1705:
Terrible Transformation: Heathenism to Racialism/Human Cost of Luxury

Week 8 – Lecture 2

25 October 2007
TONIGHT:


Date and Time: Thurs.,

Oct. 25, 2007 | 7:00 p.m.
Location: McGuinn 121

http://www.susanfaludi.com/
Re-investing the world with meaning
Virtues: THRIFT, saving, parsimony
Important to keep wants low [creates capital]
O Fortune / like the moon /
you are changeable.
ever waxing / and waning; /
hateful life!
now oppresses / and then
soothes as playful whim has it,
poverty / and power / it melts
them both like ice.
FRIDAY, OCT. 26TH: 1:00 - 3:30 PM  GAMBLING IN AMERICAN CULTURE

CHAIR David Quigley, Boston College

PAPERS
"The Tale of Two 'Sins': Regulation of Gambling and Tobacco" Richard McGowan, S.J., Boston College

"Beyond Pathology: The Cultural Meanings of Gambling"
T. J. Jackson Lears, Rutgers University

"The Culture War Issue that Never Was: Why the Right and Left Have Overlooked Gambling"
Alan Wolfe, Boston College

I. Inventing “Europe” and “Race”:
17th-century TURN TO THE BODY
The “hidden agenda of modernity”:

the repression of fluid ambiguities

<low boundaries: religion-science>

and

the invention of absolute certainties

<thick boundaries: science vs. religion>

Inventing “race” in 17th century:
from “non-European” to “white”
16th century: 1500s
1) Mediterranean Sea
2) “Christendom”
3) “Race” = “Xtn v. heathen”
   i.e., Jewish race, Muslim race

17th century: 1600s
1) Atlantic Ocean
2) “Europe”
3) “Race” = “European” v. other
   i.e., Indian, African

ca. 1500:
“Self” = “Christendom”
“Other” = “non-Xtn” [i.e., heathen”]

“Seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions or provinces of the **heathen and infidels**, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians.”

--- Henry VII of England to Giovanni Caboti (1496)
[Columbus: 1492]

“Heathenism” = religious basis of self-identity
“Race” = Christian race, Jewish race, Moorish race, heathens
16th century: Reformation II:

1546 --- Luther dies
1555 --- Peace of Augsburg
1556 --- Loyola dies
1559 --- Elizabeth I
1564 --- Calvin dies
1572 --- St. Bartholomew’s
1598 --- Edict of Nantes
1603 --- Elizabeth I dies

Identity Rhetoric: *heathenism*

1648: PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

Post-1648: identity rhetoric no longer “heathenism”
but “racialism” – i.e., “European” / “non-”
1750:
“Self” = “Europe”
“Other” = “non-European”

“Discover lands and islands of great extent hitherto unvisited by any European power.”

--- George III of England to Commodore John Byron (1746)

“Seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions or provinces of the heathen and infidels, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians.” [1496]

“Europeanism” = geographical basis of self-identity
“Race” = biological: European race v. American (Indian) race, Indian race, African race

1496:
Christians v. heathens/infidels

“Race” = religious tribe

1746:
European powers v. non-Euro

“Race” = geographical → biological phenotype
II. Problem: What is “Europe”? 

Problem: 
What is a “European”? 

A member of the “Christian race” is a baptized person… 

But what is a member of the “European race”? 
Construction of “European”

depends on a prior construction of “Europe”

BUT

WHAT IS

“EUROPE”???
If even “the School of Athens” -- Plato and Aristotle!! -- isn’t “Western,” then what is “the West” ....?
October 25, 2007

**Turkish Warplanes Attack Kurds Near Border**

ISTANBUL, Oct. 24 — Turkish warplanes and helicopters on Wednesday attacked the broad mountain passes that Kurdish separatist rebels use to travel from hide-outs in northern Iraq into Turkey, the state-run Anatolian News Agency reported. The report did not disclose the number of aircraft involved or whether they had entered Iraqi airspace. Some unconfirmed news reports said they had flown into Iraqi territory.

III. Problem: Who is a “European”? 
Phenotype

“all the observable characteristics of an organism --- such as shape, size, color and behavior --- that result from the interaction of its genotype (total genetic inheritance) with the environment.”

17th CENTURY: From “race” as religious [“heathen”] to “race” as physical/ biological [“non-white”]

KEY: Importance of the BODY in conservative / organic ideology

(e.g., from blood inheritance both in “Three Estates” (aristocratic/peasant) system to 20th-c. European Fascism and American segregationism)
Liberalism: “rights” accrue to the subjective individual—a metaphysical (not a bodily) concept—“universal” (at least in theory!)

