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## **Editor's Note**

We at the editorial board wish to welcome you to Janus, the undergraduate journal for history and the humanities at the University of Maryland, College Park. We seek to grant undergraduate students a voice in the academic world by providing them a chance to publish their work and to participate formally in scholarly debate.

Our journal's namesake, Janus is a two-headed god of Roman mythology who looks forwards and backwards. He is older than the calendar and precedes the chief god of the Roman Pantheon, Jupiter. Janus is unique among Roman gods with his two heads, allowing him to look both inside and outside, forward and backward. Following the path of time, Janus looks to the beginning and to the end, to the past and to the future. Janus is the passing of space and time.

His duality mirrors historical inquiry, studying the past with the wisdom of the present.

Janus was created in the fall of 2000 by a group of undergraduate history students at the University of Maryland. Traditionally, Janus has followed the example of professional academic journals, featuring traditional thesis-driven student papers.

After a lapse in publishing in the last few years, a new team of editors has a vision for Janus. Over the past year, we have created a new website, a blog, and continued to edit stellar journal articles. In this issue, there is a mix of traditional journal articles (the first three essays) and selected chapters from theses (the last two essays). In next semester's issue, we will feature the best papers from the required HIST 208 and 408 research seminars of this semester.

Looking back at the high-caliber publications preceding us and preparing for the semester ahead of us, we invite you to join Janus as we consider the past with an eye on the future.

Sincerely,  
The Editorial Board

## **How Japanese Women Got the Vote and Equal Rights, 1945-1946**

**By Amina Manguera**

### **Introduction**

After the East Asia/Pacific War, Japan was occupied by the United States military under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). The goals of the occupation, primarily set in Washington D.C., were democratization, demilitarization, and punishment. The occupation lasted from September 1945 - April 1952 and resulted in numerous political, economic, and social reforms of Japan. A new constitution was born from the occupation and resulted in new constitutional freedoms for men and women. Women had already earned the right to vote in December 1945 and gained new rights and gender equality under the constitution of 1947. Women's rights activists in Japan, such as Ichikawa Fusae, and foreign occupiers such as Beate Sirota and General Douglas MacArthur were the major people responsible for the emancipation of women in Japan after WWII. This paper argues that Ichikawa Fusae was the figure responsible for Japanese women getting the right to vote and while General MacArthur promoted emancipation, Beate Sirota had more of a significant impact on gender equality.

### **Ichikawa Fusae**

Ichikawa Fusae (1893-1981) was a Japanese woman who was one of the leaders of the suffrage movement in Japan. She protested, organized and led groups, and represented Japan at women's meetings around the world as a delegate to work towards the goals for women's suffrage. Hiratuka Raicho, an influential woman in the fight for women's suffrage and an activist partner of Fusae's, was the leader of Shin Fujin Kyokai (New Women's Organization, SFK) She recruited Oku Mumeo and Fusae to join her in leading in 1918. Along with others, they worked with organization to achieve their goals, which were "obtaining women's suffrage, establishing equality with men, increasing the spread of higher education for women, improving the position of women within the family and by providing welfare for working women."<sup>1</sup> Women who supported the cause held multiple protests outside of meetings, and "in their efforts to see Diet members about the reform issue, SFK women often waited for long periods at the Diet building only to be refused admittance and at times [be] verbally insulted by men" to create an urge for women to have basic civil rights provided by their country.<sup>2</sup> When she visited the United States in the early 1920s, she met with Alice Paul, the leader of the suffrage movement and founder of the National Women's Party in the United States in the 1910s and early 1920s, an experience which encouraged Fusae to continue fighting for women's right to vote. Fusae and her supporters were in a difficult position in the 1920s because they were challenging the traditional roles and customs for women in Japan in order to give women basic rights.

Before the Pacific War, Fusae was a member of several organizations that focused on women's issues including the Women's Suffrage League that she founded in 1924. In 1925, the Universal Manhood Suffrage Bill was passed which allowed all men in Japan

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<sup>1</sup> Vavich, "The Japanese Women's Movement: Ichikawa Fusae, A Pioneer in Women's Suffrage," 412.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 411.

25 years old and older to vote.<sup>3</sup> In 1931, the Lower House approved a bill that would allow Japanese women to vote in local elections, but the Upper House did not pass it.<sup>4</sup> Continuing to fight for the vote with the same enthusiasm, Fusae and her fellow activists kept the movement going. Shortly after the beginning of the occupation, in September 1945, Fusae was opportunistic and pushed for the vote right as General MacArthur was forming General Headquarters (GHQ).<sup>5</sup> In November of 1945, Fusae founded the Women's League for New Japan. Fusae's group worked to get the vote through various efforts, such as protesting and letter writing.

After a meeting between General MacArthur in early October with the Prime Minister Shidehara Kijuro and the Japanese Cabinet, the bill to grant women the right to vote and lower the voting age for men and women to the National Diet was suggested. Fusae's efforts had a great impact on Home Minister Horiuchi Zenjirō who was "sympathetic to Ichikawa's cause since before the war, [and] suggested that women be granted suffrage" during his meeting with General MacArthur and got support from Prime Minister Shidehara.<sup>6</sup> The bill passed in December of 1945 and women were able to vote starting in the first postwar elections for the Lower House in April 1946. Ichikawa's many years of working with the Great Japan Literary Patriotic Society, which was a wartime propaganda organization, led to her political purge during the occupation, so she was not able to run for a position in the government until after the occupation to continue her career on a larger platform.<sup>7</sup> After the occupation, she was voted to the House for a six year term and continued to fight for the people of Japan.<sup>8</sup> Her involvement in the Japanese women's movement was important for the advancement of women's right to vote and equality.

### **Beate Sirota**

Beate Sirota (October 25, 1923 - December 30, 2012) was born in Vienna in 1923, and grew up in Japan starting in 1929 at the age of five and a half when her father, a great pianist, was offered a position as a professor at the Imperial Academy of Music. She attended the German School for elementary school and the American school for high school in Japan until 1939 when she left for the United States to attend Mills College, a women's college in California, where she earned a degree in modern languages.<sup>9</sup> The Pearl Harbor attack occurred when she was in the United States while her parents were still in Japan. The Department of the Army hired her as a civilian in 1945, which allowed

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<sup>3</sup> Mayo, Marlene. Undergraduate Teaching Site, Maryland Institute for Technology in the Humanities. WOMEN URGED TO BEND EFFORTS TO UTILIZE FRANCHISE RIGHTS: Favorable Results Expected At General Election As Result of Enfranchisement of 'Weaker Sex'.

<sup>4</sup> Nolte, Sharon H. "Women's Rights and Society's Needs: Japan's 1931 Suffrage Bill." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28, no. 04 (1986): 690.

<sup>5</sup> Mayo, Marlene. Undergraduate Teaching Site, WOMEN URGED TO BEND EFFORTS TO UTILIZE FRANCHISE RIGHTS

<sup>6</sup> Koikari, Mire. *Pedagogy of Democracy: Feminism and the Cold War in the U.S. Occupation of Japan*. "The Noble Influence of Womanhood and the Home". 47.

<sup>7</sup> Mayo, Marlene. Undergraduate Teaching Site, WOMEN URGED TO BEND EFFORTS TO UTILIZE FRANCHISE RIGHTS

<sup>8</sup> Smith, Bonnie G., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History*, Ichikawa Fusae. Oxford University Press, 2008. 527

<sup>9</sup> Gordon, Beate. *The Only Woman in the Room: A Memoir*. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1992). 76.

her to return to Japan to reunite with her parents and to work under General Courtney Whitney in the Government Section (GS) as a translator for GHQ. She was 22 years old when she was assigned in February 1946 to help prepare a model draft of the new, top secret, Japanese Constitution as a member of the Political Affairs division, (GS). She was assigned to the Civil Rights subcommittee with the task of writing the portion on women's rights and academic freedom.<sup>10</sup>

Sirota remembered her feelings, in her oral history, when General Whitney came and announced that a constitutional assembly was being formed, she said "My God, it's such an opportunity! But what do we know? What do I know about constitutions?"<sup>11</sup> She took this opportunity seriously and borrowed copies of other countries Constitutions from several libraries to remain discreet about her involvement in the drafting, to aid her in creating the section on women's rights.<sup>12</sup> The important articles Sirota notes are:

#### Article 14

"All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin"

#### Article 24

"1) Marriage shall be based only on the mutual consent of both sexes and it shall be maintained through mutual cooperation with the equal rights of husband and wife as a basis.

2) With regard to choice of spouse, property rights, inheritance, choice of domicile, divorce and other matters pertaining to marriage and the family, laws shall be enacted from the standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes."<sup>13</sup>

When it came time for the U.S. and the Japanese to review the draft created by GHQ, Sirota, as she called herself, was the 'only woman in the room' and was able to take part and fight for the articles that made it to the final draft. Sirota brought her diverse experience as a world traveler and upbringing in Japan and college education in the United States to the draft to help women for generations after her stating in an interview, "If another woman who has travelled around the world as widely as I had written it, she might have written a similar article. I was young, but I had been to many countries in Asia, Europe and other continents. I was a cosmopolitan. So I would say that a person without such experiences or cosmopolitan viewpoints would not have been able to write women's rights as explicitly as I did."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Organized by East Asia Studies and Marlene Mayo. *We the People: Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of Japan's Constitution*. University of Maryland at College Park. 1987.

<sup>11</sup> Mayo, Marlene, "Oral History Project on the Allied Occupation of Japan": Beate Sirota Gordon. 44.

<sup>12</sup> Gordon. *The Only Woman in the Room*. 118.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> "A Long Interview with Beate Sirota Gordon." A Chance for Peace Beates Thoughts on Japans Pacifist

It was through her diverse background and exploring many resources that gave Japanese women more rights than the U.S. Constitution guaranteed.<sup>15</sup> As part of a panel at the University of Maryland called “We the Japanese People”, about the drafting committee for the Constitution, Sirota recalled thinking “unless very specific rights were given in the Constitution for women...that later on when the Civil Code male Japanese bureaucrats [were] writing implementations, Japanese women wouldn’t have a chance.”<sup>16</sup> When the Constitution steering committee reviewed the draft, the men told Sirota that having specific rights in the Constitution was not appropriate, because the United States did not even have a detailed women’s right section.<sup>17</sup> Sirota replied, “I felt that if these rights were not put into the Constitution itself, the women would not get them later on.”<sup>18</sup> Sirota’s role on the drafting subcommittee was the most important for gender equality because she made it protected under the law. She grew up in Japan and saw a woman’s place in society. When she traveled, she saw the differences between home and abroad and used her privilege of a good education and the ability to travel to the best of her ability to help the women of Japan. Her attention to detail and passion for precise articles made her involvement significant. Without her specific articles, there would be ways around granting women and men the same rights.

### **General Douglas MacArthur**

General Douglas MacArthur, SCAP under President Truman and the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington D.C., was responsible for making sure Japan was in a good position to return to the world stage as a peaceful democratic nation. His proposal to revise the constitution, as opposed to keeping the 1889 Meiji Constitution, which limited Japanese’s freedoms and rights, was an important factor for gender equality, but not the deciding one.<sup>19</sup> Sirota recalls in her memoir that General Courtney Whitney came into the office and said “General MacArthur has given us the orders to do the historic work of drafting a new constitution for the Japanese people”.<sup>20</sup> With Japan’s agreement to cooperate with SCAP and become more democratic, General MacArthur and those above him in Washington had the platform to create a new constitution for Japan. General MacArthur gave Japan an opportunity to try on their own, but when they failed to meet his expectation General Whitney expressed General MacArthur’s great disappointment and presented Japan with GHQ’s secretly drafted one.<sup>21</sup> The new Constitution followed the Postdam Declaration of July 1945, which resulted in Japan surrendering to the Allied Powers on August 15, 1945. The Postdam Declaration offered MacArthur an opportunity to fulfill the plans he made to reform Japan and strengthen its democratic roots. The new Japanese Constitution states, “the Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the

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Constitution Article 9.

<sup>15</sup> Parisi, Lynn. "Lessons on the Japanese Constitution." *National Clearinghouse for US Japan Studies. Indiana: Indiana University* (2002).

<sup>16</sup> Organized by East Asia Studies and Marlene Mayo. *We the People: Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of Japan's Constitution*. University of Maryland at College Park. 1987.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Meiji constitution

<sup>20</sup> Gordon. *The Only Woman in the Room*. 104.

<sup>21</sup> Dower. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. 374

revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established".<sup>22</sup> With GHQ's constitution drafted, and Sirota taking charge of her women's rights sections, the final draft including the articles on women's rights was accepted.

Later, "the women elected to the Diet went to see him personally in appreciation for making suffrage possible. Ichikawa said: 'Without the Occupation or the defeat of Japan, the realization of the Japanese women's constitutional rights would not have been achieved so quickly'."<sup>23</sup> While Fusae states that women's suffrage was achieved quickly because of the occupation, she does not say that it would never be achieved. She gives herself and the women working with her credit, because the women pushing the movement were prepared to seize the opportunity of a new leader, General MacArthur. In January of 1946, Fusae wrote a piece for the *Nippon Times* discussing women's suffrage, saying that "it has been going on for the past twenty-five years, as a matter of fact, though it has never gained much force due to its inefficient leadership".<sup>24</sup> With her as one of the strong leaders driving the suffrage efforts, the movement was a force to be reckoned with.

When the Prime Minister of Japan Shidehara Kijuro met with General MacArthur in early October to discuss Japan's future reforms, MacArthur made the point that women's enfranchisement needed to be one of the reforms.<sup>25</sup> The meeting influenced the Cabinet to propose the women's right to vote bill quickly. A few months after that conversation, Shidehara's Cabinet suggested the bill to give women the right to vote, that Fusae and women activist were very involved in, that was passed in December of 1945. Pharr states that MacArthur believed that women's rights were important and had his support the entire time.<sup>26</sup> MacArthur was greatly influenced by his mother throughout his life and used that relationship in the occupation to ensure that women's issues were in discussion and made him "lend a sympathetic ear on issues relating to women".<sup>27</sup> There was no direct involvement of MacArthur with the Japanese women's movement to get the right to vote or equality, but he did not reject the possibility of women getting constitutional rights during the occupation. By creating the platform, the Constitution, General MacArthur was vital for the progress of the movement.

### **Conclusion**

Women's rights and equality were legally achieved largely through the efforts of women Ichikawa Fusae and Beate Sirota, who were prepared and took advantage of the opportunity to reconstruct and reform Japan after WWII. General MacArthur was

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<sup>22</sup> Postdam Declaration, Article 10

<sup>23</sup> Vavich, "The Japanese Women's Movement: Ichikawa Fusae, A Pioneer in Women's Suffrage,"

<sup>24</sup> Mayo, Marlene. Undergraduate Teaching Site, WOMEN URGED TO BEND EFFORTS TO UTILIZE FRANCHISE RIGHTS

<sup>25</sup> "Premier Instructed On Social Reform" *Nippon Times* 13 Oct 1945: Microform. *Japan Times Oct 1945*

<sup>26</sup> Susan Pharr, "The Politics of Women's Rights During the Allied Occupation of Japan." Robert E. Ward and Sakamoto Yoshikazu, eds, "Policy and Planning During the Allied Occupation of Japan" (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987). 227.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.



important for giving women the platform to create a long-standing set of laws to protect and guarantee civil liberties in the constitution. The Japanese women activists who created noise, started and continued the fight for many decades, and sacrificed a lot were also crucial because they focused on developing the suffrage movement and were prepared when the opportunity arose to change the law and give women the right to vote. Beate Sirota was an essential character in gender equality, largely because of her diverse upbringing and her commitment to ensure there was a part of the Constitution dedicated to equality under the law. The progression of women's equality, including the vote, might not have happened until many decades later without the occupation of Japan and the relentless and dedicated efforts of the women of Japan, Fusae, Sirota, aided by MacArthur.

