two, incorporating transhumanist insights with Judeo/Christian apocalypticism becomes convoluted when one realizes that within the scientific enterprise, "there is much room for researchers to bring in their own quest." [12] The data of science is objective, but science is not done in a vacuum. Many of the influential transhumanists who write AI apocalypses for public consumption do not believe in the existence of God.[13] Consequently, AI apocalypticism as it exists today extrapolates beyond empirical data and includes ideas that directly oppose certain tenants of Christianity.

de Garis, a strikingly imaginative writer with a very unique voice, literally proclaims himself a prophet of a new religion. While he recognizes the importance and power of religion, he says, "I cannot take traditional religions seriously, since they are incompatible with what I have learned about the world." [14] Transhumanists sharing the same religious views as de Garis support religious impulses but reject the validity of divine revelation.[15] The prophets of apocalyptic discourse are called "seers" and have a privileged place of information due to the revelation or "vision" they receive from God. The "seers" of AI apocalypticism rely instead on human revelation, namely, the discoveries made by reason and science. The transhumanist seer's place of privilege is his/her extensive scientific knowledge.

For most AI apocalyptics, evolution explains and necessitates the continued development of the human race. Rather than an eschatology that dictates divine deliverance from sin, the evolutionary narrative simply describes the inevitability of change and progression. It accounts to some extent for human morality and spirituality, both of which may be shown to be beneficial to humanity.[16] No other explanation or source is evoked to explain how the machines might bring about a more hopeful future. Morality is located within an evolutionary narrative; the nature or source of this narrative is not questioned in AI apocalypses.

Instead of fulfilling the Will of God, the transhumanist future will "empower each individual to become whatever he or she wishes." [17] Clearly this brings into question the self-sacrificial nature of Christianity in light of the sacrifice of Christ. In contrast to Christian confessions that "There is no way to become immortal in this world, unless you believe in a loving God who sent His son to die for you," [18] transhumanists like Marvin Minsky posit, "people should give their money to AI research rather than their churches, as only AI would truly give them eternal life." [19] The goal of transhumanism is for humans to change the world themselves; humans create their own heaven as a continuation of evolution. Unlike the heaven of Judeo/Christian apocalypticism, disease in the form of computer viruses and Trojan horses will persist in order to continue evolutionary mutation and novelty.

Humanity may not even persist in the AI apocalyptic future. Evolution does not necessitate the view that humans are God's most valued creation, only that we are the most complex beings yet to exist. Many

---

10: Geraci, "Apocalyptic AI," 158.

11: Cole-Turner, "The Singularity and the Rapture," 781.

12: Anne Foerst, God in the Machine: What Robots Teach Us about Humanity and God (New York: Dutton, 2004), 41.

13: Tirosh-Samuelson, "Transhumanism as a Secularist Faith," 718.

14: de Garis, The Artilect War, 99.

15: Tirosh-Samuelson, "Transhumanism as a Secularist Faith," 731.

16: Moravec, Mind Children, 146.

17: Bainbridge, "The Transhuman Heresy," 92.

18: Tirosh-Samuelson, "Transhumanism as a Secularist Faith," 97.

19: Foerst, God in the Machine, 43.

Christians believe that "when a [hu]man's time is up, it's up and no amount of scientific advancement can prevent the soul from leaving the body." [20] AI apocalypticism, however, speaks of the essence of humanity as located in the mind rather than in the immaterial soul. Not all Christians are so dualist to think of the soul as an entirely non-physical entity, and some conceive of the mind similarly as an immaterial product of a material brain. However, a conflict rises when transhumanists speak of humans as "capable of being seemingly articulated with intelligent machines." [21] If humans are no more than programs emergent from genes,[22] intelligent machines are essentially non-carbon based humans. Human identity and salvation as envisioned in Christianity are thus questioned by the identity and consciousness of machines.

In de Garis' words, the machines will be "truly godlike in [their] knowledge and power to manipulate the world." [23] While 'god' simply refers to a being more powerful than humans, a more complex problem emerges when this kind of technological enhancement is applied to humans themselves. Humans may potentially be able to "immortalize themselves in super-intelligent machines, thereby becoming gods." [24] In this way, some Christians fear that by developing transhumanist technologies, humans are "playing God."[25] Instead of describing a future brought by the hand of a pre-existent, sovereign God, AI apocalypticism suggests that humans themselves could become "god builders." [26]

### Integration

Clearly, the atheism of many transhumanists gives legitimate cause for concern for Christians. But the philosophies of transhumanists are not equivalent with the science of transhumanism. While Christianity may justifiably reject the atheism of certain versions AI apocalypticism, it cannot reject or be judged by scientific claims. Christianity may guide interpretation of empirical data, but it may not compete with science. In Warwick's words, "There is no proof, no evidence, no physical or biological pointers that indicate that machine intelligence cannot surpass that of humans." [27] Therefore, it is important that Christians differentiate between the empirical data and the religious views cast onto transhumanism, allowing the empirical data to inform Judeo/Christian apocalypticism instead of prematurely rejecting AI apocalypticism.

Transhumanism is not a threat to Christianity. Why should the incorporation of human accomplishments in God's plan diminish one's belief of God's greatness? Finding material explanations for spiritual matters does not tarnish truth anymore than training pastors in seminary could somehow prevent the leading influence of the Holy Spirit. Human knowledge and technology are not necessary enemies to the Will of God. Just as many similarities as differences exist between Judeo/Christian and AI apocalypticism. Both see humans as physically imperfect and envision eternal life in a transcendent state with new bodies.[28] Both envision the future as a universal and inevitable result of a time of crisis. Both rely on symbolism to describe futuristic ideas and images. There are ways to integrate AI and Judeo/Christian apocalypticism, though this requires humility and grace.

Anne Foerst is one example of a Christian transhumanist working toward an integration of AI and Judeo/Christian apocalypticism. She believes, in contrast to challenging God's sovereignty, that "When [humans] attempt to re-create ourselves, we do God's bidding." [29] Humans, after-all, are creative beings made in the image of a creator God. Foerst recognizes that the soul, like the mind or the brain, is not something that humans truly understand. Her views are shared by a multitude of Christian transhumanists and open

20: Tirosh-Samuelson, "Transhumanism as a Secularist Faith," 97.
21: Ibid., 714.
22: Warwick, March of the Machines, 30.
23: de Garis, The Artilect War, 102.
24: Tirosh-Samuelson, "Transhumanism as a Secularist Faith," 726.
25: Ibid., 96–97.
26: de Garis, The Artilect War, 104.
27: Warwick, March of the Machines, 256.
28: Tirosh-Samuelson, "Transhumanism as a Secularist Faith," 725.
29: Foerst, God in the Machine, 40.

up a conversation about the meaning of sin, salvation, consciousness, and personhood that is informed and not threatened by the knowledge gained through science and revelation.

A final point deserves specific mention: evolution. The case of evolution serves as a great example of scientific data that is too often mistaken for the personal philosophies of some of its advocates. Many Christians will not accept evolution because it violates their understanding of revelation and the creation of the world. However, evolution is not equivalent with atheism or disrespect for the Word of God. It does not require a perspective that God is obsolete. Instead, evolution is a well-formulated and well-supported interpretation of data that reveals how the world as we know it came to be. It should act as a help rather than a hindrance to Christianity, allowing Christians to understand better how God works in the world and how we should read and understand the Bible most true to its form. Whether the intelligence of the machines facilitates their moral superiority or not, humans cannot trust the machines in the same way they might trust the God of Christianity to value human existence enough to support and save human life because evolution itself does not and cannot place specific value on human life. Therefore, a post-modern Christian apocalypticism might accept a future in which we might create god-like beings and yet still rely on revelation, salvation, and submission to God as we anticipate the redemption of creation to its creator and Lord.

### Conclusion

In light of its eschatological prophecies of new life and a more perfect world, many believe that "Apocalyptic AI is the legitimate heir to [the] religious promises" made by Judeo/Christian apocalypticism.[30] And it seems likely that transhumanists will deliver on their prophecies. It is therefore crucial for the sake of intellectual integrity that Christians take seriously the insights of science. Transhumanists speak from a position of reliable knowledge and insight. In order to remain able to interact with contemporary understandings of the world, Christians must accept the empirical evidence that has proven itself trustworthy in our technological society alongside the metaphysical and historical revelation of scripture. Transhumanism demands that Christians engage with apocalypticism and prepare for the future that approaches daily, whatever it may be.

---

30: Geraci, "Apocalyptic AI," 158.

# Monkey See, but Monkey Can't Do:
# Parallax Error in the Shoot the Monkey Experiment

## David Bayless

### *Introduction to the Experiment and the Problem*

The "shoot the monkey" experiment offers physics students the chance to witness firsthand the simplicity and predictive power of Newtonian kinematics – the mechanics of projectiles. The student is to imagine a situation in which he desires to hit a monkey hanging from a tree with a blow dart. If the student knows the monkey will release its grip on the tree the moment the dart is fired, how should he aim the blowgun? The answer is found in equations describing the projectile motion of a body derived from Newton's Second Law. Once the relevant math is completed, the student finds that the blow gun should be aimed directly at the monkey. Since they are accelerated downward at a rate of 9.806 meters/second^2 , both objects will collide when the gun is oriented towards the monkey, barring the influence of external variables such as air resistance, object outgassing, thermal perturbations, and local magnetic fields. The equations additionally show that the velocity of the dart as well as the distance from the gun to the monkey – assuming the gun is within a feasible range – have no bearing on the required orientation of the gun.

Our primary purpose is not to carry out the oft repeated kinematic calculations for this experiment. Instead, we will identify, assess, and propose solutions to a problem inherent to an experimental setup in which a computer tracking program is used to calculate g, the acceleration due to gravity at Earth's surface. Though our results pertain most immediately to the setup in use by our own university – Samford University – we hope that other schools struggling with the problem we describe here will benefit from what we have to say.

Trials of our university's rendition of the "shoot the monkey" experiment have consistently resulted in inaccurate measurements of g. Professors have reported that students typically calculate values of g 2-4% above the currently accepted value: 9.806 m/s^2 . At a first glance of the setup, this error is unanticipated; students input footage from a high speed camera to a computer tracking program that facilitates their calculations of g. Students set a standard of measurement – formally called a fiducial – in the tracking program and proceed to make two separate calculations of g using the following equations:

$$vi = vf - ( g * t ) \qquad [1]$$

$$\Delta y = ( t * vi ) - ( 1/2 * g * t ) \qquad [2]$$

where vi is the initial velocity in meters/second;
vf is the final velocity in meters/second;
g is the acceleration due to gravity in meters/second^2 ;
t is the time in seconds;
and $\Delta y$ is the net displacement in the y-direction in meters.

The kinematics of the projectile and monkey in flight are described by these two equations, allowing for four potential calculations of g. The y-positions of the objects found in the tracking program are entered into equation [2], and their y-velocities are used in equation [1].

We have collected strong evidence that parallax is responsible for the systematic error in Samford's "shoot the monkey" experiment. Parallax is an optical effect resulting from the relative positions of a perceiver and two perceived objects. Understanding the subtle yet insidious influence of parallax on the experiment demands a closer look at the principles of the concept.

### *Parallax: An Interactive Primer*

The form of parallax we find in our experimental setup is most easily described with an interactive illustration. Hold a finger from each hand a few inches in front of your face, placing the fingers a couple of inches apart. Proceed by focusing on an object 4-5 meters away. Close one eye and focus on the object while keeping track of your fingers' location. Now shut this eye and open the other one. Observe the position of your fingers and the object again. The position of your fingers alters significantly depending on the eye in use, while the location of the object is relatively stable throughout the exercise. Though the distance between your fingers is not quite as large as the distance between your eyes, the distance between your fingers gives a rough estimate of this distance as you switch eyes.

Now suppose your friend stands 4-5 meters away as you hold your fingers up in the manner described above. From her perspective, each of your fingers will seem to align with its respective eye. She might then opine that the distance between your fingers equals that between your eyes. But this would be incorrect. Why? Because at that distance she cannot discern that your fingers are not directly in front of your eyes. Your fingers appear to be directly in front of your eyes, but they are not; your fingers are only a couple of inches apart, whereas the distance between your eyes is probably slightly greater than this. Your friend has – to put it plainly – underestimated the distance between your eyes because of her relative location. Were your friend to assert with sincere conviction that you held your fingers directly in front of your eyes, you would gently tell her that she has fallen prey to a parallax illusion. In this illustration, parallax is the cause of your friend's perceptual misjudgment, and it is the result of her location with reference to you. The parallax error that your friend unwittingly misses is the horizontal distance separating each of your fingers from its respective eye. Once we replace your friend with a camera, your eyes with a single horizontally oriented meter stick, and each of your fingers with a projectile ball, we are ready to understand how parallax may tamper with a student's calculations of g in our experimental setup.

### *Experimental Error Due to Parallax*

The camera sits 5.22 meters away from the meter stick on the wall in our setup. From its perspective, the projected ball will appear to align with the ends of the meter stick when the ball is actually less than a meter apart from itself when it was seen by the camera soon after it first crossed the end of the meter stick during its flight *(Figure 1)*.
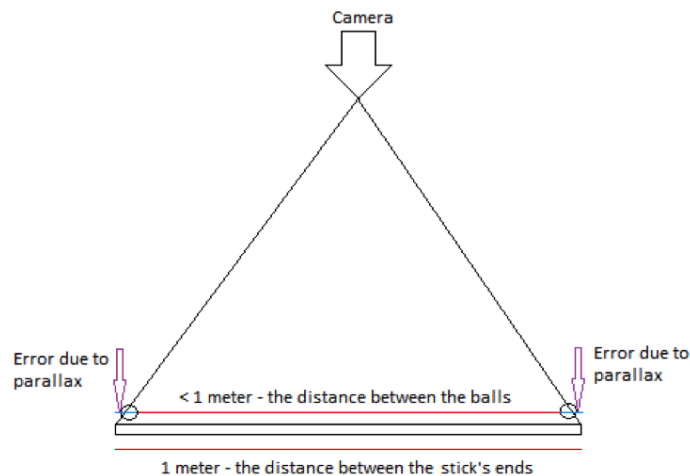


*Figure 1. The camera is represented by the black arrow at the top, the meter stick by the rectangle at the bottom, and the projected ball by the two circles at each end of the stick. As shown by the lines directed from the camera to the ends of the meter stick, the camera perceives the ball to have travelled precisely 1.00 meter during its trajectory when it has actually travelled less. The bottommost red line represents a 100 centimeter fiducial, and the red line above the meter stick represents the distance between the balls. The "unperceived distance" between the balls and the end of the meter stick on each side of the stick – labeled the "error due to parallax" – is indicated by the small blue line at each end. Summing the red line above the meter stick and the two blue lines representing the parallax error gives 1.00 meter. The petite parallax error accounts for the high values of g students typically calculate. The figure is not to scale.*

The presence of a small distance on each side of the ruler that remains unnoticed by the camera is made evident in *Figure 1*. Once students have opened the computer tracking program, they are instructed to set a fiducial of 100 cm between the ends of the meter stick. If the projected ball's flight directly overlapped the ruler, this would be the correct procedure. We have seen why this is not the right way to go *(Figure 2)*.



Case 1: the ball travels either directly above or directly below the meter stick. If the 1 meter fiducial were placed directly on the meter stick in the tracking program, there would likely be no significant experimental errors.

Case 2: the ball travels slightly in front of the meter stick. This is the state of affairs in Samford's experimental setup. Setting the 1 meter fiducial on top of the meter stick results in the parallax error, in this case.
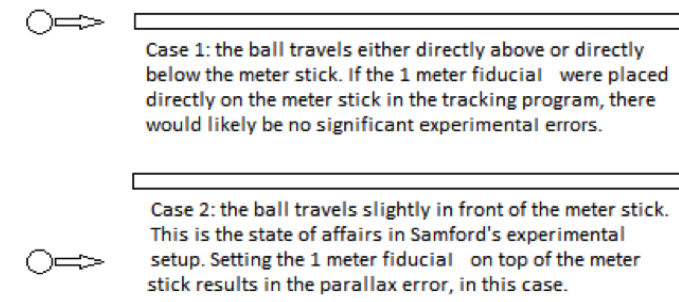
Figure 2: A representation of how different trajectories of the ball would require unique specifications for the fiducial (overhead view).

When they inlay a 100 cm fiducial on the meter stick, the students command the tracking program to register as 1.00 meter the distance travelled by the ball when it appears to cross the entire meter stick. As shown in *Figure 1*, this is an inaccurate fiducial; the ball is traversing slightly less than a meter in crossing from one end of the meter stick to the other. This is parallax at work.

To find the parallax error, consider the graphics below. The graphic on the left is similar to *Figure 1* above, and the graphic on the right is a magnified picture of a corner of the left graphic.



1 meter - the distance between the stick's ends
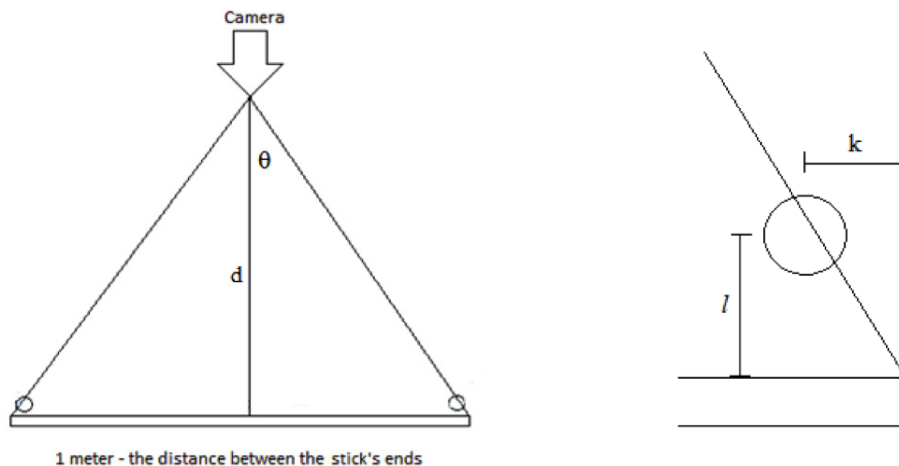
The angle the camera captures between the end and middle of the meter stick, $\theta$, can be found with trigonometry. It can be shown that $\theta = \tan^{-1}(0.5/d)$, where 0.5 meters is the length of half of the stick and d is the distance between the camera and the stick. Let k be the parallax error, the distance between the projectile and the end of the meter stick, and let l be the distance between the projectile and the meter stick. Using $\theta$ from above, this yields $k = l \cdot \tan(\theta)$. Since $\theta = \tan^{-1}(0.5/d)$, this simplifies to $k = l \cdot (0.5/d)$. Because this occurs at both ends of the meter stick, the total parallax error equals 2k, a small but nontrivial value.

Matching the 1.00 meter fiducial with the meter stick causes the tracking program to record values for both the projectile's y-position and velocity and the monkey's y-position and velocity that are slightly higher than in reality. Consequently, the values of g calculated using these inaccurate measurements are 2-4% above the accepted value of 9.806 m/s^2 . With this observation, our diagnosis of the problem concludes. We will suggest three preventative measures in the following section.

*Possible Solutions*

A simple way for a student to avoid significant parallax errors is to adjust the user-entered fiducial length. Students typically inlay the fiducial on the meter stick and set the length to 100 centimeters (*Figure 3*). To account for parallax, a student may simply set the fiducial to 100 cm minus 2k (defined above). The tracking program would then use an accurate standard, even if the standard is not exactly one meter. For our experimental setup, d = 525.0 cm and l = 11.0 cm, so k is approximately 1.05 cm. Samford students should therefore set the fiducial to 97.9 cm rather than 100.



*Figure 3: The fiducial is properly placed, but the entered value of the standard should be 97.9 cm instead of 100 cm to account for the parallax error.*

Before we investigated the experimental error of g typically found by students, we did three test runs in which the fiducial was set as students are instructed to. The results for one of these preliminary runs is shown in the chart below[1].

|         | [1] – MY | [1] - PL | [2] - MY | [2] - PL |
|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| g (m/s2) | 10.051  | 10.112   | 9.9620   | 10.070   |

[1] and [2] indicate the equation that was used to calculate g. "MY" refers to the monkey's kinematic data, and "PL" denotes the projectile's data. Equation [1], the reader will recall, uses the object's y-velocity data while equation [2] employs the y-position data. The average of the four values above is 10.049 – 2.48% higher than the accepted value of 9.806. This error accords with the one usually found by students who set the fiducial as it is displayed in *Figure 3.*

By relating our derivation of the parallax error to our earlier discussion of the parallax phenomenon, we can conclude that what the camera believes to be 1.00 meter when the fiducial is set just as the one in *Figure 3* is really 97.9 cm. When we conducted the experiment using this properly entered fiducial length, we obtained the following results:

|         | [1] – MY | [1] - PL | [2] - MY | [2] - PL |
|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| g (m/s2) | 9.7071  | 9.8682   | 9.6626   | 9.8342   |

The above values give an average of 9.7680, which sits only 0.388% below the accepted value. Our error here is not negligible, but it is a step up from the 2.48% error obtained from the values resulting from ignoring the parallax error. Additionally, it would be unrealistic to expect a standard laboratory setup of the "shoot the monkey" experiment to give a perfectly accurate value of g. Stated more honestly, a non-negligible error is inevitable given the simplicity of the setup. The error is negative probably because we have succeeded in reducing or eliminating the parallax error. We also expect that our error is negative because some of the "external variables" mentioned in the introduction are at work in our setup.

