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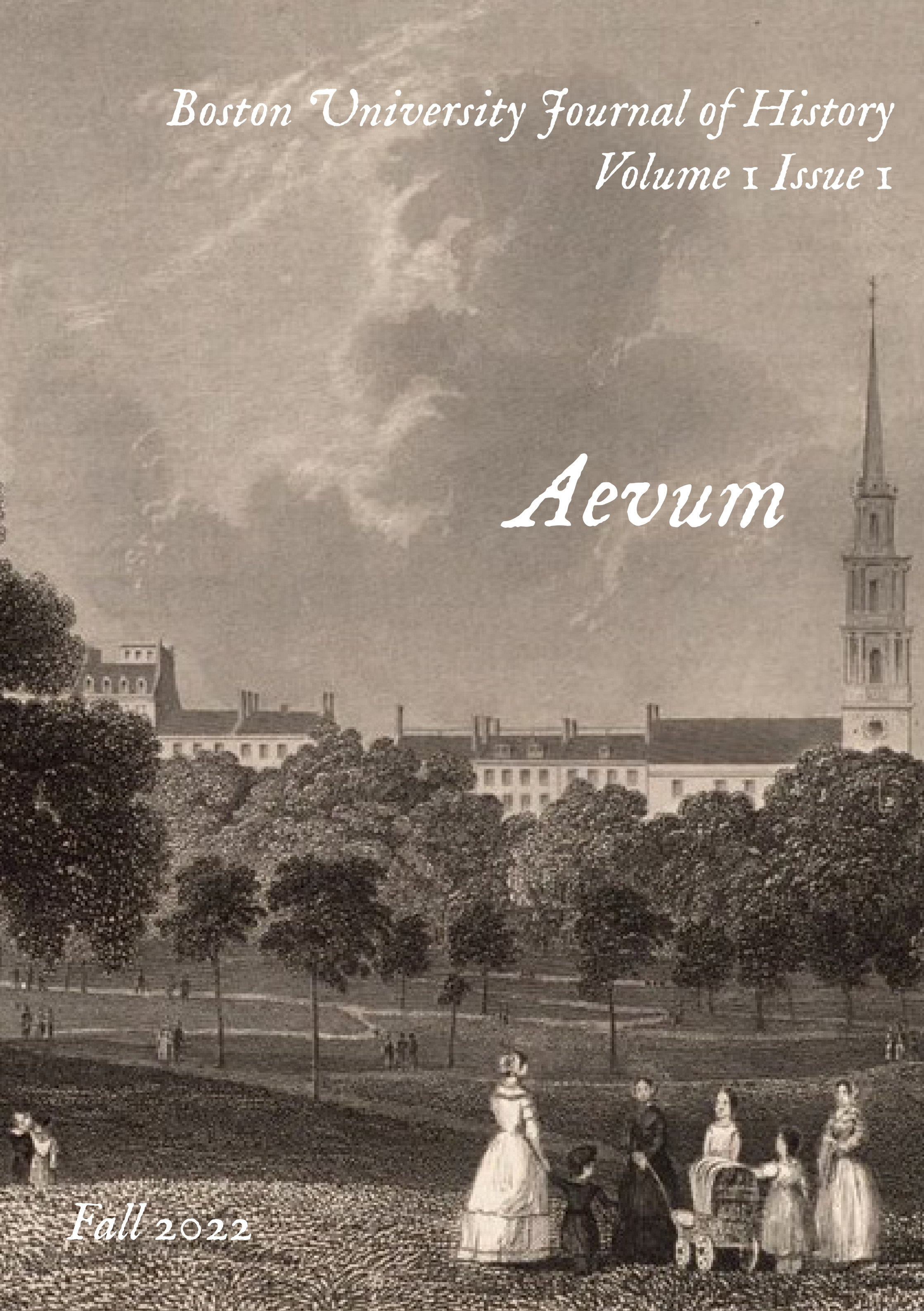
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Aevum: The Boston University Journal of History is a student-run, peer-reviewed research publication that promotes intellectual curiosity and encourages Boston University undergraduate students to submit stellar historical work. *Aevum* was founded in 2022 to publish original historical scholarship so that all students can learn from their peers.

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Letter from the Editor

Dear Reader,

I suppose I should not admit that I did all of this in a state of panic. A moment this summer when I could not fathom how I was ever going to put a history degree to use, an encroaching interview with the Executive Board, each deadline, every question, trying to assemble a history journal from scratch, has been tinged with imposter syndrome and the looming question of what any of this is going to mean. But, if studying history has taught me anything, it is that anything can mean everything.

Boston University's undergraduates have wonderful and fascinating insights to say that help us understand the past. However, until now, there was not a platform for our students to share their work with the rest of the student population, all of whom deserve to hear their peers' scholarship.

I am grateful to all Boston University students who submitted and worked with us through multiple rounds of edits, all our editors who had to deal with constant trial and error as we tried to evalute the best way to make this work, and the Executive Board for all their help and guidance. And most importantly, I am grateful for the opportunity to share some of Boston University's incredible historical scholarship with you.

Here is to *Aevum*'s first issue, and to many more.

Very Respectfully,
Julia Brukx
Editor-in-Chief

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Rebels, Bandits, and the US Military: Adding Nuance to Womack's Zapata and the Mexican Revolution

Isabella Watson (WED 2023)

In *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*, John Womack Jr. tells the story of the 1910 Mexican Revolution from the lens of revolutionary Emiliano Zapata. In the book, Womack portrays the Federales and Carrancitas who attacked the people of Morelos as the enemy. They unjustly referred to the Zapatistas as bandits and the villagers fought with them to maintain agency over their land. However, authors Azuela, Brunk, and Alonso all challenge and modify this portrayal. Essays by Azuela, Brunk, and Alonso challenge the portrait of guerrilla fighters and village residents developed in Womack's narrative by adding nuance to the motivations of revolutionary fighters, complicating the political and social dimensions of "banditry", and questioning popular nationalism in the context of US military interventions.

According to Womack, "[t]he Mexican Revolution happened because the high politicians of the country openly failed to agree on who should rule when President Porfrio Diaz died."[1] Zapata, described by Womack as a true and fair leader, championed the Maderista Revolution in Morelos starting in 1910. This escalated to the unseating of Diaz and a seeming revolving-door of leaders in the beginning half of the 1910s, including Madero and Huerta. After Huerta resigned under pressure from the US military, two major constitutionalist leaders, Carranza and Villa, fought for power. In the summer of 1914, Zapata's village of Morelos rebuilt their society before the Carrancista army attacked the Zapatistas. In the final stage of the revolution, Obregon overthrew Carranza in 1920. Womack tells mostly of the Zapatista experience of the Mexican Revolution, portraying the Zapatistas as admirable. Particularly in chapter eight when the villagers of Morelos rebuild their community:

> In such clear relief the character of revolutionary Morelos emerged: in the very crops people liked to grow, they revealed the kind of community they liked to dwell in. They had no taste for the style of individuals on the make, the life of perpetual achievement and acquisition,

1 Womack, John Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*, (Vintage Books Random House, New York, 1968), 10.

> of chance and change and moving on. Rather, they wanted a life they could control, a modest, familial prosperity in the company of other modestly prosperous families whom they knew, and all in one place.[2]

Womack shows the Zapatistas in a very positive light. He states that the villagers of Morelos were born anew. He recounts how the people of Morelos, when left alone, refounded their society on the basis of democracy and community.

Mariano Azuela's *The Underdogs (Los de Abajo)*, tells the fictional story of an array of misfit rebels fighting in the Mexican Revolution in the period of time between the Huerta presidency and Carranza-Villa fighting. Born and raised in Mexico, Azuela supported Madero's uprising and joined Villa's army as a doctor. With firsthand knowledge of the revolution, he wrote *The Underdogs* as a proclamation of his discontent. In direct contrast to Womack who portrays the rebels as having united revolutionary goals, in *The Underdogs*, all of the characters have very different reasons for joining the revolution. Some, like the protagonist Demetrio Macias, fled from bad situations. Others, like the cruel Blondie, use the revolution to harm others. Only a few in the novel, such as Luis Cervantes, have an in-depth understanding of the revolutionary causes. Demetrio, a high ranking military official with hundreds of soldiers under him, doesn't seem to care much about the details of the revolution. When Cervantes informs Demetrio that they have to go to Aguascalientes to vote for Provisional President of the Republic, Demetrio responds, "President, what? Who in the devil, then, is this man Carranza? I'll be damned if I know what it's all about."[3] Azuela portrays some of the revolutionaries fighting alongside Demetrio as very bad people. Blondie acts particularly cruel; he takes a prisoner and tortures him by dragging him behind his horse, kills an old widower who begged for his life, and shoots several people in a bar for no clear reason. Azuela states that when the soldiers came upon the city of Guadalajara, "[they] scattered about as usual pretending to seek arms and horses, but in reality for the sole purpose of looting."[4] These incredibly significant modifications to Womack's historical analysis show that not all rebels held dear the goals of revolutionary leaders. Some joined the revolution to get out of responsibilities, avoid being charged for crimes, or purely for financial gain. By adding nuance to the motivations of the revolutionary fighters, Azuela offers another perspective to Womack's one-sided depiction of Morelos egalitarian society.

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2 Womack, *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*, 241.

3 Mariano Azuela, *The Underdogs*, trans. E. Munguia, 1996, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/549/549-h/549-h.htm. Part 3, III.

4 Azuela, *The Underdogs*, Part 2, XI.

In “The Sad Situation of Civilians and Soldiers: The Banditry of Zapatismo in the Mexican Revolution,” author Samuel Brunk explains that those who governed Mexico often considered the Zapatistas bandits in order to deny them political legitimacy. Brunk argues that the issue of Zapatista banditry was more complicated than either the governments that fought Zapata or scholarly community have made it seem. Although not all of the Zapatistas practiced banditry, bandits fought among them. This modifies the portrait of guerrilla fighters in Womack’s chapter eight by complicating the political and social dimensions of “banditry.” According to Brunk, banditry can tell us a lot about peasant revolutions in general and how it may have been used by the peasants as an expression of political goals that differed from Zapatas or other revolutionary leaders. For example, some revolutionaries in *The Underdogs* refer admirably to Villa as “the bandit” who “robs the rich and gives to the poor,”[5] while Cervantes laments at the “so-called revolutionists… simply bandits grouped together, using the revolution as a wonderful pretext to glut their thirst for gold and blood.”[6] As Brunk argues, to understand the revolution as a whole and the choices the peasants made we must analyze what political and social banditry challenged: structure, hierarchy, and government. This addition significantly modifies Womack’s portrayal of guerrilla fighters and village residents in chapter eight because Womack rejects the Zapatistas as bandits. Womack uses “banditry” as a slur or a tool of the government to write off revolutionaries. By admitting that banditry commonly occurred in rebel leagues for a variety of reasons, this adds nuance to Womack’s assertion that the villages built their societies for themselves and the common good. It opens up the possibility that rebel villagers may have built some of their wealth on revolutionary banditry.

In "U.S. Military Intervention, Revolutionary Mobilization, and Popular Ideology in the Chihuahuan Sierra, 1916-1917," Ana Alonso analyzes how the troops the US government sent to Mexico in 1916 ended up collaborating with Namiquipense peasants to destroy Villista forces. Alonso notes the impact of American military intervention on peasant revolutionary mobilization and ideology. This challenges Womack’s portrayal of village residents in chapter eight by showing that they weren’t as self-reliant or nationalistic as he portrayed them. These significant additions challenge Womack’s emphasis that the villagers of Morelos relied on themselves and their community for everything: they even rejected producing crops for outsiders. He states, “In spring harvests began, the first fruit to mature from this progress of the pueblos. The crops the farmers now brought in were not the planters’ cane or rice but the

5 Azuela, *The Underdogs*, Part 1, XX.
6 Azuela, *The Underdogs*, Part 1, VIII.

traditional foodstuffs, corn and beans." He also states that while Mexico City verged on starvation, the villages had more than enough to eat. Womack leads the audience to believe that this is solely due to their hard work. However, Alonso tells of the short-term advantages in cooperating with Americans who provided protection from violence and paid for supplies, labor, and services. This complicates Womack's narrative by giving partial credit to outside foreign influences that assisted in the rebuilding of their society.

