



*A Postgraduate History
Journal*

Featuring:

Nicholas Brown

‘On the Statue of Narcissus’ from
Callistratus’ *Descriptiones Statuarum* and
the Question of Representation

Sarah Gandee

Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar and the
Re-Interpretation of ‘Untouchability’:
Legislating Against Caste Violence in
Rural India, 1930-1975

Clare Gordon

Encouraging a Broader Narrative of
American Pure Food Legislation:
Understanding the Federal Food, Drug
and Cosmetic Act of 1938

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Correspondence

Retrospectives Editor
Department of History
Humanities Building
University of Warwick
Coventry, CV4 7AL

Email: retrospectives@warwick.ac.uk
Website: www.retrospectives.org.uk
Twitter: [@retrospectives_](https://twitter.com/@retrospectives_)

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Retrospectives is committed to publishing original postgraduate historical research. We encourage submissions from postgraduates of all levels, from first year taught MA students to those who have recently completed their PhD. We aim to publish high quality material by maintaining high standards for author feedback, and are committed to providing full and detailed comments on every article sent to us. Retrospectives is not only a journal, it is a resource for postgraduate students. Alongside our constructive, collaborative review process, we encourage postgraduate students to submit creative and innovative pieces of writing.

Foreword

Professor Daniel Branch

The life-blood of any department in any major research university is its postgraduate community. It is among this constituency that the cutting-edge research is being conducted and the inventive relationships between future collaborators are being formed. The challenge (as always) is to find outlets for this creative energy. *Retrospectives* provides just such an opportunity for publication of the very best historical research by postgraduate students.

The journal is based in the History Department at the University of Warwick. Its editorial board, many of its contributors and most of its reviewers are drawn from the postgraduate community in the department.

Like the three previous volumes, this volume is notable for its breadth, innovation and the manner in which it conveys a sense of the excitement of postgraduate research. Although the uncertainty of funding and the demands of teaching or other employment present significant challenges to every student, it is also true that postgraduates enjoy a great privilege in being able to focus on their research subject with few other distractions. It is a privilege that most will never be able to enjoy again in their subsequent academic careers.

This volume is an admirable showcase for such work. It provides an opportunity for the authors of the articles that follow to demonstrate the value of innovative methodologies, the benefits of interdisciplinary approaches and the rewards of exploring new avenues of historical research.

Successive generations of editors have done well to make *Retrospectives* sustainable. Many similar initiatives come to a halt when the founding editors move on; longevity is a significant challenge in a setting where those involved will spend probably a maximum of four years in the host department. The fact that the journal is now in its fourth volume is a testament to the hard work of the current editorial board, led by Benjamin Redding, and the sound foundations left by its predecessors.

This is not to infer that *Retrospectives* is simply surviving. In fact, the journal has received a record number of papers and book reviews for consideration over the past year. The volume of submissions means the current editorial board has to work even harder than its predecessors. But like their

predecessors, the current editors are helped a great deal by the high quality of papers that they are able to publish.

There are many reasons why I am proud to be part of the History Department at Warwick. Its postgraduate community and the creative energy of its members, as exhibited in this volume of *Retrospectives*, are two of these. This volume provides a fine platform of the exciting work done by this group and their counterparts from elsewhere. I hope you will enjoy reading it.

Professor Daniel Branch
Head of History Department, University of Warwick.

"On the Statue of Narcissus" from Callistratus's *Descriptiones Statuarum* and the Question of Representation.

Nicholas Brown*

This article centres on the work of Callistratus, a sophist writing during the third and fourth centuries AD under the Roman Empire about whom little else is known. He wrote a collection of ekphraseis, a genre of writing centred on vivid description of a person, object or event. Callistratus authored *Descriptiones Statuarum*, a group of fourteen descriptions of statues from around the Roman Empire. Callistratus addresses his listeners as “ὦ νεοί”, “young men” which suggests that he read them aloud as part of his role as a teacher of rhetoric¹. The aim of this article is to investigate the recurrent themes throughout the genre of ekphrasis evident in Callistratus’s interpretation of a statue of Narcissus, one of the subjects of the *Descriptiones Statuarum*. Hence, the article investigates the way in which Callistratus uses his description of the statue of Narcissus to explore key ideas and themes within his own work, ekphrasis as a genre, as well as the relationship between representation and reality. This article will discuss, firstly, a discussion of the role of emotion, most specifically pleasure, in ekphrastic as well as artistic appreciation will be undertaken. Secondly, the article will explore the complicated relationship between word and image in the genre of ekphrasis. Thirdly, with respect to the Homeric model from which Callistratus was working, there will be an identification of material as a limitation to the verisimilitude of a piece of art. Fourthly, the significance of the mirror in relation to Plato’s philosophies in ekphraseis as well as specifically how it functions in the myth of Narcissus and the context of Callistratus’s performance. Finally, the sense of illusion that Callistratus creates and plays with throughout his ekphrasis of the statue of Narcissus will be explored. This will

* Nicholas Brown is currently a Masters student in Ancient Visual and Material Culture at the University of Warwick.

¹ Callistratus, ‘Descriptiones Statuarum’ 5.5, ed. M. Pantelia, in *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, <<https://www.tlg.uci.edu/>> [accessed 27nd April 2015]

highlight the degree to which this under-appreciated author was in fact pushing the boundaries of his genre, using his statue of Narcissus as a centre-piece.

Emotion and Pleasure

Callistratus's *Descriptiones Statuarum* was an epideictic form of ekphrasis, i.e. a speech given not in a law court, but one which would be delivered simply for pleasure and display for his students as part of his or their rhetorical training. Webb and Whitmarsh, in their identification of the different uses of ekphrasis, both name epideictic as speeches which would create a sense of pleasure in the audience.² The myth of Narcissus is one that revolves around pleasure, but, this pleasure is immediately impaired by the presence of skill in the artist. Callistratus blames technique/skill (τεχνη) for having brought out the grief (λυπη) in the statue's eyes.³ Within the first section of his ekphrasis, Callistratus promptly blocks the feelings of 'unmixed exultation' (ακρατως γαυρον) and 'pure joy' (ιλαρον καθαρως) that the sight of Narcissus would normally invoke in the viewer.⁴ Much like the character of Narcissus himself, the reader/listener⁵ is invited to look upon the tempting vision of Narcissus and admire it, despite the fact, it can only lead to their ultimate pain in the frustration that they can never truly receive the pleasure that they seek in his form. It is in this sense that the pleasure that Narcissus invokes in the viewer is not pleasure at all, but frustration and pain. In the same way that the statue of Narcissus appears to be tempted by a vision of itself, only to be met with frustration, Callistratus's reader/listener is also tempted by the pleasure of viewing the beautiful statue. Similarly, however, they are also met with frustration in the form of the pathos apparently emanating from the statue's eyes. Instead of making his ekphrasis of Narcissus an entirely sweet and pleasurable affair, the author gives it a bittersweet tone in which there is no pleasure without want and frustration. The reader/listener is also frustrated by Callistratus's occlusion of a purely visual subject behind his veil of words.

Eros is also a figure mentioned within the description of the statue of Narcissus, and indeed the two characters converge as one. Eros is mentioned twice, and is shown to be identical to Narcissus in age and clothing in both

² Ruth Webb, 'Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice', (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2009) p.76; Whitmarsh, T. *The Second Sophistic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)p.3.

³ Callistratus, 'Descriptiones Statuarum', 5.1.

⁴ Callistratus, 'Descriptiones Statuarum', 5.1.

⁵ For ease of comprehension, I will refer to the audience as the reader or listener interchangeably.

cases.⁶ The statue of Narcissus is disguised as Eros, representing the deceptive love that he develops for himself. But the audience know that they cannot trust and take pleasure from this form of Eros as it is only a disguise and thus the statue's eyes reveal the reader's fate as well as its own. This raises the question whether the reader is meant to take pleasure from this ekphrasis? It has been asserted by the author that no pure pleasure came from the statue or the subject of the statue itself. Are the reader and Callistratus's *neoi*, as educated people with the benefits of *sophos* and *paideia*, intended to take more than pleasure from the ekphrasis, perhaps *katharsis*? Are they expected to realise instead, that it is the audience's own knowledge of Narcissus' story that brings them pain? Thus, Webb was not entirely correct to assert that epideictic ekphraseis are designed pleasure for the audience. This is due to the very didactic nature of ekphraseis by sophists such as Philostratus and Callistratus: they offer the audience not only pleasure, but also a lesson. Hence, Callistratus is using the myth of Narcissus to suggest to his reader/listeners that the very genre of ekphrasis is a deception in which one should not allow oneself to be caught. By thinking that words alone can give the same pleasure of appreciating art, the reader/listener is making the same mistake as Narcissus' appreciation of himself through a reflection, both of which are doomed to failure and frustration. Thus, Callistratus invites the reader to question the validity and truth of ekphrasis.

Word and Image

This is also evident in the relationship between word and image that Callistratus's description of the statue of Narcissus provokes. As Cheeke notes in his work *Writing for Art*,

*'The first point to make then is that writing for art exists and thrives under the knowledge of failure, indeed [it] seems to be spurred on by that certainty that there is something hopeless in what it is attempting to do.'*⁷

It is arguable that this is due to the different dimensions in which the verbal and visual signs function, that is, time and space respectively. Lessing, for instance, argues that words are a medium for portraying events and narrative, occurrences happening over time, whereas the visual arts function within space, only able to express things in regard to form, style and colour.⁸ It appears that this is an anachronistic theory to apply to ancient Greek art. It is wrong to think of art as exclusively acting in space, in a world in which art

⁶ Callistratus, 'Descriptiones Statuarum' 5.1; 5.2.

⁷ Stephen Cheeke, 'Writing for Art', (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008) p.2.

⁸ Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, 'Laokoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry' (London: Routledge, 1850) from Internet Archive Internet Archive, ed. A. Rossi-
<<https://archive.org/>> [accessed 27nd April 2015].

was strongly tied up with the idea of memory and memorialisation. Krieger states that art in general is a mnemonic device meant to reproduce an absent reality⁹, which is particularly apt with regard to the myth of Narcissus, as it is about the absent reality of Narcissus's reflection in the spring. Furthermore, Callistratus writes one of his descriptions about a statue of Paeon.¹⁰ As a song of praise or celebration of victory, it was directly linked with memorialisation and time. Callistratus specifically chose to write a verbal description of a visual manifestation of a verbal description of someone's accomplishments. Here Callistratus is directly emphasising that both the verbal and visual arts are valid in representing the passage of events and actions. Similarly, in his description of the statue of Paeon, the narrator offers to the statue *μνημης εγγονων*, 'the offspring of memory', eliding the visual and verbal media and their similar abilities to invoke memory, a way of truncating the representation of time and narrative.¹¹

Callistratus's choice of the word *αγαλμα* is also significant, according to Platt's differentiation between the terms *agalma* and *eikon*. Platt argues that *eikon* is a word used for 'portraits and suggests a mimetic "likeness"' whereas *agalma* refers to a statue with a ritual function, such as a representative of the divine or mythological, which ultimately represents the unrepresentable.¹² Callistratus titles each of his subjects an *agalma*, with the notable exceptions of *Εισ Σατυρον*, 'On the Satyr' and *Εισ την του Αθαμαντος Εικονα*, 'On the Likeness of Athamas' which are interestingly the first and last of his extant ekphraseis. Through his use of the word *agalma*, Callistratus is evoking a status for this statue beyond a simple likeness. Instead, he is giving it a semi-divine status, comparable with that of a cult statue. Like Aeneas with the *penates*, Callistratus brings home his divinity- a copy of the statue of Narcissus, transplanting it into the Hall of the Muses.

Beyond the particular words that Callistratus chooses to describe his visual subject, it is also of note that he uses words at all. When there is a perfectly good copy of the statue itself in the Hall of Muses, whose authenticity Callistratus himself can guarantee, why describe it at all? If the purpose of ekphrasis was to bring forth a picture vividly before the eyes, as Theon writes in his *Progymnasmata*, 118,¹³ why do it when one can simply put the statue before their eyes, a vision that is reality rather than verbal artifice? If Cheeke's earlier assertion is right, that ekphrasis does function under the knowledge of its own failure, Callistratus's mentioning of his copy of the statue was to

⁹ Murray Krieger, 'Ekphrasis' (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992) p.14.

¹⁰ Callistratus, 'Descriptiones Statuarum' 10.

¹¹ For more on the mix of the visual and verbal through ekphrasis, see Michael Squire, 'Image and Text in Greco-Roman Antiquity' (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

¹² Verity Platt, 'Facing the Gods', (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) p.189.

¹³ Theon, 'Progymnasmata', 118, ed. M. Pantelia from *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

highlight the implied weaknesses and frustrations that ekphrasis holds as a genre, the verbal's ultimate failure to truly capture the visual. Again, Callistratus is purposefully drawing an analogy between the reader/listener and Narcissus. Narcissus's frustration with the visual is also the listener's frustration with the verbal, as neither audience receives what is required of their medium. Narcissus cannot attain the reciprocated love that he longs for, and the reader cannot truly behold his image through words, mirroring the very issue with ekphrasis.¹⁴

The absence of the character of Echo in the description of Narcissus is also of note, considering that, since Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, she had become a common character in the depiction of Narcissus.¹⁵ It is reasonable to assume that Callistratus would have been familiar with Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, including his new version of the Narcissus myth, the most notable invention being that of the bitter love triangle between Echo, Narcissus and himself. Echo, however, is mentioned as a character in the descriptions of the Satyr and Memnon. In his first description, Callistratus puts Echo in a particularly erotic setting, cowering in the embrace of Pan, 'μή τινα φθόγγον ἔμμουσον ὁ αὐλὸς κινήσας ἀντηγεῖν ἀναπέιση τῷ Σατύρῳ τὴν Νύμφην', 'in case the flute set in motion some musical throng and induce the nymph to echo a reply back to the Satyr'.¹⁶ The satyr, being a mythical creature known from Classical Greece onwards as sexually aggressive and lewd, is something Callistratus would have known from satyr plays and exploits. Thus Callistratus places Echo within a highly eroticised context in the presence of a satyr, which is in direct contrast to her presence in the description of Memnon in his ninth description. Here Memnon's identity is asserted as him being a son of Tithonus, a lover of Eos, who suffered a near identical fate to Ovid's Echo. Here, she acts as she did in *Metamorphoses*, only able to repeat back what is said to her, but this time with the statue of Memnon, merely repeating his mournful or happy cries with her own.¹⁷ However, Echo does not feature in Callistratus's description of Narcissus, and it is thus arguable that, as a character, she is un-representable in the plastic arts, but of course, she features in the statue group of which the satyr is a part. So why does Callistratus exclude her? One could infer that Echo is indeed present, in the form of Callistratus's very ekphrasis. Callistratus verbally echoed the visual in his ekphrasis of the statue and aligning himself with her character would also further involve the reader/listener to assume the role of Echo themselves. By making her absent, the identity of Echo becomes ambiguous; Callistratus can assume the role of Echo as he both admires the image of Narcissus whilst also verbally echoing it. Similarly, the audience can

¹⁴ Jas Elsner, 'Roman Eyes' (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007) p.68.

¹⁵ For more on representations of Narcissus in the post-Ovidian period, see Elsner 'Roman Eyes', p.132-176.

¹⁶ Callistratus, 'Descriptiones Statuarum' 1.5.

¹⁷ Callistratus, 'Descriptiones Statuarum' 9.3.

identify with Echo, again as admirers of the image of Narcissus as well as future rhetoricians who will, in turn, echo the works of Callistratus. Alternatively, Echo could represent the absence of words in an image. Echo's fate was to disintegrate, like Tithonus's, to the point where she was nothing but her voice, existing purely in verbal media, whereas Narcissus became a mute flower, an object with only a visual presence, incapable of verbal expression. This is in stark contrast to the treatment of the Statue of Orpheus, whose lyre, though made of bronze, is able to produce each individual note on its strings, thus becoming vocal.¹⁸ Within his discussion of the statue of Narcissus, Callistratus dramatises the distance between word and image, questioning the nature of ekphrasis as a genre. I have shown that Callistratus acknowledges the power of the image to affect time and memorialisation through his treatment and analysis of the statue of Paeon, arguing that the dichotomy put forward by Lessing cannot be applied here.