Setting an appropriate fiducial is one way of accommodating the parallax error. Changing the experimental setup is an alternate means. Remember that the parallax error results from the relative positions of the meter stick and the projectile (*Figure 2*). If the projectile were to travel directly above or below the meter stick, no significant parallax error would result from aligning the 1.00 meter fiducial with the meter stick in the tracking program. It follows that the meter stick may be displaced from the wall so that an aerial

---

1. See the appendix for a sample of the graphs leading to these calculations.

perspective of the ball's flight would find the meter stick either above or below the ball's path (*Figure 4*).
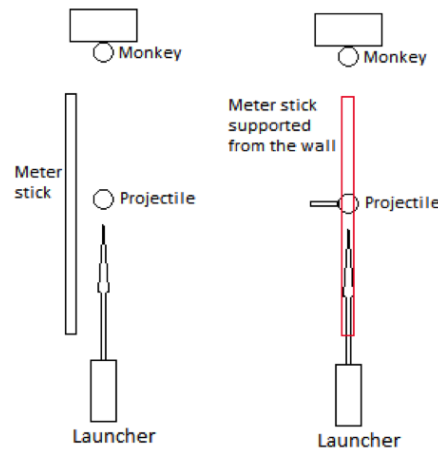


Though adjusting the experimental setup has the potential to eliminate the parallax error once and for all, practitioners of this treatment method may face difficulties when placing the ruler in such a way that it will not interfere with the ball's flight. This spatial issue may be circumvented by changing the ruler's altitude; but such a change may consequently introduce new parallax errors, for the camera would no longer be in the same horizontal plane as the meter stick. If the experimental setup precludes the complete alignment of the meter stick and the trajectory of the ball, the parallax error may still be reduced by extending the meter stick from the wall as far as the trajectory permits.

The third and final treatment method requires a high resolution video camera. If the video is of high enough resolution to give a clear image of the meter stick, the fiducial may be set anywhere from 1.0 to 10 cm and then placed at the center of the meter stick. This reduced fiducial would replace the 1.00 meter fiducial extending the length of the meter stick. *Figure 5* displays how this will decrease the parallax error.
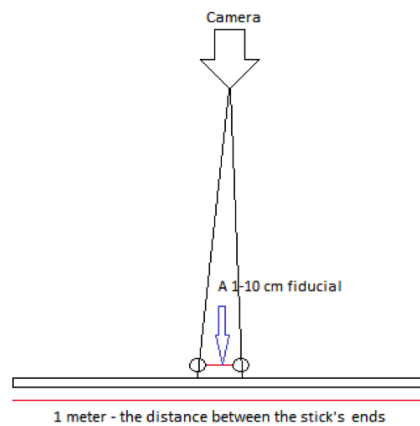


*Figure 5: A reduced fiducial would decrease the parallax error, as a comparison with Figure 1 shows.*

This method is available only to those with a high resolution camera who can accurately demarcate the markings on their meter stick when setting their fiducial in the tracking program.

We believe that the first method is the simplest and most economical for confronting the parallax error. The second method is viable, but it requires a fair bit of labor and a nontrivial degree of fine-tuning in each object's orientation and placement. The Samford physics department does not possess a high resolution camera, so we are not in a position to say whether method three is in fact a successful remedy for the parallax error. There is at least no theoretical impediment to holding that a high resolution camera would give
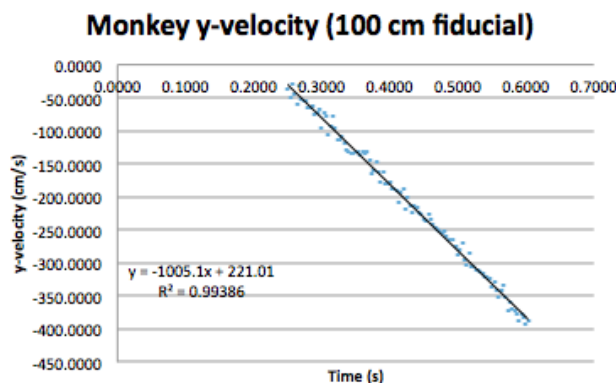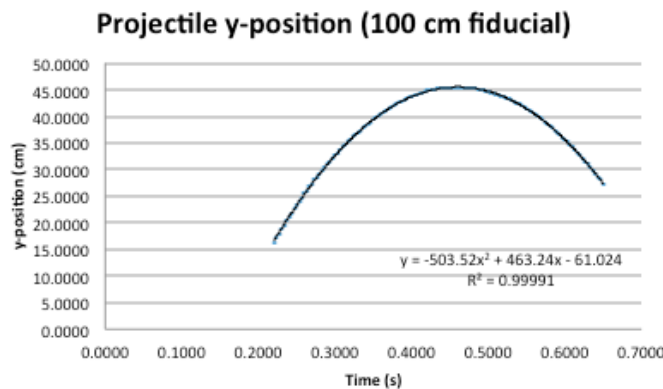
accurate results when used in the way described above.

### Concluding Thoughts

We have presented theoretical and experimental evidence that a subtle parallax error is responsible for the consistently high values of g that Samford students calculate in the "shoot the monkey" experiment. It is surprising that a seemingly insignificant parallax error of 2.1 cm could impede the accurate calculation of the acceleration due to gravity from a relatively uncomplicated experimental setup; but it is customary for the scientist to find that certain small contingencies have large effects in a given experiment. We suggest three preventative measures for averting the parallax error: decrease the length of the fiducial in the tracking program to accommodate the error; change the experimental setup so that the meter stick aligns with the trajectory of the ball; or purchase a high resolution camera so that the length of the fiducial may be greatly reduced. These methods may be tested individually or in concert until the students and instructor are satisfied with the experimental results.

### Appendix

Sample graphs of the y-position and y-velocity data obtained from the tracking program are given below to clarify the process by which g was calculated. The graphs are from a normal run in which the fiducial is set to 100 cm. In each graph, a best-fit equation is used to obtain a value of g. The first graph uses an equation of the same form as equation [1] as a best-fit line. We double the coefficient of the $x^2$ term to find a value of g in centimeters/second$^2$ since the variable preceding $x^2$ corresponds to 0.5g. Dividing this result by 100 gives a value of g in meters/second$^2$, the desired units. In the projectile y-position graph, for example, the coefficient 503.52 is doubled and then divided by 100 to give a g-value of 10.070 meters/second$^2$. We neglect the negative sign since it is known the acceleration due to gravity is in the negative y-direction. The second graph requires an equation in the form of equation [2] as a best-fit line, and the coefficient 1005.1 corresponds to a g-value of 10.051 meters/second$^2$.

**Projectile y-position (100 cm fiducial)**

$$y = -503.52x^2 + 463.24x - 61.024$$
$$R^2 = 0.99991$$

**Monkey y-velocity (100 cm fiducial)**

$$y = -1005.1x + 221.01$$
$$R^2 = 0.99386$$

# Absence of tetracycline in Grave's Creek downstream of a Tyson Foods chicken processing plant in Blount County, Alabama

Chandler Ancona and Trey Ingram

*Abstract*

Bacteria and other microbial agents can develop resistance to antibiotics. Due to the mass use of important, life-saving antibiotics in commercial animal production companies, antibiotics that are integral in human medicine are now losing effectiveness. The antibiotics excreted by animals in meat production plants are absorbed into surrounding soil and surface water, which exposes unmetabolized antibiotics to surrounding bacteria. These bacteria can then build a resistance to the antibiotics because of their ability to enter the human food and water supply. The Food and Drug Administration has implemented restrictions on unnecessary use of antibiotics in animals, which resulted in major animal production companies pledging to discontinue use of these drugs. To determine if there are escaped antibiotics in the local environment and surface waters, this study tests the conductivity and tetracycline concentrations in surrounding surface water upstream and downstream of a Tyson Chicken Processing Plant in Blount County, Alabama. While results show that there is a greater mean conductivity, indicative of disturbance downstream of the chicken plant, no tetracycline was found in any water samples near the chicken plant.

## *Absence of tetracycline in Grave's Creek downstream of a Tyson Foods chicken processing plant in Blount County, Alabama*

### *Introduction*

Antibiotics have been used to promote growth in farm animals for many years. As long ago as 1977, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) proposed to ban their use, specifically of penicillin and tetracyclines, in animal feed due to public health concerns. After the start of the mass use of antibiotics in commercial animal meat production, a rise in bacterial resistance to antibiotics occurred, making certain, important antibiotics used in human medicine (i.e. cyclosporins, tetracyclines, and penicillins) not as effective in their ability to treat microbial infections (Beck et al., 2014; Parveen et al., 2006; Sapkota et al., 2008). Since humans ingest the meat from animals that consume animal feed, the FDA has deemed its regulation important for the protection of human health, as well as for the well being of the animals.

Crowded living conditions and tight living quarters in commercial farmhouses create the perfect breeding ground for many harmful bacteria. The common presence of bacteria in these areas has made it extremely difficult and unrealistic to treat just one animal at a time. As a result, many industries add antibiotics or other antimicrobials in animal feed so as not to induce stress on the animals while treating them. This practice also kills most of the bacteria and prevents spread of bacterial infection by providing all of the animals with the medicine (Environmental Media Services, 2000).

Although routine antibiotic dosing aids food production, there is a negative impact when antibiotics given to farm animals are released into the environment upon excretion. After urination and defecation, as much as 80% of the antibiotic passes through unchanged and in its original medicinal state, polluting the surrounding area (Levy, 1992). Once the antibiotics are excreted from the animal in their unmetabolized form, they are then absorbed into the soil and contaminate ground or run-off water that flows into nearby streams and creeks. High concentrations of oxytetracycline, chlortetracycline (both of which are classified as tetracyclines), and tetracycline were found in water surrounding bovine, swine, and poultry processing plants in China (Wei et al., 2011). Bacteria exposed to these antibiotics are able to build resistance against them.

The most common means by which bacteria build immunity to antibiotics is through exposure during water and sewage treatment processes. Once the exposed bacteria are immune, they are then able to transfer their resistant genes on to other bacteria, building a general resistance throughout the environment (Everage et al., 2014). Bacteria can develop resistance in a number of ways. The most common resistance pathways occur through natural spontaneous mutations, induced mutations, conjugation, transformation, and transduction (Batzing, 2002).

The FDA now regulates the use of human antibiotics in commercial animal production in hopes of reversing the antibiotic-resistant bacteria problem. Poultry feeding operations in Delaware, for example, contained antibiotic resistant enterococci and staphylococci, and these antibiotic resistant strains were found in flies captured near feeding plants (Graham et al., 2009). As of January 2012, the FDA issued the prohibition of certain uses of cyclosporine antibiotics, including use for disease prevention in chickens, swine, turkeys, and cattle. The reasoning behind the ban being that cyclosporines are commonly prescribed as last resort drugs for humans experiencing life-threatening infections (Broedel-Zaugg, 2000). A study of surface water and air molecules around poultry transport vehicles near poultry houses along the

Delmarva Peninsula in Maryland found twelve different enterococci isolates that are resistant to tetracycline, erythromycin, and quinupristin/dalfopristin – three antimicrobial drugs of human importance (Rule et al., 2008). In December 2013, the 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals decided that the FDA would strongly advise against the use of tetracyclines and penicillins in animal feed and water for unnecessary medical use without a prescription from a licensed veterinarian (Levy, 2014). The major concern about the continued use of tetracyclines and penicillins in commercial animal production is that they are commonly prescribed to humans to fight microbial infections, and there has been increasing difficulty in using antibiotics for treatment due to a rise in microorganisms that have built up a resistance to these antibiotics in recent years (Herron et al., 1997). Due to their invaluable characteristics, any bacterial resistance to these classes of drugs could be detrimental to further treatment of deadly illnesses.

Tetracyclines have the highest probability of being found in surface water adjacent to chicken processing plants (Dr. James Davis, Poultry Veterinarian, personal communication; Wei et al., 2011). Although other antibiotics (sulfamethiazine, sulfadiazine, and sulfamethoxazole) were also found in surface water around farms in China, tetracycline was the most concentrated (Wei et al., 2011). Tetracycline-resistant bacteria were detected in 80% of E. coli isolated from 90 Canadian farms (Varga et al., 2008) and in 20-50% of E. coli isolated from farms in Florida (Parveen et al., 2006). Tetracycline is also one of the most used antimicrobial agents in agricultural production in Europe (Kools et., al 2008). Since tetracycline is one of the most commonly used antibiotics in animal production throughout the world, the expectation that there are traces of tetracycline in the surface water near agricultural farms is highly probable in those companies that have yet to phase out use of the drug.

In order to isolate possible tetracycline presence in surface water, we will test the conductivity. Areas with higher conductivities contain extra, nonnaturally occurring ions (EPA, 2012). Tetracycline is ionized in water at a pH between 7.3 and 9.0  (Chen et al., 2011), which could raise conductivity. We predict to find a higher conductivity.

Since the FDA's advisory against the continued use of antibiotics in farm animals in December 2013, however, many chicken farms have discontinued or are in the process of phasing out their use. Tyson Foods, one of the largest poultry production industries in the United States, released a statement that they do not use any human antibiotics in their farm animals (specifically poultry)(Tyson Foods, 2014). Based on the company's statement, it is expected that no tetracycline will be found in the surface water coming from the chicken plant.

### Methods

The Chicken Processing Plant chosen was located in Blount County, AL in the Locust Fork Watershed. The Processing Plant discharges water into a wetland composed of former farm ponds that drain into Graves Creek (Figure 1A).

Three sites along Graves Creek in Blount County, AL near the Tyson Chicken Processing Plant were chosen to test water samples for the presence of tetracycline (Figure 1A). There are 3 upstream control sites and 4 downstream sites. Two of the downstream sites are tributaries that lead into Graves Creek (2B and 2C). Site one is the farthest downstream from Tyson Chicken Plant (Figure 1A and 1B and Table 1).

| Site Name | GPS Coordinates | Location Relative to Tyson Plant |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | 34.045039, -86.572043 | Downstream (~400m downstream of plant wetland junction) |
| 2A | 34.046679, -86.573666 | Downstream (Junction of Graves Creek and Control tributary) |
| 2B | 34.046632, -86.573679 | Upstream Control tributary below wetland |
| 2C | 34.046741, -86.573835 | Graves Creek where wetland tributary joins |
| 2D | 34.046761, -86.573896 | In Tributary from Wetland |
| 2E | 34.046759, -86.573813 | Upstream Control |
| 3 | 34.057311, -86.565426 | Upstream Control (~800m upstream of plant wetland junction) |

Table 1.
GPS coordinates and location of each tested site relative to Tyson Chicken Plant in Blount County, AL.



Figure 1.
Location of test sites relative to the Tyson Chicken Processing Plant. A.) Overview of region. B.) Relationship of site 2 subsites.  Arrows indicate direction of water flow.

Water samples were collected using sterilized glass bottles (Daniel's Scientific Environmental Sample Containers; 8 oz. Amber Round) in May and September of 2014. At each site the pH (HACH EC10 pH Meter), conductivity (Extech Instruments, ExStik Meter), the air temperature, and the water temperature were determined.

Prior to use, the conductivity meter was calibrated with a 1413 μS/cm standard at 23°C. The pH meters were calibrated with pH standards of 4 and 7 (ExStik, Extech Instruments). All samples were numbered according to location and stored between 1.7-3.3°C.

Water samples were tested in the laboratory for tetracycline (Elisa SNAP test kit, IDEXX). According to Kumar and colleagues (2004), techniques used to test meat, milk, and honey for tylosin and tetracycline residues can also be used for environmental waters. Tetracycline Elisa SNAP test kits can be modified to test water samples in place of milk samples by diluting the samples in a 1:1 ratio of environmental water sample: sample diluent provided in the SNAP kit (Kumar, 2004). The SNAP tests were stored between 1.7-3.3°C. Each sample, including the control, was diluted in a 1:1 water to sample ratio. Following kit instruction, the samples were incubated on the Elisa heating block (IDEXX) and read by the Elisa SNAP test. The results of the tests are determined by observing two blue circles that form on the Elisa SNAP test. If the blue circle on the left is lighter than the blue circle on the right, then the test is positive. The results of the test were recorded after 4 minutes. The directions claim that the Elisa SNAP test kit is advertised to detect tetracycline at a concentration > 50 parts per billion (Elisa SNAP test kit, IDEXX), so tetracycline-spiked controls were tested to verify. The controls chosen to test the accuracy of the SNAP kit were 100 mg/ 1L, 10 mg/1 L, 1µg/L and 0.1µg/L. In order to test these controls on the Elisa SNAP test kit, 450µL of the diluted sample/ control was added to the test tube containing the buffer, which was provided with each test.

Mean conductivity between sites was compared using Analaysis of Variance (ANOVA) and Tukey HSD and Waller-Duncan post hoc tests (IBM SPSS Statistics, 2010). The presence of tetracycline was compared between sites using Fisher's Exact Test (GraphPad, 2014). All statistics were considered significant at p < 0.05.

## Results

There was a significant difference in conductivity between the sites ($F_{6.14} = 7.018$, $p = 0.001$) with mean conductivity in the tributaries from the wetlands having over 700% greater conductivity than upstream control and 500% greater than an adjacent control tributary (Figure 3).
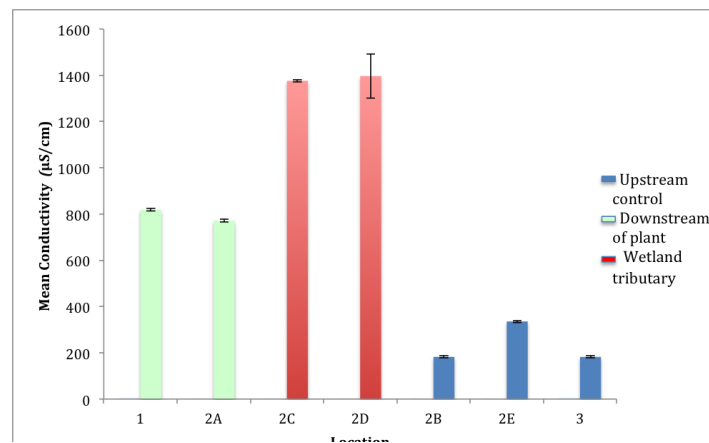


Figure 3.
Mean conductivity at each tested location. The means labeled with * and ** are statistically similar. Bars signify standard error.

Although the promotional literature stated a tetracycline detection levels at > 50 parts per billion (IDEXX SNAP Tetracycline Test), with our protocol the Tetracycline Elisa SNAP test kit did not detect tetracycline at levels lower than 1 µg/ L in spiked controls.

There was no detectable level of tetracycline in any of the environmental samples and no significant difference between test sites (p = 1.00).

*Discussion*

We anticipated higher conductivity in surface water discharged from the wetland receiving discharges from the Processing plant. Our findings supported this hypothesis. The accepted conductivity levels in United States' rivers are 50- 1500 μS/cm (EPA, 2012), and the mean conductivity found in the sites with the highest conductivity was just below regulation levels. While the high conductivity levels could be attributed to excess tetracycline due to an increased number of nitrate ions in the water (EPA, 2012; NCBI, 2014), no traces of the drug were found in any of the sites – including those directly downstream of the plant with the highest conductivity. It is possible that the high conductivity levels resulted from runoff of excrement from nearby cattle or from fertilizer and KNO3 raising conductivity (Thompson et al., 2012).

It was expected that there would not be any tetracycline in surface water surrounding the plant due to the FDA's recommendation to discontinue the use of penicillins and tetracyclines in commercial animal feed (Federal Register, 2012).  From our most accurate test of 1μg/L, we determined that no tetracycline was present in the surface water from Tyson Chicken Processing Plant.

Our results are consistent with Tyson Foods' statement that the company no longer uses human antibiotics in animal feed in their animal processing plants. Tyson Foods veterinarians, researchers, and hatchery managers are working to develop and test new protocols that will limit, and eventually phase out, the use of antibiotics in their animals (Tyson Foods, 2014). As a result of the FDA's move to ban the use of penicillins and tetracyclines from animal processing, Tyson Foods released a statement on October 1st, 2014, that they will no longer use any antibiotics considered useful in human medicine in their chicken hatcheries. While the company states that they will no longer use antibiotics for commercial purposes, several classes of antibiotics, including penicillins and tetracyclines, have potential therapeutic use in veterinary animals. These antibiotics were tested to determine withdrawal times of each drug so they can be used for treatment purposes while being completely metabolized in the animal before they are excreted (Anadon, 1999). The unmetabolized form of tetracycline has a half-life of 57-108 hours (metabolized half-life is 6-11 hours) when released into the environment (Epocrates, 2014). Knowledge of how antibiotics metabolize in the animals and the half-life of each drug will help reduce the amount of time and concentration in which it is exposed to the environment (Anadon, 1999).

A possible explanation as to why there is no tetracycline detected could be a result of a sitting retention pond that was dammed just above the beginning of the downstream fork of the river of the Tyson plant. The conductivity of the water directly downstream of the dam was 7.6 times that of the upstream areas of the plant (Figure 3), leading to the conclusion that there is a definite presence of ions other than those naturally found in the water. The retention ponds absorb most of the excess tetracycline in its groundwater or soil (Paveen et al., 2006); therefore, reducing the concentration results of the downstream surface water.

Since Tyson Foods did not release an official disclaimer that it would no longer use human antibiotics, specifically tetracyclines, in their chicken hatcheries until October 1st (Tyson Foods, 2014), and the water samples were tested prior to this date, it is possible that the company had not ceased use of the drug until the beginning of October. This lapse in time could attribute to their being traces of excess tetracycline in the soil composition or groundwater of the retention ponds before draining into the adjacent river, and further testing of the soil and water in the pond could provide more conclusive results regarding Tyson's use of antibiotics.

Although the results from the Elisa test did not show concentrations of tetracycline present in the surface water, our results were limited by our detection limits. The test claims that it will detect tetracycline up to 50 parts per billion (IDEXX SNAP Tetracycline Test), but we found limits at 1 part per 10 million. According to Kumar and colleagues (2004), the Elisa SNAP test kits can be adapted for use in analyzing environmental water by diluting the sample to a 1:1 buffer-sample ratio. In the current study, however, when the environmental stock solution samples were diluted as advised, a negative result was obtained due to low concentration values.

Upon further review, the Elisa instruction manual is adapted for detecting tetracycline in milk samples; and although Kumar was able to provide positive results with a 1:1 dilution ratio, it is possible that there is

enough of a difference between water and milk samples that following the kit procedure using water samples could decrease the accuracy of the test. In this case, a more intricate procedure may prove more useful in obtaining the expected test accuracy (Kumar et al., 2004). The Elisa test is a novel and efficient route to detect tetracyclines.  It may not have the reliability of the more common procedures of a high perfomance liquid chromatography test or a liquid chromatography - mass spectrometry (Loke et al., 2000; Cooper et al., 1998; Sacher et al., 2001).