Essays by Azuela, Brunk, and Alonso challenge the portrait of guerrilla fighters and village residents developed in Womack's chapter eight by adding nuance to the motivations of revolutionary fighters, complicating the political and social dimensions of "banditry", and questioning popular nationalism in the context of US military interventions. These challenges add more dimension and nuance to the Mexican Revolution than Womack offers in his book: Mexican rebels were not unified or homogenized. When reading about history, we should be critical of works that strictly define one person/group of people as heroes (Zapatistas, rebels) or villains ('bandits,' Villistas). Azuela, Brunk, and Alonso add more context and understanding to the motivations of revolutionary players. Womack's work, though eloquently written, has flaws. Challenges and modifications should be welcomed in historical literature as they can provide deeper meaning, encourage discussion, and expand our understanding of history.

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The Work and Impact of the Boston Women's Education Association

Priscilla Bright (CAS 2023)

In dedication to my mother, Sharon Bright, who received her Masters in Psychology from Harvard University in 2022. Thank you for showing me what a woman can do.

Women's fight for equality has been long and laborious and continues to the current day. The majority of the reform that has brought women closer to the standing of men in society has come about because of the work of women themselves. Women's "rights" were not given inherently, but rather for hundreds of years women have had to hold their breath with each legislative decision in hopes that they may have what men are guaranteed. Some of these rights include voting, bodily autonomy, freedom of movement, freedom from sexual harassment, freedom from gender discrimination, equal pay, and the list continues. Most of these decisions on women's rights may have been made by a man in government, but it was the women's groups that pushed for them all. Particularly, the Women's Education Association was one of these groups that broadened educational opportunities for women in Boston during the Progressive era and onward.

The Women's Education Association first met on December 22, 1871, under the name of "Committee on the Better Education of Women."[1] Documentation of the process for forming the association, possibly written by C.S. Pierce, details Pierce's conceptualization of the organization all the way up to her hopes for the future. She had begun to think of creating an effort to improve women's education in 1861 while studying at a school she characterized as having gone beyond "text-book teaching."[2] It was here that she learned "how to think" and came to the realization that "the great trouble with women has always been that they have not, and do not think for themselves."[3] This thought process led Pierce to begin pushing for the rights of women in

1 Women's Education Association, "General meeting records, 1871-1929," Box 2, Folder 1, 1971-1873, Massachusetts Historical Society, 2.
2 WEA, "Founding and historical documents, 1872-1921," Box 1, Folder 3, History of the Women's Education Association, undated, MHS, 16.
3 Ibid.

higher education as she believed that the true disparity began with the fact that women were only taught how to regurgitate knowledge. Her idea would later be catalyzed at a "Women's Parliament" in New York where "papers of interest to women were to be read and discussed by women alone."[4] This group of women inspired her so much that she sought an audience with the president of Harvard University, who was not interested in her proposal in the slightest. However, she did not abandon the idea; instead, she made it her first priority to have women accepted into Harvard.[5] Eventually, with the help of a woman named Mrs. Brookes, Pierce hosted the first interest meeting for the WEA, which was a success. The fight for better education for women was officially underway.[6]

While the WEA was forming, the rest of the United States also began pushing boundaries with the dawn of the Progressive Era. A few decades after the end of the Civil War, a series of reforms began to flood the public as people fought for equality and the end of mass corruption prevalent during the Gilded Age. Civil rights, women's rights, and trust busting were among the changes that would define this era in history. Specifically, in the way of the women's movement, the main focus shifted heavily towards suffrage after the end of the Civil War. During the war, women gained new freedoms while working to support their families and their country while husbands, fathers, and sons were away on the battlefields. They played a significant role in raising funds and working in new positions that the men could not occupy at the time and because of their new "awareness of their own contributions to society … women could not, and in many cases, did not wish to return to their pre-war roles."[7] Then, postwar, women had to take on not only the role of the maternal figure to her family, but also to society while the US mourned over their losses and worked to better the country. For northern women in particular, this meant the continuation of the cause of the Union: political progress in the way of equality.[8] As these women entered the political sphere, the male-dominated society pushed back and expected everything to return to antebellum gender norms.

One of the challenges faced by the WEA and many other women's groups was arguments spread by opposers to their cause. These included absurd

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4 Ibid, 17.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid, 18.
7 S. J. Kleinberg, "Chapter 8: Women and Reform in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era," in *Women in the United States, 1830-1945* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 176.
8 Ibid, 177.

biological claims and fearmongering the public into believing that the expansion of women's educational rights would lead to the collapse of society. An argument published in 1873 asserted the idea that "study diverted blood from the reproductive organs and nervous system and would undermine women's health and ability to reproduce."[9] This was only one of many claims that were believed to be credible reasons to bar women from education. A similar sentiment was expressed by Professor Nichola at MIT who "objected to women students, because they might faint or have hysteria."[10] These claims did not come from proper scientific process but were assumed based on the societal stereotype of women. Aside from biological claims, there was also an abundance of arguments about the impact women receiving higher education would have on society. This was another block in the way of women being able to receive industrial training as "many educators—most of them male—were uncomfortable with the idea that women should be educated for any industrial role that would take them away from their families."[11] Ideas that had been deeply ingrained into American society such as "Republican Motherhood," held that women were supposed to contribute to society by raising the next generation of "great men." Meanwhile, they were supposed to be raising their daughters to be able to take care of men and have children. Therefore, when women began to fight to be able to act on their ambitions that were outside the sphere of the household, they were ridiculed. The weight of society was supposedly on the backs of women, yet they were and have been repetitively denied equality. In reaction, the formation of women's groups and clubs became a popular way to share ideas while formulating plans to make them a reality. These groups of "the late nineteenth-century club women's movement rested upon the twin pillars of female literacy and activism."[12] Women were better able to work effectively as a collective force, and with many seeking rapid societal change, the prominence and number of organizations for women, by women, dramatically increased.[13]

The WEA was one of many women's clubs that formed across the country, but it specialized in working locally within the Boston area. The goal was to get women to a point where they would be able to get the education needed

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9 S. J. Kleinberg, "Chapter 7: Education and Culture, 1865-1920," in *Women in the United States, 1830-1945* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 157.
10 WEA, Box 1, Folder 14, MHS, 3.
11 John L. Rury, "Vocationalism for Home and Work: Women's Education in the United States, 1880-1930," *History of Education Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1984): pp. 21-44, https://doi.org/10.2307/367991, 24.
12 S. J. Kleinberg, "Chapter 7: Education and Culture, 1865-1920," in *Women in the United States, 1830-1945* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 162.
13 Ibid, 163.

to enter male-dominated domains of work. The country's "diversified and unsystematized structure [which] reflects … the decentralization of responsibility to each of the 50 states rather than to the federal government," made local organization necessary.[14] This complication has been a consistent problem in America regarding uniformity in laws made, therefore it was crucial for women to form clubs specific to their areas. This structure created groups of women that thoroughly understood their state's current laws and stances and how to best approach it. For the WEA, this meant understanding the ins and outs of Massachusetts law and the actual actions of institutions in the area rather than just believing their claims. Pierce's knowledge demonstrates this idea; although Harvard offered lectures for women, "these lectures were arranged for men who had already gone through the Harvard course, [and] there were almost no women fitted to take advantage of them."[15] Understanding this nuance, the WEA could then figure out the proper steps to convince Harvard to incorporate women into their college.

Although a long and tedious process of prying open Harvard's doors for women, the WEA's efforts exemplify the work that women were doing around the country to persuade universities towards a co-educational status. The Harvard's President's excuse in 1869 as to why he would not be admitting women was that "the difficulties involved in a common residence of hundreds of young men and women of immature character and marriageable age are very grave."[16] This statement's accuracy was debatable as the University of Michigan, Boston University, and Cornell University had already successfully become co-ed by the time he said it.[17] In response to this block, the WEA managed to arrange an examination for women to take that would give them some form of certification from Harvard. Six women took it, and four passed.[18] Not willing to give up, many WEA members came together to form the Committee on Private Collegiate Instruction for Women in Cambridge, which became

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14 Mary Ann Danowitz. Sagaria, "Chapter Eleven: Gender Equality in the American Research University: Renewing the Agenda for Women's Rights," in *Women, Universities, and Change: Gender Equality in the European Union and the United States* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 161.

15 WEA, Box 1, Folder 3, MHS, 17.

16 Judith Harford, "Women's Education Associations: The Role of the Central Association of Irish Schoolmistresses and the Woman's Education Association, Boston in Advancing the Cause for Women's Admission to Trinity College Dublin and Harvard University," *Paedagogica Historica* 54, no. 5 (December 19, 2017): pp. 626-642, https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2017.1409772, 636.

17 WEA, "Founding and historical documents, 1872-1921," Box 1, Folder 13, Radcliffe Beginnings, MHS, 17.

18 Ibid, 2.

known as the Annex.[19] This association provided "women with a recognized space, affiliated to Harvard, in which women could attend lectures of Harvard professors in an all-female environment."[20] Once more women began taking this opportunity, Harvard felt as if it was encroaching on the main school even though women never stepped foot on the physical campus while attending the Annex.[21] The Treasurer of Harvard in 1893 told the women leading the Annex that he had "no prejudice in the matter of education of women" but that he also felt "bound to protect Harvard College from what seems to me to be a risky experiment."[22] The "risky experiment" of giving women equal access to higher education would later prove to not be a problem as Harvard redesigned the Annex as the officially incorporated "Radcliffe College" in 1894, but still held to the assertion that Harvard would not award women a degree "under any circumstances."[23]

Another historic accomplishment by the WEA was the creation of the Chemical Laboratory for Women at MIT on October 23, 1876.[24] Ellen Swallow Richards, one of the most prominent members of the WEA, made this laboratory possible. Richards was not only the first woman to graduate from MIT, but also the first woman in the United States to earn a chemistry degree.[25] Made to care for her household at an early age due to her mother's chronic illness, Richards did not receive consistent education growing up. Still, she wished to get higher education in order to find solutions to the sanitation problems that she saw plague Massachusetts.[26] She attended the first female college, Vassar, after the Civil War, and then after graduating, she applied to MIT. When she applied, women had not yet been admitted to MIT and the university avoided having to be classified as co-ed by admitting her at no charge; therefore, she was not "officially enrolled."[27] After she graduated, she set up and assisted multiple laboratories, the first being the Laboratory of Sanitary Chemistry. Then after joining the WEA, Richards started work on creating a lab specifically for women at MIT. She asserted that even as a homemaker, it was important to understand basic chemistry for various aspects of health,

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19 Harford, "Women's Education Associations," 637.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid, 638.
22 Ibid, 639.
23 Ibid.
24 WEA, "Founding and Historical Documents," Box 1, Folder 9, Chemical laboratory for women at MIT 1876-1883, MHS, 9.
25 June Edwards, *Women in American Education, 1820-1955: The Female Force and Educational Reform* (Westport (Conn.): Greenwood Press, 2002), 57.
26 Ibid, 58.
27 Ibid.

cooking, and cleaning. Richards herself taught the first class in 1873 in a small four-roomed building, attended by seventeen women.[28] Then in 1882, with $8,000 from the WEA, MIT built a new lab with accommodations to admit more women. This laboratory concretely symbolized the growing impact that the WEA had on women's access to education in Boston, especially at pre-existing institutions.

The creation of lectures specifically for women was another successfully executed initiative by the WEA. They were given by professors of various schools, including Harvard, on a range of topics deemed relevant to the work of a "domestic woman." The courses included chemistry, "in order to understand the chemical process of cooking and of kitchen work," geology for "the molding of clay," and so on.[29] To get their foot in the door, the WEA needed to come up with excuses as to why women should learn these subjects. Alongside this reasoning, there were also the five heads of education that divided the WEA, including, industrial, intellectual, aesthetic, moral, and physical education.[30] Due to these goals, the WEA opened lectures on topics such as psychology, Greek art, and political economy.[31] While the WEA had a focus on this co-educational progress it did not keep them from losing sight of their overarching goal of educating women. These solitary classes are evidence of the WEA's creativity and unending determination in giving women a broader education despite universities's obstinacy towards progress.