Material

A statue or painting cannot be a man or a battle because it is made of marble and pigment, but in every other respect artifice may be treated as reality. This is suggested by the ekphraseis of Homer, later to be used again by Callistratus. Homer's most famous ekphrasis, the Shield of Achilles, an exemplum which authors such as Virgil and Catullus would later emulate, depicts a scene encompassing many subjects and themes. One is of an agricultural scene, a farmer ploughing his field:

ἦ δὲ μελαίνετ' ὄπισθεν, ἀρηρομένη δὲ ἔώκει,
χρυσείη περ εὐῶσα: τὸ δὴ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκτο¹⁹

*'And behind [the field] darkened, as if it had really been ploughed,
despite being gold; such was the wonder of its crafting.'*²⁰

The issue of material limiting imitation is mentioned, not only in the Iliad, but also in the Odyssey. Homer's ekphrastic divergence onto the subject of Odysseus's brooch also identifies its material as a limiting factor on its effectiveness to represent reality:

χλαῖναν πορφυρέην οὔλην ἔχε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
διπλῆν: αὐτὰρ οἱ περόνη χρυσοῖο τέτυκτο
αὐλοῖσιν διδύμοισι: πάροιθε δὲ δαίδαλον ἦεν:

¹⁸ Callistratus, 'Descriptiones Statuarum' 7.2

¹⁹ Homer, 'Iliad', 18.548/9, ed. G.R.Crane, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920) from *Perseus Digital Library 4.0*, ed. G.R. Crane- <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>> Accessed 27nd April 2015

²⁰ Own translation.

ἐν προτέροισι πόδεσσι κύων ἔχε ποικίλον ἔλλον,
 ἀσπαίροντα λάων: τὸ δὲ θαυμάζεσκον ἅπαντες,
ὡς οἱ χρύσειοι ἐόντες ὁ μὲν λάε νεβρόν ἀπάγχων,
 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκφυγέειν μεμαῶς ἤσπαιρε πόδεσσι.²¹

*'Godly Odysseus was wearing a double-ply, purple woolly cloak
 but the brooch was wrought of gold with a double clasp
 and on the front it was detailed: in his front paws a dog
 held a spotted fawn, gripping it as it struggled.
 Everyone marvelled at it, and **although it was golden,**
 it held the fawn, strangling it as it struggled with its feet,
 eagerly trying to escape.'*²²

Homer seems intent on breaking the illusion of his subject matter's verisimilitude by mentioning its artificial nature through the identification of its material. However, in both cases he does this to highlight the quality of the craftsmanship and overall effect of the art: 'such was the wonder of its crafting' that 'everyone marvelled at it.' Homer asserts the material of the object, only to strengthen the appeal and sense of wonder one should feel for it. It is known that Callistratus was influenced by the Shield of Achilles as in his ekphrasis of the statue of Orpheus, and indeed he makes direct allusion to it by referencing the Bear star, which has no share in the baths of Ocean.²³

Similarly to Homer, Callistratus only mentions the material of the statue when it would have the most effect on the listener in their appreciation of its beauty. The first mention of the statue of Narcissus's material ('λίθος' stone, normally translated as marble) is in the first sentence:

Ἄλσος ἦν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνη πάγκαλος ἐκ
 μάλα καθαροῦ τε καὶ διαυγοῦς ὕδατος, εἰστήκει δὲ
 ἐπ' αὐτῇ Νάρκισσος ἐκ λίθου πεποιημένος²⁴

*'There was a grove in which there was an exceedingly beautiful spring,
 with especially pure and translucent water, and by this had been set up a
 Narcissus made out of marble.'*²⁵

Here, Callistratus simultaneously asserts the statue's identity as *a* Narcissus - as opposed to a statue *of* Narcissus- and the artificiality of the statue through

²¹ Homer, 'Odyssey', 19.225-231, ed. Murray, (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1919) from *Perseus Digital Library 4.0*.

²² Own translation.

²³ Callistratus, 'Descriptiones Statuarum' 7.3; Homer, 'Iliad'. 18.487-9

²⁴ Callistratus, 'Descriptiones Statuarum' 5.1.

²⁵ Own translation.

the assertion of its material, reinforced by the word *πεποιημένος*, ‘made’. He also contrasts the artificial beauty of the stone Narcissus with the natural beauty of the water. Thus, from this first sentence, the reader/listener is invited to compare the natural beauty of the spring and the artificial beauty of the statue.

A more prominent moment of Callistratus drawing out the tension between material and subject occurs in 5.3, where he writes:

ἢ
 μὲν γὰρ λίθος ὅλη πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μετηλλάττετο τὸν ὄντως παῖδα, ἢ
 δὲ πηγὴ πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῇ λίθῳ
 μηχανήματα τῆς τέχνης ἀντηγωνίζετο ἐν ἀσωμάτῳ σχήματι τὴν ἐ-
 κ σώματος ἀπεργαζομένη τοῦ
 παραδείγματος ὁμοιότητα καὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνας
 κατερχομένῳ σκιάσματι οἷον τινὰ σάρκα τὴν τοῦ
 ὕδατος φύσιν περιθεῖσα.²⁶

‘For whereas the marble was trying in every way to change the real boy to match the one in the spring, the spring was competing with the contrivances of art in the stone: to express perfectly a bodily form in a bodiless medium, subsuming the reflection so as to place within the water the nature of flesh.’²⁷

Here Callistratus directly compares the efforts of the artist with that of a spring’s in their ability to create a likeness of Narcissus. Although highlighting the materials of each, the competition of copying between the water and the stone exaggerates the final product’s quality and ability to take the place of the original. Finally, the last time that the material of the statue is mentioned shows how the very qualities of the material adapt to the subject matter:

τὸ δὲ οὐδε λόγῳ ῥητὸν λίθος εἰς ὑγρότητα
 κεχαλασμένος καὶ ἐναντίον σῶμα τῇ οὐσίᾳ παρεχόμενος: στερ-
 εωτέρας γὰρ
 τετυχηκῶς φύσεως τρυφερότητος ἀπέστελλεν αἴσθησιν εἰς ἄ-
 ραιὸν τινὰ σώματος ὄγκον διαχεόμενος.²⁸

‘There are no words to describe how the stone loosened to give a body in opposition to its own state. For it was naturally very hard, yet gave off a sense of softness, dissolving into a body of more slender mass.’²⁹

²⁶ Callistratus, ‘Descriptiones Statuarum’ 5.3.

²⁷ Own translation.

²⁸ Callistratus, ‘Descriptiones Statuarum’ 5.5

²⁹ Own translation.

In this example Callistratus goes one step further to say how the working of the stone has inexplicably changed its most basic properties. By giving the stone art, the artist has changed the very fabric of the stone. This device is similarly employed in *Descriptions* 1.3, where the satyr's marble veins appear to be filling with air. Here, Callistratus goes beyond the Homeric model. No longer constrained by its material, the subject of Callistratus's ekphrasis breaks the limits of its materiality and gains a position above art to something greater and closer to nature.

The Mirror

The mirror features significantly in the art of the ancient world. Plato, in his *Republic*, discusses the mirror and its relationship with artifice:

*'Or do you not perceive that you yourself would be able to make all these things in a way?' "And in what way, I ask you," he said. "There is no difficulty," said I, "but it is something that the craftsman can make everywhere and quickly. You could do it most quickly if you should choose to take a mirror and carry it about everywhere.'*³⁰

What Socrates and Glaucon are discussing here is the very nature of imitation and reflection. They proceed to hypothesise on the nature of the reflection and how it is an imitation of things, as they appear to be. Callistratus may be using Plato's discussion in conjunction with the Narcissus myth to further question the validity of even the mirror as an agent of representation. Especially when seen in light of the competition between stone and water to create a likeness of the statue, as discussed above, the mirror comes under direct analysis in Callistratus's description. Both Plato and Callistratus identify the mirror as identical to the artist, as both only represent appearances, not necessarily reality. According to Plato, the poet can also only be called an imitator, like the artist and mirror. Callistratus seems to be using the ideas discussed in this section of Plato's *Republic* to argue the validity of artistic representation in both visual and verbal media. He equalises the position of both visual and verbal media in their attempts at representing reality: they are both inadequate. Both are only able to represent an imitation of reality, the third creator in Plato's hierarchy of creators, God being the first, the creator second (carpenter in his analogy) and the artist third, each further removed from the ideal.³¹ Callistratus simultaneously validates and degrades his own efforts as an author of an ekphrasis with this discussion: validating his alignment with artists according to Plato's hierarchy. Callistratus constructs himself as equally capable of representing Narcissus as the sculptor or the mirror, whilst also

³⁰ Plato, *Republic*, 10.596d trans. J. Adam, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902) from *Perseus Digital Library* 4.0.

³¹ Plato, 'Republic', 10.597a-598c, trans. Adam.

demoting the entire profession of poet/artists by making it clear that all artists can hope to do is imitate things as they appear to be.

Thus, the mirror, like realism, is in pursuit of the ultimate deceit: making its viewer believe that it is in fact reality and not an image at all. Elsner neatly summarises the two main deceits that Narcissus is prey to within his story; 'first, Narcissus believes absolutely that the image he loves is *real*, and second, he fails to see that the image reflected in the pool, which he takes to be real, is in fact himself'.³² The statue of Narcissus in Callistratus's *Descriptiones* is unaware of the Platonic assertion of the mirror's artificiality, treating the image of itself in the spring as reality, tricked much like Zeuxis and the birds in the episode of Pliny's *Natural History* where the birds peck at Zeuxis's painted grapes and then Zeuxis attempts to pull back the curtain, painted by Parrhasius.³³ The mise-en-abyme set up by the author as well as Philostratus in *Imagines* 1.23 invites the audience to reflect on the admiration between Narcissus and his image. They also portray their own admiration of the statue in the narrative, Callistratus's statue in the Hall of the Muses as well as his description of the statue. What does it mean for the reader/listener to take pleasure in any of these representations? Is the reader assuming the role of Narcissus in that they are to falsely take pleasure in these tricks of stone and word? Surely their deception should be one stage more severe, for, if the reader feels admiration for the image of Narcissus, s/he is falling for a representation of a representation, unlike Narcissus, who falls for a simple reflection at only one remove from the original. Being twice removed from the original again puts the reader, in Platonic terms, in the artist's position, unable to access the original ideal and only able to represent its appearance in their mind. Pausanias's description of the sanctuary of Despoina and Demeter in Lykosoura similarly uses a mirror to highlight the status of the artwork it reflects.

*'On the right as you go out of the temple there is a mirror fitted into the wall. If anyone looks into this mirror, he will see himself very dimly indeed or not at all, but the actual images of the gods and the throne can be seen quite clearly.'*³⁴

Platt interprets this as a way for the viewer to see something closer to the real god through the agency of the mirror; only 'by perceiving the gods indirectly, via a reflection, one can actually see them clearly (ἐναργῶς)'.³⁵ Is Callistratus's

³² Elsner, 'Roman Eyes' p.137.

³³ Pliny the Elder, 'Natural History' 35.36, trans. W. Bostock, (London: Taylor and Francis, 1855) from *Perseus Digital Library* 4.0.

³⁴ Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.37.7, trans. W.H.S. Jones, (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1918) from *Perseus Digital Library* 4.0.

³⁵ Platt, 'Facing the Gods', p.222.

ekphrasis acting like this mirror, allowing the reader/listener to view in their minds the statue of Narcissus? By not viewing the visual directly, but indirectly, the audience is finally able to visualise something that by definition is impossible (in fact fictional, mythological and legendary) to visualise: Narcissus's beauty incarnate. Callistratus thus makes his work the mirror in which his readers can see Narcissus. Thus, Callistratus aims to make the reader question the role of ekphrasis and its relationship with its subject.

Illusion

Finally, the article will examine illusion, which is the primary goal of an ekphrasis as the reader/listener is intended to see the object vividly before their eyes, despite its absence. But like many ekphraseis, the very existence of the original subject is under question. The armour of Achilles and Odysseus's brooch probably never existed and almost certainly were never seen by Homer (whoever that may be). Similarly, the subjects of the ekphraseis of Virgil and Catullus were also fictional, only existing in the minds of their authors. What does it mean, then, to write a description of an object that only exists in the author's mind for the purpose of placing it within the mind's eye of another? This is an idea further expanded upon and exploited through Callistratus's description of a statue of *Kairos* or Opportunity. Opportunity, of course, lacks a visible manifestation, but is afforded one by the artist, only to be denied this physicality through its description in words.³⁶ In the case of the statue of Narcissus, the object may never have existed, and was only given a presence through the medium of words. Callistratus confuses the status of the original statue as, according to the last lines of *Descriptiones* ⁵, he himself brings back a copy of it, placing it in the Hall of the Muses:

τοῦτον θαυμάσας, ὧ νέοι, τὸν Νάρκισσον καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς παρήγαγον
εἰς Μουσῶν αὐλὴν ἀποτυπωσάμενος. ἔχει δὲ ὁ λόγος, ὡς καὶ ἡ
εἰκὼν εἶχεν.³⁷

*'The Narcissus was so amazing, gentlemen, that copying it, I brought it back for you to the Hall of the Muses. This description is such as to agree with the statue.'*³⁸

Assuming that the original statue did in fact exist, and Callistratus did acquire a copy of it, the purpose of the ekphrasis is in question: why write a description when a copy is available? Callistratus is able once again to put the visual and verbal media in direct comparison. The reader is invited to compare the validity of each of the author's reproductions of the statue, whilst being

³⁶ Callistratus, *Descriptiones Statuarum* 6.

³⁷ Callistratus, *Descriptiones Statuarum* 5.5.

³⁸ Own translation.

conscious of their status as mere reproductions. However, if Callistratus was self-consciously following in the footsteps of his predecessors, of which he was undoubtedly aware, he was probably describing a statue that existed solely in his mind. Indeed, Krieger writes that ‘no wonder the object of such an *ekphrasis* (the shield, the urn) cannot be found: it could not exist, if it was to satisfy all the actions that we are told are being pictured on it.’³⁹ Indeed, no statue could have radiated light or shown perception and marble cannot change its properties due to its subject matter as Callistratus describes.⁴⁰ If the reader is to believe this, then the understanding of Callistratus’s copy and his ekphrasis of the statue must receive drastic ontological redefinition. If no original existed, then the ekphrasis and the copy simultaneously become the original, as the first evidence of the statue’s existence. Conversely, due to their identification by Callistratus as a ‘description’ or ‘copy’, they should also be thought of as one stage removed from the original. Thus, Callistratus’s two creations, the ekphrasis and the copy, must be thought of as originals *and* reproductions simultaneously. But associated with this idea is the fact that art cannot be the original, instead needing to copy something. Has Callistratus, through his complicated web of overlapping representations made art reality, no longer a Platonic ‘imitation’ but instead made something as it is? Sharrock states that ‘the role of realist art is not to be ‘real’ but to be artfully ‘realistic’. Art which is real has failed as art.’⁴¹ Thus, Callistratus has failed in his artistic pursuit by not imitating but creating, putting himself on par with Plato’s carpenter. Due to the dualistic ontological nature of the copy and the ekphrasis, they both become their own subject and object. Their relationship with themselves is similar to that experienced by Narcissus throughout the narrative of the original myth. Goldhill notes how his own gaze places Narcissus and his reflection in both the active and passive roles.⁴² Through the power of the erotic gaze, Narcissus at once becomes himself and his copy, sharing his status with his reflection and vice versa. Elsner characterises Narcissus as a hermaphrodite, simultaneously adopting the role of male and female, active and passive, and in his relationship with himself he is thus the object of his own objectifying gaze.⁴³ So, Callistratus’s copy and his ekphrasis, as well as Narcissus and his reflection, have a Narcissistic relationship with themselves, being their own object and subject of admiration. Thus Callistratus involves the audience in the matrix of relationships that the mirror creates through his ekphrasis.

³⁹ Krieger, ‘Ekphrasis’, p.XVI.

⁴⁰ Callistratus, *Descriptiones Statuarum* 5.1; 5.4; 5.5.

