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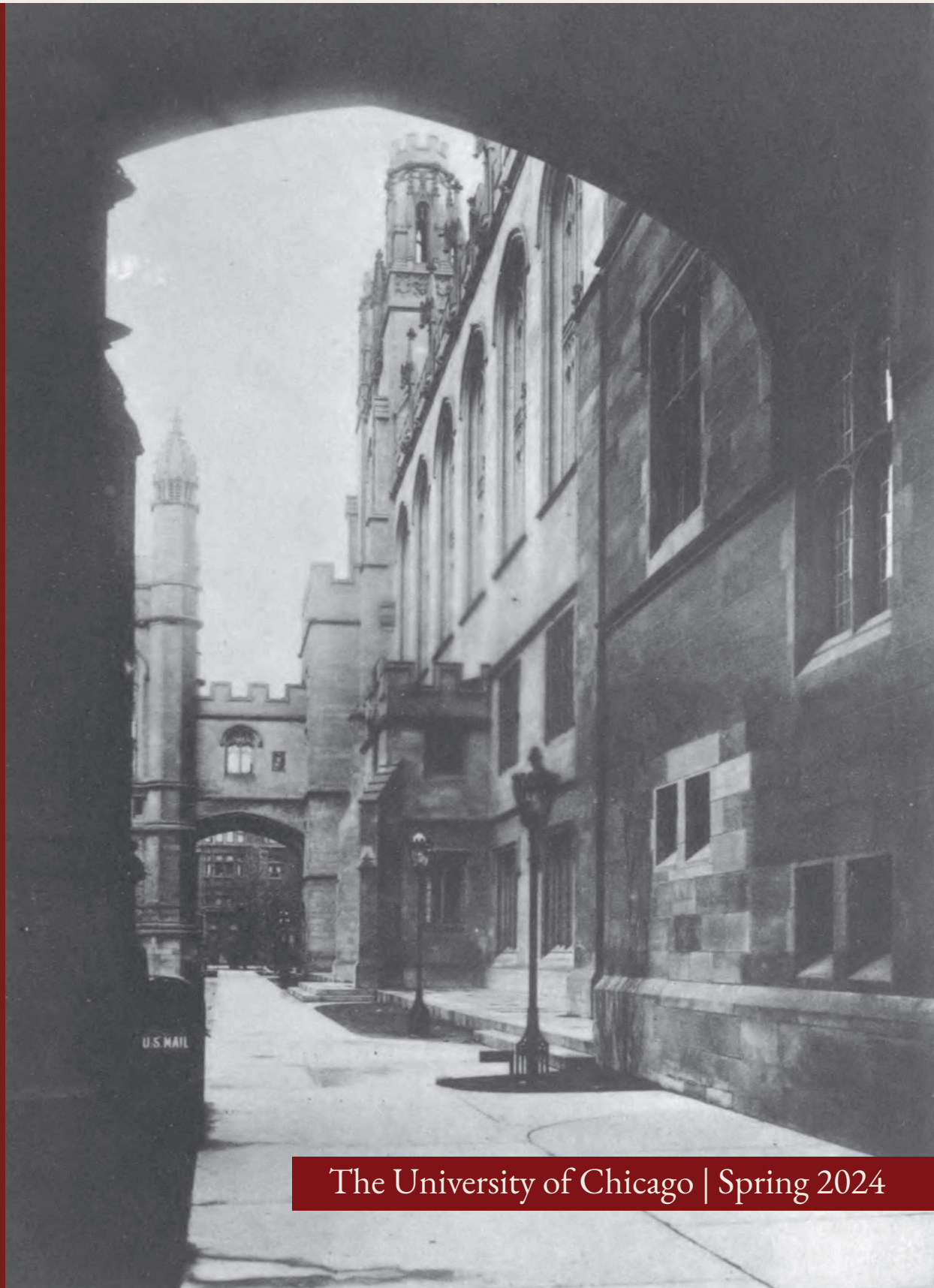

The University of Chicago | Spring 2024

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The Board

Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

Dear Readers,

It is with great enthusiasm that I present to you the spring edition of the *Chicago Journal of History*, our second ever. The high volume of exceptional submissions, coupled with an accelerated publication timeline, presented our staff with a substantial challenge. We surmounted this through the seamless collaboration of our newest members and seasoned editors alike. This spring, we explore the complex interplay of race, power, status, and the mind across different times and continents.

This edition's selected papers showcase a prized tenet of history: scale. From the inner psychology of John Adams to the pursuit of international recognition for an entire nation, the spring edition encapsulates this tenet well. I would like to thank our authors for their exemplary historical work that we are more than proud to feature.

We begin with Guillem Colom's examination of the Confederacy's implicit and explicit use of scientific racism to garner European support during the Civil War. We then journey to the early twentieth century with Ruyi Liu's exploration of China's quest for status and recognition as a budding nation in a rapidly developing world.

Simon Rosenbaum dives inside the mind of Adams and returns to surface with an extensive article on how his insecurities and relentlessness shaped his presidency and our perception today. Finally, Ollie Rourke takes us to the Mediterranean in order to examine the enslavement of the British by Barbary corsairs, challenging traditional narratives of race and slavery.

I would like to thank each and every member of our staff, who worked tirelessly to ensure the successful operation of the Journal. I extend a very special recognition to Professor Peggy Heffington, who has supported the *Chicago Journal of History* in countless ways. Her enthusiasm and dedication, among all her innumerable responsibilities, is integral to the health of the Journal. For that, we cannot thank her enough.

On behalf of the entire organization, we thank you for reading and truly hope you enjoy. We look forward to seeing you again in the fall.

Sincerely,
Jack Sanders

Editor-in-Chief, *Chicago Journal of History*

Instrumentalizing Pseudoscience: How European Scientific Racism Shaped Confederate Political Thought and Policy

Guillem Colom, Tufts University

Abstract

Through the antebellum period and American Civil War, American and European race theorists exchanged ideas through correspondence and scientific explorations asserting the truth of scientific racism. Scientific racist beliefs posited the natural superiority of white people and inferiority of Black people based on what these theorists claimed were innate biological characteristics. These beliefs served as a critical linkage between Europe and the United States. Utilizing correspondence and journal entries, this paper shows that this exchange of scientific racist ideas significantly influenced the Confederacy's political thought and policy positions, especially foreign relations, through the Civil War. Through the work of propagandist Henry Hotze, the Confederacy sought to gain support among the European public, particularly in Great Britain, by promoting scientific racist ideas justifying the Confederacy's defense of slavery. Such ideas were assimilated from American race theorists like Samuel George Morton and Samuel Cartwright, along with European race theorists like Arthur de Gobineau. This paper ultimately demonstrates the historical continuity of actors uniting across borders to instrumentalize scientific racism to uphold white supremacy into modern times.

Introduction

In March 1861, the Union arrived at a moment of grave peril. Following the 1860 presidential election of Republican Abraham Lincoln, Southern state governments subverted the Union through secession to protect slavery. From the pre-colonial period through the antebellum period, Southern states institutionalized a "slave society" that relied on the slave labor of over 1 million imported Africans to cultivate staple crops such as cotton.[1] Cotton cultivation accelerated through the early 1800s, which was fueled by American inventor Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793 and an increase in cotton prices from eight cents to eleven cents by 1847.[2] Declining trade protectionism with European powers further enabled the South to gain a large share of the international cotton marketplace based on their political economy of slavery. This entrenchment of slavery and the institution's oppression of Black slaves became the fundamental sociocultural and political force driving the South. In the eyes of Southern politicians, Lincoln's record of abolitionism threatened this Southern institution and, thus, Southern civilization. By January 1861, Southern politicians channeled their anxieties through secession conventions across seven states.[3] These conventions resulted in proclamations, such as the 1860 South Carolina Declaration of Secession, that declared each Southern state to have control over the "right of property in slaves."[4]

One such politician who helped lead Southern secession was Vice President of the Confederacy Alexander Stephens. On March 21, 1861, Stephens delivered his "Cornerstone Speech" in Savannah, Georgia following the state's secession in January 1861. Speaking to a full-capacity audience of adoring

1 Ian Tyrell, Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective Since 1789 (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), 74.

2 Matthew Karp, "King Cotton, Emperor Slavery: Antebellum Slaveholders and the World Economy," in *The Civil War as Global Conflict*, eds. David Gleeson and Simon Lewis (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2014), 38.

3 Hudson Meadwell and Lawrence Anderson, "Sequence and Strategy in the Secession of the American South," *Theory and Society* 37, no. 3 (June 2008): 216.

4 "Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union" (Declaration, Charleston, 1860), 8.

supporters, Stephens vociferously defended Southern secession and the formation of the Confederacy. Stephens asserted that the Union established a constitutional system that was perversely influenced by the Founding Fathers, such as Thomas Jefferson, who believed that "the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of Nature."[5] Such a belief, according to Stephens, burdened Southerners by inhibiting their political sovereignty over their "peculiar" institution of slavery that served as the bedrock of their society.[6] The culmination of Stephens's speech was his stated opposition to egalitarianism. He claimed that the Confederacy's foundations were "laid... upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man" and that "slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition."[7] Stephen's claim that Black people possessed biological qualities justifying their oppression as an inferior class indicated a widespread acceptance of a virulent ideology among Southerners: scientific racism.

Scientific racism, a pseudoscientific group of beliefs asserting that certain racial groups possess innate physical, moral, and intellectual characteristics rendering them superior or inferior to other groups, greatly influenced Confederate political thought and policy. I will argue, however, that this influence did not emerge out of a vacuum. Instead, I will contend that Southern race theorists assimilated scientific racist ideas that European race theorists formulated during the Age of Enlightenment. Through the antebellum period, American and European race theorists exchanged scientific racist ideas through correspondence and pseudoscientific publications to justify slavery. These figures included American physicians Samuel George Morton and Samuel Cartwright. The commencement of the Civil War not only accelerated these transatlantic exchanges of racist ideas, but these exchanges became instrumental in shaping Confederate foreign relations. Through the work of propagandist Henry Hotze, the Confederacy sought to gain support among the European public, particularly in Great Britain, by promoting scientific racist ideas justifying the Confederacy's defense of slavery. Hotze further represented the political and financial sacrifices Confederate leaders and American and European race theorists made to protect an institution upholding white supremacy. This paper ultimately illustrates how these exchanges of ideas impacted debates and policies that influenced the direction of the Civil War and future of American racial relations.

The Origins of European Scientific Racism: The Age of Enlightenment

European conceptions of scientific racism emerged out of the theoretical and political debates of the Age of Enlightenment.[8] Between the mid-seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries, European race theorists explored philosophical and scientific questions through the scientific method. The scientific method, which involved the empirical study of natural phenomena through experimentation and observation, motivated theorists to determine universal scientific truths rooted in human behavior.[9] Theorists' use of the scientific method generated newfound ideas on a global scale. As Janet Giltrow outlines, an "information explosion," fueled by mechanical innovations like the printing press, democratized mass media that reached Western elites and the larger public. Such democratization enabled these theorists to transmit scientific ideas through correspondence, pamphlets, and academic journals.[10] Taxonomic theories that involved the classification of animals, human remains, and living individuals were exchanged through a transatlantic network of colonial settlements and scientific explorations.[11] Humanity was no longer solely conceptualized through philosophical moralizations of rationality that characterized classical intellectual debate.

5 Alexander Stephens, "Cornerstone Speech" (1861), in *The Civil War and Reconstruction: A Documentary Reader*, ed. Stanley Harrold (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 61.

6 Stephens, 60.

7 Stephens, 61.

8 Devin Vartija, "Revisiting Enlightenment Racial Classification: Time and Question of Human Diversity," *Intellectual History Review* 31, no. 4 (2021): 605-606.

9 Linda Burnett, "Collecting Humanity in the Age of Enlightenment: The Hudson's Bay Company and Edinburgh University's Natural History Museum," *Global Intellectual History* 8, no. 4 (2023): 387-388.

10 Burnett, 388.

11 Burnett, 388.

European race theorists shifted these debates to focus on pseudoscientific studies seeking to place humans within an empirically observed natural world.

These efforts to situate humanity within a natural context centered around the classification of racial groups, which served as the foundation for scientific racist theories. European race theorists united around three major beliefs that, as Richard Popkins outlines, were based on the findings of pseudoscientific studies on human physiology and social behavior. The first theory postulated that the "mental life of non-whites, especially Indians and Africans," was "significantly different from that of [Europeanized] whites."[12] The second theory negatively framed such mental differences as a sign of non-white inferiority, since the "normal, natural condition of man is whiteness" and being non-white was "a sign of sickness or degeneracy."[13] The third theory asserted that non-white people were not truly human. Rather, they were members of a subservient class who were "lower on the great chain of being."[14]

These assertions constituted a theoretical framework that promoted the pseudoscientific belief of polygenism. Polygenism, as Terence Keel explains, argued that "each [racial] group possessed its own unique ancestor," which caused racial groups to be intellectually and morally different from each other.[15] European race theorists not only supported polygenism, but they wielded its claims to justify a racial hierarchy that was also based on religious conceptions of morality. Based on racially biased methodologies, these theorists framed white people as "being the best" race, while non-white people were degraded as "pre-Adamithic creations" who "never contained the [spirit] of genuine men."[16] Race theorists moralized their scientific racism through their invocations of Christian theology, which allowed them to claim that racial differences were created from God's intelligent design of humanity.[17] Thus, racial hierarchy upholding white supremacy served God's will and could not be altered.