The WEA also extended beyond just higher education with work to improve public school education. This initiative was made to provide a solid basis of instruction for the next generation of women who would continue to push the limits of what is possible for them in education. Their work in this area is not as consistent as it was in higher education; however, it is no less important. The Industrial Education Committee, which started a school in 1877 "for wood carving and modeling which had great influence on the introduction of manual training into public schools," was the first to contribute to this program.[32] However, home economics courses halted the idea of manual instruction for women because they were seen as "the female equivalent of industrial education, which was generally thought of as a male feature of

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28 WEA, "Founding and Historical Documents," Box 1, Folder 14, Chemical laboratory for women at MIT, MHS, 2.
29 WEA, "Founding and Historical Documents," Box 1, Folder 5, Women's Education Association and public school education, undated, MHS, 21.
30 WEA, Box 1, Folder 5, MHS, 1.
31 WEA, "Founding and Historical Documents," Box 1, Folder 8, Lectures on miscellaneous topic, 1881-1909, MHS, 1-12.
32 WEA, Box 1, Folder 5, MHS, 2.

the curriculum."[33] This obstacle is reflected in the fact that efforts afterwards mostly pertained to home economic subjects such as a cooking school opened by the association in 1879.[34] The WEA would also receive letters from public school teachers that updated the association on the status of their school as well as request funding. One letter from Louisa P. Hopkins asks the WEA if they would be able to supply her school with teaching guides for science which "although easily obtained are in the hands of very few teachers."[35] These guides were a simple way that teachers could more easily teach students who attended public schools with less funding and students who were not "apt to purchase books for their own use."[36] Through these actions, the WEA proved that they were dedicated not only to their own educational opportunities, but also to that of the generations of women to come.

The WEA also worked to assist women with the funding needed to attend college in the form of foreign fellowships. Merit-based grants like these constituted a major leap in supporting women who did not have a wealthy family or husband to support them. Susan M. Kingsbury wrote 18 years after receiving her fellowship, saying that now when she signs "a letter telling a student that we [Bryn Mawr College] are awarding her a scholarship here, my mind reverts to the vision of promise which came to me that day," referring to the day she received the WEA fellowship.[37] Another student, Mary Trueblood Paine, who received the funding while studying to become a teacher, noted the value in obtaining "a new view of our own educational methods and problems" that being in a foreign country brings.[38] These letters written over a decade after receiving the funds are a testament to the impact that the WEA had on the recipients and as an extension, exemplifies the impact it had on Boston as a whole. Both of the women quoted somewhat became extensions of the WEA's cause, with Kingsbury in a position where she is able to provide scholarships for the higher education of women and Paine studying to become a teacher that would be able to see the benefit in broadening all of her students' education.

The Women's Education Association of Boston was an expression of the attitudes of women towards education in the Progressive Era. It demonstrated the difficulty of progressing in the face of social norms, the tenacity needed to

33 John L. Rury, "Vocationalism for Home and Work: Women's Education in the United States, 1880-1930," *History of Education Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1984): pp. 21-44, https://doi.org/10.2307/367991, 22.
34 WEA, Box 1, Folder 5, MHS, 2.
35 Ibid, 13.
36 Ibid, 15.
37 WEA, "Founding and Historical Documents," Box 1, Folder 17, Fellowships, MHS, 5.
38 Ibid, 4.

achieve society altering goals, and the importance of women's groups within the fight for equality between the sexes. The final words at the last meeting of the WEA stated that "[e]ven now, we should be distraught if we did not feel we could count on a continuance of the sympathy, faith, and generosity that began in the meetings of the Woman's Education Association."[39] These words should inspire individuals today to continue and extend the efforts of the WEA by using the same levels of creativity and persistence and pushing for the betterment of education for marginalized communities.

In the present day, remnants of the WEA's work still exist in the city of Boston. Colleges such as Harvard's Radcliffe school for women and Simmons College still stand and operate, although both now have some level of co-education. Even though the WEA had its last meeting in 1929, women did not stop fighting for equality in education. Groups of women continued rallying together to achieve their goals because historically, "anti-discriminatory policies in higher education as in other organizations, gained credence through the determined efforts of civil rights and women's rights groups demanding greater representation, inclusion, and a voice in the political process."[40] Finally, in 1972, it became a federal crime for public educational programs to discriminate based on sex as Title IX of the Education Amendments was signed into law.[41] After centuries of waiting, women began flooding the universities across the country, and since 1984, women have been the majority in all levels of higher education.[42] With this education, women have continued to rally for the betterment of society through equality, and it has been found that "women legal scholars within research universities have been in the forefront of efforts to end discriminatory personnel practices affecting women and minorities."[43] This effort goes beyond the work of the WEA by working with women of color who were not mentioned within the records of the WEA's history. Women of color and women of the lower class were mostly ignored within women's movements during the Progressive Era as they were focused on benefits for white middle class and wealthy women. Today, the fight for education for this group is relatively accomplished compared to the work that still has to be done to give equal opportunities to communities that have been, and continue to be, oppressed.

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39 WEA, "Annual reports of the WEA, 1873-1929," Box 13, Folder 24, WEA annual reports, 1928-1929, MHS, 14.
40 Mary Danowitz Sagaria, *Women, Universities, and Change: Gender Equality in the European Union and the United States*, 161.
41 Ibid, 163.
42 Ibid, 167.
43 Ibid, 170.

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From Marco Polo to Sir John Mandeville: How Travel Writing Reshapes Our Global Perspective on Art History

Kenneth Wong (CAS 2024)

Medieval western travelers, such as Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville, were known to have a fascination with the exoticism of Islamic and Oriental cultures. For both, the presence of Islam was a foreign concept that drew striking parallels with their Christian faith. Engagement with these Western texts is still relevant to our rational readers, whether their anecdotal evidence is considered baseless. Contemporary medievalists, including Anthony Bale and Sebastian Sobecki, establish a set of theoretical frameworks that explores numerous key themes and ideas in medieval travel writing. For instance, these scholars contend that European travelers sought to explore outside, non-western worlds that transcended their preconceived notions about metaphysics.[1] Polo and Mandeville's travel narrative is, structurally, a form of expository writing that illuminates the imaginary concept of place; the two sought to emphasize the importance of "actual places" because of their "certain amount of anxiety about" the differences between "western Christians and people of other religions and cultures."[2] It is also important not to overlook the nuances of both texts: while Mandeville's generalizations about Christianity and the Islam did not appear to be condemnatory, Polo was not hesitant to express his bigoted views concerning the cultural practices and social mores of indigenous peoples in the Middle East. This article aims to understand if Eurocentrism is still instrumental in helping us to understand the broader picture of medieval global art for art historians, students, and theorists alike. Arguably, these separate European travelogs are the constellation of memories, which prompt us to ask ourselves how one's subconscious biases reshape our perception of the past.

Polo and Mandeville's travel accounts demonstrate two opposing views on Islam during the late Middle Ages. Mandeville's *The Books of Marvels and Travels* presents a positive view on the Islamic religious traditions. Despite

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1 Anthony Bale and Sebastian Sobecki, eds. *Medieval English Travel: A Critical Anthology*, 2.
2 Bale and Sobecki, *Medieval English Travel*, 37.

some of its factual inaccuracies, Mandeville's text still paints a partial picture of the Arab world through European eyes. The book's particular reference to the cultural customs of the Saracens reflects Mandeville's apt observations about the distinction within the Islam's theological precepts. He argues that the Arabs used a wide range of names, for instance, *Messaph* or *Harmes*, to refer to the Book of Qur'an, depending on their cultural situations.[3] By explaining the etymology of these foreign words, he sought to emphasize that the abstract motif of holiness is commonplace in Christianity's religious doctrine. For medieval people, manuscripts, travel memoirs, and religious scriptures were used for cultural communication and religious evangelization. It would not be a surprise if Mandeville was somehow familiar with Ibn Al-Bawwab's script of the Qur'an, the first and earliest written calligraphic product from the Abbasid dynasty, while he was traveling outbound. Looking at the use of textiles, coloring patterns, paragraphing and symbols in this medieval manuscript, one can assume that it has multifaceted functions of illumination, devotional or sacramental practices, and literary exegesis. Written in medieval Arabic, the script conforms to a peculiar style of formatting that allows itself to become more reader friendly. This medieval Qur'an manuscript also bears resemblance to the Dutch Book of Hours, a well-known late medieval and renaissance Christian devotional text. Thus, these overlapping features of medieval manuscripts, from European to Arabic cultures, encapsulates the absurdity of physical, disciplinary and cultural boundaries.

There is one possibility that Mandeville was, albeit inaccurately, cognizant of the commonality between Christianity and the Islam: "good men, when they are dead, will go to Paraise, and the wicked shall go to the pains of Hell. All Saracens believe this firmly."[4] Mandeville, a well-observed courtier, was well versed with several overlapping aspects of eternal afterlife in Abrahamic faiths–that is, the eschatological dichotomy of heaven and hell. At a more fundamental level, his account provides us with a distorted view of the Saracens, a pejorative term, concerning their imitation of the Judeo-Christian Incarnation: "they will willingly speak of the Virgin Mary; they say that she was taught by an angel, and that the angel Gabriel told her that she had been chosen by God before the world's beginning to conceive Jesus Christ and bear Him."[5] At best, there is considerable credit within Mandeville's anecdotal narrative, particularly his views on the Qur'an; at worse, his baseless speculations oversimplify how complicated the macrocosm of world religions can be. This also explains why the Eurocentric ideology and cultural generalization present

3 John Mandeville, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, 211.
4 Mandeville, *The Travels of Mandeville*, 211.
5 Ibid, 212.

greater problems for understanding the cultures of Otherness. It is therefore that Mandeville's words might carry less credibility than those who have been residing in a foreign country for their lifetime.

With respect to Islam's religious practice, Marco Polo had a controversial, subjective, and perverse viewpoint on the Saracens. His travelog is at any rate not comparable to Mandeville's synthesis between Christian and Arabic cultures. His condescending remarks about the indigenous Saracens show no signs of appreciation or respect: "from the incarnation of Christ there was a caliph in Baghdad who had a violent ill will against Christians."[6] Polo's discriminatory speech is a perfect instance of showing how sweeping judgments distort one's accurate understanding of our past. As opposed to Mandeville's misconception of Islam, Polo's comments on the Saracens come across as judgmental. By further mentioning that the Saracens are "wicked and treacherous," Polo one-sidedly accuses the Muslims of being the culprits for religious genocide.[7] In the case of Marco Polo's *Travels*, we realize that covert and overt forms of racial bigotry were rampant at Polo's time. The recurrence of this particular social stigma also tells us that there is an urgency for us to understand why they were inclined to think along these lines and reading the relevant works of recent scholarship helps. Critics Bale and Sobecki, for instance, see how the institutional nature of Christian hegemony constitutes a social stigma for European travelers: "Christianity fetishizes spiritual nomadism in its many guises [...] Christian culture was intimately connected to the literalization of sacred place."[8] In this instance, both Mandeville and Polo see their respective journeys as a form of escapism: their aspirations to achieve a high degree of personal autonomy – that is, to liberate themselves from religious orthodoxy in times of medieval torment and grief. It is inevitable that these European travelers had biases about their insights, observations, and emotions in their notebooks, which also limited their readers to read their past through these exclusive voices, but not the actual indigenous settlers.

International trade and commerce are other common themes associated with medieval art from a global perspective. Both Polo and Mandeville share the view that silk was a holy object that served as a significant symbol for medieval ruling aristocrats, especially since it granted these travelers some protective power and a sense of holiness. In his *Travels*, Polo recounted his experience of visiting a bustling, vibrant city named Yaza. He claims that it is a very fine and splendid city and a busy trading center. A silk fabric called *yazdi* is manufactured here in large quantities and profitably exported by merchants

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6 Marco Polo, *The Travels*, 24.
7 Ibid, 28-29.
8 Bale and Sobecki, eds. *Medieval English Travel: A Critical Anthology*, 5.

to many parts."[9] Silk became a catalyst for profiteering and money-making in the Middle Ages as merchants noticed how producing, selling and buying these luxury goods in the global market would benefit them financially. Even more interestingly, art historian Stephen Wagner presents an elaborating claim about the socio-political value of silk on a global scale: "silk's qualities of luxury, versatility and scarcity perpetuated its status as a prized material."[10] It is true that the delicacy of silk was an aesthetic appeal to the rich, mainly because of its luminescent qualities. Gold, unlike silk, was not valuable at the medieval time because it did not become an important commodity for forging diplomatic relationships between sellers and buyers.

