

Recounting the Past

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Recounting the Past

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Note from the Editor

The History Department is honored to recognize graduate and undergraduate student research through the journal *Recounting the Past*, as well as the faculty who mentored these emerging scholars. Alongside these students and faculty, many thanks also go out to individuals who invested their time and effort at various stages of the production process. These include the editors and mentors who had helped to oversee the papers; the team at University Marketing and Communication that guided the journal through publication; and Sharon Foiles, Administrative Aide in the History Department, who served as the liaison with Marketing and Communication, as well as provided her organizational expertise to keep the project moving forward.

Cover Image: Purchased by the Tang family in April 2018 near Mount Ruapehu, New Zealand. This unknown Māori deity was carved by Māori artisan Edwin George Barham. The figure sports a prominent *Tā Moko* or traditional facial tattoo, which denoted high social status. Reprinted with permission from the Tang family.

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Redbirds Against War! A Snapshot of the 1930s Student and Peace Movement Viewed Through the Lens of Normal

By Michael Anglemire

Directed by Dr. Monica Noraian

On April 12, 1935, hundreds of Illinois State Normal University students anxiously watched clocks all across campus as the minute and hour hands slowly ticked closer and closer to that anticipated moment: 11 o'clock. When at last the hands struck the appointed time, students and faculty from all across the school rose up and made their way to Capen Auditorium. This special assembly, called by the student council, yet inspired by the socialist-dominated Student League for Industrial Democracy, met in the name of peace. The students listened to a poem, a lecture, and a personal narrative on the merits of peace and the horrors of war.¹ ISNU students, at this particular moment in time, were united with youth all across the country, be they communists, socialists, or liberals, all to achieve a single goal: international peace.

Although one would typically associate large protests and left-leaning student attitudes chiefly with the 1960s, it could easily be argued that these more accurately describe the 1930s. The American Student Union was created out of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League, a communist organization. The numbers of this newly birthed organization totaled up to around 20,000 students. Compared to the general student population at the time, just over one million, this, according to Seymour Martin Lipset, author of

¹ "I.S.N.U. Joins Colleges In Peace Movement; Give Special Program," *The Vidette* (Normal), April 12, 1935.

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Rebellion in the University, far outweighed the ratio of all students claimed by the radical student groups of the 60s to its contemporary overall student population.²

College students were quick to note the similarities between 1918—the eve of the Great War—and the 1930s. Italy had made its colonial intentions of fascist empire known in October of 1935 with its imperialist invasion of Ethiopia. The world was once again divided into tangled webs of alliance often falling upon ideological lines. The military build-up of states all across Europe served as a direct callback to the pre-war fashion that the belligerent powers had worn in the years just prior to The Great War. With the threat of global conflict once again rearing its ugly head, and the memory of the last global slaughter still fresh in the memories of many, it was only natural that the students—the people who would be forced to risk their lives in that next calamity—would take action to stop it.

The agenda of the student movement of the 1930s can be spelled out in very specific terms. The chief aim in the beginning of the movement was to work as much as possible against the prospect of yet another world war. This was done in the early years through opposing mandatory Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) training programs.³ In the mid-years of the decade, the aim of the movement was to establish the American student as a significant political force/demographic to which elected leaders must pay heed. This was done through a large-scale anti-war strike involving hundreds of thousands of people.⁴

Illinois State Normal University, a school home to a rather apolitical student body when compared with the City College of New York, was not unaffected by the development of the first student movement, although it was on the far periphery of it.⁵ The City College of New York, for example, was sending students to assist with worker strikes throughout the Eastern-most states, there were constant battles between the school newspaper and the administration, and radical politics, i.e., socialists, were far more numerous in

² Seymour Martin Lipset. *Rebellion in the University* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971), 179.

³ Robert Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993), 34, 84.

⁴ Ralph S. Brax, *The First Student Movement: Student Activism in the United States During the 1930s* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1981).

⁵ Michael Patrick Ryan, "An Analysis of the College of the City of New York during the Student Movement of the 1930s," Order No. 1398830 (n.p.: Southern Connecticut State University, 1997), n.p.

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that campus than ISNU.⁶ All throughout the decade, the University hosted speakers, many of them faculty, who consistently spoke on the means by which to achieve lasting international peace. The student newspaper was putting out articles rather often, which signaled its bent toward peace and opposition to another devastating world war. The students themselves were engaged in strikes, participating in debates, and working with peace-oriented inter-collegiate organizations.

The aim of this paper is to partially fill in a hole in the literature which exists in the scholarship regarding Illinois State University history. All of the histories so far written about ISU are without any documentation regarding the political leanings and activities of the students and faculty present throughout the 1930s.⁷ Given the whirlwind of world-changing events contemporary to this time period—the rise of fascist and communist groups throughout the world, the Great Depression, and the threat of another devastating war on the horizon—understanding the attitudes which ISNU students held and how the student body responded to these challenges is a vibrant piece of Illinois State University’s past and deserves to be explored.

The creation of an organized student movement—starting in 1933 and 1934—was chiefly the responsibility of two organizations: the Student League for Industrial Democracy (a socialist organization) and the National Student League (widely seen as the youth branch of the Communist Party of the United States). The overall history of the movement revolves around the interplay between these two groups, university administrations, school newspapers, and the Roosevelt Administration. The Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID) was the youth branch of the League for Industrial Democracy, a socialist organization headed up by the prominent political figure Norman Thomas. Arising out of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, established in 1905, SLID was not directly run by the Socialist Party but heavily sympathized with its goals.⁸

The final years of the Thirties, leading up to the signing of the Nazi – Soviet Non-Aggression Pact in August of 1939, was defined by infighting between the Socialists of the movement on one side—staunchly anti-war—and the Democrats and Communists—pro-collective security—on the other side.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ John B. Freed, *Educating Illinois: Illinois State University, 1857-2007* (Virginia Beach, VA: Donning Company Publishers, 2009); Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises: Illinois State Normal University, 1857-1957* (Normal, IL: Illinois State Normal University, 1956).

⁸ Joseph P. Lash, “The Student Movement of the 1930s”; Joseph P. Lash, Interview,” Interview. Student Activism in the 1930s. Accessed April 10, 2017.

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After the signing of the pact, the Communists once again switched to an anti-war stance so that they might be in compliance with the agenda of the Soviet Union. This continuous flip-flopping on positions eroded the organization's ability to work effectively. It also meant that much of the trust that the organization had built up with various government organizations was disappearing.⁹ The flip-flopping and cannibalistic factionalism within the American Student Union eventually caused the breakup of the nation's first major student movement.

Anti-war sentiments were certainly present within the Illinois State Normal University campus and thus students were interested in what was happening with other university campuses. *The Vidette*, the Illinois State Normal University student newspaper, published an article on Tuesday, November 6, 1934, on the actions of student protesters at the City College of New York. The students there participated in an anti-fascist protest against the presence of Italian students on a "goodwill tour" of American universities who were in the United States due to the desire of Benito Mussolini. Leaflets, distributed and signed by the student council, called for a demonstration, which resulted in a break-up of the meeting with the foreign students. The student council was subsequently suspended. Also included in this article is a short anecdote on how the City College of New York president came to blows with student protesters—using his umbrella as a weapon—the year before.¹⁰ Clearly, the mood was tense.

On November 20, 1934, yet another battle was documented in *The Vidette*. In this article, ISNU students had the chance to read about a college newspaper, *The Spectator*, of New York's Columbia College. A small sect of senior undergraduates at this university spread around a survey to the general student body asking the question: Had *The Spectator* treated the university poorly, disparaged its good name, lied about or misrepresented facts, all in order to pass off the personal beliefs of the paper's managerial board as legitimate news? Out of 800 students, 650 responded that the paper was indeed guilty of this. The next day, James Wechsler, editor of *The Spectator* and future author of *The Age of Suspicion*, responded by saying that the paper would not return to the days of reporting on inconsequential issues like "teas and the decline of collegiate dancing." He also claimed that the actual wording of the survey was

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ "City College Student Council Suspended for Demonstration," *The Vidette* (Normal), November 6, 1934.

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“crudely unfair and negates the validity of any results obtained.”¹¹ Thankfully, *The Vidette* had no such issues with its readership. There is no evidence yet found that shows any backlash against the ISNU paper for its political pieces, either from the students or from the administration.

According to historian Ralph S. Brax, the number of students involved in the student movement was a fairly negligible amount of the overall student population and, while most students opposed war, overall student attitudes were fairly mainstream, if just a bit to the left of where they were in the Twenties. While students generally believed that wealth should be distributed more evenly, electric power should be nationalized, and depressions would continue to occur under a capitalist society, only 13 percent of the 850 students who participated in Theodore B. Brameld’s 1934 study of student ideology in nine eastern universities believed a capitalist society was lesser to a communist one.¹²

This vein of thought is where Brax disagrees with Seymour Lipset. Lipset’s book *Rebellion in the University* gives the reader the impression that the Thirties was a decade that was overwhelmingly liberal. The whole section on the thirties in his chapter “The Twenties through the Fifties” talks of communists, anti-war sentiment (which admittedly was overwhelming), and socialism as prevalent on campus.¹³ Brameld’s study, which Lipset cites, has a glaring issue in it as well. It focused solely on eastern universities.¹⁴ One cannot characterize the entire college student demographic based upon such a geographically limited and small-sampled poll. Lipset offers no examples of traditional values which were still held by most students. Brax’s opening chapter, “Student Attitudes”, on the other hand, cites an American Association of University Professors study which could not find evidence to determine the effect of the economy on student attitudes and beliefs. According to the study, not enough evidence was found to determine whether or not the depression had any effect.¹⁵

Additionally, in this initial chapter, Brax provides a myriad of examples which showed that very few students held radical beliefs regarding social norms. The majority of American college students held clearly mainstream views. Upwards of 80 percent believed that it was “wrong for

¹¹ “War Breaks Out Between Columbia College Paper Men and Undergraduates,” *The Vidette* (Normal), November 20, 1934.

¹² Ralph S. Brax, *The First Student Movement: Student Activism in the United States During the 1930s* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1981), 14-15.

¹³ Seymour Martin Lipset. *Rebellion in the University* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Brax, *The First Student Movement*, 1981, 15-16.

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unmarried couples to live together” and that one should “avoid promiscuity.” A 1936 Gallup poll showed that 75 percent of students did not agree with making divorce easier to obtain.¹⁶ Also, according to George J. Dudycha’s study of over 1,150 students, 97 percent believed that living a clean life, free of alcohol and profanity, was a thing to be desired.¹⁷ If anything, the studies that Brax provides in his opening chapter demonstrate the one-sided character of Seymour Lipset’s *Rebellion in the University*.

ISNU Campus Activities

The politics of the average ISNU student seem to parallel the politics of the general 1930s student body. While the student newspaper, *The Vidette*, had a rather large number of pieces detailing the elections of Roosevelt, party politics, and the various relief programs that Roosevelt embarked upon throughout the Depression, it has barely any mention of the more radical elements present within the politics of that era. That being said, there are traces here and there, scattered throughout the ISNU *Indexes* of the Thirties, *Vidette* editorials, and writings from the local newspaper *The Pantagraph*, that provide evidence of the presence of ideas and thoughts which echo the rallying cry of the early years of the 1930s national student movement.

Illinois State Normal University was associated with the American Student Union, as evidenced by articles within *The Vidette* and *The Pantagraph*.¹⁸ The ASU was a left-leaning organization which acted as the de facto leader of the 1930s student movement. There is significant evidence that seems to imply that interest in the topics associated with the movement, specifically the aspects of the movement associated with peace, were present on the ISNU campus throughout the decade. The League of Women Voters, an organization present on the ISNU campus and which appears time and time again in the pages of *The Vidette* throughout the decade, would hold meetings to discuss important social issues and decide upon programs of study for the League to pursue. In late November of 1933, Barbara Turner, the chair of a committee responsible for the suggestion of study programs for the League, offered up a curriculum centered around the idea of international cooperation in pursuit of peace. Clearly, this course of study would not have been

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ “Few Girl Delegates Burned Stockings In Japanese Protest, reports Student,” *The Pantagraph* (Bloomington), January 6, 1938; “Freshman Represents I.S.N.U. at Third Student Union Confab,” *The Vidette* (Normal), January 6, 1938.

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recommended by Turner if there were not significant interest in the topic amongst this group of ISNU women.¹⁹

The Bloomington League of Women Voters was also active during this time. In the week leading up to November 27, 1934, Professor C.A. Harper of the History Department at Illinois State Normal University gave a speech to the League on “The situation for Peace in the World Today”. In it, he discussed how the mechanisms with which peace was brought forth and maintained often work in unusual ways. He also discussed the new and destructive weapons being designed, the growth of “intense nationalism” (i.e., fascism), and militarism. Finally, Harper discussed how he did not believe that Hitler was more of a menace than demagogues from other countries.²⁰

Although the presence of anti-war rhetoric was heavier in the first half of the decade, it had not completely disappeared in the latter-half. On Tuesday, September 28, 1937, Dr. Richard Gibbs Browne, an associate professor of social science at ISNU, spoke to the College League of Women Voters. His topic, “Hopeful Aspects of the International Situation,” discussed the progress which had been made in foreign relations and “advised a hopeful attitude toward the prospect of peace”.²¹ Clearly, the presence of so many speakers discussing the same general topic to a blatantly political student group is indicative of student interest in that subject. If ISNU students had no interest in the anti-war movement of the time, it stands to reason that different speakers would have been chosen or, at the very least, those speakers would have elaborated on a topic more appealing to the student body.

The League of Women Voters did not have a monopoly on peace talks however. In the January 30, 1933, issue of *The Vidette*, Norman Thomas was interviewed by a *Vidette* reporter on the topic of socialism. In the interview, Thomas expressed worries that fascist forces may be on the rise within the United States and warned that the United States might move towards a dictatorship and a “fascist revolution.” He was praised by the reporter as being charming, lively, and personable. He also expressed disappointment that the

¹⁹ “Committee Arranges Program for League of Women Voters: To Include Study of League of Nations and World Peace,” *The Vidette* (Normal), February 28, 1933.

²⁰ “Professor C.A. Harper Lectures to Bloomington League of Women Voters,” *The Vidette* (Normal), November 27, 1934.

²¹ “R.G. Brown Speaker for League Voters, The Index. Vol. 47. Normal, IL: Illinois State University, 1937; “R. G. Brown Speaker for Voters League,” *The Vidette* (Normal), October 1, 1937.

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Socialist Party did not pull enough percentage of the vote to be adequately represented.²²

The next year, on December 6, 1934, *The Vidette* included a review—which reads more like a book report or quick synopsis—of Norman Thomas’ new book *The Choice Before Us*. The reviewer, O.W. Smith, did not put forth any degree of animosity towards Norman Thomas’ socialist publication. Instead, he merely recited the general premises of the book. Smith ends the review with a quote. “We and our children shall celebrate the end of the long night of exploitation, poverty and war, and the dawn of a day of beauty and peace, freedom and fellowship.”²³ This raises the question: If there were not any socialist, or at least leftist, interests on the ISNU campus, then why review Thomas’ books when there are hundreds if not thousands of other books that could have been reviewed? The presence of this book review seems to indicate that the student body in general wanted to hear what Mr. Thomas had to say.

In terms of school activities, the 1935 ISNU Men’s Debate Club, represented by students Donald Deyo and Clifford Scott, debated the subject of pacifism against a team from London University in England. Specifically, the argument was whether or not pacifism was the highest form of patriotism. Interestingly enough, at a time when students across the United States were launching strikes and protests against war, signing the Oxford Pledge, and were just generally opposed to the idea of the US being entangled in another European affair, the ISU debate club was staunchly against it.²⁴

The situation with the debate team changed two years later. While not directly dealing with the issue of pacifism, the challenge of American non-interference in European affairs was called into question during an international debate. Normal was represented by two veteran debate team members: Herman Graham and Carl Wilson. These two debaters took the stance that the United States could in fact remain aloof from European affairs to its own benefit, a seeming flip-flop from a mere two years before. The international debaters (their countries of origin are not mentioned within the article) naturally took the opposite stance.²⁵

²² “Socialist Candidate Interviewed,” *The Vidette* (Normal), January 30, 1933.

²³ O. W. Smith. “Things Literary,” *The Vidette* (Normal), December 6, 1934.

²⁴ The Oxford Pledge was an oath to not support one’s own -or any- country if war were to break out. Its origins lie in a famous Oxford Union vote; Martin Ceadel, “The ‘King and Country’ Debate, 1933: Student Politics, Pacifism, and the Dictators,” *The Historical Journal* 22, no. 2 (July 1979), accessed January 28, 2019, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2638871>.

²⁵ “H. Graham, Holley To Meet Foreign Students in Debate,” *The Vidette* (Normal), November 12, 1937.

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The presence of highly publicized debates—specifically on the topics of peace and non-interventionism—give the impression that the ISNU student body certainly was interested in these questions. Just as the overall movement was grappling with issues of non-interventionism versus collective security, so too was the ISNU campus. However, unlike the student movement as a whole, it appears that ISNU shifted more and more towards the side of peace, even at the risk of being considered isolationist.

Some of the clearest evidence of ISNU participation in the 1930s student movement comes from two newspaper articles, one from Bloomington's *Pantagraph*, and the other from *The Vidette*. The *Pantagraph* article documents a freshman named Leonor Campbell, who was sent as a "fraternal delegate" to the 1938 American Student Union from the ISNU student council. In the piece, Campbell discussed the political leanings of the ASU saying that the students there were "liberal in viewpoints, pro-labor and anti-fascist".²⁶

The *Vidette* piece offers a glowing recommendation of the American Student Union. It highlighted the positive aspects of the group and does not include any of the negative connotations which swirled around the organization. Various delegates are reported as saying that the ASU was responsible for pushing federal and state governments to end discrimination based on race, class, and gender. They lobbied for increased opportunities within the educational world, improvement of schools, and plans to further National Youth Administration allotments. On a more local level, the delegates claimed that the ASU improved student governments, the general welfare of students, academic freedom, increased representation of students on administrative committees, and better curriculums.²⁷

Campbell had nothing but the highest of remarks to lavish upon the group. She painted the organization as a progressive group, home to an alliance of students—consisting of various political mindsets—fighting to make the university a more student-friendly, equitable, accessible place. According to Campbell, the group was "vigorous in perfecting a program emphasizing peace, economic security, advancement of labor and aid for the Spanish people, boycott of Japanese goods, sanctions aggressor nations, and, other anti-fascist

²⁶ "Few Girl Delegates Burned Stockings In Japanese Protest, Reports Student," *The Pantagraph* (Bloomington), January 6, 1938.
<https://newscomil.newspapers.com/image/69080057/?terms=%22American%2BStudent%2BUnion%22&pqid=ml1IUmHni8J-BLZBNz-wwQ%3A296000%3A1801499261>.

²⁷ "Freshman Represents I.S.N.U. At Third Student Union Confab," *The Vidette* (Normal), January 6, 1938.

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activity.”²⁸ While the article did not make the front page, the presence of such positive reports regarding ASU and ISNU involvement in it indicates that the campus was an environment which was favorable to an activist perspective. ISNU participated in the absolute pinnacle of the 1930s student movement, the April 12, 1935, strike which included nearly 100,000 college students, according to *The Vidette*. *The Pantagraph* has the number as high as 150,000 students. This event was organized by the Student League for Industrial Democracy, one of two predecessor organizations—the other being the National Student League—which would later combine to create the American Student Union (the organization to which the ISNU student council would send a delegate in 1938). The ISNU student body, in this moment along with several others, would put aside its traditional conservative nature to join forces with a socialist group in the name of peace.

This strike received a fair amount of coverage within *The Vidette*. An article, published in 1935 a few months prior to the actual event, advertised for the coming strike and defended it. Published on January 11 of that year, the piece included a statement made by Norman Thomas,

Whatever hope there is of avoiding the catastrophe of war, made infinitely more deadly by the onward march of physical science, lies not in the basic ideals or social institutions of men, but simply in their negative fear of war and its possible consequences.²⁹

The willingness of *The Vidette* to publish statements by this former socialist presidential candidate indicates that, at the very least, ISNU opinion was not antagonistic towards certain elements of the socialist platform. *The Vidette* praised Thomas’ statement saying “this anti-war movement is undoubtedly a step in the right direction.”³⁰

Although this was already described briefly at the beginning of this paper, its importance warrants repetition. At the beginning of the third hour, ISNU students from all around the campus descended upon Capen Auditorium to participate in the largest student strike that the United States had seen up to that point. The ceremony was a mix of patriotic rhetoric, music, with songs like “America” and “To Thee Oh Country”, and speeches or poems. The state-

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ “Student League for Industrial Democracy Plans Strike against War,” *The Vidette* (Normal), January 11, 1935.

³⁰ “Student League for Industrial Democracy Plans Strike against War,” *The Vidette* (Normal), January 11, 1935.

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winning oration, "Profit and Loss," was presented by Clifford Scott, the same student who had argued the question of pacifism as the highest form of patriotism. Mr. Palmer, a member of the faculty, was the keynote speaker. As a veteran, he spoke on the horrors of war and the various reasons which could cause a war to break out.³¹

The Vidette was not the only newspaper to document this event. *The Pantagraph* covered this culminating event of the student movement, however it did not discuss it happening on the ISNU campus. Rather, it focused The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and The University of Chicago. At U of I, *The Pantagraph* reported that about 150 students took part in the protest. Additionally, the students there also swore the Oxford Pledge, although the paper did not refer to the oath by this name. At U of C, the students maintained a peaceful march. However, after the march had finished, hundreds of students continued to parade around the block until other students assaulted the paraders with stench bombs and eggs.³²

Why *The Pantagraph* chose to cover two schools in distant parts of the state as opposed to one merely down the street is anyone's guess. However, it is reasonable to assume that the paper may not have desired to fan the flames of protest in its own community by reporting on direct action there. Additionally, the events at ISNU were not nearly as sensational as the events at The University of Chicago or The University of Illinois.

Student Attitudes and Sympathies

There is much material printed within *The Vidette* that shows that ISNU was almost certainly a campus that was against war, especially one fought on foreign soil. One such article, printed on October 8, 1935, finds it "vastly assuring" that President Roosevelt publicly vowed to maintain American neutrality. The author of said piece goes on to implore that "all vow in like manner; for America must not enter a foreign war." The author also points out that "As all wars have demonstrated, no vital question has ever been satisfactorily or permanently settled by armed conflict."³³ This campus, at least if the records of student activities and editorials/articles are any indication, must have shared this opinion.

³¹ I.S.N.U. Joins Colleges in Peace Movement; Give Special Program," *The Vidette* (Normal), April 12, 1935.

³² "Antiwar March Ends in U. of C. Battle," *The Pantagraph* (Bloomington), April 12, 1935.

³³ "One War to End All Wars Enough for America," *The Vidette* (Normal), October 8, 1935.

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Another *Vidette* article insists that, if peace education is made a priority, war can be avoided. It goes on to say that the youth of America is too valuable to casually throw away in a European war. American resources are too important to be allowed to be blown up “in gun powder.” The article calls for “constructive and dramatic demonstration against the rising war tendencies of our nation” so as not to be “cannon fodder for future wars.”³⁴

A rather interesting article was published roughly two years later. In this article, the author ponders on “What Would the Young Soldiers of 1918 Say Today?” This article, appropriately timed as the anniversary of the Armistice which ended the Great War was only two days after its publication, explored the hypothetical musings of the deceased youth of yesterday. The author describes the 100,000 American lives lost in the Great War as an expensive price to pay for a world which was once again facing the threat of global war. A “message” is included to the readers from one of the deceased. Part of the message delivered by the “soldier” reads:

You might persuade your leader to try neutrality. It works if you really want it. And say, fellows, if you have any time to spare, do give a lick in the direction of world peace. If only a few more had thought about this several years ago, we could have been with you to help out in 1937. At least, we fellows would have really appreciated that kind of work.³⁵

Clearly, the author of this piece is trying to persuade the ISNU students on the futility of war.

Yet another article published by *The Vidette* in 1937 is a false advertisement for an “Unknown Soldier.” This piece lampooned the idea of there being glory in war. It attempted to highlight the fact that war—or what young men might have thought war to be like—was nothing more than a ploy to get people to throw away their lives. It opens by promising respect, glory, and full military honors at one’s funeral. It then states that the Marine Corps is looking for recruits. The generals already have their wreaths chosen for your grave, their generic eulogies written, and a mausoleum already prepared for

³⁴ “Feeding Youth to War God Avoidable if Peace Education is Emphasized,” *The Vidette* (Normal), October 15, 1935.

³⁵ Donald L. Holley, “They Died: What Would the Young Soldiers Of 1918 Sat Today?” *The Vidette* (Normal), November 9, 1937.

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one's entrance. It ends with, "You may be the lucky one. You, too, can be an unknown soldier."³⁶ Clearly, this satirical piece reveals an attitude that arises time and time again: opposition to war.

The Vidette, in 1933, reported that Mahatma Gandhi, the famed Indian leader, a famous advocate against war and violence, came to ISNU to talk on the importance of the loincloth in history. Gandhi's presence on campus seems to imply that there must have been some interest in his work against war and violence, possibly reflective of student opinion at the time. The police, during his visit, attempted to "run him in" as "one of those pesky nudists."³⁷ While this unsurprisingly demonstrates the 1930s Normal Police Department of being devoid of sufficient cultural competency, it also suggests that Normal had a nudist problem, which is certainly a radical position for anyone to take. Although, there is always the possibility that the nudists were simply frisky students going for a streak.

Gandhi was not the only international to visit ISNU in the 30s, Dr. Wilhelm Solzbacher, the leader of a German youth movement, was interviewed by *The Vidette* in the February 13, 1933, issue regarding the state of German politics and the situation in Europe as a whole. In the interview, Solzbacher states his surprise at Hitler's being named chancellor, saying that "he has no brains" and that "the officials have no understanding of foreign affairs". He also warns of impending war with Poland, yet failed to comprehend the magnitude of what the event would mean.³⁸

Although ISNU clearly appears to have been dominated by a peace-oriented, democracy-favoring student body, there is evidence that implies that not everyone on the campus was in harmony with one another. The same year that Leonor Campbell, a member of the ISNU 1938 student council, was sent as a delegate to the ASU, there also existed a faction of students which *The Vidette* identifies as "pro-Hitlerites". These fascist sympathizers turned a usually bland intercollegiate debate meeting—which occurred every Tuesday—into a riveting debate on fascism. The debate grew larger and larger with everyone attempting to make their voice heard over one another.³⁹ Although the mention of this group is brief, the mere presence of such a group on campus dirties the picture of the ISNU student body being a pro-democracy, peace-advocating group.

³⁶"Wanted: An Unknown Soldier," *The Vidette* (Normal), November 4, 1937.

³⁷"The Mahatma's Appearance Here," *The Vidette* (Normal), March 21, 1933.

³⁸"Vidette Reporter Interviews Dr. Wilhelm Solzbacher, Leader of German Youth Movement," *The Vidette* (Normal), February 13, 1933.

³⁹"Debate Meeting Concerns Hitler: Many Opinions Expressed In Heated Discussions," *The Vidette* (Normal), October 28, 1938.