### Conclusion

According to the most sensitive test of the tetracycline Elisa SNAP test kit at 1 part per 1 million (1μg/L), the surface water adjacent to Tyson Chicken Farm's does not contain tetracycline.

## Literature Cited

Anadon, A., Martinez-Larranaga, M.R., 1999. Residues of antimicrobial drugs and feed additives in animal product: regulatory aspects. Livestock Production Science. 59(2-3), 183-198.

Batzing, B., 2002. Microbiology: An Introduction. Brooks/ Cole: Thompson Learning.

Beck, T., Rosenbom, A.E., Kjaer, J., Mostofa Amin, M.G., Olsen, P., Jacobsen, C.S., 2014. Factors influencing the survival and leaching of tetracycline-resistant bacteria and Escherichia coli through structured agricultural fields.
Agriculture, Ecosystems, and Environment. 195, 10-17.

Broedel-Zaugg, K., 2000. Varied uses of cyclosporine. U.S. Pharmacist. 25, 12.

Chen, Y., Li, H., Wang, Z., Tao, T., Hu, C., 2011. Photoproducts of tetracycline and oxytetracycline involving self-sensitized oxidation in aqueous solutions: effects of Ca2+ and Mg2+. Journal of Environmental Science (China). 23(10),1634-1639.

Cooper, A.D., Stubbings, G.W.F., Kelly, M., Tarbin, J.A., Farrington, W.H.H., Shearer, G., 1998. Improved method for the on-line metal chelate affinity chromatography-high-performance liquid chromatographic determination of tetracycline antibiotics in animal products. J. Chromatogr. A 812, 321–326.

Davis, J., D.V.M., Veterinary Director of Oakwood Laboratory. Georgia Poultry Laboratory Network. Personal communication on July 2014.

Environmental Media Services. 2000. Agricultural use of antibiotics [Online]. Available at http://www.ems.org/antibiotics/antibiotics_ food.html. EMS, Washington, DC.

Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 2012. 5.9 Conductivity [Online]. Available at http://water.epa.gov/type/rsl/monitoring/vms59.cfm. EPA, Washington, DC.

Epocrates, 2014. Tetracycline Pharmacology: Excretion. Athena Health Service. Version 14.11

Everage, T., Boopathy, R., Nathaniel, R., LaFleur, G., Doucet, J., 2014. A survey of antibiotic-resistant bacteria in a sewage treatment plant in Thibodaux, Louisiana, USA. International Biodeterioration & Biodegradation. 95(A), 2-10.

Federal Register, 2012. Rules and Regulations. 77(4), 735-745.

Graham, J., Price, L., Evans, S., Graczyk, T., Silbergeld, E., 2009. Antibiotic resistant enterococci and staphylococci isolated from flies collected near confined poultry feeding operations. Science of The Total Environment. 407(8), 2701-2710.

Graphpad, 2014. Quick Calcs: Analyze a 2x2 Contingency Table. GraphPad Software,   Inc. [Online]. Available at http://graphpad.com/quickcalcs/contingency1.cfm

Herron, P.R., I.K. Toth, G.H.J. Heiling, A.D.L. Akkermans, A. Kara- gouni, and E.M.H. Wellington. 1997. Selective effect of antibiotics on survival and gene transfer of streptomycetes in soil. Soil Biol. Biochem. 30, 673–677. IBM SPSS Statistics. 2010. Version 19. IBM Corporation. United States.

IDEXX SNAP Tetracycline Test, 2012. Procedure and Results Manual. IDEXX Laboratory, Inc., West brook, ME.

Kools, S., Moltmann, J., Knacker, T., 2008. Estimating the use of veterinary medicines in the European union. Regul. Toxicol. Pharmacol. 50, 59-65.

Kumar, K., Thompson, A., Singh, K., Chander, Y., Gupta, S.C., 2004. Enzyme-Linked Immunosorbent Assay for Ultratrace Determination of Antibiotics in Aqueous Samples. J. Environ. Qual. 33, 250-256.

Levy S. 2014. Reduced antibiotic use in livestock: how Denmark tackled resistance. Environmental Health Perspectives 122(A), 160-165. http://dx.doi.org/10.1289/ehp.122-A160

Levy, S.B. 1992. The antibiotic paradox: How miracle drugs are destroying the   miracle. The Journal of the American Medical Association. 270(3), 384-385.

Loke, M.L., Ingerslev, F., Halling-Sorensen, B., Tjornelund, J., 2000. Stability of tylosin   A in manure containing test systems determined by high performance liquid chromatography. Chemosphere. 40, 759–765.

National Center for Biotechnology Information (NCBI), 2014. Tetracycline. National Institutes of Health [Online]. Available at http://pubchem.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/compound/tetracycline#sec tion=Top.

Parveen, S., Lukasik, J., Scott,, M.L., Portier, K.M., Sheperd, S., Braun, K., Farrah, S.R., 2006. Geographi cal variation in antibiotic resistance profiles of Escherichia coli isolated from swine, poultry, beef and dairy cattle farm water retention ponds in Florida. J. Appl. Microbiol., 100, 50-57.

Rule, A., Evans, S., Silbergeld, E., 2008. Food animal transport: A potential source of community ex posures to health hazards from industrial farming (CAFOs). Journal of Infection and Public Health. 1(1), 33-39.

Sacher, F., Lange, F.T., Brauch, H.J., Blankenhorn, I., 2001. Pharmaceuticals in groundwaters: Analyt ical methods and results of a monitoring program in Baden-Württemberg, Germany. J. Chromato gr. A 938:199–210.

Sapkota, A.R., Curriero, F.C., Gibson, K.E., Schwab, K.J., 2007. Antibiotic resisitant enterococci and fecal indicators in surface water and groundwater impacted by a concentrated swine feeding oper ation. Environmental Health Perspectives, 115, 1040-1045.

Thompson, Michael Y., Brandes, David., Kney, Arthur D., 2012.  Using electronic conductivity and hardness data for rapid assessment of stream water quality.  Journal of Environmental Manage ment., 100, 152-157.

Tyson Foods, 2014. Antibiotic Use. Available at http://www.tysonfoods.com/Media/Position-State ments/Antibiotic Use.aspx. (verified 6 November 2014). Tyson Foods, Inc. Springdale, AR.

Varga, C., Rajic, A., McFall, M.E., Avery, B.P., Reid-Smith, R.J., Deckert, A., Checkley, S.L., McEwen, S.A., 2008. Antimicrobial resistance in generic Escherichia coli isolated from swine fecal samples in 90 Alberta finishing farms. Can. J. Vet. Rech. Vet. 72, 175-180.

Wei, R., Ge, F., Huang, S., Chen, M., Wang, R., 2011. Occurrence of veterinary antibiotics in animal surface water and surface water around farms in Jiangsu Province, China. Chemosphere, 82, 1408-1414.

# Effects of Highlighting and Paper Color on Academic Test Performance in College Students

Amanda Moritz, Chloe Wilson, Mary Lauren Kulovitz, Sarah Wright

### *Abstract*

Effective study techniques and testing methods are of paramount importance for academic success. This experiment on Samford University students examined two variables capable of affecting a student's test performance: type of highlighting used to study (none, correct answer highlights, incorrect answer highlights, active highlighting) and color of paper on which test is printed (white, conventional vs. green, unconventional). We hypothesized a main effect for both variables and one interaction: 1) students tested on white paper would perform better than individuals tested on light green paper; 2) students given study material with the correct terms highlighted would perform the best on a matching quiz; and 3) students given study material with the correct answers highlighted and tested on white paper will perform the best. Results showed no significant effect for paper color but did find a significant effect for highlighting congruent with our second hypothesis (p= .003). While not supporting our hypothesis, the results did show a significant interaction between highlighting and paper color (p=.008). The results have implications for pre-highlighted study material and used textbooks which could negatively influence test performance.

## Effects of Highlighting and Paper Color on Academic Test Performance in College Students

In academia today, individuals are evaluated on their knowledge and skills through the use of tests and examinations. In order to prepare for tests, students are encouraged to use a variety of study methods such as underlining, note taking, and highlighting. Highlighting crucial text and key terms is a popular study strategy among college students; however, research regarding the effectiveness of highlighting has both opposed and supported highlighting. When compared to other forms of studying text, Blerkom, Blerkom, and Bertsch (2006) found that highlighting yielded better recall than other popular study techniques.

It is important to keep in mind that there are many aspects to be considered within the realm of highlighting as a study technique. Extant research shows that one of the most important aspects of highlighting is the existence of previous highlighting that was not actively marked by the present reader. Gier, Kreiner, Hudnell, Montoya, and Herring (2011) found that recall increases when subjects are allowed to mark over preexisting incorrect highlighting. Fowler and Barker (1974) found similar results with active highlighting produces better test results than no highlighting. Further, Dunlosky et al. (2013) found that active highlighting was an even more effective study technique than correct preexisting highlighting.

Analogous to the present study, Gier (2010) examined the effects of correct, incorrect, and no highlighting on test performance. However, the present study included active highlighting in addition to those tested by Gier (2010). Subjects were tested on four conditions, three of which did not allow the subject to mark on the text given: no preexisting highlighting, preexisting highlighting of correct material to be tested on, and preexisting highlighting of incorrect material to be tested on. The fourth condition had no preexisting highlighting and subjects in this group were given a highlighter to mark the text at will. After a brief study period, all students were given a 15 item matching quiz to test their academic performance.

A second area of interest was the notion of conventional testing methods versus unconventional testing methods. In the present study, conventional testing was defined as tests administered on white paper, while unconventional tests were those administered on light green colored paper. A majority of extant research on the effect of paper color on academic testing is contradictory. Skinner (2004) found that individuals tested on white paper tested better than individuals tested on colored paper. In opposition, research conducted by Michael and Jones (1955) found no significant main effect for paper color on academic testing. Interestingly, Sinclair, Soldat, and Mark (1998) tested two unconventional methods: blue and red paper color. Their results show that individuals tested on blue paper performed better than those tested on red paper, suggesting an effect of paper color on test performance. Colored paper has been used not only as an unconventional testing method, but as a control for cheating as well. While testing effects of paper color on academic testing, Clary, Elias, and Wandersee (2007) introduced different forms of the test on each color in order to control for cheating.

In the present study, we hypothesized a main effect for paper color: students tested on white paper will perform better on the matching quiz than individuals tested on the unconventional green colored paper. We also hypothesized a main effect for highlighting: students given study material with preexisting highlighting of correct terms would perform the best on the matching quiz, followed by students who actively highlighted the study material, then study materials with no highlighting, and lastly study material with preexisting incorrect highlighting. Finally, we hypothesized an interaction between paper color and highlighting techniques: students tested on white paper with the correct terms highlighted would perform the best on the matching quiz.

### Method

Participants

A convenience sample of 72 college students was used, consisting of 57 females and 15 males ranging in age from 18-23 years old (M= 19.51, SD= 1.09). There were 19 subjects in the correct highlighting condition, 17 in the active highlighting condition, 18 in the no highlighting condition, 18 in the incorrect highlighting condition, and within these conditions, there were 36 participants tested on white paper and 36 participants tested on light green paper. Participants were students enrolled in lower level social science courses at Samford University. Participants received extra credit in their respective course for taking part in our study.

Materials

The text given to each subject was a two-page, single spaced, brief history of an imaginary country created to prevent prior knowledge that could bias the quiz results. All study text was printed on white paper. There were four different versions of the study text: one with no preexisting highlighting on which subjects were not allowed to mark, one with no preexisting highlighting on which subjects were instructed to actively highlight, one with preexisting yellow highlighting of key terms that were the correct answers to the matching quiz, and one with preexisting yellow highlighting of key terms that were the incorrect answer choices to the matching quiz. Subjects in the active highlighting group were given a yellow highlighter to mark on their two-page study material. All subjects were given a one-page quiz over the study material. Quizzes consisted of 15 matching questions with 30 possible answer choices. Half of the quizzes were printed on white paper and the other half were printed on light green paper.

Procedure

This study was a 4 x 2 between-subject factorial design. The first independent variable was paper color: white and light green. The second independent variable was highlighting technique: correct, incorrect, active, and no highlighting.

Prior to the arrival of participants, experimenters highlighted various portions of the study material with respect to each highlighting condition. Each of the four highlighting conditions also tested the effects of paper color. In order to do this, half of the quizzes were printed on white paper and half were printed on light green paper. A stapled packet was created for each participant that included one form of the study material followed by a colored sheet of paper with no print on it to prevent students from seeing the quiz on the next page. The packet also included the matching quiz either printed on white or light green paper. After the quiz was a short demographic survey and post experiment questionnaire.

Upon arrival to the classroom participants were randomly given a stapled packet of the materials mentioned above. Participants in the active highlighting group were then taken to another room. Each group was then given instructions relative to their experimental condition (see Appendix A). The only instruction that differed between the groups concerned the notation and markings made on study material. The active highlighting group was encouraged to actively highlight their study material while the remaining groups were told not to mark on their study material. Individuals in all conditions were instructed to keep the packet of materials face down until instructed otherwise by the experimenters. All participants were told they would have 7 minutes to study two pages of material. When 7 minutes elapsed, participants were told by the experimenters to stop studying the material and turn to the quiz on the following page. Participants were then told there would be no time constraints on the quiz. They were also instructed to complete the demographic survey and post experiment questionnaire once they finished the quiz. As a deception to hide the true purpose of the experiment, participants were told that there were multiple forms of the quiz and were instructed to turn their packet face down upon completion. Participants were asked to remain seated until all quizzes were completed and then collected by the experimenters. Lastly, participants were debriefed regarding the procedures and hypotheses of the experiment and were then allowed to leave.

### Results

Using SPSS, a one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on the data collected in the 4 x 2 between-subject factorial experiment to determine the effects of paper color and highlighting on academic testing performance. Test performance was measured using a 15 item matching quiz with 30 possible answer choices. While there was a significant interaction between paper color and highlighting technique $F(3,64) = 4.273$, $p= .008$, $\eta2= .167$, it did not support the hypothesis. As depicted in Figure 1, there was no significant interaction between correct highlighting and paper color, as it produced the best test scores for both white paper (M=11.200, SD= 3.259) and green paper (M=10.111, SD=3.100) . There was also no significant interaction between incorrect highlighting on white paper (M= 7.111, SD= 3.018) and incorrect highlighting on green paper (M=7.111, SD=2.571). There were however, significant interactions between active highlighting and paper color, as well as no highlighting and paper color. Active highlighting produced significantly better scores on white paper (M= 10.500, SD= 3.505) than on green paper (M=6.444, SD= 3.940). Conversely, no highlighting produced significantly better scores on green paper (M= 9.000, SD= 2.5490) than on white paper (M=5.778, SD= 1.986).
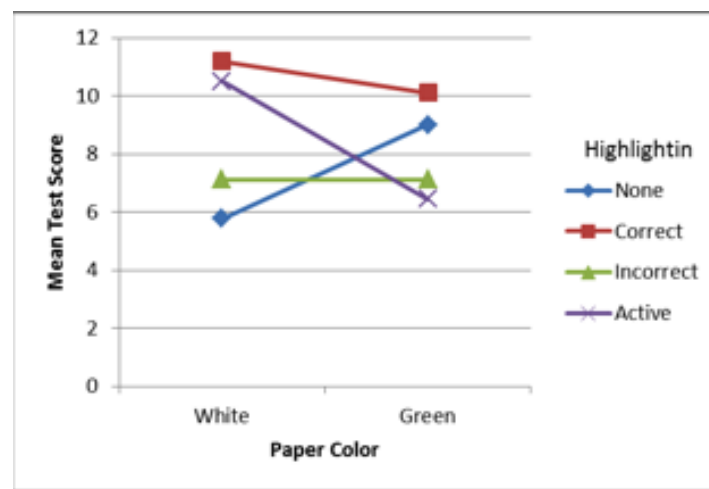


*Figure 1. Highlighting and Paper Color Interactions. Mean test scores for each highlighting condition: correct (n=19), active (n=17), incorrect (n=18), and no highlighting (n=18), with respect to paper color: white paper (n=36) and green paper (n=36).*

The results show no significant main effect for paper color $F(1, 64)= .448$,  $p= .506$, $\eta2= .007$. As depicted in Figure 2, white paper color (M= 8.667, SD=3.680) did not produce significantly higher test scores than green color paper (M= 8.167, SD=3.308). These findings of insignificance did not support the second hypothesis. However, using a Tukey HSD there was found to be significant differences between certain levels of highlighting $F(3, 64)= 5.214$, $p= .003$, $\eta2= .196$. As shown in Figure 2, correct highlighting (M=10.684, SD= 3.145) produced significantly better test scores than no highlighting (M= 7.389, SD=2.768) and incorrect highlighting (M=7.111, SD= 2.720). However, correct highlighting did not produce significantly better test scores than active highlighting (M=8.353, SD= 4.182). While the order of the results were congruent with the first hypothesis, the only statistically significant difference was found between correct highlighting and incorrect highlighting as well as between correct highlighting and no highlighting.
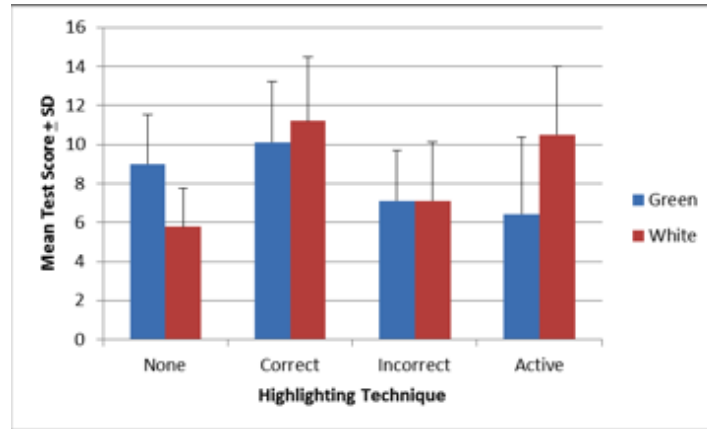
*Figure 2. Mean Test Scores for Highlighting Condition and Paper Color. Subjects who studied correctly highlighted material and were tested on white paper had the highest mean test score (M=11.200, SD= 3.259).*

## Discussion

The interaction found between paper color and highlighting technique has major implications for the effectiveness of academic testing. The results show that different highlighting techniques produced better test results on both of the paper colors tested. Specifically, students who actively highlighted their study material tested better on white paper. In addition, students who received study material with no preexisting highlighting tested better on green paper. Based on these findings it is important for teachers and test makers to inform students of the color of paper on which they are going to be tested. This will allow students to adequately prepare for tests using the corresponding highlighting technique.

The main effect found for highlighting technique is important for pre-highlighted study material. The two most common forms of pre-highlighted study material are used textbooks in which previous students have highlighted and textbooks that have highlighting present from the author. Both forms pose a potential threat to students' test scores if incorrect information is highlighted. In this circumstance, incorrect information is anything that will not be included on a test or quiz. Author highlighting is something that the author and/or publisher deems important to the course. However, the highlighted information may not necessarily be important to the professor teaching the course. In this regard, it is crucial for professors to be mindful of the textbooks they assign to students, knowing that if it contains pre-highlighted material it would be beneficial to students' test scores to include this information on tests and quizzes. Unfortunately, not all professors are going to have this in mind when selecting a course text, so students should study the material in its totality and use their best judgment when studying for tests.

The results contradict the findings of Dunlosky et al. (2013). In the Dunlosky et al. study, researchers found that students who actively highlighted information had better test scores than students whose study material was already highlighted (passive highlighting). In opposition, the present study found that students who studied correctly highlighted material (passive highlighting) performed better on tests than students who actively highlighted their study material. However, the difference seen here was not statistically significant. This could be due to the interaction between highlighting technique and paper color. Specifically, active highlighting produced significantly better test scores on white paper than on green paper whereas correct highlighting was not affected by paper color. Introducing a second independent variable (paper color) caused an interaction that may have caused different results than highlighting techniques tested in isolation.

With future research in mind, it is important to note that this tested individuals on white and green paper in close proximity to each other. As a method of deception, subjects were told that the different paper

colors were different test forms in order to control for cheating. In doing so, we may have confounded our results by inducing test anxiety. Future research could be improved by separating subjects with different color quizzes into separate testing rooms. Further, controlling for cheating may have taken away from the ability of our experiment to be applied to a typical college testing environment. A majority of college classes do not have a way to control for cheating. By introducing this variable into our experiment we may have confounded the validity of our results.

In future research, it would be beneficial to carry out the experiment using other paper colors in addition to white and light green. This could compare the findings of this study to those of Sinclair, Soldat, and Mark (1998) concerning their research on red and blue colored paper. However, comparison is difficult due to technical differences between the studies. Their experiment was conducted to test the effects of two unconventional paper colors (red and blue). The present study examined conventional paper color (white) versus unconventional paper color (green). It would be interesting to see if performance on red and blue paper produces similar results to those found on light green paper as all three colors are unconventional testing methods. It would also be beneficial to use different color highlighters to see if similar results were acquired, or if these results only apply to the testing conditions used. This would identify any interactions between highlighter color and paper color. For instance, present conditions used a yellow highlighter and tested on light green or white paper, while using a similar color for both highlighter and paper could produce better test scores. However, there is no current research on which to base this hypothesis.

Future research would also benefit from testing subjects using different study material such as math, English, and science to see if the results of this study can be generalized across a broader range of academia. The material used in this study was a brief history of an imaginary country, whereas Clary, Elias, and Wandersee (2007) used scientific study material. As previously mentioned, the study material used was fabricated to prevent prior knowledge from confounding the results. The nature of the material itself could have affected test performance. For example, a participant normally may not perform well on reading comprehension tests, but excel in mathematics. In this case the participant may perform better when given math related study material, rather than a historical narrative such as the one used in our study.