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**“Livin’ Side by Side”:  
Contrasts and Contacts in Lost Generation and Harlem Renaissance Literature  
By Anna-Bella Sicilia**

F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby* has become famous for its depiction of a frivolous, aimless, and altogether pessimistic era. On the other hand, Alain Locke’s *The New Negro* is a triumphant compilation of poetry, essays, and other artistic works by black authors, expressing a confidence that America was experiencing a “spiritual Coming of Age” during the time of its publication.<sup>1</sup> Given their diverging conceptions of America, it is difficult to believe that these works were both published in the same year, 1925. While the white Americans of Lost Generation literature were deflated by World War I and disappointed in American leadership, the war afforded opportunities for intellectual and political momentum among African-Americans, which sparked the Great Migration and the consequent explosion of Harlem Renaissance art. Despite their opposing trajectories, these two movements not only serve as historical lenses into their respective racial groups, but they also demonstrate how these groups viewed one another. These two literary movements of America’s “Roaring Twenties” reveal how the close proximity of whites and blacks in northern cities resulted in shared tensions and celebrations in the aftermath of the Great War.

Both the Lost Generation and the Harlem Renaissance movements were products of World War I, although their different experiences of the war made for dramatically different reactions. For white Americans, it seemed as though the momentum of the Progressive era had been stifled by their leaders’ missteps. President Woodrow Wilson, who had initially promised an isolationist policy, created outrage when reversing this position. One *New York Tribune* columnist wondered, “What shall we think of a leader who in the face of a great world crisis has no definite convictions, no steadfast policy to pursue, but who in vital matters of international concern talks prettily but aimlessly first on one side, then on the other, as the emotion of the moment may inspire him?”<sup>2</sup> The next decade reinforced this distaste for authority, as disobeying Prohibition became expected and even, to some extent, celebrated. The law, once a tool for practicality and social good during the Progressive era, was suddenly, openly, and wholeheartedly rejected. Not only did “an ever increasing number of otherwise good American citizens refus[e] to obey the law,” but Prohibition also allowed criminal organizations who participated in bootlegging to expand and flourish.<sup>3</sup>

With rebellion in vogue, the writers of the 1920’s took it upon themselves to participate in this scorn for the nation’s leadership. Fitzgerald’s writing was infused with “cynicism about a war that had not ended all wars and had not made the world safe for democracy,” and with an “unbridled hatred of authority and of the ‘old men’ who had bumbled into World War I.”<sup>4</sup> These works are detailed with what Amory Blaine, the protagonist of *This Side of Paradise*, calls the “petty fevers and struggles and exultations” of his generation.<sup>5</sup> Exuding distaste for the war

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<sup>1</sup> Alain Locke, “The New Negro,” in *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1925), 16.

<sup>2</sup> Douglas W. Johnson. “Mr. Wilson on World War,” *New - York Tribune (1911-1922)*, Oct 19, 1916, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Nathan Miller, *New World Coming: The 1920s and the Making of Modern America* (New York: Scriber, 2003), 296, 297.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7, 207.

<sup>5</sup> F. Scott Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise* (New York: Charles Scriber’s Sons, 1920), 192.

and for authority in general, both Fitzgerald and Hemingway's works are rife with social drinking and even downright alcoholism, making Prohibition seem almost laughable, while female characters rebel against their parents' generation by flaunting their sexuality.

Black Americans approached World War I from a different angle. While white Americans had been benefitting from Progressive-era reforms, African-Americans had generally remained in the South, trapped within a cycle of tenant farming and disenfranchisement. The arrival of war, then, was not framed primarily as a disruption, but rather as an opportunity. Southern blacks hoped that "war service would somehow bring social and economic salvation for them and that white America after observing their service to the country could not deny them their recognition."<sup>6</sup> A 1917 article in the *Baltimore Afro-American* described the war as a "titanic struggle for world liberty," tying it to the black community's own struggle for equality. "As a race just emancipated and tasting the sweets of freedom we want it for all the world," the author declared.<sup>7</sup> Diverging dramatically from their white compatriots, African-Americans tended to express a renewed, rather than damaged, faith in leadership. The aforementioned article, in fact, discussed a telegraph sent by the "Negroes of Indianapolis" directly to the President himself, in which they assured him of their unwavering loyalty.<sup>8</sup> Despite his rather weak track record on race, Wilson was framed in the most hopeful light possible by another *Afro-American* article: "while during your entire career you have never done anything constructive for the Negro," the author wrote in an open letter to Wilson, "you have never done anything destructive against him. Your constructive opportunity is now at hand."<sup>9</sup> African-Americans saw World War I and the post-war period as a time for improvement, and felt their leaders—specifically the white elite—would participate in this project, if only they could see what blacks had to offer.

The largest catalyst for this improvement was the Great Migration of an estimated 7,000 to 1 million black Americans from the South to mostly urban Northern areas.<sup>10</sup> This movement was brought on by such a high war demand for unskilled labor that employers went so far as to send recruiters to the South to hire black workers.<sup>11</sup> Northern cities offered not only an escape from the lynching and disenfranchisement of the South, but also a chance to establish a reputation among the whites they would be living alongside in cities. More than anything, blacks hoped to be seen as valuable, as contributors.<sup>12</sup>

This sense of promise should not obscure the bleak realities that black soldiers and citizens faced as a result of the war. In general, they "received inferior clothing, substandard food, crowded barracks, little water, and open sheds for mess."<sup>13</sup> Cities may have been a preferable alternative for many blacks, but racial tensions followed wherever they went, "as the

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<sup>6</sup> Randy Finley, "Black Arkansas and World War One," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 49.3 (Autumn, 1990), 257.

<sup>7</sup> "Colored Citizens Show Patriotism." *Baltimore Afro-American (1893-1988)*, Apr 28, 1917, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> "The Disgrace of Democracy." *Baltimore Afro-American (1893-1988)*, Aug 25, 1917, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Joe William Trotter, Jr., "The Great Migration," *OAH Magazine of History* 17.1 (Oct., 2002), 31.

<sup>11</sup> Miller, *New World Coming*, 51.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 262.

racess jostled for limited housing and for jobs.”<sup>14</sup> And yet, amid the discrimination there was still progress. African-Americans had not been commissioned as officers in the Spanish-American War, but gained this recognition in World War I.<sup>15</sup> Despite all the tangible ways in which treatment was uneven and deserved recognition was denied, black communities retained a “nascent confidence” that “such gargantuan and heroic efforts as fighting in France or collecting thousands of dollars for the war effort had to have some meaning.”<sup>16</sup> In newly formed urban black neighborhoods, they embarked on a cultural project of uplift. Harlem was the most epitomic of these neighborhoods, and *The New Negro* was the clearest demonstration of this project. In its introduction, editor Alain Locke writes, “Negro life is not only establishing new contacts and founding new centers, it is finding a new soul.”<sup>17</sup> That volume’s works are the best way to glimpse the shape of this new soul.

The emerging New Negro identity did not go unnoticed by white authors, but first these authors must be examined in their own right. A close analysis of Fitzgerald and Hemingway’s work reveals their pessimism as well as their rejection of authority through excessive drinking and open sexual relations. This carousing yet somewhat spiritually deflated attitude was directly tied to participation in a morally ambiguous war, which tends to be a plot feature in these novels. Fitzgerald’s *This Side of Paradise* traces the upbringing, war service, and romantic mishaps of Amory Blaine, all woven around pivotal events of the 1910s and 20s. As a young man, Amory is certain he will succeed in life. He indulges in “one of his favorite waking dreams,” either about “becoming a great half-back,” or “about the Japanese invasion, when he was rewarded by being made the youngest general in the world.”<sup>18</sup> Neither of these dreams become reality; Amory is injured playing football and finds, after his service, that he has “lost idealism.”<sup>19</sup> Amory senses that a resulting disillusionment with leadership is shared with his generation: “One minute they call Wilson ‘just a dreamer, not practical’—a year later they rail at him for making his dreams realities.”<sup>20</sup> In *The Great Gatsby*, there is a similar suspicion that the powerful are manipulative. Gatsby introduces Nick to Meyer Wolfsheim, remarking that he was the man who “fixed the World’s Series back in 1919.”<sup>21</sup> By weaving this real scandal into his fictional universe, Fitzgerald reiterates that nothing during this period can be trusted—even the results of the World Series have been engineered.

Ernest Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises* deals more directly with the damage of World War I. Having received a mysterious injury during his service, Jake Barnes is left impotent, his manhood damaged both literally and figuratively.<sup>22</sup> The resulting frustration is directed toward American leadership in general. Jake’s friend Bill, another veteran, claims, “Abraham Lincoln

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 263.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 270.

<sup>17</sup> Alain Locke, “Foreward,” in *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1925), xxvii.

<sup>18</sup> Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise*, 12.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 218.

<sup>21</sup> F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*, (New York: Scribner, 1925), 73.

<sup>22</sup> Ernest Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises*, (New York: Scriber, 1926), 120.

was a faggot. He was in love with General Grant. So was Jefferson Davis. Lincoln just freed the slaves on a bet.”<sup>23</sup> This tale, though flippant, expresses a kind of homophobic resentment of American leaders—specifically ones involved in a previous war effort. Bill strips the Civil War of its ideological causes and significance, reducing it to “a bet,” as if to say that politicians manipulate the people into fighting for frivolous causes. Bill tells another anecdote later, this one true. He was invited to a formal dinner at which “medals would be worn,” but, having none, borrowed some from his tailor. When it turned out nobody wore their medals (an esteemed guest who was supposed to attend could not), Bill gave the “bloody military medals” out to girls at a nightclub.<sup>24</sup> To him, these signs of esteem associated with the war were useless trifles. By disposing of them he demonstrates disrespect for the man to whom they belonged (the unfortunate tailor, who was supposed to clean and return them, “kept on writing for months”), as well as contempt for the war itself.<sup>25</sup> Bill’s solution is rebellion, and he notices this behavior in his friends as well, telling Barnes, “You’re an expatriate [...] You drink yourself to death. You become obsessed by sex.”<sup>26</sup>

Indeed, in these novels as well as reality, sex became a means for rebellion against authority, specifically the authority of the older, more conservative generation. This generational tension was particularly acute among women, many of whom had battled for reforms concerning child labor, factory conditions, temperance, and suffrage during the Progressive era. “None of the Victorian mothers—and most of the mothers were Victorian—,” Fitzgerald writes in *This Side of Paradise*, “had any idea how casually their daughters were accustomed to be kissed.”<sup>27</sup> Amory’s girlfriend Rosalind exhibits this sexual freedom, one which her sister Cecelia ties explicitly to the war: “She’s average—smokes sometimes, drinks punch, frequently kissed—Oh, yes—common knowledge—one of the effects of the war, you know.”<sup>28</sup> Describing Rosalind as “average” emphasizes the normalcy of this behavior. Amory’s peers chafe with their parents over their flirtations, and when Rosalind complains to her mother, “you can’t run everything now the way you did in the early nineties,” she flaunts rather than hides this behavior.<sup>29</sup> Fitzgerald also writes about the ways this sexual rebellion often translated into interracial contact by pushing white men and women into the jazz club environment, “deep in an atmosphere of jungle music and the questioning of moral codes.”<sup>30</sup> Clubs afforded these characters the opportunity to drink and romance as much as they pleased, and, incidentally, meant that they were more likely to socialize in a less segregated environment.

Where Lost Generation writing is pessimistic and rebellious, the works of the Harlem Renaissance are often optimistic and respectful of authority. For writers of the Harlem Renaissance, the “authority” to which they directed respect was often their white readership. Establishing positive race relations in order to receive fairer treatment was the mission of poems

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 121.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 140.

<sup>25</sup> Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises*, 141.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 120.

<sup>27</sup> Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise*, 45.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 133.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 46.

like Langston Hughes' "The White Ones." He assures the reader, "I do not hate you/For your faces are beautiful, too," leaving the poem on a plea: "Oh, white strong ones, /Why do you torture me?"<sup>31</sup> Many of Hughes' poems show a spirited hope that this "torture" will, in fact, stop, and a willingness to strive for a better, realizable future. In "Summer Night," Hughes depicts a Harlem night as initially solemn: "My soul/Empty as the silence, Empty with a vague/Aching emptiness, /Desiring, Needing someone, /Something." With the arrival of a "new dawn," comes a new sense of promise, the aching alleviated.<sup>32</sup>

John Matheus' "Fog" is equally hopefully about salvation through improved race relations. On a freight car on the bridge between Ohio and West Virginia, the atmosphere is initially tense; a white man makes a derogatory comment about an Italian mother: "They breed like cats. They'll outnumber us."<sup>33</sup> When the bridge suddenly begins to collapse, the terrifying experience strikes all of the diverse passengers the same: "These thoughts flashed spontaneously in the consciousness of the rough ignorant fellows, choking in the fumes of their tobacco, came to the garlic scented 'hunkies,' to the Italian Madonna, to the Sister of Charity, to the lover boy and his lover girl, to the Negro youths, to the Jews thinking in Yiddish idioms, to the old Negro man and his wife and even the Egyptian-faced girl, with the straightened African hair, even to the bored motorman and the weary conductor."<sup>34</sup> When they are able to climb out of the car and emerge from the fog, "there was a generous intermingling. Everybody talked at once, inquiring, congratulating."<sup>35</sup> According to the authorities, some of the bridge supports had slipped, but the girders had held and "a terrible tragedy had been prevented."<sup>36</sup> The story ends with a happy note. Matheus writes, "The fog still crept from under the bed of the river [...] but from about the hearts and minds of some rough, unlettered men another fog had begun to lift."<sup>37</sup> In this story, there is no failure of authority, which is symbolized by the bridge girders on which everyone relies to safely cross the bridge. These girders are secure enough to prevent tragedy, and the incident serves to create greater understanding among whites, blacks, and immigrants.

Essays in *The New Negro* frame its literature and make the message more explicit. "Surrounded by forces which persistently work to establish the myth of his inferiority," Elise Johnson McDougald writes in "The Task of Negro Womanhood," "the Negro youth must be encouraged to think vigorously."<sup>38</sup> Rather than rebel, there is a certain desire to assert moral uprightness. This extends even to sex. In a rare essay by a white author, Melville J. Horskovits remarks on a conversation in which he mentioned that the "sexual looseness" attributed to black women in literature might actually be a welcome relief from the current, rigid expectations for purity among women. Horskovits remarks on the "prompt and violent" reaction among the African-American individuals he was speaking with, who make it clear that "sexual rigidity is

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<sup>31</sup> Langston Hughes, *The Weary Blues* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944), 106.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>33</sup> John Matheus, "Fog," in *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1925), 87.

<sup>34</sup> Matheus, "Fog," in *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke, 91.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>38</sup> Elise Johnson McDougald, "The Task of Negro Womanhood," in *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1925), 375-376.



the ultimate ideal of relations between men and women.”<sup>39</sup> Through this, they assert their respectability and willingness to play by established societal rules.