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Still, the existence of so much peace-oriented evidence does seem to heavily favor the idea that the campus was very much against the ideas which the “pro-Hitlerites represented.”⁴⁰

In a letter to the editor, a student who only identifies himself as “Amused” discusses the situation at ISNU. Whoever this person was, they found it amusing if not downright comical that ISNU whose “student body shivers at the very mention of ‘socialism,’” has ended up on a “yellow sheet as a communistic institution.”⁴¹ All of this because three bright, promising students went out of their way to convince small audiences that war is pointless and does nothing but destroy lives and countries. He lampoons the situation and acknowledges Normal—both the school and the town—as conservative.⁴² ISNU’s participation in the student movement and apparent student attitudes are not surprising given that so much of the rhetoric present within the student newspaper, speaker topics, and club activities clearly indicate that ISNU was an institution filled with peace-oriented men and women. As late as 1939 (and most likely beyond but that is beyond this paper’s scope), articles on peace were still frequently popping up in *The Vidette*. The author of one of these pieces draws parallels between the amount of warhawk-ish propaganda to which people were being subjected, contemporary to the article’s writing, and the flood of propaganda to which Americans were exposed just prior to the American entrance into The Great War. The author points out what they see as hypocrisies in English and French opposition to Hitler’s regime.

The author insists that, while the language used to persuade people that war and alliances was the only way to protect democracy from the threat of fascism, the actual reason that these powers were opposed to Hitler was because Hitler and Germany threatened English colonial holdings and imperial power. The author goes on to condemn Hitler as a menace to society, taking care to guard against any possible accusations of Nazi sympathy. According to them, Americans should stay on American soil and fight only if invaded but “until that day, our efforts should be made with a glorious word emblazoned in our hearts and minds—Peace!”⁴³

⁴⁰ “Debate Meeting Concerns Hitler: Many Opinions Expressed In Heated Discussions,” *The Vidette* (Normal), October 28, 1938.

⁴¹ A “yellow sheet” was a pejorative term for a William Randolph Hearst newspaper.

⁴² “Normal! Of All Places...,” *The Vidette* (Normal), December 13, 1935.

⁴³ L. G. M. “Peace Means Life to Youth: European Disorder Must Not Overtake Us,” *The Vidette* (Normal), March 28, 1939.

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Things became increasingly murky regarding the attitude that the ISNU community had towards non-interference in European affairs in 1939. In contrast to the articles and editorials present within *The Vidette* at this time, a poll indicated that the ISNU student body favored an aggressive platform of foreign policy. The poll, conducted by the seventh-grade class at Thomas Metcalf School, included 743 students. 64 percent of the participants were female and 36 percent were male. All in all, 52 percent of the women surveyed favored a policy of isolationism, but when taken into account with the men, only 46 percent of the overall survey base favored this policy. This poll only surveyed university students.⁴⁴

There are obviously several issues in this study. First and foremost, it was conducted by 12-year-olds and not a polling agency. Second, there is always the chance that the overall student body was misrepresented by the participants. Without any other polls to corroborate these numbers, one cannot say for sure whether or not the statistics are accurate. All of that being said, it does give one pause to label the ISNU community as a monolith which absolutely favored peace and isolationism.

Despite all the indications that the 1930s ISNU student body was a peace-oriented group of people, the account and personal experience of labor activist C.H. Mayer begged to differ. Mayer was a leader in the labor movement in Bloomington in the 1930s. He played a significant role in the Bloomington chapter of the Unemployed Council, which often had accusations of communism thrown at it. The Unemployed Council was a national organization which lobbied for assistance to the poor and, as one could easily have guess, the unemployed. In the early 1930s, the Unemployed Council marched down Fell Avenue to demand assistance for the impoverished members of the Normal community from the officials in town. Upon arrival, the marchers were met by a group of firefighters and ISNU students who meant to stop them in their tracks.⁴⁵

The firefighters brought out a hose and began to spray the protesters. Naturally, the protesters did everything in their power to end the onslaught of high-powered water. C. H. Mayer writes,

⁴⁴ "Poll Show Students Oppose Third Term; Women Favor Isolation Policy." *The Vidette* (Normal), April 21, 1939.

⁴⁵ C. H. Mayer, *The Continuing Struggle: Autobiography of a Labor Activist* (Northampton, MA: Pittenbruech Press, 1989), 98.

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One of our black comrades took a razor and cut the hose. Then he wired the hose to a car and told the driver to get going and get going fast. It was quite a sight to see him driving down the road with sixty or seventy feet of hose dangling in the back, with the water jerking out where he had cut it in two.⁴⁶

After the firefighters had readied another hose, the ISNU students took control of it and turned it on the protesters. The protesters then managed to get a hold of the hose and began spraying the students. It was not until the sheriff came along that the brawl was put to an end. Two days later, Mayer received a letter in the mail. It read, "C.H. Mayer! Relieve McLean County of your presence or you'll be flirting with the angels. The affair at Normal last night was only a beginning. The pole and noose stand at the end of the trail." It was signed by "The Vigilantes."⁴⁷ Obviously, there is no way one can identify who exactly "The Vigilantes" may have been. However, given the level of violence that erupted between ISNU students and the members of the Unemployed Council only days before, the students of ISNU may be viewed as prime suspects.

Conclusion

What these findings seem to imply is that, although Illinois State Normal University may not have been a hotbed of the student movement of the 1930s, by no means was it apolitical. The interest in the subjects of war, pacifism, fascism, and socialism all seemed to be on campus, just as they were on the more well-known college campuses involved in the student movement. These newly uncovered pieces of ISNU history fill in a gap in the literature. While the other ISNU histories discuss the actions and dialogues of presidents, professors, and administrators, they do not do justice to the rich student body history that belong in those pages. Between brawls on the streets with the Unemployed Council, the 1935 Student Strike Against War, participation in the ASU, debate activities regarding foreign policy, university speakers who discussed pacifism, and clear evidence of anti-war sympathies on campus, the Thirties proved to be an active time for ISNU students. They took a stand against what they believed to be a careless waste of life. These Redbirds stood against war.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Mayer, *The Continuing Struggle*.

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The Overlooked Plot of *Daphnis and Chloe*

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Daphnis and Chloe by Longus has survived in Graeco-Roman history for a significant amount of time. The novel's ability to continue past its time period adds to its overall importance within the Roman Empire. The novel touches on cultural aspects of life, which adds to its overall value to the reader. The story is specifically about youth, but also brings in themes of nature, evilness, education, religion, and love. Contemporaries would have been able to relate and appreciate the story in one way or another. Today, academia continues to appreciate Longus' tale, taking further looks of its meaning and overall representation of the Second Sophistic. The topic of sexuality has been the dominant discussion of *Daphnis and Chloe* among historians. Scholars have examined the book line by line to understand sexuality to answer how and why it is used in the story. However, an aspect that has largely been overlooked in its impact to *Daphnis and Chloe* is masculinity.

Masculinity in the Greco-Roman world is a complex issue of many colors. When looking at the role of masculinity in the Empire, it quickly becomes problematic. Masculinity would have been unclear and particularly hard to define, even in its most modern understanding in Rome. Historians like Pliny and Tacitus, as well as other elite writers of the time, struggled to accurately define and support examples of a consistent form of masculinity. Over time, more and more modern research has revealed just how unique masculinity was in the Roman sense; it is far outside any modern understanding. Historians today have pushed each other to explore masculinity and attempt to define its usage, practice, and importance in the Greco-Roman world. This historiography will consider the problematic struggles of historians to define masculinity while allowing the reader to come up with their own interpretation of its significance.

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Different scholarship has evolved over the last few years in terms of masculinity, or manliness. The first and most relevant conversation addressed considers if masculinity in Greece and in the Roman Republic (shortly prior to the Principate of the Roman Empire) influenced one another or if the two regions had separate views on manliness. The discussion between the two began with the use of the Latin word *Virtus*, which simply translates to “manliness” in the Roman context.¹ How does a Roman obtain this “manliness”? Author Myles McDonnell also considered this question in his book *Roman Manliness*. McDonnell suggests that masculinity was so hard to define even for a Roman that they began to borrow the Greek word *ἀρετή* (*arete*), meaning “excellence” to describe it.² This use of the Greek language complements the additional argument made by McDonnell, suggesting that towards the end of Cicero’s lifetime, historian of the late Roman Republic, the usage of *Virtus* lost its traditional use in Roman values. Previously, this usage consisted of powerful militaristic and political implications, which then was replaced with Greece’s understanding of masculinity.³ This furthermore argues that the Greek ideal of masculinity swept across Rome emphasizing courage, beauty, wisdom, and other Hellenistic Greek formulae over the previous militaristic understanding.

The relationship between Greece and Rome during the Principate must have been an exchange of different cultural values between one another - and masculinity is certainly no exception. The way society expected a man to behave and fit into the social hierarchy was very important to his status as a “man.” As more and more elite Greeks entered in the Roman political sphere, the question became which culture’s idea of masculinity would dominate the society, Greek or Roman, was certainly up for conversation. In her collection of articles on masculinity, Jennifer Ingleheart offers a different argument about the conversation between Greek and Roman values during this time. Simply put, Ingleheart agrees with the conclusion that Greek and Roman masculinity shared similar traits, but she claims that Rome was able to preserve its own cultural practice of masculinity through their sexuality. Concluding that sexuality at the time was distinct from those of Greece influence.⁴ Sexuality was so vastly different in Rome than in Greece that they were able to maintain traditional manliness qualities through their sexuality. This would make sense if the

¹ Myles McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3.

² McDonnell, *Roman Manliness*, 40.

³ McDonnell, *Roman Manliness*, 5.

⁴ Jennifer Ingleheart, “Romosexuality: Rome, Homosexuality, and Reception,” in *Ancient Rome and the Construction of Modern Homosexual Identities*, ed. Jennifer Ingleheart (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) 5-6.

practices of sexuality were so concrete in Roman society and the idea of being a “man” was not. Sexuality essentially was what a Roman would have relied on to convince someone of his manhood.

The two scholars, as well as those who support their claims, brought the discussion of masculinity in Greco-Roman to an interesting position. The question of where masculinity actually fit in the lives of the Romans still had to be addressed. Was masculinity strictly adjacent to one's sexuality, or could an individual practice manliness without it? Numerous scholars continue to address this question into the twenty-first century. Their findings assume many different directions, each looking into how masculinity took into the social and political upheavals across the empire.⁵ Many scholars conclude that there is enough evidence to support that masculinity was demonstrated without a connection to sexuality. Although, Inglehart brought a valid point about Rome's independent idea of themselves having their own use of masculinity through sexuality. The traditional, masculine practices of sex and sexuality were intact both prior and beyond Greek influence. What scholars have now accepted from this is that masculinity in the Roman form takes multiple different forms and was measured in various ways depending on the setting. This again, called for more scholarship on each settings of masculinity.

One would think that this multiple platform of measuring masculinity would weaken the practice of it in its entirety. On the contrary, Dale Martin suggests something entirely opposite. He argues that because there were discrepancies between what masculinity means comparatively between realms such as sexual, social, and political, the unknowing and inability to possess its true meaning held masculinity more secure in the empire.⁶ In other words, the continued process of trying to understand masculinity during the time of the empire would have rooted its place among Roman values. Interestingly, the fact that manliness was so undefined consequently meant that the social ladder was as well. For this reason some individuals of a lower rank both male and female were able to try different forms of manliness to place themselves in higher statuses.

There is not enough time to go into details about how masculinity was different from one institution to another, but it is worth mentioning that they specifically affected the interpretations of Longus' writing of *Daphnis and*

⁵ Brittany E. Wilson, *Unmanly Men: Refigurations of Masculinity in Luke-Acts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 43.

⁶ Dale B. Martin, “Contradictions of Masculinity: Ascetic Inseminators and Menstruating Men in Greco-Roman Culture” in *Generation and Degeneration: Tropes of Reproduction in Literature and History from Antiquity through Early Modern Europe*, eds. Kevin Brownlee and Valeria Finucci (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001) 108.

Chloe. The study of gender was one of the spectrums that came out of Greco-Roman debate of masculinity. Gender is important to the conversation of masculinity because if men, specifically elites, had a lack of masculine qualities, they would be regarded as weak and unable to lead, which was often attributed to women.⁷ Being deemed as “unmanly” would have been incredibly insulting especially to the elites who are supposed to exemplify all that is a “true man.” To the Romans, males were the most efficient in all aspects of the word. A way of showing your manliness was to be efficient in your everyday life. Lacking efficiency would have been looked at as having characteristics of a women in the Roman eye. Therefore, women were excessive, and at times wasteful with their energy.⁸

Brittany E. Wilson breaks down masculinity in gender differences by dividing the argument into three sections. Each section addressed what a “True Man” had in order to not be considered as having female qualities. The first section addressed that men had to be elite, or at least strive to be, and had to avoid acting like women and other “non-men.” The second suggested that a man’s manliness, or lack thereof, was manifested in its own body. If he did not require the certain shape or functions of man, he was not considered as one. The third section was the lack of self-control. Those who were able to practice control and lacked emotional decisions were regarded in masculine fashion.⁹ The practice of self-control was especially a dominant practice of masculinity in gender during this time in the early Greco-Roman era. With an increase of elite Greeks into the Roman political sphere, many Roman elites had to step down, leave office, or all together be subordinate to the new emperor that ruled over them. The practice of stepping down and being subordinate was very common during this period. To be considered a “true man,” Wilson suggests that the elite man had to contain self-control and quietly and non-emotionally step down. Roman society deemed women with excessive qualities that did not grant them self-control. However, logically, women had the capability to have self-control and masculine shape to fit in among the elite. Despite Rome’s inaccurate representation, feminist historians looked for women who used masculinity as leverage to promote their status. For example, Historian Maud Gleason suggests that some females had certain masculine qualities that would likely cause them to have male babies.¹⁰ As discussed previously, because of the difficulty in

⁷ Martin, “Contradictions of Masculinity,” 82.

⁸ Martin, “Contradictions of Masculinity,” 82.

⁹ Wilson, *Unmanly Men*, 75.

¹⁰ Maud W. Gleason, *The Semiotics of Gender: Physiognomy and Self-Fashioning in the Second Century C.E.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 391.

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defining masculinity, both genders used the lack of definition to their advantage and embodied masculinity qualities to gain higher status. Elite women who displayed masculine behavior could claim higher status above their male counterparts. Author Eric Varner adds to the conversation suggesting that the coinage and sculpture of elite females shows examples of female masculinity.¹¹ Other examples include Cleopatra VII and Octavia and their portrayal of masculine features compared to other elite male imagery. Women's masculinity created a blur in the social hierarchy in Rome. Because of this, the idea of being a man would have caused much discussion.

Just as Gleason addressed, masculinity became a more "natural" process where its boundaries are more fluid and undefined.¹² The historiography of Greek and Roman masculinity reveals interesting insight of the beginnings of the Roman Empire. The discovery that the practice of masculinity was both shared and independent in Greek and Rome painted a clear picture of how complex it was to understand. Masculinity worked differently depending if it was in a social, political, or sexual context. The various forms of masculinity have allowed scholars to study manliness in different genres.

In *The Education of Daphnis: Goats, Gods, The Birds and Bees*, author Stephen Epstein addresses the education that Daphnis receives. In his argument, he examines how nature and the divine both help and neglect Daphnis' learning of sex. Epstein writes, "experience of sexuality means participating in a universe dominated by Eros; the erotic impulse the text insists, is felt by every entity in the cosmos."¹³ This means that both the divine and nature feel the experiences that Daphnis does throughout the book. Both the divine and nature complete Daphnis' education of love making.¹⁴ Although Epstein's writing and attention to detail is masterful, there are serious flaws in his examination. Epstein's argument focuses on sexuality, which he acknowledges as a topic worth reexamining in 1990s.¹⁵ However, his argument lacks a connection between Daphnis and Chloe and the Roman context of the second century. The story shows the prevalence of Roman ideas of sexuality, but Epstein neglects this fact. He only includes the parallel if characters, such as Pan, need supporting context

¹¹ Eric R. Varner, "Transcending Gender: Assimilation, Identity, and Roman Imperial Portraits," in *Role Models in the Roman World: Identity and Assimilation*, eds. Sinclair Bell and Inge Lyse Hansen (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2008), 190.

¹² Gleason, *The Semiotics of Gender*, 412.

¹³ Stephen Epstein, "The Education of Daphnis: Goats, Gods, the Birds and the Bees," *Phoenix* 56, No. 1/2 (Spring - Summer, 2002), 37.

¹⁴ Epstein, "The Education of Daphnis," 37.

¹⁵ Epstein, "The Education of Daphnis," 25.

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to understand them. Otherwise, his argument simply becomes an analysis of the book, leaving absent the influences Longus would have had towards his perception of sexuality.

The topic of sexuality in *Daphnis and Chloe* has been well studied. Now, a new topic presents itself for examination - masculinity. One's use of manliness both inwardly and outwardly are present in the book. As will be discussed, Longus deliberately separates manliness as being both a physical and emotional trait. As a Roman it would have been important to see this distinguish considering how difficult masculinity was to define. To fully understand *Daphnis and Chloe*, one must look through the perspective of a Roman in the second century. To demonstrate the significance towards the text, this paper will take the same approach as Epstein, addressing the education of Daphnis, but specifically through the lens of masculinity. From a Roman perspective the story of Daphnis is more about his journey into elite manhood than his understanding of sexuality.

In Book 1, Longus establishes masculine and non-masculine characteristics early on. Longus defines Daphnis' and Chloe's physical attributes actively in Book 1, describing their body shape, temperature, and actions. Then passively through Books 2-4, no longer addressing the state of his characters. This is important to note because it gives the story suspense. Daphnis is learning how to become a man throughout the book, yet we can only confirm his state of manhood in the very beginning. Not surprisingly, most Greek novels begin by defining the characters' psychical and emotional statuses. Typically, these authors' description of their characters reveals problematic flaws that become important later in the story. Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* follows a similar suit. In the spectrum of masculinity, Daphnis' character is defined of both having and lacking manly qualities. Longus' uses both Daphnis' and Chloe's naivety to set up a scene that allows the reader to know the state of Daphnis' masculinity.

Scene 1.12 reveals Daphnis at a state of emotional distress witnessing two of his billy-goats fighting one another. The aggressive behavior of the goats deeply troubles Daphnis, and in anger, chases the victor. Consequently, the goat and Daphnis fall into a wolf pit becoming trapped. Hearing calls for help, Chloe gets a cowherd from a nearby field to assist, but the attempt fails because they cannot find a rope to hoist Daphnis up. Without hesitation, Chloe unravels her clothing and extends its parts to Daphnis who grabs on and pulls himself up from the trap. The two of them then head to the spring to clean up Daphnis. Here, Chloe admiring Daphnis' beauty says, "his hair was black and luxuriant, and his

body was sunburnt - one would imagine that it had been tinted golden-brown by the shadow of his hair.”¹⁶ In the spring Chloe first discovers her love for Daphnis.

Although simplistic in nature, the scene reveals an overwhelming amount of information regarding the character development of Daphnis and Chloe. The first event of the passage describes Daphnis’ loss of self-control when watching the billy goats fight. From the Roman perspective, Daphnis in this scene is demonstrating non-masculine qualities, that of a child. In Rome, a man must possess self-control.¹⁷ The Greek historian Polybius’ exemplifies this in his examination of Hannibal, where his emotional impulses negatively impacted him as a rational leader and overall true man.¹⁸ Brittany Wilson’s argument of “true men” possessing self-control and lack of emotional decisions becomes increasingly relevant. Daphnis’ emotional act with the billy-goats would have him deemed as unmanly in the eyes of both Greeks and Romans. Furthermore, when Daphnis falls into the pit, he falls on top of the goat he was chasing - killing it. Becoming trapped in the hole seems like a fate-driven consequence for his actions. Adding insult to injury, Longus teases the reader by making them think the male cowherd will rescue Daphnis, but he falls short from doing so. Instead, Chloe steps up as the heroine to rescue Daphnis. Her actions align with David B. Martin’s idea that efficiency helps to measure masculinity. Although Chloe has no significant reason to demonstrate masculine behavior this almost instant reaction immediately places Chloe above Daphnis. To the Roman reader it would be questionable how Daphnis would live up to the vision both Lamon (Daphnis’ father) and Dryas (Chloe’s father) had of their children falling in love, especially considering how far behind Daphnis was in his maturity.

A Roman commonly perceived women as developing faster than their male counterparts.¹⁹ Translator Ronald McCail acknowledges how Chloe is put before Daphnis’ in many instances in the book.²⁰ To give an example, Chloe discovers her feelings for Daphnis before he does. Although she cannot quite understand them, Longus deliberately puts her first. Contextually, this would be an accurate experience of a male in Roman society. Ideally, the Roman reader

¹⁶ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, trans. Ronald McCail (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) 1.12.

¹⁷ Wilson, *Unmanly Men*, 75.

¹⁸ A. M. Eckstein, “Hannibal at New Carthage: Polybius 3. 15 and the Power of Irrationality,” *Classical Philology* 84, no. 1 (1989): 1-15, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/270040>.

¹⁹ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, xiv.

²⁰ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, xiv-xv.

would have shown empathy for Daphnis' lack of manhood compared to Chloe's progression to womanhood because Romans believed that females matured more quickly than males.

The skepticism towards Daphnis' manhood resolves in the scene at the spring. Chloe describes Daphnis as being "black haired, "luxuriant," and "sunburnt." Through the eyes of the Roman, Daphnis' physical representation reveals his potential to become a man. The warmth associated with the color black and the description of his skin being sunburnt is deliberate. Second century physician Galen accounts for the hot and cold differences between male and females in his passage entitled *Hygiene*. He writes that male bodies are characterized as hot, dry, and hard, whereas women bodies are characterized as cool, moist and soft.²¹ Chloe's description of Daphnis parallels to Galen's account of the male body. Daphnis is not only dark skinned, but he is sunburnt. Longus clearly makes a statement that Daphnis' body resembles a boy who is overdue to become a man.

The "hot" and "cold" framework described by Galen presents itself throughout Book 1. When describing key characters, Longus does not hesitate to claim whether they are hot with masculine qualities or cold with feminine qualities. The first description of Chloe follows this framework. Daphnis, receiving a kiss from Chloe, begins to recognize her beauty. Longus writes, "he was smitten with admiration, because it was so blonde, and for her eyes, because they were as big as cow's, and for her face, because it was whiter than goat's milk."²² In addition, at a later passage Daphnis describes Chloe's face as that of an apple because of its color (white with a hint of pink.)²³ These descriptive passages of Chloe being white skin show the reader she clearly has feminine qualities. Not only is she white, but she is "whiter than goat's milk." It should have been no surprise that Roman's at the time knew that the color black is hot, absorbing more heat. While the color white is cooler, the reflection of heat. By saying that Chloe is "Whiter than goat's milk" he is essentially saying she is cool, physically to the touch. Longus uses the hot and cold framework to acknowledge the physical status of masculinity within his characters.

Interestingly, Longus also describes antagonist characters who distract Chloe and Daphnis from their love as possessing white characteristics to acknowledge their unmasculine traits. In the competition between Dorcon and Daphnis for Chloe's kiss, Daphnis insults Darcon by claiming, "he's tawny as a fox and as bearded as a billy-goat and white-skinned as a woman from the

²¹ Galen, *Hygiene* cited in Wilson, *Unmanly Men*, 50.

²² Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 1.17.

²³ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 1.24.

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town.”²⁴ Daphnis uses the color white and its association to convince Chloe that Darcon physically and inherently has feminine qualities. The amount of hair one has also reveals insights to their manliness. Dorcon, the pirates, and Gnanthon all have an overwhelming amount of facial hair. Longus giving these qualities to the “unmanly” antagonists suggest that facial hair was also not a positive physical representation of oneself.

To further support the idea of Longus’ use of the “hot” and “cold” framework, Books 2 and 3 have two distinct scenes that acknowledge the color white as an un-masculine characteristic. Philetas in his encounter with Eros describes the boy in the garden being, “white as milk.”²⁵ In a later scene, Philetas, who is accompanied by his son Tityrus, runs into Daphnis and Chloe. Longus describes Tityrus as “an auburn-haired and grey-eyed boy, with white skin and a haughty look and a step as light and frisky as a kid’s.”²⁶ Both descriptions include a clear acknowledgment of their white skin and their youthful age. The recognition of skin color between Daphnis, Chloe, Darcon, and the boy reveal that Daphnis’ body is in fact masculine at the beginning of the story for it is black.

This would leave the Roman reader at the following opinion of Daphnis: Daphnis’ age and body clearly reveal that he has already transitioned into a male body. However, Daphnis’ cognitive development trails behind where he should be in terms of becoming a man. This would make sense because Longus writes the book in a pastoral setting, separated from the city life. Essentially it adds to the narrative revealing Daphnis is in need for someone to teach him the ways of manhood because of his separation from a typical, city-life education. This idea is further supported by Sherry B. Ortner who acknowledged that in the classical world men belonged to the world of culture, the city.²⁷ Daphnis by living in a pastoral setting is denied the opportunity to be a cultured man. The questions of “who will be the one to teach him?” and “What exactly does Daphnis still need to learn?” are still up in the air to the reader. Chloe cannot be the one to teach him how to be a man because she is female, the supposed opposite of masculine.

It is clear that scenes 1.12 and 1.13 have themes of masculinity that foreshadow the rest of the novel. Daphnis’ lack of self-control reveals that internally he is still a boy and acts like the goats that he has grown up with, a

²⁴ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 1.16.

²⁵ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 2.4.

²⁶ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 2.32.

²⁷ Sherry B. Ortner, “Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?” in *Woman, Culture, and Society*, eds. M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), 68-87.

connection to the divine creature Pan. Longus describes Daphnis as sunburnt to show his delay in becoming a man. But because Daphnis lives in the fields, isolated from city life, there is no one to educate him on how to become a man. If Wilson acknowledges that the body is quite literally reflection of the inner man is true, Daphnis' character is problematic; he must be trained to be educated.²⁸ To educate Daphnis how to become a man, Longus puts Daphnis through different trials that both test and teach his manliness.

One of the first identifications of Daphnis' education to become an elite Roman man is in his speaking. Despite the earlier description of Daphnis' animal-like behavior Longus portrays Daphnis as a surprisingly well composed speaker. The debate between Daphnis and Darcon for Chloe's kiss reveals Daphnis' intellectual and persuasive performance—fitting to Roman life. This may seem out of character for Daphnis who thus far has been identified as pastoral boy isolated from city-life. Yet, Daphnis' choice of words and scrutiny towards Darcon reveals cultural practices similar to a Roman man. Debates and performances were an essential part to aristocratic city-life. For Daphnis to become an elite male this would have been a quality he needed to possess. Maud Gleason's describes second-century Rome saying:

To enter this 'Face-to-face society' where is in fact to enter a forest of eyes - a world in which the scrutiny of one's fellow man was not an idle pastime but an essential survival skill. To this work, the practice of divination, in many forms and at various levels of formality, was an ubiquitous reflex in response to uncertainty... Perhaps because face-to-face competition was a discourse confined to men, and the eligibility of the contestants was never taken for granted, physiognomy also specialized in spotting males who were not real men at all.²⁹

The "survival skill" as described by Gleason are present in the debate. While persuading Chloe that he is the handsomer individual, both Darcon and Daphnis insult each other by acknowledging features that show their lack of masculinity. Their arguments are based on their occupation, smell, wealth, and maturity. This could suggest that perhaps Chloe instead was asking who the better man is rather than who is the handsomer. Either way both characters demonstrate a Roman hostility where their unmanly characteristics are put on trial.

²⁸ Wilson, *Unmanly Men*, 49.

²⁹ Gleason, *The Semiotics of Gender*, 389.

The presence of a Roman “face-to-face society” appears more prominently in another scene where Daphnis attempts to move peasants with his pleading against the Methymnaens. Feeling superior, Daphnis claims his accusers are “incompetent hunters and their dogs are ill-trained” further questioning their logic of relying on a measly rope to secure their valuables.³⁰ Daphnis’ argument structures around the men’s character and judgment rather than an examination of himself. Both the debate with Darcon and his plea to the Methymnaens are focused on the opposition rather than self. The Roman reader would have admired Daphnis’ words and probably recalled a time in their life where they had to argue with another over an accusation they did not commit. The “survival” instinct of Daphnis displays Roman characteristics that tie him to the elite lifestyle he will live at the end of the book. Being an elite male requires the ability to defend oneself. The text demonstrates Daphnis passing this trial of manhood.