Biology as Destiny:
- “Race” [Aryan/Semitic]
- Gender
  - Women: reproduce for the race
  - Homosexuals: do not reproduce
  - Retarded / handicapped: reproduce and pass on racial “degeneration”

1935 Nuremberg Laws:
- forbid marriages between Aryans and “Christian non-Aryans”
  [i.e., baptized Jews --- phenotype, not religion]

“The Right Choice of Marriage Partner”
“...still the future of your sex and of the nation...”
17th CENTURY: From “race” as religious [“heathen”] to “race” as physical/ biological [“non-white”]

John Locke: *Two Treatises on Government* (1690)

26. Though the earth and all inferior creatures be common to all men, yet every man has a "property" in his own "person." This nobody has any right to but himself. The "labour" of his body and the "work" of his hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever, then, he removes out of the state that Nature hath provided and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with it, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property. It being by him removed from the common state Nature placed it in, it hath by this labour something annexed to it that excludes the common right of other men. For this "labour" being the unquestionable property of the labourer, no man but he can have a right to what that is once joined to, at least where there is enough, and as good left in common for others.

NOTE: LOCKE TAKES WHAT IS TOTALLY INVENTED --- IDEA THAT I CAN OWN THINGS BECAUSE MY LABOR HAS TRANSFORMED THEM INTO MY OWN BODY --- BY MEANS OF APPEALING TO "NATURE" --- SOMETHING DESTINED, GIVEN, "ESSENTIAL," NOT ARBITRARY OR CONTINGENT
Reformation III: ending fluidity

1618-1648: Thirty Years’ War
1632: Galileo Inquisition
1648 --- Peace of Westphalia
Nation-states

1620-1700: “A Terrible Transformation”
“White” indentured servants can work for freedom;
“Black” indentured servants become lifelong

\[ \text{Race} = \text{from “religious race” to} \]

“phenotype” or “blood” / biological inheritance

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The “hidden agenda of modernity”
is the repression of fluid ambiguities

<low boundaries>

and

the invention of absolute certainties

<thick boundaries>
IV. A New Relationship to the “Body”

7. Hecht also puts Descartes at the very origins of the new modernity. The story she tells is at first familiar: yes, first Descartes takes Montaigne’s skepticism to its logical conclusion — he will doubt that anything exists at all. Then he will find himself unable to deny that he is the one doing the doubting. Hence, he is thinking. Hence, he is “a thinking thing” [Descartes’s definition — note, I am my mind; my body is an appendage]. Hence, he must exist since he is aware that he is doubting his existence [Cogito, ergo sum: I think, therefore I am]. All of this is familiar territory. But then comes the typical Hecht “twist”: what Descartes thought was “certain” is the foundation of all modern doubt!!! Aristotle esteemed human consciousness not merely because the mind was “smart” but because “the world was smart.” Hecht turns this on its head: “Descartes flipped the argument: it wasn’t that the magnificence of the world proved God exists, it was that inner knowledge of God could prove that the world exists. Thus, _CONSCIOUSNESS_ is suddenly esteemed higher than the universe.” Descartes takes a giant step in the creation of “subjective individualism.”
Mondino, *Anathomia* (1493)
Ketham,
*Fasciculus medicinae*
(1550)
Raphael, “School of Athens” 1519-1520
Cultural meaning of comparison?

“Scientific” Anatomy is
Italian Renaissance  humanism
Valverde,

*Anatomia
del corpo umano*
(1560)
Riolan,  
*Les Oeuvres anatomiques*  
1629  

“The body is a machine.”  
---René Descartes (1600s)  

“Look, the body really *is* a machine!”
EMPIRICAL OBSERVATION

Verona 1559

Paris 1629
Veronese, *De re anatomica* 1559 {16th-c. Renaissance}

Rembrandt,
*The Anatomy Lecture of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* (1632)
Rembrandt,
*The Syndics of the Clothmaker's Guild* (1662)
A Passion for Observation!