Polo described the *Tartars*, a group of Turkic-speaking ethnic peoples in west-central Asia, as a group of privileged and entitled aristocrats. The fact that the affluent ones who dress up with "gold and silk" or "rich furs of sable, ermine, vair and fox" explains their preference for extravagant opulence in everyday dressing.[11] Their practice of silk wearing was a social norm that helped oneself to elevate their social standing in the public domain. The materiality of "gold" and "sable" has an implicit relationship with the role of textiles and embroidery in the early Islamic period. Two other art historians, Maryam Ekhtiar and Julia Cohen, clarify that *tiraz* is a proper term to address this specific type of inscribed, richly embroidered textiles as they played a pivotal role in the political and religious life of early Islam.[12] Polo's reference to *Tartar*, *tiraz* silk, is in complete contradiction with the unique type of *tiraz* in other inscribed textiles. This uninscribed *tiraz* was adorned with medallions, but it might not necessarily have the same purpose of glorifying any caliph as the *Tartar*'s one. The tapestry-woven texture appearing on the silk bears some resemblance with the camel-like creatures that global traders would normally be dependent on in their silk-road voyages.

One important thing we must also address is that most sources tell their readers that the production of silk was "the most luxurious fabric available to medieval Europeans, [since] it was so costly that only the upper classes – and the Church – could attain it."[13] As a matter of fact, medieval Arabic rulers also similarly saw silk as their symbol of valor and authority, if we take a closer look at the Mandeville text: "The King [Natumeran] is a great and mighty

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9 Polo, *The Travels*, 33.
10 Stephen Wagner, "The Impact of Silk in the Middle Ages," Textile Society of America, September 14, 2016, https://textilesocietyofamerica.org/6326/the-impact-of-silk-in-the-middle-ages.
11 Polo, *The Travels*, 72.
12 Maryam Ekhitar and Julia Cohen, "Tiraz: Inscribed Textiles from the Early Islamic Period," The Met Museum, New York, July 2015, https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/tira/hd_tira.htm.
13 Melissa Snell, "Silk Production and Trade in Medieval Times," ThoughtCo, January 27, 2019, https://www.thoughtco.com/silk-lustrous-fabric-1788616.

lord, rich, and very devout according to his creed. He has a round neck with a cord of silk on which are three hundred precious stones [orient pearls], like our rosary of amber."[14] We can thus acknowledge the fact that medieval Christian and Muslim rulers shared their ways of relying upon silk for power politics, diplomacy and the cult of personality.

In the final analysis, Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville have divergent notions about the concept of "Otherness"–both of whom did not agree that Islam establishes any cultural affinity with their Christian heritage. These two medieval travelers fail to see eye-to-eye on several things associated with interreligious conventions, such as the comparability between the Judeo-Christian Bible and the Qur'anic narratology, as well as their value judgment on non-Christian believers. However, they agreed silk to be a commodity for aiding medieval rulers to secure their reigns. Although Polo held some degree of racial prejudice, he had a curious mind for cultural traits that seemed alien to him by constructing parallels between these Abrahamic religions. Nonetheless, his reference to the Qur'an manuscript in the travelog evokes a sense of timelessness in places and histories: people still seek wisdom from religion, yearning for wellness in a sea of self-doubt and despair.

14 Mandeville, *The Travels*, 276.

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Nobody Expects the Mexican Inquisition: The Trial of Doña Teresa De Aguilera y Roche

Dina Famin (CAS 2023)

In 1664, Doña Teresa De Aguilera y Roche, wife of the governor of New Mexico, stood before the Mexican Inquisition accused of "forty-one counts of heresy," chief among them the suspicion of practicing Judaism. Her case was dismissed in December of that year; her husband, Don Bernardo Lopez de Mendizabal, accused of "257 counts of heresy," died in prison while Doña Teresa defended herself against the allegations.[1] Despite being granted a lawyer after her initial trial, Doña Teresa campaigned for herself against the court, maintaining that she and her husband had been falsely accused, and putting together a list of suspects: both the claim and her counter-accusation were ultimately proven true.

The case of Doña Teresa is rare but not outstanding, both due to her self-advocacy and elite status. The Mexican Inquisition, which was established in 1569[2] and functioned well into the nineteenth century, primarily targeted enslaved Africans, Indigenous Americans, or members of the large mixed-race population. An expansion of the Spanish Inquisition, established in 1478, fourteen years before Christopher Columbus arrived in the Caribbean on Spain's behalf, that same year expelled Jews from Spain. Its primary mission was the upholding of Catholicism—ramped up for Muslim expulsion in the early sixteenth century, then once again increased mid-sixteenth century due to the Protestant Reformation and subsequent Catholic Counter-Reformation—through a consolidation of a Catholic front against heresy, witchcraft, and magic, any practice that did not align with newly-established church doctrine. The details and chronology of Doña Teresa's case before the Mexican Inquisition is presented by Ramón Gutiérrez in a 2015 study entitled "The Travails of a Seventeenth-Century Aristocratic Woman in New Mexico." He describes that due to financial, political, and personal reasons, the governor and his wife were denounced to the Mexican Inquisition by a conspiracy, identified by Doña Teresa during the trial. She denounced, in turn, "Don Juan Manso de Contreras, the man who preceded Don Bernardo as New Mexico's governor and was now

1 Gutiérrez, Ramón A. "Doña Teresa De Aguilera y Roche before the Inquisition: The Travails of a Seventeenth-Century Aristocratic Woman in New Mexico," 2015, 7-8.

2 Giles, Mary E. "Introduction." *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, 1999, 8.

commissary of the Inquisition," Catalina Bernal, who had stolen from Doña Teresa and seduced her husband despite her punishments, and Josephina de Sandoval, "who most extensively describes what went on in Doña Teresa's household for the Inquisition."[3] Another factor in the accusation was the power struggle between the Franciscan order and the government in New Mexico. Yet another reason, not presented by Ramón Gutiérrez's singular study of Doña Teresa's plight, was the established misogynistic culture of both New Mexico and its parent Spain that demonized women in both the secular and religious spheres for decades before the establishment of the Mexican Inquisition.

The Spanish borderlands, of which New Mexico was a prime example, consisting of only eight hundred citizens,[4] were harsh on European women. Spaniards saw the frontier of their American holdings as a place of opportunity and exploration, yet none denied its danger; that, in fact, was one of the frontier's selling points. In case of success, the frontier could literally prove to be a goldmine; it was also an area of often forced sexual conquest for the Spaniard. Thus, frontier societies were more accommodating and integrative, and many Spanish soldiers married Indigenous women in an attempt to gain power or simply due to the absence of European women. Let it not be said, however, that European women were fully absent. In a study of five Spanish expeditions, Daniel S. Murphree highlights that despite scarce documentation, European women were present during Spanish conquest and often played key roles. He posits that female participation in expeditions changed their dynamics, that subsequent documentation showed those women in a negative light, and that this perspective often cast the women as scapegoats for failed ventures.[5] One such perspective arose in Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 publication of Panfilo de Narvàez's 1527-1528 expedition to Florida. The expedition's women either "came directly from Spain with their husbands" or "resided and married in Cuba before joining the expedition."[6] Their presence was due to the crown's hope of preserving Christianity in conquered lands, which would be handled in the personal sphere by wives and mothers. Already, the expected role of European women is shown to be contained to the home in subservience to their husbands. One of the women, however, might have "either adhered to Islamic spiritual beliefs or was a Morisca, a former Muslim who had converted to Christianity," because when the men embarked on a journey inland, she prophesized that they would not return and their wives would do best to remar-

3 Gutiérrez, 26.
4 Ibid., 9.
5 Murphree, Daniel S. "Gendering the Borderlands: Conquistadors, Women, and Colonialism in Sixteenth-Century Florida," 2012, 49.
6 Ibid., 51.

ry.[7] It is a testament to the strength of her rhetoric that all the women abandoned the expedition and remarried before their husbands returned. It is a testament to existing Spanish prejudices that the unnamed woman is singled out in de Vaca's account as a source of marital strife and the scapegoat for the expedition's failure. Counting on a Spanish audience that would share his opinions, de Vaca established the presence of women, disregarded them in his narrative, and mentioned them only at the end of the narrative in explaining its failure. He also established European religious divisions in a New World context, a division which would culminate with the Mexican Inquisition. Another case Murphree presents, that of the 1559 Florida expedition under Tristan de Luna y Arellana, likewise blames its failure on women. In this instance, wives remained loyal to their husbands—and they in turn loyal to their wives. So loyal, in fact, that they refused de Luna's orders to go further inland and requested to return home with their families,[8] linking women once more to disloyalty and strife.

The demonization of European women in Spanish expansion efforts accompanied the dehumanization of "native women as symbols of exchange and domination."[9] European women were primed for Inquisitorial victimization by their social existence below husbands and their convenient presence as scapegoats. Where the European woman was responsible for the home, the Indigenous woman became responsible for the man, doing the socially 'understood' but scorned 'duty' of giving him sexual gratification. This overt sexualization of Indigenous women tied into the prevailing ideas of witchcraft and sorcery, which were often accompanied by a sexual freedom, which made them targets by the Inquisition.

"Magic," which Stuart Clark calls a "broader" term than 'witchcraft,' was "adopted mostly as a term of refusal and exclusion by those representing orthodoxies […] who were anxious to repudiate beliefs and practices they found to be deviant."[10] The practice of magic, in both Europe and the Americas, became "a form of conceptual and linguistic—and physically violent—acculturation"[11] as people balanced traditional systems of belief against a newly-standardized Christianity, whether Protestant or Catholic. Attempting to bring order and impose control from above, broad accusations of discovery of "pagans, idolaters, and demons"[12] in Northern Europe abounded. Accusations of specifically of witchcraft targeted both free and enslaved Africans as "many Spanish traditions […] linked dark skin with the devil" and

7 Ibid., 52-53.
8 Murphree, 57-58.
9 Murphree, 64.
10 Clark, Stuart. "Magic and Witchcraft," 2007, 116.
11 Ibid., 117.
12 Ibid., 124.

"the rituals of various African peoples were" seen as "demonic in origin."[13] Although most victims of the Inquisition in the Spanish colonies were non-white citizens and elites—including Spanish-identifying mixed-race citizens—the rule was not set in stone. Cases like that of Doña Teresa, however, serve to highlight differences in racial and class treatments by the Inquisition.

It is no surprise that Doña Teresa herself was not accused of witchcraft, only of collusion with witches, identified most commonly as African and Indigenous women who passed on herbs and techniques for the subduction of men.[14] She denied these accusations, as well as the principal charge of practicing Judaism in secret. The cause of the Inquisition has been traced to religious tensions as well as "political, economic, social, and racial ones."[15] Iberian antisemitism was behind the Inquisition's first decree, the expulsion or conversion of Spanish Jews in 1492. The attack was two-pronged: first it targeted Jews as a group, then converts on the basis of insufficient faith, a practice later applied in the New World. Although racial tensions in the Americas were predicated on different prejudices, "Jews and Indians [were] not infrequently conflated conceptually because of perceived similarities,"[16] and old persecutions mixed with new. Doña Teresa was caught in the middle, accused not only of Judaism but of American Indigenous-inspired witchcraft.

Returning to the matter of gender, Doña Teresa was not only subject to the usual scrutiny of a frontier woman but, as a Spanish-born elite, was subject to the continental gaze as well. In the sixteenth century, as the Catholic church was redefining itself, "the prescriptions for appropriate, gendered behavior became more rigid,"[17] and women had to adapt to changing but yet-undefined expectations. The women most affected were in some way connected to the church as female participation and capacity for holiness was questioned. The "theological [definition] of womanhood often associated women with Eve, suggesting that they were unable to make moral decisions"[18] and the connection of women with the devil was reestablished based on women's "morally weaker"[19] nature. Many of the women under fire from the Inquisition were fighting to be canonized,

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13 White, Heather Rachelle. "Between the Devil and the Inquisition: African Slaves and the Witchcraft Trials in Cartagena de Indies," 2005, 3.