However, one section that becomes problematic to the argument is Lycaenion’s education of Daphnis’ manhood. There are two distinct problems with the passage, the first being the role Lycaenion takes when having sex with Daphnis. In Roman society, it was not a problem whether males or females were homosexual or heterosexual.³¹ The idea of someone being gay did not exist during the time. Instead, the standards of sex dealt with who had the power in the relationship.³² As long as the “active” role in sexual behavior was done by higher member in society it was not problematic. But the passage presents Lycaenion as the one who takes the dominant role. One way she does this by initiating her sexual desire by prompting Daphnis to have sex with her. Daphnis responds by flinging himself to her feet and begging her to educate him. Clearly, Daphnis has surrendered his manhood to take a passive role awaiting her instructions. At this point in the story, Daphnis’ connection to the divine, as proved by Epstein, would automatically place him above Lycaenion in hierarchy. In turn, by letting Lycaenion take a seemingly dominant role, Daphnis appears to the Roman reader as not man, but more as a slave to Lycaenion. Considering the Roman context, a slave in Roman society could not possess masculine traits.³³

³⁰ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 2.17.

³¹ Craig A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4.

³² Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner, eds., *Roman Sexualities* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

³³ Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, 35.

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The second problematic part of the passage is Daphnis' devotion to Chloe and his over willingness to have sex with Lycaenion. A future elite Roman man would be able to demonstrate emotional control and reject Lycaenion's request. Daphnis gives way to his temptation and submits to his mentor, an unlike quality for a man. This raises questions about Daphnis' commitment to Chloe. Logically, Daphnis should have trusted the Nymphs and Pan to teach him the deeds of love. The religious figures have saved Daphnis and Chloe thus far and could have been relied on for further guidance. In a way, Daphnis here makes an impulsive decision rather than trusting in his faith. Even more concerning, Lycaenion deems herself as the one who truly made Daphnis a man, the only acknowledgment in the book of his transition into manhood. These words would have come as a shock to the Roman reader who would have known a person's sexuality was not a factor in his manliness. Jean Alvares comments on this scene acknowledging how strange it is that Longus' writing fails to appreciate the real role of Lycaenion's.³⁴

Longus deliberately gives her the name Lycaenion which suggests her association with prostitution and loose morals.³⁵ Understanding the significance of her name yields a better understanding of her role in the story. Scholarship however has failed to establish the parallels between the context of prostitution in second century Rome to *Daphnis and Chloe*. The role Lycaenion plays in the story is not simply to teach Daphnis about sex, but rather to give Daphnis a real, elite, male experience.

The practice of prostitution by elite male and females during Longus' lifetime supports this argument. Author Craig A. Williams in his book *Roman Homosexuality* dives into the use of prostitutes by elite Roman males. In his analysis, he suggests that as long used in moderation, men were free to engage in occasional sexual practices with prostitutes.³⁶ Furthermore, he acknowledges that during this time period there was a widespread belief that men should engage in sexual practices with other woman before settling down in marriage.³⁷ In his defense of Marcus Caelius Rufus, who was slandered for his loose living with women, Cicero stated:

But if there is someone who thinks that young men should be forbidden even from engaging in affairs with prostitutes, he is, to be sure, very

³⁴ Jean Alvares, "Daphnis and Chloe: Innocence and Experience, Archetypes and Art," in *A Companion to the Ancient Novel*, eds. Edmund P. Cueva and Shannon N. Bryne (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 29.

³⁵ R.L. Hunter, *A Study of Daphnis and Chloe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 68.

³⁶ Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, 40-41.

³⁷ Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, 49.

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strict indeed (That I cannot deny), but he is at variance not only with the permissiveness of our own era but also with what our ancestors practiced and allowed. For when was this not commonly done? When was it criticized? When was it not permitted? When, in short, was it the case that what is licit was illicit?³⁸

With the argument that *Daphnis and Chloe* is the story of Daphnis' education to manhood and knowing that at the end of the story Daphnis becomes an elite, the parallels between Daphnis and an elite man are clear. Longus bringing a prostitute to the pastoral setting allowing for Daphnis to have elite experience that he is destined for.

Longus' uses the pastoral setting to his advantage. To the Roman, Lycainion's active role in the relationship would have been troubling to read, especially consider Daphnis' connection with the divine and his elite status at the end of book. The plot of the story gives Longus room to play around with unconventional themes like this. The blending of realism and fantasy is present throughout the story.³⁹ To the reader, it would make logical sense that sense that Daphnis, who knows nothing about sex, needs someone to take an "active" role to teach him the ways of sex. However, although Lycainion had active intentions, Longus deliberately has Daphnis on top taking the active role in love making which he will eventually simulate onto Chloe. By giving Lycainion some of the active role and allowing Daphnis to do the penetrating, Longus is blending real and fantasy. As stated before, one's sexuality did not define his manliness, but Daphnis taking the active role in his relationship would.

The only passage in the whole book that specifically identifies Daphnis as becoming a man are the final words of Lycainion. She tells Daphnis to "always remember that I made you a man before Chloe did."⁴⁰ In the realm of masculinity, a Roman would know that one's virginity did not define their manliness. Instead, Lycainion's comment is not directed towards to the act of love, but rather teaching Daphnis how to be the "active" one in the relationship. It would have been expected for Daphnis to know this prior to his initiation into the elitism. However, if the encounter with Lycainion made Daphnis a full man, then he should have had no problem transferring his experience over to Chloe. Book 3 reveals that Daphnis, despite knowing the deeds of love, is too afraid to have sex with Chloe because he is afraid of hurting her. Daphnis' love and care for Chloe reign supreme over his temptation to have sex with her. However,

³⁸ Cicero, *Cael.* 48 cited in Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, 49.

³⁹ Jean Alvares, "Daphnis and Chloe," 29-31.

⁴⁰ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 3.19.

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Froma Zeitlin presents an opposing idea that Lycanion's sexual encounter actually calms Daphnis' sexual anxiety down more than his actual fear to hurt Chloe.⁴¹ This would help support the reason why Daphnis does not mention his eagerness to have sex in book 4. Daphnis has moved passed his worries and is now looking for his final piece of education.

Returning to Lycanion's comment, considering the status of a prostitute, if sexuality in the Roman world was not a factor of one's manliness, it is hard to imagine that she could fully teach Daphnis the ways of being a man. By not immediately having sex with Chloe, Longus is suggesting that Daphnis still needs more training. The education of Lycanion did not fully educate him as a man but was merely a piece of the puzzle towards full manliness. Her comment about Daphnis becoming a man, already knowing her manipulative intentions, would be fitting to her character as a prostitute. Daphnis accepts this comment because he simply does not know any better. It is the pastoral setting and the lack of city-life experience that are factors of him being naive. However, the Roman reader would laugh at Lycanion's assumption. Concluding that a mere prostitute could not educate one into full manhood.

There is a common theme present in the story. Daphnis is learning the behavior of an elite male, not in full but in stages. Longus is very deliberate in the order that Daphnis learns his manliness. So far, Daphnis has been taught how to speak in a Roman "face-to-face" society, how to be the dominant male, and relieve his lustful behaviors. The role that the divine (Eros, The Nymphs, and Pan) play into teaching Daphnis how to be a masculine elite man is complicated. In the story, Pan influences Daphnis both negatively and positively considering his sexuality.⁴² In the conversation of masculinity Pan does not show Daphnis how to be man but rather how not to be. Chloe understands the negative effects that Pan has on Daphnis. She says:

Pan is Lustful God and faithless god. He Loved Pitys, he loved Syrxn, and he never stops bothering the treenyphs and pestering the nymphs who protect the flocks. And so he'll neglect to punish you for neglect of your oaths to him, even if you go after more women than pan-pipes

⁴¹ Froma I. Zeitlin, "The Poetics of Eros: Nature, Art, and Imitation in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*" in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, eds. David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 458.

⁴² Epstein, "The Education of Daphnis," 37.

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reeds. I want you to swear to me by this herd goats and by that she-goat who nursed you that you will never desert Chloe while she stays true to you.⁴³

Regarding prostitution, Cicero said that as long as it was done in moderation, there is nothing wrong with a man visiting another woman. There is clear emphasis of moderation in his defense suggesting that over lustful behaviors as demonstrated by Pan were frowned upon for males.

Interestingly, the divine is more concerned with Daphnis' overall well-being rather than the development as a man. This is examined by the Nymphs lending a helping hand in saving Daphnis from the pirates and Chloe from the Myth. Plato in the *Critias* describes how gods cared for the early man, as a shepherd cares for his flock.⁴⁴ Although Daphnis' masculinity will be important once he is recognized as an elite, it does not seem to be a concern of the Nymphs. Instead, it is not the actions of the divine that influence Daphnis, but rather the ideology behind them. The education of Daphnis revolves around Eros, who granted all things to be fulfilled in due time.⁴⁵ By the end of the book Daphnis finally learns how to be an elite man. It is not Pan or any of the other divines that do so. Daphnis' elite masters that fully bring the city-life to Daphnis finally give him the resources to be a man.

Daphnis' education to become a full man is fulfilled with his encounter with his master, or soon to be parents. Book 4 is best analyzed knowing that the elite citizens from the city-life are Daphnis' family. The reason is that the role of the master is used as a simple disguise by Longus. Lamon's desperate attempt to gain his master's approval for Daphnis and Chloe's wedlock is in hindsight humorous because it is Daphnis' adopted father asking Daphnis' real father to let his son marry. The parallels between Daphnis' two fathers are significant. In a way, Lamon has failed in the education of Daphnis both in his sexuality and masculinity. It is Daphnis' real father who comes from the city-life that brings forth the knowledge Daphnis so desperately needed. Throughout Book 4, Daphnis' family teaches him specific qualities of what it means to be an elite man in a Roman society. The reveal of Dionysophanes being Daphnis' father brings the argument to fruition, the plot of Daphnis and Chloe is not the story of their love, but rather the education of Daphnis to become an elite man.

⁴³ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 2.39.

⁴⁴ R.L. Hunter, *A Study of Daphnis and Chloe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 36.

⁴⁵ Froma Zeitlin, "Longus and Achilles Tatius," in *The Oxford Handbook to the Second Sophistic*, eds. Daniel S. Richter and William A. Johnson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 413.

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Daphnis' manhood is finalized with the introduction of his blood father. Longus does not hesitate to draw parallels between the father-son duo. Dionysophanes is described with long black hair and beauty similar to the introduction of Daphnis in Book 1. His devotion to Demeter, Dionysus, Pan, and the Nymphs are present. Longus' even goes to make an acknowledgement of his kind-heart which are similar to that of Daphnis. The origin story provided by his father at the end is Daphnis' full initiation into the elite status which he has been training for the entire book. Dionysophanes does not teach Daphnis how to become a man, but rather offers the final piece to the puzzle, his status. Feeling sorrowful for leaving Daphnis, Dionysophanes promises Daphnis his fair share of the inheritance granting Daphnis' full power amongst Roman society.

The story of *Daphnis and Chloe* is the journey of Daphnis becoming an elite man. Longus uses the phrase "Now Chloe learned..." to conclude the moral of the story. He writes "all their exploits in the greenwood were just games that shepherds play."⁴⁶ At face value the use of the word "just" and the act of love making being simply a "game" reveals how unimportant sex actually is to both characters. Although never acknowledged, Daphnis' loss of sexual desire could be his realization of just how unimportant sex is. This would make sense why he would value Chloe's pain over his desires. This puts a shift in the motif of Daphnis. To him, having sex with Chloe was no longer his priority. He devoted himself to Chloe and in the process becomes more manlike. To become a man was the goal, and sex was his reward.

By Longus' time the writing of romance had matured.⁴⁷ The traditional story of two innocent lovers who find one another by the end of the story has well passed. Manipulatively, Longus continues with the traditional narrative, but alters the setting of the story. Instead of the lovers being surrounded by influences from city-life they are set in the pasture, isolated from the outside world. By making this the setting Longus is allowed to develop characters in their purest state, uninfluenced by others. As seen in the story Daphnis and Chloe are both naive in their understanding of their love. Longus selects Daphnis to be the one who journeys to be Chloe's life partner. Through his quest Daphnis learns how to become a man, learning that his sexuality has little to do with the overall goal.

In David Konstan's review of *Dirty Love: The Genealogy of the Ancient Greek Novel* by Whitmarsh he discusses there are five total narratives from ancient Greek that involved heterosexual couples. He writes that in each book "passion is tested by various misadventures until they are reunited in the

⁴⁶ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 4.40.

⁴⁷ Jean Alvares, "Daphnis and Chloe," 27.

finale” acknowledging, “Daphnis and Chloe is something of an outlier”.⁴⁸ Longus’ hero & heroine rarely leave each other’s side and are by each other till the finale. The fact that there is no reunion in the end between the two separates itself from the other romantic novels of the time period. This acknowledgment is the conclusion of the argument that *Daphnis and Chloe* is the story about Daphnis’ initiation into elite manhood. This is confirmed by being the finale of the story.

For if the book was written in the “romantic field” it would followed a similar narrative: two heterosexual lovers who struggle and finally resolve with each other. *Daphnis and Chloe* do not follow this path of narration. Although they do have a struggle (Knowing how to have sex and love each other) it is not resolved in the finale. Instead, Longus allows for Daphnis to be educated in love making at the end of Book 3 rather than book 4. If this was a romantic novel Daphnis should of simply gone to Chloe and mimicked his education resolving their struggle, thus ending the book. However, the story continues into Book 4 where the actual finale takes place. In Book 4 The story is no longer about Daphnis turning into an experience lover, but rather into a man who is fit for Roman society. This is completed by Daphnis’ father claiming him as his own. Then by taunting the other romantic novels Longus downplays Daphnis and Chloe’s sexual intercourse, realizing that it’s just like a game in the woods. The reader then discovers Daphnis & Chloe becoming an elite is the glorious ending of the story.

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⁴⁸ David Konstan, review of *Dirty Love: The Genealogy of the Ancient Greek Novel* by Tim Whitmarsh (New York, Oxford University Press, 2018), *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2018.11.57, accessed December 1st, 2018, <http://www.bmcreview.org/2018/11/20181157.html>.

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Directed by Dr. Katrin Paehler

African Americans and Jews in Germany had common ground in the 1930s. They were victims of racial animosity and persecution at the hands of their own governments. When Jews suffered under the Nazis during the 1930s, the African American press reported on Jewish persecution without shrouding events in uncertainty as did the mainstream press. The African American press connected deeply with African American communities because it was a medium that represented their voice, while the dominant white press failed.¹ The black press echoed the sentiments of African Americans when it pointed out how anti-Semitism of 1930s Germany was like the racism African Americans experienced.² These comparisons helped the African American press report on Jewish persecution more clearly than mainstream papers.

African American press coverage of Jewish persecution was part of overall reporting of World War Two. In Samuel Hynes's *Reporting World War II*, Hynes devotes a section of his book to the African American press's views.³ African American reporters showed their opinions of Jewish persecution in the context of their racial struggle in the United States. They expressed their bitterness toward the war because of the hypocrisy of America's stance against Nazi persecution amidst racism that still occurred in the U.S. Hynes includes an excerpt of Roi Ottley's book *A New World A-Coming*, which showed the similarity of Jewish and African American abuse when he described the arrest of

¹ Gerald J Baldasty and Mark E. Lapointe, "The Press and the African American Community: The Role of the Northwest Enterprise in the 1930s," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 94, No. 1 (Winter, 2002/2003): 14-15, accessed November 27, 2018, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40492729>.

² Johnpeter Horst Grill and Robert L. Jenkins, "The Nazis and the American South in the 1930s: A Mirror Image?" *The Journal of Southern History* 58, no. 4 (1992): 667-94. doi:10.2307/2210789.

³ Samuel Hynes, *Reporting World War II*. (New York: Library of America, 1995.) 434-435.

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a Harlem man for hanging a sign on his car.⁴ The sign, titled “Is There A Difference?” compared attacks on Jews in Germany to the assault of renowned African American musician Roland Hayes by white Americans.⁵ The sign questioned whether the two acts of discrimination were any different regardless of their origin, and meant to point out the lack of mainstream reporting on African American persecution. Hynes’s comparisons showed how the black press viewed Jewish persecution and how they used it to highlight persecution against African Americans.⁶

Hynes’s book also mentions J. Saunders Redding, a prominent African American scholar, known for his writings on African American literature. Redding expressed his support for the war due to the dangers his race faced from the Nazis.⁷ Featured in the literary magazine *American Mercury* during 1942, Redding saw previous wars as a waste of African American lives, due to the continued racism they faced in society despite their sacrifices. Redding's views on World War II, however, saw it as a fight for freedom. Even though African Americans faced restricted freedoms in America, a Nazi victory would ensure the total loss of them. Describing them as the “master folk,” he mentioned the Nazis' persecution of other people when he stated, “The master folk plainly say I will not count if their will prevails. There are already people who do not count...there are Jews and Poles...”⁸ While blacks were not subject to systemic extermination by the Nazis, their inferiority was present in Nazi rhetoric by 1942.⁹ Redding used the treatment of the Jews and remarks about African-Americans to conclude that the African race would eventually be next. Therefore, he supported the war because it gave African Americans a chance to gain freedoms in the US. Redding showed that some influential members of

⁴ George Ridge, “*Roi Otley's World War II: The Lost Diary of an African-American Journalist.*” *Military Review* 91, no. 6 (November 2011): 83–84. Otley was a relatively unknown journalist at the time but made significant strides as an African American journalist nonetheless. The author of this review described him as the Ernie Pyle equivalent for reporting on African American soldiers.

⁵ Rita Lorraine Hubbard, “Roland Hayes.” *Salem Press Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2017. <http://libproxy.libilstu.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ers&AN=88824766&site=eds-live&scope=site>. A biography of Roland Hayes explains the incident in question as racially motivated due to Hayes sitting in a “whites only” section in a movie theater during 1942.

⁶ Samuel Hynes, *Reporting World War II*. (New York: Library of America, 1995.) 434-435.

⁷ Faith Berry. *Selected Bibliography of J. Saunders Redding*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2015.

<http://libproxy.libilstu.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edpsmu&AN=edpsmu.MUSE9780813149127.13&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

⁸ Hynes, *Reporting World War II*, 431-432.

⁹ Grill and Jenkins, *Nazis and the...*, 671-673.

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the African-American press saw the treatment of Jews in Germany and compared it to the racism in the United States. Hynes's inclusion of Redding and Ottley provide a reliable source of understanding how the African American press reported on Jewish persecution. Readers see some comparisons of the Jewish and African American struggle, but these writers published their articles in the early 1940s. The African American press also reported on Jewish persecution in the 1930s, and their reporting before the Holocaust started must be examined as well.

Robert Abzug's *America Views the Holocaust 1933-1945* provides readers with a variety of historical documents on the United States' reaction towards Jewish persecution in the 1930s. Abzug's piece presents the view that at least one major paper of the African American press, *The Pittsburgh Courier*, saw the persecution in Germany as similar to African Americans struggle with racism during the 1930s, as Jews and African Americans both faced discrimination from their own governments. The *Courier*, a large African American newspaper, discussed the controversial 1936 Berlin Olympics. According to the Olympic charter, the Nazis agreed they would not race discriminate, but their policies against Jews caused the US to consider a boycott to avoid supporting Germany. Boycott rhetoric in the US forced Hitler to downplay Jewish persecution, so Germany maintained a positive image during the Olympics.¹⁰ The location of the 1936 Olympics divided the African American community into two camps. Some were for the boycott because, they held, Nazi discrimination against Jews was like Jim Crow America. Others were against because it gave African American athletes a chance to prove themselves in front of the Nazis and disprove their supposed inferiority. *The Courier's* article featured a letter from Walter White, the head of the NAACP to the Amateur Athletics Union leader, urging him vote for the boycott based on the Nazis' racial discrimination. White argued the US "had much to answer for in the matter of racial discrimination," but the AAU must vote for the boycott to show they would not tolerate discrimination in Germany.¹¹ White did not directly mention the Jews, but since they were the primary victims of Germany at the time, it is implied that they were part of his reasoning for the boycott. White's plea aimed to strengthen the fight against racism in the United States by refusing to participate in a nation with similar policies. The publication of White's letter showed the press's awareness of the Nazis' actions and how it

¹⁰ Saul Friedlander, *Nazi Germany, and the Jews, 1933-1945*. (New York: Harper Perennial, 2009), 44, 65-66.

¹¹ Robert Abzug, *America Views the Holocaust, 1933-1945*. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999), 68.

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related to their fight against racism in the U.S. The African American press was, however, not the only paper that reported on the boycott efforts. The mainstream press also reported on this as the Olympics were a high-profile event.

Leonard Teel's *The Public Press 1900-1945* has more information on the African American press in the 1930s. Teel explains that the African American press increased in readers even during the Great Depression. The mainstream press failed to voice the concerns of African Americans as they experienced the Depression, so African Americans turned to their own race's papers. This resulted in African American papers like *The Chicago Defender* and *The Courier* to rise in national prominence.¹² Teel discusses how the African American press compared their race's issues to laws the Nazis introduced against Jews in the 1930s. *The Afro American*, a Baltimore newspaper, saw the news of a Jews-only theater in Germany, and compared it to the Jim Crow segregation in the Southern U.S. The paper quipped that Hitler was the "chief Ku Kluxer" and had "evidently studied the southern USA system of Negro baiting."¹³ Teel's examples of the African American press in the 1930s show that the black press was including news of Jewish persecution in their reporting. Further analysis is needed to see if this coverage persisted during the decade.

Ethan Michaeli's *The Defender* describes the history of a major African American newspaper, *The Chicago Defender*, and shows further examples of the press comparing Nazism and racism in the US. *The Defender* presented Joe Louis, a famous African American boxer at the time as a symbol of strength against white supremacy. The press hailed him just "as good as any Aryan" after a victory in 1937, during a time of increased racism in both countries.¹⁴ Joe Louis increased in status after a rematch against German boxer Max Schmeling due to his heritage because Schmeling represented "a nation that preached race and religious hatred." Meanwhile, Louis was presented as the epitome of American democracy and diversity.¹⁵ *The Defender* also mentioned the racial guidelines of housing contracts in 1937 Chicago that prevented African Americans from moving into white-dominated areas. *The Defender* argued

¹² Leonard Teel, *The Public Press, 1900-1945*. (Conn: Praeger Publishers, 2006). 177.

¹³ Teel, *The Public Press*, 179. Indeed he had, see Horst and Jenkins's article for Hitler and other Nazi leaders views on American racism in the south.

¹⁴ Ethan Michaeli, *The Defender: How the Legendary Black Newspaper Changed America: From the Age of the Pullman Porters to the Age of Obama*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016). 222.

¹⁵ Michaeli, *The Defender*, 224, 228. Schmeling himself did not support Nazi values, but Nazi propaganda used him to promote Aryan superiority.

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housing contracts were like the Nazis' attempts to restrict Jewish life and Jews living in white neighborhoods should take notice before shutting out African Americans.¹⁶ In sum, Michaeli's book highlights *The Defender's* awareness of Nazi persecution and how the paper used it to bring attention to African American issues. This shows that another major paper of the African American press saw the similarities in Nazism and its treatment of the Jews in the 1930s.

V.P. Franklin's *African and American Jews in the Twentieth Century* narrows the subject by discussing relationships between Jews and African Americans in the 1930s. In the US South, the African American press criticized Jews for racism against blacks. Racism from the American Jewish community was not expected by African Americans due to the common experiences they had as discriminated minorities. Walter White, head of the NAACP, met with Jewish store owners who discriminated against blacks and emphasized "the parallel between what Hitler was doing to Jews in Germany...and what Jewish and Gentile merchants were doing to another minority group..."¹⁷ White's comparisons as a leader of African Americans showed the awareness that existed towards racism in the US and Nazi Germany by the African American community during the 1930s.

Juan M. Floyd Thomas's "Between Jim Crow and the Swastika" argues that the African American community sympathized with the Jewish struggle and drew parallels during the 1930s before systemic extermination took place.¹⁸ Thomas describes a visit by W.E.B. Du Bois, a well-known African American intellectual and Harvard graduate, to Nazi Germany in 1936, as an example of the African American community sympathizing with Jewish persecution.¹⁹ Du Bois, featured in *The Courier*, described the persecution of the Jews as unprecedented. He believed that the lack of Jewish persecution seen at the Olympics was only temporary and compared it to how "Northern visitors to

¹⁶ Michaeli, *The Defender*, 224-225. See also the *Defender's* article "A Subversive Covenant," July 10th, 1937.

¹⁷ V.P. Franklin, *African Americans, and Jews in the Twentieth Century: Studies in Convergence and Conflict*. (Columbia, MO: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1998) 129-130.

¹⁸ Juan M. Floyd-Thomas, "Between Jim Crow and the Swastika," *Black Theology: An International Journal* 12, no. 1 (April 2014): 5-6. Thomas states previous historians said that historic Jewish suffering, including under the Nazis, would inspire the African American civil rights movement post-war.

¹⁹ Sharlene Sinegal Du Clair "WEB DuBois: An American Intellectual and Activist." *American Nineteenth Century History* 19, no. 1 (2018): 125-27. doi:10.1080/14664658.2018.1437877. W.E.B. Du Bois was in Nazi Germany on a research grant for the Oberlander trust. He had lived in Germany in the 1890s and could speak fluent German and found himself familiar with German society as a result. His US passport and official business are said to have kept him safe from the Nazis. He was also a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. See this review for a concise overview of the life of Du Bois.

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Mississippi see no Negro oppression.”²⁰ Thomas explains another reason for African American sympathy for Jews was the significant number of Jewish professors that gained employment at African American colleges. Jewish professors understood the racism black students faced, and the students sympathized with the professors who had fled Europe due to persecution. The African American press furthered these sympathies with coverage of the Nazis’ attempted sterilization of the “Rhineland bastards.” They were children borne from French-African colonial soldiers and German mothers, whose children Hitler abhorred as they stood against his ideals of racial purity. While the mainstream press ignored it, the African American Press kept the African American community informed of Nazi policies towards minorities throughout the 1930s by covering these issues.²¹ Thomas’s article shows that African Americans connected with the Jews’ experiences in Germany before the war. He explains that there was a comparison of experiences, leading the African American community to see Jewish persecution from their perspective.

Focusing on the press in the southern United States, is Dan Puckett’s *Reporting the Holocaust: The View From Jim Crow Alabama*, in which he covers how the white and black press of Alabama reported the Holocaust. Puckett notes the peculiarity of the white press’s criticism of Jewish persecution while ignoring African Americans in the South. *The Tuskegee News*, a white paper, disparaged the anti-Semitic violence in 1933 because “scientific evidence has never proved the existence of a pure race in Europe,” and dismissed the idea that one race is superior. Puckett identifies this fallacy by noting how Alabama had laws meant to protect the purity of whites from miscegenation by blacks. This conflicts with *The Tuskegee News*’s statement as the paper clearly believed a pure race existed in Alabama, yet also claimed science said otherwise. The white press also praised the ideals of eugenics, which was the belief that a race could improve itself by selective reproduction.²² This again contradicts the white press’s criticism of the Nazis’ persecution against Jews, as the Nazis also believed they were a stronger race. Jewish persecution equaled the segregation of blacks under Jim Crow, yet the Southern white press ignored this and criticized the Nazis for “...denying a whole class of its people their equal rights

²⁰ Thomas, “Between Jim Crow...”, 4-5.