⁴¹ Alison Sharrock, ‘Representing Metamorphosis’ in *Art and Text in Roman Culture*, ed. J. Elsner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.104.

⁴² Simon Goldhill, (2001) ‘The Erotic Eye’ in *Being Greek under Rome*, ed. S. Goldhill, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p.186.

⁴³ Elsner , ‘Roman Eyes’, p.148.

Concluding Remarks

To conclude, this article has argued that Callistratus has used the genre of epideictic ekphrasis in conjunction with the myth of Narcissus to comment on his own work, the genre of ekphrasis in general, as well as the nature of the relationship between imitation and reality. This article examined, firstly, the role of pleasure in ekphrasis. Juxtaposing it with the bittersweet fate that Narcissus is destined for, Callistratus invites the audience to question the role of ekphrasis as a genre of literature. Secondly, the way in which Callistratus dramatised the relationship between word and image was examined through a redefinition of the traditional modern dichotomy between the realms of word and image in time and space respectively, at least in Callistratus's work, due to the image's importance in memorialisation and his prayer to Paeon. Furthermore, the author highlights the weaknesses of ekphrasis as a genre and the inherent failure and frustration the writer and reader/listener must face. This was followed by a discussion of the significance of the apparent absence of Echo in his description of the statue and the ramifications that this has on the discussion of text and image. The article then assessed the methods by which Callistratus created a sense of wonder for his subject through the Homeric assertion of the object's materiality. However, Callistratus then subverts this Homeric technique, stating how his subject transcends its material, surpassing the possibilities of art. Through its interaction with Plato's ideas, Callistratus's work discusses the relationship between the mirror and imitation as well as the effects on reality that reflected perception has. Lastly, the consequences of the existence of the original statue were analysed. This raised ontological issues regarding Callistratus's copy and the ekphrasis itself, leading to the Narcissistic relationship that both the ekphrasis and the copy have with themselves. These analyses can give us a greater understanding of the way in which authors of ekphrasis in the ancient world were interacting and conceptualising the art that they create as well as that around them.

Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar and the Re- Interpretation of ‘Untouchability’: Legislating Against Caste Violence in Rural India, 1930-1975

Sarah Gandee*

This paper examines the efforts of Dr B.R. Ambedkar to legislate against the violence of caste in India during the colonial and immediate post-colonial period. Born into an untouchable family in western India in 1891, Ambedkar was soon confronted by the discrimination his maligned community experienced at the hands of the higher castes. In response, he formulated a theory which surmised that the system of caste, and untouchability in particular, rested upon a naturalisation of inherent violence. In order to overcome this, Ambedkar re-interpreted untouchability into identifiable, material and surmountable disadvantages that allowed him to use his position as Law Minister within the post-colonial government to legislate against it. While his efforts have had variable success in rural India, their enduring impact has been the nationalisation of the caste question and official recognition of the violence of untouchability.

Dr B.R. Ambedkar is widely acknowledged as the leader and emancipator of the untouchables in India.¹ Untouchables occupy the lowest position in the social system of caste in South Asia that stratifies often endogamous communities into occupationally-defined *jatis*, which are then grouped into the more rigid hierarchical *varna* castes based on ritual purity. While caste is traditionally identified with Hinduism, it is replicated across religions and cultures in much of the Indian subcontinent. Untouchables, while encompassing many hundreds of *jati* castes, are excluded from the *varna*

* Sarah Gandee is a PhD student in the School of History at the University of Leeds.

¹ I use the term ‘untouchable’ throughout this paper to provide consistency and in recognition that this was the term used frequently in Ambedkar’s own writings, although its use only became widespread following the Morley-Minto Reforms in 1909. Prior to this, regional and occupationally-specific names such as ‘Bhangi’, ‘Chamar’ and ‘Mahar’ had been common. During the colonial period, the British administration favoured the ‘Depressed Classes’ while Gandhi coined ‘Harijan’, and since independence ‘Scheduled Caste’ and, more recently, ‘Dalit’ have been employed.

system and as such are ostracised by the higher castes and forced to perform menial labour and tasks considered 'unclean'. Born in 1891 into an untouchable Mahar family in western India, Ambedkar was soon confronted by the widespread societal impediments that were humiliatingly and often violently forced onto his community. Consequently, he dedicated his life to fighting untouchability and its inherent violence.

In this paper I will address Ambedkar's attempts to understand, and consequently overcome, the discrimination of caste and particularly the violence of untouchability. Ambedkar's divergent, and sometimes contradictory, strategies for translating his theory of caste violence into practice during the colonial and immediate post-colonial period have been well explored; these efforts included assimilation with the higher castes, political mobilisation of the lower castes (*Shudras*² and untouchables), and conversion to Buddhism, although their impact was largely confined to his home province of Bombay.³ Drawing on work by Anupama Rao, Rochana Bajpai and Jesús Cháirez-Garza, who have all explored Ambedkar's re-interpretation of untouchability in terms of its material disadvantages, I will examine his most effective and enduring strategy: legislating against the violence of caste. I argue that it was his ability to transform the predetermined, socio-religious, and almost imperceptible violence of caste into specific, surmountable afflictions that enabled him to legislate against it. I will, therefore, initially explore Ambedkar's theory regarding caste violence before addressing how he translated this theory into action, primarily through his role in the Constituent Assembly. Subsequently, I will analyse the variable success of his efforts to legislate against caste violence in the context of rural India between independence in 1947 and the Emergency (1975-77), as it was within the village that Ambedkar saw caste as most embedded.

Ambedkar's Theory of Caste Violence

The two principles that formed the cornerstone of Ambedkar's theory of caste violence were 'graded inequality' and naturalisation of the caste system. In 1916, Ambedkar claimed during his seminal lecture on caste that, "There is no such thing as caste. There are only castes."⁴ This simple statement sums up the

² The *varna* caste order includes, in hierarchical order: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. Outside of the caste system are the untouchables.

³ M.G. Chitkara, *Dr. Ambedkar: Towards Buddhism* (New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation, 1997); Christophe Jaffrelot, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability: Analysing and Fighting Caste*. (London: Hurst, 2005); Christophe Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India* (London: Hurst & Company, 2003); Anupama Rao, *The Caste Question: Dalits and the Politics of Modern India*. (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2010); Eleanor Zelliot, *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and the Untouchable Movement* (New Delhi: Blumoon Books, 2004).

⁴ B.R. Ambedkar, "Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development." Paper presented at the Anthropology Seminar, Columbia University, New York, May 9, 1916. In

founding principle of Ambedkar's understanding of caste: that it was inherently pluralistic in nature. The hierarchical structure of caste was based upon exclusion and inequality which could not function without multiple castes who could be defined against each other in terms of ritual purity. From this perspective, the untouchable became the linchpin of the entire caste system as it was their manifest impurity against which other castes were defined and ranked. In this way, Ambedkar presupposed the Dumontian analysis of caste, in which the untouchables were kept in a permanently 'unclean' state, thereby allowing higher castes to maintain their purity.⁵ The term Ambedkar employed to theorise this pluralistic and hierarchical system was 'graded inequality':

whereby the Brahmin is above everybody, the Shudra is below the Brahmin and above the Untouchable... the Shudra while he is anxious to pull down the Brahmin, he is not prepared to see the Untouchable raised to his level. He prefers to suffer the indignities heaped upon him by the Brahmins [than] join the Untouchables for a general levelling down of the social order.⁶

Ambedkar argued that this system had unparalleled resistance to social change because the lower castes would not unite to overthrow the Brahmins as they were too concerned with defending their own privilege in comparison to the degraded untouchable.

An interrelated aspect of 'graded inequality' was the naturalisation of caste violence across society, as each of the lower castes internalised the hierarchy in an attempt to defend their own precarious position within it. Ambedkar argued that this system was not imposed by the Brahmins but that the 'infection of imitation', whereby each caste sought to model themselves on Brahmin tradition, ensured the practice of exclusion permeated across society.⁷ This complicity was the most important aspect in upholding the violence of caste. Anupama Rao has argued that Ambedkar's repeated use of the phrase 'illegal laws of the Hindus' was a form of Walter Benjamin's 'law-preserving violence', in which regularised structural violence passes for legitimate law; the violence of untouchability, therefore, took on the appearance of something other than itself, a legitimate social order.⁸ To take Rao's argument further,

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, compiled by Vasant Moon. Vol. 1, 3-22 (Bombay: Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1979) p. 20.

⁵ Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 20.

⁶ B. R. Ambedkar, *Untouchables, or the Children of India's Ghettos*.

<<http://www.ambedkar.org/ambcd/22A.Untouchables%20or%20the%20children%20of%20India%27s%20Ghetto%20PART%20I.htm>> [Accessed December 30, 2013].

⁷ Ambedkar, "Castes in India," pp. 18-20.

⁸ Rao, *The Caste Question*, p. 166.

the naturalisation of Brahminical ideology was, as Slavoj Žižek argued in reference to Hegelian theory, 'ideology at its purest and most effective' as it neutralised the features of a radical theory into an accepted background.⁹

Ambedkar argued that 'graded inequality' and its naturalisation was universal across India but he saw these features as most embedded within the village, which he described as 'a working plant of the Hindu social order'.¹⁰ In *Untouchables, or the Children of India's Ghettos* he argued that:

the Indian village is not a single social unit... [it] is divided into two sections – Touchables and Untouchables... Touchables live inside the village and Untouchables live outside the village... Untouchables occupy the position of a subject race of hereditary bondsmen... [who] must conform to the status of an inferior [by wearing] the marks of his inferiority.¹¹

It is therefore the impact of Ambedkar's strategies at the village level that will be primarily assessed, as it was here that he saw the violence of untouchability as most entrenched.

Ambedkar's theory on caste allowed him to specify the mechanisms that resulted in the violence of untouchability; these, however, were self-perpetuating. In response to this limitation, he redefined untouchability in terms of its specific material disadvantages. Jesús Cháirez-Garza has used Žižek's theory of 'systemic' violence to argue that Ambedkar re-interpreted untouchability as acts of violence, therefore rejecting the notion that untouchability was fixed.¹² Rochana Bajpai has similarly argued that Ambedkar redefined untouchability as socio-economic deprivation.¹³ Violence and deprivation, unlike the idea of caste, could be overcome. In 1933, Ambedkar argued that 'Through political action, through appropriate law... you can make government provide for you what you are now denied – food, clothing, shelter, education.'¹⁴ Here he attempted to secularise the violence of untouchability into material forms of discrimination that could, unlike religious notions, be solved. This reflected his legal training and pragmatism, preferring to attack untouchability from a material basis as opposed to a religious one. During the late colonial period and particularly during the

⁹ Slavoj Žižek, *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections*. (London: Profile, 2009), p. 31.

¹⁰ Ambedkar, *Untouchables, or the Children of India's Ghettos*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Jesús Cháirez Garza, "Violence, nationalism and untouchability: B.R. Ambedkar and the conception of untouchability as systemic violence." (Paper presented to M.Phil South Asian Studies Option 3 class, Cambridge University, Cambridge, UK, November 11, 2013.)

¹³ Rochana Bajpai, *Debating Difference: Group Rights and Liberal Democracy in India*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 116.

¹⁴ Quoted in Jaffrelot, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability*, p. 52.

framing of the legal and constitutional framework of the post-colonial state, Ambedkar worked to alleviate the specific afflictions that defined untouchability.

Ambedkar's strategies for containing caste violence

By identifying quantifiable elements of caste violence, Ambedkar believed that the seemingly insurmountable structural violence of caste could be overcome. In an attempt to counteract these specific elements, Ambedkar devised three distinct strategies: political and physical separation; uplift to overcome socio-economic deprivation; and, officially legislating against violence, both symbolic and physical. His initial attempts in the 1920s had centred on the separation of untouchables from Hinduism, which he saw as resting upon a pillar of inequality.¹⁵ On facing determined opposition, he instead emphasised the socio-economic deprivation and acts of violence that characterised the plight of the untouchables.

Influenced by his legal background, Ambedkar perceived the gaining of separate political rights for untouchables as the key instrument for overcoming caste violence. As Anupama Rao has argued, one of Ambedkar's key strategies was his reinterpretation of 'minority', in which he redefined untouchables as a political minority structurally similar to Muslims: a distinct community whose rights would be overshadowed by the Hindu majority despite their numerical strength.¹⁶ However, although claiming affinity with religious minorities, Ambedkar was keen to emphasise that the untouchables occupied the lowest position in the hierarchy of minorities in India due to their specific disadvantages. During the Second Round Table Conference in 1931, Ambedkar analogised that 'the minorities are all in the same boat... [but] they are not all in the same class... some are travelling in "A" Class, some in "B" Class... I have not the slightest doubt... that the Depressed Classes... are not even in "C" or "D" Class but are actually in the hold'.¹⁷ He had hoped to highlight that while all minorities feared being subject to the 'shifting sands of the sympathy and goodwill of the rulers of the future', untouchables were in the greatest need for safeguards due to the specific 'civic disabilities' that were forced upon them by the majority.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 31.

¹⁶ Rao, *The Caste Question*, p. 124.

¹⁷ B. R. Ambedkar, "Sub-Committee No. III (Minorities) Second Sitting." At the Round Table Conferences, London, December 31, 1930. In *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches*, compiled by Vasant Moon. Vol. 2. (Bombay: Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1982), p. 529.

¹⁸ B. R. Ambedkar, "In the Plenary Session Fifth Sitting." At the Round Table Conferences, London, November 20, 1930. In *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches*, compiled by Vasant Moon. Vol. 2. (Bombay: Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1982), p. 507, 530.

Ambedkar was able to capitalise on his consultative positions in the Southborough Committee (1919), the Simon Commission (1928) and the Round Table Conferences (1930-31), which were appointed to shape constitutional reform, to delineate the untouchables' need for political separation. He argued that the primary division in Hindu society was between touchables and untouchables, meaning that territorially-based electoral constituencies would always marginalise the untouchable minority.¹⁹ Ambedkar demanded that some form of protection of untouchable interests was imperative, although he was undecided whether this should take the shape of separate electorates or reserved seats within the legislatures. During the Second Round Table Conference, Ambedkar forged close links with the Muslim, Anglo-Indian and Christian representatives on the Minorities Committee and together they put forward a memorandum demanding a separate electorate with reserved seats for untouchables.²⁰ The argument found favour with the colonial administration and in 1932 the British government announced the Communal Award, recognising the right of untouchables to separate electorates.

Ambedkar had, therefore, decidedly reshaped the question of untouchable violence in terms of their 'minority' status. This, however, brought him into conflict with Mohandas Gandhi who perceived the violence of untouchability to be a perverse corruption of the harmonious nature of caste and therefore grounded his efforts to relieve the suffering of untouchables in religious principles and particularly the problem of temple entry.²¹ Gandhi strongly denounced the granting of separate electorates through the Communal Award as he claimed that they would deny caste Hindus the opportunity to reform and would 'create division among Hindus so much that it will lead to bloodshed'.²² In response, he launched a fast to the death, generating a vast emotional response throughout India. Realising the repercussions that untouchables would face if Gandhi died, Ambedkar negotiated the Poona Pact in 1932 which established reserved seats in the legislatures for untouchables. The consequence, however, was the failure in establishing untouchables as a separate political minority; Gandhi, in a comment highlighting this fact, argued that 'in accepting the Poona Pact you accept the position that you are Hindus'.²³ Gandhi's own efforts to alleviate the suffering of untouchables were renewed in the subsequent days through the establishment of the All India Untouchability League and the creation of his

¹⁹ Jaffrelot, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability*, p. 53.

²⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 60-3.

²¹ *Ibid*, pp. 60-1.

²² Quoted in Eleanor Zelliot, "Gandhi and Ambedkar: A Study in Leadership." In *The Untouchables in Contemporary India*, edited by Michael Mahar. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1972), p. 85.

²³ Jaffrelot, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability*, p. 67.

weekly newspaper, *Harijan* (children of God).²⁴ Ambedkar tried to work together with Gandhi through the League but their profound differences, primarily Gandhi's insistence on a paternalistic approach that centred on untouchability as a necessary, albeit perverted, aspect of caste, resulted in Ambedkar's departure from the organisation.