If the micro-cosmos is a machine / mathematically quantifiable, composed of atoms and without internal meanings or purposes -- can you exploit it however you want?
V. Indentureship: The Terrible Transformation from “temporary” to “one’s natural life”

- “Indentured Servants”
- Exchange food, shelter and clothing for 4-7 years of work
- If live to complete service, can begin a free life with a bushel of corn, a new suit, and a parcel of land.
- Virginia Company of London: “sign-ups” to go work the tobacco crop
  - criminals; innocent accused; kidnapped; children
• Between 50% - 66% of all “white” immigrants to American colonies --- esp. Scots / Irish --- came as indentured servants

• High mortality: e.g.,
  – 1607-1622:
  – 15,000 to Virginia;
  – 13,000 perish
  – 02,000 survive

1619: Dutch ship arrives with cargo---Africans---stolen from a Spanish ship
Economic rationality: efficiency
• The word "white" not yet used
• Distinctions: masters and indentured servants

• “Antonio the Negro” ---> becomes Anthony Johnson, Virginia landowner
  – 1641 court records: master of a black servant
  – 1650 Anthony and Mary owned 250 acres and had their own indentured servants
VI. Racialism: Inventing “Whiteness” through Legislation
The Terrible Transformation: told in marriage legislation

FROM HEATHENISM TO RACIALISM
The American Colonial Example
From *American Negro Slavery and Abolition: A Sociological Study*
Wilbert E. Moore, 1971

1630 Christian-heathen union forbidden: "religious rationality"

"the shame of *Christian* ... defiling his body in lying with a negro" [Virginia]

1663 Free / slave rationality... But germ of racial disqualification first introduced:

"diverse free-born *English* women, forgetful of their free condition, do intermarry with negro slaves..." [Maryland]

cf. Mary Douglas: anxieties of the body politic are written on individual bodies
--- e.g., legislation regarding sexual unions of bodies

Newton: *Principia Mathematica* 1687

1681 The first clear-cut prohibition implying racial distinction—
a mixture of "religious" and "racial" rationalities

"[such marriages are a disgrace not only to the English, but also] to many other *Christian nations*"

Adds the word "white" to "women" in 1663 legislation...

Separates the words "negroes" and "slaves"—
i.e., marriage forbidden with Africans even if they are not slaves. [Maryland]

1691 The pattern for all subsequent "racial purity" legislation:

An act "for prevention of their abominable mixture and lascivious issue, which hereafter may increase in this dominion, as well by negroes, mulattoes, and Indians intermarrying with English or other white women, as by their unlawful accompanying with one another." [Virginia]
1691 The pattern for all subsequent “racial purity” legislation:

An act "for prevention of that abominable mixture and spurious issue.

“mixture” = “perversion”

Salem, 1692

Then all were ordered to go down into the street, where a ring was made; and the same accuser cried out, "there stands Alden, a bold fellow with his hat on before the judges, he sells powder and shot to the Indians and French, and lies with the Indian squaws, and has Indian papooses." Then was Alden committed to the

The word ‘perversion’ is a significant mistranslation of the rare Hebrew word tebhel, which has as its meaning mixing or confusion. The same theme is taken up in Leviticus xix, 19.

‘You shall keep my statutes. You shall not let your cattle breed with a different kind; you shall not sow your field with two kinds of seed; nor shall there come upon you a garment of cloth made of two kinds of stuff.’

All these injunctions are prefaced by the general command:

‘Be holy, for I am holy.’

We can conclude that holiness is exemplified by completeness. Holiness requires that individuals shall conform to the class to which they belong. And holiness requires that different classes of things shall not be confused.

Another set of precepts refines on this last point. Holiness means keeping distinct the categories of creation. It therefore

1705
Turning point: Virginia General Assembly

• “All servants imported and brought into this County… who were not Christians in their native Country… shall be accounted and be slaves. All Negro, mulatto and Indian slaves within this dominion… shall be held to be real estate…”

• “If any slave resist his master… and shall happen to be killed in such correction… the master shall be free of all punishment… as if such accident never happened.”

1705 Borderline religious-racial rationalities

Prohibits marriage or sexual union between any Negro or Mulatto and an "English man, or man of any other Christian nation." [Massachusetts]

1716 No mention of religious rationality. From now on, racial rationality is sole justification.

Prohibits sexual union between Whites and Negroes. [Maryland]

1717 Same as above, but provides "lifelong indentureship" as the punishment for Negroes or Mulattoes who break the law. [Maryland]

[Compare this with PBS's The Terrible Transformation: i.e., the transformation from temporary to lifelong indentureship.]

1741 Free/slave distinction no longer matters. Race is sole rationality.

Penalties for "White persons intermarrying with any Negro, mushee, or mulatto man or woman, or any person of mixed blood to the third generation bold i.e., slave or free." [South Carolina]
From “Heathen” to “Phenotype”

• 1639: Maryland: Christian baptism does not make a slave free
  – NB: COMPARE NAZIS
  – The end of Christian/non-Christian distinction
  – From now on: phenotype [skin color]

• 1640: Jamestown: an African is punished for escaping with “being an indentured servant for the time of his natural life.”