Lost Generation and Harlem Renaissance literature gave voice to the unique desires and sentiments of their authors, but they also show the direct relationship between these groups. The desire to establish positive race relations obvious in Harlem Renaissance literature was just one way in which these two movements revealed increasingly frequent contact between white Americans and African-Americans. For urban whites, Harlem jazz clubs and speakeasies were appealing for their “music, excitement, alcohol, sex, and drugs,” facilitating the kind of rebellion that had become normalized at this time, but also providing a social space to intermingle.<sup>40</sup> But not all white patrons went to Harlem merely for the excitement of jazz clubs. Some were supporters of black writers and helped publish their works, helping them achieve their mission of positive black publicity.<sup>41</sup> White patrons of black theater applauded the performances of black actors like Paul Robeson and “his color—his race—all, all were forgotten by those he had stirred so deeply with his art.”<sup>42</sup> These moments of mutual celebration and support were matched by moments of tension and even violence. In July of 1917, for instance, St. Louis race riots resulted in the death of forty-nine people, thirty-nine of them black.<sup>43</sup> Just as Langston Hughes’ poetic vision of Harlem could be at different times “a place to be shared with fun-seeking whites,” and “a sanctuary from them,” the complicated results of increased interracial contact are explored in both these literary movements.<sup>44</sup>

In *The Great Gatsby*, Fitzgerald does not include black characters but rather allows us to view race relations through the lens of his white characters. Tom Buchanan cites a book called “The Rise of the Colored Empires,” claiming that “if we don’t look out the white race will be—will be utterly submerged,” and adding, “it’s all scientific stuff.”<sup>45</sup> Tom specifically mentions that white people, “have produced all the things that go to make civilizations—oh, science and art, and all that,” as if directly rejecting the accomplishments of the Harlem Renaissance.<sup>46</sup> Fitzgerald uses Tom’s blatant racism to characterize him as unlikable or perhaps paranoid. His voice is “impatient”; he interrupts his guests, and his wife winks as she agrees, mocking him. “There was something pathetic in his concentration,” observes the narrator, Nick Carraway.<sup>47</sup> Tom’s attitude is not only dated but “pathetic,” as if to suggest that the idea of fearing contact with black Americans is absurd. Later, Fitzgerald describes a party scene in which “a celebrated tenor had sung in Italian, and a notorious contralto had sung in jazz,” juxtaposing a traditionally “white” music style directly with jazz.<sup>48</sup> He embraces the idea that whites and blacks can live

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<sup>39</sup> Melville J. Herskovits, “The Negro’s Americanism,” in *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1925), 356.

<sup>40</sup> Miller, *New World Coming*, 221.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>42</sup> Walter White, “The Paradox of Color,” in *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1925), 361.

<sup>43</sup> Miller, *New World Coming*, 51.

<sup>44</sup> Arthur P. Davis, “The Harlem of Langston Hughes’ Poetry,” *Phylon (1940-1956)* 13.4 (1952), 280.

<sup>45</sup> Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*, 13.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

close to one another comfortably, while acknowledging the Tom Buchanans of the world will certainly make things difficult.

African-American writing was often more direct about the consequences of increased contact. *Compromise*, a play by Willis Richardson, tells the story of a black woman named Jane who lost her son Joe in a tragic accident. Ben Carter, their white neighbor, was trying to scare off what he thought was a group of boys stealing his apples when he accidentally shot Joe, who was perched in the tree. Ben, much like white characters in Lost Generation novels, was quick to reject an appeal to legal authority; rather, he paid their family a hundred dollars under the table to make up for the accident—Jane's husband agrees, though Jane is reluctant, agreeing that if they "had 'a' gone to law maybe [they] wouldn't 'a' got nothin'," given their races.<sup>49</sup> Despite the accident, Jane and Ben have a very pleasant relationship. He enters the house casually and she makes him a cup of coffee, which he insists is "the best coffee in this country."<sup>50</sup> She assures him that she has no bad feelings, and has "always found [him] a pretty good square man."<sup>51</sup> Their children seem to have overcome their races to some extent as well; Annie, Jane's daughter, and Jack, Ben's son, "grewed up together" and have a special friendship that becomes romantic.<sup>52</sup>

However, problems begin to arise as Alec, another son of Jane's, becomes increasingly frustrated with the compromise. Even Annie and Jack's relationship appears to be rocky. Annie will not divulge what, but Jane suspects that romance is involved.<sup>53</sup> Jane, in keeping with the conservative sexual attitude of Harlem Renaissance literature, is furious. Ben even considers paying to educate two of Jane's children in order to smooth over this new snag in their relationship.<sup>54</sup> Eventually, Alec breaks Jack's arm, and Ben angrily abandons the prospect of paying for the education of Jane's children.<sup>55</sup> The fact that Jane and Ben are neighbors shows that friendliness as well as problems arise with closeness. Ben tells Alec, "Me and your people here been livin' side by side for years and we always got along all right, but you always seem like you're mad."<sup>56</sup> Overall, they are able to peacefully co-exist, but certain tensions are undeniable, and can grow into larger problems.

"Compromise" was an appropriate title, and an appropriate metaphor, for the interracial negotiations that helped establish a new, post-Great Migration way of coexisting. White Americans lamented the war and rebelled through drink and sex, often mingling with an increasingly diverse crowd. African-Americans used the war to fight for increased recognition, and infused a sense of moral obedience in their literature, hoping it would inspire more comfortable race relations. While the Lost Generation and the Harlem Renaissance tell different stories about America, they also share a narrative about what it meant for white and black Americans to coexist abruptly and closely.

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<sup>49</sup> Willis Richardson, "Compromise," *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1925), 172.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 174.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>55</sup> Richardson, "Compromise," in *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke, 194.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

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## **Idealism, Pragmatism, and the Evolution of Bolívarian Rhetoric**

**By Charlotte Racioppo**

Any discussion of the world's greatest revolutionaries, no matter the era or region, would be incomplete without some mention of the Venezuelan patriot Simón Bolívar. Over the course of his forty-seven years, Bolívar was directly involved in the liberation of six Latin American countries: Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Panama, Colombia, and parts of Bolivia. And even as his military and political legacy made a considerable impact on South America during his own time, the effects of his independence efforts can still be seen in the continent today. Both Venezuela – or, the Bolívarian Republic of Venezuela – and Bolivia are named after the Liberator, as are their currencies.<sup>1</sup> The Colombian city of Bogotá and most Venezuelan cities are based around a central square called the Plaza de Bolívar; and Bolívar himself is the focus of a number of films and, perhaps most notably, Gabriel García Márquez's 1989 novel *The General in his Labyrinth*.

As such, it should come as no surprise that Bolívar, both as a person and a source of political thought, is a frequent subject of historical review. In the words of Simon Collier, any such examination of the Liberator's life "runs the inevitable risk of covering ground whose most intimate topography has long since been scrutinized with care by generations of scholars."<sup>2</sup> Even so, Bolívar's instrumental role in acquiring nationhood throughout Latin America – an enlightened savior persona to which most historians limit him – often obscures and dominates other aspects of the discussion. His later conceptions of nationalism and independence were indeed a unique hybrid of pragmatism and idealism, but it was only after years of political maneuvering and reevaluation based on his current circumstances that these conceptions truly solidified.

Unlike the populations of France or Haiti during the late-eighteenth centuries, Latin America's citizens were not predisposed for revolutionary action. In principalities created, almost artificially, by Spain and Portugal, and with significant percentages of the population being either mixed caste, black, or Native American, few colonists at all felt like they truly belonged to America.<sup>3</sup> When reading the work of Simón Bolívar, however, such a sentiment is nowhere to be found; instead, cries for revolution and staunch condemnations of Spanish rule abound, a drastically different picture of Latin America's political climate. From Bolívar's statements one may be inclined to believe such nationalism was endemic to both the colonies and the time period. With such a discrepancy, it becomes less clear exactly why Venezuela became independent, how Bolívar became the revolutionary he did, and how such a transition could occur without any prerequisite impetus for revolution. As I will argue within the following pages, I believe the reason to rely on a single concept: the volatility of Bolívarian thought.

Despite the abundance of historical studies and biographies of the Liberator, only a portion focuses its attention on Bolívar's political ideology as it pertains to nationalism. Sara Castro-Klaren, in exploring Bolívar's Pan-American philosophy, claims that "Bolívar's quest [was] indeed about freedom for all the peoples born in America... and that the new freedoms truly meant the equality of all citizens of the republic."<sup>4</sup> And perhaps such could be said for

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<sup>1</sup>Venezuela uses the bolivar while Bolivia uses the boliviano.

<sup>2</sup>Simón Bolívar and Simon Collier, "Nationality, Nationalism, and Supranationalism in the Writings of Simón Bolívar," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, no. 1 (1983): 37.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 39.

<sup>4</sup>Sara Castro-Klaren, "Framing Pan-Americanism: Simón Bolívar's Findings," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3,

Bolívar's rhetoric well into the revolution, but earlier incarnations of his thought were not so idealistic. For African slaves, indigenous peoples, and even *peninsulares*,<sup>5</sup> Bolívar was not always in support of their freedoms, and reached his conclusions on liberty and equality for "all citizens" only after years of evolving philosophy and external forces made such an ideology tenable.

In fact, Bolívarian nationalism could be said to have been insular and elitist in its earlier iterations. Simon Collier agrees with historian John Lynch that, if there was any strong nationalist sentiment in Venezuela, it was Creole<sup>6</sup> and exclusive by definition;<sup>7</sup> and Bolívar, a Creole himself, embodied this worldview almost exclusively until later events would expand his thought. Even this specificity of philosophy was in response to the current political needs within Latin America. The revolutions, as Lynch says, "responded first to interests, and interests invoked ideas."<sup>8</sup> For Bolívar as with the general Creole population of New Granada, reacquisition of economic self-sufficiency and governmental offices, taken away by the Bourbon reforms, were the primary concerns of revolution, not the expression of republican political philosophy. Only when political principles became more important than economic retribution did the ideological shift occur.

Rather than a static, immutable set of values, Bolívarian nationalism is better defined as a process, a political ideology that changed over time just as the revolution did. It was not a fully-fledged worldview from the outset but instead responded to the events of the Age of Revolution, a message consciously crafted to achieve Latin American independence based on social, political, and economic factors. I will be tracing this evolution along two lines: perceptions of Spanish colonialism and slavery.

### **Defining Creole Thought**

Throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the creole elite of Spanish America were able to outmaneuver the Spanish crown and separate themselves from the empire's economic dominance, providing them with a sense of self-sufficiency and contributing to the emergence of a new American identity. Through cultivation of local development and expansion of trade, the Spanish colonies had in effect "emancipated [themselves] from [their] initial dependence on Spain."<sup>9</sup> Their once-isolated and heavily restricted economy had broken from the Spanish monopoly, engaging in intercolonial trade and developing its own self-sufficient industry which, however modest, as Lynch points out, "was outside the trans-Atlantic sector."<sup>10</sup> This economic liberation and emergence of independent commercial industry contributed heavily to the creole identity as separate from that of Spain – no longer cogs in the Spanish mercantile machine, the emerging creole elite could see themselves not only as Americans but self-administrators, and they started occupying minor roles in colonial government.

With the ascension of the King Charles III (r. 1759-1788), the Spanish Empire sought out

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no. 1 (2003): 30.

<sup>5</sup>Peninsulares are whites born in Spain who emigrate to the Spanish colonies in America.

<sup>6</sup>Creoles are whites born in Latin America.

<sup>7</sup>Bolívar and Collier, "Nationality...", 38-39; John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions 1808-1826* (New York, 1973), 25.

<sup>8</sup>John Lynch, *Latin America Between Colony and Nation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 96.

<sup>9</sup>Lynch, *Spanish American Revolutions...*, 2.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 3.

to reclaim its position of dominance over the American colonies and, in doing so, enraged the recently liberated creole class of which Bolívar was a member. The new monarch's Bourbon Reforms, enacted throughout the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, were intended to attack any vestiges of creole independence, to "undermine the position of the foreigners but also to destroy the self-sufficiency of the creoles, to make the colonial economies work directly for Spain, to syphon off the surplus of production which for so long had been retained within America."<sup>11</sup> Governmental offices were redistributed, state monopolies were reinstated, and immigration of *peninsulares* was heavily promoted, especially successful given the preference for mainland Spanish in the assignation of political power. Those outside the creole demographic, however, often saw their prospects improve. *Peninsulares* were able to assume governmental positions previously occupied by creoles, and non-whites were granted increased social mobility with provisions like the *gracis al sacar* which allowed the purchase of "certificates of whiteness" and subsequent access to previously denied civil rights like marriage to whites and education.<sup>12</sup> In this way Spain made a concerted effort to reestablish colonial dependency on the crown in all aspects, and the creoles found themselves deprived of their previous gains by a small minority of *peninsulares*<sup>13</sup> while less advantaged non-whites were closing the socioeconomic gap.

The foundation for creole nationalism – therefore, Bolívarian nationalism – can be derived in large part from this experience, in particular the racial climate of the colonies. As Lynch explains, "the creoles were intensely aware of social pressure from below, and the strove to keep the coloured people at a distance."<sup>14</sup> The combination of overwhelming numbers – indigenous peoples, African slaves and *pardos*, and *mestizos* far outnumbered whites in colonial society<sup>15</sup> – and increased social mobility for non-whites as granted by the Bourbon Reforms<sup>16</sup> meant white demographics like the creoles and *peninsulares* were not only wary of non-whites but often actively tried to limit them to their current states of bondage and political repression. This reluctance to liberate Spanish American slaves was reflected in the earlier stages of Bolívar's political just as it was with the creoles, and underscores Bolívar's often unacknowledged anti-abolition origins.

Witness of the revolutions in North America and France as well contributed to another pillar of creole nationalism: republican ideals. With the spread of Western philosophy – the works of Rousseau, Locke, Montesquieu, and others – the creole elite of Latin America were exposed to ideas like popular sovereignty and liberty, as well as examples of their successful implementation elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> Combined with the repression of their rights as committed by the Spanish state and their burgeoning realization of an American identity,<sup>18</sup> equality and

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<sup>11</sup>Lynch, *Spanish American Revolutions...*, 11.

<sup>12</sup>Lynch, *Simón Bolívar: A Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 11.

<sup>13</sup>Lynch, *Colony and Nation*, 82.

<sup>14</sup>Lynch *Spanish American Revolutions...*, 20.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 20-23.

<sup>17</sup>It should be said that, while the North American revolutionaries' efforts and political foundations were seen as a celebrated example of nationalistic revolution, France's fight for independence was seen more as a warning of the dangers of extreme liberalism.

<sup>18</sup>Victor Belaunde cites this point and expands upon it in his reasoning for revolution, claiming that "the existence of a national spirit and the ripening of a feeling of patriotism", as they pertain to the emerging creole identity, are vital in any explanation for Latin American independence. I am liable to agree; however, it is a topic unto itself and would be a digression if investigated here; Victor Belaunde, *Bolívar and the Political Thought of the*

representative government became hallmarks of creole nationalist thought. It is from this foundation that Bolívar developed his initial ideology.

### **Spanish Colonialism: Enmity and Brotherhood**

Bolívar employed a number of different approaches when discussing the Spanish Empire, referring to them at once as ill-gotten parent,<sup>19</sup> slave master, and oppressor in order to play on the resentment of the creole faction. Many of his major grievances revolved around the Spanish repression of creole (and, eventually, American) political rights, an empire that deprived its colonies of participation in their own governance. Later, when Bolívar's concept of Pan-Americanism and desire for unity among Latin America's new nations is fully-formed, he even reneged on some of this divisive mentality to incorporate Spaniards into his model for a new America, allowing principles of unity to supersede previous enmity.

Much of Bolívar's initial rhetoric concerning the Spanish Crown reflects his experiences as a Venezuelan creole, one whose expectations for the function of government are based on the achievement – and, after the Bourbon Reforms, deprivation – of self-governance. In 1819, Bolívar delivered his Angostura Discourse in Venezuela, a speech to the newly formed Congress there which proposed a new form of independent government that would withstand the Spanish forces. Bolívar interpreted Spanish colonialism throughout this speech as the intentional withholding of creole self-sufficiency: “America...received everything from Spain, who, in effect, deprived her...[of taking] part in her own domestic affairs and administration...In brief, Gentlemen, we were deliberately kept in ignorance and cut off from the world in all matters relating to the science of government.”<sup>20</sup> This idea of Venezuela being stuck in “a state of political infancy”<sup>21</sup> struck a chord with the creole aristocrats whose offices had been taken away under Bourbon orders and became a pillar of Bolívar's anti-Spanish crusade. Creole frustrations left unresolved (and indeed, aggravated) by Spanish colonial government were expressed quite publicly by the Liberator. And at first it is the creole population he speaks for, claiming in 1815 that “the Spaniards spare nothing that might enable them to subdue those who have had the misfortune of being born on this soil...”<sup>22</sup> In his later declarations, and with the solidification of Pan-Americanism, Bolívar addressed the population of Venezuela at large. Until then, however, the majority of his rhetoric was geared towards that familiar and most outspoken Venezuelan demographic to which he himself belonged.