14 Behar, Ruth. "Sexual Witchcraft, Colonialism, and Women's Powers: Views from the Mexican Inquisition," *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*, 1989.

15 Giles, 5.

16 Schorsch, Jonathan. "Blacks, Jews and the Racial Imagination in the Writings of Sephardim in the Long Seventeenth Century," 2005, 112.

17 Ahlgren, Gillian T. W. "Negotiating Sanctity: Holy Women in Sixteenth-Century Spain," 1995, 373.

18 Ibid., 374.

19 Ibid., 377.

and proved their legitimacy through the assertion of not only their holy nature but their masculine qualities.[20] Although she was not a religious figure, Doña Teresa was uncommonly educated, "speaking Italian, French, and Spanish and reading broadly, even in Latin."[21] She was able to recite "the Our Father, Ave Maria, Credo, and Salve Regina" on command,[22] a task which the Inquisition found notable and one that was uncommon in most cases. It is likely that due to her education, she was viewed similarly to would-be female saints: with greater respect due to her European ancestry but with greater scrutiny as any wrong she committed would have been done with a full knowledge of Christianity rather than as a consequence of ignorance, as many Indigenous converts were viewed.

Socially, Doña Teresa was subject to the now-defined institution of marriage, which had been discussed at the mid-sixteenth century Council of Trent.[23] Both her accusation and defense rested on the infidelity of her husband, Don Bernardo, a secret widely known in Santa Fe but not previously stated by Doña Teresa. Why should a woman in that position not turn to witchcraft? Why not?—and yet Doña Teresa defended herself, staunchly sticking to her innocence: "I am a Catholic Christian and if I suffer it is due to the persecution by my enemies."[24] Such strength would have impressed the would-be saints facing the Inquisition across the Atlantic Ocean. She admitted her husband's infidelity and her helplessness in the matter, a social humiliation at the cost of freedom, for she had done nothing to remedy her husband's stepping out other than expelling the women who tempted him most.

Gutiérrez, in his composition of Doña Teresa's story, attributes the denunciation to political and economic factors, equal parts secular and religious. There was no evidence, other than a clean house on Fridays and Saturdays, of the governor and his wife practicing Judaism. There was the typical "fractious wrangling [...] at the end of every governor's administration when a review of his term, known as a residencia, took place,"[25] which featured the seizure of property. In a frontier setting where power was not mediated and riches were easily won, a governor could advance by "availing [him]self to a predecessor's wealth"—Don Bernardo did exactly that[26] and 1664 only turned the tides back. Reportedly a cruel woman, Doña Teresa fell victim to the jealousy and revenge of Catalina and Josephina. In the second, impersonal motive of the denunciation, she was

20 Ibid., 380.
21 Gutiérrez, 10.
22 Ibid., 14.
23 Lavrin, Asuncion. "Introduction: The Scenario, the Actors, and the Issues." *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*, 1989, 6.
24 Gutiérrez, 15.
25 Ibid., 29.
26 Ibid., 30.

completely innocent. The Franciscan Order "brooked little secular interference in their Christianization of the Indians, and did everything in their power to rid themselves of civilian critics and challengers."[27] Gutiérrez gives no instances of the governor and his wife impeding the order, but perhaps it was just their presence that was the problem. Whatever the case, "Doña Teresa became trapped as a pawn in the struggles between two powerful men,"[28] an experience compounded by the historical plight of women in Spanish continental, colonial, and religious culture. She had the strength and education to campaign for herself—aided by a family-hired lawyer—and ultimately escaped the Inquisition, a benefit that her sickly husband did not receive, and one that was facilitated by her elite status.

27 Ibid., 29.
28 Ibid., 38.

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For the Sake of Equality: Japan's Policy on Emigration to America, 1906–1924

Gideon Gordon (CAS/Pardee 2024)

From 1906 to 1924, Japan and the United States had repeated diplomatic conflicts over the treatment of Japanese immigration to the American West. In the first of these crises (1906–1908), the two nations agreed to the Gentlemen's Agreement, an unofficial arrangement under which Japan would moderate its own emigration to the United States while the US would not pass laws discriminating against Japanese immigrants. After sixteen years of expansion and modification, as well as continued discrimination against Japanese people in California and other states, the United States legislature unilaterally abrogated the agreement through the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924.[1] The origins of the Gentlemen's Agreement, repeated Japanese expansions of the Agreement's scope during the sixteen years, and Japanese outrage at the abrogation despite the limited impact on emigration levels indicate the agreement's role in Japan's strategy to ensure that the West recognized Japan's dignity as an equal civilization.

I will argue that the racial equality between Japan and the West was a key component of Japanese foreign policy during the period under consideration due to Japan's history of semi-sovereignty, and that Japan attempted to protect this interest through its emigration policy. Alternate perspectives on emigration to the United States as a potential outlet for the island nation's growing population might point to how Japanese authors used this exclusion from America as a justification for expansionism elsewhere, but these arguments do not explain Japan's policies, which sacrificed Japanese emigration to protect *de jure* equality. The Japanese adoption of the Gentlemen's Agreement involved substantial efforts to accommodate US exclusionists while receiving primarily symbolic benefits in return, while Japan's later restrictions on

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1 John Roger Stemen, "The Diplomacy of the Immigration Issue: A Study In Japanese-American Relations, 1894-1941," 230-232. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1960. *ProQuest*. https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.bu.edu/docview/301840190?pq-origsite=primo. I rely upon John Roger Stemen's 1960 dissertation for Indiana University for the general facts of the case, as it is one of the few full-length sources on the diplomacy of US-Japan immigration as such, though I may disagree with his interpretation.

emigration to Mexico sacrificed another outlet for emigrants to preserve the Agreement. Finally, Japan's protest against the 1924 Immigration Act made explicit the link between racial equality and equal sovereignty. The failure of these efforts resulted in a rise in Japanese anti-American sentiment and indicated the limited and contingent nature of Japan's recognition as a "civilized" nation by Western powers.

Gaining recognition for equality between Japanese and Westerners was a core part of Japanese foreign policy throughout the 19th and early 20th century. In his 1933 Foreign Affairs article entitled "The Permanent Bases of Japanese Foreign Policy," Kikujiro Ishii, a Japanese diplomat notable for his involvement in the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, lists "equality" alongside "security" as one of Japan's two central foreign policy objectives.[2] The nature of this foreign policy objective, according to Ishii, was that "[Japan] shall not be made the object of discrimination and derogatory treatment by any of the nations with whom she has relations."[3] As a key Japanese diplomat, Ishii would have intimate awareness of the internal deliberations over the nature of Japanese interests and his explanation is therefore fairly credible.

Ishii writes that the origin of the objective of equality was in Japan's history of semi-sovereign status, which conveyed "a stigma of inferiority in the shape of unequal treaties which deprived her of judicial and tariff autonomy."[4] He records Japan's repeated efforts to revise its semi-sovereign status, from the failed Iwakura Mission of 1871–1873 to its final success in ending British extraterritorial rights in 1894. Writing for a Western audience in an English-language journal, Ishii avoids directly criticizing the injustice of extraterritoriality, and claims that it played an important role in "spur[ring] the Japanese to greater efforts towards internal rehabilitation."[5] Still, in his eyes, the lack of equal treatment for Japan implied a limit to full Japanese rights as a civilized country and was therefore as important to its future as territorial and economic security, warranting its inclusion alongside security as a central objective.

Ishii first mentions the issue of immigration to the United States within the context of Japan's struggle for equality. For him, the exclusionary United States immigration policy was a normative step back towards Japan's former semi-sovereign status. In explaining why exclusionism was a point of con-

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2 Kikujiro Ishii, "The Permanent Bases of Japanese Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs*, January 1933, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/japan/1933-01-01/permanent-bases-japanese-foreign-policy.
3 Ishii, "The Permanent Bases of Japanese Foreign Policy."
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.

flict, Ishii writes that "in Japan's opinion the common dictates of international justice [...] require that no nation shall single out for discrimination any other nation which has by common consent been recognized as one of the civilized Powers of the world."[6] His explanation draws a connection between Japan's recognition as a civilized power and Japan's right to equal treatment: if the latter was not recognized, recognition of the former could be in doubt. Japan designed its policy to maintain public recognition of Japanese equality, which would in turn protect the nation from a return to semi-sovereign status. Therefore, Japan had an interest in ensuring that the United States did not once again tar it with a "stigma of inferiority"[7] by treating its immigrants especially poorly relative to immigrants from elsewhere.

Ishii's categorization of the US emigration issue further suggests that economic and security interests were not at stake. The diplomat discusses emigration in his section on "equality," while discussing Japan's economic motive for expanding into Manchuria as a "security" interest. This categorization implies that in contrast to conquests on the Asian mainland, which served Japan's economic and security needs, US treatment of Japanese immigrants was primarily a threat to the recognition of its equality, not its economic security.

A contrary view of Japanese interests in emigration could claim that Japan viewed emigration to any location as a method of relieving population pressure. This view might find support in former Japanese Prime Minister Reijiro Wakatsuki's 1935 *Foreign Affairs* article, "The Aims of Japan." In his article, he implies that the exclusion of Japanese immigrants was a challenge to Japan's demographic and economic future. He argues, after a brief review of Japanese foreign policy history, that Japan was "destined to grow and expand overseas" and its exclusion from "vast areas with scanty populations" like the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand required it to expand onto the Asian mainland into Manchuria.[8] Wakatsuki therefore claims that expansion into Manchuria is a "matter of life and death" for Japan.[9] To Wakatsuki, emigration was necessary for Japan's development since it would relieve overpopulation. It would therefore be simple to conclude that Japan simply formulated its emigration policy as an outlet for excess population.

However, writing in 1935, Wakatsuki implies a vital interest in emigration at a point when Japanese exclusion was effectively a *fait accompli*, having occurred eleven years earlier. During the Gentlemen's Agreement era, Japan

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6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Reijiro Wakatsuki, "The Aims of Japan," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1935, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/japan/1935-07-01/aims-japan.
9 Wakatsuki, "The Aims of Japan."

had expressed hopes that discriminatory sentiment was "the outcome of unfortunate local conditions."[10] Wakatsuki, however, recognized that "the wishes of the American people" as a whole had brought about Japanese exclusion and therefore does not intend to challenge it.[11] The former Prime Minister does more to justify Japan's expansion elsewhere than to argue for America's doors to reopen. The link he implies appears to be rhetorical, rather than an expression of Japan's actual emigration policy during the period considered.

Notably, the diplomatic exchanges on the emigration issue from 1908–1924 contain no reference to Japan's overpopulation. Ten years later, in 1935, overpopulation did appear in diplomatic conversations between Japan and the United States, but there it served to justify Japan's acquisition of mineral resources as well as Japan's imperialism in China.[12] There is a possibility that Japan's population growth in the ten years between the end of the Gentlemen's Agreement and Wakatsuki's article led to increased concern over the issue, but at this point Japanese emigration to the United States was no longer a priority for Japan and went unmentioned when discussing possible solutions to the overpopulation crisis. At any rate, overpopulation was not a subject of conversation in the 1910s and 1920s.

In contrast to the silence on overpopulation, the United States State Department was clearly aware during the 1920s that Japan's central objective was ensuring *de jure* equal treatment. Ambassador Roland S. Morris, the US Ambassador to Japan, expresses this understanding of the Japanese government's interests in a 1921 memorandum to the Acting Secretary of State. Morris writes that the difference between an agreement which had Japan willingly limit its own emigration and unilateral US exclusion of Japanese immigrants, "which may appear somewhat subtle to us, is vital to the Japanese people."[13] Morris had no reason to conceal Japanese interest in emigration to the US as an outlet in his communications with Washington, if such an interest existed. One can reasonably expect that, as a diplomat in direct contact with Japan's foreign policy leadership, Morris' understanding of the key issues involved in

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10 Kato Takaaki, "Protest of Japan Against Certain Land Laws of the State of California," June 9, 1914, 426-427.

11 Wakatsuki, "The Aims of Japan."

12 Stanley K. Hornbeck, "Memorandum by the Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs (Hornbeck)." Memorandum, June 25, 1936. 711.94/1115. Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers, 1936, The Far East, Volume IV. https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1936v04/d212.