In addition, the type of test and method of highlighting may have affected participants' scores. A matching quiz was the most convenient test type as the present study sought to test the effects of highlighting correct terms versus incorrect terms, which were easily identified in the answer choices. However, different forms of testing such as multiple choice, short answer, and essay tests may produce different results than the ones that were obtained. Further, this study chose to highlight single words in the study material. A different method of highlighting, such as the highlighting of key phrases and sentences may prove more beneficial for test types that require a deeper understanding of a topic as opposed to rote memorization.

In future research, it is also advisable to have a wider variety of subjects. Since the participants consisted of primarily psychology and sociology students, it would be beneficial to expand the experiment to subjects from different majors across campus. In order to generalize these results to a greater population of Samford students, test subjects would need to be obtained from various fields of study. In doing so, researchers would hope to gain a better understanding of the true significance of the results found in this study.

# References

Blerkom, D. L., Blerkom, M. L., & Bertsch, S. (2006). Study strategies and generative learning: What works? Journal of College Reading and Learning, 37(1), 7-18.

Clary, R., Elias, J. S., & Wandersee, J. (2007). Does the color-coding of examination versions affect college science students' test performance? Countering claims of bias. Journal of College Science Teaching, 37(1), 40.

Dunlosky, J., Rawson, K. A., Marsh, E. J., Nathan, M. J., & Willingham, D. T. (2013). Improving students' learning with effective learning techniques: Promising directions from cognitive and educational psychology. Psychological Science In The
Public Interest (Sage Publications Inc.), 14(1), 4-58.

Fowler, R. L., & Barker, A. S. (1974). Effectiveness of highlighting for retention of text material. Journal Of Applied Psychology, 59(3), 358-364.

Gier, V. S. (2010). Active reading procedures for moderating the effects of poor highlighting. Reading Psychology, 31(1), 69-81.

Gier, V., Kreiner, D., Hudnell, J., Montoya, J., & Herring, D. (2011). Using an electronic highlighter to eliminate the negative effects of pre-existing, inappropriate highlighting. Journal of College Reading and Learning, 42(2), 37-52.

Michael, W. B., & Jones, R. A. (1955). The influence of color of paper upon scores earned on objective achievement examination. Journal Of Applied Psychology, 39(6), 447-450.

Sinclair, R. C., Soldat, A. s., & Mark, M. M. (1998). Affective cues and processing strategy: Color-coded examination forms influence performance. Teaching Of Psychology, 25(2), 130.

Skinner, N. F. (2004). Differential test performance from differently colored paper: White paper works best. Teaching Of Psychology, 31(2), 111-113.

# Faces of Beauty: Good Housekeeping's Changing Coverage of Health and Beauty, 1930-1979

Bailey Fuqua

### Introduction

The National Eating Disorder Association reports that 20 million women in the United States suffer from a significant eating disorder at some point during their lifetime. The number of women affected such illness has increased since the 1950s, with anorexia in women ages fifteen to nineteen on the rise since the 1930s.[1] Many scholars attribute these startling statistics to the growing influence of media and its infiltration into virtually every aspect of modern culture. From movies and magazines to music videos and high-fashion models, women are constantly exposed to pop culture's "ideal" body image. The pressure to imitate the beautiful, thin, big-breasted movie stars is paramount and contributes to more than 33.3 billion dollars spent annually on cosmetics and other beauty products.[2]

When did this obsession begin? Have women always been fanatical about body image, or was this phenomenon a nasty side effect of modern media starting with TV? Scholars today blame everything from MTV to Facebook for our "body shaming" and beauty-obsessed culture, but what about the generations of women who grew up before the prevalence of television, music videos, movies, and Internet? When magazines were the main source of news and entertainment, did body shaming bombard women? Did early 20th century magazines even address health and beauty in a way, which would lead women to obsess about their body image? Or is more modern media truly to blame for the modern woman's body image fixation? This paper attempts to answer these questions.

1: "Get the Facts on Eating Disorders," National Eating Disorder Association, http://www.nationaleatingdisorders.org/get-facts-eating-disorders (accessed Sept. 26 2013).
2: AnnaMaria Andriotis, "10 Things the Beauty Industry Won't Tell You," The Wall Street Journal, April 20, 2011, http://www.marketwatch.com/story/10-things-the-beauty-industry-wont-tell-you-1303249279432 (accessed Sept. 26 2013).

*Literature Review*

Many scholars have studied body image in women's magazines of the past. For example, researchers Vanessa R. Schick, Brandi N. Rima, and Sarah K. Calabrese studied 647 *Playboy Magazine* centerfolds between 1953 and 2007. The study analyzed the general physical ideals in the centerfold models and concluded that *Playboy* featured a "Barbie doll" ideal in which the women perpetuated the characteristics of narrow hips, large busts, low body mass index, and prepubescent genitalia.[3]

Other scholars, Nana Dawson-Andoh, James J. Gray, Jose A. Soto, and Scott Parker, analyzed the "Beauty of the Week" images in *JET Magazine* from 1953 to 2006 and found the African American models' size and waist-to-hip ratio increased as time progressed. They concluded that this size increase was inconsistent with the Caucasian models' physical characteristics, which have become thinner and less curvy throughout time.[4]

Jane Marcellus examined *Ladies Home Journal* between the world wars in attempt to draw a connection between women's body images and paid employment. She looked at the ads and illustrations in the magazine and determined models of different body types were depicted differently. She concluded that models who were tall and thin signified the modern woman, while shorter and heavier women represented tradition.[5]

Another study by Tamara D. Fangman, Jennifer Paff Ogle, Marianne C. Bickle, and Donna Rouner examined 1920s editorials and advertisements in *Ladies Home Journal* and *Vogue* to see if the publications promoted a thin ideal in women. They found three overarching rhetorical themes in the magazines, which explored female weight management. They concluded that the two magazines possessed rhetorical ideas both visually and textually which promoted weight management in women.[6]

Furthermore, Joanne Meyerowitz examined multiple "girlie magazines" such as *Negro Digest* and *Playboy Magazine* and found a commodification of sexual representations of women beginning after the Civil War. She concluded that by the 20th century, the commercial use of women had become a mundane form of popular culture until the debate over pornography arose in the 1980s.[7]

These studies shed light on women's body image in magazines throughout history. No study, however, has looked at one popular women's magazine for several decades to see changes in how it addressed body image and the obsession with health and beauty across time. This paper will examine that topic.

---

3: Vanessa R. Rima, Brandi K. Rima, Sarah K. Calabrese, "Evolution: The Portrayal of Women's External Genitalia and Physique across Time and the Current Barbie Doll Ideals." *Journal of Sex Research,* 28 (Jan/Feb 2011): 74-81.

4: Nana A. Dawson-Andoh, James J. Gray, Jose A. Soto, Scott Parker, "Body Shape and Size Depictions of African American Women in JET Magazine, 1953-2006," *Body Image* 8 (Jan 2011): 86-89.

5: Jane Marcellus, "Modern or Mom?: Body Typing and Employed Women Between the World Wars," *Women's Studies* 34 (Oct/Nov 2005):551-573.

6: Tama D. Fangman, Jennifer Paff Ogle, Marianne C. Bickle, Donna Rouner, "Promoting Female Weight Management in 1920s Print Media: An Analysis of Ladies' Home Journal and Vogue Magazines," *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal* 32 (Mar 2004): 213-253.

7: Joanne Meyerowitz, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material: Responses to Girlie Pictures in the Mid-Twentieth-Century U.S." Journal of Women's History; (Fall 1996): Vol. 8 Issue 3, p9.

*Methodology*

This paper analyzed the prevalence of health- and beauty-related material in *Good Housekeeping* throughout five decades to see how women's generational obsession with body image changed in the magazine over time. Articles and advertisements from July (approximately 10 years) 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1979 were studied.[8] These five issues represented an era of magazine influence before the prevalence of television in 1930 and 1940, during the development of television in 1950 and 1960, and after television became a widespread phenomenon in 1970 and arguably replaced magazines as a primary driver of body image. The broad umbrella category "health and beauty" included any articles mentioning exercise, diets, healthy foods, ads for beauty products, cosmetics, special procedures, figure-altering surgeries, etc. Articles about womanly figures, how to maintain a youthful appearance, or body image were also considered under this category. Articles specifically about fashion were not counted. However, fashion articles mentioning an ideal figure were noted. Photos and illustrations of women were also analyzed to see changes in how women were depicted in *Good Housekeeping* throughout the decades.

After the magazines were analyzed, they were compared to one another to note changes across time. While *Good Housekeeping* can by no means make a blanket statement about 20th century magazines and body image, it can shed light on the changing views of women's body image in the 20th century.

*July 1930*

Published only months after the start of America's worst economic depression, the July 1930 issue of Good Housekeeping maintained normalcy within its whimsical, idealist pages. When it came to health and beauty, the theme of practicality screamed from the content of both the articles and advertisements, representing both the priority of 1930s women and the socioeconomic climate of the time. While the magazine's general content appeared to be unaffected by the ongoing economic turmoil, the articles and advertisements pertaining to health and beauty reflected a more natural and conservative focus.

The health articles in the July 1930 issue focused primarily on the family and the ways to keep the household healthy and happy. One article gave tips to alleviate a child's growing pains. It said, "Foot exercises, combined with the correct use of the body and foot in walking and standing, and a shoe which really fits and allows for good foot action are essential….Ask your physician to look most carefully at your child's bare foot; to watch him run, stand, walk, and note the weight-bearing possibilities; then to help strengthen the arches if they are found to be relaxed.[9] Another article discussed the nutritional value of nuts. The article said, "To most of us protein means meat, eggs, cereals, or beans. Look at the nuts as a protein source compared with steak, eggs, and oatmeal." [10] Clearly, the focus of these articles was on the household at large, not specifically on the female readers.

In contrast to modern-day magazines, there was no correlation between health and women's body image. There were no articles on a woman's need for dieting, exercise, or supplementing a meal with vitamins. Based on the content in the 1930 issue, it can be inferred that the housewife's duty was to prioritize her family's health over her own.

Although the 1930s issue of *Good Housekeeping* only highlighted health pertaining to the household, the plethora of beauty-related articles and advertisements showed women were concerned about hygiene

---

8: Tama D. Fangman, Jennifer Paff Ogle, Marianne C. Bickle, Donna Rouner, "Promoting Female Weight Management in 1920s Print Media: An Analysis of Ladies' Home Journal and Vogue Magazines," *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal* 32 (Mar 2004): 213-253.
9: Josephine Hemenway Kenyon, "Growing Pains: A service for mothers of young babies", *Good Housekeeping* (July 1930): 119
10: Walter H. Eddy, "Are Nuts Food? A highly important question is asked and answered" *Good Housekeeping* (July 1930): 106

and skin as the most critical points of beauty. Makeup had little mention, perhaps because pricey products were financially out of reach during an economic downturn. However, the magazine had much to say about how an ideal woman looked and smelled.

Out of the twenty-three health and beauty-related advertisements, the vast majority focused on hygiene products such as mouthwash, toothpaste, deodorants, skin creams, soaps, and feminine hygiene products. Body odor was of great concern, for multiple advertisements warned of the unwarranted effects bad breath and body odor could have on one's social life. For example, the Kolynos Dental Cream advertisement grabbed the readers' attention through a large illustration of a man and a woman in an intimate embrace. The woman longingly looked up towards the man, in obvious anticipation of a kiss, but was prevented from getting one by a white cloth tied around her mouth. The caption above the couple read, "Will he kiss her? NO!" and went on below the illustration to say, "Germs sweep into the mouth with every breath and cause offensive Bacterial-Mouth---ugly yellow teeth, stain, decay and sore, spongy gums. You can't hide it from others but you can remove it---with Kolynos. It kills the germs." [11] The illustrated woman was so embarrassed by her poor dental hygiene, yellow teeth, and apparent bad breath that she felt the need to hide her mouth from her lover. The lover's reaction, as indicated by the caption, was clear disgust and rejection. To all of the women reading the ad, the fear of falling into a similar situation with a boyfriend or husband was probably motivation enough to purchase the dental cream. A similar ad for Listerine mouthwash went one step further to completely deem bad breath as a "social fault." The ad read, "Not one out of ten escapes this social fault: Can you be sure that you never have halitosis (unpleasant breath)? Are you certain at this very moment that you are free of it? The insidious thing about this unforgivable social fault is that you, yourself, never know when you have it; the victim simply cannot detect it." This full-page ad was complemented by an illustration of two young boys in the midst of an intense fistfight. On the fence behind the brawling boys was graffiti, which reads, "Jimmy's dad has Halitosis." [12] Jimmy was obviously fighting for his father's honor. This advertisement, blatantly calling halitosis "unforgivable," transformed bad breath into "fighting words."

The need for small pores, soft skin, and a bright complexion were utilized by the advertisements for facial soaps in July 1930, and the fear of offensive body odor aided in the ads for deodorants. These advertisements pinpointed a woman's fear of having an offensive body and exploited it for their campaigns.

While *Good Housekeeping's* advertisements focused primarily on hygiene, the few beauty-related articles in July 1930 switched the focus to hair and skin care. These tips and tricks exposed a slightly more vain aspect of Good Housekeeping readers. One article titled "Health and Beauty: Faces Like Flowers" confirmed the cultural need for young, smooth skin. The introduction to the article read:

> It would be nice if we all had faces like flowers - faces that could smile all day in the sun and still look fresh and sweet and cool. There is nothing that gives a woman an inferiority complex so promptly as the suspicion that distended pores are making a pin-prick pattern on her perspiring nose and cheeks, and likewise there is nothing that makes her feel quite so equal to the occasion as the knowledge that she looks delicately cool and powdered when everyone else is red and shining.

Clearly, the appearance of one's skin was of great concern for women in the 1930s. The article went further to mention the need to bleach the skin, specifically freckles, in order to have a femininely white complexion. The article said, "This summer we are asked to look sun-kissed and healthy, but fair and feminine...A mild tan is becoming in summer. In fall, when dark clothes again demand the contrast of a white skin, you can begin using a bleach." [13] It is interesting to note the lack of mention of any form of cosmetic. For these women, beauty wasn't about covering the skin with foundations and powders; it was making the face appear natural without the cosmetics. Perhaps this push for a more natural definition of beauty

---

11: Kolynos Dental Cream, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1930): 220
12: Listerine Mouthwash, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping,* (July 1930): 113
13: Ruth Murrin, "Health and Beauty: Faces Like Flower," *Good Housekeeping,* (July 1930): 105

resulted from limited Depression-era incomes and tight purse strings. All in all, facial soaps, deodorants, and mouthwashes were the must-have beauty products of the 1930s.

This natural face of beauty in the July 1930 issue of *Good Housekeeping* was demonstrated through both the models found throughout the mix of illustrations and pictures, as well as the socialites and actresses endorsing certain products. The illustrated models, used primarily in fashion-related articles, were tall and lean, but not overly thin, and each featured a short, bob-style haircut. The models depicted in the photographs appeared relatable to the average women, being of average height, weight, and overall appearance. There were no "high-fashion" emaciated or androgynous models; overall, they appeared to represent the average woman. In addition to the relatable models, another interesting aspect of the magazine was the celebrities deemed to be the "faces of beauty." Multiple articles and advertisements used endorsements from socialites or actresses to promote their products, confirming that even before the prevalence of television and movies, society found such figures to be their examples of beauty ideals. One ad used Miss Elizabeth Altemus, a well-known socialite, to endorse a facial soap. The ad said, "Yet this classic beauty is a debonair young modern, Miss Elizabeth Altemus of an old Philadelphia family prominent since before the Revolution...an expert horsewoman and dashing gentlewoman jockey who rides her colors, purple and fuchsia, in many hard-won race." The ad went further to describe Altemus as a "classic beauty, reflected in a modern mirror...a flawless profile, the perfect oval of a face that Phidias might have chiseled in an Athenian frieze...the silky chestnut hair is parted in the Grecian manner, the firm young skin is fine and lustrous as Attic marble." [14] It was interesting that the face of beauty in this advertisement was a socialite, a woman of admirable wealth and beauty. Perhaps if *Good Housekeeping* readers could not attain wealth in the current economic turmoil, they could aspire to attain beauty.

Another ad utilized the newfound popularity of Hollywood to sell soap. The body copy read:

> The Most Critical Eyes Admire their Lovely Skin: 98% of the Lovely Complexions you see on the Screen are cared for with Lux Toilet Soap… "Smooth skin is always in irresistible attraction," says Allan Dwan, prominent Fox director. The exquisite kind of skin which can pass the "close-up" test is essential to the screen star's success. And no make-up can fake it. Of the 521 important actresses in Hollywood, including all stars, 511 care for their skin with Lux Toilet Soap. And this white, daintily fragrant soap has been made official for dressing rooms by all the great film studios. The Broadway stage stars, too, have long been using Lux Toilet Soap - and the foreign screen stars! [15]

Making the new Hollywood screen actresses the faces of beauty for Lux gave women in the 1930s a face to compare themselves with - an easily seen face on screen. It was interesting that soap was touted as better than make-up, when in fact actresses used make-up heavily. The make-up versus soap argument was made with *Good Housekeeping* readers in mind. While the budget for Depression-era readers might exclude make-up, soap was a necessity. As seen in this advertisement, here was a soap that was better and made you more beautiful than makeup.

One other ad in the magazine used stage actresses as the faces of beauty for face creams and lotions. The article said:

> Daggett and Ramsdell's Perfect Cold Cream has been used for forty years by famous stage stars. The constant application of grease-paint and make-up necessitated by their profession, makes the use of a pure emollient afterwards an absolute essential to keep the skin fresh and fair and free from clogging. Actresses are notable for their lovely skins..constant care with fine, pure products does it...will do it for you, too.[16]

The face of beauty for this advertisement was Clairborne Foster, a well-known Broadway actress in "The

14: Pond's Cold Cream, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping,* (July 1930): 109
15: Lux Toilet Soap, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1930) 201
16: Daggett & Ramsdell Lotion, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1930): 135

Patsy," and "Other Men's Wives." Clearly, women in the public eye had been singled out as role models by the beauty industry. Advertisers were, frankly, hoping every *Good Housekeeping* reader would strive to emulate the wealthy and famous by at least maintaining clear skin by using soaps and lotions to do it. Good skin care was the foundation of beauty in July 1930.

### July 1940

A decade later, *Good Housekeeping* Magazine continued to highlight similar topics relating to health and beauty as were found in the 1930 issue. Many ads still featured personal hygiene products such as toothpaste, deodorants, soap, and mouthwash; however, there was a noticeable change in the marketing tactics. Instead of scaring women into purchasing these products by illustrating a man's rejection to bad breath or articulating the social faults of body odor, these ads idealized a woman's life without these concerns. The first page of the 1940 issue displayed an ad for Mum deodorant. The ad read, "At the end of a wonderful evening he hates to say 'good night' - for Mum's sure care always keeps you fresh and sweet! Smart girls - popular girls - say no charm counts more than perfect daintiness. And for daily underarm care, they rely on Mum." Three pictures appeared above the body copy. The first photo featured a beautiful woman standing in the shower applying the Mum underarm cream. The next picture showed her dancing the night away with a handsome gentleman, free of concern about her body odor. The last was a smaller picture of the laughing couple, full of glee after a night of fun. Implied by the man's sultry smile and close embrace, he certainly did not wish to say goodnight.[17] Although subtle, a sexual undertone was certainly present. This advertisement was one of the first with a hint of the risqué. Instead of making women scared about the consequences of body odor, this article allowed them to daydream about the positive attention they could receive from men if they used the product.

Confidence instead of fear was the tactic used in these 1940s ads. This campaign was also obvious in an ad for Pepsodent Antiseptic. The title read, "Now I've got 3 times the Confidence in my Man-Power." The ad then proceeded to articular one woman's newfound confidence around men because she began using the mouthwash. According to the ad, a woman should always feel confident her breath would be fresh just in case she interacted with a man.[18]

A similar marketing tactic was used in an ad for Squibb Dental Cream. A radiantly beautiful young woman was shown lounging on a luxurious cloud in the sky. Smiling up at the camera, the woman displayed both confidence and poise. The title read, "A mouth as fresh as the morning….Cool as the seabreeze - clean as all outdoors - that's the way your mouth can feel." [19] Similar to the Mum Deodorant ad, this ad radiated confidence in one's body instead of fear of rejection. The tactic had clearly shifted from fear of rejection in 1930 to self-confidence in 1940. Thus, the user of health and beauty products, as depicted in Good Housekeeping, had gone from scared and submissive to feeling in charge and confident.

Some ads in the July 1940 issue of Good Housekeeping did address women as victims of poor hygiene, but the ads were noticeably less dire than in 1930. An ad for Lifebuoy Health Soap was presented in the form of a comic strip and told the story of Helen, a woman who suffered from body odor and was almost fired from her job. The title read, "Hot...Nervous...Tense - Helen had B.O. (Body Odor) And Didn't Know It!" [20] As a cartoon, the ad was less abrasive in how it addressed the importance of hygiene. Another such ad, for Listerine, showed a dazzling model staring off into the distance and read:

> What every woman knows and has known since the beginning of time…that probably nothing so quickly cancels a woman's charm as a case of halitosis (bad breath). When it is present, love may fly out the window and even friendships chill. Against this all too common type of offense, there is fortunately an easy and delightful precaution which so many popular women, alluring women, have come to rely upon...Listerine Antiseptic used as a mouth rinse and gargle, night and morning, between times and before social engagements. [21]

17: Mum Deodorant, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1940): 1
18: Pepsodent Antiseptic, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1940): 149
19: Squibb Dental Cream, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1940): 80
20: Lifebuoy Health Soap, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping,* (July 1940): 117
21: Listerine Mouthwash, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1940): 3

Although the ad was marketing Listerine mouthwash, a dental hygiene product, a radiantly happy, doll-faced, porcelain-skinned model covered three-fourths of the page. Whereas 1930s models were afraid of rejection because of halitosis, this model touted an "easy" and even "delightful" way to be confident in having good breath. While 1940s readers saw models who were confident and happy, there was a shift toward health and makeup as components of beauty, something 1930's *Good Housekeeping* readers had not worried about. For example, an ad for Fleischmann's Yeast cakes read:

> "Grade B health - great enemy of a woman's looks" - declares celebrated beauty specialist. Helena Rubinstein says: "Health is the basis of beauty. Improper skin care, faulty diet, lack of exercise can result in what may be termed Grade B Health - can spoil a woman's beauty and charm, drain her skin of color, give her tired, dull-looking eyes, giver her an old woman's posture. To every woman who wants to keep youth and good looks, I would say - Fight Grade B health."