A significant portion of Bolívar's language regarding Spanish oppression recalls the imagery of Spain and her colonies as master and slave, a metaphorical tactic that is later changed to address the immoral plight of actual slaves within Spanish America. In a show of poetic dismay, Bolívar refers to Venezuela's political situation in 1815 as even “a position lower than slavery,” clarifying that “a people is therefore enslaved when the government, by its nature or its vices, infringes upon and usurps the rights of the citizen or subject.”<sup>23</sup> Even non-creoles are addressed as the unfortunate slaves of Spanish rule, referring to a general population with “limbs

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*Spanish-American Revolution* (New York: Octagon Books, 1967): 119.

<sup>19</sup>This characterization falls well into Bolívar's own conception of a nation, which he frequently refers to in maternal terms; Collier, “Nationality...”, 43.

<sup>20</sup>Simón Bolívar, “The Angostura Discourse” from *The Political Thought of Bolívar: Selected Writings* edited by Gerald E. Fitzgerald (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971): 48.

<sup>21</sup>Lynch, *Colony and Nation...*, 144.

<sup>22</sup>Bolívar, “The Jamaica Letter”, *Political Thought*, 30.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 34.

benumbed by chains, their sight dimmed by the darkness of dungeons, and their strength sapped by the pestilence of servitude...”<sup>24</sup> Such language spoke to a generation of aristocrats whose hard-earned rights had been limited by monarchical power – and a foreign monarch at that. While at first this oppressed imagery was directed only to the creole elite, the language would eventually ease the introduction of abolition for legitimate slaves into Bolívarian thought.

At first it would seem such enmity towards Spain<sup>25</sup> could not be resolved, but over time Bolívar’s wish for unified American states eventually outweighed his initial opposition. While at first reticent to include Spaniards and other immigrants in Latin America’s new nations, Bolívar began to induct foreigners – or, in this case, royalist creoles – as new Americans. At the time of his earlier rhetoric, written from the outset of the war in 1810 to around 1819, Venezuela and indeed most of Spanish America was struggling to defeat the colonial crown, and often found themselves on the losing side of military confrontations. Once Bolívar’s revolutionary armies began to win, however, and nations were liberated with increasing frequency, this kind of emphasis on liberty and brotherhood emerged. In a speech to Spanish troops in 1822, Bolívar even offered “If you want to be Colombians, you shall be Colombians.”<sup>26</sup> The economic and political interests of the creole demographic were in large part the catalysts of revolution. But as the wars progressed, republican values and liberalism transcended the creoles’ original grievances, replacing them instead with a need to acquire not just minor political responsibility but lofty goals like equality among all men, representative government, and the realization of the American identity. Bolívar’s initial hatred of the Spanish, a pragmatic, military-minded contempt for one’s enemy, was replaced with the idealism of one building a new, American nation.

### **Slavery: Economy and Equality**

While a staunch abolitionist in his later years, it took a number of incentives and a significant amount of time before Bolívar’s ideology could fully reject the practice of slavery. Like his creole contemporaries, Bolívar initially approved of the industry – or, at the least, harbored enough fear about potential race uprisings that he felt slavery was of relative importance to the safety of the white elites. As the demographic majority within colonial populations, slaves and non-whites<sup>27</sup> were an integral part of Venezuelan society and yet an unpredictable, potential threat for creole revolutionaries.

As was the case with many of his creole contemporaries, Bolívar initially viewed Afro-descendant peoples as an uncontrolled aspect of the revolution. At the end of the colonial period, “Creoles of elite status” comprised only 0.31% of the Venezuelan population, while *pardos*, blacks, and native peoples made up an overwhelming 73.75%.<sup>28</sup> Fear of slave uprisings and mobilization of the non-white lower classes plagued the creole elite, and many hardly wished to surrender their way of life by surrendering control of their slaves: “Slave owners rarely volunteer to give up their property or abandon their investments, and the Venezuelan aristocracy were no exception.”<sup>29</sup> Bolívar himself was wary of racial uprising, so much so he often sounded more like a white supremacist than a freedom fighter; upset by the number of non-whites

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., “Angostura”, 49.

<sup>25</sup>In his Jamaica Letter, Bolívar claims: “The hatred that the Peninsula has inspired in us is greater than the ocean between us.”; Bolívar, “Jamaica”, *Political Thought*, 28.

<sup>26</sup>Collier, “Nationality...”, 42.

<sup>27</sup>In Venezuela, Africans, Blacks, and indigenous populations.

<sup>28</sup>Lynch, *A Life*, 10.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 109.



fighting for Spain in the early years of the war, he claimed to be offended by “this revolution of the Negroes, free and slave, this inhuman and atrocious people, feeding on the blood and property of the patriots...”<sup>30</sup>

As a child, Bolívar’s family plantations were worked by slaves;<sup>31</sup> and he himself owned slaves until Venezuela’s official declaration of independence in 1810 when he freed those under his control. He often occupied a nebulous position of idealistic integrity and realistic skepticism; or, in words Lynch uses to describe the revolution, yet which apply as well to the Liberator himself, Bolívar was “prepared to abolish the slave trade but reluctant to release slaves into a free society, where they might not conform to creole rules on law and order...”<sup>32</sup> Lynch firmly believes that this position was not Bolívar’s, claiming he had a “firmer moral instinct than Thomas Jefferson” and “thought it ‘madness that a revolution for liberty should seek to maintain slavery.’”<sup>33</sup> But this view was not consistent with the earlier years of Bolívar’s political career. Only when the abolition of slavery was clearly beneficial to the revolution did it become an immutable aspect of Bolívar’s ideology.

Combined with his position as revolutionary and nationalist, Bolívar’s interpretation of Venezuelan race relations – as with much of his political thought – was comprised of a precarious balance between idealism and pragmatism. In the case of slavery, pragmatism was at first the overwhelming factor. While the moral right would support an unequivocal rejection of the slave trade, early nineteenth century elites would not.<sup>34</sup> When slaves started to become vital members of the revolution, however, the Liberator’s views started to swing heavily in the opposite direction. In 1814, Bolívar “liberated his own slaves, first on condition of military service...then unconditionally in 1821...”,<sup>35</sup> and for a significant period of time laws of manumission supplied slaves with their freedom by supplying the revolutionaries with conscripted soldiers.<sup>36</sup> During his 1816 exile in Haiti, Bolívar was only able to obtain substantial materiel from then-president Alexandre Pétion by agreeing to “proclaim the abolition of slavery in the territory he liberated in Venezuela.”<sup>37</sup> Regardless of his moral stance on the issue, the abolition of slavery began to have tangible, positive effects on the revolutionaries’ fight for independence.

With the solidification of Bolívar’s political philosophy came the veneration of equality, a pillar of Bolívar’s ideal government and, as a result, of his perception of slavery. He was cognizant of the racial ambiguity of the American people, referring to them in his Jamaica Letter – written in 1815 during exile from Spanish-controlled Venezuela – as “neither Indian nor European, but a species midway between the legitimate proprietors of this country and the Spanish usurpers. In short, though Americans by birth we derive our rights from Europe, and we have to assert these rights against the rights of the natives, and at the same time we must defend

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<sup>30</sup>Lester D. Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1850*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996): 176.

<sup>31</sup>Castro-Klaren, “Framing Pan-Americanism...”, 27.

<sup>32</sup>Lynch, *A Life*, 288.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, 288

<sup>34</sup>In fact, even the highly liberal French Revolutionaries did not support abolition at first, persuaded only over time by the events of the revolution itself and the influence of anti-slavery nations like Haiti.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, 97.

ourselves against the invaders.”<sup>38</sup> Such racial differences that served to divide the members of the revolution could be united based on a shared experience of slavery. As Bolívar made clear in his accusations against the Spanish Crown, even creoles felt they had suffered as slaves under Spanish rule. Again at Angostura in 1819, Bolívar appealed to his fellow creoles’ Spanish resentment: “those who were once slaves are now free: those who were once the embittered enemies of a stepmother are now the proud defenders of their own country...but I plead for the confirmation of the absolute freedom of the slaves, as I would plead for my very life and for the life of the Republic.”<sup>39</sup>

The health of the new Venezuelan nation, one which Bolívar believed had to be built upon equality and liberty for all peoples, relied on the acceptance of non-whites into common society. And a truly equal nation was fundamentally incompatible with the practice of slavery; when speaking to the Congress of Bolivia on the ideal form of government in 1826, he declares, “No one can violate the sacred doctrine of *equality*. And can slavery exist where equality reigns supreme?”<sup>40</sup> With the prioritization of equality, slavery could no longer remain a part of Bolívar’s perfect nation. Whether he still believed in creole supremacy or not, Bolívar was decidedly conscious of the importance of race in colonial society; that is, he was “naturally (and sometimes uneasily) aware of the ethnic mixture that underlay Latin American life.”<sup>41</sup> And once it became clear that the abolition of slavery was an attainable and beneficial aspect of Latin American unity, he was a fervent advocate for abolition.

### **The Liberator’s Legacy**

The world’s fascination with Bolívar is not particularly fascinating in and of itself. When listing his achievements, the man known as the Liberator seems larger than life, responsible for the unification and liberation of six Latin American nations and the promotion of republican ideals in the post-colonial era. A white creole, with no as of yet discovered multiracial heritage,<sup>42</sup> he played an instrumental role in the abolition of slavery and increased civil rights for non-white peoples. He led the charge in the realization of an American identity, and promoted “Unity, unity, unity”<sup>43</sup> as the motto for Latin America’s future. In most respects, he was an incredible figure. As such a visionary, however, it is possible to overlook the evolution of his thought – that the ideologies one finds so impressive in a modern context underwent extensive changes over the course of Bolívar’s life, and provide a greater understanding of the Liberator as both a politician and a person. He was at once practical, crafting his message to achieve Venezuela’s independence, and idealistic, the foundation of his thought embracing equality and liberty to an extent unseen in contemporary revolutionary movements. Even after examining his changing perceptions of the world around him – the colonial yoke of the Spanish Crown, and the obstinate institution of slavery – his thoughts were still those of a great thinker, one whose ideas were complex even in early stages of development. But this characterization still does not touch on the most important facet of Bolívarian ideology.

Bolívar lived in an age of conflicting ideas. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw countries across the globe struggling to reconcile intellectual and political

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<sup>38</sup>Bolívar, “The Jamaica Letter”, *Political Thought...*, 33.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., “Angostura”, 65.

<sup>40</sup>Bolívar, “Message to the Congress of Bolivia,” *Political Thought*, 103.

<sup>41</sup>Collier, “Nationality...”, 43.

<sup>42</sup>Lynch, *A Life*, 2.

<sup>43</sup>Bolívar, “Angostura”, *Political Thought...*, 62.

advancement with tradition: equality and slavery, science and religion, social contract theory and absolutism, among others. These new and old ideologies fought for dominance on an international scale, and men with ambitions like Bolívar's played major roles in their promotion. Unlike many of his contemporaries, however, Bolívar saw the advantage to volatility. Flexible ideas, ones that could adapt to both the situation and the people to which he appealed, would be far more successful than forcing a stubborn opponent to surrender, ideologically and militarily. Venezuela's independence was not entirely due to the Liberator's efforts, but his willingness to rethink and rework his own ideology was a hallmark of his success as a revolutionary leader.

And yet, as revered as he is today, even Bolívar was not entirely successful in his goals. He may have helped emancipate the Spanish colonies, but many have been wracked by political discord and military rule since their independence. He himself was forced to resign his dictatorship of Gran Colombia – the very coalition state he wished to create – in 1830 after two years of uprisings and political gridlock limited his ability to govern. The last phase of his life was plagued with illness and defeat before his death from tuberculosis in 1830.

Even so, Latin America does not remember him as a broken, desperate commander. To much of the world, he is still El Libertador, his successes far outweighing his failures. It is this version of Bolívar which is most inspiring, which informs modern Latin American nationalism, which is the namesake of so many aspects of Latin American life. Like Bolívar himself, the world has, over time, chosen to embrace the ideals and principles of Bolívarian nationalism for its own benefit. It is only important to remember that our version of Bolívar reflects neither his beginnings nor his end. Even the Liberator is fallible, and the context of such a revered figure is integral to his complete understanding.

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**“Her Mind Seeks its Gratification in a Humble Sphere of Action”: The Theater and Political Salon as Venues for Women’s Political Participation**  
**By Camila Velloso**

Middle- and upper-class white women in the late eighteenth century recognized that they had limited options for contributing to the discussion on the country’s political affairs. Because of their diminished legal standing, and the traditional notion that a woman’s primary sphere of influence should be the home, women could not participate in politics directly – they could not vote or run for office. Most historical scholarship on the early national period thus relegated women to the sidelines of the country’s political developments. Newer scholarship, however, has begun to recognize that elite women contributed more to the nation’s political discourse than they had been given credit for. This essay expands upon this new conception by highlighting some of the areas in which women were active participants in public life. These women were resourceful and devised ways to educate themselves, get their written work published, and find areas of action that sanctioned their involvement in politics. In particular, this essay discusses two spaces that were receptive to women’s political participation: the theater and the political salon.

One of the ways in which women published their political ideas was through playwriting. The late eighteenth century saw a rise in female playwrights, although many of these plays were only read and never performed. Female playwrights are especially intriguing to this study because these women were able to put pen to paper and record their political convictions in an informal format. Female playwrights helped fulfill demands for plays with explicitly American and patriotic themes. They also used their plays to support or criticize political figures or policies.

America’s first female playwright was perhaps Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814). She was writing plays before the Revolution, and is one of the only American female playwrights before the 1790s, although her plays were never performed. One of the most prominent women of her time, Warren received a front-row seat to the political unfoldings of the second half of the eighteenth century, and was thus highly informed on the period’s political issues. She was born, and married, into families that actively participated in the struggle for independence. Mercy Otis married James Warren in 1754. He served as President of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress and Paymaster General of the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War.<sup>1</sup> Her brother, James Otis Jr. (1725-1783), was Harvard-educated and one of the top attorneys in Boston in the mid-eighteenth century. He coined the phrase “taxation without representation is tyranny” during an argument against Governor Francis Bernard’s writs of assistance before the Massachusetts Superior Court in 1761. He was later elected to the Massachusetts House and became friendly with another young lawyer, John Adams – with whom Mercy Warren would also share a friendship. Warren’s status as both the wife of a member of the wealthiest family of Plymouth, as well as the sister of a well-connected Boston attorney, afforded her unparalleled access to the political developments of the late eighteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> Kate Davies, *Catharine Macaulay and Mercy Otis Warren: The Revolutionary Atlantic and the Politics of Gender* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 188; Nancy Rubin Stuart, *The Muse of the Revolution: Mercy Otis Warren and the Founding of a Nation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2009), 89.

Warren wrote three plays in the 1770s: *The Adulateur* (1773), “The Defeat” (1773), and *The Group* (1775). *The Blockheads* (1776) and *The Motley Assembly* (1779) are also sometimes attributed to her.<sup>2</sup> Written during the period immediately preceding the Revolutionary War – a crucial moment in gathering support for the patriot cause – these plays ardently promoted the colonies’ struggle to break free from the tyranny of Britain and its officers.