13 Roland S. Morris, "The Ambassador in Japan (Morris), on Detail in the Department of State, to the Acting Secretary of State." Diplomatic Note, January 25, 1921. 811.5294/850. Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of The United States, 1921, Volume II. https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1921v02/d306.

negotiations with Japan is accurate, especially since it directly corroborates the analyses of Ishii, a contemporary Japanese diplomat.

An examination of Japan's behavior and of the writings of contemporary analysts during the period of the Gentlemen's Agreement (1908–1924) lends further credence to the idea that Japan did not seek emigration as an outlet, but rather shaped its emigration policy to prevent explicit US discrimination and an attack on Japanese equality. The evidence shows that if emigration to the United States was in fact a Japanese objective, Japanese interest in avoiding discrimination generally outweighed that objective.

The island nation's adoption of the 1908 Agreement reveals the general strategy Japan intended to use to protect its symbolic interest in racial equality. Japan would reduce its own emigration to the United States, especially of working-class laborers, in order to prevent the United States from implementing any explicitly exclusionary immigration policies. In theory, this would protect Japan's recognition as civilized while appeasing United States nativists.

Kiyo Sue Inui, a Japanese intellectual, lecturer, and peace advocate who toured the United States in the early 20th century, had an identical understanding of the strategy behind the Gentlemen's Agreement. Inui wrote a retrospective on the Gentlemen's Agreement in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. He argues in this piece, written within a year of the Agreement's abrogation, that the intent of the Gentlemen's Agreement was to "make offensive and discriminatory legislation unnecessary."[14] Inui was a civilian, and thus may have had a limited perspective on the decision-making of his government. But as an authority on the politics of Japan-United States relations and as the author of other articles on Japanese immigration to the United States, Inui remains a reliable source in terms of Japan's view on the issue. Here, his work corroborates Morris' and Ishii's views of Japanese goals, and describes how the Gentlemen's Agreement furthered those goals.

The origins of the Gentlemen's Agreement make its link to the goal of equality inarguable. The Americans and Japanese originally negotiated the Agreement to resolve a crisis which erupted in 1906 when the San Francisco city government forced Japanese children in the city to move to an "Oriental" school, segregating them from white children.[15] Though this was largely symbolic, given that only ninety-three Japanese students were in the school system in the first place, the implication of racial inferiority outraged the Japanese public. After a period of high tensions, President Theodore Roos-

14 Kiyo Sue Inui, "The Gentlemen's Agreement. How It Has Functioned," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 122 (1925): 197. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1016465.
15 Inui, "The Gentlemen's Agreement. How It Has Functioned," 189.

evelt negotiated a compromise by which San Francisco would allow Japanese children to attend the same schools as white children and not target Japanese immigrants with additional discriminatory policies. In exchange, Japan or the federal government would limit further Japanese immigration. Though the basic framework of the Gentlemen's Agreement was in place by 1907, the two countries finalized the terms in an exchange of diplomatic notes in 1908.[16] The 1906–1908 crisis emerged from school segregation, which had little to do directly with excluding Japanese immigrants (something only the federal government could do) but which challenged Japan's goal of equal treatment. The California government linked the issues of immigration and segregation in negotiations with President Roosevelt as an expression of California's nativist leanings rather than Japanese interests. If Japan cared more about its emigration to the United States than about its recognition as a racial equal, it would have had no reason to reduce emigration, especially given that it took concrete action itself and thus risked domestic criticism. However, Japan traded an end to segregation for limits on its emigration. Therefore, Japan cared more about its national and racial pride than it did about emigration.

The expansion of the Gentlemen's Agreement's scope over the course of the decade suggests that Japan intended to make sure that the agreement would satisfy American demands. These expansions came at the expense of Japan's ability to find an outlet for emigrants in the Americas. For example, Japan created restrictions on Japanese emigration to Mexico similar to restrictions on emigration to the US, which as Inui says is despite the fact that the Agreement "[could not] and [did] not cover that country."[17] The latter restriction may have been a response to concerns that Japanese immigrants to Mexico were crossing the southern border into the United States. However, America at no point during the Gentlemen's Agreement period demanded that Japan cease immigration to Mexico. If Japan's fundamental interest during this period was simply to relieve overpopulation issues, it would have had no reason to tie its own hand in immigration to Mexico. However, Japan had an interest in keeping immigration to the United States limited, even if said immigration was by a roundabout route, since limits on immigration appeased nativists in America and thus avoided discriminatory laws.

The Japanese government's strategy with the Gentlemen's Agreement was consistent and well-understood. The success of the Gentlemen's Agreement in actually preventing discrimination against Japanese immigrants, however, was dubious. Morris mentions that in 1911, less than four years after the Gentle-

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16 Stemen, "The Diplomacy of the Immigration Issue: A Study In Japanese-American Relations, 1894-1941," 46-89.

17 Inui, "The Gentlemen's Agreement: How It Has Functioned," 197.

men's Agreement was adopted, a California state senator introduced a bill which would deprive "aliens ineligible for citizenship" of the right to purchase or own land.[18] The bill failed in 1911, but a similar bill passed in 1913. The Japanese embassy complained that the 1913 law "undertook in effect to draw a distinction in the matter of such ownership between aliens belonging to different races."[19] California ignored the complaint, and the federal government had no constitutional method of preventing California from passing discriminatory laws at the state level. Japan's strategy could not secure recognition of equality under the law in California, despite the bargain it had struck in 1907-1908.

Further discriminatory legislation passed by referendum in December 1920 led to a series of meetings between Morris and Ambassador Shidehara, Japan's ambassador to Washington. In these meetings, the two attempted to develop a solution which could replace the Gentlemen's Agreement (Morris' aforementioned note to the Acting Secretary of State summarizes this meeting). After describing shortcomings he perceived in the Agreement, Morris suggests a negotiated treaty with Japan which will give the United States the power to enforce immigration restrictions. However, he writes that the treaty should be made through mutual consultation with Japan on a ground of equality, cautioning that "there can be no reasonable doubt of the deep feeling of resentment which has been roused among the people of Japan by the California legislation. It touches both their racial feeling and their national pride."[20] Protecting the norm of equal treatment was a very popular cause in Japanese politics, and Morris' recommendation indicates the seriousness with which the United States State Department approached Japan's concerns even when considering an end to the Agreement itself. Despite the Japanese strategy failing, its interest in equality remained strong.

However, though Morris recommended a new treaty, none emerged. Instead, in 1923, the United States legislature began considering the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act, which excluded all Asian immigration-- and since previous legislation had already excluded immigrants from practically everywhere else in Asia, legislators clearly intended to exclude Japanese immigrants with the Act. As Congress deliberated, Japanese Ambassador Hanihara made a final attempt to convince the US government to avoid discriminatory legislation. He wrote on January 15, 1924 that the previous Japanese concessions made in the Gentlemen's Agreement had been made because the US provided

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18 Kato, "Protest of Japan Against Certain Land Laws of the State of California" 426-427.
19 Minister of Foreign Affairs Kato Takaaki, "Protest of Japan Against Certain Land Laws of the State of California" 426–427.
20 Roland, "The Ambassador in Japan (Morris), on Detail in the Department of State, to the Acting Secretary of State," 392.

assurances "that there shall be no discriminatory legislation on the part of the United States against Japanese people as such."[21] In his letter, he frames Japan's concern in similar terms to the interests expressed by Ishii, explaining that "the important question is whether Japan as a nation is or is not entitled to the proper respect and consideration of other nations."[22] The justice of the Japanese claim was based on the fact that such "respect and consideration" is the "basis of amicable international intercourse throughout the civilized world (emphasis mine)."[23] Hanihara clearly ties Japan's grievance to denial of the rights which participation in the international system ought to secure. Japan's emergence from semi-sovereignty implied its full and equal participation in the international community. But in the eyes of US policymakers the Japanese remained permanent foreigners, alien and unassimilable. In the end, despite a direct recommendation against Japanese exclusion made by the Secretary of State to President Coolidge, the Johnson-Reed Act passed.[24] Japan's strategy to prevent exclusion through the Gentlemen's Agreement had finally collapsed entirely.

The consequences of Japanese exclusion went far beyond the limited economic or demographic impact Japanese exclusion had on Japan directly. US exclusion of Japanese immigrants produced an immediate outburst of anger against the United States. In Japan, a boycott formed against US goods and several men even committed suicide in protest.[25] The failure of the Gentlemen's Agreement cast a shadow over long-term Japanese relations with the United States as well. Japanese exclusion contributed to the social unrest which weakened the foundations of Japanese democracy in the 1920s, and thus helped clear the way for military rule.[26] These drastic consequences reflect the deep insult to national pride represented by America's rejection of Japanese racial equality.

Japan certainly did not object to the concept of civilized countries and uncivilized countries. Ishii appeals to very similar concepts when justifying Japan's colonial rule in Korea, writing "she had none of the moral stamina essential to an independent nation."[27] However, Japan viewed itself as belonging to the civilized camp, and believed that it had spent decades adequately proving that status to the West. Japan had intended to ensure consistent US

21 Hanihara, "The Japanese Embassy to the Department of State," January 15, 1924, 336.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Hughes, "The Secretary of State to President Coolidge," May 23, 1924, 391-393.
25 Woods, "The Ambassador in Japan (Woods) to the Secretary of State," June 4, 1924.
26 William R. Keylor, "The Rise and Fall of Japan's Supremacy in East Asia." In *The Twentieth-Century World and Beyond*, Oxford University Press, 2011, 220–50.
27 Ishii, "The Permanent Bases of Japanese Foreign Policy."

recognition of its equal and thus civilized status through its self-limiting emigration policy. The US government's discriminatory law of 1924, however, proved that Japan would be "civilized" with an asterisk, never truly equal in the international system.

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Deputy Husbands: 18th Century American Women and the Economy

Lindsay Allebest (CAS 2023)

Methods of transportation and communication were limited in the 18th-century American Colonies, and spouses were often separated from each other for weeks at a time. The Atlantic Seaboard was well-populated in urban areas, but for families in New England, for example, business and shopping trips took people far from home. With their husbands traveling miles at a time on horses, and with only hand-written and hand-carried letters to communicate, middle and lower-class wives were regularly left to manage the household on their own for extended periods of time. For those who lived on larger properties or had no regular household assistance, chores and economic work were part of women's daily routine. During the American Revolutionary War in the 1770s and 1780s, approximately 200,000 men served in the Continental Army and state militias, leaving their wives in charge for months on end with inconsistent communication.[1] At least twenty-five percent of the soldiers were above age twenty-six, the New England average age of marriage, "and their departures significantly disrupted family life."[2] Examining sources such as letters of correspondence between spouses, examples of specific working women, and documents detailing household expenses reveals the extensive role of 18th-century women in managing the economy as they worked alongside and independently of their husbands. Each woman played a unique economic role, depending on her strengths, marital relationship, class, and status, and although they usually deferred to their husbands to legitimize their contributions, these women contributed enormously to the American economy.

The importance of letter-writing between spouses in the 18th century cannot be overstated; archived letters contain intimate details and patterns that contribute greatly to the current understanding of women's roles in the 18th cen-

1 Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650-1750*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Knopf, 1982), 1-86. 1st ed., 1-86. New York, New York: Knopf, 1982.