Ambedkar's hopes of establishing the untouchables as a separate community had therefore been stalled in the 1930s due to the persona and political manoeuvring of Gandhi, but he continued to face strong opposition even after independence in the Constituent Assembly, despite the shift in ideology from Gandhian idealism to Nehruvian modernity. Within Ambedkar's *Memorandum on the Safeguards for the Scheduled Castes*, which he submitted to the Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee in 1947, he delineated his strategy for codifying the separate position of untouchables within the Constitution. He demanded that 'the system of election introduced by the Poona Pact... be abolished' and 'in its place, the system of Separate Electorate shall be submitted'.²⁵ He also requested a provision to 'hold uncultivated lands belonging to the State in trust for Settlement of the Scheduled Castes in separate villages'.²⁶ This built upon the demands of regional and Muslim minorities during the 1940s for territorial homelands; by establishing separate villages, Ambedkar sought not only to ensure a voice for untouchables through the forming of a political majority but it also provided a physical escape from the violence of caste.

Within the Constituent Assembly, however, Ambedkar's demands were not welcomed. The demand for Pakistan and the eventual Partition of India in August 1947 marked the debates on minority issues, with separate electorates in particular viewed with suspicion as they were considered to be the root of Muslim separatism. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, articulated the mood of the Constituent Assembly when, in January 1947, he claimed 'there is no group in India... If India goes down, we go down, all of us... whether we get a slight advantage or we do not'.²⁷ This advocacy of national unity became more pronounced following Partition and Ambedkar's demands for separate electorates were opposed within the Minority Sub-Committee by 26 votes to 3.²⁸ This vocabulary of national unity was a recurring theme in the

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ B. R. Ambedkar, "Memorandum on the Safeguards for the Scheduled Castes Submitted to the Constituent Assembly on Behalf of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation." March 24, 1947.

<<http://www.ambedkar.org/ambcd/10A.%20Statesand%20Minorities%20Preface.htm>> [Accessed 20 December, 2013]

²⁶ Ambedkar, "Memorandum on the Safeguards for the Scheduled Castes."

²⁷ Jawaharlal Nehru, "Constituent Assembly of India: Vol. II." January 22, 1947. <<http://parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/debates/debates.htm>> [Accessed December 30, 2013]

²⁸ Granville Austin, *The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 150.

Constituent Assembly and forced Ambedkar to seek an alternative strategy. Rochana Bajpai has argued that this 'legitimizing vocabulary' allowed the Indian National Congress (hereafter Congress) representatives to translate their numerical dominance in the Constituent Assembly into hegemony by effectively establishing a new ideological consensus.²⁹ This consensus opposed group rights as framed by the 'minority' debate, as we can see with the containment of rights previously endowed to minorities by the British.³⁰ This forced Ambedkar to frame the untouchable question more decidedly in terms of violence and socio-economic deprivation, thereby appealing to the concerns of Nehruvian modernity.

Acknowledging that separate electorates were an impossibility, Ambedkar shifted his demand to positive discrimination, namely reserved seats in legislatures and posts within state institutions and educational establishments. Ambedkar again reiterated that untouchables deserved specific safeguards because,

any protection given to the citizens and to the minorities will not be adequate for the Scheduled Castes... their social, economic and educational condition is so much worse than that of other citizens and minorities... [they] would require special safeguards against the tyranny and discrimination of the majority.³¹

While safeguards were seen as antithetical to the Nehruvian vision of modernity, Ambedkar argued that the deprivation of untouchables was an even greater impediment to this goal.³² The debates culminated in the passing of Article 46, wherein the Indian states were obliged to promote the 'educational and economic interests' of untouchables, and Articles 330 and 332, which provided 'reservation of seats' in the House of the People and Legislative Assemblies of the States.³³ Alistair McMillan has argued that the entrenchment of electoral reservation was primarily due to Ambedkar's presence at the centre of minority negotiations.³⁴ However, while he did play a key role, Ambedkar was not alone in his efforts. Jagjivan Ram, another prominent untouchable leader but from within Congress, similarly argued for reservations; however, he emphasised that these would 'accelerate the assimilation of the other minorities... in the parent body by bringing them to an equal level'.³⁵

²⁹ Bajpai, *Debating Difference*, p. 15.

³⁰ Bajpai, *Debating Difference*, p. 15.

³¹ Ambedkar, "Memorandum on the Safeguards for the Scheduled Castes."

³² Bajpai, *Debating Difference*, p. 81.

³³ "Constitution of India: Articles 46; 330; 332." <<http://lawmin.nic.in/olwing/coi/coi-english/coi-indexenglish.htm>> [Accessed December 30, 2013]

³⁴ Alistair McMillan, *Standing at the Margins: Representation and Electoral Reservation in India*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 63.

³⁵ Jagjivan Ram, "Reply to the Questionnaire Received from Jagjivan Ram." Submitted to the Minorities Sub-Committee, April 3, 1947. In *The Framing of India's Constitution: Select*

This was the key difference between the approaches of Ambedkar and Jagjivan Ram, as Ram saw assimilation as the end goal whereas Ambedkar foresaw a more subtle form of separation. Anupama Rao has argued that by redefining untouchability as a civic disability, the reservations regime inaugurated a specific form of legal exception, that of, as Marc Galanter coined, 'compensatory discrimination'.³⁶ This marked out a separate sphere for untouchables in the Constitution; while the majority of the population, and significantly caste Hindus, would be governed by market principles of competition, untouchables would be governed by social intervention to facilitate their equalisation.³⁷ Ambedkar's speech to the Constituent Assembly in November 1948 demonstrated this, as he welcomed the system of reserved seats and positive discrimination as it would 'enable majorities and minorities to merge someday into one' but he carefully also noted that 'it is for the majority to realise its duty not to discriminate against minorities. Whether the minorities will continue or will vanish must depend upon this habit of the majority'.³⁸ Therefore, while not as manifest as political or physical separation, Ambedkar had politically manoeuvred a separate identity for untouchables that was defined by their socio-economic weakness.

While Ambedkar's efforts sought to establish socio-economic deprivation as one indicator of the violence of untouchability, what was more manifest was the physical and symbolic violence that separated them from other deprived communities. Ambedkar's involvement with the temple entry *satyagrahas*³⁹ at Parvati (1929) and Kalaram (1930-35) illustrate this point. The *satyagrahas* were launched in an effort to open up caste temples to untouchables, who were denied access, but acts of violence by the upper castes towards the demonstrators broke out. Both consequently failed to facilitate access but, importantly for Ambedkar, they acted as mechanisms to mobilise untouchables by forcing recognition of the violence that characterised their existence. Anupama Rao has argued that Ambedkar used the heightened violent antagonism of the *satyagrahas* - namely the physical violence that untouchables suffered from caste Hindus as a result - as a reminder of the invisible forms of violence they were subjected to everyday.⁴⁰

Ambedkar's early attempts to force recognition of the violence of caste had some success but it was during the Constituent Assembly that he formally

Documents, compiled by B. Shiva Rao. Vol. 2. (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1967), p. 331.

³⁶ Rao, *The Caste Question*, p. 169.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Ambedkar, "Constituent Assembly of India: Vol. VII." November 4, 1948.

<<http://parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/debates/debates.htm>> [Accessed December 30, 2013]

³⁹ Coined by Mohandas Gandhi, *Satyagraha* loosely translates as 'truth force' and was an important practice in non-violent resistance.

⁴⁰ Rao, *The Caste Question*, p. 165.

codified the manifestation of violent acts as inherent to untouchability. By the late 1940s, most provinces and princely states had passed acts criminalising the enforcement of untouchability, primarily through temple entry acts and access to public facilities.⁴¹ However, these had only limited impact and Ambedkar himself had opposed a 1932 Bill to abolish untouchability as he thought it would be futile while caste remained.⁴² Nevertheless, Ambedkar saw the Constitution and the founding of the modern state as a new period of opportunity. He supported the implementation of Article 17, which criminalised 'the enforcement of any disability arising out of "Untouchability"', but emphasised the need to guard against the 'menace' of discrimination.⁴³

To destabilise the structural violence upholding caste, Ambedkar argued that the symbolic acts of violence also needed to be criminalised. Arguing the case by using his *Memorandum*, Ambedkar stressed the need for the abolition of the practices upon which 'graded inequality' rested. The Constituent Assembly concurred and as a result passed Article 23, prohibiting 'begar' (forced labour), and Article 25, which enforced the 'throwing open of Hindu religious institutions'.⁴⁴ The intended result of the prohibition of untouchable violence was twofold: it forced recognition that untouchability rested upon enforced 'disability', beginning the process of unmasking the neutralised Brahminical ideology; and, it placed an obligation on the state to enforce criminalisation.

To a lesser extent, Ambedkar also used his position as Law Minister in the first independent government to try and reform Hindu practices. He saw caste as perpetuated not only through the naturalisation of 'graded inequality' but also through the control of female reproduction. As early as 1916, Ambedkar had claimed that caste was a mechanism for 'repairing the disparity between the marriageable units of the two sexes'.⁴⁵ This disparity was largely caused by a surplus of women, the remedy to which was threefold: *sati*,⁴⁶ enforced widowhood; and, girl marriage. The result of this was endogamy, which, according to Ambedkar, was 'one and the same thing' with caste.⁴⁷ Once he became Law Minister, Ambedkar sought to overcome these customs which ensured the preservation of caste.

⁴¹ Marc Galanter, "The Abolition of Disabilities: Untouchability and the Law." In *The Untouchables in Contemporary India*, edited by Michael Mahar. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1972), p. 240.

⁴² Jaffrelot, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability*, p. 68.

⁴³ "Constitution of India: Article 17.;" B. R. Ambedkar, "Ambedkar's Memorandum and Draft Articles on the Rights of States and Minorities." March 24, 1947. In *The Framing of India's Constitution: Select Documents*, compiled by B. Shiva Rao. Vol. 2. (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1967), pp. 98-9.

⁴⁴ "Constitution of India: Articles 23; 25."

⁴⁵ Ambedkar, "Castes in India," p. 10.

⁴⁶ *Sati* refers to the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband.

⁴⁷ Ambedkar, "Castes in India," p. 13.

The British had implemented a number of *ad hoc* laws that reformed Hindu social customs, such as the Abolition of Sati (1829) and the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act (1937).⁴⁸ An attempt to consolidate these laws began in 1941 and culminated in 1951 with the Hindu Code Bill. Ambedkar was entrusted with the revision of its principles before its submission to the Constituent Assembly. His key aims were to reform the role of women and to remove the caste restriction in marriage, which he saw as the principal route to eradicating caste.⁴⁹ While Jawaharlal Nehru saw reform as the foundation for modernising India, the Bill provoked much opposition within the Constituent Assembly, particularly among traditional Hindus in Congress.⁵⁰ The Bill was finally passed in 1951 but was subject to a number of major amendments, to which Nehru had made no protest. In response, Ambedkar resigned from government, therefore making this his last attempt to eradicate caste through legislation.

Containing Caste Violence: Success or Failure?

By redefining untouchability into physical manifestations of discrimination – violence and socio-economic deprivation – Ambedkar established legal precedents designed to overturn caste. Following his resignation from government in 1951, Ambedkar's saw that the only possible means of escape from untouchability lay in its abandonment. In October 1956, shortly before his death, he renounced Hinduism for Buddhism, together with several hundred thousand of his fellow untouchables in Nagpur. While his attempts to legislate against the violence of caste were therefore confined to the immediate post-independence period, the consequences of his efforts have had a much longer history. Analysing these consequences in the period preceding the Emergency (1975-77) will determine the success of Ambedkar's theory for containing caste violence in rural India.

Following Ambedkar's redefinition of untouchability as violence and its codification into the Constitution a state obligation was set for legislating against caste violence. The first major instances of this were the Temple Entry Act (1948) and the Untouchability (Offences) Act (1955). There was wide debate in the Lok Sabha (House of the People) over the passing of these Acts, particularly the Untouchability (Offences) Act, as many felt that by inscribing untouchability into law it would risk perpetuating the stigma.⁵¹ However, by codifying the stigma within the Constitution, Ambedkar had ensured that the state was perpetually obliged to alleviate the violence of untouchability. Its official criminalisation, however, has had mixed success. An extract from a

⁴⁸ Jaffrelot, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability*, p. 115.

⁴⁹ Rao, *The Caste Question*, p. 232.

⁵⁰ Jaffrelot, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability*, pp. 115-6.

⁵¹ Rao, *The Caste Question*, p. 173.

Times of India report in early 1976 is useful for highlighting the variable impact of redefining untouchability as violence in rural India, although it is only one of many similar instances:

The sarpanch and the deputy sarpanch of village Sarkolia in Pandharpur... were arrested for having abused and threatened two Harijans because they entered the village temple and offered a coconut to the deity. What was more, the sarpanch... fined the two Harijans Rs. 500 each for their 'offence'. The incident had occurred on February 15. However, no complaint was made to the Pandharpur police. The Dalit Panthers of Bombay took up the matter.⁵²

In the Lok Sabha in 1954, V.G. Deshpande perceptively foresaw the key problem in enforcing the legislation: 'the only thing that will be required is to see that the entire State machinery... is behind this law'.⁵³ It was precisely this state machinery and the collaboration of officials that has been repeatedly cited as the key reason for the ineffectual implementation of the laws. In the above case, it was the *sarpanch*, the elected head of the village panchayat, and his deputy who were the perpetrators of physical and symbolic violence. In October 1932, Ambedkar unsuccessfully opposed the Village Panchayats Bill in the Bombay Legislature, emphasising the 'pitiable position' of untouchables who were 'never looked upon as part and parcel of the village'.⁵⁴ During the Constituent Assembly he had more success and, whilst the Draft Constitution faced some criticism for failing to represent the 'ancient polity of India', the Constitution took the individual as the unit of society.⁵⁵ However, his efforts to reduce the power of the village were defeated in 1957 when the Mehta Committee recommended governmental decentralisation, which resulted in the adoption of *Panchayati Raj* across all states in India by 1965.⁵⁶ This consolidated power in the village, which, as Ambedkar had foreseen, heightened the likelihood of caste violence as the very perpetrators of crimes were established in positions of power.

In N.D. Kamble's compilation of instances of untouchable violence, reported in the local and national press between 1947-79, this likelihood was

⁵² *The Times of India*, April 4 1976. For similar cases see: *The Times of India*, June 14 1973, April 8 1962, July 6 1974.

⁵³ Quoted in Rao, *The Caste Question*, p. 175.

⁵⁴ B. R. Ambedkar, "On Village Panchayats Bill: 1." During the Bombay Legislature, Bombay, October 6, 1932. In *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches*, compiled by Vasant Moon. Vol. 2. (Bombay: Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1982), pp. 110-12.

⁵⁵ Ambedkar, "Constituent Assembly of India: Vol. VII."

⁵⁶ Henry Maddick, *Panchayati Raj: A Study of Rural Local Government in India*. (Harlow: Longmans, 1970), pp. 68-9.

borne out; repeatedly, the police were found to be the perpetrators of crimes.⁵⁷ The Elayaperumal Report (1969) further demonstrated this, as the state administration was indicted for its 'gross failure' to effectively implement the Untouchability (Offences) Act.⁵⁸ The Report stated that between 1955 and 1969 there were less than 1,000 offences reported and most resulted in acquittals.⁵⁹ It also noted that the police were doing little to enforce the law and that untouchables were still regularly suffering exclusion from water sources, services and housing.⁶⁰ It was this very lack of correspondence between the laws themselves and the everyday actions of those who were responsible for fulfilling them - the police, magistrates and lawyers at the local level - which was a key issue in the failure to contain violence.⁶¹

The *Times of India* report also demonstrates the disjuncture between the urban and rural in India. The incident took place in Sarkolia village, in the Pandharpur district. The Pandharpur temple was one of the temples which was symbolically declared open to untouchables following the Temple Entry Act in 1948.⁶² However, it was only in the surrounding region that the effectiveness of legislation had failed to take hold. Marc Galanter has noted the limited impact of the Untouchability (Offences) Act in rural India through his study of the offences registered under the legislation in ten states in which he found that the majority (64.1%) were for exclusion from public places such as hotels, restaurants and places of public entertainment.⁶³ He argued that these places were more likely to have been found in urban centres and that the registration of an offence would have rested upon an outsider. However, in urban centres the traditional structure and untouchable dependence on caste Hindus had been eroded to a much greater extent, therefore untouchables themselves would have been more likely to have disputed exclusion as well.