The ad explained that Fleischmann's Yeast Cakes will "increase the activity of sluggish intestines" and "restore nerves exhausted by lack of vitamin B1." The ad went further to claim that eating two cakes a day can "help win charm and happiness." [22] Unlike ads from the 1930 issue, the Fleischmann ad blatantly related a woman's beauty to her health. In the July 1930 issue, a woman was a beauty simply if she had soft skin, small pores, and fresh breath. There was no mention of beauty outside that of the physical appearance. This ad however, broke those molds and correlated a woman's beauty not only to her outward appearance, but also to her health.

In distinct contrast to the 1930 issue, the 1940 edition also featured cosmetic advertisements. Although there were only two make-up ads, this change was significant in revealing society's altering priorities and definition of beauty after the Depression era. No longer was beauty solely about natural skin, for the magazine now suggested the need for cosmetic assistance in achieving the ideal beauty.

One such advertisement was for Peggy Sage nail polish. Similar to 1930 hygiene product advertisements, this ad marketed the potential for romance and love by using the slogan, "Romance Ahead With Nails in Peggy Sage's Escape Trio." [23] The escape trio consisted of three polishes, Whimsy, Hot Pink, and Spring Fever. The ad implied men would find painted nails attractive and romantic. Similarly, an ad for Lady Esther Face Powder also advertised the need for makeup in order to appear attractive to men. The ad read, "The Summer Sun has changed your skin - why not change the shade of your Face Powder? Slowly, subtly - the sun had deepened the tons of your skin. Don't risk spoiling these richer skin tones with a too light shade of powder! Change to a warmer, deeper shade - a shade that will harmonize with your skin tones as they are now!" Three pictures of a beautiful, flirty woman accompanied the body copy. The main picture featured a woman gleefully giggling while a gentleman whispered in her ear. Her devilish grin revealed her admirer wasn't afraid to get close to her, because clearly he found her face unspoiled by poorly matched face powder. In another picture, the confident woman was admiring herself in a mirror, and in the final scene she and the man were still flirting and giggling together.[24] Obviously the woman's skin, made beautiful by the Lady Esther Face Powder, made her attractive to the man and was a testament to the necessity of cosmetics.

In contrast to the 1930 issue, the 1940 issue featured more health- and beauty-related articles and more articles focused specifically on the individual woman rather than the family. 1930's health articles had focused entirely on how readers could keep the family healthy while 1940 addressed the individual reader's health. Although the 1940's issue featured articles such as "How to Care for An Invalid," which offered advice on proper social conduct, and "That Pain in the Pit of Your Stomach," about what doctors want the public to know about appendicitis, the July 1940 edition saw the emergence of "The Beauty Clinic" section

---

22: Fleischmann's Yeast Cakes, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1940): 157
23: Peggy Sage Nail Polish, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1940): 119
24: Lady Esther Face Powder, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1940): 120

focused entirely on beauty-related articles. Articles such as "You're Wrong" and "Swim and Keep Your Curls" stifled common misconceptions about beauty and gave tips to help readers achieve ideal hair and skin. Topic titles such as "You're wrong if you think shaving makes hair grow thicker and coarser," "You're wrong if you believe your hair will grow thicker if you go hatless in the sun," and "You're wrong if you fear that creams and oils will make hair grow on your face" [25] were representative of the beauty topics covered within this article. Clearly, nice-looking skin was still a priority ten years after it was all encompassing in 1930. This time however, advice involved unwanted hair (or wanted hair on the head). The advice suggested hair anywhere but the head was a beauty faux pas and that getting tanned or burned skin in the pursuit of more hair was equally as bad. Furthermore, hairless, porcelain skin was still a key to beauty. However the worries associated with beautiful skin had changed, since the focus changed to taming hair on the body.

An article advising women on how to swim and still keep their curls intact said, "To be a really enchanting mermaid, you should have the kind of hair that looks pretty - wet or dry.[26] The article suggested wearing a bathing cap designed especially to keep out water, or if that didn't work, to wear two caps. Clearly, women were becoming more concerned with their appearance and were seeking advice on how to achieve Good Housekeeping's ideal standard of beauty.

One article specifically represented the progressive change by satirically articulating the frustration many women developed over partaking in multiple daily exercises to promote their personal health. In an article titled "Those Simple Little Exercises," a female speaker said:

> How could I, I pondered, work in these latest exercises? By getting up at six-thirty instead of seven? That would allow ten minutes for the hair brushing, another ten for the metatarsals, five for the gums, and on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, I'd need another ten minutes for the scalp massage. Let's see now, Maybe it would be better to put dinner back an hour and do my exercises and do my exercises in the afternoon? Or maybe, maybe - ah there, Satan - I could just forget the whole blooming business? [27]

While satirical in nature, this article probably showed that exercise was now front and center as a task that was supposed to get done in a women's day. The 1930s issue hadn't mentioned exercise at all, but by 1940 women apparently felt they should do a certain number of exercises per day and reflected the pressure many women felt when attempting to balance chores, raising the family, running the household, and finding time to commit to a personal exercise.

Another article titled "How to Walk" further highlighted the individual focus of health and beauty in the July 1940 edition. The article presented tips on how to gracefully walk like a lady and inferred that in order for a woman to truly encompass beauty, she must have a proper walk. The article read, "Just watch a stream of people on a busy street. Some waddle like ducks. Some puff out their fronts like penguins. Some hump like camels. Some stretch their necks like angry geese. Some shuffle, and some pound pavement. But only now and then do you see a woman who truly walks in beauty." According to the author, a beautiful woman was one who had a poised and graceful walk. The article advised, "Learn a long, easy, straightforward stride. Avoid both the mincing, short step and the shuffle of weary defeat…. Don't turn your toes out. It's ugly; it encourages thick ankles and painful feet; and if you continue doing it, you can't keep your good figure…Legs far apart - this is the double-track walk. It results in a waddle, makes you look old and clumsy, and soon brings on a thick middle section." [28] This article articulated women's desire to appear graceful and ladylike.

The magazine's faces of beauty also transformed in the July 1940 issue of Good Housekeeping. While socialites and stage actresses endorsed products a decade earlier, Hollywood was the new face of beauty in

---

25: Ruth Murrin, "You're Wrong" *Good Housekeeping,* (July 1940): 127
26: Ruth Murrin, "Swim and Keep Your Curls" *Good Housekeeping* (July 1940): 130
27: "Those Simple Little Exercises," *Good Housekeeping* (July 1940): 86
28: "How to Walk" Good Housekeeping (July 1940): 129

the 1940 issue. For example, Hedy Lamarr, Hollywood's number one glamour girl, was the face for Woodbury Cold Cream. The ad read, "In Hollywood they expect stars to be beautiful, but spare them little time for their complexion. A friend advised Hedy, 'Always at bedtime, take a Beauty Night-cap with Woodbury Cold Cream.'" [29] Another ad for Lux Toilet Soap featured Claudette Colbert, a paramount Hollywood star. The ad read, "Take Hollywood's tip - try Active Lather Facials for 30 days…You want skin that's lovely to look at - and touch. Don't risk unattractive Cosmetic Skin: little blemishes, coarsened pores. Use cosmetics all you like, but take regular Active-Lather Facials with Lux Toilet Soap….9 out of 10 Hollywood Screen Stars use Lux Toilet Soap." [30] Clearly, Lux used the fame of Claudette Colbert and other Hollywood screen stars to sell the facial soap. The ad also demonstrated the still-present desire for good hygiene, small pores, and soft skin.

In addition to using celebrities to sell products, there also emerged the use of peer endorsements in the 1940 issue. An ad for Avon makeup read:

> Loveliest of brides…modestly blushing as eyes feast on her beauty. Wisest of women, too…for she knows the secret of keeping her own particular beauty always at its best. In this she is not alone because for over 50 years discriminating women have found there is a convenient method of securing beauty aid in Avon's personalized way to individual loveliness. [31]

According to the ad, only the loveliest brides used Avon. For the average woman, the beauty of a bride probably seemed more attainable than the beauty of a Hollywood actress, therefore making the product more attractive to *Good Housekeeping* readers.

Another ad for Camay soap read, "Camay: The soap for beautiful women. Lovely women welcome this great new improvement in beauty soap.[32] Through its milder, "more abundant lather," and long-lasting fragrance, Camay suggested that only beautiful and lovely women would appreciate the improvements and therefore use the product. Women, striving to be deemed beautiful and lovely, would therefore choose to purchase the Camay soap.

Compared to the models in the 1930 issue of *Good Housekeeping*, the models in the 1940 issue appeared less natural and more glamorous with obvious makeup and curled hair. Their body compositions were normal in appearance and the pictured women were tall and thin, but not grotesquely skinny. The illustrated models had smaller waists than the models in 1930 and long, lean legs. Bright red lips and rosy cheeks were painted on every colored photo, representing the new trend in cosmetic beauty.

### July 1950

The July 1950 issue of Good Housekeeping seemed to show women as stepping backwards in some cases, to the fear of male displeasure shown in 1930. However, the 1940 take-charge attitude was still present. Utilizing tactics from both 1930 and 1940 ads, the beauty-related ads in the 1950 edition used both fear of rejection as well as aspirations of romance to lure readers. For example, an ad for Listerine Antiseptic titled "Three is Company…Four's a Nuisance" utilized women's fear of rejection to sell the mouthwash. The ad read:

> The moonlight…the whisper of the sea…the fire's after-glow…and the new man in your life, yours for the evening! Could there be any more romantic set-up? Yet Lily had been having a rough time of it from the start. Everybody…Bill in particular…seemed to be politely trying to avoid her. It was a case of three being company and four a nuisance - and she was a nuisance! The reason for this neglect she would be the last to suspect. It can happen to any girl - even you - but quick! And without your

---

29: Woodbury Cold Cream, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1940): 63
30: Lux Toilet Soap, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1940): 67
31: Avon Cosmetics, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping,* (July 1940): 185
32: Camay Soap, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1940): 79

knowing why….To be extra-attractive be extra-careful. [33]

Lily, a victim of halitosis, was ostracized from the group and was being ignored by Bill, her romantic interest. Similar to the advertisements in the 1930 issue, this Listerine ad implied that bad breath was a relationship-ending social fault and clearly played on the fear that men might reject *Good Housekeeping* readers on the basis of bad breath and romance would wither. The ad was a throwback to the previously mentioned 1930s ad for Kolynos Dental Cream in which the man rejected the woman's kiss because of her foul breath and yellow teeth.

On the other hand, Camay Soap utilized tactics similar to the 1940 issue and allowed women to day-dream about the possible romance, which could ensue from being beautiful and attractive to men. The ad read, "Claim new beauty for your own with your *first cake* of Camay…When your skin is soft and smooth, romance is at your beck and call!" [34] While Listerine touted on fear and social embarrassment, Camay offered instant gratification - romance at the user's beck and call. The Camay user was in charge of her romance, unlike the Listerine user.

Similar to the 1930 and the 1940 issues, the 1950 edition of *Good Housekeeping* featured advertisements about deodorants, soaps, mouthwashes, shampoos, and feminine hygiene products. However, this was the first issue in the study, which had ads for perfumes and toilet waters. These ads complemented the 1930 idea of beauty as being defined by good hygiene. One ad in the issue featured Bouquet Lentheric's day-time fragrance and another for Shulton's Desert Flower Toilet Water. The emergence of advertisements for fragrances suggested women were still concerned with smelling good, but now wished to do more than simply mask their body odor with deodorants.

While the July 1950 issue had ordinary health-related articles such as "Birthmarks," "Keep Up With Medicine," and "Heat Stroke and Heat Exhaustion," this edition was the first in the study to feature articles pertaining specifically to body image. An article titled, "The Beauty Clinic: Have Shapelier Legs," dealt specifically with women's body shape and image. The article read, "What would you give to have good-looking legs - slim, shapely, and firm from hip to toe? Have you the self-control to diet, the energy to exercise, the will to practice good posture, the wit to cover faults that can't be corrected? If you would like to know more, here is a little chart that shows you how to solve your leg problems." The article continued with a list of varying leg types and the ways of getting each into better shape. Categories such as, "Too Fat," "Heavy and Muscular," "Too Thin," "Hollow Thighs," "Flabby Thighs," "Knock-Knees," "Fat Knees," "Thick Ankles" were followed by pieces of advice as simple as, "Don't eat so much…Don't sit with crossed legs…Don't ride when you can walk, sit when you can stand," and various other leg exercises.[35] This article was insightful into the transforming mindset of women and their emerging concern with body shape and health. With the emergence of advertisements for make-up and articles about body shape, it was apparent women in the 1950s were beginning to concern themselves with their image and their personal beauty in a way *Good Housekeeping* reader's in 1930 and 1940 did not.

Another shift in the magazine was seen in the models used in the 1950 issue. Previously, the illustrated models were tall and lean, but not overly skinny. However, the 1950 issue depicted the illustrated models in the fashion section with unnaturally skinny waists, some almost as small as their necks. While these illustrations were drawn by artists, the trend paralleled the emerging focus on body shape found in the previously discussed article, "The Beauty Clinic: Have Shapelier Legs." In contrast to the unrealistically thin illustrated models, the pictured models found in articles and advertisements were of normal or heavier weight. In one advertisement for sunscreen, the model was curvy and resembled a body shape similar to that of Marilyn Monroe. This obvious body image contrast was interesting in light of the emerging beauty-related ads and articles found in the July 1950 issue. *Good Housekeeping* obviously seemed conflicted between idealized shapes and realistic possibilities.

---

33: Listerine Mouthwash, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1950): 3
34: Camay Soap, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1950): 1
35: "Beauty Clinic: Have Shapelier Legs" *Good Housekeeping,* (July 1950): 191

While it might be expected that the endorsements in the 1950 edition would feature famous Hollywood film stars, it was interesting to find the only endorsement in this issue came from a socialite. This advertisement was similar to the endorsements in the July 1930 issue which featured stage actresses and the social elite. The advertisement for Pond's Cold Cream read:

> The Marchioness of Milford Haven: Beautiful American Bride of the Great-Great Grandson of Queen Victoria...Lady Milford Haven's lovely face singles her out wherever you see her. It is a charming recorder of her fascinating self - perfectly in tune with her inner composure, her exquisite taste, her intense glamour. Every woman's face should give a lovely preview of herself to others. For your face is the you that others see first, and remember best. Make sure, then, the messages it sends of you are stirring, happy, charming - a You that everyone loves to see!...Nothing so poisons charm as the negative picture so many woman have of themselves. Yet - you can be lovelier. Within you a wonderful power can help you discover a new you. It grows from the interaction of your Outer Self and Inner Self- the way you look, the way you feel.[36]

It was fascinating that readers of Good Housekeeping were urged to compare themselves to the wealthy and titled English woman about to marry into the British royal family. An unattainable celebrity had replaced the peer bride of 1940. Furthermore, the ad then suggested that self-doubt about one's own beauty was a beauty-killer. Yet, the articles in the same issue had done their best to sow the seeds of self-doubt, asking readers to worry about their body shape. The 1950 issue presented a conflict for Good Housekeeping readers; they should have the radiant self-confidence of the 1940s, but they should fear rejection as in the 1930s. The 1950s decade, however, could be rejected for things that couldn't be fixed by simply using mouthwashes or deodorants for cosmetics had become vital to attaining beauty. Furthermore, it was important to note the political and social climate of the time. Men had recently returned home from war and women were perhaps again plagued with the concern of pleasing their husbands, which was not present during wartime.

### July 1960

By 1960, the average American household spent at least five hours a day watching television, and that number was quickly on the rise.[37] Television was easily the biggest mass media medium, and movie attendance was at its peak. Around the world, people were influenced by what they saw on the big screen, and that influence was clearly reflected in the July 1960 issue of *Good Housekeeping*. Body image-related articles and advertisements were the norm, and beauty became defined by body shape, makeup, and hair color. While women were mainly concerned with hygiene in the July 1930 and 1940 issues, physical appearance was now the paramount focus. Unlike the 1930 issue where the prominently advertised products were deodorants, soaps, and lotions, in 1960, cosmetics, perfumes, and hair coloring treatments stole the show. Clearly beauty was no longer defined by natural skin and fresh breath, but was transforming to reflect Hollywood's glamorous lifestyle.

The July 1960 issue of Good Housekeeping saw a rise in cosmetic advertisements. Previous issues in the study only had one or two ads for face powders; however, this issue featured a full page ad for both Avon Cosmetics and Cutex Lipstick, demonstrating the revolutionizing definition of beauty. The Cutex ad read:

Chic-er by the dozen...A smart girl can't have too many Cutex lipsticks. Because it takes a heap of lipstick hues to make a fashion wardrobe! Wear beige...and your lips cry out for a zingy color like "Hot Strawberry." Wear the new winey reds and you simply must have Cutex "Clear Red." Don the new blues and you'll want "Pink from Paris." A new green and you'll need "Coral Ice." Before long, you'll own all the fashion-fresh Cutex colors! [38]

---

36: Pond's Cold Cream, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping,* (July 1950): 43
37: Encyclopædia Britannica Online, s. v. "Television in the United States," accessed December
04, 2013, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1513870/television-in-the-United-States.
38: Cutex Lipstick, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1960): 33

The ad featured a large picture of a beautiful blond bombshell peaking out from behind a fan of lipsticks. Playful and flirty, this model was inviting the readers to indulge themselves in the color of Cutex lipsticks. Unlike other ads, there was no sense that the make-up was necessary for potential romance or necessary to impress a lover. Instead, the ad catered to women's personal enjoyment and individuality. This individual focus might have been a precursor to Second Wave feminism, which began to gather steam in 1963.[39] This ad implied that like fashion, lipsticks should reflect a woman's personality. Treating make-up as a necessary fashion accessory, this ad reflected the rising importance of cosmetics and beauty in 1960.

The 1960 issue also featured multiple ads for hair coloring treatments. No previously analyzed editions of *Good Housekeeping* mentioned hair dyes and therefore conformed to the 1930s and 1940s idea of natural beauty. However, as women became more conscious of creating their own image, the need to hide gray or dull hair became paramount. In an ad for Miss Clairol Hair Color Bath, a young mother looked wistfully to her right as a small child hung from her shoulders. The mother's hair was gently blowing in the breeze, glowing in the sun, and, surprisingly enough, happened to be the same color as her child's. The ad read, "Does she...or doesn't she? Hair color so natural only her hairdresser knows for sure! She has style - a kind of casual elegance that's a delight to all who know her. Yet much of her fresh good looks is in the fresh sparkling tone of her hair, its shining quality and soft, silky touch….and Miss Carol really covers gray.[40] It was interesting to note that while women were concerned with covering their gray hair, there was still a longing to look natural. The ad implied that all women, even those as young as the model in the ad, should strive for beautiful and glowing hair. The emerging cosmetic and hair dye advertisements reflected the desire to look young for as long as possible.

In an interesting parallel to the Clairol Hair Color Bath advertisement was the ad for Come Alive Gray. The half-page ad featured a gleeful older woman holding a small dog and smiling into the camera. She was obviously wealthy, as she was wearing a nice sweater and jewelry. The ad read, "My hair's gray - Now, I love it that way! There's a bright holiday ahead for even the dullest gray hair with Come Alive Gray, Clairol's new miracle rinse!...To add youthful radiance, banish unsightly yellow- without purple or blue.[41] Targeting older women whose age prevented them from dying their hair unnatural colors, this product taught them to worry that their natural gray hair wasn't bright enough, while also giving them the self-confidence to love their gray hair. In the previous editions, there were no ads or articles targeting older women. The change perhaps indicated that younger women were more reluctant to subscribe to a housekeeping magazine, perhaps further reflecting the coming wave of feminism.

In concurrence with the emerging individual approach to advertising found in the 1940 issue, an ad for Tampax Tampons focused on the needs of the individual and independent woman. The ad read, "You feel this cool, this clean, this fresh when you use Tampax...Tampax helps you forget about differences in days of the month. For nothing can show, no one can know. Millions chose it. Worn internally, it's the modern way! Tampax. So much a part of your active life.[42] While this sing-songy ad encouraged women to purchase Tampax simply for their personal comfort and happiness, feminine hygiene ads in 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, focused on the medical aspect of feminine hygiene products instead of catering to the happiness of women. The older ads focused on safety and warned of the discomfort and potential embarrassment that could result from not using their product. A Kotex ad from 1930 said, "Kotex has many other advantages which dainty women know and like. Corners are rounded and tapered so the pad is always inconspicuous. Kotex deodorizes, thus removing another source of embarrassment. And Kotex is disposable...there's no laundry, no fuss or embarrassment." [43] Like other ads from the 1930s, this Kotex advertisement instilled fear instead of confidence in the readers. Another ad in 1940 highlighted the medical advantaged in using Fibs Kotex tampons. The ad read, "Special quilting makes Fibs the ideal internal protection...keeps Fibs from expanding abnormally in use - prevents risks of particles adhering - increases comfort, lessens possi

---

39: Wikipedia."Second-wave Feminism."  Wikimedia Foundation, accessed 03 December 04, 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second-wave_feminism

40: Miss Clairol Hair Color Bath, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1960): 41

41: Come Alive Gray, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1960): 109

42: Tampax Tampons, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1960): 125

43: Kotex Sanitary Pad, Advertising, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1930): 200

bility of injury to delicate tissues." [44] Neither ad encouraged confidence or independence in the readers; instead, they solely focused on the advantages of using their product. On the contrary, the 1960s ad allowed the readers to confidently idealize their active, worry-free life, even on their monthly period.