²¹ Thomas, “Between Jim Crow...” 11-12. The black press was well aware of Nazi policies on blacks, while parts of the white press, notably the south, failed to report on it in their mainstream papers. See Grill and Hoist’s article.

²² Dan J. Puckett, “Reporting on the Holocaust: The View from Jim Crow Alabama,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 25, no. 2 (2011): 219-251. <https://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed December 3, 2018).

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as citizens on account of their Jewish descent.”²³ The Southern white press’s inability to recognize this glaring similarity to black segregation prevented them from fully understanding Jewish persecution by the Nazis.

The African American press, meanwhile, caught onto the similarities to Jewish persecution, but also saw the anti-Black rhetoric of the Nazis. Major black papers like *The Defender* and *The Courier* circulated in the south among African American communities, where people read about the anti-black policies of Hitler and the parallels of American racism. Grill and Jenkin’s “Nazis and the American South in the 1930s: A Mirror Image?” presents the same argument as Puckett but expand their research across the southern United States. They found the black press in the early 1930s made comparisons the white press did not. Grill and Jenkins also cite Kelly Miller, who was an African American professor from Howard University. He saw no difference between “legal manifestations of race prejudice against the Negro in America and the Jew in Germany” a nod towards the Nuremberg Laws and the policies of Jim Crow. The NAACP, which represented the issues of African Americans, published in its magazine *Crisis* that the southern United States had the most similarities to the Nazis’ concept of racial supremacy due to its Jim Crow laws.²⁴ Puckett, Grill, and Hoist show that the black press confirmed these parallel ideologies existed in the comparisons they made of the Nazis and white America. This helped the black press report on persecution in the 1930s more clearly than the mainstream press, as they realized the similarities to their own struggle.

What is unanswered is if the African American press’s awareness of these parallels led it to report on the Holocaust in the 1930s differently than did the mainstream press. In the 1930s they illustrated the slow buildup of anti-Jewish policies by the Nazis before mass killings took place in the 1940s. When discussing anti-Jewish persecution in the 1930s, I will be focusing on the actions taken by the Nazi government to slowly exclude Jews from society. If the African American press could draw comparisons the mainstream press couldn’t, does that mean they “buried” the prelude to the Holocaust like the rest of US papers during this time? The African American press’s parallels of racism and anti-Semitism must be accounted for to answer this question. This will enable readers to see that the African American Press’s comparisons prevented them from disbelieving the events of the 1930s and avoided using supposedly rational explanations to present what was happening to the Jews.

²³ Puckett, “Reporting...” 225.

²⁴ Grill and Hoist, “*The Nazis and...*”, 688-690.

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This paper will study *The Chicago Defender's* newspaper archives as it is one of the most significant papers that represented the African American community in the 1930s. The result of this effort will show that a major paper of the black press used their experiences as a persecuted minority to understand Jewish oppression. This experience allowed them to report on Jewish persecution without making the mistake of burying events like the mainstream press. The defining moments of the Jews' persecution will be the focus of this paper as they received the most coverage from *The Defender*.

The first significant event is Hitler's rise to power from 1930 to 1933 to see if *The Defender* picked up on early reports of anti-Jewish actions in Germany. Hitler becoming chancellor is next, as that is when the first large scale anti-Jewish violence occurred. Then I will cover the 1935 Nuremberg Laws as that was a major step in Hitler's persecution of the Jews. Last, I will focus on *Kristallnacht* due to its large scale and its coverage by the mainstream press and *The Defender*. By reviewing the reporting on key events of the decade I aim to display that a noteworthy African American newspaper reported these events of the 1930s markedly different from the mainstream press.

As early as 1930, *The Defender* printed articles about the Jews in Germany. The paper reported on April 26, 1930, of an intermarriage bill introduced by "Dr. Hitler" and the Nazi party to the Reichstag in Berlin. *The Defender* quoted that the bill intended to punish "Jew(s), Negro(es), and any other person of color... for the crime of harming the race."²⁵ While the article recognized that the bill affected blacks, it dismissed this danger due to the small number of Africans in Germany who were mostly traveling performers, sailors, or from colonial Africa. *The Defender* concluded that the bill primarily affected Jews, due to the larger numbers of them present. The paper mitigated the threat to blacks by stating that there is "no color line in Germany," or no concept of segregation existed towards blacks.²⁶ It also pointed out that the bill was sure to fail, which was correct as the National Socialist party did not have enough influence in the Reichstag. The Nazi party only had 12 seats in parliament due to the 1928 Reichstag elections, which Hitler and his supporters saw as a failure.²⁷

²⁵ "Frenchman Hit back at Germans who fight intermarriage" *The Chicago Defender* (Chicago, IL) April 26, 1930.

²⁶ Gerald Horne, *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 57, no. 3 (2016): 375-76. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43916958>. The phrase "color line" became popular from W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk* when describing segregation.

²⁷ Peter D. Stachura, "The Political Strategy of the Nazi Party, 1919-1933." *German Studies Review* 3, no. 2 (1980): 261-88. Doi:10.2307/1429723. Hitler's party most likely used this bill as a way to further their party's stance in parliament. Part of a wider plan by Hitler to have his party participate in parliamentary elections and increase his party's notoriety to attract voters.

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Mention of this bill in *The Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Times* cannot be found, telling us that *The Defender* thought this news would be of value to its readers. The article showed early coverage of Hitler's anti-Semitism, though it is not groundbreaking *The Defender* believed this bill was meant for the Jews, as the Jewish population in Germany dwarfed Afro-Germans in comparison.²⁸

Another 1930 article covered the travels of black civil rights attorney Raymond P. Alexander across Europe. Alexander was regarded as an advocate for the civil rights of African Americans in Philadelphia, due to his experience defending them in court. He told *The Defender* that America was the best place for African Americans despite the treatment of blacks in Europe being "...a thousand times superior to that of America."²⁹ Racism was not apparent to Alexander as he traveled through France, Germany, and Austria. He found people in Germany to be "cordial and agreeable of color." Although Alexander experienced better treatment in Europe, he claimed that the US was still the best place for African Americans. Alexander suggested that if Europe had millions of African Americans, as the United States, Europeans would perhaps exploit minorities as well. He backed up this statement by citing the discrimination of Jews in Russia and Germany but did not provide specific instances of this occurring.

Albeit only two articles from *The Defender* reported on the Jews in 1930 Germany, these reports of anti-Jewish actions this early in the decade are nonetheless noteworthy. It shows that a major paper of the African American press used news of the Jews to speak toward issues that were relevant to African Americans. By doing so, African Americans read about events that affected them and the Jews in Germany. The mainstream press did not mention both events, demonstrating the African American press was more aware of these events because of the comparisons they made from their struggles with racism.

The Defender also reported on events in 1932 concerning Hitler's rise to power. On April 9, 1932, an article covered the failure of Hitler's presidential run against Paul von Hindenburg, who was the incumbent president of Germany's Weimar Republic. Featured on the front page of a weekly news column titled "Jews Are Happy," *The Defender* stated Jews should be glad that Hitler lost the election because of his views on Jews, whom he believed were responsible for Germany's economic downturn after World War One. The

²⁸"Jews in Prewar Germany" *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* online.
<https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/jews-in-prewar-germany?parent=en%2F11150>.
There were about 500,000 living in Germany during this time.

²⁹J.A. Rogers, "America Best Place for Race, Says Lawyer" *The Chicago Defender* (Chicago, IL) September 27, 1930.

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unnamed author compared Hitler to racist US politicians such as Alabama senator, Thomas Heflin, who had a history of openly racist rhetoric and had just recently lost an election in 1930.³⁰ The author said that the black community should have felt happy for the Jews too, as Hitler's campaign mirrored racist US politicians in their aims to get rid of blacks. The author quoted Hitler when the Nazi leader said he could not fix Germany's economic problems unless Jews "were put in their place," as an example of similar rhetoric of racist US politicians.³¹ *The New York Times* covered the election too, but an examination of articles printed just after the election showed no mention of Hitler's opinion of Jews.³² *The Times* was accurate when they reported the election results, but *The Defender* stood out in its reporting of it in the context of what it meant for Jews and blacks. Because *The Defender* recognized Hitler's similarity to racist US leaders, they identified the dangers Jews faced from Hitler when the mainstream press did not.

Another *Defender* article in May 1932, titled "Germany's Klan," stressed that if Hitler were American, his behavior would be akin to that of a Ku Klux Klan leader. It cited an event in Vienna, Austria, where Nazi followers protested black American musician Aubrey Pankey who was playing at the Mozart Concert Hall.³³ Like most black musicians, Pankey went to Europe where his music received a better following than in the racial climate of the U.S.³⁴ The Nazis saw music by black musicians as "degrading German culture" due to blacks being a so-called inferior race.³⁵ As a result, *The Defender* called Hitler's followers the "night riders of Germany," a term commonly associated with the masked men of the KKK who committed their racial crimes under cover of darkness. The author concluded that the African American community should stand with the Jews because blacks were enemies of Hitler, too. While

³⁰ "Senator Tom 'Cotton' Heflin: Alabama's Iconic Racist." *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 64 (2009): 45-46. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40407481>.

³¹ "The Week: Jews Are Happy, Medal for Moton, No Revolution, Howard's Anniversary" *Defender* April 9, 1932. Germany was suffering an economic depression much like the U.S. This was a critical factor in the Weimar Republic losing popularity and seeing Hitler's party among other right-wing groups as a preferable alternative.

³² Guido Enderis, "13,417,460 Votes for Nazi" *The New York Times* (New York, NY) April 11, 1932.

³³ "THE WEEK: Mourn With France, the Gap Widens, Scottsboro, Germany's Klan" *Defender*, May 14, 1932. This event, in particular, can be read in more detail in *African American Concert Singers before 1950* by Daryl Glen Nettles. Some sources say it took place in 1933, but the *Defender* reports it as 1932.

³⁴ "Blacks in the Holocaust Era" *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Online*. <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/blacks-during-the-holocaust-era>.

³⁵ Thomas, "Between Jim Crow..." 10.

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The New York Times and *Tribune* reported the spread of “Hitlerism” in Austria, they did not talk about Pankey. A possible reason is the discrimination of an African American musician was not newsworthy to the mainstream press, but this would require further study.

The year 1932 shows that the African American press reported on the Jews in Germany before Hitler began his state sanctioned violence. By informing its readers how these events affected blacks, *The Defender’s* audience also learned about the Jewish experience in Germany. The mainstream press did not see the similarities to racism in the US although knowledge of Nazi views towards blacks should have been available.³⁶ These two events are significant because *The Defender* uniquely reported on them as they saw similarities to Hitler and racism in the US, while it simultaneously informed readers on the growing threat to Jews.

The Defender only published one article concerning the Jews in 1933, on 25 March. This was two days after Hitler became a de facto dictator by legislative decree.³⁷ Bluntly titled “Jews and Persecution,” the author called out the churches in the U.S. who criticized persecution of Jews in Germany but “...no Jews have been burned at the stake in Berlin.”³⁸ The article argued that nobody paid attention to the black struggle with the same energy the mainstream press had for the Jews. This referred to the protests that occurred across the US against Jewish persecution.³⁹ *The Defender* acknowledged Jewish suffering when they agreed that persecution should be stomped out in Berlin and the US, but also wanted persecution of blacks stomped out in the U.S. too. An important issue on the minds of African Americans during this time was the Scottsboro Trial, which involved nine black teenagers accused of rape with little

³⁶ Grill and Jenkins, “Nazis and the American South...”, 676-677. The Nazis published in various journals that blacks were inferior, therefore Grill and Jenkins concluded that it would have been hard for the press to be ignorant of Nazi views. The white press in the south considered Jews “white” and so the press may have paid Jews more attention than blacks. The black press was already starting to realize the parallels of persecution to racism towards them.

³⁷ “The Enabling Act,” *US Holocaust Memorial Museum* Online. This allowed Hitler to issue decrees without Parliament approval, essentially making the legislature powerless and allowing him to act with impunity.

³⁸ “Jews and Persecution,” *Defender*, March 25, 1933. African Americans were still victims of lynching and other race crimes at this time, as blacks accused of taking white men's' jobs during the Depression. It was very common to see the *Defender* reporting on race crimes that occurred nationwide.

³⁹ “Jews and Christians: The Unfolding Interfaith Relationship” *US Holocaust Memorial Museum* Online. The Church did protest Nazi persecution, with many leaders in the church having a history of working with Jewish organizations, such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews. While more substantial persecution would not take place until April, Hitler had his paramilitary SA go after East European Jews in Berlin on March 9th. The *Times* did cover this, so presumably the *Defender* was aware of it and is referring to similar events.

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evidence.⁴⁰ *The Defender's* commentary indicated the paper knew Jewish persecution occurred, but were more concerned with racism towards blacks during this time.

April 1933 was a critical moment as it was the start of the boycott of Jewish businesses and the introduction of exclusionary race laws.⁴¹ *The Defender* ran several articles that showed a marked difference from mainstream press reporting. Articles on the 1st and the 15th covered the Nazi removal of blacks from Germany, among them African American musicians. *The Defender* described the Nazis' actions as a "murderous campaign against the Jews, black people, and Asiatics" clearly indicative of Nazi race hate.⁴² *The Defender* stood out from the mainstream press in that it criticized the Nazis' actions as race hate and portrayed Hitler as a central figure of these events.⁴³ *The Defender* was upfront in its reporting style and left little room for speculation or doubt. In contrast, the mainstream press downplayed events or quoted Nazi officials that dismissed the events of April as rumors. This led to Americans' getting a confusing explanation, unsure whether it was random violence or directed by the Nazi government. On April 15, a *Defender* article quoted the Nazi journal, *National Socialist Monthly*, which said: "In each Negro... is the latest brute and primitive man."⁴⁴ In both articles, *The Defender* credited Hitler as if he were the one giving the order, or the collective term "Hitler Government" is used by *The Defender*. This is significant because it showed a departure from the mainstream press's behavior, where their readers were confused if the violence was from

⁴⁰ *The Defender* also mentioned an Atlanta, GA minister leading a mob to kill a black man, and lynching in Louisiana. The Scottsboro Trial highlighted the racism in the US justice system, as the jurors were all white men, and the women were pressured by the police to give false statements. During March only one article about Jews was published, as issues more relevant to African Americans occurred.

⁴¹"Timeline of Events: 1933" *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* Online. During this month Jews had been barred from government positions, restricted from attending universities, and no longer had the ability to practice as doctors and lawyers.

⁴² "Hitler Bars Musicians in Recent Order" *Defender*, April 1, 1933. "Hitler Expels Africans from Germany in Race Hate Tilt," *Defender*, April 15, 1933. The April 1st article spoke of the removal of a famous Chicago musician as "an indication of the race hatred shown by the Hitler Government that clearly shows Race (Black) people, as well as Jews, are a part of the ouster program."

⁴³ Deborah Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief: the American Press & the Coming of the Holocaust 1933-1945* (New York: The Free Press, 1986) 16-18. According to Friedlander, Hitler was also trying to distance himself from the violence to maintain his image.

⁴⁴"Hitler Expels African..." *Defender* April 15, 1933. The journal in question was *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, a journal supposedly edited by Alfred Rosenberg, an early Nazi party member who wrote extensively on Nazi ideology of the Jewish question. The Nazi journal did exist, but quality sources do not credit him as editor. However, he did publish other journals spouting racial theories as seen in Grill and Jenkin's work, where he used racial slurs to describe blacks. See Grill and Jenkins "Nazis and the..." 674-675.

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random fanatics or directed by Hitler's regime. This left room for doubt whether Hitler was really pursuing a campaign against Jews. *The Defender's* audience had little reason to speculate on the authenticity of events because they were treated as inferior in their own lives. The exclusion of Jews from German society in April had already happened to African Americans for years under Jim Crow, so *The Defender's* readers were not surprised by something similar occurring to another minority.

An article on April 29 written by French journalist Frank Goldman, stood out for its language towards Jews. The article identified several key aspects of Jewish persecution.⁴⁵ First, Goldman used the word "pogrom" to describe Hitler's actions against Jews, whom he specifically named amongst other groups such as "Socialists, Catholics, and Jews." This is important because he mentions the Jews as specific victims, instead of generally categorizing them as "minorities", where Jews' identity would be lost under this blanket term. "Pogrom" is used once more when accusing Hitler that his government is the chief inciter of these attacks on Jews. This is significant because it is usually associated with *Kristallnacht* atrocities of 1938.⁴⁶ This word did not see widespread use in the mainstream press until 1938. *The Defender's* use of this word in early 1933 signified that *The Defender* called the atrocities for what they were, whereas the mainstream press tended to question their severity. Further evidence of *The Defender's* reference to mass attacks against Jews is when Goldman described the "terrorizing and brutally killing series of inoffensive people" when he criticized the German national anthem.⁴⁷ A popular phrase from the first stanza of the then-national anthem was "Deutschland über Alles" or "Germany over everything." Goldman uses this phrase to show that the series of violent attacks on Jews meant Jews represented the "over everything" as they are the ones being killed, robbed, and vandalized to further German superiority. Another example is Goldman accusing Hitler, Joseph Goebbels, and Hermann Goering as responsible for the violence more than the "fanatic Brown-shirts." This contrasted with the mainstream press, who

⁴⁵ Frank Goldman, "Say Hitler Is Dooming Germany to Ruin" *Defender*, April 29, 1933: Goldman quotes writer George Bernard Shaw who describes Hitlerism as "If you can't make a program, make a pogrom." There are not any sources found attributing this to Shaw, but he did speak about Hitler's policies during this time.

⁴⁶ Goldman, "Says Hitler..." *Defender*, April 29, 1933. "The Nazi Agitation has been one continued incitement to pogroms." The usage of the word *pogrom* began in Russia, where anti-Jewish violence frequently occurred when thousands of Jews were killed from the late 1800s to early 1900s. Therefore, its use in the 1930s would be a reference to similar mass persecutions of Jews;

"Pogroms," *US Holocaust Memorial Museum Online*, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/pogroms>

⁴⁷ Goldman, "Says Hitler..." *Defender*, April 29, 1933.

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were unsure if this was government sponsored violence or the work of “irresponsible mobs of youthful Nazis,” which allowed Hitler to denounce their actions.⁴⁸

Overall, April 1933 was a crucial month in which multiple articles from *The Defender* covered the persecution of the Jews differently from mainstream papers by identifying Jews as the primary victims. When the black press labeled various minorities as being discriminated against, they took the effort to list them separately. Even when *The Defender* described the persecuted as African Americans, they related it to the Jews as well. *The Defender* did not try to rationalize the violence or come up with reasons for why Hitler allowed Jewish freedoms to be continually stripped away. Evidence has shown that mentions of these atrocities were minimal in 1930, where articles said that anti-Jewish actions would not get worse. By 1933, *The Defender* noticed an increase of anti-Jewish actions in the form of boycotts and race laws.

The next key event is the year 1935 when Hitler enacted the Nuremberg Laws to curtail Jewish rights. These laws stripped citizenship from Jews in Germany and defined who exactly was Jewish. This allowed the Nazis to put their ideology of racial superiority into law and made it easier for Hitler to persecute Jews.⁴⁹ The laws also removed Jews’ political rights and outlawed relations with non-Jews. When examining the year’s articles, *The Defender’s* mention of the Nuremberg Laws is minimal. Articles vaguely mentioned Jews in Germany faced persecution, but they do not include any further details. Instead, *The Defender* reported on the debate about the upcoming 1936 Berlin Olympics.⁵⁰ An October article praised the comments of writer Westbrook Pegler, who believed that that African Americans had good reason to sympathize with German Jews considering their similar restriction of rights.⁵¹ Segregation of African Americans was the same type of removal of rights

⁴⁸ Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief*, 48-50.

⁴⁹ “The Nuremberg Race Laws,” *US Holocaust Memorial Museum Online*, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/the-nuremberg-race-laws>

⁵⁰ Abzug, *America Views*, 63. There was widespread debate over boycotting the 1936 Berlin Olympics amongst the American press due to Germany’s discrimination against Jews. The African American community was divided because some did not want to have black athletes compete in a country that hated them, while others saw it as a moment to prove the abilities of black athletes in front of a racist country.

⁵¹ “Atta Boy, Pegler,” *Defender*, Oct 5, 1935; V. Pittman *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (1975): 265-66. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40580180>. Westbrook Pegler was a nationally known sports writer and journalist. *The Defender* had previously disagreed with him in earlier months for believing black boxer Joe Louis was supported by “Negro Racketeers,” here *The Defender* admittedly agrees with him due to the correct comparisons he makes. These were also seen by members of the black press and have been substantiated by historians.

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Southern US Jews complained about "...being withheld from their Jewish kindred in Germany." African Americans were also barred from certain professions and were often severely punished for relationships with whites. They lived under Jim Crow laws, which also was a legal extension of racial ideology. Given that this article was published one month after the Nuremberg laws, it is very likely Pegler is referring to these laws when he compared Jewish persecution to segregation in America.

The second article was an editorial that directly referred to the Nuremberg laws in late November. The letter to the editor called on blacks to look past the lack of American Jewish sympathy and still care for the plight of German Jews. The author wanted African Americans to show concern for German Jews who were victims of "the present flurry of anti-Semitism and the harsh September laws."⁵² Why did these two articles only mention the Nuremberg Laws? Pegler was a renowned critic of US government policy, and he quickly noticed the lack of US effort to resolve race issues at home yet pay attention to Jewish struggles elsewhere. As Pegler's comments on the parallels of US racism were only one month after the Nuremberg Laws passed, it is highly likely he is referring to them. The other article was an editorial written by a Jewish reader who was aware of the laws that affected his fellow Jews. Why do other articles fail to mention it? As the Berlin Olympics neared, more articles about the discussion of the boycott surfaced, which was a poignant issue for African Americans who had several Olympiads representing them.⁵³ Since the boycott stemmed from Germany's treatment of Jews, articles about the Olympics described this treatment with terms such as "race hate, persecution, and prejudice." While the Jews' treatment matched, the articles of this time did not stress the importance of the Nuremberg Laws as a dramatic step towards Jewish persecution. The Olympics, scheduled for summer 1936, were not far away when these articles were published near the end of 1935. Even *The Defender* shifted coverage for this worldwide event, especially with the presence of black athletes competing against the Nazis. This accounts for *The Defender's* lack of press coverage of the Nuremberg Laws.

The significant final year of this decade was in 1938 when the *Kristallnacht* pogroms occurred. This was the first national display of anti-Semitic violence by the Nazis.⁵⁴ *Kristallnacht* was also a time of significant

⁵² "Paul F. Sonneborn 'The Voice of Jewry,'" *Defender* Nov 30, 1935.

⁵⁴ Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief*, 86.; Friedlander, *Nazi Germany...*, 112-115. Using the killing of Ernst Von Rath as a convenient reason, Hitler and Goebbels gave the order to allow violent demonstrations that looted and vandalized Jewish businesses and homes, and killed up to 100 Jews.

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press coverage and *The Defender's* increased mention of Jews in Germany reflects this. *The Defender's* coverage stood apart from the mainstream press because it did not try to rationalize events by suggesting the pogrom was solely for economic reasons. *The Defender* either plainly reported events or compared them to racial prejudice against blacks in the U.S.

The earliest article reported on the pogroms on November 19, which described a Jewish synagogue burnt down as part of renewed violence against Jews in response to the killing of Nazi diplomat Ernst Von Rath.⁵⁵ In the article, *The Defender* reported without exaggeration why this occurred. They did not add any additional information from official Nazi party sources that would have downplayed the seriousness of the event. By November 26, an editorial named Hitler responsible for the state of German Jews.⁵⁶ The author described Jews before Hitler as part of German society, but credited Hitler's race hate propaganda for restricting Jewish rights. An important distinction is that the editor stated that race was the primary motivator for Hitler's actions. The mainstream press reported *Kristallnacht* extensively, but tried to rationalize the pogroms as what *The New York Times* described as "Profit from Persecution."⁵⁷ This idea came from the massive looting during the pogroms and the confiscation of Jewish property that followed after, leading the press to believe this was an effort to boost the German economy. *The Defender's* editorial compared the pogroms to African American discrimination, believing that it could happen in the US because the "black man has never had the privileges and opportunities of the Jew in Germany."⁵⁸ Integration into German society supposedly protected the Jews, but that did not stop them from racial persecution. According to the editor, ostracization from society by Jim Crow made blacks more vulnerable, therefore what was happening to Jews could happen to African Americans. This history of oppression allowed *The Defender* to identify the racial motivations of the Nazis during *Kristallnacht*, while the mainstream press tried to find more "rational" explanations. Similar to 1933, *The Defender's* own understanding of racism enabled them to avoid the pitfalls

The SS would be ordered by Reinhard Heydrich to arrest up to 30,000 Jews based on ethnicity alone in response to Rath's assassination.

⁵⁵"Nazi Rioters Burn Jewish Synagogue," *Defender* November 19, 1935.

⁵⁶"It Can Happen Here," *Defender*, November 26, 1938.

⁵⁷ Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief*, 101-102.

⁵⁸ Leslie Tischaer, *Jim Crow Laws*, (CA: ABC-CLIO, 2012) 84-88.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ilstu/reader.action?docID=946701>. By 1938 blacks were denied the same social security benefits given to whites and excluded from minimum wage laws. In 1937, lynching, mob violence, and torture were committed against blacks. Blacks also faced harsher punishment in courts than white men who committed the same crime.

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of the mainstream press. They did not try to blame on the violence on unorganized rioters but instead pointed directly at Hitler and the Nazis as responsible.

Further evidence of *The Defender's* comparisons is seen in December as well. A December 10th article reported plans to establish ghettos for Jews, which aimed to quarter them into overcrowded sections of cities. The article quoted propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels from an interview with foreign correspondents. Goebbels denied the pogroms of November as organized or that any looting took place.⁵⁹ *The Defender* then listed the series of punishments levied against Jews in the aftermath of the pogroms. Among these were the denial of insurance payouts, exclusion from trade, and restriction from being doctors or lawyers. The long list of punishments that followed Goebbel's statement suggests it was unlikely *The Defender's* readers believed Goebbels, or that these punishments happened without government decree.⁶⁰ During this time African Americans faced similar challenges and recognized what was happening to Jews. During the 1930s, millions of African Americans moved into Northern cities, or what historians called The Great Migration.⁶¹ In doing so the massive influx of African Americans seeking jobs led to discriminatory hiring practices, and limited employment opportunities for African-Americans in white-dominated areas. Blacks were also forced to live in overcrowded, run-down housing due to racially restrictive agreements by white property owners. Blacks essentially lived in ghettos too, and this practice was evident in Chicago during the 1930s.⁶²

Because of these similar circumstances, *The Defender* made these comparisons in its articles and understood that race was behind the reason for the Jews' persecution. In an editorial on December 16, the author asked if "the idea that the Jew in Germany to be deprived of his right to enter certain professions and businesses..." was any different from the treatment of blacks in the U.S.⁶³ The author then compared Jews to how African Americans faced

⁵⁹ "Germans Plan Revival of Jewish Ghetto," *Defender*, (Chicago, IL) December 10, 1938.

⁶⁰ "1938: Key Dates," *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Online*.

<https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/1938-key-dates>. By December, Jews were banned from engaging in business and forced to sell their businesses to Aryans by the Decree of the Elimination of Jews from Economic Life and Decree of the Utilization of Jewish Property.

⁶¹ Stewart Tolnay, "The African American "Great Migration" and Beyond" *Annual Review of Sociology* 29, (2003): 217-219. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30036966>

⁶² Wendy Plotkin, "Hemmed In": The Struggle Against Racial Restrictive Covenants and Deed Restrictions in Post-WWII Chicago." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1998-)* 94, no. 1 (2001): 39-69. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40193534>.