It was this pervasiveness of the caste hierarchy in rural India that is the final point of the *Times of India* report, as it stated that the victims were only moved to bring an offence by the involvement of the Dalit Panthers. The Dalit Panthers have been arguably the most influential of militant untouchable movements, bringing cases to justice and encouraging untouchable antagonism. Their impact, however, has been largely confined to Maharashtra.⁶⁴ Their involvement suggests that at the village level traditional structures often barred untouchables from making full use of the legislation available because

⁵⁷ N. D. Kamble, *Atrocities on Scheduled Castes in Post-Independence India, 1947-1979*. (New Delhi: Ashish Pub. House, 1981). For just some examples see: p. 19, 51, 70, 71.

⁵⁸ *The Times of India*, January 18 1969.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Galanter, "The Abolition of Disabilities", p. 228.

⁶² Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics*, p. 273.

⁶³ Galanter, "The Abolition of Disabilities", p. 264.

⁶⁴ Rao, *The Caste Question*, p. 185.

they tended to accept the violence and exclusion placed upon them. Anthropological studies of the post-independence period support this to an extent, as they demonstrate that untouchables were still excluded from caste Hindu temples, occupied separate settlements and were subject to traditional practices of servitude, all symbolic instances of caste violence.⁶⁵ However, some studies did highlight a more defiant attitude taking hold among untouchables. In the 1960s in Rampura village, Mysore, M. Srinivas found that untouchables were beginning to refuse to perform degrading tasks, such as removing carcasses.⁶⁶ It was this change in attitude, fostered largely by the official recognition of the violence of caste, that, paradoxically, exacerbated caste conflict because, as Srinivas states, 'there is friction... [as] the upper castes want them to continue performing' the tasks.⁶⁷

Overall, this would suggest that caste violence was not contained despite the official abolition of untouchability and the criminalisation of its practices, and the heightened awareness among untouchables may, in fact, have contributed to an increase in conflict. Anupama Rao has further argued that officially legislating against caste violence heightened its salience, with the period from the implementation of the Untouchability (Offences) Act to its second successor, the Prevention of Atrocities (Against Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) Act (1989), being a process of legally codifying the 'caste atrocity'.⁶⁸ This is one way to explain the seemingly dramatic increase in caste violence from the mid-1960s onwards, which is evident in the proliferation of caste violence in the press.⁶⁹ However, instances of violence did witness an increase from the mid-1960s, largely due to the changing political economy of rural India and the impact of the system of reservations that Ambedkar had sought to establish.

The Nehru period (1947-64) witnessed efforts to overhaul agrarian structures of dominance by equalising landholdings through agricultural policies based on land reforms and co-operatives. These reforms, however, were only partially implemented and little progress was made.⁷⁰ In contrast, the post-Nehru government implemented a new agricultural policy based upon incentives for farmers and investment in technology, epitomised by the Green Revolution of 1967-8.⁷¹ This resulted in the disappearance of the large estates

⁶⁵ André Bêteille, *Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village*. (Berkeley: California University Press, 1965), p. 268; McKim Marriott, *Village India: Studies in the Little Community*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 49; M. Srinivas, *India's Villages*. (London: Asia Publishing House, 1963), pp. 93-4.

⁶⁶ Srinivas, *India's Villages*, p. 28.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Rao, *The Caste Question*, p. 177.

⁶⁹ *The Times of India* ProQuest Search Engine

⁷⁰ Ashutosh Varshney, *Democracy, Development and the Countryside: Urban-Rural Struggles in India*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 6.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

of great landholders by the late 1960s and in their place emerged the landed castes whose holdings had avoided the land ceiling reforms.⁷²

It was in this context that major changes also took place in the political arena. During Jawaharlal Nehru's rule the Congress government enjoyed clear majorities in elections and largely avoided intervening in regional conflicts.⁷³ This changed during the succession struggles after 1965 and the decline in Congress hegemony. In attempts to mobilise the untouchable electorate, Congress displaced a number of upper caste leaders in regional organisations and replaced them with untouchable leaders.⁷⁴ Contemporaneously, the decline in Congress power at the regional level saw rivals scramble for power, most notably in Uttar Pradesh in 1969 where the Bharatiya Kranti Dal coalition ousted Congress through its populist appeal to the agrarian, clean-caste masses.⁷⁵

It was due to these changes in the political and rural economy that Ambedkar's efforts to legislate against untouchability through the system of 'compensatory discrimination' actually led to exacerbated, rather than contained, caste violence. Reservations did have a positive effect during the first couple of decades following independence by facilitating the educational, employment and political integration of untouchables; 15% of seats were reserved in Central and State assemblies, as well as 15% of all jobs in state and state-aided employment.⁷⁶ Ramachandra Guha estimates that while the overall school population doubled in the first decade after independence, the population of untouchables attending school multiplied by at least eight times.⁷⁷ However, the figures are not as positive as they initially appear. A press report from 1975 stated that Mehtars, the 'lowliest among Harijans', were 'subjected to segregation in certain villages', often being seated separately on the floor by 'caste-conscious teachers'.⁷⁸ Similarly, while reserved positions within state institutions were in theory available at all levels, in reality only the lower levels tended to be filled. As late as 1966, only 1.77% of senior administration posts were occupied by untouchables, as compared to 8.86% of clerical jobs and 17.94% of attendants.⁷⁹

⁷² Walter Neale, "Progress and Insecurity: Class and Conflict in Rural India." *Journal of Economic Issues* 17 (1983), p. 400; Paul Brass, "Caste, Class and the Congress in the North Indian Countryside, 1962-82." In *The Indian National Congress and Indian Society, 1885-1985: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Dominance*, edited by Paul Brass and Francis Robinson. (New Delhi: Chanakya, 1987), p. 331.

⁷³ Paul Brass, *The Politics of India since Independence*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 154.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics*, p. 283.

⁷⁶ Ramachandra Guha, *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*. (London: Pan, 2008), p. 376.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *The Times of India*, December 26 1975.

⁷⁹ Guha, *India After Gandhi*, p. 376.

While reservations did have some success in integrating untouchables within wider society they also fostered antagonism between and within castes. The issue over reservations for the 'backward classes' goes back to Articles 15 and 16 of the Constitution, which encouraged the adoption of 'preferential treatment for backward class peoples'.⁸⁰ It also had roots in the anti-Brahmin movements of the colonial period which sought to remove Brahmin privileges; however, these movements were confined to southern India pre-independence.⁸¹ In 1950 the All-India Backward Classes Federation was formed and in 1953 a Backward Classes Commission was set up, pressing for a sweeping version of 'compensatory discrimination'. Reservations soon became an instrument of political power, exemplified by Indira Gandhi's *Gharibo Hatero* (Eradicate Poverty) campaign of 1970 in which economic benefits for untouchables were promised.⁸² Lucia Michelutti has argued that it was this system of reservations, alongside the competitive process of electoral politics and land reforms, which transformed rural structures of dominance.⁸³

It was this transformation which resulted in the greater occurrence of caste conflict from the mid-1960s. André Béteille's study of Sripuram village, Tanjore, in 1961-2 demonstrated how the traditional cleavages of caste, class and power had come to be undermined by agricultural reform and party politics, resulting in the distribution of power shifting from Brahmins to small landholding castes.⁸⁴ Paul Brass has argued that much of the conflict for finite resources and government jobs therefore took place either within the newly-dominant land-controlling castes, or between backward classes and previous elites who demanded greater access to these resources.⁸⁵ However, reservations also led to an increase in violence towards, and sometimes initiated by, untouchables. In 1974, an untouchable colony in Ramanapally village, Hyderabad, was burnt down by landlords following a dispute over wages; similarly, the much-publicised Kilvenmani killings of 1969 were reported to be the result of untouchables organising themselves into a Marxist-led union.⁸⁶ These incidents reveal that the transformed socio-economic structures, largely shaped by reservation policies, land reform and politics, fundamentally politicised and antagonised existing caste divisions, resulting in an exacerbation of caste violence.

⁸⁰ "Constitution of India: Articles 15; 16."

⁸¹ Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics*, p. 288.

⁸² *Ibid*, p. 285.

⁸³ Lucia Michelutti, *The Vernacularisation of Democracy: Politics, Caste, and Religion in India*. (New Delhi: Routledge, 2008), p. 21.

⁸⁴ Béteille, *Caste, Class and Power*, p. 4, 8, 209.

⁸⁵ Brass, *The Politics of India since Independence*, p. 332; Brass, "Caste, Class and the Congress in the North Indian Countryside," p. 315.

⁸⁶ *The Times of India*, April 4 1976; *The Times of India*, June 14 1973.

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated how there was an overall increase in violence against untouchables, particularly from the mid-1960s, which would suggest that the implementation of Ambedkar's theory of caste violence has been unsuccessful in rural India. However, two points must be noted. First, Ambedkar's efforts had a variable impact across rural India during this period. Regional differences in caste populations, for example whether there were larger than average Brahmin, low caste or untouchable numbers, affected the rate of violence and those perpetrating the crimes.⁸⁷ Also, Ambedkar's home state of Maharashtra had an arguably higher rate of untouchable mobilisation, which addressed the violence of untouchability more determinedly than in other states. Second, Ambedkar's theory largely rested upon the *varna* castes as opposed to *jati*, therefore his strategies were primarily aimed at overcoming untouchable violence perpetrated by higher castes. His strategies did not encompass *jati* divisions and instances of intra-untouchable violence, which increased as a result of reservation competition. However, by nationalising the untouchable question and raising awareness of the violence that underpinned untouchability, Ambedkar transformed every day, structural violence into recognised forms that the state was obligated to overcome.

⁸⁷ Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics*, p. 306

Encouraging a Broader Narrative of American Pure Food Legislation: Understanding the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938

Clare Gordon¹

As the trend of 'conscious consumption' has grown throughout the 21st century, Americans are paying more attention to the purity and quality of their food. One of the key ways that purity and safety can be guaranteed is through government regulation. In the historiography of American pure food legislation, and broader interdisciplinary discussions by food studies scholars, their analysis has largely focused on the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 (PFDA). This paper argues that the historiography of this topic should be broadened to include the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938 (FDCA). The FDCA replaced the PFDA, and brought more comprehensive regulatory power to the Food and Drug Administration. This study outlines the shortcomings of the PFDA, along with the passage of the FDCA and the function of the new law. This work offers a preliminary outline of the significance of the FDCA, and a call to other scholars to examine this landmark legislation. Without a complete historiography of American pure food legislation, understanding the history of the American consumer marketplace, and current regulatory challenges is greatly hampered.

In February 1906, Upton Sinclair's account of the Chicago stockyards, *The Jungle*, was published. While Sinclair had written the book with the intent of exposing the deplorable working conditions of the stockyards, his account instead captured the nation's attention due to his graphic descriptions of the unsanitary meat processing conditions of Chicago's commercial butchers. President Theodore Roosevelt responded with his own investigation of

¹ Clare Gordon completed her MLitt in History at the University of Glasgow in 2013. She will begin a PhD programme at the University of California, Irvine in September. The author wishes to thank the staff at *Retrospectives* for their editorial support, and Dr Matthew Smith at the University of Strathclyde for his support with this research.

Sinclair's claims, and, after confirming the allegations, Roosevelt signed the Pure Food and Drug Act (PFDA) into law on 30 June 1906. This story of America's first federal pure food and drug law is a familiar one in American popular consciousness, however the narrative does not end there. In 1938, the PFDA was replaced by the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act (FDCA). A product of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal, the FDCA was enacted to strengthen the limited regulatory scope of the PFDA. In the historiography of American pure food legislation, numerous articles and books have examined the widespread food adulteration that existed throughout the country prior to *The Jungle's* publication as well as the fight to secure the passage of the PFDA, while a smaller number of works have analysed how the law functioned in practice.² Surprisingly, few historians have investigated the FDCA's influence on the safety and purity of the American food supply.³ While the PFDA was immensely important in establishing federal oversight in the American marketplace, it was ultimately repealed, and represents just one part of American food regulatory history.

This work will examine the limitations of the PFDA and outline the passage and early implementation of the FDCA with a view to assessing the place of the FDCA within larger narratives of American pure food legislation. This paper will begin by outlining the shortcomings of the PFDA, then discuss the passage of the FDCA, and finally outline the new regulatory power and scope that the FDCA brought to federal oversight of consumer goods. The paper argues that the FDCA not only strengthened the Food and Drug Administration's regulatory scope, but also brought many innovations, most notably the food identity standards provision. By highlighting the significance of the FDCA, this work ultimately aims to encourage the development of a more comprehensive historiography of American pure food

² Works on the passage of the PFDA include:

Marc T. Law, 'The Origins of State Pure Food Regulations', *The Journal of Economic History* 63 (2003).

Ilyse D. Barkan, 'Industry Invites Regulation: The Passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906' *American Journal of Public Health* 75 (1985).

James Harvey Young, *Pure Food: Securing the Federal Food and Drugs Act of 1906* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

Lorine Swainston Goodwin, *The Pure Food, Drink, and Drug Crusaders, 1879-1914* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1999).

Works on the function of the law:

James Harvey Young, 'From Oysters to After-Dinner Mints: The Role of the Early Food and Drug Inspector', *The Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 42 (1987).

Philip J. Hilts, 'Protecting America's Health: The FDA, Business, and One Hundred Years of Regulation', (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003) pp. 56-71.

³ The historiography of the drug regulations of the FDCA is more complete than the historiography of food regulations.

The Need for New Federal Food, Drug & Cosmetic Oversight

While meta-narratives of the Progressive era suggest that securing the passage of the PFDA solved the issue of food and drug safety and purity in America, I will argue that the PFDA was poorly written, and did not allow for comprehensive regulation. Even Harvey W. Wiley, America's first Chief Chemist for the Bureau of Chemistry (which would later become the Food and Drug Administration) and driving force behind the passage of the PFDA felt that industry pressure had led Congress to weaken the final version of the PFDA.⁴ Major shortcomings included limited resources for federal inspectors, which led to improper inspections, lenient penalties for dishonest food and drug manufacturers, and ineffectual definitions for adulterated food.⁵ Wiley, who was often referred to by the media during this period as "the father of the pure food law", resigned from his role in the Bureau of Chemistry in March of 1912, just six years after the passage of the PFDA. Though Wiley had spent over two decades advocating for a federal pure food law, he ultimately felt that the law was too weak to allow for effective regulation.⁶

The flaws in the PFDA became especially apparent as the century progressed. New technologies in adulterants and additives led companies to engage in unfair and unsafe practices that were legal under the existing legislation. These loopholes allowed for the selling of products such as conventional noodles packaged in yellow cellophane to give the appearance of egg noodles and chicken packaged to look like it was white meat, when it was actually dark meat.⁷ While these deceptive practices were technically harmless, they represent a marketplace in which consumers were consistently misled or cheated. The PFDA was especially weak in regulating patent medicines, which were often much more dangerous than some adulterated foods. Products such as Ban Bar, a diabetes 'cure' made from horsetail weed, Radithor, an energy tonic which caused radium poisoning, and the Wilhide Exhaler, a product which falsely promised to cure tuberculosis, were all legal under the existing law.⁸ Furthermore, cosmetics were completely unregulated at this time. Products like Lash Lure, an eyelash tint, which contained coal-tar dyes that caused serious eye injuries, blindness, and sometimes death, had no government oversight.⁹

⁴ Barkan, p. 18. Junod, 'Food Standards', p. 166-169. Young, 'From Oysters to After-Dinner Mints' pp. 32- 35.

⁵ Young, 'From Oysters to After-Dinner Mints' pp. 32- 35.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Michelle Meadows, 'A Century of Ensuring Safe Foods and Cosmetics', *The FDA Consumer* 9 (2006) p. 8.