2 Sara T. Damiano, "Writing Women's History Through the Revolution: Family Finances, Letter Writing, and Conceptions of Marriage," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (2017): 701, muse.jhu.edu/article/675317.

tury. Sara Damiano, historian of women and gender in the early United States, examines the exchanged letters between seven couples during the American Revolutionary War, specifically illuminating how marriage changed as a result of the war. She writes that these legal records, “ordinarily a rich archive for establishing a composite portrait of women’s economic activities,” exist in small quantities during the war as violence and instability forced courts to close.[3] Nearly every letter she examines, more than 600 in total, contains casual descriptions of daily life mixed with economic exchanges and business. Two themes emerge from the seven couples’ letters: their efforts to share economic duties, as was necessary over the periods of separation during the war, and the way couples changed the conventions of the familiar letter to better communicate with one another.[4] American Literature scholar Sarah Schuetze likewise recognizes the significance of the familial letter in Revolutionary America while discussing the impact smallpox had on letter-writing and soldiers returning home. She argues that in the 18th century United States, letters “wove patterns of connection” between settlements, carrying wartime information as well as words of comfort and hope. These letters often traveled through smallpox-infected and war-stricken regions to reach their intended recipients, who would wait eagerly for news of their friends and family.[5]

Dudley and Mary Colman—one of the seven couples that Damiano studied—include all of these topics in their letters exchanged between 1776 and 1778. Dudley Colman wrote to his wife regularly while stationed in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states during the war; in 1776, for instance, he wrote her up to five letters every month. The most notable pervasive theme in the Colman Papers is the economic and business exchanges between Dudley and Mary. Spouses separated by the war constantly mailed money and desired items or food back and forth, and the Colmans relay this information frequently. In January 1776, Dudley wrote to his wife:

> I received by Mr Noyes some Saufages & a Shirt [illegible] — I have sent by Mr Noyes 3 Cheese Mr Jaques tells me you will want some Coffee soon I have 100 wt ready when they come with the Teams again if there is anything you want please to write me word & I will send it.[6]

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3 Damiano, “Writing Women’s History,” 704.
4 Ibid, 705.
5 Sarah Schuetze, “Carrying Home the Enemy: Smallpox and Revolution in American Love and Letters, 1775–76,” *Early American Literature* 53, no. 1 (2018): 104-105, doi:10.2307/90019133.
6 Correspondence from Dudley Colman to Mary Colman, 17 January 1776, Ms. N-1015, Box 1, Folder 1, Dudley Colman Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

Beyond these simple exchanges, Dudley Colman often sent his wife money enclosed in his letters, along with instructions on running the household's finances. In June 1776, he informs his wife that he sold a mare at home and that she should continue to buy hay to fill the barn until his acquaintance collects the horse.[7] In September 1777, he asks her to watch the price of rum at home, but not to sell their stock of it while the price was still rising. [8]

Letters like these reveal how marital relationships became newly economically important during the Revolutionary War. Spouses had to collaborate through letter-writing to buy and sell goods, maintain their households, and continue their business as usual. Women, in frequent communication with their husbands, picked up these responsibilities.[9] Sara Damiano additionally points out that early modern books on being a competent wife "advocated that wives familiarize themselves with their husbands' businesses," so this was not a radical shift in societal gender roles.[10] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich describes the role of women in these circumstances as acting "deputy-husbands," filling their husbands' places in the economy by buying and selling goods, managing household finances, and acting in legal affairs, among many other responsibilities.[11] Ulrich's term recognizes the difficult, crucial work that women took up during this time period, moving into economic spaces with more legitimacy and power than was usually granted them, although these particular women only did so because their husbands' absence necessitated it. Ulrich cites a critic of this position, Alexander Keyssar, as stating that "Economic dependency, first upon husbands, then upon grown sons, characterized the lives of women," but Ulrich refutes this claim. She argues that colonial wives may have been politically and economically dependent on their husbands—because of the patriarchal economic and social system imposed on them, not because of a lack of ability or will— but were still valuable contributors. Similar to the way that 17th century ministers depended on their congregations to perform their trade, these women expected no reward or compensation for their work beyond financial security.[12] Wives did not expect to become equal business partners with their husbands, and though Dudley Colman and his fellow soldiers placed a great deal of trust in

7 Correspondence from Dudley Colman to Mary Colman, 12 June 1776, Ms. N-1015, Box 1, Folder 2, Dudley Colman Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.
8 Correspondence from Dudley Colman to Mary Colman, 21 September 1777, Ms. N-1015, Box 1, Folder 5, Dudley Colman Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.
9 Damiano, "Writing Women's History," 701.
10 Ibid, 706.
11 Ulrich, *Good Wives,* 35.
12 Ibid, 36-37.

their wives, their letters are instructive and based on gendered economic roles.[13] Women were entrusted with economic responsibility during periods of separation from their husbands, but their apparent independence was still given to them by their husbands, only in their absence.[14] As Ulrich says, "The role of housewife and the role of deputy husband were two sides of the same coin." Through her efforts, "a good wife sustained and supported the family economy," and although she deferred to her husband's expertise and direction, he relied on his wife to carry out critical economic and political work while he was away at war.[15] Wives acting as "deputy husbands" became economic and political actors in their own right, regardless of the role originating from necessity.

Husbands often trusted their wives with their business, as well. In addition to managing household and business exchanges, wives were also newly trusted with record-keeping, not only for their finances, but also their husbands' work. Although the men held the financial and social power in these relationships, merely temporarily "grant[ing] their wives control," these arrangements gave women opportunities to involve themselves in the economy and learn new related skills.[16] Dudley Colman, in April 1776, asked his wife, "as to the Town Clerk's Businefs if there are any Published I would have you give them a Certificate after a proper Time in my Name."[17] Colman was a town clerk and innkeeper, and in this letter needed his wife to check on his usual duties, presumably relating to marriage licenses.[18] Regarding more complicated matters, however, husbands did not always trust their wives—acting as their "deputies"—to sufficiently manage their family's affairs without help. Damiano cites two situations where this concern arose, one with Timothy Pickering and his wife Rebecca, and the other with John and Abigail Adams. In 1780, Pickering feared that one of the men to whom he owed money would try to collect his debt while Pickering was away, and therefore drafted a detailed emergency plan for his wife to follow should that occur—he must have known that his wife simply had no experience with debts and money in this way. Two years later, the Adamses owed a man money immediately, but Abigail struggled to fulfill the transaction with the bills of exchange John had given her. Eventually, she had to dip into her cash savings—precious to wives—to pay their debt. Both

13 Damiano, "Writing Women's History," 719-724.

14 Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 42.

15 Ibid, 47.

16 Damiano, "Writing Women's History," 715.

17 Correspondence from Dudley Colman to Mary Colman, 11 April 1776, Ms. N-1015, Box 1, Folder 2, Dudley Colman Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

18 Damiano, "Writing Women's History," 715.

stories reveal how "the wartime dispersal of families and their resources placed wives at the center of financial negotiations," but also how wives often had difficulties with financial situations at home.[19] Acting as "deputy husband" was not necessarily easy or exciting for these women, as most of them had never had to or been allowed to manage money and business to this extent before.

Mary Colman successfully and dutifully ran the household while her husband was serving in the Continental Army, as did hundreds of other wives during the 18th century. The Revolutionary War, however, was not the only time and place where women enjoyed relative economic freedom. Midwifery was an essential, prominent position for women in 18th-century Colonial America, and there are many documented examples of hardworking midwives. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's book *A Midwife's Tale* delves into the diaries of Martha Ballard, an active midwife in Maine from 1785-1812, after the Revolutionary War. Ulrich describes Ballard as "simultaneously a midwife, nurse, physician, mortician, pharmacist, and attentive wife;" a woman's most important role was still at home.[20] She was a skilled midwife and physician who used traditional Western medicine as well as herbal supplements to do her work.[21] Her position as a female physician in a rural area gave her more community influence than a normal doctor, as Ulrich identifies what she calls "social medicine," a system of social and physical care supported by women.[22]

Ballard, as a white midwife working in a small town in post-Revolution Maine, had a fairly ordinary life, however. In the Southern colonies, enslaved midwives supported their communities through medicine and economic relationships. While white midwives generally learned their trade via formal training or professional experiences, enslaved Black midwives learned by simply watching white doctors and working within their communities.[23] Once such woman was Kate, an enslaved midwife hired in 1794 by George Washington to work as a paid midwife at Mount Vernon, the Washington estate and slave labor farm. Sara Collini, who provides accounts of several enslaved midwives, reports that George Washington employed more than fifteen midwives at Mount Vernon from 1754-1799, to provide medical support to enslaved women and children.[24] Although enslaved, the Mount Vernon estate

19 Damiano, "Writing Women's History," 712.

20 Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*, 1st ed. (New York, New York: Knopf, 1991), 40.

21 Ibid, 54-58.

22 Ibid, 61-62, 65.

23 Sara Collini, "The Labors of Enslaved Midwives in Revolutionary Virginia," in *Women in the American Revolution: Gender, Politics, and the Domestic World*, ed. Barbara B. Oberg, 21, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2019), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvfc56hw.6.

24 Collini, *Women in the American Revolution*, 23.

hired Kate and paid her for each delivery, as well as the additional healthcare she provided for the people enslaved at Mount Vernon.[25] After the Revolution, enslaved midwives continued to enjoy the relative freedom allowed them, as they could travel between nearby estates with enslaved people and form communities of social medicine.[26] However, the United States completely banned participation in the Atlantic slave trade by 1807, increasing enslaver's interest in enslaved women's fertility. Collini provides two accounts of enslavers using the word "breeding" to describe enslaved women in labor, demonstrating how white people saw Black women as "valuable reproducers."[27]

The economic role of each woman in the 18th-century United States was unique; it depended on individual strengths, husbands' careers, and social status. There are disappointingly few studies on the economic contributions of people of color, lower-class people, and unmarried women—"groups about whom more scholarship is sorely needed." [28]Mary Willing Byrd, for example, was an upper-class widow on an estate in Virginia with several dozen enslaved people. During the Revolution, Byrd was "catapulted into an unfamiliar world of legal problems, financial upheaval, and wartime dangers," and had to participate in politics, the war effort, and the economy to a greater extent than she ever expected.[29] As the owner of a sizable but struggling estate, Byrd recognized that "their status and economic security rested on slave ownership. She linked explicitly the survival of her family to the return of her escaped slaves," connecting "her mastery over her dependents and household authority to her status as a property owner and responsibilities for sustaining the needs of her family" and "seamlessly [merging] one identity as citizen-taxpayer, mother, and slave owner."[30] Like the enslavers of the Black midwives, the white Byrd viewed the people she enslaved as an economic resource that she willingly exploited for the benefit of her family.

Each woman had a different role in the 18th-century American economy; women like Mary Colman attended to their husband's simple economic and business requests, midwives provided communities with medical care and social support, and some women relied completely on their husbands to manage finances. There is evidence in colonial newspapers of women working as "blacksmiths, silversmiths, tinworkers, shoemakers, shipwrights, tanners, gunsmiths, barbers, printers, and butchers," among many other fields tradi-

25 Ibid, 24-25, 28.
26 Ibid, 26-27, 31.
27 Ibid, 29.
28 Damiano, "Writing Women's History," 724-725.
29 Ami Pflugrad-Jackisch, "'What Am I but an American?': Mary Willing Byrd and Westover Plantation during the American Revolution" in *Women in the American Revolution* (see note 23), 171, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvfc56hw.13.
30 Ibid, 181-183.

tionally staffed by men.[31]Additionally, at least four hundred women were recorded as being shopkeepers on the American East Coast between 1740 and 1775.[32] These women remarkably navigated their businesses through a society that was purposefully designed to economically and politically hinder women's independence. The geography and lack of technology in colonial America would have made it difficult for anyone to maintain a business by themselves, which is why the role of women in the Revolutionary War is so incredible.

Dudley Colman, who asked for many things from his wife Mary during the war and relied on her constantly for updates and goods delivered from home, loved his wife dearly. In one letter dated May 22, 1776, he wrote to her: "I want nothing to make me Comfortable & Contented but your Company," then revealing to her, "I have sent you by the Post 3½ yds of Sattin which was the best I could buy in the City if that is not enough let me know & I will send some more by the next opportunity."[33] Of course, Mary may have requested that he send her the satin—there are no letters from Mary in the collection—but Dudley does not say that she had asked for it. His uncertainty about the amount implies that he had to guess how much she would want. Damiano asserts that as spouses' economic dependence on one another grew due to their separation, they "reshaped power relations within marriage" and deconstructed the traditional hierarchy within families.[34] After the Revolutionary War, women may have stepped back from their temporarily greater economic roles, but the effects of the "deputy husband" on marriage, gender roles, and markets provided the basis for expanding women's freedoms throughout early American history. Husbands and wives went through this experience together, and through women's roles as "deputy husbands," spouses came to understand and respect each other more. Sarah Schuetze provides the examples of John and Abigail Adams, who "recognized one another as affectionate partners in their marriage," and Mary and Josiah Bartlett, who "shared a mutual concern for one another's well-being and grief over Josiah's extended absence from home." These figures, however, were higher class and not representative of the average spouses' experience during the war. Like the Colmans, the working-class Joseph Hodgkins and his wife Sarah "both acknowledged the sacrifices and hardships Sarah made (reluctantly) to enable Joseph's voluntary commitment to the cause of liberty."[35]

31 Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 35.
32 Kaylan M. Stevenson, "'Until Liberty of Importation Is Allowed': Milliners and Mantuamakers in the Chesapeake on the Eve of Revolution" in *Women in the American Revolution* (see note 23), 40, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvfc56hw.7.
33 Correspondence from Dudley Colman to Mary Colman, 22 April 1776, Ms. N-1015, Box 1, Folder 2, Dudley Colman Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.
34 Damiano, "Writing Women's History," 716.
35 Schuetze, "Carrying Home the Enemy," 99-100.