Enlightenment figures further promoted scientific racist theories based on their expertise in various disciplines, including physiology. Franz Joseph Gall, a German physiologist, was one such theorist. Gall conducted the first-known modern studies on the pseudoscience of phrenology, which posited a false association between scalp morphology and an individual's intellectual capacity.[18] In 1798, Gall published a letter in Der neue Teutsche Merkur, a pro-Enlightenment Weimar journal, where he presented his principles of phrenology. Gall claimed that the brain is the organ of the mind and the mind's qualities are "multiplied and elevated in direct ratio to the increase of the mass of [the] brain, proportionally to that of the body."[19] Certain brain areas were theorized to have specialized functions that were "distinct and independent of each other."[20] Individuals who were found to have "diseases and wounds" in such areas were "deranged, irritated, or suspended" from normal cognitive thinking.[21] Gall's conceptions enabled him to assert that Black people were "inferior to the [white] European intellectually" because they had "smaller heads and less cerebral mass than European inhabitants."[22] Based on his pseudoscientific analysis, Gall advocated for a racial caste system that consigned Black people to slave labor in service of white people.

As the future of slavery remained a leading political issue in Europe and the United States into the antebellum period, European race theorists built on Enlightenment theories of scientific racism. Figures

12 Richard Popkins, "The Philosophical Basis of Eighteenth-Century Racism," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 3, no. 1 (1974): 247.

13 Popkins, 247.

14 Popkins, 247.

15 Terence Keel, "Religion, Polygenism and the Early Science of Human Origins," *History of the Human Sciences* 26, no. 2 (2013): 4.

16 Popkins, "The Philosophical Basis of Eighteenth-Century Racism," 247.

17 Keel, "Religion, Polygenism and the Early Science of Human Origins," 20.

18 Susan Branson, "Phrenology and the Science of Race in Antebellum America," *Early American Studies* 15, no. 1 (2017): 170.

19 Franz Joseph Gall, "Letter from Dr. F. J. Gall, to Joseph von Retzer, upon the Functions of the Brain, in Man and Animals," *Der neue Teutsche Merkur* 3, no. 1 (December 1798): 320.

20 Gall, 320.

21 Gall, 321.

22 Franz Joseph Gall, *Research on the Nervous System*, in *The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations*, ed. Nicholas Bancel et al. (New York: Routledge, 2014), 55.

including German naturalist Carl Vogt affirmed the theories of polygenism and phrenology through their globally distributed publications that popularized European scientific theories in elite circles.[23] Their academic work enabled them to find common cause with each other on the importance of upholding slavery. At the same time, these figures started exchanging their work with American race theorists who integrated their beliefs to manufacture their own justifications for slavery.

Samuel George Morton: The Father of the "American School" of Race Science

In the early 1800s, American physician Samuel George Morton, a staunch defender of slavery as a necessity to maintain a white supremacist society viewed as natural,[24] generated his own pseudoscientfic beliefs that incorporated European scientific racist ideas. Morton developed an interest in anatomy after he graduated from the University of Pennsylvania as a Doctor of Medicine in 1820 and the University of Edinburgh with an advanced degree in 1824.[25] Utilizing his working relationships with prominent Philadelphia physicians, Morton became president of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, cementing his status as an esteemed academic among his colleagues.[26]

Morton concentrated his work on craniological studies that sought to examine the size and structure of the human skull. The Enlightenment's promotion of the scientific method compelled Morton to frame human history as part of a natural history. As Ann Fabian outlines, Morton desired to answer questions that "comparative anatomists had asked about the shape and size of skulls of different animals" by conducting empirical studies comparing the skulls of different racial groups.[27] Morton used polygenism and phrenological theories formulated by Gall to construct diagrammatic methods utilized to form a correlation between cranial capacity and intelligence. Morton claimed that larger cranial capacity signified a higher intelligence, while smaller cranial capacity denoted lower intelligence.[28] From this theorization, Morton established the "American school" of race science, a pseudoscientific movement asserting white intellectual superiority based on "empirical" findings that sought to differentiate the brain sizes between white and Black people.[29]

Morton publicized his scientific racist theories through phrenological examinations he conducted between the 1830s and 1840s. Starting in 1830, Morton regularly traveled to Brazil, Egypt, and Mexico to excavate archeological sites and exchange scientific information with other American race theorists, including Josiah Nott and George Gliddon.[30] Morton accumulated a catalog of over 1,000 human specimens, including 600 intact human skulls that were housed at the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Named the "American Golgotha" as a reference to the location of Jesus's crucifixion and Morton's objective to determine how God created humanity, Morton's catalog became the world's largest collection of human skulls.[31] Morton used his increased international recognition to create widely distributed lithographs of skulls from different racial groups.[32] He would publish these lithographs and findings in his 1839 book, Crania Americana; or, A Comparative View of the Skulls of Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America, and 1844 book, Crania Aegyptiaca; or Observations on Egyptian Ethnography, Derived from Anatomy, History and the Monuments.

In Crania Americana, Morton outlined the

23 J. MacGregor Allan, "Carl Vogt's Lectures on Man," *The Anthropological Review* 7, no. 25 (April 1869): 177-178.

24 Marianne Sommer, "A Diagrammatics of Race: Samuel George Morton's 'American Golgotha' and the Contest for the Definition of the Young Field of Anthropology," *History of the Human Sciences* (2023): 10.

25 George Bacon Wood, *A Biographical Memoir of Samuel George Morton* (Philadelphia: T.K. & P.G. Collins, 1853), 6.

26 George Bacon Wood, *A Biographical Memoir of Samuel George Morton* (Philadelphia: T.K. & P.G. Collins, 1853), 9.

27 Sommer, "A Diagrammatics of Race: Samuel George Morton's 'American Golgotha' and the Contest for the Definition of the Young Field of Anthropology," 3.

28 Sommer, 3.

29 Adam Dewbury, "The American School and Scientific Racism in Early American Anthropology," *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 3, no. 1 (2007): 121.

30 Stephen Jay Gould, "Morton's Ranking of Races by Cranial Capacity," *Science* 200, no. 4341 (1978): 503.

31 Gould, 503.

32 Gould, 504.

purportedly different physical qualities of the skulls of numerous racial groups. He classified humans into separate racial groups, including Caucasians and Black Ethiopians. Morton characterized Caucasian people as fair skinned individuals with large skulls and the "highest intellectual endowments."[33] In contrast, he described Ethiopians as Black people who had long, narrow skulls, expressed a "joyous... and indolent disposition," and constituted the "lowest form of humanity."[34] To measure these alleged intellectual differences and demonstrate the purported intellectual superiority of Caucasian people, Morton filled up skulls with BB-sized lead shot to calculate the average skull volumes of different racial groups.[35] Morton determined that Caucasian skull volumes averaged 87 cubic inches, while the skulls of Ethiopians, referred to as "Negros," averaged 78 cubic inches.[36] Because Black people were theorized to have smaller brains, he asserted they possessed lower intelligence that caused them to have "little invention."[37] However, Black people possessed "strong powers of imitation" that enabled them to succeed as slave laborers.[38] Thus, Morton's racist and pseudoscientific methodology enabled him to claim that a racial hierarchy subjugating Black people as slaves was necessary to exploit their labor for the benefit of white society.

Morton solidified his scientific racist beliefs in Crania Aegyptiaca. Examining the skulls of ancient Egyptians, Morton sought to further differentiate Caucasian and Black skulls. Morton employed a methodology comparable to the one in his Crania Americana study, but he instead classified Black people as "Negroid" because he viewed them as subhuman.[39] Like in Crania Americana, Morton concluded that Caucasian skulls were larger than those of Black people and that these cranial differences denoted Causasian superiority and Black inferiority. Caucasian skulls were determined to have an average volume between 78 and 80 cubic inches, while Black skulls were determined to have an average volume of 75 cubic inches.[40] Morton further used his findings to support polygenism. He asserted that Caucasian and Black intellectual differences were so stark that they were indications that God created different racial groups meant to serve different purposes. According to Morton, Black people were created in Egypt to be suitable "as [slaves] or bearers of tribute to [Caucasian] Pharaohs."[41] This subordinate social position of Black people in ancient times was "the same... as in modern times."[42] By establishing this historical continuity of slavery, Morton argued that racial hierarchies relegating Black people to slavery were foundational to human societies. In his view, slavery emerged from natural differences in intelligence between racial groups, and he argued for the necessity to maintain slavery to adhere to what he claimed was God's design for humanity.

Morton's scientific racist work served as a significant influence on Confederate political thought. Eager to defend slavery for their political and economic self-interest, Southern slaveholding elites gravitated towards Morton's work and used his arguments to defend slavery. Upon Morton's death in 1851, the Southern Medical Journal, then a pro-slavery medical journal serving Southern slaveholding political leaders, published a tribute which stated that Southerners "should consider [Morton] as our benefactor, for aiding most materially in giving to the negro his true position as an inferior race."[43] Morton further contributed to the development of physical anthropology as an academic discipline, which was consistently cited by Confederate elites to defend slavery. His phrenological methodologies would be used by Confederacy-supporting race theorists such as Gliddon to defend slavery as rooted in the

33 Samuel George Morton, *Crania Americana; or, A Comparative View of the Skulls of Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America* (London: James Madden & Co., 1839), 5.

34 Morton, 7.

35 David Thomas, *Kennewick Man, Archaeology, And The Battle For Native American Identity* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 40.

36 Samuel George Morton, *Crania Americana*, 260.

37 Morton, 88.

38 Morton, 88.

39 Samuel George Morton, *Crania Aegyptiaca; or Observations on Egyptian Ethnography, Derived from Anatomy, History and the Monuments* (London: James Madden & Co., 1844), 4.

40 Morton, 22.

41 Morton, 59.

42 Morton, 59.

43 Emily Renschler, "The Samuel George Morton Cranial Collection," Expedition Magazine, 2008.

natural truths of white supremacy.[44] Morton linked European scientific racist ideas with the political aims of Southern elites, and other American race theorists would continue this transatlantic exchange of ideas.

Samuel Cartwright and "Drapetomania": Black Existence as a Disease

At the same time Morton was conducting his pseudoscientific studies, American physician Samuel Cartwright began to advance theories of scientific racism that integrated aspects of European race science. Cartwright was first motivated to study physiology through his experiences as a soldier in the War of 1812, where he observed doctors' treatment of wounded soldiers.[45] After graduating with Doctor of Medicine from Transylvania University in 1823, Cartwright received acclaim for his 1824 essay, "An Essay on the Epidemic Fever of Monroe County, Mississippi, in the Summer and Autumn of 1822," in which he detailed how cholera caused an "inflammation in the cellular tissue that envelope[s] the kidneys."[46] His findings on cholera contributed to a growing literature on the development of human diseases and enabled Cartwright to bolster his reputation among fellow scientists. Harvard University's Boylston Medical Library awarded Cartwright a gold medal for his research on the human cardiovascular system's response to cholera in 1826.[47] The Medical and Chirurgical Society of Maryland further awarded him a one-hundred-dollar prize for an 1826 essay he published on cholera.[48]

From the early 1820s onward, Cartwright based his physiological examinations on a reliance on Black bodies for autopsy. Cartwright expressed a deep conviction in the importance of using human corpses for medical discovery that he believed could reveal universal natural truths about humanity. Cartwright used his autopsies of Black corpses to track the progression of numerous diseases in the human body, including yellow fever, syphilis, and epilepsy.[49] Cartwright opportunistically sought to use his racially biased conclusions of these autopsies to frame Black people as physiologically deficient. He claimed that "almost every year of my professional life... I have made post mortem examinations of negros... and I have invariably found the darker color pervading the flesh and the membranes to be very evident in all those who died of acute diseases."[50] Cartwright's autopsies enabled him to integrate scientific racist theories promoted by his contemporaries that asserted the biological inferiority of Black people.