⁶³ "Is it Different?" *Defender*, December 10, 1938.

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segregation, voting restrictions, and limited property access. When the author mentioned property, he was referring to the racially restrictive housing guidelines. As for voting, it was common under Jim Crow laws in the south to make blacks pay a poll tax or pass a literacy test to be eligible. These rules led to very few blacks voting as they could not afford to pay the tax or could not read because of poor education.⁶⁴ For segregation, most white-dominated professions like medicine and law shunned blacks from achieving those titles. The only difference the author pointed out was the confinement of Jews in concentration camps, which did not happen to blacks in the United States. A second article came to similar conclusions when it made a direct comparison to the ghettos under construction in Germany as the same as "...segregation of dark complexioned people in many American cities."⁶⁵ This is significant because it showed *The Defender* saw *Kristallnacht* and subsequent events from their viewpoint of racial oppression, giving them a greater ability to see that Hitler's regime pursued the Jews out of a sense of racial prejudice.

The Defender's reporting of major events during the 1930s provides a unique perspective of American press reporting of events before Holocaust. By reporting on events in Germany from the point of view of an oppressed people, *The Defender* reported the Holocaust differently from its mainstream counterparts. In Hitler's rise to power, we see early examples of *The Defender's* reporting on issues relevant to African-Americans that are occurring in Germany. In doing so, *The Defender* gave its readers insight into the early racial sentiment of Nazi Germany's actions against black Americans. The comparison of Hitler to racist politicians in the US and his followers to the Ku Klux Klan helped its readers understand the nature of the Nazi party's attitude towards Jews by comparing them to familiar enemies in African Americans' lives. In 1933, *The Defender* stood out by reporting on the violence in April as "pogroms" sponsored by Hitler due to the similar experiences African Americans had throughout their history. *The Defender* was able to understand what was happening to the Jews because African Americans experienced persecution before and thus would not see Jewish persecution as a surprise. *The Defender's* failure to report on the Nuremberg laws is indicative of the recurring theme of reporting about Jews in the context of African American issues. The Olympics was a divisive issue amongst African Americans, and they only reported on the persecution of the Jews when it concerned the Olympic debate and whether black athletes would compete. After *Kristallnacht*, *The*

⁶⁴ Tirschauer, *Jim Crow*, 85-86.

⁶⁵ "Is it Different?" *Defender*, December 10, 1938.

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Defender correctly called the pogroms as racially motivated, because they recognized the similar patterns of persecution that had been thrust upon blacks in the U.S. In contrast, the mainstream press continued to miss the intentions of Hitler's regime.

This paper is not intended to make *The Chicago Defender* predictors of the Jews' coming extermination, nor say that they could have alerted the country to steer the Holocaust from its course. As a so-called racially inferior minority, African Americans were largely ignored by a society that did not care about African American issues. What it does is show the unique perspective of a major African American newspaper that reported on the Holocaust from the vantage point of a minority that was already persecuted. This advantage allowed them to recognize the racism against Jews and report what was happening to them without any uncertainty. When reading about the United States' role in reporting the Holocaust, the African American press should not be overlooked as it illustrated the unique perspective of an oppressed minority reporting on the Holocaust without burying it in obscurity.

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The Ethics of Futuwwa and Muslim Historians of the Second and Third Crusade

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The Crusades are one of the most popular topics in medieval studies. The amount of scholarship produced on the different Holy Orders, kings, knights, and battles of the Crusades is staggering. However, few historians shift their focus away from Frankish knights and onto their Islamic foes. While more and more contemporary Arabic texts have become available in translation in recent years,¹ the Muslim perspective on the Crusades remains understudied. This paper addresses a large gap in the scholarship; namely, the values held by Islamic historians in their writings about the Second and Third Crusades. Islam has never been a monolithic faith and during the Crusades, new and diverse religious movements, such as Sufism, influenced the beliefs and writings of many Islamic scholars, including historians. This paper explores the complex concept of *futuwwa*, which emerged and evolved over the twelfth century as Sufism and *futuwwa* grew more popular. *Futuwwa* acted as a code of honor, with elements of spiritualism and militarism,² and as an institution which governed social behavior of Islamic men.³ Traditions and beliefs from *futuwwa* appear frequently in texts written by Arabic historians during the Second and Third Crusades.

Many Muslim historical accounts described actors as either barbaric or honorable. These descriptions of a person's character allow historians to gain insight into the author's personal beliefs and values, which often aligned with the

¹ Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (New York: Dorset Press, 1989).

² Sophia Rose Arjana, Kim Fox, and Ali Wajahat, *Veiled Superheroes: Islam, Feminism, and Popular Culture* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018), 124.

³ Rachel Goshgarian, "Opening and Closing: Coexistence and Competition in Associations Based on Futuwwa in Late Medieval Anatolian Cities," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 1 (2013): 1, doi:10.1080/13530194.2012.734957.

ethics of *futuwwa*. For example, the Arabic historian Usama described a man inviting the historian into his home to provide food.⁴ This invitation was extended by “Frank,” who had assimilated into Middle Eastern society. According to a text written by Suhrawardi, the act of providing food and shelter for a traveler appears as a core tenet and requirement for the follower of *futuwwa*.⁵ Therefore, Usama attached actions and values to this stranger that revealed the behaviors required by *futuwwa*. The action discussed in the text contrasts with the actions taken by other “Franks” in the same source who tried to murder Usama. Usama distinguished between honorable and dishonorable actions. Furthermore, by using the trope of providing food and water for a guest (an important tenet in *futuwwa*) as a model of right behavior, the author demonstrated that he also held the same values as *futuwwa*.

How authors displayed *futuwwa* in texts corresponded to important themes and rituals in *futuwwa* practices. Seemingly inconspicuous passages had deeper meanings that would have been understood by contemporary readers familiar with *futuwwa*. For example, the simple act of drinking from a cup holds a deeper significance in the account of the battle of Hattin written by al-Athir.⁶ Similarly, participating in a hunt had close associations with *futuwwa*, which Usama described in a personal account.⁷ Arabic historians decided to include these details deliberately. This paper will argue that these authors sought to demonstrate that they were either followers of *futuwwa*, or at the very least, they wanted to attach traits of *futuwwa* to the agents in their narrative. Whether a historian assigned these values to a person depended on several factors. In some cases, authors attached *futuwwa* to a nameless person who represented the collective values of Muslims as opposed to Christians. In other cases, authors’ patrons compelled their historians to portray them in a certain light; for example, an account commissioned by a sultan like Saladin might have used *futuwwa* to improve his image. The purpose, therefore, could have served political and personal ambitions. The historians wanted to spread their ideals and used popularly recognized “great” people to aid in their endeavor. This essay will analyze sources ranging from detailed accounts of major battles in the Crusades to perspectives on specific individuals and societies to intercultural contact within the cosmopolitan Mediterranean world.

⁴ Gabrieli, 78-79.

⁵ John Renard, ed., *Windows on the House of Islam: Muslim Sources on Spirituality and Religious Life* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998).

⁶ Gabrieli, 124.

⁷ Gabrieli, 83. Julian Baldick, *The Iranian Origin of the Futuwwa* (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1990).

What scholars refer to as *futuwwa* became prevalent in Anatolia and Persia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁸ Scholars debate the origins of *Futuwwa*. Sources assign the beginning of *futuwwa* to the writings of Shihab ad-Din Abu Hafis ‘Umar Suhrawardi, who was a scholar and writer until his death in 1234. Rachel Goshgarian argues that Suhrawardi creates the basis for these *futuwwa* fraternities to form in medieval Anatolia; however, there remains some evidence that *futuwwa* ideas had already formed by the tenth century.⁹ The writings of Suhrawardi were commissioned by the Caliph an-Nasir (1181-1223), who desired to create a pan-Islamic chivalry. Leonard Lewisohn argues that in doing so, an-Nasir created the tradition of “Sufi Chivalry.”¹⁰ Goshgarian and Lewisohn identify ideas and traditions of twelfth-century *futuwwa* that actually appeared earlier and eventually merged into a larger movement during the late twelfth century, when Suhrawardi and Caliph an-Nasir, respectively, organized these extant traditions into a written code. Most scholars consider this code as “canonical” *futuwwa*. However, James Baldrick claims that *futuwwa* has its origins in Iranian traditions.¹¹ He maintains that *futuwwa* shared very similar symbols and rituals to Iranian-Muslim traditions.¹² Therefore, Baldrick provides further proof that *futuwwa* practices predated the twelfth century. Mohammad Jafar Amir Mahallati supports Baldrick’s claims, stating that all Iranian scholars of *futuwwa* undeniably pronounce Iran as the roots for the institution of *futuwwa*.¹³ A fact that is important to recognize, but not entirely relevant to this paper’s argument, is that *futuwwa* was not the only code of honor used by Muslim knights during this time. There were very specific institutions that developed in Iran and Armenia, and while they all dealt with ethics and honor, they were different from *futuwwa* and took on themes influenced by either Sunni or Shia beliefs.¹⁴ While not unimportant, these other codes of honor were not as wide spread as *futuwwa*, nor did they represent a pan-Islamic movement. The additional codes of honor specifically related how a soldier should act in war and battle, not the ethics of a person in everyday life, as was the case in *futuwwa*. The limited scope of these other codes of honor is why this essay will focus on *futuwwa*, as the other codes were not nearly as influential on scholars. Beyond the written code, the Arabic writer Muhammad ibn al-Husayn al-Sulami

⁸ See Renard for additional information.

⁹ Goshgarian, 1-3.

¹⁰ Renard, 236.

¹¹ Baldrick, 1-2.

¹² Baldrick, 2-3.

¹³ Mohammad Jafar Amir Mahallati, *Ethics of War and Peace in Iran and Shi‘i Islam* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 71.

¹⁴ Mahallati, 69-71.

created foundational treatises on *futuwwa*. He wrote that members of a *futuwwa* would work to be a man with honor, courage, courtesy, and chastity.¹⁵ Again, it is noteworthy that his writings appear in the tenth century, two centuries before an-Nasir's reforms and the writings of Suhrawardi. This essay will explore further when these traditions originated; this paper applies Suhrawardi's description of *futuwwa* in textual analysis, as it was the first to establish it as an extensive institution and generated a set of rules to follow.

According to the writings of Suhrawardi, he designed and constructed *futuwwa* as the "substructure of Sufism."¹⁶ While being separate institutions, they both shared many similarities. One similarity was with the *futuwwat-khana*¹⁷ and the *khanqah*.¹⁸ The master of a *futuwwat-khana* built his own house by his own hands and could have founded other *khanqahs*.¹⁹ The most important aspect of a *futuwwat-khana*'s duty for this essay was the obligation to always provide for travelers who come to the house.²⁰ Hospitality represented a central component to *futuwwa*, as the masters were required to provide for anyone who enters the house. Suhrawardi wrote that the visitors must receive gifts from the *futuwwat-khana*'s master, either food or money or wisdom.²¹ The idea of hospitality and charity was so critical to *futuwwa* that hosts were required to furnish guests with gifts.

Another treatise of Suhrawardi outlined an important characteristic of how the followers of *futuwwa* should have acted. He wrote that a person with characteristics of *futuwwa* would have responded to an insult with an act of kindness.²² Forgiveness and mercy were critical components to *futuwwa*, since these virtues rendered someone an honorable person. Interestingly, this notion would have been at odds with Sharia law. The Quran, in reference to laws, states that an "eye for an eye" shall be administered in retribution for crimes done to a person.²³ The deviation between the ideals of *futuwwa* and the ideals of the Quran help to distinguish those Arab historians influenced by *futuwwa* from those who strictly followed the Quran. Understanding this difference is essential for the argument of this essay. Suhrawardi provided an explanation to how *futuwwa* forbids things that the Quran allows. He wrote that although these moral characteristics disobeyed the Quran, ultimately they "relate to sacrificing

¹⁵ Arjana, Fox, and Ali, 124.

¹⁶ Renard, 236.

¹⁷ This translates to "House of Chivalry" and is where a *futuwwa* fraternity would meet.

¹⁸ This can be described as a Sufi monastery in the most simplistic description.

¹⁹ Renard, 236.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid, 237.

²³ Al-Maidah 5:45.

one's own self-interest,"²⁴ which represented the central idea of Suhrawardi's *futuwwa* principles. Being a noble man involved being merciful, forgiving, hospitable, and sacrificing your comfort for the comfort of another. Lewisohn states that *futuwwa* was modeled on the teachings of Ali, who preached following the spirit of the law rather than following it to the letter.²⁵ Suhrawardi even cited passages of the Quran referring to this very idea, which supports Lewisohn's claims.²⁶ This trait was also present in the writings of al-Sulami, who claimed that the ideal man gives up everything for the sake of another, and that an honorable person dedicates themselves to the service of others.²⁷ These themes point toward the importance of selflessness in *futuwwa*, which relates to the pillar of charity that was and still is an important part of Islam. This expression of selflessness was unique to Sufism and *futuwwa*; therefore, the presence of this trait suggests the application of *futuwwa* principles.

Another important characteristic of a *futuwwa* follower was intelligence. Suhrawardi wrote in his treatises that a master should be able to read and write in order to understand knowledge quickly.²⁸ Suhrawardi wanted *futuwwa* masters to be knowledgeable in a variety of fields, and for members of a *futuwwat-khana* to become educated faster. Suhrawardi wished for *futuwwa* masters to become more intelligent because he valued the trait very highly. In his writings, he stated that having a large and varied understanding of different subjects is the most "highly regarded and appreciated" amongst people.²⁹ Suhrawardi failed to provide any other reason for why a person needs to have these skills, other than that they would have garnered respect. He made this same argument for a person of *futuwwa* to be multilingual, claiming that knowing a word in another language helped to increase understanding between people and potentially will save lives.³⁰ Suhrawardi valued intelligence and cultural understanding as important aspects of being an honorable person. The traditions of Iranian spirituality and the writings of al-Salami made no mention of intelligence or familiarity with other languages and societies, but Suhrawardi privileged these traits as important to *futuwwa*. The presence of intelligence and cultural understanding as valued characteristics indicated that an author was likely influenced by Suhrawardi's *futuwwa*.

²⁴ Renard, 237.

²⁵ Ibid, 238.

²⁶ Renard, 238-240.

²⁷ Arjana, Fox, and Ali, 124.

²⁸ Renard, 240.

²⁹ Renard, 240.

³⁰ Renard, 241.

Suhrawardi also wrote at length on what traits a knight³¹ must possess to be a master. Described as the “eight types of soundness,” these traits enabled a follower of *futuwwa* to be intelligent, specifically so they will be able to match wits with *ulama* (religious scholars).³² Yet another specific treatise addressed the significance of intelligence to Suhrawardi’s *futuwwa*. This most likely explains why the eight types of soundness did not appear in any other sources describing *futuwwa*, as Suhrawardi was the first scholar to value intelligence as a trait of a knight. It is important to define what Suhrawardi means by soundness. Although he neglected to give a clear definition, Suhrawardi described soundness as inner strength, mental fortitude, patience, and perseverance. The eight types of soundness are the soundness of soul, heart, tongue, ear, hand, foot, and thought.³³ Soundness of soul meant that the follower of *futuwwa* had self-control.³⁴ Self-control meant following the tenets of *futuwwa* and not engaging in immoral acts that the Quran condemned, which in turn related to the idea of self-sacrificing and doing things for the sake of others and not for yourself, which persisted in all iterations of *futuwwa*. Soundness of heart accompanied soundness of soul, as it involved strength to ignore temptations and replace them with devotion to *Allah*.³⁵ There was a distinction between heart and soul; the soul monitored with self-control, while the heart allowed one to constantly think about *Allah* and good virtues. Soul meant that when confronted with temptation, the soul provided the will to resist it. But, a knight with soundness of heart would not have even felt tempted in the first place. Soundness of tongue involved two ideas, total devotion to *Allah* and patience.³⁶ Suhrawardi wrote that when a knight had these traits he became more confident, and if the knight could metaphorically hold his tongue then he would be more in control of himself. For example, in a debate a follower of *futuwwa* ideally provided a sole, coherent reply rather than a spur of wild answers,³⁷ which highlighted the need for a knight to be intelligent. The core idea of soundness of tongue was devotion to *Allah*, as he provided faith in the knight, and patience because then a knight would possess self-control and know when and what to say during discussions. Suhrawardi writes that soundness of ear meant constantly acting with humility, with heart, and performing

³¹ In this case a knight would serve to reference a mounted warrior, rather than the idea of a European knight.

³² Renard, , 241.

³³ Renard, 241-242.

³⁴ Renard, 241.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Renard, 242.

³⁷ Ibid.

supererogatory works.³⁸ Essentially, he explained that a person should ignore all outside distractions to focus on himself and achieve peace of mind. In sum, ignoring temptations opened one's mind to become more attune to the beliefs of *futuwwa*. Soundness of hand referred to having patience and submission to *Allah*, but also involved endurance. Suhrawardi offered these ideas as a form of protection; a knight would not be harmed if he remained content and in control of himself.³⁹ Furthermore, if a knight felt no stress but rather happiness in life, then he would also be safe. Significantly, in this section Suhrawardi stated that endurance was the most important virtue. Suhrawardi quoted other knights saying that the essence of *futuwwa* is "abandoning pretensions, veiling of spiritual truth, and patience under affliction."⁴⁰ Hence, endurance referred not only to physical endurance, but to mental fortitude as well. True strength resulted from confronting any kind of punishment and emerging still content; a knight who understood this concept would have always received protection.

Suhrawardi dedicated few pages to soundness of foot, stating that it acts as the body's way of transportation.⁴¹ While this may seem obvious, in this section Suhrawardi also proffered some further insights on how a person of *futuwwa* should act. He described the hand as the servant of the body, and the eyes, ears, and touch as the body's spies, the tongue spoke for the body, and the heart was the body's sultan.⁴² In short, the senses delivered information to the knight, and he became impassioned by what information he received. Curiously, Suhrawardi cautioned that when a knight received information from his "spies," he risked becoming filled with desire or vengeance and then commit acts of violence, war, and greed.⁴³ In terms of the soundness of foot, the foot carried out these actions. The foot represented potential negative actions that other virtues, which a knight should have had, could have prevented. The foot could also have made a knight vulnerable should he have not closed himself off from worldly temptations. Suhrawardi's writings on soundness of foot spoke more broadly about why a person should have followed the eight types of soundness, and the consequences endured by a person who had not followed *futuwwa*. Soundness of thought simply referred to reason. Suhrawardi wrote that thought served as the vessel to brings all the heart's commands to the rest of the body.⁴⁴

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Renard, 242-243.

⁴¹ Renard, 243.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

Suhrawardi ended this treatise by discussing soundness of eye, saying that all other types of soundness derive from the eye.⁴⁵ The eye brought security to a knight if it was sound, but if a knight failed to observe *futuwwa* then anxiety and fear would have followed. Essentially, if a knight rejected the world and focused on his duties of staying educated, if he remained devoted to *Allah* and ensured the maintenance of the *futuwwat-khana*, then he would feel safe.⁴⁶ Again, Suhrawardi believed that the core meaning of *futuwwa* was to separate yourself from distractions, to be relaxed, reasonable, and content. The essence of all Suhrawardi's writings on the disciplines of *futuwwa* focused on rejecting temptations and achieving an idea of an inner peace.

These ideas appeared in other sources on *futuwwa*. In al-Salumi's earlier tenth-century text, he described an ideal knight as gentle and chaste.⁴⁷ For Suhrawardi, gentleness meant acting without rash impulses, and always in service to another. Chastity corresponded to the rejection of desires. Why did Suhrawardi feel the need to write in such detail about keeping control of oneself? While the context of her explanation post-dates Suhrawardi's writings, Goshgarian offers a compelling explanation. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, identity and loyalty to were very important to a person living in an urban environment in Anatolia, and yet it might have been confusing which would have caused violence if a person was not cautious, due to the several different groups and faiths (both in and outside of the Islamic faith) living together in these cities.⁴⁸ Goshgarian claims that *futuwwa* fraternities were designed to guide their members to handle the many problems posed by living in a city.⁴⁹ Suhrawardi's writings support this idea, as they primarily focused on debating with scholars and keeping a calm head, and not resorting to passions and violence. Admittedly, *futuwwa* did not arise to help people coping with city life, as its origins date far earlier, and yet, *futuwwa* undeniably came to offer a way for people to cope with life in cities.

Since *futuwwa* began a spiritual movement, religious symbols, observances, and rituals played an important role in its practice. Historians who had Caliph al-Nasir as their patron paid particular attention to three specific aspects of *futuwwa*: the cup of the *futuwwa*, sports, and the pants of the *fityan*.⁵⁰ The trousers designated rank within a *futuwwat-khana* or as a way to distinguish

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Arjana, Fox, and Ali, 124.

⁴⁸ Goshgarian, 3.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Baldick, 2.

its members from other religious organizations,⁵¹ but no sources describing the people or events of the Crusades provided a description of pants.⁵² While the trousers served only as a way to identify adherents of *futuwwa*, the other two elements seem more significant, because they appeared in Islamic narratives about the Crusades. What rendered these different was their meaning, one as a symbol (the cup) and the other as an action performed by honorable men (hunting/sports). The cup symbolized submission to a leader or master.⁵³

Baldrick writes that one who was knowledgeable should have drunk from the cup; it represented sovereignty (submission to a ruler or receiving someone as your vassal depending on who was drinking), mystical experience, knowledge, and Sufism.⁵⁴ This ritual stressed the same reverence to knowledge that Suhrawardi showed in his treatises. Knowledge and intelligence hold such a significant meaning in *futuwwa* that it influences the rituals. A person familiar with Islam would have observed similar practices in other Islamic traditions. However, the act of drinking from a cup specifically referenced *futuwwa* practices when the person drinking was an educated individual. In his reforms, al-Nasir changed the ritual; he required one to drink in reverence to him or to the sultan in charge of the pan-Islamic *futuwwa* movement.⁵⁵ Another example of *futuwwa* practices found in historical accounts included a variety of sporting activities, such as sending messenger pigeons or shooting at birds.⁵⁶ Notably, these sports had military applications.⁵⁷ These practices kept the knight fit and trained his accuracy skills. As was similar in the case of the cup, the mention of hunting activities alone did not indicate *futuwwa* influenced the text; rather, the ways in which authors described hunting or the character of the person involved in hunting demonstrated *futuwwa*.

Some Islamic historians of the Crusades incorporated the aforementioned motifs in meaningful ways to insert *futuwwa* values into their accounts. A dominant topic within multiple Crusade narratives was the Battle of Hattin in 1187, among the most important battles of the period. In 1187, the Crusader States were locked in battle against the Ayyubid forces led by Saladin. Saladin won a crushing victory at Hattin and captured many Crusader leaders, destroyed most of their army, and enslaved many Christians. This defeat led to

⁵¹ Baldick, 3-7.

⁵² Baldick, , 3-7.

⁵³ Baldick, 3.

⁵⁴ Baldick, 6.

⁵⁵ Baldick, 3.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Baldick, 6.

the call for the Third Crusade.⁵⁸ This battle represented a significant encounter between the West and East; there were traitors on both sides, and it involved an Islamic commander heavily respected even in medieval Europe. Accounts about this specific battle offer an ideal case study to analyze different character traits of individuals, which reveal the values of the account's author. For example, the Muslim chronicler 'Izz ad-Din Ibn al-Athir ascribed *futuwwa* values to individuals in his recounting of the Battle of Hattin. His most well-known work remains *Kamil at-Tawarikh* (The Collection of Histories), which chronicled Muslim history from before Muhammad until 1231.⁵⁹ Al-Athir was a contemporary of Suhrawardi, and his writings seem to have been influenced by the growing *futuwwa* movement happening at the same time. Al-Athir was an eyewitness to Saladin's career and the Third Crusade.⁶⁰ His history also remained intact and unfiltered through second-hand accounts.⁶¹ Ibn al-Athir began by discussing the events preceding Hattin, specifically the betrayals of Count Raymond and Prince Arnat of Al-Karak. He portrayed Count Raymond as ambitious, temperamental, and greedy. Raymond pledged his support for Saladin, which al-Athir stated caused disunity that led to the defeat of the Crusaders.⁶² Based on al-Athir's description, Count Raymond possessed two particular character traits that Suhrawardi detested: greed and desire.⁶³ Significantly, al-Athir located these very traits as a source of weakness in the Crusader army that made their defeat inevitable. In part, he placed the blame for the disastrous result of the battle on Count Raymond.

Echoes of Raymond's story entered into al-Athir's description of the Prince of Al-Karak. Al-Athir's first sentence in the account of the prince described him as arrogant, violent, and the "most dangerous enemy of Islam."⁶⁴ Al-Athir considered Arnat as lacking the best moral values, values specifically referenced as traits to avoid in Suhrawardi's treatises.⁶⁵ Prince Arnat earned his status by attacking a caravan after he swore a truce to Saladin and refused to give up the prisoners.⁶⁶ Arnat betrayed an oath to Saladin and robbed and murdered an innocent caravan. The denunciation of Prince Arnat by al-Athir stemmed from his selfish and violent characteristics, all of which opposed the

⁵⁸ Dan Jones, *The Templars: The Rise and Spectacular Fall of God's Holy Warriors* (New York, NY: Viking, 2017), 160-164.

⁵⁹ Gabrieli, xxvii

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Gabrieli, 114-115.

⁶³ Renard, 242-243.

⁶⁴ Gabrieli, 116.

⁶⁵ Renard, 242-243.

⁶⁶ Gabrieli, 116.

core principles of *futuwwa*. Interestingly, in this account al-Athir wrote that Saladin vowed to enact vengeance on Prince Arnat once he was captured.⁶⁷ Suhrawardi's description of the soundness of foot condemned vengeance,⁶⁸ and in his treatise about how Ali would forgive sinners and thieves, Suhrawardi rendered forgiveness central to *futuwwa*.⁶⁹ In al-Athir's account of the battle of Hattin, Saladin avoided the same criticisms that the other two figures received, which suggests that the author did not broadly apply the ethics of *futuwwa* to all persons in his account. While this evidence implies that *futuwwa* might not influenced al-Athir to the degree that this paper argues, as Gabrieli agrees, al-Athir was not a consistent supporter of Saladin.⁷⁰ Al-Athir never praised Saladin's decision to kill Prince Arnat, even though he did not overtly criticize Saladin for his path of vengeance in this account. This account expressed al-Athir's opinion on the vow Saladin made, and al-Athir did not favor retribution.

The greatest evidence of *futuwwa* values appeared in al-Athir's description of the aftermath of the battle. Saladin brought the captured King Guy of Jerusalem and Prince Arnat to his tent, where he offered King Guy a cup of water to drink. Guy then gave the Cup to Arnat, at which point Saladin informed Guy that he did not offer the water to Arnat. Saladin then killed Prince Arnat. In this scene, the authors explored both support for, and subversion of, *futuwwa* practices. According to *futuwwa* values, the cup represented submission to a knowledgeable individual, in this case Saladin. As a Sultan and a general, he qualified as an educated individual to al-Athir. Drinking of the cup signaled subordination to a knowledgeable master.⁷¹ Since Saladin had just defeated King Guy in battle and made him his prisoner, Saladin became King Guy's master. In addition, the scene in the tent spoke to the *futuwwa* idea of hospitality.⁷² Saladin provided food and water to the defeated, half-dead dehydrated king, thereby showing mercy and hospitality as a master of *futuwwa* would have done. However, Saladin did not offer the same mercy to Prince Arnat; he killed him in an act of vengeance violating the beliefs of *futuwwa*, which suggests al-Athir deliberately portrayed Saladin subverting the principles of *futuwwa*. Arguably this passage served not to display the character of Saladin, but to compare King Guy and Prince Arnat as an honorable man and dishonorable man respectively. In Islam, drinking from the cup traditionally represented submission to God.⁷³

⁶⁷ Gabrieli, 116.