⁸ 'FDA History Part II: The 1938 Food Drug and Cosmetic Act', *US Food and Drug Administration*

<<http://www.fda.gov/AboutFDA/WhatWeDo/History/Origin/ucm054826.htm>> [accessed 10 April 2013].

⁹ Meadows, p. 8.

As technological advancements outpaced regulators, some activists and organisations worked to educate the public about the perils of many popular consumer products. In the spirit of Upton Sinclair and other whistleblowing journalists of the Progressive era, the 1927 book, *Your Money's Worth: A Study in the Waste of the Consumer's Dollar* exposed the deceptive nature of contemporary advertising. The authors, Stuart Chase and F.J. Schlink, aimed to educate consumers in the value of 'buying goods according to impartial scientific test, rather than according to the fanfare and trumpets of the higher salesmanship'.¹⁰ Chase and Schlink were aware, however, of the scientific limits to ascertaining the value of a product, and likened the public's confusing and frustrating quest to Alice's Adventures in Wonderland. In order to fight for greater transparency in advertising, and overall consumer rights, the authors founded Consumers' Research, an advocacy group which would later prove instrumental in the campaign for increased government regulation of foods, drugs and cosmetics.

F.J. Schlink, along with co-author Arthur Kallet, later published *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs: Dangers in Everyday Foods, Drugs and Cosmetics*. The authors alleged that the public was serving as 'guinea pigs' because existing legislation did not require any safety testing before putting a product on the market. Additionally, Kallet and Schlink warned that these unregulated practices posed both short and long-term health risks. Ultimately the authors advised consumers to avoid all products marketed as proprietary, especially patent medicines and cosmetics, and instead suggested that readers visit medical professionals for an informed diagnosis.¹¹ The research and advice of Kallet and Schlink proved to be very popular, as the book was reprinted thirteen times within the first six months of publication. The popularity of these guides to smart consumption indicate that the public did not trust government regulators, nor companies to provide a safe marketplace, despite the existence of the PFDA.

By 1933 the shortcomings and loopholes of the PFDA had become so apparent that the FDA, the organisation responsible for enforcing federal food purity standards, began campaigning for revisions of the existing legislation. The FDA put together an exhibition of many of the adulterated, deleterious and deceptive practices that were then legal under the PFDA, due to the many loopholes and regulatory gaps in the law. The exhibition exposed discrepancies in manufacturing standards, labelling inconsistencies, and

FDA History Part II' <<http://www.fda.gov/AboutFDA/WhatWeDo/History/Origin/ucm054826.htm>>.

¹⁰ Stuart Chase and F.J. Schlink, *Your Money's Worth: A Study in the Waste of the Consumer's Dollar* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1927) p. 4.

¹¹ 'One Hundred Million Guinea Pigs: And Ten Million More', *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 30 (1934) pp. 310- 311.

deceptive packaging.¹² While the FDA had initially intended to only display the exhibit for members of Congress, the popular success of *Your Money's Worth* and *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs* led the agency to organize a tour of the exhibition, with the goal of educating consumers and building support for their cause. The exhibition travelled the country, stopping at the 1933 World's Fair in Chicago and the White House, where it was visited by new First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and dubbed by a journalist as the 'Chamber of Horrors'.¹³ Ultimately the exhibit succeeded in building consumer support for comprehensive federal food regulation, and even compelled some manufacturers featured in the exhibit to change their practices in order to be removed from the display.¹⁴

This section has outlined the consumer goods marketplace in the years following the passage of the PFDA and considered public and industry reaction to regulation. While the PFDA made important strides in establishing federal food and drug regulation, the law quickly became outdated and ineffectual. The work of consumer advocates and the FDA indicates that the law was not succeeding in protecting the safety and value of goods.

Securing Passage of New Legislation

In the spring of 1933, just as President Franklin Roosevelt was beginning his first term in office, calls to fill the regulatory gaps in the PFDA began to gain momentum. Though the nation was in the midst of the Great Depression, Roosevelt's prioritisation of the issue reflects the urgency of the matter. Rexford G. Tugwell, Roosevelt's Assistant Secretary of Agriculture was aware of the work of Chase, Kallet and Schlink, and, after verifying their allegations with the FDA, Tugwell received presidential sanction to revise the PFDA.¹⁵ He assembled a team consisting of members of staff from the FDA and Department of Agriculture, as well as several lawyers to begin working on drafting recommended revisions to the PFDA. Tugwell's group soon found that the flaws of the old law ran so deeply throughout the document that it would be necessary to draft an entirely new bill.¹⁶ After nearly a year of work the first draft of the 'Tugwell Bill' was proposed in December of 1933. At the hearing, industry representatives made vocal criticisms of the language of the law, and its stricter scope. Despite opposition from the affected industries,

¹² 'The American Chamber of Horrors', *The U.S. Food and Drug Administration*, <<http://www.fda.gov/AboutFDA/WhatWeDo/History/ProductRegulation/ucm132791.htm>> [accessed 8 April 2013].

¹³ Andrea T. Borchers and others, 'The History and Contemporary Challenges of the US Food and Drug Administration' *Chemical Therapeutics* 29 (2007) p. 7.

¹⁴ 'The American Chamber of Horrors', <<http://www.fda.gov/AboutFDA/WhatWeDo/History/ProductRegulation/ucm132791.htm>>.

¹⁵ David F. Canvers, 'The Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938: Its Legislative History and its Substantive Provisions', *Law and Contemporary Problems* 6 (1939) p. 6.

¹⁶ Canvers, p. 7.

most consumer groups and public health agencies were in favour of the bill, although Chase and Schlick's Consumer Research felt that the the proposed legislation could have offered even further protection to consumers.¹⁷

Because of the criticisms the bill received from both corporate and consumer representatives, Tugwell's team began revising their proposal. Over the next two years, Tugwell's committee submitted three revisions of the bill, but criticism from industry and consumer organisations persisted, and in January 1935 an entirely new bill was proposed.¹⁸ Two months later, President Roosevelt declared his support for stricter food, drug and cosmetic regulation in a message to Congress:

In such a situation as has grown up through our rising level of living and our multiplication of goods, consumers are prevented from choosing intelligently and producers are handicapped in any attempt to maintain higher standards. Only the scientific and disinterested activity of Government can protect this honour of our producers and provide the possibility of discriminating choice to our consumers.¹⁹

Despite Roosevelt's message urging legislators to pass the bill, the bill spent another two years stalled in Congress due to disagreements over phrasing within law.

After four years of continued failure to agree on any legislation, the nation experienced a crisis that exposed the urgency with which this regulation was needed. In the fall of the 1937, a new liquid preparation of the drug Sulfanilamide was marketed as Elixir of Sulfanilamide. Because drug manufacturers were not required to test their products for safety under the PFDA, the manufacturer of this elixir found that an ideal appearance, flavour and texture could be achieved if the Sulfanilamide was dissolved in diethylene glycol, known commonly today as antifreeze.²⁰ As a result of this oversight, over 100 people, predominantly children, were killed across fifteen states.²¹ Doctors from affected areas notified the FDA of the lethal effects of the elixir, and the FDA responded by dedicating all their resources to retrieving what remained of the product on the market. The agency was only able to seize the

¹⁷ Canvers, p. 9.

¹⁸ Canvers, pp. 11- 12.

¹⁹ Kenneth F. Davis, *FDR: The New Deal Years 1933-1937* (New York: Random House, 1986) pp. 485- 486.

²⁰ J.C. Geiger, 'Concerning Elixir of Sulfanilamide', *Cal Med West* 47 (1937) p. 353.

²¹ Carol Ballentine, 'Taste of Raspberries, Taste of Death: The 1937 Elixir Sulfanilamide Incident', *The US Food and Drug Administration* <<http://www.fda.gov/AboutFDA/WhatWeDo/History/ProductRegulation/SulfanilamideDisaster/default.htm>> [accessed 15 April, 2013].

remaining Elixir of Sulfanilamide through a technicality in the PFDA. Under the existing legislation, the only charge the FDA could levy against the manufacturer was misbranding, as 'elixirs' were required to contain alcohol. Because diethylene glycol was not alcoholic, the product should have been labelled as a 'solution.'²² Ultimately, the FDA was able to retrieve 234 of the 240 gallons manufactured, indicating that the death toll could have been much higher.²³ This tragic event was instrumental in garnering support for improved regulation, as it confirmed the claims the FDA, journalists and consumer groups had been making for years.

The Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938: On Paper and In Practice

Following the Sulfanilamide incident, Congress came under increasing pressure from the public, the FDA, women's groups, and consumer organisations to pass regulatory legislation based, at least partly, on the Tugwell bill. Just as the The Jungle provided the impetus necessary to secure the passage of the PFDA, once again shock and tragedy were the catalysts required to compell lawmakers to take action. Throughout the five year struggle to pass new food, drug and cosmetic legislation, the conflicts that had stalled its passage were largely semantical and related to issues with enforcement jurisdiction. In the face of Sulfanilamide tragedy these issues appeared increasingly trivial, and on 25 June 1938 President Roosevelt signed the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938 into law. The fight to pass this legislation had been a struggle between the interests of industry and of consumers, and, while industry had powerful resources and influence, the FDCA ultimately strengthened the weak regulation of the PFDA in favour of protecting consumers.

In regulating food, the FDCA required manufacturers to follow stricter processing and labelling standards that would allow consumers to make more informed choices about the food they were purchasing. While the new law improved commercial food production in many ways, it was provisions affecting labelling, packaging and quality standards that brought some of the most far-reaching changes and innovations. The FDCA improved and standardised labelling requirements by mandating that products bear the common name of the food in addition to the brand name, and that producers disclose any artificial colourings or flavourings present, though exceptions were made for some dairy products such as butter, cheese and ice cream.²⁴ The

²² Ballentine, 'Taste of Raspberries'.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Rayburn D. Tousley, 'The Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938', *The Journal of Marketing* 5 (1941) p. 261.

law also addressed the packaging discrepancies displayed in the ‘Chamber of Horrors’ exhibit by establishing filling standards for containers.²⁵

Of the new provisions introduced by the law, numerous scholars have argued that the food identity standards clause was the most significant regulatory innovation in the law.²⁶ Contemporary journalists wrote that the food identity standards provision was one of the strongest positive changes to the law, and ranked its significance on par with the new federal oversight of cosmetics, and the mandatory safety testing of new drugs.²⁷ The favourable public reception to the provision is notable because there were separate provisions in the law that regulated food adulteration (section 402), misbranding (section 403), and the use of poisonous ingredients and colouring agents in foods (section 406), yet the food standards provision seemed to bring consumers the greatest assurance that their foodstuffs would change for the better.²⁸ Overall, consumers at the time considered the law a ‘great advance’.²⁹

The food identity provision is part of a three-part power found in section 401 of the Act which states:

‘Whenever in the judgement of the Secretary such action will promote honesty and fair dealing in the interest of consumers he shall promulgate regulations fixing and establishing for any food under its common or usual name so far as practicable, a reasonable definition and standard of identity, a reasonable standard of quality and/or reasonable standards or fill of container.’³⁰

While this provision allows the Secretary of Agriculture to create three separate types of standards, Junod states that all three were intended to ensure consumers received the value they expected from their food.³¹ This power applied to any food, except those that already had a standard or foods that

²⁵ David F. Canvers, ‘The Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938: Its Legislative History and its Substantive Provisions’, *Law and Contemporary Problems* 6 (1939) p. 25.

²⁶ Richard A. Merrill and Earl M. Collier Jr., “Like Mother Used to Make”: An Analysis of FDA Food Standards of Identity’, *Columbia Law Review* 74 (1974) p. 566.

Robert W. Austin, ‘The Federal Food Legislation of 1938 and the Food Industry’, *Law and Contemporary Problems* 6 (1939) p. 131.

²⁷ ‘New Food and Drug Bill Given to House’, *Los Angeles Times*, 16 April 1938.

‘President Breaks Deadlock on Food and Drug Bill’, *Los Angeles Times*, 12 June 1938.

²⁸ ‘The Federal Food Drug and Cosmetic Act’, *United States Statutes at Large*, 34 Stat. 768 (1938).

²⁹ Louise G. Baldwin and Florence Kirlin, ‘Consumers Appraise the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act’, *Law and Contemporary Problems* 6 (1939) p. 144.

³⁰ ‘The Federal Food Drug and Cosmetic Act’(1938).

³¹ Suzanne Junod, ‘Food Standards in the United States: The Case of the Peanut Butter and Jelly Sandwich’, in *Food, Science, Policy and Regulation in the Twentieth Century: International and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. David F. Smith and Jim Phillips (London: Routledge, 2000) p. 180.

were sold in their natural, or nearly natural, state such as fresh or dried fruits or vegetables.³² Of the three types of standards, creating and enforcing standards of identity posed a more complicated regulatory task. Enacting a standard of identity required (and continues to require, as the provision is still in effect) careful consideration because a single identity standard can dictate exactly what ingredients are permitted in a particular food, how it is prepared, how it is named, and how it is labelled. If all of these variables are properly considered, the provision can give the FDA improved control over the entire manufacturing process, therefore offering comprehensive oversight regarding both the safety of food and the sincerity of manufacturers.³³

The FDCA also introduced various necessary changes pertaining to the drug and cosmetic industries. Overall, the new law corrected many of the PFDA's inherent problems, extending, among other things, the regulatory power of the FDA, and ensuring the safety and purity of drugs.³⁴ Specifically, as a result of the Elixir of Sulfanilamide incident, the law mandated that all drugs must be tested for safety before being sold to the public.³⁵ Furthermore, the law required that labelling standards for drugs be very clear in informing the user of the directions required for safe use, and warning of any potential for abuse.³⁶ The new legislation also regulated the use of habit-forming substances in drugs, most notably alcohol and narcotics such as opium and heroin, and also required that any use of such ingredients be disclosed on the label with a statement warning of the product's addictive nature.³⁷ The provisions affecting the cosmetic industry were significant because the FDCA was the first federal legislation regulating this industry in any way. Overall, the FDCA regulated cosmetics by making it illegal for manufacturers to use any harmful or unsanitary ingredients, and also prohibiting the misbranding of any cosmetics.³⁸

Following the ratification of the FDCA, the FDA mandated that all provisions requiring safety testing be effective immediately, but allowed manufactures one year to establish compliance with all other requirements. The FDA also began drafting their federal food identity standards, as national 'recipes' needed to be established for all commonly purchased foods. The first round of identity standards were released in 1939, and created standard recipes

³² At the time a standard of identity for butter was regulated by Congress. Joseph M. Vallowe, 'Informing Consumers of the Existence and Significance of Food and Drug Administration Standards of Identity', *Food Drug and Cosmetic Law Journal* 38 (1983) p. 257.

³³ Vallowe, p.257.

³⁴ Canvers, p. 31.

³⁵ Tousley, p. 262.

³⁶ Canvers, p. 36.

³⁷ Canvers, p. 37.

³⁸ Canvers, p. 41.

for all popular tomato products.³⁹ Despite the slow process of writing each individual food identity standard and implementing the new manufacturing and labelling requirements, the effectiveness of the FDCA was apparent soon after ratification. In the first year the law was in effect the FDA prosecuted 79 companies in violation of the law and seized 187 products.⁴⁰ Furthermore, of the 1,107 drug applications the FDA received in the first year, 683 were approved, 376 were found to require further investigation and 48 were withdrawn.⁴¹ Overall, despite the lengthy passage of the bill, the resulting legislation asserted bold protections for consumers that not only addressed the problems that had plagued the consumer goods marketplace, but aligned with the broader goal of promoting the wellbeing of all Americans that underpinned much of Roosevelt's New Deal. The FDCA remains in effect today, including hundreds of food identity standards. Over the past 77 years the FDCA has adapted to the changing consumer marketplace, which included a shift from simple pantry foods to prepared, convenience items. While the challenge of industry lobbying has remained persistent (see the standard hearings for bread and peanut butter), standards of identity continue to affect America's food industry.⁴² In 2008 an entirely new food standard was created for white chocolate, and in 2014 Unilever sued Hampton Creek (and later withdrew their suit) for infringing upon the food identity standard for mayonnaise with their eggless spread called 'Just Mayo.'⁴³ This dialogue indicates that standards of identity, and the FDCA overall continue to be relevant in the consumer marketplace.