Acting as a "deputy husband" meant a woman took on a man's typical economic role on top of the work she was already doing—essentially acting as a single head of household, even with her husband's support through correspondence.

18th-century wives, especially those with absent husbands during the American Revolutionary War, sacrificed their time and sometimes personal funds to keep their families afloat. Even then, their husbands were gone for months at a time, and spouses had to rely on slow-moving letters to stay connected. Dudley Colman's satin gift must have been greatly appreciated—just a small, meaningful way to thank his wife Mary for her dedication, love, and burden-sharing. Narratives surrounding the Revolutionary War tend to focus on the battles and the men who fought them, but the women's stories are just as fascinating. Without the economic, political, and social support of the "deputy husbands" left at home, perhaps the war could not have been won, or even fought in the first place. Women, though rarely the face of wartime or business, have always performed essential roles in the American economy, and their efforts enrich the story of American history.

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Wilson's Fourteen Points: The Failure of Self-Determination

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On April 6, 1917, the United States, in response to the Zimmerman Telegram and the sinking of the Lusitania, entered World War I. Following Allied victory of the war, the US took on a lead role in peace negotiations, asserting itself to an unprecedented degree. On January 8, 1918, President Woodrow Wilson delivered a statement of principles, known as "The Fourteen Points," in a joint session to the US Congress that outlined US peace aims after World War I. "The Fourteen Points" were touted for their proposition of a new world order, one in which secret alliances would be banned, free trade would reign between countries and oceans, minority countries would gain independence from colonial powers, and an international organization would be established to keep peace between nations. Many of the clauses in "The Fourteen Points" intended to push forth a principle of self-determination, a nation's ability to create its own government and have its national aspirations respected, due to the fact that territorial disputes were a primary cause for WWI. Despite being met with opposition from the French and the British at the Paris Peace Conferences, the effort to use self-determination to dictate the creation and maintenance of disparate states was hindered, first and foremost, by the contradictory propositions within Wilson's speech, the lack of inclusion of all nations within the clauses, and the failure to define important terms.

Evidenced by the Polish clause, Wilson's "Fourteen Points" indeed aimed to promote self-determination. Half of the points presented within "The Fourteen Points" attempted to embody the principle of self-determination, stating that "the world...made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured justice."[1] Here, Wilson explains that peaceful nations should be able to form their own administration in accordance with their citizen's wishes; this is the foundation of self-determination. Of all the points, Point XIII dealing with the establishment of an independent Polish state best embodied the principle of national

1 Woodrow Wilson, "President Wilson's Fourteen Points," President Wilson's Fourteen Points - World War I Document Archive. World War I Document Archive. Accessed November 10, 2021. https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President_Wilson's_Fourteen_Points.

self-determination, stating it "should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish Populations."[2] Furthermore, Wilson ensured the newly created Polish state both political and economic independence from the Great Powers by proclaiming that she should have "free and secure access to the seas."[3] Prior to WWI and going into the interwar years, ocean access and naval power played a significant role in a country's independence from others; this is evident in Russia's ongoing efforts to secure a warm water port to support its maritime trade and navy.[4] Therefore, Wilson effectively establishes an economic safeguard to Poland's independence by ensuring Polish access to the sea, later specified as the creation of the Polish Corridor leading to the Baltic sea. As a further precaution for Polish independence, Wilson proposes an "international covenant," referring to the League of Nations proposed in the fourteenth point, that will ensure both territorial and economic sovereignty.

Despite his outward intentions, Wilson's efforts to bring about self-determination are actually hindered by Point XIV's contradictory proposal for the League of Nations' creation. In the last, and arguably most important point, Wilson proposes "A general association of nations [to] be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."[5] However, ironically, the proposal of this "general association" goes against the goal of self-determination. One goal of the League of Nations was to use collective security and action to guarantee the political and territorial independence of nations. However, the only way in which the League would be able to function is if countries gave up a certain level of their independent decision making in exchange for the greater good. Such is illustrated in Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which obliged League members to "respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League."[6] Article X calls upon members of the League to defend other members, regardless of their personal interests. Furthermore, the use of the word "afford" within Point XIV implies that nations were expected to give up something, likely private decision making, upon joining the League, a fundamental contradiction to the principles of self-determination. The proposal of the League of Nations within the points

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2 Wilson, "President Wilson's Fourteen Points."

3 Ibid.

4 William R. Keylor, *The Twentieth-Century World and Beyond: An International History since 1900*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 8-11.

5 Wilson, "President Wilson's Fourteen Points."

6 "The Covenant of the League of Nations (Art. 1 to 26)," U.S. Department of State. Accessed October 31, 2021. https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1919Parisv13/ch10subch1.

portrays that Wilson is willing to give up self-determination in exchange for self-governance: nations would be allowed to govern themselves internally, but only as long as it did not conflict with the more important goals of the international community on the global stage; this is made clear in Wilson's original draft of the League Covenant where he states that "the peace of the world is superior in importance to every question of political jurisdiction or boundary."[7] In an attempt to remedy the League's contradiction to self-determination, Wilson's "Fourteen Points" offers one prominent exception: failing to use the term "self-determination. The phrase itself is not mentioned once even though it is the crux of "The Fourteen Points." By failing to use specific terminology, "The Fourteen Points" is effectively rendered more vague. Historically, vague terms in treaties and agreements represent a country trying to decrease its obligations towards it. By not mentioning "self-determination" in "The Fourteen Points," Wilson opens up more room for the US and its organizations to disobey the principle. Overall, the proposal of the League of Nations hinders the principle of self-determination, and the issue is avoided within "The Fourteen Points" through the failure to utilize important politically necessary terms.

In addition, "The Fourteen Points" also failed to include US possessions in Latin America, ignoring self-determination in that region. Through the Monroe Doctrine and the following Olney and Roosevelt Corollaries, the United States justified the establishment of both political and economic control of Latin American countries. However, the territorial and political independence of these countries were not mentioned within Wilson's "Fourteen Points." While it is true that many countries are not explicitly named within the points, it is important to note that all major countries with territorial and sovereignty issues, such as Belgium and Poland, were dealt with specifically. Latin American countries, especially Mexico, should be explicitly considered because they played a role in the United States joining WWI. The Zimmerman Telegram, a telegram from Germany to Mexico that was intercepted by the British, asked Mexico to join the Central Powers in exchange for US territories upon Central Power victory. The telegram capitalized upon Latin America's resentment towards US control over its industries and government. Therefore, Latin America should have been given the same recognition within Wilson's points as countries like Belgium. The failure to mention Latin America violates the principle of self-determination that Wilson hoped to project; this is because Latin America would still be under the US' sphere of influence and, subsequently, subjected to US policy. Specifically, the US hoped to protect the economic interests of American firms like the United Fruit Company, and the both economic and political inter-

7 Wilson, "President Wilson's Fourteen Points."

ests surrounding the Panama Canal. The United Fruit Company is an American Firm that created an "empire" of banana plantations in countries like Nicaragua and Panama.[8] The company, with its large stretches of purchased lands, represents the degree of foreign ownership and interests of American firms in Latin America. The Panama Canal was an economic interest to the US, as it transported tradable goods, and political interest, as it allowed for the expansion of US naval power to rival the British and Japanese.[9] As a result, Wilson's diction within the speech offers the US leeway when dealing with such countries.

Firstly, Point III establishes that states can still be under imperial control as long as they consent to be governed: "The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."[10] The US likely believes that it has the permission of Latin America to continue its influences in the region. Furthermore, the US sees itself as a protector of Latin America against European countries; this is also elaborated in Wilson's speech when he states that every nation should be "assured of justice and fair dealing by the other people of the world as against force and selfish aggression."[11] Secondly, in Point VI, Wilson does not fully give colonized countries full sovereignty: "all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined."[12] Here, Wilson compares the rights of locals to that of foreigners, creating an initial perception of a direct challenge to imperialism. However, such cannot be considered full self-determination as foreign influence is still being evaluated. Thirdly, countries that were not considered "peaceful" would be excluded from the application of self-determination so that the world could be "made safe for every peace-loving nation, which... wishes to live its own life."[13] The US saw Latin America as a place of "flagrant... wrongdoing". As a result, the US believed that it had the right to intervene in the region militarily even if it violated the principle of self-determination.[14] Overall, the US failed in self-determination in these clauses due to imperial intentions. The wording of the points implies that, despite its outward intentions, the US is still attempting to protect its own interests in the Western hemisphere.

"The Fourteen Points" fails to define important terms, like "nation," a term

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8 Keylor, *The Twentieth-Century World,* 24.
9 Ibid, 24, 26, 32.
10 Wilson, "President Wilson's Fourteen Points."
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 Theodore Roosevelt, "Transcript of Theodore Roosevelt's Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine (1905)." ourdocuments.gov. Accessed November 10, 2021.

incredibly important in self-determination. Despite being mentioned fifteen times within Wilson's speech, "nation" is never specifically defined; it is unclear whether Wilson saw a "nation" as an area, race, culture, or political community. Such a failure is critical as the definition is vital in deciding the beneficiaries of self-determination. Furthermore, the failure to define "nation" can potentially lead to more instability, as citizens, especially in countries in the Balkans and the Arab world, with falsely ignited hopes, would believe that they deserve complete independence even if it was not intended under "The Fourteen Points." Such ultimately contradicts the goal of self-determination as a proposal to avoid further territorial and nationalistic conflict and act as a cornerstone for stable peace. The failure to define "nation" is exhibited most clearly through Point XI: "relations of the several Balkan states to one another [should be] determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality."[15] Point XI subserviates national self-determination to simple politics. Instead of addressing national issues related to race, culture, and religion, Wilson only speaks to settle disputes along existing borders. As a result, there is no discussion on the creation of new nation states based on the will of the people in the region. Such a conclusion is further supported by the fact that Wilson only mentions three specific states - Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro - despite there being many more populations within the region hoping to gain sovereignty.[16] These three states are mentioned by name simply because they have already been established and do not require further dividing between "nations." The failure to create precise definitions overall allows for much leeway on matters that involve different people groups, potentially rendering important self-determinist issues unresolved. In addition, the failure of precise definitions overall puts much of "The Fourteen Points," particularly the points that promote self-determination, up for compromise when debated with the Allied Powers, especially the French and the British, who had vastly different peace aims than the United States.

Wilson's "The Fourteen Points" expresses an intention to bring about a new era of self-determination; however, his efforts were hindered, first and foremost, by the contradictory proposal of the League of Nations, the failure to include Latin America within its clauses, and the failure to define a "nation," a critical aspect to the achievement of self-determination. In practice, "The Fourteen Points" failed to be realized due to opposition from the French and the British; the French sought revenge on Germany while most of the Allied powers aimed to retain their positions as imperial superpowers. Such pressures are best exhibited in Japan being given German possessions in China, infringing on Chinese

15 Wilson, "President Wilson's Fourteen Points."

16 William W. Hagen, "The Balkans' Lethal Nationalisms." *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 4 (1999): 52–64. https://doi.org/10.2307/20049364.

sovereignty. Many believe that if the Allied Powers had been more compliant, the self-determination goals would have been realized. However, even if the other Allied powers were fully compliant, it is important to recognize that Wilson's "Fourteen Points" would have had limited success in achieving its desired self-determinism as it still reflected the US' own territorial and political interests, especially in Latin America. To protect such interests, Wilson fails to mention Latin American countries and define and use important words such as "nation" and "self-determination." Furthermore, the language of "The Fourteen Points" made it especially easy for opposing negotiators to ask and obtain concessions in an effort to protect their own interests and was contradictory within its own clauses.

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*"The journey of a thousand miles
begins with a single step."*

- Lao Tzu