Cartwright also based his work on a trip to Europe he took between 1836 and 1837. Cartwright traveled across Europe to form professional networks with physicians who advanced the "French school" of medicine.[51] Scholars like Patrice Pinell and Sean Quinlan outline that the French school was characterized by an emphasis on the study of internal medicine using surgical observation[52] and a preoccupation with achieving biological "perfectibility" in creating an intellectually superior race.[53] Cartwright revealed that "a team of medical men" traveled with him to Europe to study human evolution, writing that "conscious of our deficiencies, we have... taken the trouble to visit London, Rome and Paris, and gather from the storehouses of science... to assist" his studies.[54] Cartwright assimilated the scientific racist beliefs of French

44 Dewbury, "The American School and Scientific Racism in Early American Anthropology," 128.

45 Mary Louise Marshall, "Samuel A. Cartwright and State's Rights Medicine," *New Orleans Surgical and Medical Journal* 93, no. 2 (August 1940): 74-75.

46 Samuel Cartwright, "An Essay on the Epidemic Fever of Monroe County, Mississippi, in the Summer and Autumn of 1822," *American Medical Observer* 7, no. 4 (October 1824): 667.

47 Marshall, "Samuel A. Cartwright and State's Rights Medicine," 77-78.

48 Marshall, 77-78.

49 Christopher Willoughby, "Running Away from Drapetomania: Samuel A. Cartwright, Medicine, and Race in the Antebellum South," *Journal of Southern History* 84, no. 3 (August 2018): 588.

50 Samuel Cartwright, "Philosophy of the Negro Constitution," *New Orleans Surgical and Medical Journal* 8, no. 1 (1852): 196.

51 Samuel Cartwright, "Cannan Identified with the Ethiopian," *Southern Quarterly Review* 2, no. 4 (October 1842): 328.

52 Patrice Pinell, "The Genesis of the Medical Field: France, 1795-1870," *Revue Française de Sociologie* 52 (2011): 121.

53 Sean Quinlan, "Heredity, Reproduction, and Perfectability in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, 1789-1815," *Endeavor* 34, no. 4 (December 2010): 143.

54 Cartwright, 321.

Enlightenment philosopher Voltaire, who claimed that Black people were "not capable of paying much attention... and do not appear to be made...for the advantages" of modern society.[55] Cartwright professed his new conviction in polygenism, claiming that "the differences in organization" between white and Black people "are so evident... that in Paris, we found the savants denying the common origins of man."[56] Cartwright was "cordially received by the medical faculty of the principal [European] cities" based on an appreciation for his autopsies on Black corpses to evaluate diseases.[57] Encouraged by this transatlantic exchange of ideas, Cartwright returned to the U.S. to disseminate his own theories of scientific racism.

Upon returning, the Louisiana State Medical Convention tasked Cartwright in the mid-1840s to investigate alleged diseases unique to Black slaves.[58] Cartwright's racially motivated studies led to his conception of "drapetomania." He articulated this theory through his 1851 paper, "Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race," that was published in widely read pro-slavery Southern journals like the Southern Medical Reports and DeBow's Review.[59] Cartwright conceived drapetomania, or "Free Negro Insanity," as a mental illness that caused Black slaves to run away from their white masters. Cartwright claimed that drapetomania fostered "mental alienation" in Black slaves, provoking them to experience mental schisms that falsely convinced them of their equality.[60] To quell this "rascality," Cartwright claimed to Southern slave owners that "with the advantage of proper medical advice... this troublesome practice of running away, that many negroes have, can be almost entirely prevented."[61] Such advice included whipping slaves with broad leather straps.[62] Through these methods, Cartwright claimed that slave owners could compel Black slaves to return to their natural position as subservient laborers. Any attempt by slaveowners to "oppose the Diety's will, by trying to make the Negro anything else than 'the submissive knee-bender'... by putting [white slaveowners] on an equality with the Negro" would result in slaves running away based on their delusional belief in their equality.[63] Cartwright conceived Black existence as a disease, and he asserted that this disease needed to be counteracted with violence to force Black slaves to adhere to God's will.

Cartwright's theories that incorporated European scientific racist ideas profoundly influenced Confederate political thought and policy. Cartwright was directly embraced by Confederate leaders, including Confederate President Jefferson Davis, who saw Cartwright as a leading intellectual aiding the Confederacy's cause. After reading Cartwright's "Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race," Davis started corresponding with Cartwright from the late 1840s through the Civil War.[64] In their letters, both bonded over their shared belief in the virtues of slavery and their opposition to naturalization proposals seeking to make slaves American citizens amidst fallout over the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.[65] Cartwright's friendship with Davis became so strong that in 1861, Davis introduced Cartwright to Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston and told Johnston that "as a physician [Cartwright] holds the first place in

55 Voltaire, *Essai Sur Les Moeurs Et L'esprit Des Nations* (Paris: Werden & Lequien, 1756), 84.

56 Cartwright, "Cannan Identified with the Ethiopian," 328.

57 "Dr. Cartwright," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* 19, no. 3 (November 1866): 347.

58 James Guillory, "The Pro-Slavery Arguments of Dr. Samuel A. Cartwright," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 9, no. 3 (1968): 212.

59 Willoughby, "Running Away from Drapetomania: Samuel A. Cartwright, Medicine, and Race in the Antebellum South," 593.

60 Samuel Cartwright, "Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race," *DeBow's Review* 11, no. 3 (1851): 331 - 333.

61 Cartwright, 331.

62 Samuel Cartwright, "Remarks on Dysentery Among Negroes," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* 11 (September 1854): 155.

63 Cartwright, "Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race," 331 - 333.

64 Willoughby, "Running Away from Drapetomania: Samuel A. Cartwright, Medicine, and Race in the Antebellum South," 613.

65 "Samuel A. Cartwright and Family Papers: Series 1, Professional Papers, 1826 - 1858," Louisiana State University Libraries Special Collections, Mss. 2471, 2499, 1826 - 1874, 5.

my estimation."[66] Through his relationships with Confederate elites, Cartwright cemented himself as a reliable resource who provided "empirical" findings to Confederate leaders to defend slavery.

Cartwright's scientific racist ideas also sparked the formation of a Southern medical movement that further supported the Confederacy's defense of slavery. Cartwright became a leader of the "state's rights medicine" movement, which framed Southern medicine as distinct from Northern medicine. Northern physicians, as Cartwright argued, distorted Enlightenment-era practices by encouraging doctors to treat patients as equal descendents of a common ancestor.[67] Northern medicine was thus inadequate to remedy the diseases of Black slaves that were theorized to be indicative of their subhuman status.[68] Based on these beliefs, Southern race theorists like Cartwright formed the movement to popularize racist ideas among Southern elites against Northern intellectuals, who were viewed as supporters for dangerous egalitarian ideas.

Southern physicians' advocacy for "state's rights medicine" directly influenced Confederate policy. The movement appealed to slave owners, who desired to exploit the most labor possible out of their slaves.[69] Confederate leaders like Davis cited the ideas of "state's rights" physicians in policies that incentivized slave owners to increase labor efficiency based, in part, on Cartwright's recommendations to treat drapetomania.[70] Cartwright's exchange of ideas with European race theorists and his incorporation of their theories into his work provided the foundation upon which he was able to influence Confederate policy and political thought.

Henry Hotze: Race Theorist and Confederate Propagandist

As the Confederacy waged war against the Union, Confederate leaders ordered Henry Hotze to promote scientific racist theories in Europe to increase public support among European elites and the general public for the Confederacy's cause. After immigrating from Switzerland in 1855 and naturalizing as an American citizen in 1856, Hotze established himself as a prominent proponent of scientific racism in the United States.[71] Hotze constantly read Morton and Cartwright's work, and he expressed his support for their theories.[72] Josiah Nott, a "state's rights" physiologist revered by Southern academics, heard of Hotze through acquaintances and decided to meet Hotze near his residence in Mobile, Alabama in 1854. Upon meeting Hotze, Nott "suggested [that Hotze's] knowledge of foreign languages" and his belief in scientific racism would be useful in translating the work of European race theorists into English.[73] He agreed, and they began establishing relationships with European race theorists to distribute and popularize their ideas among Confederate political leaders.

Hotze and Nott's most important joint endeavor involved their English translation of French aristocrat Arthur de Gobineau's 1855 work, An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races. Gobineau first promoted scientific racist theories following the French Revolution of 1848 that resulted in the establishment of the French Second Republic. Viewing the Revolution as a subversion of traditional social hierarchy, Gobineau advocated for slavery as a mechanism to achieve social order and suppress egalitarian values.[74] Gobineau's anti-egalitarianism culminated in An Essay, in which he contended that Black people constituted a separate and intellectually

66 Jefferson Davis to Joseph E. Johnston, September 6, 1861, Box 11, Folder 53, Series 3, Rosemond E. and Emile Kuntz Collection, Tulane University Digital Library Archives, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.

67 John Duffy, "The Evolution of American Medical Education, Institutional Histories, and the Medical College of Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (1987): 623-624.

68 Duffy, 624.

69 Samuel Cartwright, "How to Save the Republic, and the Position of the South in the Union," *DeBow's Review* 11, no. 2 (August 1851): 191.

70 Willoughby, "Running Away from Drapetomania: Samuel A. Cartwright, Medicine, and Race in the Antebellum South," 613.

71 Stephen Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," *The Historian* 27, no. 2 (February 1965): 133.

72 Robert Bonner, "Slavery, Confederate Diplomacy, and the Racialist Mission of Henry Hotze," *Civil War History* 51, no. 3 (September 2005): 291.

73 Bonner, 291.

74 Michelle Wright, "[Black] Peasants from France: Missing Translations of American Anxieties on Race and the Nation," *Callaloo* 22, no. 4 (1999): 833.

inferior racial group. Black people were "mere savages" compared to white people, who exhibited a naturally superior ability to build civilizations.[75] Hotze and Nott read Gobineau's An Essay and decided to correspond with him to express their interest in working with him on the publication of his work. Hotze wrote to Gobineau that he viewed his work as "the light I had sought for so earnestly," and he vowed to be Gobineau's "first disciple" in promoting his scientific racist theories throughout the United States.[76]

Hotze and Nott distributed Gobineau's work in the United States through the mid-1850s and the beginning of the Civil War. As part of the publication process, Hotze wrote an introduction that framed Gobineau's work within the larger context of American debates over the future of slavery. He wrote that "[when] we contemplate the human family from the... view of the naturalist... the marked dissimilarity of the various [racial] groups" emerges as a driving force of human nature.[77] Black people demonstrated a uniquely "monstrous stagnation" in their intellectual development,[78] while white people showcased intellectual progress that proved they were "incontestably and avowedly superior."[79] Hotze's English translation of Gobineau's An Essay became widely read by the Confederacy's foremost leaders. When the Civil War commenced in 1861, Hotze joined the Confederacy's Mobile Cadets and traveled through Montgomery, Alabama, where he worked closely with Confederate Secretary of War Leroy Walker and befriended powerful Confederate politicians. One such politician was Davis, who met Hotze in Montgomery and told Hotze he liked his work with Gobineau.[80] Davis believed that Hotze's work signified his commitment to promote the Confederate cause for slavery, and he sensed an opportunity to increase popular support for the Confederacy abroad and pressure European powers to support them. Davis ordered Walker and Confederate Secretary of State Robert Hunter on November 14, 1861 to make Hotze a special agent.[81] Hotze would be using his editorial skills and transatlantic connections to serve as a critical agent for the Confederacy. He would implement a propaganda operation that promoted scientific racism to increase Confederate support in Europe, along with executing other responsibilities like monitoring the progress of arms shipments.[82]

Hotze arrived at Southampton, England on January 28, 1862 and stationed himself in London to begin his mission.[83] Hotze's first part of his mission required him to network with prominent British political figures, including Lord High Chancellor John Campbell, to generate elite support for the Confederacy. In February 1862, Campbell asked Hotze to prepare a section of a speech he would deliver to Parliament opposing the Union's blockade of Southern transatlantic trade through the Anaconda Plan.[84] Hotze succeeded, but he encountered his first challenges with his propaganda operation. As Hotze described, Confederate supporters in Parliament showcased weak "demonstrations for [the Confederacy's] benefit."[85] In contrast, Confederate opponents depicted Southerners as animalistic supporters of slavery because it "grated on [Britons'] national conscience."[86] He articulated that although he "can be useful to [the Confederacy's] cause," he found it "difficult at times to restrain the expressions of pain... at the gross... and almost brutal indifference with which the great spectacle on the other hemisphere is viewed on this."[87] Hotze grew disillusioned with British elites' reluctance to support the Confederacy,

75 Arthur de Gobineau, *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (London: William Heinemann, 1853), 133.

76 Henry Hotze to Arthur de Gobineau, January 1, 1856, in *Gobineau's Rassenwerk*, ed. Ludwig Schemann (Stuttgart: Sr. Srommanns Derlag, 1910), 196.

77 Gobineau, *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*, 22.

78 Gobineau, 32.

79 Gobineau, 33.

80 Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 134.

81 Oates, 134.

82 Amanda Foreman, *A World on Fire: Britain's Crucial Role in the American Civil War* (New York: Random House, 2010), 249-251.

83 Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 135.

84 Oates, 136.

85 Henry Hotze to Robert Hunter, March 11, 1862, in *King Cotton Diplomacy*, ed. Frank Owsley Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 361.