For Future Study

In 1929, Wiley self-published the text *The History of a Crime Against the Food Law*. Though he had devoted his life to consumer advocacy, Wiley felt compelled to publish his account of the failures of the PFDA one year before his death. In the text, he described what he believed were the two major shortcomings of the law: industry scientists who engineered loopholes and

³⁹ 'Food Standards Under the 1938 Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act: Bread and Jam', *The US Food and Drug Administration*
<<http://www.fda.gov/AboutFDA/WhatWeDo/History/ProductRegulation/ucm132892.htm>> [accessed 19 April, 2013].

⁴⁰ Tousley, p. 267.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Junod, pp. 46-47.

M. Markel, 'Baking Industry Progress,' *Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Law Journal*, 1951, vol. 6, p. 782.

⁴³ 'Guidance for Industry: Standard of Identity for White Chocolate,' *US Food and Drug Administration*

<<http://www.fda.gov/Food/GuidanceRegulation/GuidanceDocumentsRegulatoryInformation/LabelingNutrition/ucm059076.htm>> [accessed 29 April, 2015].

David Pierson, 'Unilever drops lawsuit against vegan mayonnaise maker,' *Los Angeles Times*, <<http://www.latimes.com/business/la-fi-mayo-lawsuit-20141218-story.html>> [accessed 29 April, 2015].

government officials who ‘permitted and encouraged’ food manufacturers to do so.⁴⁴ While these issues affected the success of the PFDA in particular, Wiley’s account ultimately detailed challenges that existed and continue to exist for most types of government regulation in the United States. In framing consumer protection regulation specifically, it is impossible to know what types of technological advancements will arise, thus challenging the regulatory scope of the law. As the FDCA approaches its 80th anniversary, Wiley’s observations outline a common challenge to creating effective regulation, and also suggest that the FDCA’s longevity could be attributed, in part, to its success in managing the ever-evolving challenges of consumer demands, industry lobbying, and technological change.

This paper has summarised the history of federal pure food and drug regulation in the United States from 1906 to 1939. Though the legislation of 1906 and 1938 are both crucial aspects of the expansion of government regulatory practice in the United States, they mark the beginning of the story, not its end. This research reveals that the implementation of the FDCA made an important contribution to the health and safety of Americans in the twentieth century. It also indicates that while the PFDA receives much historical notoriety, the FDCA brought more comprehensive oversight. Further research on the continuing effects of the legislation, including amendments, industry involvement and consumer perception of the law is required to create a more comprehensive historiography of the FDCA. At the time of writing, no comprehensive historical accounts of the FDCA exist, with most sources written by FDA professionals and lawyers, intended for use within these fields.⁴⁵ As the FDCA has now been in effect for over three times as long as the PFDA, this legislation offers a wealth of opportunities for historical investigation.

This research, and further in-depth research on the FDCA, are essential to understanding how food purity and safety for American consumers emerged in the twentieth century. Furthermore, this research contributes not only to the historiography of American pure food legislation, but also interdisciplinary discussions on food policy and food safety. Without considering the origins of American’s current regulation, and the amendments and changes that have led to the current climate, it is impossible to address present issues. As Wiley wrote of loopholes and corruption relating to the PFDA, these challenges have

⁴⁴ Harvey Washington Wiley, *The History of a Crime Against the Food Law: The Amazing Story of the National Food and Drugs Law Intended to Protect the Health of the People, Perverted to Protect Adulteration of Foods and Drugs* (Washington DC: the author, 1929 repr. Milwaukee: Lee Foundation for Nutritional Research, 1955) p. 402.

⁴⁵ The most comprehensive sources on the FDCA available are from legal journals and the FDA, including the journals *The FDA Consumer* and *The Food Drug and Cosmetic Law Journal*.

the potential to affect any type of legislation.⁴⁶ Thus, continued investigation of key regulations like the FDCA is crucial to not only to build the historiography, but also contextualise contemporary issues and create adaptable, effective legislation.

⁴⁶ Wiley, p. 403.

Larry Eugene Jones (ed.), *The German Right in the Weimar Republic: Studies in the History of German Conservatism, Nationalism, and Antisemitism* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 340 pages. ISBN: 9781782383529, RRP £60.00.

Alex Burkhardt*

Understanding the German Right in the Weimar Republic once seemed relatively straightforward: historians talked of a changing of the guard, as the old, elitist monarchists and Prussian conservatives of the Kaiserreich were supplanted by radical, demagogic nationalists better suited to the arena of mass politics. But the narrative of seamless transition from old to new Right is challenged in this collection of essays; as Larry Eugene Jones points out in the introduction, the non-Nazi Right in the Weimar Republic was a shifting, complex, even chaotic tapestry of groups, individuals and value systems that cannot easily be shoehorned into the categories 'old' or 'new'.

This central theme is vividly brought to life in four essays that focus on several prominent individuals who were symbolic of the Weimar Right's disjointed politics. Wolfram Pyta sets his sights on Paul von Hindenburg, the prominent First World War Field Marshal who later became the Weimar Republic's President. So often depicted as a paradigm of staid Prussian conservatism and monarchism, Hindenburg emerges from this chapter as a 'populist' post-war politician whose claim to authority was based on a charismatic cult of personality. As Pyta shows, though Hindenburg as President was initially an upholder of the Weimar Constitution, he became its gravedigger in seeking for an authoritarian solution to Germany's problems. An equally complex individual was Hindenburg's fellow Prussian conservative Count Cuno von Westarp, one-time leader of the German National Peoples' Party (DNVP) and the subject of Daniela Gasteiger's chapter. As she shows, Westarp may have begun the 1920s as a staunch monarchist opponent of the Republic, but he first came into conflict with Völkisch nationalists in the DNVP over the exclusion of Jews from the party, and then with his erstwhile monarchist allies after taking the DNVP into government. Joseph W. Bendersky's essay on the eminent legal scholar Carl Schmitt is also packed

*Alex Burkhardt is a doctoral student in Modern History at the University of St. Andrews.

with ambiguity, with Schmitt sometimes working to salvage the Weimar Constitution but at the same time providing legal arguments for a Presidential dictatorship. Finally, Edward Snyder focuses on Friedrich von Bodelschwingh, a key figure in Weimar era 'social Protestantism' who oversaw a network of charitable hospitals for the mentally ill in Bielefeld and became increasingly open to the idea of eugenic solutions to social problems in the aftermath of the First World War. Taken together, these essays all tend to emphasise the inadequacy of the concepts 'old' and 'new' for understanding the complex and contradictory figures on Weimar's political right.

Three of the book's chapters focus specifically on anti-Semitism within the different institutions of the Right, and two of them present a similar argument: that right-wing organisations, though often home to radical anti-Semitic racists, were never quite dominated by them. In his second chapter, Larry Eugene Jones also focuses on the DNVP, which had a racist-Völkisch wing that pushed for an Aryan clause and the exclusion of Jews. But Jones argues that the influence of this faction varied considerably over the course of the 1920s; there was frequent discord between the Völkisch nationalists and those in the party for whom anti-Semitism was less of an obsession. Brian E. Crimm presents a case study of two paramilitary formations, the Stahlhelm and Young German Order, and posits a similar internal conflict between radical anti-Semites and those for whom it was a mere tactical device. For Crimm, these 'Combat Leagues' tended to dabble in the pragmatic exploitation of 'situational anti-Semitism' when it seemed politically advantageous but, as Weimar politics radicalised, this left them at a disadvantage in their competition with the Nazis, for whom anti-Semitism was anything but 'situational'. Finally, Ulrike Ehret argues that the Catholic Right in the Republic also had its fair share of anti-Semites and Völkisch nationalists, many of whom were in the unusual position of trying to divert support from the Catholic Centre Party toward the Protestant-Nationalist DNVP.

This volume also includes three chapters on the Pan-German League, which might be considered a little excessive, especially as two of them show just how anachronistic the League had become by the 1920s. Bjorn Hofmeister argues that the Pan-Germans were deeply uncomfortable with the 'mass politics' of rallies and paramilitary marches that became a central feature of the Weimar Republic, leading to their speedy eclipse by more dynamic outfits such as the Stahlhelm and, later, the Nazis. Barry A. Jackisch focuses specifically on this Pan-German/Nazi nexus. He shows how leading figures within the former came to distrust Hitler's movement almost as much as the Communists because a 'nationalist mass party' was still, in the end, 'a mass party', and thus incompatible with their elitist conception of politics. Rainer Hering argues that the advancement of radical nationalist ideas by prominent Pan-German academics was really an attempt to uphold a traditional, male-dominated

bourgeois order. Ultimately, though, by showing just how out of place and obsolete the Pan-German League was in the Weimar Republic, these chapters tend to reinforce the idea that it is in fact possible to speak of a transition from 'old' to 'new' right, which somewhat contravenes the stated aim of the volume.

Overall, this collection feels a little imbalanced. Three chapters on the Pan-German League and three on anti-Semitism leave little space for an exploration of other critical developments on the German Right. The processes of grass roots 'rural insurrection' and 'bürgerliche radicalisation' which have been amply documented by historians such as Jonathon Osmond and Peter Fritzsche, and which did so much to undermine the Weimar Republic, are conspicuous by their absence. Likewise, as vital as anti-Semitism undoubtedly was to the Weimar Right, there were other aspects of its worldview which might have merited closer attention. Indeed, as Jones himself mentions (p97), once Hugenberg became leader of the DNVP, he based his party programme not on anti-Semitism but on anti-Marxism – a crucial component of the Weimar Right's ideology that is given too little treatment on these pages.

That said, these essays, taken together, do convincingly illustrate just how shambolic the Weimar-era Right actually was, with endemic infighting over personalities and ideas rendering it incapable of presenting a 'unified opposition' to the hated Republic. The chief beneficiaries of this disarray were, fatefully enough, the Nazis.

Joanna Bourke, *The Story of Pain: From Prayer to Painkillers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 396 pages.
ISBN: 9780199689422, RRP £20.00.

Michelle Davis*

In her latest book, *The Story of Pain*, Joanna Bourke effectively argues a different way to view an 'event' which afflicts us all during our lives – pain. She accepts that all pain is real to the sufferer but that culture has an impact on how this is expressed and communicated. This review will look a little closer at this argument to see if such a claim can be convincing.

* Michelle Davis is completing a Master's degree in The History of Medicine at the University of Warwick.

The Story of Pain is a refreshing read which certainly adds value to this area of historical research. Bourke states the most influential text on pain from recent times is Elaine Scarry's *The Body of Pain* published in 1985 (4). She also suggests, however, that Scarry falls into a trap by writing of pain as an entity and thus Bourke has claimed that Scarry cannot express the changing social environment that surrounds it due to its individualism (5). Bourke argues that this trap results in the viewpoint that pain has a limited historical investigation, which she then proceeds to argue against. Through introducing her methodology of removing the agency from pain, Bourke allows the reader to see pain as a type of event constructed by society, and not just as a biological entity. This allows the changes in language to be assessed because pain is not questioned, but the way in which pain is communicated to others around the sufferer can be.

Each chapter of *The Story of Pain* has a different theme but all centre on the idea of changing language. Within the first half of the book Bourke explores how pain is expressed to others using metaphors and similes. Her findings are very fruitful. The development of using metaphors as signals of pain is demonstrated particularly well in the chapters titled *Metaphor* and *Religion*, for example Bourke picks up on an early twentieth century trend of comparing other pain to toothache; 'my leg has toothache' (56) a World War One amputee complained; 'toothache in my back' (56) stated a steam trawler worker. These contrast very well with the following chapter on diagnosis. Here Bourke argues that whilst language developed amongst peers with the metaphors aforementioned for example, it diminished in the doctor-patient relationship. This is demonstrated by using textbooks for medical students which described the patient's narrative as 'contributing little to the process of identifying disease' (136). Furthermore, Bourke uses class as one of many factors to demonstrate the multiple coexisting experiences of pain, stating that by the end of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth, a doctor's relationship with his patient depended on how rich the latter was and that only the richest of sufferers received the time to voice their story of pain (134-136). By combining these trends Bourke shows that pain had a more multifaceted trajectory through time, enabling her to make a case for pain being a construction of the social environment.

The Story of Pain is undoubtedly at its strongest and most interesting when it is suggested that being in pain could alter the definition of being human. It is a theme which appears throughout the book but prominently in the chapter titled *Estrangement*. Bourke draws on multiple examples from the nineteenth century to demonstrate the idea that behaving in pain was to lose humanity. These examples, like 'writhing like a wounded animal' (41), show that to behave in pain was akin to behaving like a lower being – an animal in

this case. Yet, whilst the trend in analogising pain is important, analysis on why animals specifically are used is lacking in Bourke's analysis. The estrangement of the sufferer is explained but the reason behind the language employed, which places people as others, lacks depth. This is surprising considering that Bourke has previously written on this topic, so many readers would expect the incorporation of this material into her new work.¹ Instead, in this chapter at least, Bourke uses the source material only to demonstrate changes in the way pain was expressed, and the impact it had on the sufferer. She does not offer an explanation of how the metaphor was constructed. Thus, whilst Bourke does move the debate forward on pain by opening up this idea that pain is not all the same, and her argument on language is interesting, the book fails to do more than show that this area deserves to be studied.

I do not, however, want to discourage anyone from reading *The Story of Pain*; it has been written as a foundation to help develop new ways of thinking about ourselves and our sorrows (xi). Bourke has successfully demonstrated that pain should be seen more as an event which shifts and changes depending on the social environment and century – certainly the experience is very different since the arrival of painkillers and anaesthetics. Bourke's study achieves its goal of opening pain up as a serious line of academic enquiry, but it is a book that leaves you asking for more.

Nicholas Grene, *Nothing Quite Like It: An American – Irish Childhood* (Dromore: Somerville Press, 2011). 176 pages.
ISBN: 9780956223159, RRP £11.99.

Yuh J. Hwang*

Nicholas Grene's memoir, *Nothing Quite Like It* recollects the author's childhood in Ireland as 'an Anglo-Irish, American, Polish Jew' (9). The work comprises nineteen chapters, ranging from 'Prehistory' (referring to the author's family) to 'Going up to Trinity' in the 1950s. It recounts how a little boy he had grown up and built his own world in opposition to external reality, in which he had to face a 'Clash-limited perspective' (38) - Clash being the name of the small village in which the author was raised and lived for almost sixty years. The book explores his school days in the local Protestant National

¹ Bourke, Joanna, *What it Means to be Human: Reflections from 1791 to the Present*, (London: Virago, 2011).

* Yuh J. Hwang is completing a PhD in the Drama department at Trinity College Dublin.

School, his subsequent boarding schools in Drogheda and Belfast, and his experience of being a young farmer. Here, Clash is a point where ‘the rootedness’ (10) and ‘the belonging’ (10) that the author has come from is discussed and reflected upon. Clash, the boy’s entire universe, is affected by the agricultural and cultural changes experienced throughout the many small villages and towns of Ireland at the time. Grene illustrates these changes with descriptions of his interactions with *Art Nouveau* in the 1950s, and by describing the changes in harvesting methods over time. In that sense, Grene’s memoir also functions as an historical record of the transforming Irish landscape in the 1950s. Indeed, throughout the memoir, the reader is made aware of the changes taking place within the agricultural industry, including the reduced dependence upon workhorses, as ‘the turnover of farming activity names come and go within a generation’ (53).

What makes the author’s childhood interesting is that both of his parents were professors and his mother, a student of Martin Heidegger, wrote a book about Heidegger. Published in 1957, this work ‘was the first monograph on the subject in English’ (40). We might imagine it a blessing to be born to intellectual parents, but Grene’s childhood was in fact far from simple: his father was a professor of Classics at the University of Chicago, but would come back to Ireland for farming every half-year. The author was born in Chicago, America, but he was raised in a small village in Ireland where ‘to be not Catholic was to be Protestant’ (33). As the author recalls, living and working on the farm was a significant element in shaping his childhood and such a ‘labour-intensive’ (54) experience does not in fact make for an idyllic rural childhood. Rather, the author’s rural childhood resembled the daily life of an adult farmer, in the sense that he had his own farm work to perform. Indeed, Grene depicts a farm life based on his vivid memory of ‘digging the potatoes’ (54), ‘threshing’ (62) and the like, all very much removed from any nostalgic sentiments of childhood. To put it another way, the vivid and meticulous description of childhood memory in this memoir does not converge on the longing for a lost time, but shows childhood as a process of life itself.