*The Adulateur* was published as a pamphlet in 1773, but “a specimen of the work” first appeared in the *Massachusetts Spy* on March 26, 1772.<sup>3</sup> The cast of characters listed in the pamphlet features Rapatio, Governor of Servia (Massachusetts), and Brutus, Chief of the Patriots.<sup>4</sup> Rapatio is meant to represent the governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony, Thomas Hutchinson, while Brutus is a dramatic representation of James Otis, Jr. Warren presents these two characters as complete dramatic foils. Rapatio, the leader of an oppressive government in conflict with the Patriots, uses harsh words to describe the freedom-loving patriots, calling those who challenge him “muttering wretches” and “scoundrels” who “grow fond of riot, and with pageantry, do ridicule the *friends* of government.”<sup>5</sup> Brutus, on the other hand, is portrayed as an exemplary Patriot, a man who acts from “*sense of honor*” and loves his country so much that if he could give his life to save it from tyranny, he would “bare this breast, and die in transport.”<sup>6</sup> Warren clearly positions herself on the Patriot side, extolling Brutus’s character and courage for standing up to an oppressive government – just as James Otis stood up to Governor Bernard’s domineering writs of assistance in Massachusetts Superior Court.

Warren’s next two plays, *The Defeat* and *The Group*, focused on satirizing Rapatio’s demise and the new crop of politicians sent to the Massachusetts colony by Britain. Published in 1773 by the *Boston Gazette*, *The Defeat* does not present a central tension between two opposite characters, but rather follows Rapatio and his eventual loss of control of Servia – a similar fate experienced by the increasingly unpopular Massachusetts royal governor Thomas Hutchinson in 1774. Indeed, Rapatio laments that “The World’s convinced That we’re the Miscreants that have fold their Rights. Yet cheated many with a false Pretence, That we alone the publick Welfare fought.”<sup>7</sup> He then resigns to the fact that “I fall unpitied not one weeping Eye, Shall wail my Fate, or heave a Tender Sigh.”<sup>8</sup> By demonstrating how Rapatio is not remorseful for his actions toward Servia’s citizens, Warren urges her readers to regard Hutchinson in the same manner.

Warren’s third propaganda play, *The Group*, emerged two years after *The Adulateur* and *The Defeat*. Fragments of it were first published in the January 23, 1775 edition of the *Boston Gazette*. The paper boasted that it would ignite the “wonder of all Superior Intelligences.”<sup>9</sup> *The Group* features a cast of characters consisting of loyal colonists and newly-appointed British officials following Rapatio’s demise. Warren even picked cleverly satirical names for some of the characters, including Sir Sparrow Spendall, Hector Mushroom, Simple Sapling, Crusty

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<sup>2</sup> Mercy Otis Warren, *The Plays and Poems of Mercy Otis Warren*, ed. Benjamin Franklin (Delmar, N.Y.: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1890), vii.

<sup>3</sup> Advertisement, *The Massachusetts Spy*, March 26, 1772, America’s Historical Newspapers.

<sup>4</sup> Warren, *Plays and Poems*, MiU-C.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Warren, *Plays and Poems*, MiU-C.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Advertisement, *Boston Gazette*, January 23 1775, America’s Historical Newspapers.

Crowbar, Scriblerius Fribble, and Judge Collateralis.<sup>10</sup> Though the play, like the two before it, lacked a fully-developed plot, Warren once again succeeded in portraying the Loyalists as weak-minded. One of the most detestable characters, Brigadier Hateall (modeled after Timothy Ruggles, one of the most prominent Loyalists in the Massachusetts colony), believes that “all our hope depends on brutal force, on quick destruction, misery and death; Soon may we see dark ruin stalk around, with murder, rapine, and inflicted pains, Estates confiscate, slav’ry and despair. . . . All the dread ills that wait on civil war.” His companion, Hazelrod (Peter Oliver, the loyalist Chief Justice of the highest court in the Massachusetts colony), replies that the “more compleat I view this scene of woe, By the incursions of a savage foe, of which I warn’d them, if they dare refuse. . . and bold resistance rule. Now let them suffer – I’ll no pity feel.”<sup>11</sup> Warren hoped that the extreme cruelty toward the patriots exhibited by these characters would help convince the colonists that armed resistance was the only logical option to oppose tyrannical British policies such as the Coercive Acts. Indeed, the play “solidified anti-British sentiment in and around Boston.”<sup>12</sup> Its publication on the very eve of the Revolution, when war with Britain seemed all but inevitable, made *The Group* Warren’s most widely printed and read work.<sup>13</sup>

*The Adulateur*, *The Defeat*, and *The Group* clearly meant to convince on the necessity for independence and to spur on the Patriot cause.<sup>14</sup> Warren, however, did not sign her name to her work. The title page of the *Adulateur* pamphlet makes no mention of an author, and an advertisement for the pamphlet published in the *Massachusetts Spy* on December 16, 1773 lists its author as “a Lady.”<sup>15</sup> Similarly, both the newspaper advertisement and the pamphlet of *The Group* refer simply to “The Author.”<sup>16</sup> The choice for anonymity was not uncommon for female writers in the eighteenth century. Because her play expressed political preferences in such explicit terms, perhaps Warren felt that the play was beyond the scope of a woman’s accepted participation in political life. Alternatively, Warren may have feared that attaching her name to the work would cause the readership to take her ideas less seriously. Warren’s omission of her name from her published work demonstrates not only the limited options women had to contribute to public issues, but also the ways they found to circumvent such limits. Writing a fictionalized, dramatic piece and publishing it anonymously allowed Warren to insert her political convictions into public consciousness.

The theatrical venue also presented women with an alternative possibility for engaging politically. The theater was a contested space for much of the eighteenth century. Quakers, Presbyterians, and Universalists objected to theatrical productions on religious grounds. In fact, Pennsylvania’s Quaker majority prohibited the establishment of theaters for all but ten years

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<sup>10</sup> Warren, *Plays and Poems*, MiU-C.

<sup>11</sup> Rosemarie Zagarrri, *A Woman’s Dilemma: Mercy Otis Warren and the American Revolution* (Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 1995), 68; Warren, *Plays and Poems*, MiU-C.

<sup>12</sup> Zagarrri, *A Woman’s Dilemma*, 69.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Warren, *Plays and Poems*, MiU-C

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*; Advertisement, *Massachusetts Spy*, 16 December 1773, America’s Historical Newspapers.

<sup>16</sup> Warren, *Plays and Poems*, MiU-C; Advertisement, *Boston Gazette*, 23 January 1775, America’s Historical Newspapers.

from 1689 to 1789.<sup>17</sup> Many other concerned citizens thought the theater would have a corrupting influence on the country's youth. As one citizen in Boston remarked in 1790, "I trust the solid judicious citizens are wholly against [the theater]; and though it may be possible a *few* of them, might like for *once* to be at such an entertainment, yet a moment's reflection upon the evil tendency to the morals and manners of their children and family," would refrain from subsequent patronage.<sup>18</sup> The theater was thus seen as a space devoid of manners and unbecoming of the morality of American society.

Nevertheless, the theater gained in popularity as an entertainment – and political – space in the late eighteenth century. Cosmopolitan elites sought an escape from their daily political occupations through entertainment, and the newly-reopened theaters, remodeled after the Revolutionary War, attended such demands. After the Revolution, Pennsylvania's Anglican elite was able to lift the Quaker ban on theater, and Philadelphia, the nation's capital from 1790 to 1800, hosted the greatest number of theatrical productions during the period.<sup>19</sup> Philadelphia, however, was not the only city to boast lavish venues, and theaters could be found in a number of U.S. cities. A description of a theatrical production in Charlestown (now Charleston), South Carolina, reprinted in Philadelphia's *Pennsylvania Packet*, highlights the sophisticated experience that could be expected at the theater: "The house is elegantly finished, and supposed for the size, to be the most commodious on the continent. The scenes which are new and well designed, the dresses, the music, and what had a very pleasing effect, the disposition of the lights, all contributed to the satisfaction of the audience, who expressed the highest approbation of their entertainment."<sup>20</sup> Theatergoing provided the upper classes with an opulent entertainment option.

The theater also provided women with a contested space not only because it became a socially sanctioned professional outlet for women, but also because, with the emergence of party politics at the turn of the nineteenth century, the theater became a venue in which both Federalists and Democratic Republicans competed to get their party's policies across to a large audience. As politics became increasingly partisan, the theater was one of the main spaces through which women could express their political leanings and espouse the principles of their choice to a viewing audience. One such woman who took advantage of the exigence created by partisanship was Susanna Rowson. Unlike Warren's pre-Revolutionary plays, which were meant to be read, Rowson's plays had fully developed plots that were staged. One of her most famous is *Slaves in Algiers*, which was first performed in Philadelphia in 1794. The play's subject – the capture and enslavement of white people in North Africa by Algerian pirates – was pertinent at the time. Both political parties appropriated the play's message to promote their platforms. For Federalists, it reinforced the virtue of American freedom versus foreign tyranny. The Democratic Republicans, then hostile with the British over the Jay Treaty, perceived the Algerians' maritime strength as an anti-British jab.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Branson, *These Fiery Frenchified Dames*, 102.

<sup>18</sup> "Remarks on a Theatre," *The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser*, 21 January 1790, America's Historical Newspapers.

<sup>19</sup> Branson, *These Fiery Frenchified Dames*, 101-102

<sup>20</sup> "Charlestown, (S. Carolina,) Dec. 24," *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet*, 28 February 1774, America's Historical Newspapers.

<sup>21</sup> Branson, *These Fiery Frenchified Dames*, 111-115.



It is possible that many Philadelphians may have been familiar with Rowson by the play's opening performance on June 30, 1794. Born in England in 1762, Rowson and her family moved to the Massachusetts colony when she was five, but were sent back to England for their Loyalist tendencies in 1778. Rowson would return to the United States in 1793 as part of a company of actors set to inhabit Philadelphia's New Theatre. By that time, Rowson had published six novels and two volumes of poetry in London, some copies of which may have been circulated in the colonies. Additionally, Rowson arranged for American printers to reprint her previously published novels.<sup>22</sup> A June 28 advertisement taken out in the *Philadelphia Gazette* by the New Theatre promotes the opening night of *Slaves in Algiers* as "Mr. and Mrs. Rowson's Night" (Rowson's husband William was also an actor in the company). The ad also lists the play's author as "Mrs. Rowson."<sup>23</sup> A preview of the play published on its opening day, June 30, by the *Gazette* compliments Rowson's literary and dramatic talents, affirming that "Mrs. Rowson's celebrity for the various productions of her pen has been acknowledged by all the literary reviewers of the old world...If we may judge from what we have already seen of her works, we hope the attractions of this comedy will ensure her the presence of her numerous well-wishers."<sup>24</sup> Word of Rowson's play also spread to other colonies, as a preview of the play by another Philadelphia newspaper was reprinted in Charleston's *Columbian Herald* on August 4, 1794. This review also states that "from the literary character of the author, it is not doubted, that...the subject is highly interesting to the finest feelings of the human character," and identifies the play's author as "Mrs. Rowson."<sup>25</sup> It is therefore reasonable to assume that Rowson possessed some degree of recognition in the United States.

Not only did *Slaves in Algiers*'s pro-American message find partisan support from both sides of the aisle, but it also used female captivity to comment on women's subordinate condition to men in the United States.<sup>26</sup> Rowson was clearly conscious that her gender precluded her from many professional and educational opportunities afforded to men. In the play's prologue, she affirms that she "is fully sensible of the many disadvantages under which I consequently labor from a confined education; nor do I expect my style will be thought equal in elegance or energy to the productions of those who, fortunately, from their sex...have been instructed in the Classics."<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, Rowson recognized that the theatrical profession, one in which she had been able to find moderate success and celebrity, provided her a venue through which she could voice her protests of female inequality. She knew that she "had no real cause to fear" when expressing her political opinions in the theater, for she was among "liberal, generous friends."<sup>28</sup> She indeed took advantage of the greater freedom of expression she possessed in the theater,

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<sup>22</sup> Melissa J. Homestead and Camryn Hansen. "Susanna Rowson's Transatlantic Career." *Early American Literature* 45, no. 3 (November 2010): 619-654. America: History and Life with Full Text, EBSCOhost.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*; Advertisement, *The Philadelphia Gazette*, 30 June 1794, America's Historical Newspapers.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>25</sup> Preview, *Columbian Herald*, 30 June 1794, America's Historical Newspapers.

<sup>26</sup> Branson, *The Fiery Frenchified Dames*, 112.

<sup>27</sup> Susanna Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers, or, A Struggle for Freedom*. Electronic Edition by Alexander Street Press, L.L.C., 2017

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, epilogue.

dedicating the play's epilogue – perhaps now more quoted than the play itself – exclusively to the issue of women's rights. Speaking directly to the women in the audience, she laments that women's assigned responsibility to make “a paradise at home” has “shut [them] from light and day, in bondage languishing their lives away.” The women, however, must remember that “[they] hold in silken chains the lordly tyrant man.”<sup>29</sup> Though realistic about women's current lesser position in American society, Rowson ends the play on a hopeful note, encouraged that one day women's potential would eventually allow them an equal share of public life. Rowson was aware that her limited educational and legal standing meant that she could not participate in political life directly, but she appropriated the friendlier theatrical venue not only to write and stage plays with decidedly political messages but also to publicly put forth arguments for increased rights for women.

The stage was a space in which political ideas could be expressed to a large audience, and many took advantage of it, including women. As women sought to gain a greater share in the nation's political stakes, they found a receptive environment in the theatrical profession. They were able to express their political thoughts in the less threatening environment of a dramatic production. Because the theater was not an official state venue for political activity, and because it had a strong entertainment component, it became a socially sanctioned professional outlet for women. The theatrical venue thus became increasingly accepted for women who sought to have professional careers.

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Another space in which women were able to publicly contribute to political life was the salon. Salons, as defined by nineteenth-century historian Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, were “drawing rooms...[in which] social circles [were] presided over by cultivated women.”<sup>30</sup> In these social gatherings where poetical elites mingled, women were at the center. They were responsible not only for adequately hosting them, but were also welcome to participate in the conversation. Salons thus afforded women a venue in which their participation in political discussions was not only accepted, but encouraged. In this space, they were seen as much more than simply hostesses; the expectation that they be cultured and politically minded earned salonnières a high level of respect from even the most prominent men.<sup>31</sup> These functions were informal in nature, since they occurred in private homes as opposed to public government venues. They were, however, decidedly political in that the conversation always revolved around the day's pressing political issues. The political salon thus blended the public and private realms that segregated men's and women's areas of influence. As participants and hostesses of salons, women leveraged an environment more receptive to their presence into greater participation in public political life.<sup>32</sup>

Initially, the salon was not a politically contested space. Whereas the theatre was used by both Federalist and Democratic-Republicans to promote their platforms, the salon was a

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<sup>29</sup> Rowson, *Slaves*, epilogue.

<sup>30</sup> Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, *Salons Colonial and Republican* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1900), 7.

<sup>31</sup> Catherine Allgor, *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002), 21.

<sup>32</sup> Branson, *These Fiery Frenchified Dames*, 125-126.

Federalist space for much of the late eighteenth century.<sup>33</sup> As such, elite Federalist women played an important role in shaping public perception of their party and of the governing class. The nation's first "First Couple", George and Martha Washington, realized the singular position they were in to set precedents for all subsequent Presidents and First Ladies. Martha Washington was cognizant of the importance to foster relationships with the political elite. Beginning in May 1789, she hosted receptions in her home on Friday evenings, from about eight to eleven o'clock.