⁶⁸ Renard, 243.

⁶⁹ Renard, 238-239.

⁷⁰ Gabrieli, xxvi.

⁷¹ Baldick, 6.

⁷² Renard, 236-237;

⁷³ Baldick, 3.

King Guy could have drunk from it, because he retained traits of an honorable man⁷⁴ such as courage.⁷⁵ Conversely, Prince Arnat became the enemy of Islam due to his treachery and immorality.⁷⁶ This account acted like a parable, showing the rewards associated with following the codes of *futuwwa* and the consequences of defying them. In short, Ibn al-Athir's understanding of good versus bad characteristics was influenced by the ideals of *futuwwa*.

Another text that drew on elements of *futuwwa* was an account of the Siege of Damascus during the Second Crusade, written by Ibn al-Qalanisi. Although this account displayed the extreme bias al-Qalanisi had against Christians and for Muslims, it also helps modern historians uncover the values held by Ibn al-Qalanisi. Like Ibn al-Athir, Ibn al-Qalanisi wrote about the First and Second Crusade based on firsthand experience as the earliest Arab chronicler of the Crusades.⁷⁷ His account began with a description of the Franks, stating that they had "evil hearts" and that they brought "war, plague, and famine," establishing a clear dislike of the Crusaders.⁷⁸ These comments referred not to undesirable traits from *futuwwa*, but rather displayed the unfavorable perception al-Qalanisi had for the Christians. However, subsequent passages recalled behaviors understood as undesirable specifically in *futuwwa*. In one instance, al-Qalanisi assigned disagreeable traits to the Crusaders during their retreat from Damascus, stating that the withdrawal involved confusion and an army in disarray.⁷⁹ The act of retreating in disorder contradicted *futuwwa* as described in the writings of Suhrawardi, which taught that a person should have remained calm and collected and avoided panicking.⁸⁰ Al-Qalanisi's descriptions of the Crusaders displayed how crude and uncultured they were, traits that *futuwwa* texts repeatedly admonished. Al-Qalanisi characterized the Muslims as completely the opposite. He described the Imam Yusuf al-Findalawi as a scholar, courageous, and obedient to God. Another Muslim, Abd ar-Rahman al-Halhuli embodied similar characteristics.⁸¹ As argued above, being educated, and submission to *Allah* were all among the more important elements of *futuwwa*,⁸² and al-Qalanisi focused on these same traits of *futuwwa* to communicate the differences between Muslims and Christians in his text; that is, the traits he attributed to the Crusaders derived from negative characteristics

⁷⁴ Gabrieli, 123.

⁷⁵ Arjana, Fox, and Ali, 124.

⁷⁶ Gabrieli, 116.

⁷⁷ Gabrieli, xxvi.

⁷⁸ Gabrieli, 56.

⁷⁹ Gabrieli, 59.

⁸⁰ Renard, 243.

⁸¹ Gabrieli, 57.

⁸² Renard, 240-242.

defined by *futuwwa*, while he bestowed the honorable *futuwwa* traits to the Muslim figures.

Arabic historians of the Crusades did not focus solely on significant events or battles. Often, they chronicled personal interactions in their daily lives or created something akin to a biography about a notable person. Descriptions of people, both Muslim and Christian, provide ample evidence of *futuwwa* in these texts, ranging from reverence to disgust depending on the traits that the authors wished to admire or reject.

Among the most extensively discussed figures in Islamic historical accounts was Saladin. A relatively comprehensive source (but not unbiased) on Saladin by his biographer, Baha ad-Din survives.⁸³ Ad-Din began working with Saladin in 1188 and produced the most complete picture we have on how Saladin wanted Muslims to view him at the time, given the author's extreme devotion to Saladin.⁸⁴ Ad-Din first addressed Saladin's faith. He frequently wrote that Saladin was a man of "firm" faith, who often studied with the imams. Even as a child he begged for the Quran to be recited to him daily.⁸⁵ This passage highlighted Saladin's extreme devotion to Islam, which is a tenet of *futuwwa*.⁸⁶ But, more importantly, it also described his meetings with scholars and his desire for education. Ad-Din entered Saladin's service at the same time Suhrawardi was writing as an educated scholar in the courts of Middle East, and ad-Din was likely familiar with the ideas of *futuwwa*. Suhrawardi was the first *futuwwa* writer to emphasize the importance of knowledge, mastering different fields, and discussing with scholars.⁸⁷

Ad-Din wrote that Saladin died without much to provide for the legal alms-giving that occurred after death because he had already given away most of his wealth by the time he died.⁸⁸ Ad-Adin sought to portray Saladin as an incredibly charitable man, charity being an essential virtue in *futuwwa*.⁸⁹ Charity has always been an important component of Islam in general. Therefore, its presence alone as a character trait serves not as proof of *futuwwa*, but the larger image of Saladin and his traits in the text compound into a man of *futuwwa*. Indeed, ad-Din granted extreme versions of the characteristics of *futuwwa* to Saladin, and consequently afforded him great respect. Ad-Din held additional values associated *futuwwa* that he assigned to Saladin. In particular, Ad-Din

⁸³ Gabrieli, 87.

⁸⁴ Gabrieli, xxix.

⁸⁵ Gabrieli, 87-90.

⁸⁶ Renard, 237, 243.

⁸⁷ Renard, 240-241.

⁸⁸ Gabrieli, 88.

⁸⁹ Renard, 234. Arjana, Fox, and Ali, 124.

complimented Saladin's endurance. According to Suhrawardi's texts, the soundness of hand involved enduring any struggle that might have come to pass with patience and devotion.⁹⁰ Ibn ad-Din recalled in his account a night when Saladin was troubled about a situation looming before battle, and Saladin stayed up all night without rest to organize and plan. Ad-Din wrote that he also worked through the night, just as Saladin had done, and that he gave Saladin the idea to pray to *Allah* asking for victory, which led them to win the day.⁹¹ In this passage, ad-Din managed to characterize Saladin and himself as proponents of *futuwwa* who held the soundness of hand (patience, submission to God, and endurance), which appeared in Suhrawardi's treatises on *futuwwa*.

While these examples offer plenty of evidence to prove that Ibn ad-Din was influenced by *futuwwa*, other descriptions of Saladin diverged from ad-Din's narrative, and contradictions existed in ad-Din's own narrative. Both admirers and critics described actions in ways that showed he was not always merciful. Ibn ad-Din emphasized Saladin's mercy, and wrote that his rulings were always just and fair.⁹² But in the same passage he stated that anyone who turned against Saladin would have been "abandoned by *Allah*."⁹³ As discussed above, in the text Saladin killed Prince Arnat for breaking a truce.⁹⁴ Ad-Din wrote that Saladin chose not to forgive enemies who had slighted him in major ways. Regardless of ad-Din's justifications for his actions, since a central element of *futuwwa* was the forgiveness of your enemies, these passages cast doubt about the author's beliefs towards *futuwwa*.⁹⁵ The fact that ad-Din considered these acts just punishments suggests that the influence of *futuwwa* was minimal. However, the text exhibits a multitude of different *futuwwa* ideals, not solely forgiveness. Furthermore, the idea of mercy on this scale came from the teachings of Ali, who later inspired the ideas of *futuwwa*. In the seventh century, when Ali garnered support to govern the Islamic community, his followers became known as Shia Muslims. Saladin and Ibn ad-Din were Sunni Muslims, and perhaps they rejected this Shia idea. Ibn ad-Din joined Saladin's court at the same time Caliph al-Nasir created his pan-Islamic *futuwwa* reforms. It is unrealistic to expect that all *futuwwa*'s ideals would be adopted uniformly across diverse political and religious affiliations at the very beginning.

Traces of *futuwwa* emerged not only in the deeds of significant figures, but also in accounts of unnamed people. One such account by Usama ibn

⁹⁰ Renard, 242-243.

⁹¹ Gabrieli, 91-92.

⁹² Gabrieli, 93-96.

⁹³ Gabrieli, 93.

⁹⁴ Gabrieli, 124.

⁹⁵ Renard, 237-241.

Munqidh, an Amir who liked to travel, hunt, and write, showed that the author spent considerable time interacting with the “Franks.”⁹⁶ This essay already briefly touched upon the encounter Usama had with a Frank, a meeting that displayed tenets reminiscent of *futuwwa*. Usama’s accounts were not historical chronicles, but more akin to a memoir (an account about himself and what he had experienced). In one such experience he recorded, he encountered someone he called an “Orientalized Frank.” What Usama meant by “Orientalized Frank” was someone who moved into the Middle East, lived among and like Muslims, and, as Usama described, behaved better than the visiting Christians.⁹⁷ This bias against Christians was complex, because the ones who observed Muslim practices were regarded as examples of a good moral character. The “Orientalized Frank” showed many characteristics of *futuwwa*. First, he invited Usama into his home and insisted that he partake of his food and drink.⁹⁸ The familiar *futuwwa* theme of hospitality governed this passage, as the Frank, the master of his house, provided Usama, a traveler, with food. In particular, providing food to travelers was an important rule for a *futuwwat-khana*, as was the obligation for travelers to receive a gift from the master, just as Usama ate what the “Orientalized Frank” offered.⁹⁹ Usama modeled the institution of a *futuwwat-khana* perfectly in this account. Usama had a purpose for writing this account, and a purpose for the characterization of this unnamed Christian; namely, he sought to illustrate that everyone was capable of exhibiting *futuwwa* traits, even the Christians. Usama intentionally described the Frank as though he were a master of a *futuwwat-khana*. In so doing, Usama established himself as an author upholding *futuwwa* ideals.

Before concluding, this essay will return to the religious symbolism and imagery central to the ritual practices of *futuwwa* to argue that their presence in these texts confirms the influence of *futuwwa* on their authors. The symbol of the cup had special meaning in Ibn al-Athir’s account of the Battle of Hattin. The relevance of the cup to *futuwwa* and to al-Athir’s text, as explained above, appeared even more remarkable within the context of the rest of the text. If not to reference *futuwwa*, why did al-Athir dwell on its description? Ibn al-Athir generally wrote with clarity and without much flair compared to other Islamic authors.¹⁰⁰ The detail in which he described the offering and drinking of the cup was very uncharacteristic of his writing. Ibn al-Athir must have had a

⁹⁶ Gabrieli, xxviii.

⁹⁷ Gabrieli, 78.

⁹⁸ Gabrieli, 79.

⁹⁹ Renard, 236.

¹⁰⁰ Gabrieli, 114.

specific purpose in mind: to relate the story to *futuwwa*. Al-Athir had already attached *futuwwa* values to King Guy and criticisms to Prince Arnat. The additional discussion of the cup in the account allowed the author to further reference these ideas.

In another account written by Usama, the author incorporated a hunting scene in a strategic way. He described a falcon used for hunting that was owned by a Genoese man. Usama was traveling with an Amir who wanted the falcon. The Amir asked the King to give him the falcon, and the king took it from the Genoese man and gave it to the Amir.¹⁰¹ This passage assumes a deeper meaning from the perspective of *futuwwa*. Usama wrote that the falcon, before the king gave it to the Amir, was hunting a crane for its master, and when it caught the crane it did not kill it but held it down.¹⁰² Then, the Amir asked for it out of desire, an act *futuwwa* denounced.¹⁰³ After the Amir received the falcon, Usama wrote that it savagely attacked a gazelle as they travelled back to Damascus, and then died before they had a chance to use it during a hunt.¹⁰⁴ Before the bird was taken by greed, it symbolized *futuwwa*, listening to its master and never mortally harming a creature. After the Amir took it, it became overtaken by desire as well. It began to attack things driven by its own desire. Before they could take the falcon on hunt, the bird died, communicating that any of the *futuwwa* principles that usually accompany hunting had lost their meaning because of the Amir's greed.

Islamic historians of the Crusades incorporated their own ethics and beliefs into their accounts, and in many cases, authors purposefully aligned these principles with both the practices and symbolism of *futuwwa*. Although it may appear logical to liken *futuwwa* to another contemporary code of ethical behavior, this essay deliberately avoids any mention of the term chivalry. Some modern scholarship draws connections between the two; both served as medieval codes of honor reserved for men, and both had elements of religion, bravery, charity, and chastity.¹⁰⁵ But ultimately, *futuwwa* was not chivalry. Similarities existed between the two, but likening chivalry to *futuwwa* would be to compare an apple to an apple pie. *Futuwwa* was an institution, with masters who ran fraternities. Chivalry never reached the scale and complexity of *futuwwa* and juxtaposing the two applies a Eurocentric lens to something that was not born in a European context. This is not to say that one concept was not

¹⁰¹ Gabrieli, 83.

¹⁰² Gabrieli, 83.

¹⁰³ Renard, 241.

¹⁰⁴ Gabrieli, 83.

¹⁰⁵ Arjana, Fox, and Ali, 124.

more noble or better than the other, only that they were not the same. Moreover, *futuwwa* should be understood independent of chivalry, and it remains drastically understudied. Comparing *futuwwa* with chivalry would warp any potentially rigorous study of this unique institution.

One question, remains, however: Why does the study of *futuwwa* matter? To gain a full understanding of text requires a historian to take into account all aspects of its context, and especially the values of the people who produced texts. Understanding these values allows historians to identify the purpose behind an author's texts. It helps to decode the bias implicit in an account and to identify the reasons for embellishments or critiques of individuals and events. Without attaching the values of *futuwwa* to Usama's text, any interpretation of the story of the falcon would be flawed. Understanding how and why an Arab historian described Saladin would prove challenging without knowing the values held by the chronicler, and yet few historians address the philosophical motives of Islamic authors who wrote about Saladin. This paper is the first of its kind on this topic. In the existing scholarship on the concept of *futuwwa* to date, no one has attempted to find its ideology within the works of medieval Muslim scholars. This essay does not claim that these authors followed the ideals of *futuwwa* religiously; in fact, the evidence shows that despite codes forbidding violence, in joining a *futuwwa* fraternity a certain degree of violence was expected.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps *futuwwa* was not practiced on the ground as it existed in the minds of scholars. The hope of this essay is to inspire more scholarship on *futuwwa* and the ethics of Islamic chroniclers.

¹⁰⁶ Goshgarian, 4.

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Unfinished Business: Māori and Native American Battle for Representation

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The United States of America and New Zealand have many aspects of their history and culture in common. The two nations are linked by their common British ancestry, origins as colonies, status as egalitarian liberal democracies, people with frontier mindsets, and analogous interactions with natives. However, looking deeper at the two nations, there begins to be a clear divergence on how the two nations see their indigenous peoples. The Māori, the indigenous Polynesian peoples of New Zealand and the various Native American tribes were both placed in similar, *yet distinct*, positions regarding the oncoming of white pioneer societies. This paper will focus on how native peoples in New Zealand and the United States found their place in their respective settler democracies through representation. How did they balance their independent identity but also integrate with the larger political system? In the case of New Zealand, participation in the white political sphere was quick, but complete integration took over one hundred years. For the United States on the other hand, due to demographics and racism, native tribes were largely kept out of national electoral politics. Instead they pursued representation in local and tribal governments.

There have been few histories written that compare the histories of the Native Americans and the New Zealand Māori, let alone their political representation. This might be because of the geographical distance between the two nations, as well as the peculiarity of the subject matter. Nonetheless, this is important to show how differing colonial governments deal with their native populations, and more importantly, how the natives cope with their colonial governments. Lessons from comparative histories can always be applied to the world today in the form of changed policy.

Background

Before we can discuss how both groups of indigenous peoples tried to make themselves heard to their respective countries' governments, we must place each in their own historical context. The Māori people of New Zealand arrived in the islands sometime during the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, which means they only occupied the islands for three to four hundred years before the arrival of Europeans with Dutchman Abel Tasman's visit in 1642.¹ This brief time period allowed for the relative unity in Māori culture, language, and politics that survives into today. New Zealand, being one of the last lands to be settled by humans is only about 100,000 square miles in area, or in other words, about 2.7 percent of the United States's 3.7 million square miles. The Māori people are Polynesian in descent, as they share common heritage, mythology, and language with many other Pacific Islanders such as native Hawai'ians and Samoans. During the time before European contact, the Māori consolidated into several tribes, or *iwi*, with powerful chieftains at the head of each one. They were a horticultural culture, as tribes tended to stay in semi-permanent settlements where they farmed sweet potatoes and gathered resources at different seasons of the year.² A couple centuries after their arrival, warfare between tribes over decreasing resources increased to a point where some tribal settlements became fortified. In response to growing environmental strains, Māori began forming spiritual concepts of *Tapu* and *Rāhui* to encourage conservation of resources by making it a supernatural threat to take resources from certain areas off-season.³

The first long-lasting European settlements in New Zealand came long after the 1642 encounter with Abel Tasman. The early 1800s saw hundreds of white people—Pākehā as Māori called them—arrive to the shores of New Zealand, mostly in the far north or the far south. These settlers mostly arrived from the British Isles, but New Zealand was poorly governed from the distant Australian colonies.⁴ The introduction of European muskets as trading items killed nearly one fifth of the entire Māori population as rival tribes fought for power and mana. Unlike the Native Americans in the United States, Māori vastly outnumbered the colonists forty-five to one by the time the Treaty of

¹ Harrison M. Wright, *New Zealand 1769-1840, Early Years of Western Contact* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 3.

² Interestingly enough, the sweet potato originated from South America, and pre-contact Māori have been farming it for centuries, making it one of the weirdest conundrums in the field of archeology.

³ Basil Keane, "Traditional Māori Religion – Ngā Karakia a Te Māori," *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, May 5, 2011.

⁴ Dora Alves, *The Māori and the Crown: An Indigenous People's Struggle for Self-determination* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 17.

Waitangi was signed in 1840.⁵ The first interactions between races remained cordial as trade supported the tribes and Māori quickly accepted Western ideas like Christianity and writing. Building up to the Treaty, New Zealand was colonized without much oversight from the British Crown. Many tribal leaders began to wonder what their peoples' place would be in this new bicultural society, and decided to fight against the lawlessness of some colonists. In the 1830s, the tribes in the north attempted to unite and declared an independent state. It was recognized by King William IV and was the direct predecessor to the Treaty of Waitangi.⁶

Comparing this situation to the Native Americans, the colonization of New Zealand was done with more respect to the natives. The Native Americans arrived in the Americas several millennia ago. Over the hundreds of thousands of years, hundreds of distinct cultures and languages arose all across what would become the United States of America. However, from a European perspective, all of these distinct tribes melded into the factually incorrect idea of the one "Indian" archetype. The natives in the New World did not have extended contact with Europeans until Christopher Columbus's fateful journey in 1492. To try to simplify all Native American cultures down into one paragraph is in itself an undertaking, as native peoples varied greatly throughout North America. A majority of tribal peoples relied on a combination hunter-gatherer tactics and agriculture to supply their diets. A major commonality between the many Native American groups and Māori is the reverence for land, most importantly their ancestral land; for example, the Lakota's claims that the Black Hills are the start of the universe, and the Māori Ngāi Tahu *iwi* declares Mount Cook/Aoraki to be their literal ancestor.⁷

The first interactions that the Native Americans had with the newly established American government was during the American War for Independence. However, relations with Europeans have been occurring since early contact. As such, the American system of interactions with the tribal peoples was heavily based on the British system of Indian agents. It was through this that the British assumed sovereignty of the various native tribes, treating them on a government-to-government basis.⁸ North America is so much larger than New Zealand, and there are hundreds of distinct Indian tribes, so the newly formed United States government was forced to interact with them all through

⁵ Ian Hugh. Kawharu, ed., *Waitangi: Māori and Pākehā Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1989), x.

⁶ Alves, *The Māori and the Crown*, 18.

⁷ Joy Porter, *Land and Spirit in Native America* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2012), 31.

⁸ Se-ah-dom Edmo, Alan Parker, Jessie Young, and Robert J. Miller, *American Indian Identity: Citizenship, Membership, and Blood* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2016), 16.

the treaty process. In reality, the United States government held a vast numerical advantage over these tribes, and often played dirty politics to pit them off of each other. Commonplace ideologies during this era of interactions accused Native Americans of not being worthy of holding the lands as they did not improve it in the Euro-American way.⁹ Therefore, many treaties forced these tribes from their ancestral lands just to get them away from the white settlers. This process is repeated until most of the tribes have been relegated to desolate land on the geographical fringes of the country.

Treaties

The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi is considered the bedrock for the formation of the entire New Zealand government and politics as it is known today. The British drafted two copies of the treaty, one in English and one in Māori. Oddly enough, the treaty was drafted by British Resident Official James Busby, who incidentally had no legal experience.¹⁰ The English version of the treaty stipulated that when Māori became full British Subjects, all sovereignty would be ceded to the Crown, and only the Crown could purchase land from Māori.¹¹ However, the Māori version used a word for “governance” and not the transfer of sovereignty, creating heated debates that last to this day. In response to this, and to improve their standing in society, as well as deal with the British Crown on equal footing, the Māori King Movement began.¹² This was a push to establish a Māori executive office similar to the British monarchy that would defend Māori rights in New Zealand. However, it was seen as a threat to the newly established British sovereignty and was quickly crushed.¹³ To ratify the treaty, the British sailed ships up and down the New Zealand coast to get local chiefs to sign off on the document. In many cases, the British sought out Māori who were not the paramount chiefs because they would actually agree to sign the treaty.¹⁴ In many ways, this treaty was similar to the many American treaties that were either mistranslated or not translated at all for natives before they signed.

The United States government signed numerous treaties with Native American tribes, as the constitution recognized their sovereignty. However, the American government proceeded to violate every single one of these treaties in

⁹ Thrumman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy* (Norman, OK: Macmillan Company, 1970), 210.

¹⁰ Alves, *The Māori and the Crown*, 20.

¹¹ “Treaty of Waitangi,” Nzhistory.govt.nz, February 1, 2017.

¹² Alves, *The Māori and the Crown*, 24.

¹³ The Māori King Movement lives on to today, although the king has no authority over any jurisdiction.

¹⁴ Alves, *The Māori and the Crown*, 21.

one way or another. These treaties were seen as a way for the government to remove the Indians from proximity of settlers. Interestingly enough, the Treaty of New Echota between the United States and the Cherokee nation contained this provision: “it is stipulated that [the Cherokee Nation] shall be entitled to a delegate in the House of Representatives of the United States whenever Congress shall make provision for the same.”¹⁵ The Choctaw through the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek also have a provision for a representative to Congress.¹⁶ Why then, have both tribes yet to send a single delegate to the House of Representatives? Barring the constitutional legality of a non-voting delegate to Congress (it is legal), the tribes have largely ignored these provisions on the principle that these treaties were inherently illegal in the first place. The Treaty of New Echota was not sanctioned by the official Cherokee government but rather by a band of private citizens.¹⁷

This experience of cheating, lying, and stealing from the natives shaped their collective history and attitudes of governance in the United States. The Treaty of Waitangi, on the other hand, was largely dealt with solemnly and if the government ever broke provisions of the treaty, actions were taken for reparations through official channels such as the Waitangi Tribunal.¹⁸ All of the treaties with indigenous peoples were written down for posterity, but it seems like the New Zealand government, through the Crown, largely followed the provisions they set out.

Representation

In New Zealand, the Pākehā, or white settlers, attempted to include the Māori in their government as the Treaty of Waitangi provided they were royal subjects under the law. Another important reason for wanting Māori inclusion was to reduce racial tensions that had flared up in violent land conflicts. However, when the time came to implement this policy, many white settlers were weary of providing Māori the right to vote. One member of Parliament, James Richmond declared: “[Māori] are destitute of political knowledge, who are mainly ignorant of the language in which our laws were written, and amongst whom respect for the law cannot as yet be enforced.”¹⁹ It took fifteen

¹⁵ John F. Schermerhorn, “Treaty of New Echota,” Cherokee Nation.

¹⁶ “Treaty with the Choctaws, 1830,” Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians.

¹⁷ Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy*, 255.

¹⁸ Kawharu, ed., *Waitangi: Māori and Pākehā Perspectives*, xi.

¹⁹ New Zealand. *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 7 August 1862, (James Richmond), 507. It should be noted that the earliest New Zealand Parliamentary debates were recorded by newspapermen and official interpretations varied by the political leanings of the reporter. It is not known whether this specific quote has been recorded verbatim.

years after the establishment of Parliament for the Māori Representation Act to pass in 1867. Originally, the problem many Māori had when registering to vote was the property requirement—even when the Māori held vast tracks of land, they held it in common so individual people could not register to vote. In response to this disenfranchisement, many Māori chiefs addressed their grievances to the government and even directly to the queen.²⁰

Debating in Parliament to include Māori in the electoral process while also figuring out how to preserve the white seats that might come under control of the Māori majority, the chamber recommended four seats to be reserved for Māori. These seats would be elected from all male Māori above the age of twenty-one with no property requirements (white men still had this requirement for another twelve years).²¹ Some Māori were happy with this, as this was a foot in the door of the highest body of government in the colony. Others declared it was not enough, because if allocated proportionally, Māori should be given at least sixteen seats. Giving Māori just four seats would contain their voice in a parliament dominated by white MPs. In the beginning, these seats were meant to be temporary until the Māori could adopt western lifestyles and vote in general electorate seats. However, their popularity led to their continual usage to this day.

This institutional inclusion does not absolve the New Zealand government from injustices to the Māori, as electoral reforms to white electorates would take years to apply to the Māori seats. For example, Māori could not vote on a secret ballot until 1937, where Europeans were guaranteed it beginning in 1870.²² These seats were the only option for Māori until the late twentieth century; they also were often ignored by their white MPs. 1967 was the first year Māori could stand for office in general elections, and it was not until 1975 when Māori could choose if they could vote in the general electorate.²³ This enforced separation, while introducing Māori to parliamentary politics, heavily limited their voice and choices for all other seats.

In contrast, the native peoples of the United States were almost completely marginalized by the federal government, with full citizenship for all Indians not being guaranteed until 1924.²⁴ New Zealand Māori had the

²⁰ Alves, *The Māori and the Crown*, 34.

²¹ By 1893, New Zealand was the first nation in the world to allow full suffrage to all citizens, both men and women of European and Māori descent.

²² New Zealand Parliament, "The Origins of the Māori Seats," *New Zealand Parliamentary Library Research Paper*, November 2003, 12.

²³ New Zealand Parliament, "The Origins of the Māori Seats," 12.

²⁴ An Act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue certificates of citizenship to Indians. 8 U.S.C. ch. 12, subch. III § 1401b. (1924).

advantage of the same language and culture, which helped them band together to join the white political discourse. Compounding the diversity hurdle to unity, Native Americans also lacked the numbers the Māori had to leverage their political power on a national scale. Due to these factors, alongside the distrust of the federal government and disenfranchisement, Native Americans tried to forge their own path. The idea of tribal sovereignty and indigenous self-determination has been firmly engrained in the minds of many Native Americans throughout American history. Perhaps the biggest difference between the Māori and the Native Americans was their status from the beginning of contact; one people being integrated as subjects at the very start of the nation, and the other being declared as sovereign entities. However, what tribal sovereignty means has been bitterly fought over by the various tribes and the government.