86 Oates, 361.

87 Oates, 361.

fearing that he would fail to leverage European support to grant the Confederacy international legitimacy.

On February 20, 1862, Hotze ended his disillusionment by initiating the second phase of his mission. Hotze called the editor of the London Post, Liberal British Prime Minister Henry John Temple's official publication, to obtain editorial space to publish an article he wrote that defended Confederate slavery based on his belief in polygenism.[88] Hotze's article exploded in popularity among British commoners, particularly those in Liberal urban coffee clubs who largely viewed Black people as inferior.[89] Hotze's newly established popularity helped him expand his propaganda operation. By April 1862, Hotze wrote for the Times, Standard, and Herald in London, the former two being Liberal publications and the latter a Conservative publication.[90] Hotze also wrote for the Money Market Review, which, as Hotze explained in a letter to Hunter, possessed "great authority among [British] capitalists" who influenced British military appropriations policy.[91] He further gave his wages to staff writers to increase the production and distribution of pro-Confederate articles to British commoners and elites.[92]

Based on positive feedback from readers, Hotze wrote to Hunter on April 25, 1862 that he wanted to "establish a newspaper devoted to [Confederate] interests" that would be "exclusively under my control" through finances from Confederate leaders.[93] On May 1, 1862, Hotze issued the first edition of The Index, a 16-page weekly political journal promoting Confederate propaganda that employed scientific racist theories to defend slavery as a righteous institution.[94] The Index carried news from "leading [Confederate] papers and extracts from Southern speeches, laws, and decrees" to act as a source for the British press on the Civil War.[95] As Hotze claims, The Index would further strike a tone of moderation to appeal to British politicians of different political parties and act as a "channel through which [Confederate] arguments... can be conveyed... to the [British] Government."[96]

The Index became an instrumental force for Confederate foreign relations with the British government. The journal carried articles that promoted the necessity of defending slavery for the preservation of white supremacy. In terms of policy, these articles specifically advocated for the abolition of the trade blockade that stymied foreign cotton trade with Great Britain. Writers urged the British government to publicly denounce it as an illegal measure against Southern sovereignty and recognize the Confederacy as an independent nation-state.[97] On an ideological level, The Index emphasized purported similarities between British and Southern culture. Staff writers cited Confederate leaders' promotion of scientific racist theories, including polygenism and phrenology, to demonstrate their support for ideas first developed by Enlightenment thinkers.[98] The Confederacy and Great Britain were framed as ideologically bounded societies that shared common scientific racist beliefs to safeguard white supremacy through slavery.

These articles left a positive impression on British elites. Many Liberal and Conservative leaders in Parliament contacted Hotze to express interest in The Index. One such leader was John Arthur Roebuck, a self-declared "independent" Member of Parliament who championed British recognition of the Confederacy. In a September 1862 meeting with Hotze, Roebuck promised him that by the spring of 1863, the British government would recognize the Confederacy as an independent nation due to pressure from Confederate-supporting media outlets like The Index.[99] Hotze's pressure on British elites and the government to support the Confederacy did not go unnoticed by Confederate leaders. Confederate

88 Oates, 138.

89 Oates, 138.

90 Oates, 138.

91 Henry Hotze to Robert Hunter, March 24, 1862, in *King Cotton Diplomacy*, ed. Frank Owsley Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 371.

92 Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 139.

93 Henry Hotze to Robert Hunter, March 24, 1862, in *King Cotton Diplomacy*, ed. Frank Owsley Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 400.

94 Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 140.

95 Oates, 140.

96 Henry Hotze to Judah Benjamin, November 7, 1862, in "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," ed. Oates, 140.

97 Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 142.

98 Oates, 142.

99 Oates, 144.

leaders like Davis complimented Hotze as a "judicious and effective" representative of the Confederacy.[100] Confederate Secretary of State Judah Benjamin was so impressed by Hotze's propaganda operation that he awarded Hotze a $30,000 annual salary.[101] Hotze's propaganda operation to "make The Index a worthy representative in journalism of the highest ideal of that Southern civilization which is as yet only in its infancy" continued to expand, reaching the hands and minds of tens of thousands of British elites and commoners.[102]

However, Hotze's successes in implementing his Confederate propaganda campaign woudl gradually dissipate. Lincoln's issuance of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862, which changed the legal status of slaves in the Confederacy from enslaved to free, created political shockwaves throughout Great Britain. Initial reactions to the Proclamation from the Times, along with the Union-supporting Daily News and Morning Star, were contemptuous.[103] The Times declared that the Proclamation was the "wretched makeshift of a pettifogging lawyer" who undermined natural law upholding the biological inferiority of Black slaves.[104] Hotze was ecstatic, writing to Benjamin that "more than I ever could have accomplished has been done by Mr. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, which... appears to have awakened the fears of both Government and people."[105] The British media, as Hotze claimed, "has been unanimous... in its condemnation" of the Proclamation and generated popular discontent that aided the Confederacy's efforts to gain European support.[106]

As Confederate-allied media published articles opposing the Proclamation, liberal journals generated popular support for the Proclamation, which sparked the formation of mass liberal movements in Great Britain. Viewing the Proclamation as the liberation from an institution that traumatized the Union and Great Britain, British liberals published articles that appealed to middle-class Britons' fears of slavery.[107] Such fears stemmed from their experiences with slaveholders' marginalization of working-class laborers.[108] British liberals paired their publication of widely distributed articles with mass protests meant to convince the British public to support the Proclamation. Through the spring of 1863, hundreds of meetings were organized and led by a diverse liberal coalition of political radicals, women, racial minorities, and middle-class workers.[109] Liberals collaborated with organizations like the London Emancipation Society to send "scores of speakers... to meeting halls across the country to summon British men and women" to support the Proclamation.[110] This mobilization of popular liberal discontent ultimately compelled the British government to not intervene for the Confederacy through their potential recognition of Confederate independence.

Hotze's propaganda operation could not overcome this liberal mobilization of the British public. Outmaneuvered by liberals' coordinated efforts to distribute anti-Confederate literature, Hotze became resigned to his mission's inevitable failure. Writing to Benjamin in May 1863, Hotze claimed that Confederate recognition of nationhood by British leaders "is farther off than it was 18 months ago" due to liberals' successful pressure campaign to vilify Confederates' belief in scientific racism.[111] Hotze's hopelessness was further compounded by Roebuck's attempt on June 30, 1863 to pass a resolution through Parliament that sought to recognize the Confederacy. Roebuck's proposal ignited blistering condemnation from Liberal and Conservative lawmakers, who believed that Great Britain would damage its

100 Oates, 143.

101 J.F. Jameson, "The London Expenditures of the Confederate Secret Service," *American Historical Review* 35, no. 4 (July 1930): 815.

102 Henry Hotze to John Witt, August 11, 1864, in "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," ed. Oates, 141.

103 Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 145.

104 Oates, 145.

105 Henry Hotze to Judah Benjamin, January 17, 1863, in "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," ed. Oates, 145-146.

106 Hotze, 145-146.

107 Don Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2017), 242-243.

108 Doyle, 242-243.

109 Doyle, 246.

110 Doyle, 246.

111 Henry Hotze to Judah Benjamin, May 9, 1863, in "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," ed. Oates, 147.

reputation if they supported a government opposed to egalitarian principles.[112] Roebuck subsequently withdrew the motion, but the damage was done. The Index's popularity declined through the remainder of the Civil War.[113] Confederate defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg in 1863 further dissuaded British elites from working with Hotze, who they now largely viewed as a pathetic representative of a lost cause.[114] Writing in The Index, Hotze sullenly proclaimed that he "lost" the battle of British public opinion.[115] Despite all of the political and financial sacrifices he gave to defend slavery abroad, Hotze recognized that his operation had no future, and neither did the Confederacy.

Hotze's propaganda campaign officially ended when The Index published its last issue in August 1865, four months after Confederate General Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox.[116] The end of his campaign left Hotze more uncompromising in his belief in scientific racism. Remaining in Europe until his death in 1887, Hotze corresponded with his American friends to warn about what he claimed was an "Africanization of the Union" caused by efforts to make former slaves equal citizens.[117] Reiterating his belief in polygenism, Hotze claimed that granting equal citizenship to a separate and unintelligent Black slave class would enable the rise of a "centralized despotism" that undermined white supremacy and God's design for humanity.[118] Although unsuccessful, Hotze's propaganda operation critically impacted Confederate foreign relations. Hotze's relationships with British elites enabled him to publish Confederate propaganda through The Index that influenced large swaths of the British public. Such propaganda centered around scientific racist theories that pressured the British government to support the Confederacy based on a perceived necessity to defend slavery. Hotze's work served as the culmination of transatlantic exchanges of scientific racist theories that began in the Age of Enlightenment and shaped Confederate foreign relations through the Civil War.

The Challenges of Transatlantic Exchanges of Scientific Racist Theories

Despite their successes in influencing Confederate political thought and policy, American and European race theorists confronted challenges that inhibited their transatlantic exchange of ideas. Strong public criticism inhibited their efforts to sway public opinion to support slavery. Northern newspapers published articles deriding the scientific racist theories of theorists such as Cartwright. For example, the Ripley Bee reprinted a notice in 1854 that Cartwright supported the African slave trade. The Ripley Bee's editors panned Cartwright's position as a byproduct of Southern pro-slavery ideology that threatened the political stability of the Union.[119] Northern medical reviews further publicly criticized these theories. In a review of Cartwright's paper on dysentery, physician Harty Wooten wrote that Cartwright's claim that Black slaves were more vulnerable to attract diseases than white people was incorrect. Cartwright, according to Wooten, relied on faulty data from politically biased pro-slavery sources that polluted his methodology.[120] This disagreement from academics and the general public limited the appeal of scientific racist ideas to Southern leaders who used such racism to justify slavery for their political and economic self-interests. Such limitations frustrated their attempts to achieve broad-ranging national consensus that slavery was necessary to maintain a naturally-rooted social order.

These limitations were exacerbated by a lack of organizational capacity that restricted the abilities of race theorists to influence public opinion and policy towards supporting slavery. While Confederate actors united with various European political figures on the necessity to preserve slavery, they lacked the resource capacity needed to operate a successful long-term propaganda operation. After The Index launched in 1862 with subsidies from Confederate leaders, Hotze had to rely on funds from personal friends and random financiers he befriended in England to

112 Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 148.

113 Oates, 152.

114 Oates, 149.

115 Oates, 149.

116 Oates, 153.

117 Henry Hotze to Benjamin Wood, April 21, 1865, in "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," ed. Oates, 153-154.

118 Hotze, 154-154.

119 Willoughby, "Running Away from Drapetomania: Samuel A. Cartwright, Medicine, and Race in the Antebellum South," 592.

120 Willoughby, 599.

keep his operation afloat.[121] His salary of $30,000, although extremely high adjusted for inflation, did not adequately cover the expansive responsibilities of his operation. Such responsibilities included compensating The Index's staff writers as full-time workers, paying for the publication and distribution of The Index across hundreds of British towns, covering work-related and personal transportation costs, and subsidizing lobbying efforts in Parliament.[122] While British liberals were jointly networking and pooling resources to influence public opinion, Hotze had to largely command his propaganda operation by himself with minimal support from Confederate leadership. This lack of coordination arose out of a weak capacity to establish interdependent activist networks, which weakened Confederate efforts to impact British public opinion and policy towards slavery.

However, these limitations did not stop American and European race theorists from affecting public opinion and policy in the short-term. Rather than fragmenting, these theorists united on a commitment to defend slavery that they viewed as rooted in human nature. This commitment persisted even as their efforts encountered significant political challenges and it became clear that they would not achieve their goals. These actors recognized that they needed to exert a sizable impact on public opinion and policy in a limited amount of time. Their successes within this short window of time showcase the importance of transatlantic exchanges of ideas in supporting political efforts that can impact the long-term future of racial equality.

Conclusion

These transatlantic exchanges of ideas between European and American race theorists demonstrate how ideas generated in one part of the world can influence policy in another part of the world. European race theorists' ideas were integrated into the scientific racist ideas of American race theorists. These theorists included Morton and Cartwright, who used such ideas to justify Southern slavery. As the Civil War involved European powers, Confederate propagandists like Hotze led political propaganda operations that utilized racist ideas from European race theorists, including Gobineau, to promote the Confederacy's defense of slavery abroad. Such propaganda attempted to convince the European public to support the Confederacy based on the perceived necessity of maintaining white supremacy. In totality, scientific racism functioned as a critical linkage between Europe and the United States that shaped Confederate political thought and policy, thereby impacting the direction of the Civil War.