The Washingtons and other salon hosts occasionally received criticism for their predilection for "a certain amount of form and ceremony in public and private life," especially from opposition newspapers such as the *National Gazette* and other politicians. Pennsylvania senator William Maclay complained in his diary that salons were only an "empty ceremony" that "interfer[ed] with the business of the public." He feared that Americans would not "cease till we have reached the summit of court etiquette, and all the frivolities and expense practiced in European governments."<sup>34</sup> The Washingtons' intention, nevertheless, was to distinguish themselves from the aristocratic French and English salons upon which the American salon was based.<sup>35</sup> Although the American elite enjoyed the "luxuries of life and some of its ornaments," its members "wore plain clothes and used plain language."<sup>36</sup> The Washingtons perfectly fit this description of a less ostentatious American elite, since they possessed a "thrifty household."<sup>37</sup>

Martha Washington combined her preference for decorum with a friendly, inconspicuous environment to host wildly popular gatherings. On a typical evening, "The Lady is introduced by some gentleman in waiting...then steps back, mixes in the rooms, takes her share of tea, Coffee and Cakes, in their variety."<sup>38</sup> After attending one of Mrs. Washington's salons, Judith Sargent Murray recalled that they "were always crowded."<sup>39</sup> Murray was very impressed with Mrs. Washington's amiability. She thought "so interested in animated was our conversation, that a bystander would hardly have supposed, that we met but for the second time...and thus adorned with social virtues is our Lady Presidentess."<sup>40</sup> Not only was Mrs. Washington adept at maintaining friendly conversations, but she also strove to promote discussions among attendees. Indeed, Murray notes, "so much friendship did her salutations connect."<sup>41</sup> In performing this vital social function of salon hosting, Martha Washington helped promote the development of a national political discourse in the infant nation. Although her degree of influence was limited to her hostess duties, the First Lady nevertheless found a way to participate in political culture.

When the capital was moved from New York City to Philadelphia in 1791, so too did

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>34</sup> Kenneth R. Bowling and Hellen Veit, ed., *The Diary of William Maclay and Other Notes on Senate Debates* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 70.

<sup>35</sup> Branson, *These Fiery Frenchified Dames*, 126.

<sup>36</sup> Wharton, *Salons*, 84.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>38</sup> Bonnie Hurd Smith, *From Gloucester to Philadelphia in 1790: Observations, Anecdotes, and Thoughts from the Eighteenth-Century Letters of Judith Sargent Murray* (Cambridge, Mass.: Judith Sargent Murray Society, 1998), 254.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Smith, *From Gloucester to Philadelphia*, 254.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

Martha Washington's salon, from her Cherry Street residence to her Broad Way residence.<sup>42</sup> She may have hosted the first established political salon, but many other salons came to make up the fabric of Philadelphia's political culture. Philadelphia was seat of the national government for an extended period of time, and of politicians with competing ideologies. Philadelphian salons thus became crucial spaces in which political differences could be discussed and compromises could be reached. Women played important roles as mediators in the salons, and their perspectives on political issues often had direct influence on the men who could directly act.<sup>43</sup>

Anne Willing Bingham became the most famous Philadelphian salonnière. She was born into a prominent family—the daughter of a wealthy merchant and the niece of the mayor's wife—and married a Federalist senator. Anne Willing received a superior education and established social and financial ties with Philadelphia's elite from an early age. When she married William Bingham, she got the opportunity to spend three years in Europe and participated in the English and French social scenes.<sup>44</sup>

During her time in Europe, Bingham noticed the discrepancy that existed between the education level and political influence of elite French women as compared to their American counterparts. She expressed to Thomas Jefferson that French women “are more accomplished, and understand the Intercourse of society better than in any other Country...their education is of a higher Cast, and by great cultivation they procure a happy variety of genius.”<sup>45</sup> Bingham envied the elevated status of elite Frenchwomen and desired to provide American women with similarly stimulating environments in which they could cultivate their minds.

More significantly, in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, Bingham marveled that French women “have obtained [a high] rank and consideration in society, which the sex are entitled to, and which they in vain contend for in other Countries.”<sup>46</sup> Jefferson disagreed with her, hoping that “our good ladies...have been too wise to wrinkle their foreheads with politics. They are contented to soothe and calm the minds of their husbands returning ruffled from political debate. They have the good sense to value domestic happiness above all other.”<sup>47</sup> The dissonance between Jefferson and Bingham's perceptions of acceptable roles for women in public life demonstrates how the powerful men of the time resisted women's entrance into the political domain. Women like Bingham, on the other hand, began to question whether politics was solely within the male purview. Late eighteenth-century women manifested consciousness of their diminished role in public life, but traditional gender norms made it difficult for them to fully insert themselves into public life. Salons afforded women an informal environment that did not threaten the established social order, thus allowing them the opportunity to participate in political culture. Bingham did not call for complete legal and political equality between the sexes, nor did any other prominent woman of the time. Nevertheless, she hoped that American women would eventually have the ability to “interfere in the politics of the Country, and give a decided turn to [its] Fate.”<sup>48</sup> Although neither Bingham nor other contemporary women called for full political

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<sup>42</sup> Bowling, *Diary of William Maclay*, 21n.

<sup>43</sup> Branson, *These Fiery Frenchified Dames*, 131.

<sup>44</sup> Branson, *These Fiery Frenchified Dames*, 135.

<sup>45</sup> Anne Willing Bingham to Thomas Jefferson, 1 June 1787. Founders Online.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Thomas Jefferson to Anne Willing Bingham, 11 May 1788. Founders Online.

<sup>48</sup> Anne Willing Bingham to Thomas Jefferson, 1 June 1787. Founders Online.

and legal equality for the sexes, Bingham publicly articulated the notion that women possess natural rights and entitlements, including to education, greater professional opportunities, and political influence.

Bingham left a strong impression on her acquaintances. Abigail Adams, after dining with her a few times when their paths crossed in Europe, affirmed that Bingham was “the finest women I ever saw. The intelligence of her countenance, or rather I ought to say animation, the elegance of her form, the affability of her manners, converts you into admiration.”<sup>49</sup> Her salon guests marveled at Bingham’s worldliness and wealth of knowledge. Her affability also brought together members of several social and political groups, which made her salon a center for political engagement. Through her salon, Bingham also created a space in which women could mingle with the male guests as equals and candidly express their opinions, and thus play a more public role in political life.

The inauguration of a new capital city along the Potomac River in 1800, roughly coinciding with the transition to a Democratic Republican government, provided unique opportunities for elite women to claim a role in the creation of Washington’s political culture. Women mainly used social events contained within the “private sphere” to develop networking structures badly needed in a new city with little existing frameworks for political mingling.<sup>50</sup> Perhaps no woman came to be more well-known during that time than Dolley Madison, wife to Secretary of State, then President, James Madison. Dolley established herself as the “Queen of Washington City” from the beginning. She earned respect from important politicians for her intelligence and comportment. She “was a marked reference to those only who are distinguished for genius...and who know how to appreciate her worth and to respect her excellencies.”<sup>51</sup> A frequent viewer in Congressional sessions, Dolley put her political knowledge to good use. During her tenure in Washington, Dolley hosted not only “dove parties” for other cabinet members’ wives, but also, once James became President, weekly gatherings on Wednesday nights that remained a fixture in the capital city throughout the Madison presidency.<sup>52</sup> Held in the White House’s Yellow Oval Room, such a gathering was “a place of fashionable resort.”<sup>53</sup> Dolley’s events were more informal than those hosted by other presidential wives; they were marked by a “gaiety, cheerfulness and serenity...that are extremely pleasing.”<sup>54</sup> So popular were these events that they came to be known as “squeezes,” due to the often-crammed entertaining space.<sup>55</sup>

Dolley Madison was well aware that levees served a much greater purpose than simply a place for entertainment. The Madisons knew that in order to form stronger alliances and resolve partisan conflicts, discussions outside official venues, between citizens and human beings rather than politicians in official capacity, would be most effective. The politically-aware Mrs. Madison

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<sup>49</sup> Abigail Adams to Mary Cranch, 30 September 1785. Founders Online.

<sup>50</sup> Allgor, *Parlor Politics*, 1.

<sup>51</sup> Biographical Letter, *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, November 5, 1812. America’s Historical Newspapers.

<sup>52</sup> Allgor, *Parlor Politics*, 75; Catherine Allgor, *A Perfect Union: Dolley Madison and the Creation of the American Nation* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2006), 188.

<sup>53</sup> Biographical Letter, *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Allgor, *A Perfect Union*, 189.

constructed a space that not only provided the opportunity for such conversations, but also strengthened her husband's political standing in the process.<sup>56</sup> Her efforts did not go unrecognized; one attendee, in describing the gatherings for a newspaper, explained that they "were opened by Mrs. Madison for the purpose of giving strangers an opportunity of seeing and conversing with the President."<sup>57</sup> Dolley, however, did not just work to elevate her husband's position. Since "her influence over her husband [was] not inconsiderable," she frequently used her salons for "promoting the interests of those for whom she has [inscribed] a partiality."<sup>58</sup> Dolley Madison used the receptive nature of salon culture towards women to her advantage. Through her political networking, she became not only Washington's most famous female resident, but one of its most influential figures. As a mainstay in Washington's developing political culture in the first seventeen years of the eighteenth century, Dolley Madison expanded the possibilities for elite women's participation in politics.

If they could not influence politics directly, in Congress or with the vote, women like Martha Washington, Anne Willing Bingham, and Dolley Madison found that one way in which they could partake in public political culture was to host gatherings of influential men in more informal settings. In salon culture, women could also participate in the political conversation. If they could not influence politics directly, then one way in which they could still make contributions was to convey their thoughts to influential men. The salon blended the traditionally male public sphere with the traditionally female private sphere to widen the scope of women's public lives and make politics an accepted component of them.

Women politicized spaces, both real and imagined, to make their political opinions known. This essay discussed two such spaces in which they acted, the theater and the salon, to demonstrate that early American women were active participants in political processes. The theatrical venue presented women with an alternative possibility for engaging politically. Women wrote and acted in plays in order to present their political opinions. Another avenue early American women appropriated in order to become more active participants in political culture was the political salon. Salons brought political affairs into domestic spaces usually reserved for women, and they utilized this intellectual space in which women were able to publicly contribute to political issues. By appropriating these and many other venues, women claimed a greater share of the nation's developing political culture.

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<sup>56</sup> Allgor, *A Perfect Union*, 187-188.

<sup>57</sup> Biographical Letter, *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

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## Chapter 1: Religious Fear and Control By William Soergel

Religion's role in ancient interstate relations has often been overlooked and has not received a systematic analysis. While this study is limited by its scale and at times its depth, the role of religion should be analyzed in a holistic manner when considering the history of the Roman Republic. This point should not be overstated, however. Religion did not win wars, nor enslave peoples as chattel property. People did. Material and power did. Roman gods did not literally build Rome's powerful empire, but the people who worshipped them thought so.

Roman religion did have a place in diplomacy and warfare in the Classical world within which the Roman state developed. First, it was an important element of Roman life and religiosity was not sequestered to private life or to any other sphere, but instead was wholly integrated into daily life and behaviors: religion was everywhere, and in every place and action.<sup>1</sup> This cannot be overstated. Roman religion was an animistic religion, where all manner of objects was considered to have a "soul" or spiritual power, called *numen*.<sup>2</sup> Gods could inhabit and instruct worshippers on their related attributes, such as the oven-goddess Fornax and the baking of bread on the Fornicalia. As we shall see in this chapter, abstract concepts could take the form of deities, be worshipped, and be invoked in the course of public business. Second, religious rules placed a soft yet distinct check on magistrates *cum imperio*, or officials with executive or military power. Magistrates were expected to observe religious rules and to follow proper religious procedure when exercising their authority, often through augury and *auspicia* or "bird watching" done by an official. Chickens have a surprising role to play here, but so do other idiosyncratic practices. Third, temples themselves—both generally and specifically—could become physical and geographical restraints on the behavior of magistrates and could encourage diplomacy or interstate interactions in a unique way. Here, we will look at the role that religious sites and festivals played in the building of the Romans' power in Latium. These explorations will point back to a common conclusion: that religion, an important facet of Roman life, was able to prevent Roman military actions in conflicts and to encourage diplomacy in favor of the Roman cause.

### Virtues & Social Norms

Religion featured significantly in the political life of the Roman Republic, including in the religious powers of the Republic's magistrates and in the religious functions of the Roman state. Elected officials had religious powers and used significant rituals to underscore their political power, and these powers could have significant ramifications for the policies of the Roman state. The Republic also elected religious colleges and priesthoods to fulfill the religious

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<sup>1</sup> Animist or primitivist approaches to Roman religion tend to note that religion is imbued in many places and actions. On the extent of religion and religious feeling toward a wide breadth of Roman society, see: Beard, North, and Price 1998<sup>1</sup>, 13-14, 25-26, and 30-31; Rose 1949, 9-49; Scheid 2003, 18-29. On action specifically, see: Beard, North, and Price 1998<sup>1</sup>, 42-54. There are, however, various limitations to religion, including spatial and otherwise. Scheid 2003, 22-29 and 60-76, provides an overview. Beard, North, and Price 1998<sup>1</sup>, 211-244, refers to imperial changes in religion and the "unacceptable" forms of religion; cf. Gruen 1992 argues that the Romans, from the early third century BCE onwards, became more ethnically and legally exclusive in their religion and culture, see especially Gruen 1992, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Rose 1949, 12-15.



policies and functions of state, either through direct public election or through cooption.<sup>3</sup> The formation of Roman state policy was frequently based on religion—whether religious events, calamitous ruptures of the divine order, or religious offices. The prevailing religious concerns at one time or another might be related to some sort of catastrophe, but at all times it was thought that the officials of the state should act correctly, in a way established by precedent and by the “custom of the elders.”

*Mos Maiorum: tradition as normative control*

Orthopraxis, or concern with correct behavior, is the prevailing concern of Roman ritual. Yet this mentality of concern for behavior and for action is likewise mirrored in a general anxiety over an individual’s behavior in the Roman world. In Roman parlance, established or perceived custom—*mos maiorum*, or “way of the ancestors”—had an effect similar to law amongst the political élite.<sup>4</sup> Mores restricted the behavior of a magistrate in certain ways which were perceived as the customs of their ancestors, regardless of whether or not certain behaviors were in fact customary. This societal emphasis on ancestral customs fits neatly into a common analysis of ancient polytheist religion, that the prevailing stricture of Roman religion was orthopraxy—not orthodoxy.<sup>5</sup> In other words, the prevailing concern of Roman religion was not correct belief but instead correct action (*praxis*). While a survey of these abstract concepts and their effect on Roman diplomacy is not the focus of this thesis, this concern for custom and correct action led to a normative moderation that encouraged magistrates to compromise with the other members of the political élite and to show moderation in interstate interactions.

Custom is a significant component of a main culture, according to modern sociologists. They separate custom into two normative camps: normative yet otherwise unexplainable behaviors, produced by inferences and assumptions about morality or (in our case) morality. These include what sociologists call “folkways” and mores (derived from the Latin word *mos*), which provide a stronger moral background and rationale.<sup>6</sup> While folkways are rather easily violated since they are merely how a certain action or behavior is done, mores add a further punch of moralism. Mores are not as easily transgressed, since their transgression is morally repugnant and open to the public criticism of the aristocratic élite in the Senate and to the censors’ censure. Yet Roman religion is a cultural realm not related to folkways since they did have arguments about the moral worth of their religion.<sup>7</sup> And the Romans’ religion did evoke its own mode of morality, its own moral compass, albeit a rather different concept of morality from our own. Broadly speaking, the emphasis of Roman morality was not on the individual but on the relationship between the individual and the political community.<sup>8</sup> The *Res Publica* took moral precedence. This is the behavioral context in which Roman religion can be examined as an

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<sup>3</sup> Priesthoods and also colleges of augurs and haruspices, who are not technically priests (*sacerdotes*) in the traditional sense: Scheid 2003, 129-146; Beard, North, and Price 1998<sup>1</sup>, 18-30, 42-54, and 99-108; Schullard 1981, 27-31. Changes in Priesthoods: Scheid 2003, 136-137; Beard, North, and Price 1998<sup>1</sup>, 73-98.

<sup>4</sup> *OLD*, s.v. “mos.”