Possibly the most “westernized” way several Native American tribes tried to assert their power institutionally on the federal level was the 1906 movement of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes to enter the Union as the State of Sequoyah.²⁵ Looking to the state as a replacement of their tribal governments, Sequoyah’s entrance to the Union would have promised some form of Indian representation on the federal level. However, the movement failed when President Theodore Roosevelt insisted Sequoyah enter the Union as a part of the larger state of Oklahoma. In the end, New Zealand created a system where the native voice was institutionalized in their highest body of government, and the United States stymied all efforts for Native Americans to do the same.

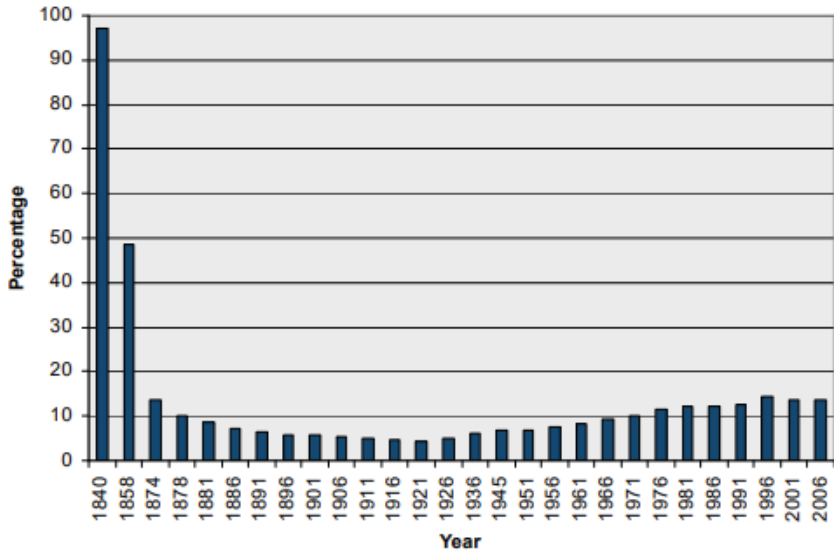
Under this official system of representation, for most of New Zealand’s history, the Māori were only allowed to vote in their specific Māori electorates, which were overlaid on top of the existing white electorates. This separate nature of the Māori electorates meant that white MPs did not have to cater to Māori needs, even if a white district actually contained far more Māori. When the Māori seats were first established, the Europeans numbering about 250,000 had 72 seats which was about one for every 3,500 people. The Māori population of 50,000 had four seats, or one for every 12,500 people.²⁶ However, throughout the years due to the constant loud voices of the four Māori MPs, native policy was not too abysmal. For example, commissions in the 1920s were created to compensate Māori for faulty land sales almost a century earlier.²⁷

²⁵ Stacy L. Leeds, “Defeat or Mixed Blessing - Tribal Sovereignty and the State of Sequoyah,” *Tulsa Law Review* 43, no. 1 (Fall 2007): 5.

²⁶ Rawiri Taonui, “Ngā Māngai – Māori Representation - Effect of Māori Seats,” *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

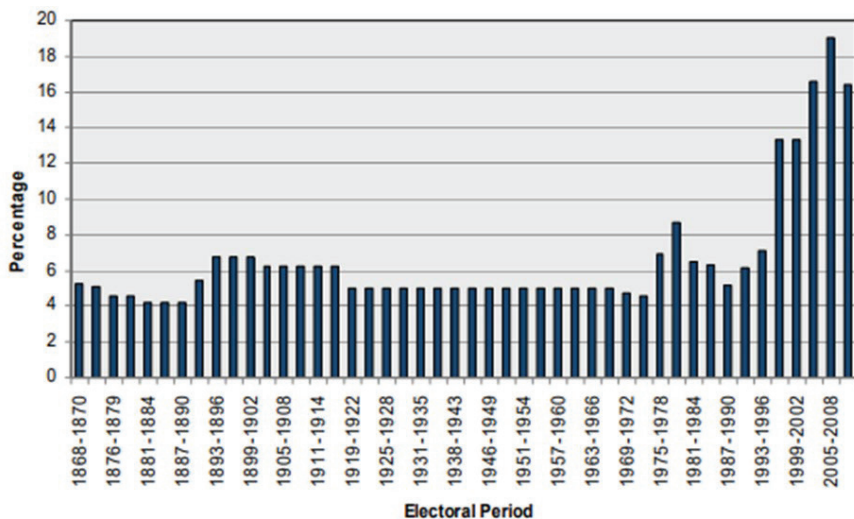
²⁷ Mark Derby, “Ngā Take Māori – Government Policy and Māori,” *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, June 20, 2012.

Figure 1 Māori Population as a Percentage of Total New Zealand Population, 1840-2006²⁸



²⁸ W. L. McGuinness, *Effective Māori Representation in Parliament: Working towards a National Sustainable Development Strategy* (Wellington, N.Z.: Sustainable Future, 2010), 34.

Figure 2 Māori MPs as a Percentage of the Total Number of MPs in New Zealand Parliament 1868-2008²⁹



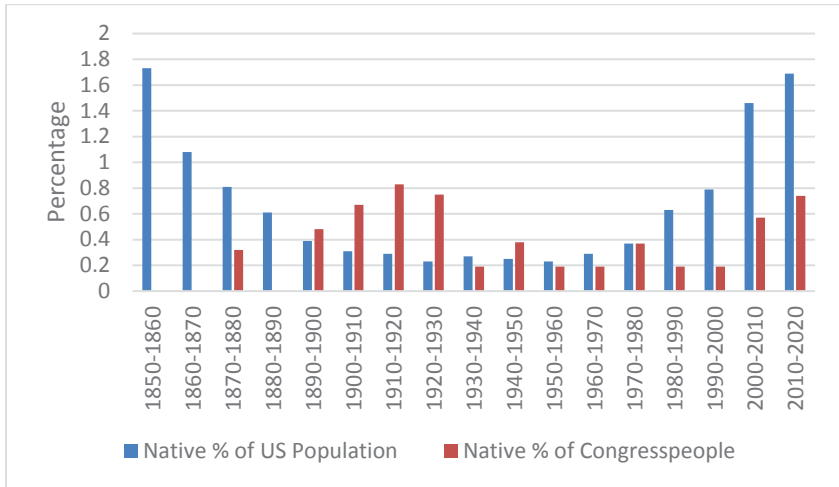
As it can be seen in figures 1 and 2, Māori percentages of the New Zealand population dropped off precipitously during the late nineteenth century while the established four Māori seats kept native representation in Parliament between four and seven percent until full-blooded Māori could stand for election in general electorates in 1967. From there, the percentage of Māori in Parliament rose to where it meets the percentage of Māori within the total population today. It took over one hundred years for these separate systems of elections to integrate, and the process resulted in proper representation of Māori. It is because of this, many New Zealanders are calling for the Māori reserved seats to be abolished, as they were only meant to be temporary to introduce Māori to the political system.

In the United States, the story was vastly different. It has been a very tedious challenge to track down every congressman, or recently, woman, who has confirmed Native American ancestry. Compared to the New Zealand Parliament, which kept detailed records of MPs by ancestry, the United States government did not. Interestingly though, there has *never* been a full-blooded Native American congressperson in either house of the legislature. At the most,

²⁹ McGuinness, *Effective Māori Representation*, 46.

there were congresspeople and senators who had one full-blooded native parent. In New Zealand, at least two of the four very first MPs to Parliament were full-blooded Māori chiefs.

Figure 3 Native Population as a Percentage of the Total Population Compared to Congressmen with Native Ancestry as a Percentage of all Members of Congress, 1850-2020³⁰



Does blood really matter for representation of an ethnic group? President Barack Obama is only half-African American, but he still is credited for being the first African American president. In the case of the Native Americans in Congress, it should be argued that these congressmen should have at least a *connection* back to their ancestral tribes, such as growing up on a reservation, or being taught native values. A vast deal of these congresspeople had little or no tangible connection to their tribes, and therefore they could not realistically be seen to effectively represent them in the halls of Congress. The outliers in these data are largely congressmen from Oklahoma, as a good portion of their representatives and senators have been enrolled in tribes. Therefore, even if the graph might show otherwise, Indian Americans have been

³⁰ See appendix. Note that these data are based on U.S. Census records, which was notoriously bad at recording Native populations through the 1960s. Often times Census numbers would be a whole hundred thousand fewer than Bureau of Indian Affairs' records. These data include all members of Congress with confirmed Native American heritage, as there has not yet been a full-blooded Native American elected to Congress.

consistently underrepresented. It does not help much that the native population is miniscule in comparison to the Māori percentages in New Zealand, in which they are a sizable minority who can pass legislation with proper pressure. Without guaranteed seats in Congress, native affairs are largely pushed aside to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Figure 4 American Indian Representation in State Legislatures in 1992³¹

	<i>Total Number of Legislators</i>	<i>Number of American Indian Legislators</i>	<i>Percentage of American Indian Legislators</i>
Alaska	58	11	19.0%
Arizona	91	5	5.5%
Montana	150	4	2.7%
New Mexico	112	6	5.4%
North Carolina	170	1	0.6%
North Dakota	147	1	0.7%
Oklahoma	149	5	3.4%
South Dakota	105	3	2.9%
Colorado	100	1	1.0%
All States	7424	41	0.6%

Due to the low and relatively spread-out populations, Native Americans rarely see national electoral politics as fruitful. Out of necessity Native Americans tend to localize their politics to the tribe and state governments. Due to the reservation system, many states have concentrated Native American populations, where several local government seats could reside entirely over reservations. Figure 4 shows just a one-year snapshot of Native Americans in the state legislatures from the eight states with the highest native populations. Naturally, these numbers have risen from nearly zero when many natives could not vote. Lastly, a peculiar example of representation of tribes on the state level is in a place where many might not have guessed. Built into the Maine system of government, the three Native American tribes: Penobscot Nation, the Passamaquoddy Tribe, and the Maliseets have been reserved three non-voting seats in the Maine House of Representatives.³² This tradition traces all the way back to the times when Maine was a part of Massachusetts. This is seen to be somewhat ceremonial as the tribal delegates cannot vote even when in committee. However, their voices are still often heard in the legislature because of their unique position. They even have sponsored and passed legislation

³¹ Geoff Peterson and Robert Duncan, "American Indian Representation in the 20th and 21st Centuries," (Austin and Winfield Publishers, 2001), 121.

³² Glenn Starbird, Jr. and Donald Soctomah, "Brief History of Indian Legislative Representatives," Maine State Legislature, 1999.

pertaining to tribal matters.³³ It can be gleaned from the numbers of state legislatures of American Indian descent that engaging in politics at the state level and below is much more fruitful for tribes.

Conclusion

New Zealand today is largely seen as a bicultural nation, with both white and Māori peoples learning and sharing their cultures. Through the institutional protections of citizenship by the widely respected Treaty of Waitangi, Māori have been able to not be marginalized to point of national irrelevance. Through the guaranteed Māori seats, it has become quite the opposite: the Māori are now a powerful political force in New Zealand politics. Through having a voice in government, many Māori issues have been solved, or at least put into the wider public consideration. However, Māori still are statistically poorer than white New Zealanders, as representation is not the magic bullet to all of society's woes.

Due to the nature of Native American's history with the federal government, it has become hard to even begin talking about Native representation at a federal level. Through abundant broken treaties, discriminatory legislation, and confinement to reservations, the tribes have been swept to the wayside of national politics. Therefore, Native American issues have often gone ignored by the federal government. These tribes have instead focused inwards on their own self-determination. Native Americans look to local and state politics to address their grievances and get involved. However, to truly remedy problems caused by history, Native Americans will have to try to elect more people with their backgrounds and values to Congress.

These two nations, a world away from each other, share so many similarities. Nonetheless, their native relations today could not be more different. Should the United States take notice from New Zealand and copy their system of guaranteed native seats? That question alone is tough to answer as there are over 570 federally recognized tribes and if each one received a delegate, Congress would summarily double in size. Reserving large seats for ancestry-based electorates like New Zealand has would create a political quagmire with other minority quotas. Feasibly the best option for the Native Americans is to continue to be involved at the local and state levels, but also put forth an effort to elect a couple native congressional candidates. Perhaps the Cherokee or the Choctaw nations could make good on a treaty promise and

³³ Matthew Dana, "An Act To Reduce the Annual License Fee for High-stakes Beano and To Allow the Passamaquoddy Tribe To Operate 50 Slot Machines in the Tribe's High-stakes Beano Facility," State of Maine Legislature, June 19, 2017.

actually send a delegate to Congress and have them represent all natives in spirit. The problem with the Native American population in this case is that it is so wonderfully diverse that one person could not effectively represent every single tribe. New Zealand's Māori had the luxury of being culturally and linguistically united, whereas the American Indians' diversity complicated things. There is not one true way to solve indigenous issues from nation to nation, but it makes for interesting comparative histories. These types of histories challenge us to think, what would have happened if we went down a different path? For both New Zealand and the United States, it is unfinished business.

UPDATE: after the initial completion of this paper, two native women, Deb Haaland of New Mexico, and Sharice Davids of Kansas, became the first Native American congresswomen with their elections in 2018. They commenced their terms in January 2019.

Appendix

This appendix shows the data collected for Figure 3. It should be noted that this list is not completely comprehensive for every single member of Congress. This list only shows congressmen and women who have *confirmed* Native American ancestry. There are several members of Congress who may either have self-identified as being Native American without evidence, or have rumors about their heritage, this includes but are not limited to: current Massachusetts senator Elizabeth Warren, 1960s Washington congressman Floyd Hicks, and recent Mississippi congressman Travis Childers. It is interesting that only five congressmen are half Indian, with the rest containing smaller percentages. The graph was created in excel by dividing the number of these Indian legislators by total seats in both houses of Congress for each ten-year census period in order to match the census record timeframes. Shown below is a chart of all of the confirmed congressmen with Native American heritage.

Name	House?	Years	Tribe
Richard Cain	House	1873-1879	1/2 Cherokee
John Mercer Langston	House	1890-1891	1/4 Pamunkey
Charles Curtis	Both & VP	1899-1929	1/4 Kaw & Osage
Robert Latham Owen	Senate	1907-1925	1/4 Cherokee
Charles D Carter	House	1907-1927	1/2 Chicasaw & Cherokee
William W Hastings	House	1915-1935	1/4 Cherokee
William Rodgers Jr	House	1943-1944	1/8 Cherokee
William Stigler	House	1944-1952	1/4 Choctaw
Ben Reifel	House	1961-1971	1/2 Sioux
Clem McSpadden	House	1973-1975	1/4 Cherokee
Ben Campbell	Both	1987-2005	1/2 Cheyenne
Brad Carson	House	2001-2005	1/4 Cherokee
Tom Cole	House	2003-Present	1/2 Chicasaw
Markwayne Mullin	House	2013-Present	1/128 Cherokee confirmed
Sharice Davids	House	2019-Present	Enrolled Ho-Chunk
Deb Haaland	House	2019-Present	Enrolled Laguna Pueblo

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By Any Means Necessary: An Examination of Abigail Adams's Survival During the American Revolution

By Emily Young

Directed by Dr. John Reda

Abigail Adams. Wife of John Adams, the founder. Mother of John Quincy Adams, the sixth President of the United States of America. The first Second Lady of the United States and the second First Lady. History will remember Abigail because of her relationship to John and John Quincy,¹ but it is her spirited letter-writing that makes the memory of her more vibrant than that of Martha Washington or Dolley Madison. As a First Lady, she has been a popular subject among historians—along with Eleanor Roosevelt—since the publication of her letters by her grandson, Charles Francis Adams in 1840. In the twentieth century, the dominant narrative for Abigail in her biographies failed to separate Abigail from her husband, making her feel like a supporting character in John's story.² In 1992, Edith B. Gelles individualized Abigail and separated her role from John's. Woody Holton took the story of Abigail as an individual further with his 2009 biography where he glorified her as a mastermind entrepreneur, ahead of her time. But Abigail's vision of herself does not align with any of these visions (including 2018's) of her. Abigail saw herself as an eighteenth-century woman; nothing more and nothing less. She was not the wife of a founder or the mother of a president; she was *a* wife and *a* mother.

This paper will examine what it meant and what it took to be an eighteenth-century woman. There were two legal statuses for free women: a *feme sole* or a *feme covert*—women who legally and independently owned property and women who were covered by their husbands or male relatives,

¹ It should be noted that in this essay, "Adams" will refer to Abigail. The exception to this will be in direct quotations from historians and when her husband or children are mentioned in the same paragraph, and in this case, they will all be referred to by their first names.

² Edith B. Gelles, *Portia: The World of Abigail Adams*. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992), chap 1.

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respectively. In Colonial America, typically when a woman married, she became legally “covered” by her husband and any property she had acquired prior to her marriage would be transferred to him. As a result, married women without antenuptial agreements did not own any property in their own names, at a time when the law was centered around the principle that property guaranteed rights to individuals who owned it.

In addition to their legal status, women were expected to uphold certain cultural ideals. Republican Motherhood emerged as the dominant ideology in the 1790s, but it was already relevant to free women before and during the American Revolution. This was the idea that men and women operated in separate spheres: men in the public and women in the private. Society believed women were responsible for every aspect of their domestic life—childcare and homemaking.

Adams was no exception to these predominant notions for women. She was a *feme covert*, covered through her marriage, and she wanted nothing more than to raise her four surviving children. The times had other plans for her, however. John’s career as a lawyer meant that he would spend periods of time traveling and being away from his family; his career as a politician and a founder of a new nation prolonged those periods extensively. For a decade, Abigail was forced to live as a *feme sole*. Without a husband present during a critical war, she had to make decisions for the sake of the survival of her children and herself, praying those decisions would pay off in the end. These decisions involved the management of John’s farm, selling commodities, and purchasing real estate. She had to operate both in the public and private spheres, and was able to do so with the advantages she possessed, the most significant being her relationship with her husband.

This essay will first consider arguments made by other historians about Abigail Adams, which have been mostly favorable. Then, the legal statuses of free women will be discussed. A brief biography of Adams’s life will be included but my argument will focus on the years 1774 to 1784 of her life. Adams will be examined through her visions of herself and compared to her reality. This examination will also feature a comparison of Adams to other women of her time, such as her sisters and common women. She saw herself as an ordinary eighteenth-century woman. She was a wife who wanted her husband to come home. She was a mother who wanted all of her children to be educated. However, a revolution disrupted this vision, changing Adams’s reality and forcing her into an unfamiliar position as a woman. She did what she had to do—what any eighteenth-century mother would have done—to ensure the survival of both herself and her children, by any means necessary.

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Since Adams left behind thousands of letters from her lifetime, she has always been a popular subject for historians. As a result, dozens of books and articles have been written about her, and even more reviews written by other historians praising or critiquing one another's perception of the founding mother. Edith B. Gelles wrote an expansive historiography as the first chapter in her book on Adams, *Portia: The World of Abigail Adams*. The first publication on Adams was by her grandson, Charles Francis Adams, who published her letters in 1840.³ Since then, historians have studied her letters and examined her through different lenses. Elizabeth F. Ellet's 1848 *The Women of the American Revolution* subsequently projected Adams as the ideal woman.⁴ Then there was Abigail, the romantic wife of John Adams, in Janet Whitney's 1947 and Phyllis Lee Levin's 1987 biographies.⁵ Throughout the twentieth century, as exemplified by Whitney and Levin, writings on Abigail failed to separate her from John. While she is discussed at length, her life is portrayed as being entirely centered around John and his career.⁶ There was also Page Smith's Abigail: the flirt. Or Charles Akers's political Abigail. However, second-wave feminism resulted in the view of Adams as a feminist based on her most famous letter, "Remember the Ladies." Elizabeth Evans in 1975 and Woody Holton in 2009 are two examples of Adams's portrayal as a feminist.⁷ Holton's Abigail was not only a proto-feminist, but also a masterful capitalist. Holton both exposed a fresh angle to the study of Adams and glorified Adams herself as someone unlike any other woman of her time. Edith B. Gelles characterized Abigail as a typical woman of her time. My interpretation of Adams will generally align with Holton's but will be woven together with Gelles's down-to-earth characterization: Adams as an eighteenth-century woman who made clever and crucial economic decisions for the survival of her family.

³ Gelles, *Portia*, 2.

⁴ Elizabeth F. Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*. (New York City, NY: Baker and Scribner, 1848; Williamstown, MA: Corner House Publishers, 1980), Introduction. This claim was also made in Gelles, *Portia*, 4.

⁵ Janet Whitney, *Abigail Adams*. (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1947), xi. Phyllis Lee Levin, *Abigail Adams: A Biography*. (New York: St. Martins Pr., 1987), xiii.

⁶ Charles W. Akers, *Abigail Adams: A Revolutionary American Woman*. (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007), Introduction. This claim was also made in Gelles, *Portia*, 5-7.

⁷ Elizabeth Evans's perspective is highlighted in Gelles, *Portia*, 8. Woody Holton, *Abigail Adams: A Life*. (Waterville, ME: Thorndike Press, 2010), Introduction.

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Abigail Adams was born Abigail Smith in her father's parsonage at Weymouth, Massachusetts, on November 22, 1744, the second child of Reverend William Smith and Elizabeth Quincy Smith.⁸ Both parents came from respectable New England lineages. Her father descended from merchants and ship captains and her mother, from the Quincys, Nortons, Shepards, and Winthrops.⁹ Their first child, Mary, was born three years before Abigail in 1741. After Abigail came their only son, William, in 1746, and then another daughter, Elizabeth, in 1750. A sickly child, the bright skies of summer and grays of winter in New England offered no ease to Abigail's ailments as she grew up.¹⁰ While William received a formal education, the three daughters, like most girls in the eighteenth century, were taught by their mother how to perform the domestic role they were expected to fulfill. However, in addition to learning their future domestic duties, Abigail and her sisters studied both religious and secular texts from their father's library, including: "*The Spectator*; Shakespeare; some of the English classics, Pope and Cowper; and a little French."¹¹ Her lack of a formal education would become one of Abigail's greatest insecurities and she would later become an advocate for women's education.

John Adams, a country lawyer at the time, met Abigail when she was fifteen through a mutual friend, Richard Cranch, who was engaged to Abigail's older sister. The couple eventually found an intellectual match in one another and developed a candid and flirtatious correspondence. Despite earning the disapproval of her mother, John and Abigail were married on October 25, 1764. At age nineteen, marriage became Abigail's destiny, which meant that, "Her identity became subsumed in John's. She could neither purchase nor own her own property, and any wealth she earned or inherited legally became his to use. The children whom she gave birth became his children. That was the meaning of the word 'wife.'"¹²

Shortly after marrying John, Abigail moved to his inherited farm in Braintree, Massachusetts. A year later, in 1765, the year of the infamous Stamp Act, Abigail gave birth to their first child, Abigail Adams Junior, nicknamed "Nabby." John Quincy Adams was born July 11, 1767. Susanna Adams was born on February 6, 1768. She was their only child who did not survive her infancy, and died in 1770 as Abigail was pregnant for the fourth time. After

⁸ Levin, *Abigail Adams*, 3. It should be noted that Abigail was born on November 22 in New Style dates. In Old Style dates, Abigail was born on November 11.

⁹ Gelles, *Portia*, 3.

¹⁰ Levin, *Abigail Adams*, 3.

¹¹ Edith B. Gelles, *Abigail Adams: A Writing Life*. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 19.

¹² Gelles, *A Writing Life*, 21.

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Charles Adams in 1770 came Thomas Adams in 1772. Throughout this time, Abigail fit within the role that was expected both of and by her. John entrusted Abigail with the management of the farm when he was called to the First Continental Congress in 1774. From then, Abigail spent the next decade of her life more or less without her husband as the Revolution unfolded. It was during this critical time that Abigail lost both of her parents, formed an enduring friendship with Mercy Otis Warren, and grew to be John's greatest advisor. She wrote her famous "Remember the Ladies" letter to John in 1776 which urged him to be better than their ancestors and build a nation that protected women from abuse. In 1777, Abigail gave birth a seventh and final time to a stillborn daughter, Elizabeth. In 1778, John and eleven-year-old John Quincy sailed for Europe. Charles joined them in 1779, as well as Abigail and Nabby in 1784, ending Abigail and John's extensive separation.¹³

The Adamses lived in Paris for a year before residing in London, where Abigail had access to various lectures that fed her insatiable appetite for learning. On her turbulent journey to join her father in Paris, nine-year-old Mary Jefferson, known as Polly, found herself in Abigail's care in England. Their time together was fleeting but perhaps the brightest time both Abigail and Polly had in Europe and an unshakeable, affectionate bond formed between them that lasted until Polly's untimely death in 1804.

Abigail eagerly returned to America with all of her family members in 1788. With the inauguration of George Washington as the first President of the United States and John Adams as his Vice President, Abigail became the first Second Lady of the United States. John's election as the second president in 1796 made Abigail the second First Lady, a role in which she was noticeably more active than her predecessor, Martha Washington. During the last four months of John's presidency, John, Abigail, and their family relocated to the new national capital, Washington D.C., making them the first First Family to live in the Presidential House.

1800 was a year of great loss for Abigail, however. Her once powerful friendships with Mercy Otis Warren and Thomas Jefferson deteriorated due to their political opposition to John. Her son, Charles, died from alcoholism. Once Abigail got back to the quiet, domestic life with her husband she believed she was destined for, she was struck with more pain. Mary Jefferson Eppes ("Polly") died in 1804. Nabby was diagnosed with breast cancer in 1810 and had a mastectomy the following year, the same year that Abigail's sister and brother-in-law, Richard and Mary Cranch died within one day of each other. Nabby's

¹³ Gelles, *Portia*, xiii.

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battle with breast cancer ended in defeat in 1813, in her mother's care. Abigail's other sister, Elizabeth, died in 1815. Abigail's health crumbled in the years after John's presidency. She believed her death was imminent in 1816 and wrote her own, individual will for the property she had accumulated during her own economic ventures from 1774 to 1784. Abigail did not die until October 28, 1818, of typhoid fever, at seventy-three years old, with her beloved family at her side.¹⁴

Eighteenth-century America had an elaborate system of coverture that determined the legal status of free women. Women were legally labeled as either a *feme sole* or a *feme covert*—which translate from French to a “single woman” or a “covered woman.” The English legal theorist William Blackstone commented, “By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband.”¹⁵ This was the law in effect under British rule and maintained after the colonies gained independence. Linda K. Kerber further elaborates the implications produced by this system,

By treating women as ‘covered’ by their husbands’ civic identity, by placing sharp constraints on the extent to which married women controlled their bodies and their property, the old law of domestic relations ensured that—with few exceptions, like obligation to refrain from treason—married women’s obligations to their husbands overrode their obligations to the state.¹⁶

Coverture was not a practice strictly between husbands and wives; it could be between a woman and a male relative. There were ways in which women could officially attain a *feme sole* status in her marriage, but only with the permission of her husband. Abigail Adams was a *feme covert*, covered by John Adams. But from 1774 to 1784, she was forced to behave like a *feme sole* for the sake of the survival of her family.

When Abigail and John married in 1764, John had two sources of income. The first came from his law practice in Boston, which was later replaced with an unstable salary as a member of the Continental Congress. The

¹⁴ Gelles, *Portia*, xiii-xiv.

¹⁵ William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. Vol. 1. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1765; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 442.

¹⁶ Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship*. (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000), xxiii.