The impacts of this transatlantic exchange of scientific racist ideas were not confined to the Civil War. The prominence of such theories directly contributed to the violent state of American racial relations through Reconstruction and Jim Crow. After Reconstruction ended with the Compromise of 1877 that ordered the withdrawal of federal troops from the South, Southern state governments escalated enforcement of systemically racist laws against African Americans. Jim Crow laws included the imposition of grandfather clauses and literacy tests that were implemented to marginalize African American political representation.[123] Despite violating the 14th and 15th Amendments that guaranteed African American equal protection and voting rights, Southern leaders justified Jim Crow by citing scientific racist ideas. White supremacist political leaders argued that African Americans possessed lower intelligence and were naturally more susceptible to diseases, thereby rendering them incapable of exerting agency over important political decisions.[124] Jim Crow policies rooted in scientific racism ultimately exacerbated racial inequalities that are still observed today.

Combined with the ascendency of Social Darwinism in the late-nineteenth century, Jim Crow further brutalized African Americans based on interconnecting racist beliefs. Social Darwinists asserted that wealthy ruling elites possessed superior levels of intelligence that enabled them to govern over poorer and unintelligent underclasses based on a pseudoscientific interpretation of Charles

121 Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 140.

122 Oates, 141-142.

123 Brad Epperly et al., "Rule by Violence, Rule by Law: Lynching, Jim Crow, and the Continuing Evolution of Voter Suppression in the U.S.," *Perspectives on Politics* 18, no. 3 (September 2020): 761-762.

124 Andrea Patterson, "Germs and Jim Crow: The Impact of Microbiology on Public Health Policies in Progressive Era American South," *Journal of the History of Biology* 42, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 533.

Darwin's On the Origin of Species.[125] Southern leaders integrated Social Darwinist ideology to justify Jim Crow dehumanization. These leaders claimed that intelligent and wealthy white rulers deserved to govern based on Darwinian natural selection, thereby making them the most fit to rule over unintelligent African Americans.[126] This intersectionality of Jim Crow racism demonstrates that scientific racist ideas never truly vanish. As previous attempts to defend racial hierarchy end, new efforts emerge that refashion previous pseudoscientific theories to justify the oppression of marginalized groups. Thus, this transatlantic exchange of scientific racist ideas showcases the historical continuity of racist beliefs that unite actors across borders to uphold white supremacy into modern times.

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125 Rutledge Dennis, "Social Darwinism, Scientific Racism, and the Metaphysics of Race," *The Journal of Negro Education* 64, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 244.

126 Dennis, 247.

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The Quest for Status: China's Engagement with International Institutions in the Republican Era, 1919-1928

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Introduction

The rise of China and its integration into the international system has provoked debates on possible futures of global governance.[1] By illuminating a century of Chinese experiences with the international order, critical insights into China's growing and ever changing place within the world order can be uncovered. At the twilight of the Qing Empire, China's encounter with the West demolished its vision of a Sino-centric core and forced it to the periphery in the international order.[2] Yet the Republic of China (ROC), the modern nation state after the demise of Qing, achieved stunning accomplishments to redeem China's international status in the first half of the twentieth century.[3]

Scholars often date China's formal entry into the international society since the 1920s,[4] when China began to employ Western diplomatic tactics and became socialized into supranational institutions to conduct international relations.[5] Indeed, the 1920s marked a period of interwar internationalism, when the League of Nations(LON) and other affiliate organizations were established to embrace the spirit of "the community of nations."[6] Embedded in this context of cosmopolitan optimism, China painstakingly negotiated and pursued enhanced status in these emerging international institutions, but unfortunately with scant scholarship attention.[7] This is because Republican China in the 1920s was internally fractious, with the Beiyang Government at Beijing, regional warlord autonomy and the Guomindang at Canton, directing historians' analysis more towards domestic chaos and leading to a reductive view of China's indifference in world affairs.[8] Additionally, the negative impression of the League continued within Chinese scholarships after the failures during the Mukden Incident to deter Japan's aggression, which further dampened general interests in the study of international institutions, particularly in terms of positive assessments.[9] While for Non-Sinophone scholarships, despite a renewed re-evaluation of international organizations in the interwar era, existing studies mainly focus on issues within Europe, with limited discussion in the extra-European contexts.[10]

1 Lai-Ha, Chan, Pak K. Lee, and Gerald Chan, "Rethinking Global Governance: A China Model in the Making?" Contemporary politics 14, no. 1 (April.2008): 3–19.

2 Barry Buzan, "China in International Society: Is 'Peaceful Rise' Possible?", The Chinese Journal of International Politics, 3, no.1 (March.2010): 5–36.

3 William C, Kirby, "The Internationalization of China: Foreign Relations at Home and Abroad in the Republican Era." The China quarterly 150, no. 150 (June.1997): 433-58.

4 Buzan, "China in International Society: Is 'Peaceful Rise' Possible",9; Yongjin, Zhang, "China's Entry into International Society: Beyond the Standard of 'Civilization.'" Review of International Studies 17, no. 1 (January.1991): 3–16.

5 Yongjin, Zhang, China in the International System, 1918-20: The Middle Kingdom at the Periphery. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 196.

6 Akira, Riye, Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 21.

7 Zhenhui, Ye, "中國與國際組織關係史研究["Research on the History of China's Relations with International Organizations"] in 六十年來的中國近代史的研究 [Sixty Years of Research in Modern Chinese History] (Taipei: Zhong Yang Yan Jiu Yuan Jin Dai Dhi Yan Jiu Suo, 1990), 164.

8 James E. Sheridan, "The Warlord Era: Politics and Militarism under the Peking Government, 1916-28." Chap 6 in The Cambridge History of China Vol 12: Republican China, 1912-1949, ed.by John K, Fairbank. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 284-321.

9 Shunsuke Obiya, "Between 'Coercive League' and 'Consultative League': a reappraisal of debates surrounding the 'Reform' of the League of Nations", International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 21, 3, (Sept. 2021), 475.

10 Harumi, Gotō, League of Nations and the East Asian Imperial Order, 1920-1946 (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 2.

However, such neglect cannot mask the significance of Republican China's engagement with international institutions to acquire international status. This study attempts to fill in these gaps by arguing that Republican China's involvement in these organizations was crucial in understanding its navigation of a place in the international order. By exploring China's forum-shopping to help maneuver itself from the periphery to the core, this essay presents China as an active agent in its own story. The centrality of international recognition and sovereign equality defined China's perception and aspiration of its status in the world, which has persistent relevance till the present day. The timeframe of this study dates from 1919, when the eruption of May Fourth Movement stirs heightened nationalism in pursuit of China's international status,[11] to 1928, when Northern Expedition ended the warlord era for the ascension of the National Government at Nanjing. This study proceeds as follows. The first section shall examine public discourse towards international institutions in the 1920s, which surfaces the general expectation of China's relation with the international system. The second section shall analyze China's pursuit of political representation at the LON Council and legal recognition at Permanent Count of International Justice (PCIJ). Examining China's forum-shopping strategy in broader fields, the third section shall illustrate two institutional venues, namely, the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) and International Labor Organization (ILO), into which China ventured for international recognition and abolishment of extraterritoriality. Accordingly, the last section shall discuss the challenges of opium control at the Anti-Drug Organization when China rejected cooperation and abandoned participation in institutions for sovereign concerns.

Methodology

The study of modern Chinese history, as argued by historian Paul A. Cohen, suffers from "a high degree of Western centeredness that robs China of its autonomy and possession."[12] This study resonates with Cohen to employ a "China-centered approach"[13] by engaging with Chinese perspectives, while reserving rooms of discussions about foreign sources to gain alternative outside insights. For primary sources, analysis would be mainly drawn from ROC's public press, including The Eastern Miscellany (東方雜誌), I Che Po (益世報) and Ta Kung Pao (大公報), which are heavily influential media covering domestic and international affairs, constituting a vibrant public space for open discourse.[14] Other primary sources cover intellectuals' writings and accounts drawn from archives.

This study covers an extensive discussion of secondary sources, which include scholarly publications in People's Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan, notably, Tang Qihua's study of Beiyang government's interaction with LON, Zhang Li's account of ROC's involvement in LON, Li Jing and C.X. George Wei's examination of opium control at LON. This study also incorporates insights from Western scholars, such as Alison Adcock Kaufman's analysis of ROC at LON Council, Ryan Martínez Mitchell's accounts of China and international law, and Christopher R. Hughes's account of interwar international organizations in East Asia. Discussions also include Japanese historians such as Kawashima Shin on Beiyang government's treaty-revision diplomacy, as well as Saikawa Takashi who researched China's intellectual cooperation with the League.

Exuberant Optimism in Public Discourse

The earliest Chinese writing on the trend of international institutional development can be traced to Liang Qichao, the intellectual leader of reformist movements in modern China.[15] After his trip to Europe in 1918, Liang published a commentary championing a cosmopolitan attitude towards the international

11 Michael H Hunt, "The May Fourth Era: China's Place in the World." in Perspectives on Modern China: Four Anniversaries, ed.by Kenneth Lieberthal (Armonk: Routledge, 1991), 192–214.

12 Paul Cohen, Discovering History in China, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 151.

13 Ibid., 196.

14 Rudolf Wagner, "The Early Chinese Newspapers and the Chinese Public Sphere", European journal of East Asian studies 1, no. 1 (January.2002): 1–33.

15 Qihua, Tang, 北京政府與國際聯盟1919-1928[Beijing Government and the League of Nations 1919-1928], (Taipei: Dong Da Tu Shu Gong Si, 1998),54.

system, in which he encouraged the Chinese people to see themselves not only "as the citizen of the nation state China, but also a citizen of the world."[16] Particularly, Liang urged that China should work with the League of Nations(LON) beyond the resolution of the Shandong problem, the controversial Chinese territorial concession transferred from Germany to Japan at Paris Peace Conference in 1919, but instead towards making China "stand up confidently in the world."[17] Indeed, scholars thereafter expressed similar desires to leverage international institutions, represented by LON and its sub-committees, to improve China's international status.

From an ideational perspective, scholarly discussion endorsed the shared norms and beliefs between the agenda of international organizations and Chinese political thoughts. This argument attempted to craft an ideological fit of the nation state China to the international order, with some expectation of China returning to the "core." Notably, the impact of prevailing Wilsonian doctrine in the 1920s instilled in the general public the spirit of international doctrine and rule of law (公理、公道).[18] The hope that LON leveled the global playing field generated a hope that even a weak China could ascend to equal position as the Great Powers.[19] Some scholars also bridged the Wilsonian ideal of international peace and world government with the Chinese philosophy of Da Tong (大同), a utopian vision of the world where people live in harmony.[20] The establishment of international institutions was perceived as the embodiment of Da Tong. Indeed, according to Zheng Yuxiu(鄭毓秀), the first female judge in modern China, LON incarnated a tendance "favorable to human well-being and the da tong [great unity] of the world." [21] It can be observed thatRepublican China's interaction with the early development of internationalization was not merely a passive reception, but, through Chinese traditions, an active reception that interpreted and introduced these emerging international institutions to Republican China.

Apart from the ideational endorsement, the hopefulness poured into internationalism in this period stretched from peace and security discourse to discussions about instrumental and material advantages. This passion for global cooperation via international organizations is first reflected in writings of Sun Yat-sen, the founder of ROC. Sun advocated industrial salvation (實業救國), espousing international economic cooperation to stimulate industrial growth.[22] Similarly, historian Jiang Tingfu (蔣廷黻) supported the abandon of "economic conservativism" but promoted Chinese maneuverings within international institutions to "harvest profits."[23] Public discourse also noted the development of International Labor Organization (ILO), which were featured extensively in issue coverage[24] to introduce their social functions from which China could benefit.

Similarly, analyzing public discussion and scholarly commentaries on The Eastern Miscellany reveals this cheerful aspiration in which China made its way into international organizations. Some commentaries emphasized functional values of international organizations, which can be employed as a tool to boost China's reputation and power. Although

16 Qichao, Liang, "國際聯盟評論" [Commentary on the League of Nations] in 歐遊心影錄 [Reflection on European Journey],(Taipei: Chong Hwa Book Company, 1976), 150.

17 Qichao, Liang "論研究國際聯盟之必要"[On the Necessity of Studying the League of Nations"] in國際聯盟及其趨勢 [The League of Nations and its Trends],ed.by Pinjin Wu, National Central Library, accessed 11 December 2023.

18 Shin Kawashima ,中国近代外交的形成 [The Formation of Modern Chinese Diplomacy] trans.by Jianguo Tian, (Beijing: Beijing Da Xue Chu Ban She, 2012),330.

19 Ibid.

20 Haiyang, Zhao, "20世纪上半叶中国国际关系学的演进 ———基于长时段的知识社会学考察"[The Evolution of China's International Relations in the First Half of the 20th Century - A Sociological Examination of Knowledge Based on a Long Period of Time], The Journal of International Studies 6.(2020), 32.

21 Yuxiu, Zheng, 國際聯盟概況 [Overview of the League of Nations],(Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1926) , 1.