Other advertisements in the July 1960 issue further propelled the rising focus on body image and body shape that began to emerge in the 1950 issue of *Good Housekeeping*. An ad for Sucaryl sweetener said, "No thanks! No calories! I sweeten with Sucaryl...and weight watching's a picnic!...No calorie added, either." The half-page ad featured a woman sitting at a picnic, holding up her hand to the left as if refusing another person's offer. Her lips were perched and her head tilted in a smug, almost elitist manner.[45] Showing how easy it is (as easy as a picnic) to watch one's weight and still sweeten food, this ad reflected the rising concern of *Good Housekeeping* readers to control their body shape and image. As with the 1950 articles, body shape was becoming a focal point defining beauty.

Another advertisement for Relax-A-Cizor was the quintessential example of an ad, which reflected women's rising concerns with body image. The ad, only covering one third of the page, read, "Slim Your Waistline, no weight-loss...Trim inches from your tummy. Whittle-down your hips. Do it all the new Relax-A-cizor way. No need to diet or lose weight! Relax-A-cizor is the new, easier way to a new figure...a new, happier life for you. From now on you'll have more fun….A wise investment in family happiness." Above the body copy was a daydreaming woman lounging on the ground in her conservative lingerie. A measuring tape bordered the title of the ad.[46] It was interesting to note that the ad specifically said women would be happier and would have more fun once they used the product and became thinner. Body image was equated with general happiness and fun - and even for the family. The implication was that an unshapely body was a bigger burden and a problem for everyone. A woman without a nice figure was seen as letting not only herself down, but also her family.

Another ad for Gossard lingerie said, "You'll win the votes for the loveliest figure on town in Gossard's Original answer!" [47] This ad, coupled with the other advertisements, reflected the evolving definition of beauty. Once defined by the smoothness of the skin or the size of a woman's pores, now the shape of her body and the color of her lips defined beauty.

One article in this issue also highlighted the changing definition of beauty. While the majority of health articles pertained to the family, such as "How much handling for baby?" and "Keeping up with medicine," an article titled "Good Housekeeping's Eat-For-A-Treat Diet," propelled the idea that women should watch their figures. The article read:

> A bounty of delicious treats, like those pictured above, is yours when you follow our new and exciting bonus diet. You can have the choice of them and still lose up to two pounds a week. A basic meal pattern (opposite) provides everything you need - proteins, vitamins, minerals - with a calorie "cost" of only about 1,000. Your bonus is an extra 200 calorie treat…[48]

The article, explaining how women should count their calories, only supported the societal pressure to be thin. This new pressure only hinted at in 1950, with tips on dieting to ways to slim ankles, was not even mentioned in 1930 or 1940.

While July 1950's *Good Housekeeping* used a celebrity socialite to define beauty, July 1960 followed the lead of July 1940 and used a Hollywood star. The back cover of the magazine featured a smiling Vera Miles, co-star of the recently released Alfred Hitchcock classic Psycho. The ad was for Lustre-Creme and read, "4 out of 5 Top Movie Stars Use Lustre-Creme Shampoo!... "Vera Miles, one of Hollywood's loveliest new stars, always makes sure her hair is shampooed with Lustre-Creme. It leaves her blonde hair shining with highlights, every wave soft and smooth. Why don't YOU try Lustre-Creme too?" [49]

---

44: Fibs The Kotex Tampon, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1940): 66

45: Sucaryl Sweetener, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1960): 135

46: Relax-A-Cizor, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1960): 147

47: Gossard Lingerie, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1960): 22

48: "Good Housekeeping's Eat - For - A - Treat - Diet" *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1960): 50

49: Lustre-Creme, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1960): Back cover/186

Like in previous issues, the pictured models were thin, but not unhealthy. There was no noticeable change in the photographs from the 1950s models' figures accept there were no illustrated models in the fashion section. Thus, the overly stylized, small-waisted images of beauty had disappeared by July 1960.

### July 1970

By 1970, Second Wave feminism had swept through the United States. Broadening the debate from voting rights to sexual expression and feminine freedom, the Women's Liberation Movement had great influence on society's definition of beauty.[50] The July 1970 issue of *Good Housekeeping* reflected these changing ideas through its articles and advertisements. While the majority of the advertisements in 1930 and 1940 were for hygiene products such as deodorants and toothpastes, the majority of ads in the 1970 were for hair products such as hair conditioners and hair dyes. Surprisingly, there was only one advertisement for toothpaste, and only one for deodorant. Clearly the focus of beauty was changing from the way a woman smelled to the way a woman looked.

In the plethora of hair ads, the overarching theme was clear: happiness came from possessing beautiful, luscious, and natural-looking hair. One ad for Clairol hair dye even went so far as to spell it out. The two-paged ad featured a "before" and an "after" picture of a woman who used Clairol hair dye. In the before photo, the woman was sporting dull, lifeless, brown hair with touches of gray streaked throughout. Her mouth was turned down in a frown, and she was obviously sad about her appearance. However, after using the product, the woman had shiny, voluminous brown hair and looked very happy. The title above the woman read, "Clairol brings you Happiness." [51] Another two-page ad for Miss Clairol hair dye read:

> No matter what they say...nature can't do it alone! Nothing pretties up a face like a beautiful head of hair, but even hair that's born this beautiful needs a little help along the way...And because that wonderful natural look is still the most wanted look...the most fashionable, the most satisfying look at any age...anything you do must look natural, natural, natural. And this indeed is the art of Miss Clairol.[52]

Like the 1960 advertisement for Clairol hair dye, the desire to look natural was still paramount; however, the 1970 ad went further to suggest that a beautiful woman was one who looked young while still maintaining natural aspects of her beauty.

The most noticeable change in advertising presented itself in the ads specifically for feminine hygiene products. Until 1970, ads for tampons were informative, yet fairly vague, never going into much detail beyond describing the product's purpose and advantages. However, a change occurred in the 1970 issue, perhaps in response to the Second-Wave feminism movement. In an ad for Playtex First Day Tampons, the body copy frankly described how the tampons worked and how Playtex's version differed from other name brands. The ad said, "We call it the first-day tampon because that best describes its improvement over ordinary tampons...To make insertion easier, we change the applicator to plastic. Those still cardboardy applicators sometimes pinch. Not ours. It's all soft, gentle, clear plastic, so its smooth, satin finish acts like a self-lubricator. Makes it easier to use your first day or last." [53] The accompanying close-up picture featured a doe-eyed woman holding the tampon applicator at eye level. This ad was the first to clearly illustrate the parts of a tampon. This much bolder and more graphic ad represented a change in the way *Good Housekeeping* advertised feminine hygiene products.

Another tampon ad for Tampax tampons further supported the 1970's advertising tactic of supporting

50: Sink, Nancy. "Women's Liberation Movement." Women's Liberation Movement. N.p., Dec. 2008. Web., accessed December 3 2013, http://novaonline.nvcc.edu/eli/evans/his135/Events/womenslliberation/womensliberation.htm
51: Clairol Happiness Foam In Conditioning Hair Color, Advertisment, Good Housekeeping, (July 1970): 3,4
52: Miss Clairol Shampoo Formula, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1970): 1,2
53: Playtex First-Day Tampon, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1970): 53

the confident and active woman. The full-page ad featured a young, blonde, and confident woman surrounded by smaller scenes scattered across the page. The scenes showed her skydiving, swimming, and lounging on the hood of a car while a man changed the tire. The ad read, "People tell me to sit down and relax. I tried it - once…Life is action. Each minute presents a priceless experience. And you don't intend to miss even one. So naturally you use Tampax tampons. Since they're worn internally, you're completely comfortable. No matter what you're doing or where you're going." [54] The ad exuded self-confidence. The woman was obviously confident enough in her Tampax tampons that she chose to partake in the adventures of life while on her period. While the feminine hygiene products advertised in the 1930 and 1940 issues were focused on preventing potential embarrassment for the women on their monthly periods, as well as highlighting the medical advantages of the products, the 1970 ads, like the 1960s ads chose to instill a sense of confidence and femininity in the readers. Clearly, feminism was pushing for women to own and embrace their femininity, and *Good Housekeeping* reflected that in its ads.

The influence of feminism and the emerging sexual revolution was also reflected in an advertisement for FDS Deodorant. This ad featured a woman sitting on the arm of a couch as a man caressed her thigh and kissed the top of her head. The ad read:

> Being close was never nicer…now is The Age of FDS…The Age of FDS began with understanding. Understanding you, today's young woman, committed to total femininity and entitled to total confidence. Until FDS , a girl's most personal deodorant problem, that of vaginal odor, had no satisfactory solution. With the creation of FDS, a new era of feminine confidence began. FDS is gentle and effective enough to protect you every single day of your beautiful life. Being a girl was never nicer than now…in the Age of FDS. FDS…the first feminine hygiene deodorant spray. [55]

As strongly suggested by the couple's sensual embrace, they might soon be having sex. However, the woman was confident she would not be rejected because of her offensive odor. This 1970 ad was monumental in its suggestive and sexual nature. A 1940 advertisement for Mum's Deodorant had a slight hint of the risqué when it showed a man lingering near a woman after a long evening. The man's longing expression and close embrace implied he desired more than just a kiss to end the night. However, this 1970 ad was much more direct. In contrast to 1930 and 1940 feminine hygiene ads, this advertisement opened a dialogue for women to confidently claim their femininity and articulated the emerging confidence women felt in discussing their sexuality.

Empowerment of women was also reflected through an ad for One-A-Day Brand Multiple Vitamins Plus Iron. The ad featured a woman gallantly riding a horse on a peaceful beach. The ad read, "The moving woman. Today's woman goes, is, does more. And because she is a woman she needs extra iron. Nearly twice as much iron as a man every day. That's why One-A-Day Brand Multiple Vitamins Plus Iron is so important. It's made for today's own woman." Independence and confidence rang from the advertisement. The July 1970 issue was the first studied magazine to feature a woman's vitamin and shifted the ideal woman from one who was simply beautiful to one who was also healthy. Clearly, the 1970's concept of beauty was not only entirely defined by appearance, but had progressed further to also encompass health. According to the ad, a woman must take care of her body and supply it with the right nutrients if she wants to feel like a true woman. This ad paralleled the 1940's advertisement for Fleischmann's Yeast Cakes featuring Helena Rubinstein. While both ads addressed women's health, the Fleischmann's Yeast Cakes claimed that health was vital for a woman to look beautiful while the 1970 ad simply implied that health was vital for a woman to be happy.

The majority of the articles in the July 1970 issue of *Good Housekeeping* were consistent with the content

---

54: Tampax Tampons, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1970): 127
55: FDS Feminine Hygiene Deodorant Spray, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1970): 138

seen in the previous four issues. Many articles pertained to family health such as "Keeping up with Medicine," however other articles focused more on the individual woman and her personal beauty. One article spoke specifically about how women should fix their hair and do their makeup in order to look beautiful in the sweltering summer heat. The article titled "Be a Summer Beauty" said:

> News and notes on how you can look your beautiful best all summer long, whether you're vacationing on a far distant shore or summering at home right in your own backyard...in our beauty report: exciting ways for you to "summerize" your beauty with a summer-wise hairdo, a revised skin-care routine, a sensible tan plan and a choice of dazzling new makeup ideas for summer days and evenings.

The article went on to describe beauty tips for a variety of topics, including hairstyles, makeup, tanning and skin care. The article said, "Give yourself a facial once or twice a week, using the new beauty masks that simplify the routine...Instead of exposing your face to the sun, "tan" it with one of the sheer-clear bronzing gels that simulate a suntan cosmetically." [56] Accompanying this article was a picture of a long-haired brunette woman sticking her head out from under what appeared to be a waterfall. Glowing and beautiful, this model represented the ideal of beauty in the early 1970s - natural and in earthy brown shades of makeup. This individualized focus was concurrent with the articles and advertisements seen in the previous issues such as the 1950's article, "Have Shapelier Legs" and the 1940's article, "The Beauty Clinic."

There were no celebrity endorsements for beauty products in the July 1970 issue of *Good Housekeeping*. Hollywood, movies, and celebrities were mentioned in other ads and articles; however, no beauty-related material featured them. This was especially surprising considering the prevalence of television and movies. While no TV stars were featured in ads, the one endorsement for Silk & Silver Hair Color Lotion featured Georgia Hamilton, a prominent fashion model in the 1950s and 1960s. Hamilton was lounging in a convertible, sporting a luscious white fur jacket. The ad read:

> One of the "little old ladies" who uses Silk & Silver...She's Georgia Hamilton, one of the fashion world's most famous models. She lives in the country with her family (seven children)...she won't tell her age to anybody but she's not at all secretive about her gray hair. "I think it looks terrific this way. All I do is use Silk & Silver Hair Color Lotion. Couldn't be easier…I feel nice and different now. And it's awfully hard to look different these days." [57]

As an older women, a mother, and a former fashion model, Hamilton was able to relate to a more sophisticated demographic of women. Perhaps subscribers to *Good Housekeeping* were aging and consisted of older women who also desired to be beautiful. The feminism movement and the desire for younger women to become established in their careers instead of housewives might have caused this shift in reader demographic. With younger readers turned off by the magazine, *Good Housekeeping* had to cater their advertisements to older women.

### July 1979 [58]

As expected, the July 1979 issue of *Good Housekeeping* continued to evolve the definition of beauty through the content of its magazine. Health- and beauty-related products dominated the content of the advertisements and reflected society's emerging obsession with body weight and youthfulness.

---

56: Pavlik, Terri, "Be A Summer Beauty." *Good Housekeeping* (July 1970): 77
57: Silk & Silver Hair Color Lotion by Clairol, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1970): 159
58: The July 1979 issue was used in lieu of the July 1980 issue because the Samford library did not own a copy of the 1980 issue.

In contrast to the 1930 and 1940 issue, which mainly featured hygiene products, advertisements in the 1979 issue ranged from nail polishes and makeup, to hair products and pregnancy tests. The variety of beauty products greatly increased from the previously studied issues, and for the first time beauty appliances were featured in the magazine. The Clairol True-To-Light mirror allowed women to apply their makeup in a mirror with four different light settings. The tagline for the ad said, "Clairol Appliances. The power to make you beautiful." [59] There were also two ads for facial hair trimmers and razors. From the photos in the issue, it was clear the natural beauty focus of the 1930s and 1940s and 1970s was over, and in its place came dark eye shadows, conditioned hair, and bright lips.

Advertisements in the 1979 issue reflected society's obsession with looking young and preserving youthful beauty. In an ad for Raintree Lotion, titled "Keep your age a secret with Raintree," three women gave their testimonials about the product. One woman said, "They say wrinkles give you character…Well, here's to a little less character folks." Another responded, "The only way anyone can tell my age is by looking at my driver's license." Under the photos of the three smiling women, the body copy read:

> Who cares about chronological age anymore? That's so dated. You're as young as you feel, not as old as it says on your birth certificate. That's why you should use RainTree. Raintree is made to make you look younger. With extra moisture retainers and a unique ingredient called Natural Protein Complex. Raintree sinks right in, smoothes dry skin wrinkles around your eyes away. So you can make those crinkles, those laugh lines, those frown lines less noticeable. Greaselessly. So why lie about your age, let your skin do it for you! With Raintree. [60]

Clearly, this ad reflected many women's desire to look young and to retain youthful beauty. The ad also reinforced the reality that *Good Housekeeping* was struggling to attract young readers in an era when being a housewife was not a popular career for women. The plethora of cosmetic advertisements throughout this issue further supported the societal desire for older women to look pretty.

Similar to the 1970 tampon ads, the 1979 advertisements for feminine hygiene products continued to openly and graphically describe the tampons. An ad for Johnson & Johnson o.b. tampons supported this revolution in advertising and read:

> "Comfortable to insert…A woman gynecologist knew that the vagina delicately curves, while tampon inserters are straight. She developed a method of natural insertion, a simple way that lets your fingertip control the tampon to place o.b. where it will protect you best….On average, a woman will lose over half her menstrual flow the first 48 hours. o.b. Tampons are rolled in a special system of layers that work together to protect for hours, even on heavy days. And o.b. gently expands, conforming to your vaginal contours to guard against leak." [61]

In sharp contrast to the 1930's Kotex ad and 1940's Fibs Tampon ad, the Johnson and Johnson ad didn't market the product on the grounds of the potential embarrassment it would prevent. Instead, it used medical jargon and graphic details to describe the advantages of the product. This ad reflects the transformation in feminine hygiene product advertising in *Good Housekeeping* from being conservative and vague, to open and graphic in nature.

The 1979 issue also saw an emphasis of sex appeal and risqué advertising. While some advertising in previous issues, like the 1940's Mum Deodorant ad and the 1970's ad for FDS Deodorant were suggestive, an ad for Bic Lady Shaver was overtly sexual. Wearing an extremely short and sexy pink slip, a woman was seductively sitting in a chair as to expose her entire leg. Holding a yellow razor, the woman sported

---

59: Clairol True-To-Light Mirror, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1979): 2
60: Raintree Lotion, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1979): 14,15
61: O.B. Tampons, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (July 1979): 204

a serious, yet seductive face. Lying over the picture of the woman, the body copy read, "Now a woman doesn't have to be brave to shave." [62] It was interesting to note that directly next to this ad was a small quarter page instruction guide to exercises which would slim the thighs and upper body. Another ad for Le Sport fragrance openly admitted to using sex appeal to sell the product. Written around multiple pictures of women partaking in various activities, the ad read, "Le Sport. Versatile. Anytime. Anyplace...Everybody loves a winner...Play the field...Play with style...Vitality! The new sex appeal. Le Sport. The fragrance that's got it...Night and day. Le Sport." While the photographs were not sexual, the ad implied that sex appeal was key to being a winner.[63]

In addition to the desire to look young, the July 1979 issue also reflected society's growing pressure to be thin and maintain an attractive body image. While other issues of *Good Housekeeping* featured ads for weight-loss products or articles about diets, the 1979 edition was the first to address the issue on a personal level. In a series titled, "My Problem and How I Solved It," an anonymous author described her struggle with binge eating and how it almost ruined her marriage. The article was titled, "I Just Kept Eating and Eating and Eating and Eating…: When my husband, John, lost his temper over my food binges, I knew I had to find a way to lose weight - or our marriage would be destroyed." The author poignantly told the story of how she ate behind her husband's back until one day he confronted her:

> "I can't take it anymore!" John shouted. "When I married you, you were thin and beautiful and now you're...oh, what's the use! If you don't care about the way you look…" He left the sentence unfinished, turned and stomped upstairs without even saying goodnight. I was red-faced with shame. Yet, incredibly, my first reaction to his anger was to eat again.

The author continued to explain the emotional pain caused by being overweight. She said:

> I'll never forget the day I went to the beach and a woman I'd known all my life didn't respond when I said hello. "Oh, Carol," she said at last, after staring at me for several seconds through her sunglasses. "I didn't recognize you. You've gotten so heavy." When I got home that afternoon, I confronted myself brutally in the mirror. She was right. Compared to what I'd been only a few years before, I was unrecognizable. I had two chins and no waistline; my once shapely legs had turned into puffy ankles and jiggling thighs. I felt so guilty about the way I looked and so hurt by Carol's remarks, I wanted to hide from everyone. I vowed never to go to the beach again until I was thin. [64]

Reading the true story of a woman struggling with weight issues and an eating disorder reflected the importance weight carried as an evolving concept of beauty. There had been hints before, for in 1950 women were told to worry about the shape of their legs, but now it appeared that heavy women were told to feel shame and to expect rejection from husbands and friends. According to the article, overweight women seemed to be ostracized from society.

Again, Hollywood and celebrity endorsements were missing in the 1979 issue. While no actresses directly endorsed any beauty-related products, celebrities did make an appearance elsewhere in the magazine. For example, Muhammed Ali was featured in an ad for roach traps and bug sprays. Celebrities were also featured in an article titled, "27 New Hairdos." Women such as Cristina Ferrare, Jayne Kennedy, Sandy Hill, Laurette Spang, Donna Pescow, and Stephanie Powers modeled the latest trends in hair fashion, giving women around America hairstyles to emulate. These actresses and models were similar to the celebrities and socialites in earlier editions of *Good Housekeeping* in that they illustrated society's current definition of beauty. In 1979, big hair, bright makeup, a small waist, and a sexy, confident disposition defined beauty.

---

62: Bic Lady Shaver, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1979): 108
63: Le Sport Fragrance, Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, (July 1979): 11,12
64: Author Unknown, "I Just Kept Eating and Eating and Eating…" Good Housekeeping, (July 1979) :28

*The Changing Faces of Beauty*

Shown through the analysis of *Good Housekeeping* magazine from the July editions of 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1979, the definition of beauty clearly evolved and reflected the social climate of the times. The large emphasis on hygiene and skin care in the July 1930 edition possibly reflected the economic crisis during the Great Depression. Advertising makeup would have been futile, for extra income was spent putting food on the table, not on cosmetics. Therefore, *Good Housekeeping* focused on the minimalist aspects of beauty, such as brushing one's teeth and cleaning one's face, which would be inexpensive and justifiable to purchase. Why establish an unattainable definition of beauty when a large demographic of readers couldn't reach it? Furthermore, the romantic appeal of the ads reflected the pre-World War II culture. Advertisers, knowing women strove to appear desirable to men, instilled fear by articulating the consequences of bad hygiene. In July 1930, men were still at home, and not yet off at war, and losing their attention was a legitimate fear.

While the July 1940 advertising material remained consistent with those found in 1930, advertisers instilled confidence instead of fear of rejection to sell products. Ads featured women, confident in both the results of their beauty products as well as themselves. In July 1940, advertisers were no doubt aware of the impending threat of war and perhaps anticipated reaching the soon-to-be independent women left on the home front if America entered the European conflict. Why instill fear of rejection and lost romance when there might be no men to lose? Instead, advertisers chose to inspire confidence in women. Additionally, with America on the brink of war, women needed confidence - they needed stability as the world spiraled out of control.

However, once the men were home from war by July 1950, a morph of 1930 and 1940 advertising was utilized in *Good Housekeeping*. The magazine's definition of beauty showed that women should still maintain good hygiene, but began to place a larger emphasis on body image and size. Thus, *Good Housekeeping* catered to the women who still wished to please their husbands and catch the attention of their boyfriends, while simultaneously hanging on to the independence and confidence obtained during their deployment.