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second source of income came from a farm John had inherited from his father in Braintree, Massachusetts. When John left Braintree for Philadelphia in 1774, he entrusted the farm with Abigail, an act that blurred the lines between *feme sole* and *feme covert* and propelled Abigail into the masculine, public sphere. He wrote to her in June of 1774,

You must take Care my Dear, to get as much Work out of our Tenants as possible. Belcher is in Arrears. He must work, Hayden must work. Harry Field must work, and Jo Curtis too must be made to settle. He owes something. Jo Tirrell too, must do something—and Isaac. I cant loose such Sums as they owe me—and I will not.¹⁷

These instructions John sent to Abigail tasked her with one of the most difficult jobs in running the farm: getting the tenants to pay their rent. The farm was her family's only other source of income and Abigail assumed the responsibility without question. In a letter to John in 1776, Abigail wrote, "I hope in time to have the Reputation of being as good a Farmeress as my partner has being a good Statesman."¹⁸ By equating being a "farmeress" to a statesman, Abigail associated this responsibility to being her patriotic duty. Her contribution to the war effort meant that she had to manage her home and farm in Braintree in order for John to remain in Congress.

However, maintaining a farm with four small children to care for was no easy feat for Adams. Not only did she struggle with crops and nature, there was also a dire labor shortage. Farm labor was often unappealing and low-paid but now Adams had to compete with the Continental Army's enlistment bounties to procure young farmhands.¹⁹ Additionally, the Revolutionary War brought inflation and high taxes. She complained to her husband, "Everything bears a very great price. The Merchant complains of the Farmer and the Farmer of the Merchant. Both are extravagant. Living is double what it was one year ago."²⁰ With the farm, Adams managed to raise crops like hay, flax, corn, and vegetables, as well as other foods like beef, pork, butter, and cheese. But she had

¹⁷ Letter from John Adams to Abigail Adams, June 30, 1774, Massachusetts Historical Society: 54th Regiment, <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/archive/doc?id=L17740630jasecond> (accessed November 10, 2018).

¹⁸ Letter from Abigail Adams to John Adams, April 11, 1776, Massachusetts Historical Society: 54th Regiment, <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/archive/doc?id=L17740630jasecond> (accessed November 10, 2018).

¹⁹ Holton, *A Life*, 105-106.

²⁰ Abigail Adams and John P. Kaminski, *The Quotable Abigail Adams*. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 74, June 3, 1776.

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to live without imports such as sugar, molasses, tea, and coffee.²¹ While her standard of living began to drop, there were unavoidable expenses—taxes, food, clothing, repairs to the house and farm, and the education of her ten-, eight-, five-, and three-year-olds, which she considered just as necessary. To manage these finances, Adams practiced “frugality and economy.” They were not only principles for her, they meant her survival.²²

After four years of battling nature, inflation, taxes, a labor shortage, and domestic responsibilities, the farm was maintained, but the burden grew to be too oppressive for Abigail. She accepted the responsibility in 1774 because she believed that she owed it to the country to free John, but also because she believed that this responsibility would be short-lived. After four years, however, it was evident that the imperial crisis was going to persist and John was not going to return home and resume his operations. So, in 1778, Abigail decided to shed the burden entirely.

I will tell you after much embaresment in endeavouring to procure faithfull hands I concluded to put out the Farm and reduce my family as much as possible. I sit about removing the Tenants from the House, which with much difficulty I effected, but not till I had paid a Quarters Rent in another House for them. I then with the kind assistance of Dr. Tufts procured two young Men Brothers newly married and placed them as Tenants to the halves retaining in my own Hands only one Horse and two Cows with pasturage for my Horse in Summer, and Quincy medow for fodder in winter.²³

Abigail fired all of their employees (except for two servants) and divided the farm in half and rented it out to two newly married brothers, who would split the harvest with her. With this responsibility lifted from her, Abigail explored mercantile options to sustain her family.

In the same year that Abigail ridded herself of the farm, John and John Quincy Adams departed for Europe. The American Revolution continued, and with it, high taxes and inflation. Abigail found another, less burdensome, opportunity to support her family. Historian Woody Holton explained this,

²¹ Akers, *A Revolutionary American Woman*, 60.

²² Gelles, *Portia*, 41.

²³ Abigail Adams and Edith B. Gelles, *Abigail Adams: Letters*. (New York, NY: Library of America, 2016), 143-144, c. July 15, 1778. Any citations hereafter will be “Letters.”

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Abigail had noticed that, during the imperial crisis, the price of pins had nearly tripled. Along with nearly everyone else, she suffered from this wartime inflation, but she also spotted an opportunity to turn a profit. She was willing to spend as much as ten times more than pins cost before the war, because she was confident that the retail price was only going to rise.²⁴

After spending the past four years carefully observing the prices of goods, Abigail decided to become a merchant as a new source of income for her family. With John in France, she now had access to European goods that other merchants in the colonies did not have. In addition to pins, Abigail was partial to muslin handkerchiefs, bits of ribbon, and silk gloves.²⁵ She sent John entire lists of what she wanted, like these:

Black and white Gauze
Spotted and striped Gauze hankerchiefs
tapes Quality bindings low priced 7/8ths linen
Black caliminco red tamies fine thread low
priced dark grounded calicos Ribbons—10 yd of
blew and white dark striped cotton
6 lb. best Hyson Tea
2 China Coffee Pots
1 doz: handled Cups and Saucers—China
2 doz: Soup Plates & a Tureen
doz: flat do.
doz small long dishes
2 pr Pudding do.
3 or 4 house Brushes²⁶

John shipped Abigail all the goods she requested. She kept the goods that her family needed and sold the rest either to New England shopkeepers with empty shelves²⁷ or through intermediaries like Mercy Otis Warren and her cousin, Cotton Tufts, Jr. The money she earned paid their high taxes and she could even

²⁴ Holton, *A Life*, 78.

²⁵ Levin, *Abigail Adams*, 125.

²⁶ Gelles, *Letters*, 227, July 18, 1782.

²⁷ Woody Holton, "Abigail Adams' Last Act of Defiance," *American History* 45, no. 1 (April 2010): 58.

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barter some of her European goods to locally obtain her family necessities.²⁸ However, being a merchant was not without its own difficulties either. Not everything John shipped landed in Abigail's hands. She noted,

From your Letters alone in which you have repeated that all was ordered which was requested, and the loss of all Dr. Tufts things; leads me to think that the many others which are missing were stolen out. My Muslin hankerchiefs, Aprons, Nabby's plumes, Mr. Tufts Buckles, Brothers velvet, the linings and trimmings for the Gentlemens clothes are among the missing articles.²⁹

Shipping and ship schedules, especially during wartime, were unpredictable. Consumer taste was another thing Adams needed to monitor. Her small business required her constant attention.³⁰ Despite these obstacles, Adams was not deterred. She continued to sell merchandise from Europe for six years, until 1784. This new enterprise offered Adams a more profitable and less burdensome way to survive. The more she sold, the more her confidence grew. With this newfound confidence, Adams started to speculate in land in Vermont.

Adams believed in "frugality and economy." She once said, "debts are my abhorrence. I will never borrow if any other method can be devised."³¹ Her approach to supporting her family was to avoid debt. Adams avoided debt by managing the farm and then by becoming a New England merchant. Their family wealth had neither increased nor diminished by 1781. John remained abroad in Europe with two of their sons and no indication that they would return anytime soon. Abigail missed her family terribly and pursued another persuasion tactic to bring them home. She expressed her desire to "become a purchaser in the State of Vermont" and asked John, "Land is sold at a low price, what do you think of a few thousand acres there?"³² Abigail recognized the value of land and hard money. Because she was still legally a *feme covert*, she could not purchase the land in Vermont herself. She used the land to entice John with the idea that they could "retire" to a farm there together, if he would just come home from Europe.³³ John, however, turned her down and told her that he must remain in Europe. Abigail bought the land anyway.

²⁸ Holton, *A Life*, 154.

²⁹ Gelles, *Letters*, 196, April 23, 1781.

³⁰ Holton, *A Life*, 153.

³¹ Gelles, *Letters*, 145, c. July 15, 1778.

³² Gelles, *Letters*, 195, April 23, 1781.

³³ Betsy Erkkila, "Revolutionary Women," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 6, no. 2 (1987): 200.

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Nothing venture nothing have; and I took all the Lots 5 in number 4 of which I paid him for, and the other obligated myself to discharge in a few months. You are named in the Charter as original propriater, so no deed was necessary.³⁴

Abigail Adams was legally covered by her husband but she was able to negotiate for the land in Vermont because she bought it in John's name, not her own. Since the town charter prohibited anyone from buying more than 330 acres, not only did she buy a grant in John's name, but also "one each in the name of four straw men, who then deeded their tracts to the Adams children."³⁵ Adams purchased land that her husband did not want and that she could not legally possess. As a result, the Adams family's wealth grew. She was now more than a merchant; she was a land speculator.

Despite her entrepreneurial successes, the reality of Adams's situation did not match her ideals. More often than not, they conflicted. She once wrote, "Women, you know Sir are considered as Domestick Beings."³⁶ This statement supports the separate spheres ideology that men belong in the public sphere and women belong in the domestic. This ideology coincides with the idea of the "republican mother" that emerged in the 1790s. Kerber explained the idea,

Women would perpetuate the republic, it was said, by their refusal to countenance lovers who were not devoted to the service of the state, and by their commitment to raise sons who were educated for civic virtue and for responsible citizenship. They would also raise self-reliant daughters who, in their turn, would raise republican sons.³⁷

Being a republican mother was a woman's patriotic service. She was a wife and mother who devoted herself to raising her children so that her sons would be able to be of service to the nation and her daughters would later raise those sons as well. It meant that gender roles were hierarchical and women were subordinate to men.

Abigail was more vocal than most women in the eighteenth century as shown in her surviving letters but she still submitted to her husband. When John

³⁴ Gelles, *Letters*, 225, July 18, 1782.

³⁵ Holton, *A Life*, 178.

³⁶ Gelles, *Letters*, 18, April 20, 1771.

³⁷ Kerber, *No Constitutional Right*, 146.

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asked her to take over the farm, Abigail did it without question. As the years passed, she longed for his return.

Desire and Sorrow were denounced upon our Sex; as a punishment for the transgression of Eve...More tender and susceptible by Nature of those impressions which create happiness or misery, we Suffer and enjoy in a higher degree. I never wondered at the philosopher who thanked the Gods that he was created a Man rather than a Woman.³⁸

In this letter, Abigail expressed a gendered perspective of her situation, both pride and lament in her femininity. She attributed the pain she felt for John's absence as punishment for the sins of Eve. But Abigail did not equate domesticity with weakness either. It was simply her ascribed role that she and all eighteenth-century women were destined to fulfill.³⁹ She became a "Farmeress" for the sake of the country. She purchased land in Vermont as part of a fantasy they could have. She adopted the name "Portia" as a pen name in her letters, a Roman wife to a great Roman politician, Brutus. By adopting this pen name, Adams literally embodied a republican mother.

Becoming a republican mother was Adams's goal. This, however, never became a reality for her. Her role in the family was, instead, what the twenty-first century calls a "breadwinner" in a "single-parent household."⁴⁰ The American Revolution "not only intensified Abigail's traditional domestic responsibilities, but it also shifted to her the primary responsibility for supporting her family."⁴¹ Adams was forced to perform the duties socially ascribed to both genders. She viewed the blurring of gender roles as aberrant and necessary for the imperial crisis. By doing so, Adams could never achieve the ideal of the republican mother. In fact, even though this was not her ideal position, she was successful in nearly every financial decision she made. Despite the many challenges she faced, Adams was able to maintain the farm without going into debt. However, she decided to rent it out so she could pursue other enterprises, not because she failed to maintain the farm. Likewise, Adams did not need to speculate in land in Vermont, for it did not persuade John to return and their wealth had not diminished over the years, but she did. Becoming the primary source of income for the family was something Adams was forced to

³⁸ Gelles, *Letters*, 220, April 10, 1782.

³⁹ Gelles, *Portia*, 48.

⁴⁰ Gelles, *A Writing Life*, 24.

⁴¹ Edith B. Gelles, "Abigail Adams: Domesticity and the American Revolution." *New England Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (1979): 501.

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do, but she still had agency within this new role. Even when her husband did not approve some of these economic decisions, Adams was confident that she was doing the best thing for the family and did not once go back on them. Her decisions and her belief in them paid off.

There were some aspects that Adams did not want to achieve in her ascribed role. Most famously, her “Remember the Ladies” letter encouraged John to build a new nation that protected women.

I long to hear that you have declared an independency—and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could.⁴²

In this letter, Adams advocated for the right to consent for women to protect them from abuse from either their husbands or male relatives. It is important to acknowledge, however, that not in this letter, nor at any other point in her life, did Adams request “that women vote, hold public office, or otherwise cross into the public orbit of the male.”⁴³ It was not Adams’s intent for this private letter to her husband to become a feminist statement but rather to plea for humane treatment for women. It does show that she displayed “unusual gender awareness for her time.”⁴⁴ Abigail was bold to urge John to make a legal protection for women. This also shows that she was aware of the politics, which was unusual for most eighteenth-century women. The political sphere was primarily limited to men as women ruled the domestic. Adams, on the other hand, had no issue with freely expressing her opinion on politics with John, Mercy Otis Warren, or other family members.

Another way Adams defied the republican mother ideal was her firm belief that all women should receive equal education. As a republican mother, women only needed to be educated in childbearing and childrearing. Adams believed that it was a social injustice against women to not receive the same education as men because women were just as intelligent as men. She was always frustrated with her own lack of a proper education. But her belief in education for women did align with their ascribed gender roles. She stated in

⁴² Gelles, *Letters*, 92, March 31, 1776.

⁴³ Akers, *A Revolutionary American Woman*, 49.

⁴⁴ Gelles, *Portia*, 48.

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1776, "If we mean to have Heroes, Statesmen, and philosophers, we should have learned women."⁴⁵ Education for women would benefit all of society. Most importantly, it would benefit all women and guarantee their survival in a man's world, as she later told her granddaughter,⁴⁶ an uncommon claim for an eighteenth-century woman to make.

Despite her unusual gender awareness, Adams believed she was like any other woman of the eighteenth century. However, when compared to other women of the time, the similarities and differences become clear. First, we should examine Abigail's sisters. The oldest was Mary who married Richard Cranch, a watchmaker in Boston. As the years passed and the colonies entered a revolution, Richard's business struggled. The importations from Britain halted and, as a result, he could not receive the spare parts for his watchmaking business.⁴⁷ To help provide for themselves and their four children, Mary's means of survival was to take in boarders. Of all the jobs that were available *and* socially acceptable for women, boarding was one of the few.⁴⁸ But it would not be enough to ease their personal and financial issues, even after the war ended. Richard worked for the state of Massachusetts in the 1780s and 1790s but the state government failed to properly pay him. Mary turned to Abigail. She asked Abigail to have John appoint Richard to a position in his administration. Since Abigail had turned down Mercy Otis Warren's similar request, Abigail turned down her sister's.

Elizabeth, the youngest of the three sisters, did not initially marry into financial difficulties like Mary had. She first married the Calvinist Reverend John Shaw. Unlike Mary and Abigail, Elizabeth did not have to supplement her family's income. Instead, however, she was tasked with caring for the boys Shaw was preparing for Harvard, including Abigail's sons.⁴⁹ Elizabeth, for the most part, was personally and financially supported by her husband until he died of alcoholism in 1794, leaving her nothing. Her best means of survival as a penniless widow in the eighteenth century was coverture—to remarry. She accepted a proposal less than a year later from Stephen Peabody.⁵⁰ Like Shaw, Peabody was an alcoholic. He gave Elizabeth a house to live in but nothing more, a situation that would never improve during the rest of her lifetime. In the early 1800s, they suffered a humiliating financial blow when she had to give up

⁴⁵ Kaminski, *The Quotable Abigail Adams*, 362, April 14, 1776.

⁴⁶ Gelles, *Letters*, 827, July 23, 1811.

⁴⁷ Holton, *A Life*, 61.

⁴⁸ Akers, *A Revolutionary American Woman*, 33.

⁴⁹ Akers, *A Revolutionary American Woman*, 61.

⁵⁰ Holton, *A Life*, 296.

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caring for John Quincy's sons. There was a connection between a family's economic status and its ability to stick together.⁵¹ Elizabeth could no longer afford to support her nephew's sons, to feed, clothe, and house them. It was humiliating for her to return John Quincy's sons to him, for she no longer had the economic means to keep a family together. At that point, she had to prioritize her needs.

All three of the Smith sisters did what they had to do to survive and improve their situations. But neither Mary nor Elizabeth became an entrepreneur. They were physically and mentally bound more strictly to the laws of coverture than Abigail was. However, the Smith sisters were in no way representative of American women during this time. They were literate and well read. They had husbands who did not physically or mentally abuse them. Akers accurately points out, they "were much more the masters of their own destiny than the masses of ordinary women who lived in poverty and ignorance, bearing children with or without marriage and daily laboring at monotonous women's work."⁵² It is informative but not sufficient to compare Abigail to her sisters to demonstrate what it meant to be a woman during the second half of the eighteenth century. We should also examine ordinary women; women who had no clear access to power.

There is no single representative of a *feme sole*, a *feme covert*, or a republican mother. On paper, the lines between these visions of women were clear but in reality, the lines were blurred, even before the Revolution began. There were businesswomen throughout the 1700s who owned stores, traded goods, or even ran newspapers.⁵³ In 1739, Elizabeth Timothy was a widow who took over her late husband's newspaper after his death with a public notice that stated, "Whereas the late Printer of this Gazette hath been deprived of his life by an unhappy Accident, I take this opportunity of informing the Publick, that I shall continue the said Paper as usual."⁵⁴ Adams was not the first female merchant either, nor was she the first woman to have gender awareness. A group of self-named "she-merchants" in New York complained to a newspaper editor about their neglect by the government in 1733. In a letter, they wrote,

⁵¹ Holton, *A Life*, xiv.

⁵² Akers, *A Revolutionary American Woman*, 34.

⁵³ Kerber, *No Constitutional Right*, 9-10.

⁵⁴ Ruth B. Moynihan, *Second to None: A Documentary History of American Women*. (Lincoln, NE: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1993), 115, from Elizabeth Timothy, notice in *South Carolina Gazette*, January 11, 1739.

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We are House keepers, Pay our Taxes, carry on Trade, and most of us are she Merchants, and as we in some measure contribute to the Support of Government, we ought to be Intituled to some of the Sweets of it; but we find ourselves entirely neglected, while the Husbands that lived in our Neighborhood are daily invited to Dine at Court.⁵⁵

These women referred to themselves as “widows” earlier in the letter so it can be inferred that these women were *feme soles* who, like Elizabeth Timothy, took over their deceased husbands’ businesses. As *feme soles*, they legally owned businesses, property, and paid their taxes. But because they were women, the colony of New York did not grant them any recognition, unlike their male counterparts.

There is no denying that the American Revolution was just as much a social revolution as it was a political one. While it was not uncommon for women to run businesses in the eighteenth century, the Revolution made it necessary for nearly all women to operate in both the public and private sphere in place of their absent husbands, just as Abigail Adams had. John Adams had observed women both supervising male farmworkers and performing farm labor during his travels in 1777.⁵⁶ In fact, there were some instances where female behavior radically challenged the patriarchy. For example, in 1777, Abigail witnessed a riot of women in Boston attack a male wholesaler for selling scarce coffee imports at an incredibly high price. Her observation to John left out one detail—these women were female shopkeepers and the wholesaler had denied them supply (coffee).⁵⁷ Not much is known about the women of this mob, like if they were *feme soles*, *feme coverts*, or married or unmarried. But this riot shows that there were women during this time that were far more radical than Adams.

Operating a business was not a woman’s only option for survival during the American Revolution. This is seen with Mary and Elizabeth Smith. But there were also women who completely dedicated themselves to the war effort, especially the wives of Continental Army officials, who followed the army and performed domestic work as the war was fought. Sarah Osborn Benjamin was the wife of a private and described her experience as busying herself with “washing, mending, and cooking for the soldiers, in which she was

⁵⁵ Moynihan, *Second to None*, 122, from *New York Journal*, January 21, 1733.

⁵⁶ Holton, *A Life*, 126.

⁵⁷ L. H. Butterfield et al., *The Book of Abigail and John: Selected Letters of the Adams Family, 1762-1784*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 184-185, July 31, 1777.

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assisted by other females.”⁵⁸ When husbands left for the war, some wives went with them, wholeheartedly dedicated to the cause. These women brought republican motherhood to the battlefield. Other women were not as fortunate to have the same opportunity, like Grace Growden Galloway. Grace’s abusive Loyalist husband fled Philadelphia with their only daughter. Grace stayed behind in an attempt to regain her property that was confiscated by rebels, for the sake of her daughter, but since she did not have an antenuptial agreement for her inheritance when she married Joseph Galloway, she lost all of her property. She died later that year, in 1779, alone and impoverished.⁵⁹

As ordinary as Abigail Adams believed she was, she held many advantages that ordinary women did not. She was privileged with useful family connections, a constant supply of literature and the education to read it, and servants to carry out routine tasks.⁶⁰ However, Grace Growden Galloway exemplified the greatest difference between Abigail Adams and common women of the American Revolution. Adams’s greatest advantage was something she had that most other women did not—she had a best friend for a husband who trusted her to be the financial manager of the family. In marriage, husbands were *expected* (but not enforced) to love and support their wives. But coverture allowed otherwise, as Kerber commented,

The husband’s control of all property gave him such coercive power over the wife that she could not defy him. Instead of revising the law to remove its coercive elements, jurists simply ensured that the coerced voices would not speak.⁶¹

This is what separated Abigail from many women in the eighteenth century. John did not use coverture to coerce Abigail. He had the ability to do so because as his wife she was required by law to submit to him. But he did not. Instead, John respected Abigail, frequently sought her advice on all matters, and believed she was capable of the duties he left to her.⁶² He trusted her with his farm and he did not stop her when she rented it out in 1778. He was cooperative when she requested him to ship her goods from Europe for her to sell. Most of all, Abigail

⁵⁸ Moynihan, *Second to None*, 179, from John C. Dann, ed., *The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence*.

⁵⁹ Moynihan, *Second to None*, 173, from “Journal of Grace Growdwn Galloway” in Elizabeth Evans, *Weathering the Storm: Women of the American Revolution*.

⁶⁰ Akers, *A Revolutionary American Woman*, 34.

⁶¹ Kerber, *No Constitutional Right*, 14.

⁶² Akers, *A Revolutionary American Woman*, 32.

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was able to get away with purchasing 1,600 acres in Vermont that John did not want because he *allowed* her. John was never required to comply with all of Abigail's decisions but he was more or less happy to do so because he respected her and trusted that she was doing what was best for their family's survival during the war.

The most explicit example of this came at the end of Adams's life. On January 18, 1816, Adams thought she was dying and wrote a will. A will was not something a *feme covert* could write and have legally recognized, for they were not supposed to have property in their own name. Adams knew this. Even so, she wrote, "I Abigail Adams wife to the Honble: John Adams of Quincy in the County of Norfolk, by and with his consent, do dispose of the following property."⁶³ The most important line in this four-page letter is "by and with his consent." This was not a legal document, nor was it ever signed by John. She simply *claimed* that John had given her permission to distribute property. John would have been within his rights to ignore it or tear it to shreds. But he did not. He executed Abigail's wishes upon her death two years later in 1818 and by doing so, her will became a legally valid document.⁶⁴ On paper, the property Abigail wanted distributed had legally belonged to John. However, when Abigail wrote the will, she was attempting to distribute the property that she accumulated from 1774 to 1784 while John was away. What is more interesting is that most of the people whom she gave property to were covered women.

Apart from a couple of token gifts to her two sons, all of the people Adams chose to bequeath money to were women. And many of those women were married...she gave nothing to her grandsons, nephews, or male servants. Everything went to her granddaughters, nieces, female servants and daughters-in-law.⁶⁵

Abigail outright defied the law of coverture with her will. It was arguably the boldest move she made in her lifetime, one of the rarest of all women of her time, and she got away with it. She recognized and acknowledged the limitations coverture placed on married women. She recognized that she was able to do the things she was able to during the Revolution because John permitted her. And

⁶³ Gelles, *Letters*, 914-915, January 18, 1816.

⁶⁴ Holton, "Last Act of Defiance," 61.

⁶⁵ Holton, "Last Act of Defiance," 58, 60.

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she recognized that not all covered women had the same advantages as she. So Abigail did what she could to empower covered women in the man's world they lived in by granting those women property.

When studying the American Revolution, it is so easy to focus exclusively on leaders, such as George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, turning them into larger-than-life icons of a grand narrative, and forgetting the many other people who lived the Revolution. Abigail Adams was no exception to this, thanks to the voluminous supply of letters she left behind. She is among the most popular First Ladies to be studied in history, along with Eleanor Roosevelt, over a hundred years after Adams's time. Every historian that studied or wrote about Adams had their own, individual perception of her. She was a saint, she was a flirt, she was a writer, she was John Adams's wife, she was John Quincy Adams's mother, she was a feminist, or she was a capitalist. Historians are not inaccurate with these perceptions but they fail to see Adams as she saw herself: a woman of her time.

Adams was a woman who loved to read and dreamed of making a family with a present husband to support her and the many children she would raise. She fell in love with and married her best friend. That best friend became a leader and founder of a new nation. Her new dream was to be Portia, the Roman wife of a great politician. The American Revolution took Adams's dreams out of her hands. She was forced into a new position, simultaneously performing duties socially ascribed to both men and women. Adams had to manage her children and the farm and she did it with patriotic pride, firmly believing that an end to this temporary role was in sight. She had to succeed in all of her responsibilities so that John could succeed in his to the nation, so that her nation could achieve the independence they both worked so hard for.

When that end grew more distant with each passing year, Adams realized that in order for her family to do more than survive—to live—during this social and political upheaval, she had to expand her enterprises. It was no longer enough for her to simply be a *feme covert*, covered by her marriage. It was now necessary for her to be a practitioner of “frugality and economy” and to make the decisions of a widow, a *feme sole*.

This was not the life Adams wanted. Her dream did not include being a “Farmeress,” a merchant, or a land speculator. There were some parts of her reality that she enjoyed or felt pride in. She steeled herself for the sake of her country and her children. But she was also often lonely, sorrowful, and frustrated with her husband's prolonged absences. Nevertheless, she held onto a hope that a peaceful future awaited her.

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Abigail's decisions from 1774 to 1784 were not as extraordinary as some historians liked to believe. Men were recruited to the Continental Army, which forced many women into positions similar to Abigail. Women did what they believed was their patriotic duty and also their best means of survival. Every individual woman had her own means of survival, for not all women shared the same opportunities. Abigail was, in one aspect, ordinary.

However, Adams was born with opportunities. She was not wealthy, nor was she poor; she came from a family of influence. She married a man who was not an alcoholic, like Elizabeth Smith Shaw Peabody's husbands, nor did he suffer from the Revolution, like Mary Smith Cranch's. The man she married respected and trusted her and this was her greatest advantage of all. What made Adams different from most other women during the American Revolution was that she was able to make critical economic decisions without her husband's consent and still get away with it. Her husband could have legally punished her for her actions. In a time of the laws of coverture, marriage was supposed to promise free women survival, but that was not a reality for all. Despite Adams's plea in 1776, the new code of laws in the new nation would not legally protect women from abuse. Most women would not be fortunate to have the same kind of power to make decisions in their marriage as Adams had in hers.

To continue to glorify Adams as a woman far ahead of her time would be unfair to her. This does not mean that Adams was not significant in her contributions to the nation. However, we cannot be overzealous and project her to be more than what she was. Adams was a woman with great strength, spirit, and intellect. She respected the prevailing gender roles and took pride in her femininity. She cleverly maneuvered through gender dynamics and utilized her available opportunities to live the best life she and her family possibly could in a time of great crisis, not thinking about the kind of legacy she would leave behind. Abigail Adams was truly an exceptional woman who did what countless other women have done for their families during the most pivotal moments of our nation's history. She lived, by any and all means necessary.

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