22 Yufa, Zhang, "帝國主義, 民族主義與國際主義在近代中國歷史上的角色" [The Role of Imperialism, Nationalism and Internationalism in Modern Chinese History] in 民族主義與中國現代化[Nationalism and China's Modernization] ed.by Qingfeng Liu,(Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1994), 99-127.

23 Tingfu Jiang, "Western Radicalism and China's Foreign Relations", The Chinese Social and Political Science Review,4, (October.1923), 68-88.

24 Weici Zhang, "國際勞工組織" [The International Labour Organization]in The Eastern Miscellany, 23, 1, (1926).

intellectuals had certain degrees of suspicion towards the efficacy of LON due to American absence,[25] public discourse remained in consensus that it was better to participate than not.[26]A general proposal published in 1919 after LON's establishment asserted that China should aim for "sovereignty and equal rights" within this platform. [27] Professor Zhou Gengsheng (周鯁生), for instance, commented that "if China can utilize LON properly, it can work to enhance China's image".[28] One of the visions to enhance "image" rested on the redeem of Chinese civilizational strength in the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation(ICIC), whereby scholar He Zuolin (何作霖) encouraged delegates to publicize Chinese intellectual tradition and achievements to "reduce the international understanding of Chinese backwardness."[29] These writings demonstrated that despite acknowledging the weakness of China's international standing, intellectuals displayed a strong cultural nationalism and conveyed this sentiment to the general public.

The Pursuit for Political and Legal Recognitions

Republican China's yearning to be a sovereign equal in the international system and practical needs to abolish unequal treaties inherited from the Qing empire constitute the core of its "treaty revision diplomacy."[30] In addition to bilateral or multilateral negotiations, League of Nations (LON) constituted one of the most important platforms[31] to achieve this goal. Scholar Alison Adcock Kaufman's research revealed two features of China's involvement in the LON. The first is reflected in LON's organizational structure, in which China fought for a nonpermanent seat at the Council.[32] The second strategy, though less successful,[33] is to have LON indirectly bolstered China's treaty-revision efforts, as seen in Chinese delegate Zhu Zhaoshen (朱兆莘)'s attempts to inscribe official support for China's multilateral negotiations in LON statement at the Sixth Assembly in 1925.[34] These two features of Chinese engagement, however, are not only limited to LON's main functioning bodies, but can also be observed in related organizations beyond the issue scope of political representation which will be examined in the following section. This section shall primarily focus on China's quest for political and legal recognition.

Amidst the Eurocentric composition of the Council, China's admission to a nonpermanent seat at the council was a significant advancement, especially for its consecutive victories in election from 1920 to 1922 and from 1926 to 1928.[35] The well-educated and Western-trained official diplomats represented by Wellington Koo (顧維均) and Alfred Sao-ke Sze (施肇基) were imperative in China's struggle to win election for Council seat. [36] Koo negotiated China's great power status by proposing an assessment based on a member's size, population, cultural richness and economic potential rather than the current material capabilities.[37] From 1920 to 1926, these delegates promoted the "geographical principle" (分州主義) which aimed to guarantee at least one Council seat to a

25 Jiayi Chen, "太平洋會議之觀察與其先決問題——中國之新使命"[Observations from the Pacific Conference and its Preceding Issues - China's New Mission] The Eastern Miscellany, 18, 18-19(1921).

26 Ibid.; Gongzhan Pan, "從世界眼光觀察二十年來之中國" [China in the Past Twenty Years from a Global Perspective] in The Eastern Miscellany,21, 1, (1924).

27 Lao Gao, "國際聯盟之成立及英日同盟之將來"[The Establishment of the League of Nations and the Future of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance] in The Eastern Miscellany, 16, 9,(1919).

28 Gengsheng Zhou, "中國的國際地位"[China's International Status]in The Eastern Miscellany,23,1, (1926).

29 Zuolin He, "國際智識界的合作運動"[International Intellectual Cooperation Campaign], in The Eastern Miscellany,23,19,(1926).

30 Tang, 北京政府與國際聯盟1919-1928[Beijing Government and the League of Nations 1919-1928], 118-20.

31 Kawashima ,中国近代外交的形成[The Formation of Modern Chinese Diplomacy] trans.by Jianguo Tian, 331-49.

32 Alison Adcock Kaufman,"In Pursuit of Equality and Respect: China's Diplomacy and the League of Nations", Modern China 40, no. 6 (Nov.2014): 605–38.

33 Kawashima ,中国近代外交的形成[The Formation of Modern Chinese Diplomacy] trans.by Jianguo Tian, 330.

34 Kaufman, "In Pursuit of Equality and Respect: China's Diplomacy and the League of Nations", 617.

35 Tang, 北京政府與國際聯盟1919-1928[Beijing Government and the League of Nations 1919-1928], 178.

36 Kaufman, "In Pursuit of Equality and Respect: China's Diplomacy and the League of Nations", 611.

37 Ibid.,623.

member outside of Europe or America.[38] This proposal helped garner other Asian and Latin American states, which proved crucial in winning a Council seat.[39] Notably, Japan sometimes advocated China's election, breaking through Western domination at the Council to elevate Asian status in service to its ideal of Pan-Asianism.[40]

Although China lost its seat from 1923 to 1925, newspaper commentary treated this failure not as a negation of China's international status, but a temporary mishap resulting from domestic political infighting among warlords.[41] It is true that while the seat allocation did not enable China to wield much influence in international politics, the symbolic meaning attested to China's aspiration to be a world power respected by sovereign equality. The fact that China still afforded the same amount of financial contribution to the LON as other powers,[42] despite certain funding difficulties,[43] demonstrated a recognition of China's self-assessed national identity.

According to scholars in the Republican era, the qualification for great power status should be first based on its legal status for "whether a state fulfill the prerequisite of national independence and sovereign autonomy."[44] Parallel to striving for political status at LON, the negotiation for legal equality is crucial and remarkable at the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ), whereby Chinese jurists proposed reforms to the international legal order in pursuit for sovereign autonomy. Established in 1922, the PCIJ was the first permanent international tribunal with general jurisdiction. [45] The birth of PCIJ cut across a critical juncture in the 1920s when the recognition of new sovereign states necessitated the adjustment of international law.[46] Meanwhile, there was a growing consensus among international lawyers and diplomats that China's international standing required modification to align with its formal sovereignty as a nation state.[47] Resonating with Koo's argument appealing for LON's procedural protection accorded to weak states threatened by civil wars and foreign encroachment, jurist Wang Chonghui (王寵惠) championed the independence of judicial review to assert sovereign rights for newly-established states.[48] Additionally, Wang personally engaged in the codification of judicial treaty revision and tariff autonomy, which serves as a crucial guidance in the Beiyang government's multilateral negotiations.[49] Subsequent development witnessed jurist Zhou Wei's efforts at the meeting of the Institut de Droit International in 1926, where he called for an official voeu to reject unilateral use of force in front of a leading body of international lawyers.[50] This advocacy would eventually be adopted as an explicit rule in the United Nations Security Council(UNSC).[51] Although the search for political and legal status at LON and PCIJ remained shallow and more symbolic in terms, it represented invaluable efforts of a nascent yet aspiring nation state China to reorient its place in the international order.

Complementary Efforts in Cultural and Social Domains

China's endeavors for greater voice and sovereign

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.,624.

40 Tang, 北京政府與國際聯盟1919-1928[Beijing Government and the League of Nations 1919-1928], 182.

41 Zhou, "中國的國際地位"[China's International Status].

42 Kawashima ,中国近代外交的形成[The Formation of Modern Chinese Diplomacy] ,330.

43 Tang, 北京政府與國際聯盟1919-1928[Beijing Government and the League of Nations 1919-1928], 224-44.

44 Shuqin Cui, "三十年來中國的國際地位"[China's International Status over the Past Three Decades] in The Eastern Miscellany,38,1,(1941).

45 "Permanent Court of International Justice", International Court of Justice, accessed December 23, 2023.

46 Huimin Zhou, 國際法在中國的詮釋與應用[The Interpretation and Application of International Law in China] (Taipei: Chengchi University Press, 2012),1.

47 Yingrong Chen, "China's Anomalous Position in International Law", Chinese Social and
Political Science Review, 7, no. 4 (Oct. 1923), 182-198.

48 Ryan Martínez Mitchell, Recentering the World: China and the Transformation of International Law (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,2023), 148.

49 Ibid.,149.

50 Institut de Droit International, Annuaire de l'Institut de Droit International, vol. 33, 1927 (Brussels: Goemare, 1927), 515, cited in Mitchell, Recentering the World: China and the Transformation of International Law, 156.

51 Ibid.

equality at the international stage extended to other institutions with dissimilar issue scopes, notably, the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) and International Labour Organization (ILO). The Chinese delegation exhibited a strategy of "forum-shopping", which is understood as the selection of institutional arenas that best suit the state's interest to build support for certain actions.[52] Republican China's activities in cultural and social domains, as this section will explore, could be seen as additional bolster to advance political and legal demands.

Established in 1922, the ICIC was a technical organization of LON aiming to facilitate international cultural understanding.[53] Chinese reception of ICIC was positive, as seen in newspaper commentaries[54] that greatly appreciated the opportunity to break the public's parochial cultural outlook for which they blamed as the source of China's backwardness.[55]

Yet the realization of the need to "learn from the West" did not imply the relinquishment of Chinese culture. In contrast, another expectation for ICIC in Beiyang government's official statement was to promote Chinese culture and elevate Chinese cultural power that could potentially bolster China's global political influence.[56] It was under this consideration that Republican China signed the Convention for the International Exchange of Official Documents, Scientific and Literary Publications in 1926[57] and printed translated versions of Siku Quanshu (四庫全書), the largest encyclopedia in Chinese history, for LON library collection.[58] This effort simultaneously tackled Chinese intellectuals' concern about distorted representation of China's international image. Lin Yutang (林語堂), the eminent philosopher and translator, for example, criticized Western geography books of denigrating Chinese culture to construct an idealized self-image.[59] According to scholar Christopher R. Hughes, such critique which exemplified intellectual discourse during that time, demonstrated a "dichotomous understanding of culture ...whereby China was strongly motivated by a sense of mission for the diffusion of Chinese culture particularly in the West."[60]

This mélange of cultural confidence and the anxiety of being despised is reflected in Republican China's assertion of its historical and cultural uniqueness at the ICIC Council. Against the diffusion of cultural internationalism came the critique against the ICIC for universalizing Western civilization, in which China and Japan were the most outspoken.[61] In the first session of the ICIC, it called for the criterion of Committee member selection based on individual accomplishment rather than nationality.[62] The ICIC's intention might be to insulate the Council from state intervention, but in 1923, Chinese delegates asked the ICIC to represent national cultures.[63] In tandem with the Chinese fight for a non-permanent seat at LON Council, Chinese delegates tried to mobilize the ICIC to grant Republican China

52 Ainsley Kellow, "Multi-level and Multi-arena Governance: the Limits of Integration and the Possibilities of Forum Shopping" International Environment Agreements 12, (Apr.2012), 327–342.

53 Saikawa Takashi, "From intellectual cooperation to international cultural exchange: Japan and China on the International Committee on International Cooperation", Asian Regional Integration Review, (Apr.2009), 83.

54 Zhi Xi,"國際知識合作委員會之新氣象" [The New Climate of the International Intellectual Cooperation Committee] in The Eastern Miscellany,21,18,(1924);You Xiong,"國際聯盟與學問藝術之國際化"[International Alliances and the Internationalization of Learning and the Arts] in The Eastern Miscellany, 22,19,(1925).

55 I Che Po, "民族與國際智識"[National and International Intelligence], May 11, 1926.

56 Li Zhang, 國際合作在中國:國際聯盟角色的考察 1919-1946[International Cooperation in China: An Examination of the Role of League of Nations 1919-1946](Taipei: Academia Sinica,1999), 37.

57 Ibid.,38.

58 Ibid.

59 Yutang Lin, "Anti-Sinoism: A Modern Disease", The People's Tribune, August 14, 1927.

60 Christopher R. Hughes, and Hatsue Shinohara, East Asians in the League of Nations: Actors, Empires and Regions in Early Global Politics (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan,2023), 110.

61 Takashi, "From intellectual cooperation to international cultural exchange: Japan and China on the International Committee on International Cooperation", 83.

62 Kaiyi Li and Huimei Zhou, "The International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation and Chinese Cultural Diplomacy during the Interwar Period", The International History Review, (Sept.2023),9.

63 Ibid.

representation at the Fourth Assembly.[64] Similar to arguments at the LON Assembly that highlighted China's spiritual achievements and civilizational longevity,[65] Chief Representative Zhu at the ICIC meeting again underscored the rich intellectual history and the temporary state of scientific retrogression.[66] Employing the same logic of campaign, the Chinese delegation reinforced its strategies to compete for representation at the ICIC and if succeeded in this venue, could considerably contribute to winning a seat at the LON Council. Although the nomination of Republican China only came to effect in 1929,[67] by questioning the cultural dynamics between the West and China, the Chinese delegation showed some progress to promote mutual respect in an attempt to establish an equal standing for China alongside the West.