Aspects of the emerging Second-Wave feminism movement were hinted at in the July 1960 edition as beauty and health took a more individual focus. Advertisements for makeup and articles about maintaining a good body image became key factors in *Good Housekeeping's* definition of beauty. Women were no longer plagued with the idea of looking beautiful only to please their significant other, for *Good Housekeeping* then defined a beauty woman as being confident and independent despite the growing need for a smaller waist and bold eye shadow.

Advertisements slowly became bolder and more risqué in the July 1970 and 1979 editions, further reflecting the emerging sexual revolution which began in the 1960s. Once-taboo topics, such as feminine hygiene products, were then discussed openly and advertisements blatantly used sex to sell products. Readers of the 1970 or 1979 editions of *Good Housekeeping* saw women as confident and sexy figures, torn between the pressure of feeling empowered yet concerned with their appearance.

Ultimately, *Good Housekeeping* suggested that the ideal of a beautiful woman shifted from being a sweet girl with small pores and fresh breath to a confident and independent woman, and ultimately to a sexually liberated person. Women started out in 1930 afraid of losing men because of bad breath or large pores and ultimately ended in 1970 seducing men through their confidence and sexy bodies. Truly, the notion of a beautiful woman had changed.

Although *Good Housekeeping's* definition of beauty clearly changed throughout time, it is hard to determine whether the changes truly reflected a evolution of preferences, or simply reflected the convenience of society. When purse strings were tight, advertisers knew women wouldn't purchase expensive cosmetics. So did people in the 1930s really believe small pores, clear skin, and fresh breath were what made a woman

beautiful? Or was that simply the most marketable definition for producers in the midst of an economic depression?

Similar questions hold true for other eras. Were women less embarrassed by feminine hygiene products in 1979 than in eras past, or were advertisers simply taking the lead in talking about the subject? Were women of the 1960s really more flirty and fun in their concepts of beauty, or did ads suggest it to them? Such questions could be asked about any era. Any era might ask if media drives beauty and body image, or if society's concept of beauty and body image drives the media. While this conundrum proves difficult to crack, it is clear *Good Housekeeping* played, and will continue to play, a role in defining standards of beauty across some of the most dynamic eras of the 20th century.

# Bibliography

Andriotis, AnnaMaria "10 Things the Beauty Industry Won't Tell You." The Wall Street Journal, April 20, 2011, http://www. marketwatch.com/story/10-things-the-beauty-industry-wont-tell-you-1303249279432 (accessed Sept. 26 2013).

Author Unknown "Beauty Clinic: Have Shapelier Legs" Good Housekeeping, (July 1950): 191

Author Unknown, "Get the Facts on Eating Disorders," National Eating Disorder Association. http://www.nationaleating disorders.org/get-facts-eating-disorders (accessed Sept. 26 2013).

Author Unknown, "Good Housekeeping's Eat - For - A - Treat - Diet" Good Housekeeping, (July 1960): 50

Author Unknown, "How to Walk." Good Housekeeping, (July 1940): 129

Author Unknown, "I Just Kept Eating and Eating and Eating…" Good Housekeeping, (July 1979) :28

Author Unknown, "Those Simple Little Exercises." Good Housekeeping (July 1940): 86

Avon Cosmetics, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1940): 185

Bic Lady Shaver, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1979): 108

Camay Soap, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1950): 1

Camay Soap, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1940): 79

Clairol Happiness Foam In Conditioning Hair Color, Advertisment, Good Housekeeping, (July 1970): 3,4

Clairol True-To-Light Mirror, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1979): 2

Come Alive Gray, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1960): 109

Cutex Lipstick, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1960): 33

Daggett & Ramsdell Lotion, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1930): 135

Dawson-Andoh, Nana A., James J. Gray, Jose A. Soto, Scott Parker, "Body Shape and Size Depictions of African American Women in JET Magazine. 1953-2006." Body Image 8 (Jan 2011): 86-89.

Eddy, Walter H. "Are Nuts Food? A highly important question is asked and answered." Good Housekeeping (July 1930): 106

Encyclopædia Britannica Online, s. v. "Television in the United States." accessed December 04, 2013, http://www.britanni ca.com/EBchecked/topic/1513870/television-in-the-United-States.

Fangman, Tama D., Jennifer Paff Ogle, Marianne C. Bickle, Donna Rouner, "Promoting Female Weight Management in 1920s Print Media: An Analysis of Ladies' Home Journal and Vogue Magazines." Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal 32 (Mar 2004): 213-253.

FDS Feminine Hygiene Deodorant Spray, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1970): 138

Fibs The Kotex Tampon, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1940): 66

Fleischmann's Yeast Cakes, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1940): 157

Gossard Lingerie, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1960): 22

Hemenway Kenyon, Josephine "Growing Pains: A service for mothers of young babies." Good Housekeeping (July 1930): 119

Kolynos Dental Cream, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1930):  220

Lady Esther Face Powder, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1940): 120

Le Sport Fragrance, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1979): 11,12

Lifebuoy Health Soap, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1940): 117

Listerine Mouthwash, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1940): 3

Listerine Mouthwash, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1950): 3

Listerine Mouthwash, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1930): 113

Lustre-Creme, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1960): Back cover/186

Lux Toilet Soap, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1930) 201

Lux Toilet Soap, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1940): 67

Marcellus, Jane "Modern or Mom?: Body Typing and Employed Women Between the World Wars." Women's Stud
 ies 34 (Oct/Nov 2005):551-573.

Meyerowitz, Joanne, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material: Responses to Girlie Pictures in the
 Mid-Twentieth-Century U.S." Journal of Women's History; (Fall 1996): Vol. 8 Issue 3, p9.

Miss Clairol Hair Color Bath, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1960): 41

Miss Clairol Shampoo Formula, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1970): 1,2

Mum Deodorant, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1940): 1

Murrin, Ruth "Health and Beauty: Faces Like Flower." Good Housekeeping, (July 1930): 105

Murrin, Ruth "Swim and Keep Your Curls." Good Housekeeping (July 1940): 130

Murrin, Ruth "You're Wrong." Good Housekeeping, (July 1940): 127

O.B. Tampons, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1979): 204

Pavlik, Terri "Be A Summer Beauty." Good Housekeeping (July 1970): 77

Peggy Sage Nail Polish, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1940): 119

Pepsodent Antiseptic, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1940): 149

Pond's Cold Cream, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1930): 109

Pond's Cold Cream, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1950): 43

Raintree Lotion, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1979): 14,15

Relax-A-Cizor, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1960): 147

Rima, Vanessa R., Brandi K. Rima, Sarah K. Calabrese, "Evolution: The Portrayal of Women's External Genitalia
 and Physique across Time and the Current Barbie Doll Ideals." Journal of Sex Research, 28 (Jan/Feb 2011):
 74-81.

Silk & Silver Hair Color Lotion by Clairol, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1970): 159

Sink, Nancy. "Women's Liberation Movement." Women's Liberation Movement. N.p., Dec. 2008. Web., accessed
 December 3 2013, http://novaonline.nvcc.edu/eli/evans/his135/Events/womenslliberation/womenslibera
 tion.htm

Squibb Dental Cream, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1940): 80

Sucaryl Sweetener, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1960): 135

Tampax Tampons, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1960): 125

Tampax Tampons, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping, (July 1970): 127

Wikipedia."Second-wave Feminism."  Wikimedia Foundation, accessed 03 December 04, 2013, http://en.wikipe
 dia.org/wiki/Second-wave_feminism

Woodbury Cold Cream, Advertisement, Good Housekeeping (July 1940): 63

# La fama de "la Avellaneda"

Sarah Grove

***Abstracto***

En este ensayo mi propósito es investigar la obra de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda para averiguar por qué actualmente su poesía y prosa temprana son más reconocidas que su obra más tardía. Examino los temas y propósitos generales de cada género junto con el ambiente político-social de la época de Gómez y de la época actual para formar conclusiones acerca de su fama. Gómez formó parte del movimiento romántico; en cada género de su obra muy extensa se manifiesta influencias diferentes del movimiento. En su obra entera se ve el amor, el mayor tema del romanticismo, pero en cada género suyo destacan otras cualidades diferentes. En su poesía trata el amor por la patria y el cambio social, en su prosa trata las variedades de la esclavitud, y en su drama trata las raíces religiosas e históricas de España. Cómo Gómez trata cada tema junto con el ambiente político-social de aquel entonces impactó la popularidad de cada obra al estrenarse, pero hoy día es el impacto histórico y la importancia para la sociedad actual de cada obra que influye su fama continuada.

***Palabras clave:*** Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, romanticismo, reconocimiento

## *La fama de "la Avellaneda"*

Se considera que Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda es una de los mejores autores hispanoamericanos de siempre. No obstante, no fue sólo autora sino también fue poeta y dramaturga. Su obra es muy extensa e incluye obras como la novela anti-esclavista *Sab*, poemas como "A él" y "Al partir," y dramas como *Saúl y Baltasar*. Aunque su obra entera ha recibido gran fama desde su estreno, actualmente se conoce su poesía mucho mejor que su prosa o su drama. ¿Por qué estos géneros, por tan buenos que sean, no han recibido tanta fama como la poesía de Gómez? Pretendo examinar los temas y propósitos más destacados de sus obras de prosa y de drama, comparándolos con los de su obra poética, para intentar dar una respuesta a esta pregunta. Voy a estudiar cómo Gómez utilizó los temas y recursos literarios comunes del romanticismo para averiguar por qué se reconoce su poesía mucho más que su prosa y drama.

Gómez de Avellaneda publicó tres libros de poesía durante su vida. El primero consistió en poemas escritos entre 1836 y 1841, el segundo de poemas de 1842 hasta aproximadamente 1849 y el tercero fue publicado en 1869 (Davies 325). Estos poemas tratan una gran variedad de temas e intentan provocar el cambio social; Gómez forma parte del movimiento romántico, así que sus propósitos principales son la resistencia del pueblo ante la opresión, la oposición al colonialismo, y la rectificación del caos social. Ella considera la poesía como "herramienta de la liberación" (Rodríguez 101), y sus temas opuestos de la libertad y la tiranía enfatizan la importancia y el anhelo de la libertad. Considerando todos los poemas que publicó, muy pocos tratan explícitamente la política—solamente cinco de los cuarenta y cinco poemas del primer libro de poesía tratan la política (Davies 325). Un tema importante en este volumen de poesía es el amor, en particular el amor por la patria. Según Gómez de Avellaneda, el amor por la patria provocará cambios positivos en la sociedad y promoverá la libertad de todos. Gómez cree que, si una población ama su patria y quiere que sea la mejor posible, hará todo para crear una sociedad fundada en la justicia y la igualdad, así cumpliendo con los valores románticos para una sociedad ejemplar. De esta manera Gómez muestra cómo el amor, un gran tema romántico, se relaciona con la política y el mejoramiento de la sociedad.

Se considera a Gómez de Avellaneda como una gran pensadora, aunque en su época se consideraba que sólo los hombres podían pensar crítica y libremente. A pesar de eso, Gómez muestra su habilidad de pensar profundamente y de escribir obras intelectuales e importantes para no sólo el mundo hispanohablante sino para el mundo entero durante los finales del colonialismo. Desde sus contemporáneos hasta sus lectores actuales la consideran una voz literaria poderosa e inteligente que tuvo un impacto notable en los asuntos políticos, sociales e intelectuales de su día. Sus primeras obras, *Sab* y el primer volumen de *Poesías,* recibieron mucho reconocimiento al estrenarse, y siguen siendo sus obras más reconocidas. En los libros que publicó después de estos, sus temas cambiaron para ser más oscuros y pesimistas (Davies 328). Voy a examinar en las páginas siguientes su prosa y drama, pero creo que una influencia posible de la fama y reconocimiento de su obra temprana se debe a los temas liberales del principio de su carrera.

Como acabo de decir, *Sab* es la primera novela escrita por Gómez de Avellaneda. A primera vista, es una novela antiesclavista; sin embargo, por medio de una mirada más cercana se entiende que *Sab* trata también los problemas del criollo y de la mujer en Cuba. Por eso es importante para el movimiento antiesclavista tanto como para el feminista. *Sab* es una continuación de los temas liberales presentes en su poesía temprana; examina las esclavitudes variadas del esclavo, de los criollos, y además de la mujer sometida al matrimonio. Además de la esclavitud como se la entiende en general, Gómez aplica el término "esclavitud" al racismo que experimenta el criollo en Cuba y al chovinismo que experimenta la mujer. En esta novela, se enfoca mucho en el problema de la mujer. Sab, el esclavo protagonista, dice que "…la esclavitud de las mujeres bajo el lazo indisoluble del casamiento es una servidumbre mucho peor que aquélla de los mismos esclavos" (ctd. en Guerra 708). Con *Sab*, Gómez empieza a escribir sobre el feminismo y continúa haciéndolo durante muchos años, hasta el fin de su carrera. En esta obra se enfoca mucho en la injusticia del

matrimonio para la mujer, tema que Gómez exploraría mucho más en sus obras futuras junto con el amor imposible y sus efectos negativos para la mujer. Sab se trata principalmente de la esclavitud, y es la primera novela antiesclavista del mundo, pero también contiene muchos comentarios importantes de la "esclavi-tud" del criollo y de la mujer. Como Gómez incorporó la política en sus poemas del amor, ella utiliza una historia antiesclavista para pedir también liberación del racismo y del chovinismo con el propósito de ganar libertad e igualdad para todos.

Como es obra romántica, *Sab* se enfoca mucho en la naturaleza. Para los escritores románticos, la naturaleza era una muestra de la perfecta harmonía de la creación de Dios. Esa creación debe enseñar al hombre cómo vivir con igualdad y justicia; la esclavitud de todas formas va en contra de esa harmonía, y es el propósito de Gómez mostrar esa igualdad en la sociedad cubana. Según *Sab*, "La esclavitud viene a ser así no sólo una condición humana en contra de la armonía divina, sino también una fuente constante de alienación y enajenamiento con respecto a un ámbito natural que es reflejo y creación de Dios" (ctd. en Guerra 712). La esclavitud, dice Gómez por la voz de Sab, rompe con los ideales importantes del día; es imprescindible rectificar este error para restablecer la harmonía divina presente en la naturaleza. La naturaleza señala injusticias y desigualdades en la sociedad para criticarla y mejorar la situación de, en este caso, el esclavo, el criollo y la mujer. Es por eso que *Sab* es una obra tan importante—es una base para muchos movimientos liberales de la época, tanto el feminismo como el movimiento antiesclavista, y es el comienzo de muchos temas muy importantes para las obras futuras de Gómez.

Además, en *Sab* Gómez utiliza el amor para empezar a rectificar el problema de la esclavitud. Mientras sufre de ser esclavo, Sab se enamora de una mujer, Carlota. Para Sab y Carlota, el amor es "un acto espiri-tual" (Guerra 712) que funciona "como fuerza trascendente y eco de la Divinidad [que] hace de la Amada una belleza sensible que conduce hacia la belleza eterna" (713). Es decir, gracias al amor los dos personajes alcanzan vencer a la injusticia, si sólo lo pueden hacer en sí mismos. Aquí podemos ver un vínculo con los temas del primer libro de poesía, donde el amor facilita y provoca el cambio social. En la poesía es sólo una idea, pero aquí en Sab vemos cómo funciona: el cambio empieza en una persona afectada por el amor, y junto con otras personas podrán efectuar grandes cambios sociales. Sab, como esclavo, muestra el proble-ma de la sociedad. Pero, Sab como esclavo a su amor para Carlota es un ejemplo del amor imposible típico romántico. Por el amor, él logra transcender la situación en la cual se encuentra para realizar su ser (713). Esta relación temática del gran poder salvador del amor humano para no sólo el mismo ser humano sino también para la sociedad entera entre su primer libro *Poesías y Sab* forma la parte más temprana de la obra de Gómez, la que continúa siendo la parte más leída y famosa.

Otra novela exitosa de Gómez de Avellaneda es *Dos mujeres,* escrita en 1842, justamente después de la publicación de *Sab* (Grau-Lleveria 31). Mientras *Sab* contiene unos argumentos feministas, *Dos mujeres* se enfoca principalmente en el feminismo y la desigualdad que experimenta la mujer en cuanto al matrimo-nio. Gracias a este propósito, se considera esta novela un ejemplo del romanticismo social. Gómez señala esa desigualdad al escribir sobre unas mujeres que son victimizadas "por su falta de libertad para elegir por amor a su esposo o porque una vez casadas se convierten en prisioneras de la institución matrimo-nial" (Grau-Lleveria 35). En esta novela Gómez cuestiona los estereotipos de la mujer y muestra cómo la sociedad juzga y malentiende a la mujer. Al final de la historia de las dos mujeres, Luisa y Catalina, Gómez dice:

> …la suerte de la mujer es infeliz de todos modos. Que la indisolubilidad del mismo lazo con el cual pretenden nuestras leyes asegurarles un porvenir, se convierte, no pocas veces, en una cadena tanto más insufrible cuanto más inquebrantable. … La culpable encuentra por doquier jueces severos, verdugos implacables. La virtuosa pasa desconocida y, a veces, calumniada. Y la culpable y la virtuosa, ambas son igualmente infelices, y acaso también, igualmente nobles y generosas. (ctd. en Grau-Lleveria 41)

Aquí ella enfatiza otra vez tanto la dificultad que tiene la mujer ante el juzgamiento de la sociedad como su valentía; la mujer valiente que sacrifica su reputación para hacer lo correcto muestra la fuerza de su carácter moral, y tal fuerza de espíritu merece libertad e igualdad. Para Gómez, no es justo que una mujer de carácter fuerte e independiente esté atada indisolublemente a un hombre, sin no sólo un escape pero

también sin ni un trozo de libertad.  En esta novela Gómez no pide directamente el cambio social, sino presenta por medio de una historia de dos mujeres sus quejas y propone cambios sociales a favor del feminismo—que la mujer casada tenga más libertad, que la sociedad trate de entenderla mejor, y que, si llega a ser necesario, la mujer casada tenga un escape para salir de un matrimonio injusto. Gómez ve un matrimonio injusto como otra forma de esclavitud; como el romanticismo combate cada forma de esclavitud, Gómez utiliza las historias en esta novel para mostrar que sí, el matrimonio sin tratamiento justo hacia la mujer no es más que la esclavitud.

Además de escribir poesía y prosa, Gómez de Avellaneda escribe muchas obras teatrales bien reconocidas. Su drama es quizás la parte de su obra menos conocida, pero eso no quiere decir que esté mal. Gómez escribe varios dramas históricos y religiosos con temas románticos comunes. En cuanto a sus dramas religiosos, *Baltasar* es uno de los más famosos, y muchos lo consideran el mejor drama de todos los que escribe Gómez. Fue escrito en 1858 y se trata de la historia del rey Baltasar, según la tradición católica uno de los Reyes Magos, y la caída de su imperio. Tiene un propósito muy específico; como dice la dramaturga, ella quiere "demostrar cómo la Providencia de Dios rige los destinos de los seres humanos y de sus imperios" (Muro 341), y por eso esta obra forma parte del romanticismo religioso conservador, un subgénero teatral del romanticismo que enfatiza la grandeza de Dios y las manifestaciones de su poder en los asuntos humanos para revitalizar la fe del cristiano (342). En *Baltasar,* el imperio del rey cae pero no es la culpa de ningún acto humano—la caída viene porque es la voluntad de Dios. Cada parte de la obra se lleva a cabo por el poder divino de Dios.

*Baltasar* junto con *Saúl*, otro drama religioso de Gómez de Avellaneda, intenta reavivar el elemento trágico de los principios del movimiento romántico y utiliza elementos del romanticismo temprano para introducir el aspecto religioso a la historia. En contraste con el romanticismo en general, en *Baltasar* el amor humano es negativo y no salvador; en cambio, es la grandeza de Dios que se exalta y que tiene el poder salvador o, en este caso, destruidor (Muro 344). Porque estas obras aparecieron al final del movimiento y el elemento trágico al principio, lo trágico de la parte religiosa de la obra de Gómez no estaba al gusto de la gente. En adición, el cambio en el enfoque del amor del humano hacia el divino era muy diferente de lo que le gustaba a la gente de la época. El drama de Gómez es quizás la parte menos conocida de la obra de Gómez, y puede que una causa de eso sea que su drama religioso se destaca por utilizar elementos y temas ya pasados del género.

El resto de la obra teatral de Gómez de Avellaneda se trata de las raíces históricas de España. Ella presenta historias de la España medieval para examinar los problemas de política y de género en la España de su época (Amend 201). Gómez se exilió a España y vivió allí durante casi veinte años. Durante su estancia en España, se interesaba mucho en los asuntos del país y muchas de sus obras se tratan de los problemas que se enfrentaban a España. Como ya vimos, el amor por la patria y el ser humano y la justicia entre los géneros son unos temas grandísimos para Gómez de Avellaneda; en su drama histórico estos temas se relacionan aún más. En tanto *Recaredo* como en *El Príncipe de Viana*, dos importantes obras dramáticas históricas de Gómez, los personajes femeninos tienen papeles centrales en promover la paz y la estabilidad de la nación (216). Además, al enamorarse es la mujer que es tan fuerte que el hombre; dice Prado Mas, "La heroína que crea la autora tiene la misma resolución que el héroe, y a veces más; es apasionada, valiente y expresiva, y habla tanto del amor como él, porque siente la misma necesidad de expresar su pasión, la misma, de ser consolada, la misma, de ser alumbrada, la misma, de unirse al ser que ama" (304). Al crear personajes femeninos con fuerza además de ternura y pureza, Gómez utiliza la historia y el éxito de España para mostrar la importancia de la mujer desde el pasado hasta la actualidad. Además, Gómez sugiere que, si la mujer ha sido tan importante en el desarrollo de España, va a seguir siendo importante para el país. Esta es una vista feminista; muestra la importancia y la fuerza de la mujer y casi pide por ella la libertad de continuar impactando positivamente la sociedad española mientras ella se desarrolla aún más.