<sup>5</sup> Scheid 2003, 18.31

<sup>6</sup> That mores and folkways are based off of assumptions, see: Sumner 1959, 30-31 and 59-60. On the scope and method of mores and that they are produced by “ancestors,” see: *Ibid.*, 34-35. *Ibid.*, 38-39; 521-532. On mass and elite mores, see: *Ibid.*, 45-46 and 50-55, cf. Polyb. 6.56.14ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cic. *N.D.* 1.1-3.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ar. *Pol.* 1.1.1252a1-7; Gelzer 1969, 103-105, cf. 124.

element at the intersection between Roman religion and Republican politics.

These normative behaviors related to Roman religion exercised a metaphysical yet significant behavioral restraint on Roman magistrates, which in turn translated into restraints on interstate relations and diplomatic decisions in the Roman Republic. While this sociological claim should not be overstated, since there are notable exceptions (as we shall see below), these are in fact the normal expectations of a Roman aristocrat's behavior—to moderate one's self as an aristocrat ought to do, in accordance with religious and moral ideals. Virtue and a conservative disposition towards one's behavior are one of the chief concerns in the upbringing of Roman youths, but this moderating affect is seen clearly in the realm of religion.

The Greek historian Polybius himself makes the relationship clear between Roman religion and the Roman state in Book 6, Chapter 56 of his *Histories*: religion was the opiate of the masses.<sup>10</sup> But he undercuts himself—since his example for this religiosity is not a commoner, but a treasury official or magistrate (χειρίζοντες).<sup>11</sup> If the Roman state were full of philosophers like a Greek polis, Polybius says, then the Roman government would not need religion. The Roman state needs religion in order to keep the throng of people in check, since they are full of passions and vulgar desires. Religious fear of the gods, which other peoples—including his own Greeks—have since reproached, Polybius considers to hold the Roman state together.<sup>12</sup>

But Polybius is wrong to state that religion is for the vulgar masses alone (πλήθος) that the Romans are so religious. Roman aristocrats likewise concerned themselves with the religious constraints placed on unwavering passions and which encouraged them to moderate their behavior. In fact, Polybius continues and seemingly contradicts his concern with the πλήθος, saying that religion and religious concerns makes a Roman aristocratic treasury official more faithful than a Greek official out of concern for religion itself and in keeping one's oath. When a Roman treasury official would be entrusted with a talent of money, he would not touch it “out of pure respect for their oath they keep their faith (πίστις).”<sup>13</sup>

This concern for *fides*, Polybius notes, was exceptional to the Romans and uncommon among other nations. The Roman aristocracy, however, was still dominated by religious men into the first century BCE, well into the period where philosophers had come and made their presence

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<sup>9</sup> Virtue and the emphasis on the *mos maiorum* are inculcated in Roman youth from their childhood. Many leading families of the senatorial aristocracy would introduce their children to other senators and to political life in general, hence the slight against Marius by Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus during the Jugurthine War that he should wait to stand for election until when Metellus's son ran as well (Plut. *Mar.* 8.3). That religion was involved in this period of one's life is shown in the Liberalia (17 March), when a Roman youth would move from his childhood and enter civic and religious manhood. His name would be inscribed in the Tabularium, he would be brought to the forum with his *propinqui*, and he would offer his childhood belongings (the *toga praetexta* and his *bullae*) to his family's Lar at the lararium.

<sup>10</sup> Polyb. 6.56.6-10, cf. below to the discussion about *fides*.

<sup>11</sup> Polybius 6.56.14, contrasted with Greek officials in 6.56.13: *παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ πρεσβείας πολὺ τι πλῆθος χρημάτων χειρίζοντες δι' αὐτῆς τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὄρκον πίστεως τηροῦσι τὸ καθήκον.* “...whereas among the Romans their magistrates handle large sums of money and scrupulously perform their duty because they have given their word (πίστεως) on oath” (Walbank 1979).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the discussion below on fear of the gods.

<sup>13</sup> Polybius 6.56.14, see note 11 above.

felt in Rome.<sup>14</sup> For Appius Claudius Pulcher, who was consul in 54 and was elected an official Roman augur, the case was clear. When in a scholarly debate over the validity of augury, he was entirely convinced of its use and legitimacy and wrote a book, now lost, explaining his position.<sup>15</sup>

### *Roman Religious Virtues: Cultus, Fides, and Pietas*

*Fides* and these other Roman virtues were closely tied to the realm of the Romans' normative behavior. The maintenance of *fides*—faith or trust—was a primary Roman value and virtue.<sup>16</sup> The Romans' lofty virtues of *fides* and *pietas* can show other poignant concerns in the Roman religious world. These virtues took on a religious meaning, held religious significance, and—sociologically speaking—were normative behaviors meant to be praised and for which one strived. The Romans counted *fides* and *pietas* as two chief virtues but *fides* was certainly the most important, as Polybius has shown. Whereas *fides* can mean faith or trust, *pietas* is the piety observed in one's relationship to superiors (both gods and men).

*Cultus*, on the other hand, is the faithful cultivation of one's relationship to the gods in a religious and pious sense. *Cultus* signified the value of Romans to revere and venerate religiously the gods and spirits which comprised their world. That world, as to so many polytheists, was replete with spirits of places, of objects, and even of abstract concepts: it was an animistic world of gods (*di*) and spirits (*numina*), all of which ought to be revered.<sup>17</sup>

Piety, or *pietas*, was a virtue which guided the Romans more pointedly in their relations. Piety was more than how one's connection to the gods (*religio*) was made stronger. It also affected interpersonal relationships in general. Piety to the Romans meant to be dutiful and to be faithful in one's natural ties, including those social ones in a variety of social models—from family to friendships and patron-client relations. One marked *pious* was devoted and loyal, both in a religious and social sense. It even became a cognomen, the third name or nickname a Roman was known by.<sup>18</sup>

But the highest virtue of them all was *fides*. Polybius above has already attested to the exceptional trust and faith of the Roman people, and this *fides* was to be especially inculcated amongst the socially-conscious and aware Romans in their friendships and *clientelae*.<sup>19</sup> And, *fides* also existed in a way beyond the realm of internal social history. *Fides* was also an interstate concern. To enter into the Roman diplomatic system, after a people's unconditional surrender (*deditio*) to the Romans, was to enter *in fidem populi Romani* or “into the trust and

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<sup>14</sup> Polybius 6.56.10 and his discussion of “σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν.” Cf. Cic. *Har.* 19: *pietate ac religione atque hac una sapientia, quod deorum numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnis gentis nationesque superavimus.* “We have excelled every race and nation in piety, devotion to religion, and in that singular wisdom which recognizes that everything is ruled and controlled by the will of the gods” (Warrior 2002, 12).

<sup>15</sup> *OCD*, s.v. “Claudius Pulcher.” See discussion further below on his moral exemplum.

<sup>16</sup> Gelzer 1969, 65-69, 139.

<sup>17</sup> Warrior 2002, 3-4 *OLD*, s.v. “cultus.”

<sup>18</sup> Scheid 2003, 26-27; Orlin 1997, 201; *OLD*, s.v. “pietas.” As a goddess, she received a temple near the Roman temple of Juno Sospita, the major goddess of Lanuvium, after her temple was vowed by Glabrio in 191 in a battle against Antiochus; the temple was built and dedicated in 181 by Glabrio's son. See: Beard, North, and Price 1998<sup>1</sup>, 90.

<sup>19</sup> See the discussion above on Polyb. 6.56.14. Gelzer 1969, 65-66.

protection of the Roman people.”<sup>20</sup> This *fides* was a sign of friendship with the Romans.

Recent scholarship, moreover, has pointed to just how useful *fides* was to the Romans in the diplomatic world. Rather than being a friendly touch on a serious diplomatic disability, as unconditional surrender is, *fides* was the prevailing concept for the Romans’ own constructed interstate world. Recent scholarship on *deditio* has shown that most diplomatic partners in the Roman system did not in fact possess a written, formal treaty with the Romans.<sup>21</sup> Apart from being assured of the Romans’ goodwill, most states were not bound to the city of Rome by a written document, negotiated and deliberated by diplomats by any of the parties. Most arrangements were made by the general in the field, and approved later by the Senate.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, what is even more astounding is the extent to which this international diplomatic system worked without clearly defined terms. The Roman diplomatic system was one where states were legally sovereign, but where states’ diplomacy was enforced as bilateral relations with the Roman Republic only. Rome was the prevailing center of diplomatic power in this interstate configuration: its friends and allies (*amici socii*) were allies to Rome, and Rome made the hegemonic system’s diplomatic policy. In a diplomatic world where Rome was the head of all of these bilateral relations based on no agreement but those decided *de facto*, *fides* was of course the prevailing concern of the Roman Republic and the magistrates that peopled it: it was on *fides*, and arms, that Roman power was fixed.

Yet these virtues were more than sociological norms or symbols of Roman international order: *fides* and *pietas* became literal and physical elements of the Roman state religion. Both came to be worshipped as goddesses. *Pietas* received a temple in the Forum Holitorium in 181 BCE dedicated by the son of Manius Acilius Glabrio, the Roman commander in the war against the Seleucid king Antiochus.<sup>23</sup> He had vowed the temple in 191 at the Battle of Thermopylae, before he turned his attention to the west toward the Aetolian League. *Fides*, on the other hand, was the older goddess of the pair. She had received a temple on the Capitoline hill through Aulus Atilius Calatinus, consul of 258 and 254 BCE.<sup>24</sup> Her cult is reported by Livy to have been established long before this, however, by the mythic Roman king Numa.<sup>25</sup> Regardless of when the cult was founded, her cult was indeed very ancient and had as its symbol clasping hands, which were a sign of mutual agreement between parties. These “abstract goddesses” were worshipped on their own festival days which commemorated the dedication of their temples: 1 October for *Fides in Capitolio* and 13 November for *Pietas*. That magistrates would be expected to follow these often-cited social values is reinforced by the fear and power that Romans placed in their gods.

### **Fear of the Gods**

Roman religion was anxious about not offending the gods and about making atonement for any wrongs. Polybius’s description above on the Romans’ good faith (*fides, pistis*) confirms this anxiety. In Polybius’s analysis of the exceptional religious faith of the Romans in Book 6,

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<sup>20</sup> Burton 2011, 114-122; Eckstein 2009; Gruen 1982.

<sup>21</sup> Rich 2008, which Burton 2011 also relies upon.

<sup>22</sup> On *acta* and Senatorial power to approve them, see: Eckstein 1987, xiii, quoted in Orlin 1997, 51.

<sup>23</sup> Orlin 1997, 201; Scullard, 198.

<sup>24</sup> Orlin, 200; Scullard, 189; *OCD*, s.v. “Atilius Calatinus.”

<sup>25</sup> Livy 1.21.4; *OCD*, s.v. “Fides.”

religious fear of the gods (*deisidaimonia*)—reproached among other peoples—is the very thing that “holds the Roman state together.”<sup>26</sup> Why ever would they be afraid? To the Romans, their gods were awesome and terrible beings, imbued with both spiritual and natural power. It is their deities’ power which they feared yet also desired in order to secure their welfare and that of the Republic.<sup>27</sup> This fear and its mediation is seen in the Romans’ anxiety to stay in their gods’ good graces. The Romans set up temples to Diana, the guarantor of imperial power (*imperium*) among the Latins, and coaxed Juno Regina away from Veii during the Roman siege.<sup>28</sup> The Romans established a college of priests, the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, to mitigate these fears and to restore their commonwealth to the *pax deorum*.<sup>29</sup> After the Romans’ first significant defeat at Hannibal’s hands in Italy, at the river Trebia, the Romans dedicated a 50 pound lightning bolt to Jupiter, gave gold and silver offerings to Juno and Minerva, and sacrificed to the Junones on the Aventine and at Lavinium.<sup>30</sup> This religious fear underscores the Romans’ religious norms and represents a significant constitutional check on the powers of public offices.

During Gaius Julius Caesar’s consulship in 59, the later dictator’s colleague, Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, sought to disrupt Caesar’s legislative initiatives and plans by informing his colleague, the Senate, and the People that he was examining the heavens for signs.<sup>31</sup> Under traditional constitutional procedure, all business should have been suspended while a sitting consul was examining the heavens for religious omens and if he reported to have seen nefarious ones (*obnuntiatio*).<sup>32</sup> Caesar’s behavior is exceptional, for he ran roughshod over such religious obstructionism, but it nevertheless exemplifies the extent to which religious fear guided the constitutional procedure of the Roman Republic. Under normal working republican procedure, Caesar should have stopped all administrative and governmental business. Omens were awesome and terrible signs from the gods themselves. To conduct public business or to hold a *comitia* or a *contio* could not be done during religious events: this was *nefas*.<sup>33</sup>

#### *Religious Institutions responding to fear of the gods: XVviri sacris faciundis*

In addition to the major and minor priesthoods dedicated to specific gods, other colleges of priests were established and tasked with broader religious powers, such as the augural college tasked with observing and interpreting omens.<sup>34</sup> Several colleges were tasked with advising the state, particularly the Senate, on religious matters.<sup>35</sup> These *collegia* included the *pontifices*, who broadly responded to religious inquiries, or the *augures*, who ensured divine favor over time.<sup>36</sup> A

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<sup>26</sup> Polyb. 6.56.7; Beard, North, and Price 1998<sup>1</sup>, 36-37 and 225.

<sup>27</sup> An example of this desire to have the *pax deorum*, for the orderliness of their society, but the Romans also sought the *numen deorum*, a less often discussed concept of Roman religion, whereby they appeal to the power of the gods. Cf. Cic. *Har.* 19 and note 14 above.

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>29</sup> See discussion below.

<sup>30</sup> Livy 22.1.17-18.

<sup>31</sup> Suet. *Iul.* 20.1.

<sup>32</sup> Lintott 1999, 61-63 and 104.

<sup>33</sup> *Nefas* often translates into “unholy,” albeit without the modern moral meanings; see *OLD*, s.v. “nefas.” *Comitiae* and *contiones*, the assemblies and the meetings of the assemblies respectively, could not meet on days which were marked on the *fasti* (calendars) as *nefas*, often for festivals and other nefarious historical events.

<sup>34</sup> Lintott 1999, 182-190

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 185-186.

<sup>36</sup> As Lintott notes, this is *inauguratio* and not *auspicia*, the latter which could be performed by magistrates.

certain board of men, however, was established in order to set out religious rites (*sacris faciundis*)—but their most unique power was their oracular power to interpret the gods’ ire through poetic verse.<sup>37</sup> This board of two, but later ten and fifteen, men would be charged with determining the state’s response to certain *prodigia* or notable disasters. By taking a line from the Sibylline books, a mystical poem allegedly bought by the last Roman king Tarquin Superbus, the *quindecimviri* would determine a solution for the Senate to restore the *pax deorum* through an interpretation of an acrostic poem written in Greek which told the fifteen men and the Senate what to do.<sup>38</sup> Some of the solutions to Romans’ *prodigia* will be discussed in the second chapter of this thesis, but a wide range of possibilities existed.

For example, in 217, when the consul Flaminius left the city for his ill-fated battle at Lake Trasimene with Hannibal, a number of portents were recorded—and a variety of solutions found: offerings were made to the Capitoline triad, to Juno Regina on the Aventine, to Juno Sospita at Lavinium, and to Feronia.<sup>39</sup> After news of the defeat had reached Rome, the dictator Fabius Maximus asked the *quindecimviri* to inspect the books. This time, because of the defeat a further sacrifice to Mars, games for Jupiter, temples for Venus Erycina and Mens, and a *lectisternium* or a dinner with the gods, and a mass sacrifice (*ver sacrum*) were all called.<sup>40</sup> These sorts of anxious responses to uncertainties had real impacts on Roman state policy. Andrew Lintott rightly suggests by placing discussion of these *collegia* in his work on the Roman constitution. These religious offices, such as the *XVviri*, were legitimate republican offices, just as the magistrates were. In a Roman perspective, these religious offices were still charged with real political missions and the safety of the state, and held a political power which placed checks on magistrates—even those in the field, as some moral exempla below show.