Besides recognition, central to Republican China's involvement in LON and related institutional organs also lied the problem of sovereign rights, which prominently emerged in negotiation with the International Labour Organization (ILO). Earlier at the inaugural Conference in 1919, a special committee under the ILO was set up to address the issue of Chinese labor rights, in which the ILO advocated labor laws in leased territories to be implemented by foreign authorities.[68] This proposal precisely revealed the challenges faced by Republican China: as a de facto sovereign state, it did not possess the legal rights in regions with grants of extraterritoriality to foreign powers exempted from Chinese jurisdiction. A commentary on labor issue published by Ta Kong Pao captured this situation by the observation that "the exploitation of Chinese labor is primarily found in urban centers, where many factories are located within foreign concessions or owned by foreigners." [69] It further argued that "the Chinese labor movement is intertwined with the anti-imperialist movement." [70]

Certainly, the nationalistic acme in May Fourth Movement burst with lingering effects in the 1920s. Apart from student movements, workers formed another integral social group and resorted to strikes for patriotic causes.[71] The coincidence of labor rights and nationalistic struggle culminated in the 1925 May Thirtieth Incident, whereby British officers shot Chinese workers protesting for higher wages and better working conditions at a Japanese textile mill in Shanghai's British settlement.[72] The event sparked full-scale protests by workers, demanding for the abolishment of mixed courts, extraterritorial rights and for the protection of labor unions.[73] In 1927, Republican China sent a delegation consisting of representatives from labor, government and industry to ILO meetings. Their hope was not only to "ameliorate workers' disappointed dreams", [74] but also leverage ILO as a platform to aid in the negotiation against extraterritorialities. In this institutional context, Republican China sought to incorporate the issue of Chinese labor rights into the question of national sovereignty, which stressed the role of the nation-state to ensure social justice. However, the actual conference merely brought a verbal clash between delegate Zhu and Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, the then President of ILO, when debating China's labor issues. As Zhu mentioned the harm caused by unequal treaties, Sir Atul requested to steer clear of political matters, but Zhu insisted that China's labor issues were indeed

64 Ibid., 923.

65 Kaufman, "In Pursuit of Equality and Respect: China's Diplomacy and the League of Nations", 626.

66 Li and Zhou, "The International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation and Chinese Cultural Diplomacy during the Interwar Period",5.

67 Ibid.

68 International Labor Organization China Office,國際勞工組織與中國[International Labour Organization and China],(Shanghai: International Labor Organization China Office, 1948), 105-07.

69 Ta Kung Pao, "國際保工事業與中國"[International Labor Protection and China] November 19, 1928.

70 Ibid.

71 Hunt, "The May Fourth Era: China's Place in the World." 180.

72 Limin Teh, "The International Labour Organisation and the Labour Question in Republican China, 1919-1938", in The Internationalisation of the Labour Question, ed.by Stefano Bellucci and Holger Weiss(Cham, Switzerland : Palgrave Macmillan,2020), 285.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid., 291.

political issues.[75] Moreover, Zhu attacked Sir Atul for betraying India which was equally oppressed under the colonial rule for personal endowment with a British title, propped up as a puppet by others.[76]

While ILO meetings brought little real impact on the status of extraterritorialities, Albert Thomas 's visit to China in 1928 ignited new hopes. At a mass assembly in Shanghai, Thomas expressed his concern with workers' suffering as a result of unequal treaties.[77] Additionally, he pledged to do his utmost to ensure the success of implementing Chinese labor laws in foreign concessions, as promised at the first ILO conference.[78] Nonetheless, even after the Nanjing government took over Beiyang, negotiations of extraterritoriality still impeded Chinese delegation's struggle to effectuate Chinese industrial inspection and labour regulation in foreign concessions.[79] This failure could be attributed to the lack of a solid industrial development plan and corruption within the government that exploited its own workers.[80] Despite this, the ILO was a crucial venue in which Republican China tried to legitimize the state as the ultimate sovereign to govern labor protection over foreign states' and capitalists' extraterritorial rights.

The cases of the ICIC and the ILO demonstrated two institutional complements for Republican China to acquire international recognition and rectify unequal treaties, though with limited efficacy. However, at some junctures, China's concern to uphold sovereign rights turned into a preoccupation at odds with demands from international institutions, steering it away from active participation. The refusal to cooperate, or the relinquishment of institutional venue, highlighted a rather realistic aspect of Republican China's strategies in international organizations. The next section will illustrate this façade with a particular focus on the issue of opium control.

Dilemma in Opium Control

Following the First Opium War between imperial Qing and the British empire, opium epitomized China's humiliation in confrontation with its long-despised foreign and defined the moment when it was forced into the modern world after a shattered Sino-centric illusion. Besides instigating a sentiment of victimhood under foreign domination, opium shaped China's international image, or arguably its self-interpreted image in the eyes of others. On this account, in many Chinese views, opium also marked the watershed of modernity: abstinence from opium was associated with intellectual discipline and civilisational progress, while addiction equated with racial backwardness and cultural decadence.[81] Although the opium issue improved during late-Qing reforms, opium trade regained momentum from which regional warlords in the 1920s profited as a source of revenue.[82] Accordingly, regulating opium consumption was a serious challenge for Republican China, which was concomitantly administered as a key developmental issue in international institutions.

An auxiliary organ of LON, the Anti-Drug Organisation was established in responding to growing international concern with international drug trade,[83] with the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs (ACTOOD) and the Permanent Central Opium Board specialized in opium control in 1923. Republican China's participation in these committees represented another type of engagement with international institutions—assuming responsibilities in addition to enjoying membership rights. On the one hand, China was eager

75 Ta Kung Pao, "國際包保工大會與中國：會長與朱兆莘之衝突"[The International Underwriters' Federation and China: The Conflict between the President and Zhu Zhaoxin],October 7, 1927.

76 Ibid.

77 Ta Kung Pao, "杜瑪訪問記"[Thomas 's Visit], November 22, 1928.

78 Ibid.

79 Zhang, 國際合作在中國:國際聯盟角色的考察 1919-1946[International Cooperation in China: An Examination of the Role of League of Nations 1919-1946], 277.

80 Ibid.,299.

81 Alan Baumler, "Citizenship, the Nation and the Race: China and the International Opium System, 1912–1931", Frontiers of History in China 13, 3, (Sept.2018), 350.

82 Zhang, 國際合作在中國:國際聯盟角色的考察 1919-1946[International Cooperation in China: An Examination of the Role of League of Nations 1919-1946], 206.

83 Jing Li and C.X. George Wei, "The 'New Opium War' of Republican China under the League of Nations: Distrust and Contention between the Chinese Government and the League", Asian Culture, Diplomacy and Foreign Relations, 13, 1 (Jan.2022), 237-66.

for international cooperation and strived to be accepted as a sovereign state free of foreign intervention. On the other hand, China struggled to dispel its deep distrust of foreign powers[84] due to historical trauma and lacked de facto sovereign authority to control opium-rampant provinces due to internal fragmentation. This paradox captures the dilemma faced by Republican China regarding international opium regulation. It can be equally reflected in Chinese delegate Tang Zaifu (唐在復)'s argument at the first annual session of the ACTOOD, in which he defended criticism against China for the opium trade was mainly brought by foreign dealers to China and the uncontrollable warlords who hindered drug prohibition.[85]

Central to this dilemma is China's contest over sovereignty vis-à-vis its perceived foreign tutelage. Under international pressure, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Beiyang government sent a telegram to provincial warlords, alerting them that "foreign states may blame us and bring troubles to us" if drug regulations failed to be implemented.[86] However, because of Republican China's political disorganization, the Beiyang government failed to generate statistics on the state of the opium trade.[87] The Anti-Drug Organization then employed a non-governmental organization, the International Anti-Opium Association (IAOA), to inspect China's opium deal, yet they were met with suspicion by the Chinese side which attacked it as an accomplice of imperialism.[88] Delegate Sze argued that reports generated by IAOA were unreliable as they are based on partisan Chinese newspapers and other dubious sources.[89] The most contentious aspect of opium inspection was the proposal by French commissioner Brenier and British commissioner Sir John Jordan to invite foreign assessors in direct negotiation with regional military governors.[90] Delegate Zhu vehemently opposed foreign inspection in subsequent sessions at ACTOOD in 1923,[91] as well as any attempts inviting foreign representatives in the investigation of China's opium situation.[92] At the sixth ACTOOD session in August 1924, delegate Zhu also raised the issue of extraterritoriality and argued that foreigners shielded under extraterritoriality obstructed the Chinese government's legal rights to enforce regulation of drug deals. [93]He blamed foreign states which should first address the drug traffic in their controlled settlements in China before any inspection. These protests at international stage, along with domestic nationalist uprising in the wake of May Fourth's rippling effect, illustrated Republican China's assertion of its sovereign status. Yet ironically, it simultaneously evoked the question of who could then speak authoritatively of and for China since the Beiyang government had been incapable of doing so.

Republican China resisted intervention from the outside while lacking control within its own territory. The essence of this quandary laid its sensitivity to and obsession with sovereignty. This uneasiness to accommodate both the need to facilitate international cooperation on drug control and defense for sovereign issues gained momentum in 1925, when the US exited from the Geneva Opium Convention, for its proposal to ban opium production would undermine profits garnered by its rivalrous powers such as and France in Indo-China.[94] Republican China aligned with the US on the issue of opium; losing support from the US, China subsequently withdrew from the Convention after disagreement over the terms of drug regulation.[95] Republican China's withdrawal manifested its

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

86 "Hygiene," Neiwu gongbao (The Interior Bulletin) 100 (1922), 9–10,ibid.

87 Baumler, "Citizenship, the Nation and the Race: China and the International Opium System, 1912–1931", 335.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid., 338-39.

90 Zhang, 國際合作在中國:國際聯盟角色的考察 1919-1946[International Cooperation in China: An Examination of the Role of League of Nations 1919-1946],205.

91 Ibid.

92 Li and Wei, "The 'New Opium War' of Republican China under the League of Nations: Distrust and Contention between the Chinese Government and the League",255.

93 Zhang, 國際合作在中國:國際聯盟角色的考察 1919-1946[International Cooperation in China: An Examination of the Role of League of Nations 1919-1946],216.

94 Ibid.

95 Tang, 北京政府與國際聯盟1919-1928[Beijing Government and the League of Nations 1919-1928], 315.

challenge to international institutions, overriding its international commitment with concerns about national sovereignty. These responses from Republican China revealed a paradox. While it pinned hopes for sovereign redemption in international institutions, it did not fully entrust them as independent agencies from great power. In fact, the opium issue showed the realistic aspect belied by general optimism, even at moments a resolution to non-participation.

Conclusion

For Republican China, the 1920s was a period when blossoming internationalism cut cross brewing nationalism. This study shows that in contrast to the conventional representation of ROC as a still and silenced new-born at the periphery of the international system, it dynamically strategized to regain recognition as part of the core. Through different institutional venues, Republican China fought for both symbolic representation and substantive rights. This study begins by sketching Chinese intellectual discussion and public opinions about the prospects to join in international organizations, followed by an examination of Chinese efforts at LON Council and PCIJ to argue for political and legal recognition. These demands have been equally transmitted to other institutions as represented by ICIC and ILO, with the opium control as a negative response ended up in withdrawal, exemplifying emergent tactics of forum-shopping, a term in International Relations used loosely in this study but can potentially capture Chinese way of navigation through different institutional realms. Surely, these initial efforts may be deemed innocuous to shake the system, yet it at least manifested a burning ambition that would sustain the entire ROC period, and eventually exploded to the contemporary debate of if the rising China would topple over the world order. The ideological centrism of sovereignty, which defined China's self-identity and its relation with the outside world, persisted through the regime transition from ROC to the present PRC and continued to shape Chinese foreign policy priority and power aspiration at the international arena.

By analyzing the history of Republican China in international organizations, this study can meaningfully contribute to the diplomatic history of Republican China and more broadly, twentieth century internationalism in a non-Western context. Yet restrained to the Beiyang government, this study reveals avenues for further research on Guomindang's revolutionary diplomacy in the same era and the later Nanjing government's evolving status in relevant international institutions, which can help develop a fuller trajectory of modern China in international cooperation.