Such an attitude arises from the author’s insistence on maintaining a distance between his childhood and the present, as is demonstrated through his use of sentences starting with ‘I can remember’ or ‘I cannot remember’. This distance creates a series of co-existing voices which mix the views of a little boy with ‘the greying sixty-something professor of English’ [at Trinity College Dublin] (51). And the gap creates the rhythm of the narrative in the memoir in terms of reconstructing the childhood memory. Although the author says: ‘[I]t is all reconstruction, nothing of my own’ (14), and even says: ‘I can remember nothing’ (14), from that point of view, this memoir is a sort of palimpsest in that the author re-imagines and re-writes the memories of the past. The distance represented by the sentences, ‘I cannot remember’ and ‘I can

remember', enables Grene to give a cohesive view to his memoir in terms of narrating his story. This remembrance of his childhood is appealing to readers in particular, who don't necessarily know much about how having a diverse social identity played out in the context of Irish society in the 1950s. Complicated aspects of identity are described in a witty and humourous fashion. For instance, he recalls that 'it was buttons that turned me into a Protestant' (29), referring to the fact that aged five he 'was put in the local Catholic National School' (30), but his 'incompetence with buttons' (30), which were 'too stiff...to open' his trousers, caused him such "shame" among his peers that he 'was sent instead to Balinatone, the alternative Protestant National School' (30).

Indeed, we see that the author stands at the threshold between 'all the separations' (44) –'landowner and workman, Protestant and Catholic, the overeducated and the undereducated' (44), which exist throughout the Irish farming community.

This unusual position within the wider social context is also reflected in his parents' divorce. This event could be understood as a turning point in the memoir as 'the terrible trauma of divorce [...] was the social shame it represented' (122). He recalls that divorce, in those days, conjured an image of divorcees as 'women in books with scarlet-painted fingernails' (121) and that 'the image of the scarlet-painted fingernails remained with me throughout' (122). These images strike an emotional resonance in terms of the boy's growing pains, particularly when we realise that divorce was regarded as a 'social shame' (122) in Ireland at that time. Afterwards, we see the teenage Grene travel to France to study and to Israel to work on a kibbutz. Later, we encounter him as an adult as he enters Trinity College and leads his college life in accordance with what he knows of the farm, calling himself 'a freshman farmer' (165).

The memoir ends with a scene in which the author lands in New York after his first flight to America. Grene's tendency to recount moments of time throughout his life make *Nothing Quite Like It* an interesting work; arguably it is more than a memoir, because aspects of the incongruity between the world and the boy are not only convincing and appealing, but also function as an historical recollection of farm life in 1950s Ireland. In this respect, this book is a fascinating contribution to both memoir and, more broadly, a local history of Ireland. It will appeal to a general public who know little of contemporary Irish history and to readers interested in Irish history or Irish literature and memoir.

Emily J. Manktelow, *Missionary Families: Race, gender and generation on the spiritual frontier* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2013). xxxviii+252 pages. ISBN: 9780719087585, RRP £70.00.

Rachel Peat¹

‘Our sons Charles and Richard who have gone astray, have ceased to live with us... their conduct since has given us extreme pain.’ So wrote South Seas missionary Charles Barff to his employers at the London Missionary Society in 1845, and so opens Emily J. Manktelow’s chapter on missionary children in her 2013 monograph, *Missionary Families* (162). This case study is one of several which form the basis of a new approach to mission history, whereby Manktelow unpacks the relationship between the intimate and the institutional through the lens of the family. In this way, Christian overseas mission in the nineteenth century emerges as a sphere where the ‘personal *became* the professional’, with tangible impact on the metropole (2). Scandals of racial intermarriage prompted LMS recruitment of missionary wives from home, for example, while reports of disorderly children like Charles Barff’s led to new questions about parental authority in interviews for prospective missionaries. Manktelow’s work is thus an important addition to John Mackenzie’s ‘Studies in Imperialism’ series, demonstrating the myriad effects of imperialism on British as much as colonial society. Indeed, she is explicit: ‘The seemingly intimate and personal (marriage, parenthood, family) [abroad] utterly shaped and transformed the very nature of nineteenth century mission itself’ (211).

Manktelow’s decision to use the ‘family’ as a conceptual framework for missionary and imperial history is an important and timely one. Previous writing on missionaries has generally tended to focus upon individual hagiography, while more recent social and cultural histories have been concerned with the public spaces where empire was expressed and contested. By reframing analysis in terms of the personal activities and concerns of domestic units, Manktelow opens up a new conduit through which to examine the influences and debates at play in missionary history. Tracing their impact on mission organisations at home also helpfully avoids a dichotomy between

¹ Rachel Peat is a Master’s student on the World History and Cultures programme at King’s College London.

‘institutional’ and ‘social’ histories of mission, which have so often been considered separately.

Manktelow’s study focuses specifically on the London Missionary Society (LMS) in the nineteenth century, and is explicitly limited to the activities of a handful of families working in its Pacific and Southern African mission fields. This relatively narrow remit may be the result of using a shorter PhD thesis as the basis for a book-length piece. By focusing on a few well-known missionaries – such as the Livingstones and the Moffats – Manktelow demonstrates clearly the potential of her innovative ‘family’ approach to yield fresh insight on well-worn subjects. Despite this, the scope remains somewhat disappointing for a monograph, not least given that the records for other missionary societies such as the Presbyterian Church of England Foreign Missions Committee are readily available for much of this period, and yet are not included in this work.² The LMS’s *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* is also a surprising omission from a work that does so well in placing missionary children within the broader context of LMS debates about families and mission.

In spite of this modest scope, Manktelow produces an array of insightful and convincing arguments about the influence of missionary families and their experiences on metropolitan theory and practice. A section on missionary wives astutely demonstrates how early negative instances of racial intermarriage encouraged the LMS to promote the role of the British missionary wife, while a chapter on marriage itself shows how women’s home-making in the field precipitated a ‘whole new mission theology based on domesticity and example’ (89). Wives ran sewing schools, cared for sick husbands and, in the case of Mary Moffat, rearranged their kitchens to reflect English styles – all efforts to display ‘proper’ femininity to local women (81). Missionaries’ insistent vocalization of their concerns about children-rearing abroad meanwhile forced the ‘consolidation of missionary families within LMS policy’ (99), including active efforts by the LMS to establish regional schools for missionary children.

Perhaps the most incisive and original chapter in *Missionary Families* deals with the behaviour of children themselves, shedding new light on how parental concern for their offspring’s moral prosperity ‘ultimately increased racialization in missionary discourse’ through fears of racial contamination and contact (81). Missionary children meanwhile expressed their agency by supporting mission activities or engaging in culturally transgressive forms of rebellion. We learn, for example, that in 1829 Samuel Crook and Charles

² These are available at the School of Oriental and African Studies, along with materials relating to missionary societies which operated in the twentieth century, such as the Methodist Missionary Society.

Wilson (Jr) were sent home from their segregated South Seas Academy after engaging in 'native circumcision' rites, while similar scandal abounded when a local man was 'discovered under the bed' of the Rev. David Darling's daughter (167). More than a mere colourful anecdote, this is an important contribution to our understanding of a group often silent in official sources, and deserves close attention.

In short, *Missionary Families* is a convincing reorientation of mission and imperial studies to consider missionary families as key agents in evolving metropolitan theory and practice. Manktelow is right, then, that 'the family can no longer be legitimately ignored in mission history' (6) and her work should be read as a call to arms for historians. There is ample room for scholars to apply this approach in other geographic and institutional contexts, and it is hoped that they will be inspired to demonstrate more widely what Manktelow has shown convincingly in one instance: that 'the family was completely formative in the practice and evolution of mission' (16).

Tanya Stabler Miller, *The Beguines of Medieval Paris: Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 304 pages.
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Yvonne Seale*

The medieval beguines were religious communities of women who occupied a space somewhere between the lay and the monastic. As women who chose to pursue religious lives in the world, whilst also often being targets of male scorn, the beguines have become a testing ground in recent years for historians seeking to explore issues of medieval women's agency.¹ Yet the beguines of Paris have gone almost unexamined.² Tanya Stabler Miller therefore makes a

* Yvonne Seale is a Presidential Graduate Fellow of the University of Iowa and a doctoral candidate in the university's Department of History.

¹ Juliette Dor et al (eds.), *New Trends in Feminine Spirituality: The Holy Women of Liège and their Impact* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999); Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200-1565* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Letha Böhringer et al (eds.), *Labels and Libels: Naming Beguines in Northern Medieval Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

² Previous work on Parisian beguines explored the royal beguinage solely as a royal institution, and revealed little about the women. Léon Le Grand, "Les béguines de Paris," *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 20 (1893), pp. 295-357.

welcome contribution with her book, *The Beguines of Medieval Paris*, thanks to its focus on how the social, political and economic contexts of that city shaped the characters of its beguine communities. Miller demonstrates that Parisian beguines simultaneously pursued a flexible religious lifestyle while also functioning as emblems of French royal sanctity.

Although there were a number of beguine communities in Paris, not to mention dozens of beguines living independently, the community on which Miller focuses was the royal beguinage founded by Louis IX in 1254. The first chapter explores the king's foundation of this beguinage in the context of popular contemporary perceptions of lay religiosity, while the second chapter takes a closer look at the beguinage's operation. Louis supported the beguines both financially and by placing them under the special protection of the Dominican friars. Miller argues that doing so allowed the king to legitimise lay religious expression—something vital for an overtly pious king—in a manner possibly influenced by the example of his sister, the equally devout Isabelle.³ This royal approval likely helped to bolster the number of beguines, by making it an attractive option for wealthy women who could contribute to the support of poorer beguines.

In the third chapter, Miller looks at beguines' occupations. Tax assessments compiled during Philip IV's reign (1285-1314) allow the identification of the many beguine households throughout Paris whose incomes were largely derived from silk working and embroidery. As has been shown in the work of numerous scholars such as Barbara Hanawalt and Judith Bennett, women were integral to the medieval economy, and the beguines were no different.⁴ As Miller points out, while a beguinage may have been surrounded by walls, those walls were always porous. Involvement in manufacture necessitated contact with merchants, and broadened the beguines' social network.

The fourth and fifth chapters form a pair—the former analyzing the collaborative links between the beguines and the university clerics of the Sorbonne, and the latter exploring the women's spiritual and intellectual cultures. Miller teases out the previously unconsidered ways in which, rather than disdaining association with these women, the clerics thought interactions with the beguines were essential for their training—Robert of Sorbon, the university's founder, argued for a connection between beguine life, humility,

³ Sean L. Field, *Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).

⁴ Judith Bennett, *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300 to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Barbara Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); David Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria: Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990).

and moral exhortation (89), and championed the beguine as the model for the pastoral theologian (94). Sermon collections produced at the Sorbonne contain many pieces preached by male clerics at the beguinage, as well as fascinating fragments of sermons preached by the *magistra* (mistress) of the beguinage herself. There may once have been many more copies of these female-authored sermons; whilst there was a book-owning culture among Parisian beguines, the lack of a common library made their texts more vulnerable to dispersal and destruction (109).

If some clerics saw the beguines as a model for pastoral interaction, others viewed them as a threat to the clergy's control over preaching and, indeed, masculinity. The sixth chapter explores these negative reactions to the beguines, ranging from the satirist Rutebeuf's ridicule of them to the mystic beguine Marguerite Porete being burnt at the stake for heresy in 1310. The concluding chapter assesses royal patronage of the Parisian beguines in the wake of the council of Vienne (1311), which had condemned all beguines. Philip IV actively supported the women because they were a tangible, institutional reminder of Capetian dynastic sanctity. It was not ecclesiastical condemnation, Miller argues, but the collapse of royal finances in the fifteenth century, which led to the eventual closure of the royal beguinage in the 1470s and the transfer of its property to the Franciscans.

The conclusions which Miller presents bolster the arguments of those scholars, such as Walter Simons, who have worked on the better-known beguines of the Low Countries and Germany.⁵ Yet in her emphasis on 'intersection and collaboration over marginality and persecution' (13), Miller helps to break new ground in beguine studies. A comparison of the Parisian beguinages with their Francophone counterparts in towns such as Douai and Lille might have helped to further highlight the specificities of life for the beguines of the city. Still, Miller should be commended for providing a careful, accessible case study which demonstrates how women's religious communities were shaped by their local socio-economic contexts, and for producing a work of gender history which foregrounds women's experiences. This work should encourage other scholars to follow Miller's example and explore how beguines in other cities truly could be 'all things to all people' (171).

⁵ Simons, *Cities of Ladies* (2001).

About the Authors

Nicholas Brown (Nicholas.Brown@warwick.ac.uk) is currently a Masters student in Ancient Visual and Material Culture at the University of Warwick after completing his BA (Honours) in Classical Civilisations. His interests include the interaction of art and text in the ancient world as well as art history. His MA dissertation is an investigation into the semantics and semiotics of Archaic Greek art and literature.

Alex Burkhardt (ab682@st-andrews.ac.uk) is a doctoral student in Modern History at the University of St. Andrews. His research centres on the radicalisation of German nationalism after the First World War and the growing ideological extremism of the German Bürgertum during the Weimar Republic. His thesis focuses on a single town – Hof-an-der-Saale in Upper Franconia – and asks why its middle class residents went from voting ‘Democrat’ in 1919 to voting ‘Nazi’ just five years later.

Michelle Davis (M.E.Davis@warwick.ac.uk) is completing a Master’s degree in the History of Medicine at the University of Warwick.

Sarah Gandee (hyseg@leeds.ac.uk) is a first year PhD student in the School of History at the University of Leeds. She holds a BA in History from the University of Exeter and an MPhil in Modern South Asian Studies from the University of Cambridge. Her paper is based on an essay written during her Master’s degree and links with her wider interest on castes in India. Her PhD is provisionally entitled ‘The ‘ex-criminal tribes’ in modern India: caste, criminality and independence, 1940-2000’. It addresses the impact of Indian independence in 1947 on the ‘ex-criminal tribes’, notified under the colonial Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 which sought to combat the perceived hereditary criminality of certain, often marginal and nomadic, communities.

Clare Gordon (dearclare@gmail.com) holds an MLitt in History from the University of Glasgow. In September she will begin a PhD programme at the University of California, Irvine. She is broadly interested in American food ways, food adulteration and pure food legislation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She anticipates that her dissertation will address the work of the pure food activist Harvey Washington Wiley and the food identity standards of the Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act of 1938.

Yuh J. Hwang (hwangy@tcd.ie) is currently completing her doctoral work, entitled ‘Performing Origins: the Case of the Abbey Theatre Riots’ at Trinity College Dublin, and is interested in the social and cultural history of Ireland in the twentieth century.

Rachel Peat (rachel.peat@kcl.ac.uk) is a Master's student on the World History and Cultures programme at King's College London, where she holds the Daniel Peltz Scholarship for Academic Achievement. Her research interests span material and visual history, with a particular emphasis on nineteenth-century articulations of empire in the British context. In this vein, she is currently completing a dissertation on the ways that the London Missionary Society's colonial artefact museum reflected and influenced contemporary discourses of empire, anthropology and materiality between 1814 and 1910. She holds a BA in History from St John's College, Cambridge, where she was three-time recipient of the Whytehead Scholarship and winner of the Larmor Award for Academic Excellence.

Yvonne Seale (yvonne-seale@uiowa.edu) is a Presidential Graduate Fellow of the University of Iowa and a doctoral candidate in the university's Department of History. She holds a BA (Hons) in History and Archaeology from Trinity College, Dublin, and an MLitt in Mediaeval History from the University of St Andrews. Her dissertation, "'Ten Thousand Women": Gender, Affinity, and the Development of the Premonstratensian Order in Medieval France', uses women's involvement in a medieval monastic order to explore issues of agency and the gendered use of power and authority.