#### *Religious Institutions in the Roman constitution:*

Recent scholarship on the government of the Roman Republic, furthermore, argues clearly for viewing religious offices as elements of the Republic’s constitution. Rather than handling and analyzing Roman religion and Roman government separately, Andrew Lintott, in his authoritative monograph on the republican constitution, includes an analysis of the role of Roman priesthoods and religion in general in the constitution.<sup>41</sup> He examines the administration of the calendar (which was a religious function) to the particular with the *quindecimviri* and the pontifices as religious offices. The three colleges of the pontifices, augurs, and *quindecimviri*, he argues moreover, constituted “authoritative advisers in matters of religious policy.”<sup>42</sup> Lintott defends this approach by arguing that religion had genuine importance for the Roman people as a whole, which religious fear the republican élite—even if they did not necessarily believe—had to consider in their policy- and decision-making.<sup>43</sup>

Overall, his analysis is persuasive and useful to make clear the role of Roman religion in the life of the republican constitution. Rather than falling into a modernist trap, wherein state and

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<sup>37</sup> Lintott 1999, 183-188; Orlin 1997, 81-85.

<sup>38</sup> Orlin 1997, 76-85

<sup>39</sup> Livy, 22.1.8-20.

<sup>40</sup> Livy, 22.9.7-10.

<sup>41</sup> Lintott 1999, 182-190

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

religion are separated and treated by two different camps of scholars, Lintott's analysis of the Roman Republic's constitution reflects cultural and political perceptions of the Roman period. These perceptions in turn should show that religious fear was not mere superstition, but deeply engrained in the use of power at Rome—often with the effect of limiting behavior. In the following chapter, we shall examine a specific use of this restraint on geographic territory and religious festivals.<sup>44</sup>

*Language in Ritual: ritual restraints in “sive deus, sive dea”*

Even the language used at rituals and in dedications showed this anxiety about not offending the gods. At certain rituals and with a pronounced understanding of the limitation of human awareness about divine matters, a Roman could pray to an unknown deity and still receive the deity's good will.<sup>45</sup> Thus, the phrase “sive deus, sive dea” came into being to cover both genders of divine persons. “Whether god or whether goddess,” it was used inoffensively by private citizens and by public officials in discharging oaths and establishing dedications. So, when the praetor Gaius Sextius Calvinus in 100 BCE restored an archaic altar “in accordance with the opinion of the Senate” (*de Senati sententia*), he preserved the dedication “either to a god or to a goddess.”<sup>46</sup>

Sextius Calvinus's altar is not alone, however, in using this phrase. Cato the Elder's *De Agri Cultura* is more than just a manual on farming: it also is a religious manual which gives instructions on how to navigate the same restraints we have been discussing. Among these, he includes, when one should come especially to a *lucus* or grove, it was fitting for a Roman to give this formula of “either to a god or to a goddess” in their prayer so that the one might be able to go in.<sup>47</sup> It protected one working on objects sacred either to a god or to a goddess from divine wrath, both by expiation and by asking of permission.<sup>48</sup> But, it also restrained a farmer's behavior, at least, because one should not willfully enter a sacred grove and immediately begin work.

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<sup>44</sup> Lintott's perspective is all the more forgiving these days when, following Harriet Flower's much acclaimed 2010 *Roman Republics*, the emphasis has moved to an unfixed, ever-changing constitutional regime. I would push back on claims that constitutionalism is an unbecoming approach to examining the political and social structure of the Roman Republic. Some even claim that “constitutionalism” is a Greek concept—one which Greek-reading Romans would certainly not understand! There are some who claim that the key emphasis is on “tradition”—the *mos maiorum*—as if tradition and political culture were not an element of a constitution. This is true that *mos maiorum* is a key element of the *res publica*, but the two perspectives (constitutional and cultural) are not mutually exclusive: tradition is constitutive of a political regime. British constitutional scholars, who are all too familiar with unwritten constitutions, would certainly respond that tradition and [cultural, legal, political] precedent is a tremendously important function of unwritten constitutions: their political and legal regime, especially English common law, is built on it (Gearey, Morrison, and Jago 2009). It is no wonder this would not be an issue for a British classicist.

<sup>45</sup> Edward Courtney, *Archaic Latin Prose* 1999, 109.

<sup>46</sup> Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, 138: *Sei deo sei deivae sac[rum]/C. Sextius C. F. Calvinus Praetor/de Senati sententia restituit*; “Gaius Sextius Calvinus, son of Gaius, restored this altar sacred either to a god or to a goddess by a sentiment of the Senate.” Note the second declension form of the fourth declension noun *senatus*.

<sup>47</sup> Cato, *De Agr.* 139.

<sup>48</sup> N.b., Cato, *De Agr.* 139: *uti tibi ius est porco piaculo facere illiusce sacri coercendi ergo harumque rerum ergo*.

Farmers, of course, are not entirely representative of the senatorial élite, but senators were in fact land-owners—and strictly so.<sup>49</sup> Cato, of course, was representative of both backgrounds as a farmer and as a Roman magistrate, and transgressed it as a *novus homo*.<sup>50</sup> His *De Agri Cultura*, furthermore, is not so much a manual for farmers *per se*, but more so for those who manage farms, as members of the Senatorial élite did. Certainly, the reception of his agricultural manual was directed at Roman farmers—but it is safe to assume those farmers who could be better assumed to be his audience. So, if many locations or objects could be dedicated to any deity, as many were by the formula “*sive deus sive dea*,” then a farmer-turned-magistrate would theoretically be checked by religion in a broader sense, or would at least be receptive to the need for religious caution before entering a sanctuary. Just as a farmer would have to give this formula and prayer upon entering a grove, for fear of the deity’s wrath, so too might a magistrate have to if his actions might damage the sacred space. Cato’s religious advice enabled his audience, farmers, to observe religious strictures while also fulfilling their work: advice that also spoke and affected senatorial families and likely shaped their own actions. After all, Polybius is clear that senators believed, not only the masses.<sup>51</sup>

### Moral Exempla as Case Studies

In conclusion, two examples show just how far this expectation for moderation of one’s behavior because of religious affairs could go. The first is a negative *exemplum* on the rash behavior of a Roman admiral which, for his failure to moderate his behavior and adhere to proper religious protocol, cost him his political career. The second is a positive *exemplum* that shows another Roman general, at the height of his power as a general in the field, exercising moderation in his behavior with an enemy state which had betrayed the Romans and which had just rendered their unconditional surrender.

First is the case of Publius Claudius Pulcher, a Roman consul in 249 BCE during the First Punic War against the Carthaginians.<sup>52</sup> At a naval battle at Drepana on the western extremity of Sicily, Claudius Pulcher took the standard religious auspices before committing himself to the sea battle—seeing whether or not the sacred chickens, which all generals took with them to see if they had the gods’ favor, would eat. That day, however, when the chickens did refuse to eat, Claudius Pulcher (of a *gens* known for their irritability) drowned them, saying “let them drink since they do not wish to eat.”<sup>53</sup> Under normal circumstances, if the chickens ate, the military action could go ahead; if the chickens refused to eat, an operation would have to be called off and delayed for another day. The result was the gravest defeat which the Romans faced at sea and they lost three-fourths of their entire navy on that day. The religious amongst the Romans attributed the defeat to the consul, fined him, and this incident ended his political career due to his gross negligence. The event was turned into a moralist’s *exemplum* meant to instruct Roman boys on the proper behavior of members of the senatorial aristocracy.<sup>54</sup> That is, it taught Romans

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<sup>49</sup> Senators could not take part in owning land for agriculture but should avoid business, see: Gelzer 1969, 18-21.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 33-40 and 50-52.

<sup>51</sup> See discussion on Polybius 6.56 above.

<sup>52</sup> Polybius 1.49-52; OCD s.v. “Claudius Pulcher, Publius.”

<sup>53</sup> Cic. N.D., 2.7: *Nihil nos P. Clodi bello Punico primo temeritas movebit, qui etiam per iocum deos inridens, cum cavea liberati pulli non pascerentur, mergi eos in aquam iussit, ut “biberent, quoniam esse nollent?”*

<sup>54</sup> The context in Cicero’s *De Natura Deorum* shows in 2.7 that Roman youths ought to approve of these



to moderate their behavior and to observe religious strictures—even in the heat of battle.

On the other hand, Quintus Fabius Verrucosus Cunctator Maximus determined a significant and more pious change in war policy during the Second Public War after the Romans' terrible defeat at Lake Trasimene in 217, during which the Roman commander Gaius Flaminius Nepos was killed.<sup>55</sup> Flaminius had grown arrogant and indignant, Livy describes, since his consulship and had even stopped fearing the gods.<sup>56</sup> A military council at the beginning of the campaigning season had sought to give Flaminius recommendations for his command and ordered him to wait for his colleague to join and reinforce him. Irritated, Flaminius immediately withdrew from the meeting, raised the legions' banners, and drove out head-long.<sup>57</sup> He came along the shores of Lake Trasimene and to his death.<sup>58</sup>

After the Battle of the Trebia in 218, the Romans had offered some extraordinary sacrifices and given notable offerings, including a 50 pound gilded lightning bolt. Yet again, after the disaster at the Trasimene, did the Romans give even more and larger offerings. A *ver sacrum*, or “sacred spring,” was to be given if the Romans were successful in dispelling the Carthaginians.<sup>59</sup> This sacred spring would declare that the livestock born in the spring of the year the Senate designated would be sacrificed to Jupiter—a remarkably large sacrifice. To these were added more offerings, including games, a *lecisternium* couch festival, and several new temples—including one to Venus of Mount Eryx in Sicily, the site of a major Roman victory over the Carthaginians in the First Punic War.<sup>60</sup> These reclamations of the gods' good will, especially after the *quindecimviri* were consulted after the Battle of Trebia only a few months prior, depict the Romans' heightened religiosity during the war. In this, we can find another, more positive exemplum of the Romans' expected religiosity and fear of the gods. After Fabius laid down his dictatorship, the regular consulship were elected and able to lead the legions of their own command.

On a ridge near the village of Cannae in Apulia, in southern Italy, in the summer of 216, the two Roman consuls set up camp near the Carthaginians, significantly outnumbering them. One consul, Gaius Terentius Varro, wanted to set out immediately and attack Hannibal's army.

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examples as instructions on a moral life. Thus Cicero asks: *Quod si ea ficta credimus licentia fabularum [...] ne domesticis quidem exemplis docti numen deorum conprobabimus?* [“What if we believe in these tales with the license of myths [...] so that we, taught by moral exempla at home, will not esteem the power of the gods?”]

<sup>55</sup> The Fabian policy was to avoid a pitched battle against Hannibal who had already shown his cunning at Trebia and Trasimene, which later was proven true by Cannae. But even before the Battle of Lake Trasimene did the Romans know that Hannibal was slippery: they told Flaminius to wait for reinforcements and only to skirmish with Hannibal. Instead, Flaminius went rashly to battle and destroyed his consular legions and himself in the process. Livy 22.2.1-3.

<sup>56</sup> Livy 22.3.4: *consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens*, “The consul had been rash since his previous consulship and did not fear enough not only the majesty of laws and of the Senators, but also not even of the gods.”

<sup>57</sup> Livy 22.3.5-14.

<sup>58</sup> Flaminius was even rash in not scouting the surrounding area, according to Livy. After arriving in the area, the army slept for a night and immediately pressed on the next morning to the fight: Livy 22.4.3-4. The Romans were surrounded and utterly destroyed: Livy 22.4.5-22.6.11. Cf. the *Punica fides*, the “Punic faith,” of Maharbal and Hannibal: Livy 22.6.12.

<sup>59</sup> Livy 22.10.2-7.

<sup>60</sup> Livy 22.10.8-10.

Lucius Aemilius Paullus, the other consul, was more hesitant and desired to follow the Fabian doctrine. Varro had already given the command to prepare when the *pullarius* tested the chickens: they would not eat. The army was aware both of the recent defeat of Flaminius, the commander at the Battle of Lake Trasimene, and of Claudius Pulcher's exemplary behavior with the chickens at the Battle of Drepana in the First Punic War. Action was delayed.<sup>61</sup>

But the troops were restless. They had prepared for a fight and now the standards were being returned to camp. According to Livy, who attests to this heavenly miracle, two slaves, who were captured by Numidians while they were foraging, came and showed that the action was a trap: Hannibal had sought to beguile them into a battle. The gods had shown that their will and their favor for the Roman cause: and the Romans had decided correctly to return to camp.<sup>62</sup>

On the other hand, Manius Acilius Glabrio was a Roman consul of 191 BCE who waged the Romans' war against Antiochus. The Seleucid king had been invited by the Aetolian League, a Roman ally in the recent war with Macedon from 200 to 197, to invade the rest of mainland Greece.<sup>63</sup> Offended by what they had deemed too small a prize for their alliance in the Second Macedonian War, the Aetolians had broken off their alliance with the Romans and had asked the Seleucids to set free Greece—using the Romans' pledge at the conclusion of the last war against them.<sup>64</sup> After an astounding Roman victory at Thermopylae in 191 BCE and with another Roman army pursuing Antiochus and his army as they fled Hellas, Glabrio turned the army's attention to the Aetolian League which had violated the Romans' *fides*, or faithful trust. After a successful campaign against the league, a delegation from the Aetolian League had offered to come into the *fides* of the Romans and prepared to undergo *deditio*, a ritual capitulation of the entire Aetolian polity.<sup>65</sup> In Roman custom, this unconditional surrender transferred the entire people and territory of the Aetolian *poleis* into the absolute power of the Roman state. The ritual was questioned, though.

Yet, when Glabrio began demanding actions subsequent to their surrender, the Aetolians became restless and protested. The consul reminded them of their position by sending for chains to demonstrate their subservience before the Romans, so as to say that they were under the unilateral control of the Roman state and could be enslaved if he so wished. The Aetolian representatives continued to protest and argued that they had not understood the significance of the ritual and did not have a legitimate diplomatic mission to such an extent as Glabrio had made it. In a show of good faith, the consul relented: he abrogated the ceremony and sent the diplomats back to their government so that they could attain the lawful, total power of surrender as the Aetolians' representatives. As the general of the victorious side and in a ruthless world of *realpolitik* where the Romans were preeminent, he did not have to relent. The ritual of *deditio* was complete. The stipulations of the ceremony, however, which stated that the representatives of an enemy community be legitimate and understand the completeness of the surrender, were respected—even by the consul himself. Such was the nature of Roman *fides* and such religious

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<sup>61</sup> Livy 22.42.7-9.

<sup>62</sup> Livy 22.42.10-12.

<sup>63</sup> Livy 39.54.6-7; Burton 2011, 116-119.

<sup>64</sup> Livy 34.23.5-11. A very controversial matter, and one which would not be entirely relevant to discuss here, but here I rely on Burton 2011, 194-195, 223-232, and especially 269-278 and 272n47.

<sup>65</sup> Burton 2011, 116-119, 116n86, and 246-250.

strictures were the restraints placed on the unilateral behavior of Roman magistrates with military power.<sup>66</sup>

In conclusion, these various examples—the negative *exempla* of Claudius Pulcher and Flaminius and the positive one of Paullus and Glabrio—contextualize the expected normative behavior of a Roman magistrate, one side to be lamented and another to be commended. Religion played a key role in this control and expectation of behavior. Without control in political power, magistrates and the Republic was liable to commit offences to the gods and to lose both their favor and the power which they bestowed on the Roman state.

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<sup>66</sup> Livy 36.27-29, cf. the ritual of *deditio* in 1.38.2: *deditisne vos populumque Collatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminus, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populi que Romani dicionem?*; Polybius 20.10; Eckstein 1995, especially 281-283.

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