Después de examinar más cercanamente los diferentes aspectos de la obra de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, voy a formar unas conclusiones acerca del éxito de su poesía por encima de su prosa y su drama. Un tema en la vanguardia de su obra entera es el feminismo. Gómez trata este tema más explícitamente en su prosa y su drama y no tanto en su poesía, aunque aparece en unos poemas también. Su poesía

trata el cambio político-social más indirectamente que los otros géneros y casi no trata el feminismo; supongo que esta diferencia puede ser una razón para el reconocimiento de su poesía. En la época de Gómez, el feminismo era una idea bastante nueva y para muchos muy difícil de aceptar porque iba en contra de cada estereotipo de la mujer y su papel en la sociedad. Su prosa en particular tiene temas muy obviamente feministas, en particular en Dos mujeres, y puede que sea eso una causa de su fama menor. Además, los temas liberales y positivos de su obra temprana, que consiste en Sab y su primer libro de poesía, fueron recibidos bastante bien por el público comparados con los aspectos más pesimistas de su obra más tardía.

En cuanto a su drama, creo que hay varias razones por su desconocimiento actual relativo a los otros géneros. Primero, en su drama religioso intenta cambiar unas normas muy importantes para el romanticismo; puso en duda el poder salvador del amor humano y reavivó el elemento trágico que ya había pasado del movimiento. Es posible que cambiar tan de repente las normas de un movimiento ya muy bien establecido hubiera impactado la recepción de estas obras a su estreno. En cuanto a su drama histórico, hay muchos elementos feministas. Los personajes principales son casi todas mujeres, algo muy extraño en esa época, y las acciones de ellas muestran sus caracteres fuertes e independientes, dando un contraste con los estereotipos e ideales para la mujer en ese día. Además, aunque historias sobre las raíces históricas del país fueran salientes para la gente española de la época de Gómez de Avellaneda, hoy se tienen que ver menos con nuestros asuntos cotidianos. Tienen mucha importancia de una vista histórica, pero sin un conocimiento de los asuntos político-sociales del día de Gómez es muy difícil entender y gozar de estas obras. Aunque hubieran tenido impactos importantes al estrenarse, hoy día, porque son menos aplicables a la vida actual, han disminuido en importancia y reconocimiento.

En conclusión, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda es una poeta, novelista, y dramaturga de mucha importancia. Aunque actualmente su poesía recibe más fama que su prosa y drama, al estrenarse todos estos géneros fueron muy bien recibidos y tuvieron gran impactos político-sociales. Cada género de Gómez trata temas variados: su poesía trata el cambio social al hablar del amor por la patria y por el ser humano, su prosa trata el feminismo y la liberación del esclavo y de la mujer casada, y su drama trata las raíces históricas y religiosas de España. Ninguna parte de la obra de Gómez está mal, sino que las partes que todavía se enseñan y se leen son las que todavía son salientes para nosotros en la época actual. Sus poemas que tratan el amor por la patria y el amor humano son los más famosos, y además su novela Sab se lee todavía por su impacto histórico y por su comentario feminista. La obra entera de Gómez de Avellaneda merece fama y reconocimiento; debemos leer su obra entera para comprender sus comentarios sobre la sociedad, la religión, y la historia y también para poder echar un vistazo a la mente de una de las primeras y más importantes pensadoras femeninas.

## Obras citadas

Amend, Tracie. "Foundational Females on Stage: The Medieval Heroine in Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda's Recaredo and El Príncipe de Viana. (Spanish)." Letras Femeninas 39.2 (2013): 201-219. Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File. Web. 29 Sept. 2014.

Davies, Catherine. "The Poet(isa) and the Queen: The Paradoxes of Royal Patronage in 1840s Spain." Hispanic Research Journal 8.4 (2007): 319-332. Humanities International Complete. Web. 27 Sept. 2014.

Grau-Lleveria, Elena. "El romanticismo social en Dos mujeres de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda." Bulletin of Spanish Studies: Hispanic Studies and Researches on Spain, Portugal, and Latin America 87.1 (2010): 31-49. MLA International Bibliography. Web. 28 Sept. 2014.

Guerra, Lucia. "Estrategias femeninas en la elaboración del sujeto romántico en la obra de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda." Revista Iberoamericana 51.132-133 (1985): 707-722. MLA International Bibliography. Web. 28 Sept. 2014.

Muro, Miguel-Ángel. "El subgénero teatral del romanticismo religioso español: Baltazar de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda." Revista de Literatura 72.144 (2010): 341-377. MLA International Bibliography. Web. 29 Sept. 2014.

Prado Mas, María. "El Teatro De Gertrudis Gómez De Avellaneda." (2001): OAIster. Web. 27 Sept. 2014.

Rodríguez Núñez, Víctor. "Género, nación y compromiso en la lírica de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda." Inti: Revista De Literatura Hispánica 49-50. (1999): 91-105. MLA International Bibliography. Web. 20 Oct. 2014.

# Tomando el amor hasta el límite

Emma Crist

***Abstracto***

A finales del siglo XVIII, muchos escritores hispanoamericanos empezaron a rechazar el enfoque en la razón y el racionalismo del Neoclasicismo. Empezaron a preguntarse cómo Hispanoamérica se diferencia-ba culturalmente de Europa. Como consecuencia, se produjo el romanticismo que abandonaba el enfoque neoclásico en la razón. En cambio del racionalismo del neoclasicismo, el romanticismo tiene un enfoque en la supremacía de las emociones y los sentimientos. Se trata de la libertad, la fantasía y la naturaleza, entre otros temas, y era un examen del pasado. A través de su trabajo y sus obras literarias, los escritores románticos esperaban que el romanticismo lograra la emancipación literaria que anhelaban. La escritora Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda era una de las figuras más importantes del movimiento romántico de Hispanoamérica. Era una defensora de la justicia y la libertad y usaba sus obras literarias para presentar y aprovechar los temas más típicos del romanticismo. En su poesía específicamente, aparecen varios temas del romanticismo. En los poemas "Amor y orgullo," "Deseo de venganza" y "Feliz quien junto a ti," apare-cen tres temas románticos que son evidentes y que aparecen a lo largo de los poemas: las emociones ex-tremas y opuestas, el individualismo y la correlación entre amantes humanos y seres espirituales y divinos.

## *Tomando el amor hasta el límite*

A finales del siglo XVIII, muchos escritores hispanoamericanos empezaron a rechazar el enfoque en la razón y el racionalismo del Neoclasicismo. Empezaron a preguntarse cómo Hispanoamérica se diferenciaba culturalmente de Europa. Como consecuencia, se produjo el romanticismo que abandonaba el enfoque neoclásico en la razón. En cambio del racionalismo del neoclasicismo, el romanticismo tiene un enfoque en la supremacía de las emociones y los sentimientos. Se trata de la libertad, la fantasía y la naturaleza, entre otros temas, y era un examen del pasado. A través de su trabajo y sus obras literarias, los escritores románticos esperaban que el romanticismo lograra la emancipación literaria que anhelaban. La escritora Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda era una de las figuras más importantes del movimiento romántico de Hispanoamérica. Era una defensora de la justicia y la libertad y usaba sus obras literarias para presentar y aprovechar los temas más típicos del romanticismo. En su poesía específicamente, aparecen varios temas del romanticismo. En los poemas "Amor y orgullo," "Deseo de venganza" y "Feliz quien junto a ti," aparecen tres temas románticos que son evidentes y que aparecen a lo largo de los poemas: las emociones extremas y opuestas, el individualismo y la correlación entre amantes humanos y seres espirituales y divinos.

Uno de los temas que se repite a lo largo de estos poemas es la expresión de los sentimientos extremos y opuestos de los seres humanos. Este tema se ve en el soneto "Feliz quien junto a ti." El poema se trata de una mujer que está enamorada pero quiere resistir el amor. A lo largo del poema, la voz poética describe la paz y la felicidad que siente cuando está con su amante. Pero al mismo tiempo, habla de su ansiedad y confusión. Esto representa una correlación entre la máxima felicidad y la tristeza. Estos son sentimientos opuestos que la mujer experimenta al mismo tiempo. En unos versos, la voz poética dice, "Trémula, en vano resistirte quiero / de ardiente llanto mi mejilla inundo." Esta estrofa hace un contraste fuerte y es un ejemplo de la oposición de los sentimientos de la voz poética hacia su amante y el amor. Ella describe el amor como un fuego que se siente por las venas. Ella está muy enamorada y esto le asusta. Por esta razón, quiere resistir sus emociones y huir del amor. La última estrofa dice, "¡Delirio, gozo, te bendigo y muero!" Al final del soneto, la mujer muere, debido a los efectos profundos del amor. El uso de las palabras *bendición y muerte* en el último verso es contradictorio también. Unos versos en el poema "Amor y orgullo," dicen, "Nombre que halaga, halagando mata / nombre que hiere como sierpe ingrata." Se presenta la ironía en estos versos porque generalmente es una buena cosa halagar a alguien, pero la voz poética hace un contraste y dice que en este caso los halagos de su amante la hieren. De la misma manera, la voz poética en el soneto "Deseo de venganza" expresa sus sentimientos opuestos a través del contraste entre la pasión y el dolor que le causa su amante. Por ejemplo, la última estrofa dice, "¡Ven... al dolor que insano la devora / haz suceder tu poderosa saña." De una manera diferente, por su enfoque en la emoción del "yo," a veces Gómez pretende dirigir al lector hacia un acercamiento a la naturaleza a través de un proceso comunicativo basado en hablar de la naturaleza en términos opuestos (Selimov 61). Esto se demuestra en este soneto también. En este poema, la voz poética usa un ejemplo opuesto de la naturaleza para comparar los sentimientos opuestos a los elementos paradójicos de la naturaleza. Dice, "¡Que zumbe el rayo y con fragor reviente / mientras -cual a hoja seca o flor marchita- / tu fuerte soplo al roble precipita." La voz poética usa la expresión de los opuestos de la naturaleza, o sea, la flor marchita y débil y un roble fuerte, para hacer un contraste entre los sentimientos extremos y opuestos que siente hacia su amante.

El romanticismo también se caracteriza por la idea del individualismo, y este tema se destaca en estos tres poemas de Gómez. Este tema romántico se ve en el soneto "Feliz quien junto a ti." En este soneto, un verso dice, "El fuego siento del amor profundo." Aunque parece que la mujer adora al hombre y quiere amarlo, tiene un sentido fuerte del individualismo. Su deseo por la libertad hace difícil el amor y ella muestra

su tormenta interior a lo largo del poema. Dice, "El alma turba, al corazón devora / y el torpe acento, al expresarla, espira," y parece que ella tiene miedo del rechazo si el amor no se le devuelve. Además, en el poema "Amor y orgullo," se implica la idea del individualismo en el mismo título. La voz poética tiene amor por el hombre pero también expresa que su orgullo impide el amor. En la primera estrofa dice, "Mas yo, altanera, con orgullo vano," y también habla de, "mi soberbia impía." Además, a lo largo del poema, en la quinta estofa, la voz poética dice, "¿Qué mágico poder, en tal bajeza / trocando ya tu indómita fiereza / de libertad te priva?" Estos versos muestran los pensamientos de la mujer sobre la independencia y el amor. Ella considera el amor como cadenas y piensa que van a privarla de su libertad. Piensa que si se enamora tendrá que dejar su libertad e independencia (López 213). De la misma manera, en el soneto "Deseo de venganza," hay un énfasis fuerte en el individualismo. Esta idea aparece especialmente en el último verso, "y el llanto seca que cobarde llora!" La voz poética habla sobre el dolor que le causa pero no quiere confesarlo ni mostrar este dolor. Ella cree que es cobarde llorar y quiere ocultar su emoción profunda. También, ella envidia el impacto destructivo y el poder que el hombre demuestra y describe esto a través del poema. Unos versos dicen, "Del alma que te invoca y acompaña / envidiando tu fuerza destructora / lanza a la par la confusión extraña." Estos versos describen la envidia que siente y su deseo de vengarse por el dolor que él le ha causado. La envidia y el deseo de vengarse impiden el amor, y por eso la voz poética expresa mucha confusión y, a lo largo del poema, describe su confusión interior y corazón trastornado (López 215). Además, es necesario tener en cuenta que esta individualidad no siempre es deliberada. En sus obras, muchas veces la voz poética se queda sola debido, por lo menos en parte, al amor imposible, el cual es otro tema romántico. En su vida, Gómez tuvo varios amores tumultuosos que siempre terminaron mal y esto la dejó con el corazón roto. Sus poemas, que se ven como el espejo de su vida íntima, son ejemplos de una pasión fuerte y una vida intensamente sentida que la dominaban. Su poesía tiene valor no solo por ser el fruto de su talento e imaginación, sino por ser el reflejo de su experiencia directa (Selimov 63).

Además, el tema romántico de la correlación entre amantes humanos y seres divinos, o sea, una exaltación de personas comunes, se destaca a lo largo de la poesía de Gómez. La poeta escribe con una ambigüedad fascinante cuando trata a los amantes humanos y los seres espirituales y a menudo usa términos espirituales para hablar de los hombres. Esta naturaleza doble de los hombres en las obras de Gómez ha sido objeto de comentario por mucho tiempo. Muchas veces, ella emplea casi el mismo lenguaje cuando escribe sobre Dios y un amante humano, y a menudo confunde al lector sobre a quién se refiere (Thompson 75). Además, el viaje espiritual que describe en su poesía parece al mismo tiempo una búsqueda de un amante. Sin embargo, Gómez tiene un propósito para esta ambigüedad. En sus poemas, ella está buscando el ideal romántico, pero sabe que los seres humanos son muy frágiles. Por eso, ella piensa que este encuentro entre un hombre y una mujer es muy peligroso, pero a veces, parece que se deleita en el posible peligro tanto como en la pasión (Thompson 77). Esta idea romántica se presenta en el soneto "Feliz quien junto a ti." En este soneto, ella escribe, "El querubín que en el empíreo mora / el alma turba, al corazón devora." El poema se trata de un amante humano, pero ella usa la palabra "querubín," que usualmente se refiere a un ángel, para hablar de un amante humano. Además, en el soneto "Deseo de venganza," se implica este tema en el verso, "¡Del huracán espíritu potente!" en que usa la palabra "espíritu" para describir el hombre. Por fin, hay muchas referencias en el poema "Amor y orgullo" para comparar el hombre a una persona divina y también Gómez usa palabras espirituales en general a lo largo del poema. Por ejemplo, un verso dice, "Ardiente osaba demandar al cielo / objeto a mis amores." De la misma manera, ella escribe "Tú que anhelabas tan sublime objeto / ¿cómo al capricho de un mortal sujeto / te arrastras abatid?" También dice, "Pues de místico bien siempre anhelante." Además, la voz poética usa las frases como "mágico poder," "místico," "tu gloria," "destino" y "ilusiones," todas las cuales son elecciones interesantes cuando el poema se trata de un hombre y no de un ser divino.

Hay mucha evidencia de elementos románticos en la poesía de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda. Específicamente, los temas de la expresión de los sentimientos extremos y opuestos de los seres humanos, la idea del individualismo y la correlación entre amantes humanos y seres espirituales son evidentes a lo

largo de los poemas "Amor y orgullo," "Deseo de venganza" y "Feliz quien junto a ti." Se demuestran los sentimientos extremos y opuestos de la voz poética hacia su amante y el amor en los poemas. También, Gómez hace una comparación con los sentimientos opuestos y los elementos paradójicos de la naturaleza. El tema del individualismo se destaca en estos tres poemas de Gómez. En estos poemas, la voz poética tiene amor por el hombre pero también expresa su orgullo, lo cual impide el amor. El tema romántico de la correlación entre amantes humanos y seres divinos aparece en su poesía también y a menudo usa términos espirituales para hablar de los hombres. Todos estos son ejemplos del romanticismo de Gómez, una de las figuras más importantes del movimiento romántico, cuya poesía ha tenido impactos de gran alcance en el mundo Hispanoaméricano.

## Obras citadas

Gómez de Avellaneda, Gertrudis. "Amor y orgullo."

Gómez de Avellaneda, Gertrudis. "Deseo de venganza."

Gómez de Avellaneda, Gertrudis. "Feliz quien junto a tí."

López Cruz, Humberto. "Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda y la exaltación de la libertad." Círculo: Revista de Cultura 29 (2000): 211-18. Impreso.

Selimov, Alexander R. "La poética de la cultura romántica y el discurso narrativo, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda." Hispanófila. May 2003 (138):59-74. Academic Search Premier. Web. 30 Sept. 2014.

Thompson, Katheryn A. "The duality of the male other in the poetry of Avellaneda: aspects of his nature and utility." Romance Notes 45.1 (2004): 75+. Academic OneFile. Web. 30 Sept. 2014.

# Apéndice

## Amor y Orgullo

Un tiempo hollaba por alfombras rosas;
y nobles vates, de mentidas diosas
prodigábanme nombres;
mas yo, altanera, con orgullo vano,
cual águila real a vil gusano,
contemplaba a los hombres.

Mi pensamiento en temerario vuelo
ardiente osaba demandar al cielo
objeto a mis amores,
y si a la tierra con desdén volvía
triste mirada, mi soberbia impía
marchitaba sus flores.

Tal vez por un momento caprichosa
entre ellas revolé, cual mariposa,
sin fijarme en ninguna;
pues de místico bien siempre anhelante,
clamaba en vano, como tierno infante
quiere abrazar la luna.

Hoy, despeñada de la excelsa cumbre
do osé mirar del sol la ardiente lumbre
que fascinó mis ojos,
cual hoja seca al raudo torbellino,
cedo al poder del áspero destino...
¡Me entrego a sus antojos!

Cobarde corazón, que el nudo estrecho
gimiendo sufres, dime: ¿qué se ha hecho
tu presunción altiva?
¿Qué mágico poder, en tal bajeza
trocando ya tu indómita fiereza,
de libertad te priva?

¡Mísero esclavo de tirano dueño,
tu gloria fue cual mentiroso sueño,
que con las sombras huye!
Di, ¿qué se hicieron ilusiones tantas
de necia vanidad, débiles plantas
que el aquilón destruye?

En hora infausta a mi feliz reposo,
¿no dijiste, soberbio y orgulloso:
¿Quién domará mi brío?
¡Con mi solo poder haré, si quiero,
mudar de rumbo al céfiro ligero
y arder al mármol frío!

¡Funesta ceguedad! ¡Delirio insano!
Te gritó la razón... Mas ¡cuán en vano
te advirtió tu locura!...
¡Tú mismo te forjaste la cadena,
que a servidumbre eterna te condena,
y a duelo y amargura!

Los lazos caprichosos que otros días
por pasatiempo a tu placer tejías,
fueron de seda y oro;
los que ahora rinden tu valor primero,
son eslabones de pesado acero,
templados con tu lloro.

¿Qué esperaste, ¡ay de ti!, de un pecho helado
de inmenso orgullo y presunción hinchado,
de víboras nutrido?
Tú que anhelabas tan sublime objeto
¿cómo al capricho de un mortal sujeto
te arrastras abatido?

¿Con qué velo tu amor cubrió mis ojos,
que por flores tomé duros abrojos,
y por oro la arcilla?...
¡Del torpe engaño mis rivales ríen,
y mis amantes, ay, tal vez se engríen
del yugo que me humilla!

¿Y tú lo sufres, corazón cobarde?
¿Y de tu servidumbre haciendo alarde
quieres ver en mi frente
el sello del amor que te devora?...
¡Ah! Velo, pues, y búrlese en buen hora
de mi baldón la gente.

¡Salga del pecho requemando el labio
el caro nombre de mi orgullo agravio,
de mi dolor sustento!...
¿Escrito no le ves en las estrellas
y en la luna apacible que con ellas
alumbra el firmamento?

¿No le oyes, de las auras al murmullo?
¿No le pronuncia en gemidor arrullo
la tórtola amorosa?
¿No resuena en los árboles, que el viento
halaga con pausado movimiento
en esa selva hojosa?
De aquella fuente entre las claras linfas,
¿no le articulan invisibles ninfas
con eco lisonjero?...
¿Por qué callar el nombre que te inflama,
si aún el silencio tiene voz, que aclama
ese nombre que quiero?...

Nombre que un alma lleva por despojo;
nombre que excita con placer enojo,
y con ira ternura;
nombre más dulce que el primer cariño
de joven madre al inocente niño,
copia de su hermosura;

y más amargo que el adiós postrero
que al suelo damos, donde el sol primero
alumbró nuestra vida,
nombre que halaga y halagando mata;
nombre que hiere como sierpe ingrata
al pecho que le anida.

¡No, no lo envíes, corazón, al labio!
¡Guarda tu mengua con silencio sabio!
¡Guarda, guarda tu mengua!
¡Callad también vosotras, auras, fuente,
trémulas hojas, tórtola doliente,
como calla mi lengua!

# Apéndice

## Deseo de venganza

¡Del huracán espíritu potente,
rudo como la pena que me agita!
¡Ven, con el tuyo mi furor excita!
¡Ven con tu aliento a enardecer mi mente!

¡Que zumbe el rayo y con fragor reviente,
mientras -cual a hoja seca o flor marchita-
tu fuerte soplo al roble precipita
roto y deshecho al bramador torrente!

Del alma que te invoca y acompaña,
envidiando tu fuerza destructora,
lanza a la par la confusión extraña.

¡Ven... al dolor que insano la devora
haz suceder tu poderosa saña,
y el llanto seca que cobarde llora!

## Feliz quien junto a ti

Feliz quien junto a ti por ti suspira,
Quien oye el eco de tu voz sonora,
Quien el halago de tu risa adora,
Y el blando aroma de tu aliento aspira!
Ventura tanta, que envidioso admira
El querubín que en el empíreo mora,
El alma turba, al corazón devora,
Y el torpe acento, al expresarla, espira.
Ante mis ojos desaparece el mundo,
Y por mis venas circular ligero
El fuego siento del amor profundo.
Trémula, en vano resistirte quiero…
De ardiente llanto mi mejilla inundo…
¡Delirio, gozo, te benido y muero!