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Early Insecurities of John Adams: The Role of his Quest to Become a 'Great Man' in Contemporary Perceptions of his Life and Presidency

Simon Rosenbaum, Vanderbilt

Much of our understanding of John Adams is based on a subconscious comparison to his predecessor George Washington, a towering and objectively quite competent and effective President in American history. In light of that, John Adams is known to be many things: a founding father, a core promoter of federalism in the early United States, a President who was mediocre at best. His legacy has been analyzed by countless historians and students of history, as well as various leaders of social movements, to understand why such an influential man who was rather progressive for his time is viewed as such a subpar commander in chief. Much of this misconception, or at least skewed perception, derives from the fact that Adams, contrary to almost every other Founding Father and early president, wrote candidly about his thoughts and feelings in his writings. Washington, in contrast, carefully curated his personal writings with the knowledge that historians would someday reconstruct the historical record and judge his presidency based off of the image that he portrayed. Adams intimately discussed his insecurities, indecision in regards to early crises in foreign affairs and domestic policy, and personal issues that allowed contemporary historians to judge him more harshly compared to chronologically tangent chief executives. A particular focus of Adams' was his desire to become a "great man" and live a large life, something that took on many forms. John Adams was historically perceived as lacking because he was an unpleasant and insecure individual, his writings were honest and not tailored to future historians, and the publication of Warren's History shaped negative contemporary perceptions of his role in the early United States.

The Adams papers, from colonial times to his post-presidency, paint a picture of a man riddled with contradictions and insecurity. It is possible to write a brief history of Adams's personal inhibitions by reconstructing the choices he made from his papers and other primary sourcework. Focusing on his correspondences between his young adulthood and the years of his post-presidency (up until 1808), as well as the letters of Abigail Adams to Mercy Otis Warren and Adams's responses to Massachusettensis[1], a thorough analysis of the historical narrative almost constructs itself insomuch as the actions of Adams as President and statesman are informed by his personal insecurities. Particularly, the Embargo Act and Adams's struggles with the Democratic-Republicans in Congress hold value for a nuanced understanding of Adams as a man and President. Understanding Adams as his own man helps to overcome the impossibly high expectations that Washington set for his successor in the minds of historians. It is important to note that Adams was the only President ever officially from the Federalist Party,[2] and that he had to overcome constant political challenges from the more agrarian and libertarian Democratic-Republicans during his administration. With this in mind, Adams objectively accomplished a remarkable amount during his time in office. He had no major personal scandals, in opposition to his successor Thomas Jefferson, yet the fact that Adams was insecure and wanted to be a "great man" appears as a clear source of many rash and abrasive actions taken by Adams before, during, and after his presidency.

1 Massachusettensis was a pseudonym used by a Loyalist writer in Massachusetts between 1774 and 1775, likely Adams's friend Daniel Leonard, with whom Adams publicly argued over the time frame in newspaper editorials.

2 George Washington was often associated with the Federalist Party, but was officially an independent and disputed correlations of himself with the Party. After the Adams presidency, the Federalist Party never won another presidential election until its last candidate ran in 1816, and the United States transitioned to the Second Party System, dominated by the Democratic and Whig parties.

Adams's Insecurities Through His Early Political Ideology

In evaluating the presidency of John Adams, it is imperative to examine his early years as a young adult and law student in Massachusetts around the time of the French-Indian War.[3] A letter from Adams to his uncle and Congregationalist pastor Nathan Webb on October 12th, 1755 provides an illuminating window into the thoughts and ideological devotions of a young John Adams, prior to his political and electoral successes, showing evidence of an obsessive "great man" complex. This analysis aims to understand Adams's early years in order to better understand where exactly his insecurities about his success and life trajectory originated and how they impacted his eventual presidency. As such, this source is clearly foundational to understanding why Adams acted the way that he did in regards to the Alien and Sedition Acts and the Embargo Act, and in handling the turbulent nature of the first divided government in American history, with the Democratic-Republicans controlling Congress.

Background information on the Adams presidency as well as the extended era of the 18th and early 19th centuries in American history is well-documented, and this niche in the historical record is no exception. In understanding John Adams, it is important to first acknowledge a few key facts about his presidency: he was the only of the Founding Father Presidents not to claim ownership of any enslaved persons and one of the only early Presidents to be from New England. Various instances of Adams's deference to Jefferson and Washington can be attributed to his Massachusetts residency, such as the creditting of the Declaration of Independence to Jefferson. Even so, he rose from a revolutionary figure to becoming the first Vice President of the United States under the Constitution, and eventually succeeded George Washington as the second President of the United States. Before all of that, however, one must start at the beginning.

John Adams was born in 1735 in Braintree, Massachusetts. His childhood was privileged, and he began to speak and write of his desire to be a "great man;" Adams expressed insecurities about his ambition, success, and path in life throughout his writings, as well as expressing a desire to aspire to greater things.[4] By the time that Adams was nineteen in 1754, the French-Indian War had started in North America, serving between 1754 and 1763 as the North American theater of the Seven Years War, a global war between the French and English colonial empires. Adams never served in the British army, despite his frequent writings expressing how he saw joining the armed forces as a way to aspire to greater things in life.

The letter from Adams to Nathan Webb discusses a myriad of topics which can be explored from an immediate context perspective to allow the historian to better understand what was happening around Adams with regards to the points that he makes in the letter. The first major point that he addresses to Webb addressed how America was founded as the Puritan colonization of the New World: he writes, "Soon after the Reformation a few people came over into this new world for Concience sake. Perhaps this (apparently) trivial incident, may transfer the great seat of Empire into America."[5] Adams makes clear that the source of American power and potential at the dawn of the independence movement were rooted in the migration of the Puritans to the New World, and as such, America's strength is partially rooted in the power of the puritanical movement. He expands on this strength by identifying colonial unification as a fundamental premise of American strength. When Adams writes that, "the only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves, is to disunite Us. Divide et impera,"[6] he is clearly saying that Americanism as a concept strengthens America over state-based identities. He continues by saying, "Keep us in distinct Colonies, and then, some great men, in each Colony, desiring the Monarchy of the Whole, they will destroy each others influence and keep the Country in Equilibrio."[7] This appears to be an early argument by

3 Francis Newton Thorpe. "The Political Ideas of John Adams." The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 44, no. 1 (1920): 1–46.

4 Andy Trees. "John Adams and the Problem of Virtue." Journal of the Early Republic 21, no. 3 (2001): 393–412.

5 John Adams, "Diary of John Adams," (University of Virginia Press, 1755).

6 Ibid.

7 John Adams, "Diary of John Adams," (University of Virginia Press, 1755).

Adams for federalism and a strong federal government, establishing a core ideological tenet of Adams's political philosophy. He argues against the future idea of a weak federal government and confederation, saying that the principal flaw in American strength is the disunity of the colonies.[8]

Turning toward the wider context of the letter, the three major concepts and events affecting the positions taken and statements made in Adams's letter to Webb are the Reformation, the Enlightenment period, and the French-Indian War. The Reformation was the emergence of Protestantism and the split of Protestant faiths from the Roman Catholic Church, spanning from 1517 to 1648, ending about one hundred years before Adams authored this letter. The development of the Church of England directly correlates with the rise of Puritanism, as the Puritans and Lutherans believed that the Anglicans did not take the ideas of Martin Luther far enough, and failed to focus on the aspects of Protestantism that they felt made one most pious. The Puritans made up many of the early settlers of New England, and moderating factions in the colonies led to the emergence of Congregationalist churches, such as the one that Webb preached from. Reiterating what Adams said in his letter, the Puritan settlers "came over into this new world for Concience sake. Perhaps this (apparently) trivial incident, may transfer the great seat of Empire into America."[9] This aspect of Adams's beliefs therefore relates closely to broader macroreligious trends that preceded the final decades of British colonialism in the New World.

The second pertinent aspect of the wider context of this letter is the impact of the Enlightenment period and the philosophes on social and political trends in the 18th century. The Enlightenment started in 1685 and ended in 1815, sparked by the Scientific Revolution as well as the philosophical works of John Locke and Rene Descartes, eventually leading to the American and French Revolutions.[10] The letter, written in 1755, obviously preceded the American Revolution as well as the French, but it was also solidly in the middle of a major social and philosophical shift in the Western world. The aspect of Adams's letter discussing the need for a strong, centralized government devoid of monarchy correlates with the writings of Locke, Rousseau, and Montesquieu, particularly when Adams writes that, "some great men, in each Colony, desiring the Monarchy of the Whole, they will destroy each others influence and keep the Country in Equilibrio."[11] Here, Adams discusses the idea that any man can become a "great man," to use Adams's recurring theme, and that a federal government must be kept balanced with no excessive power placed in the hands of one man without a system of checks and balances in place.[12] The rudimentary ideas of Adams's twenties of course were sophisticated and refined later in his life, but his early revolutionary ideas were heavily influenced by these philosophes of the Enlightenment period.[13] As the American colonies began to feel heightened tensions with imperial Britain, the political theory of the patriot cause is crucial to a nuanced understanding of both the eventual Revolution and the American involvement in the Seven Years War.

The final relevant aspect of the wider context of this source is the French-Indian War. The War began in 1754 and continued on until 1763, serving as the North American theater of the Seven Years War between the French and British colonial empires, as well as the first war to engulf the majority of the Western World.[14] Anecdotally, this theater opened after a conflict between a young George Washington and allies of the Iroquois Confederacy in the Ohio River Valley in early 1754, sparking direct confrontation between the two parties and the Iroquois-allied French.[15] As they fought the French

8 Francis Newton Thorpe. "The Political Ideas of John Adams." The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 44, no. 1 (1920): 1–46.

9 John Adams, "Diary of John Adams," (University of Virginia Press, 1755).

10 Nathalie Caron and Naomi Wulf. "American Enlightenments: Continuity and Renewal." The Journal of American History 99, no. 4 (2013): 1072–91.

11 John Adams, "Diary of John Adams," (University of Virginia Press, 1755).

12 Andy Trees. "John Adams and the Problem of Virtue." Journal of the Early Republic 21, no. 3 (2001): 393–412.

13 Francis Newton Thorpe. "The Political Ideas of John Adams." The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 44, no. 1 (1920): 1–46.

14 Colby Kelly. "Remembering the French and Indian War." History News 60, no. 1 (2005): 22–25.

15 Robert Arthur. "Prologue to the French and Indian War." The Military Engineer 49, no. 331 (1957): 338–40.

and allied indigenous forces across the future United States and Canada, this war trained many of the future American revolutionaries and Founding Fathers in the British Army, with the notable exception of John Adams. This once again highlighted a significant early insecurity of Adams, in that he thought he was not living up to his full potential by participating in the conflict, instead he was removed to his home in Massachusetts and eventually began studying law in 1756.[16] Whether or not Adams did prove himself a "great man," he had a persistent insecurity and fear of underperformance that shines through in his dislike of the so-called Gallicks, as mentioned in the text when he writes: "For if we can remove the turbulent Gallicks, our People according to the exactest Computations, will in another Century, become more numerous than England itself."[17] Alongside the other colonists, he aligned with the British in the French-Indian War, giving early credence to his later preference for trade with the British during his presidency, as opposed to the Jeffersonian tendency of the Democratic-Republicans to strengthen ties with the French.

=he letter Adams wrote as a young, twenty-year old future attorney in Massachusetts to Nathan Webb at the dawn of the French-Indian War is a detailed exploration of Adams's early thoughts on a variety of issues that would define his eventual presidency decades after the Revolution. Far more interesting than historical perceptions of Adams based on his literary vulnerability is an exploration of his insecurities and his pervasive desire and ultimate need to become what he thought of as a "great man," a theme that was ubiquitous throughout his life and writings.

Decades later, when Adams had risen in law and politics to become a leader of the patriot cause pushing for American independence from the British, he echoed the statements he granted Webb in 1755 in a statement to the residents of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on February 20th, 1775. At this point, Adams had risen to become a delegate of Massachusetts to the Continental Congress, and revolution was on the horizon. However, Adams refused to categorize his calls for independence as revolution, believing that, "Opposition, nay open, avowed resistance by arms, against usurpation and lawless violence, is not rebellion by the law of God, or the land."[18] This call rings eerily similar to the eventual Declaration of Independence authored by Thomas Jefferson a year later in 1776, in which it was written, "whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government."[19] The statement Adams wrote to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1775 is in and of itself a core primary source for understanding the presidency and insecurities of John Adams and a pivotal moment in his quest to become a "great man."

In February 1775, the British Parliament declared the Massachusetts Bay Colony to be in a state of rebellion following the first shots being fired at Lexington and Concord.[20] This was the unofficial beginning of the American Revolution prior to the authorship of the Declaration of Independence, with Adams at the center of the action as violence erupted in Massachusetts and Boston came under siege. To explain the justifications for the actions of the patriots, he wrote to the citizens of the colony that agents of the Crown had made unpopular and borderline corrupt actions in abuse of their office, that "Many persons have thought that the province ought to have dismiss'd all agents from that time, as useless and nugatory, this behaviour amounting to a declaration, that we had no chance or hopes of justice from such a minister."[21] Adams had refined his thoughts on democratic-republicanism at this point, no longer blaming the French for the failure of the state to serve the people and instead placing the indifference of the British towards the issues of the American colonies as

16 Andy Trees. "John Adams and the Problem of Virtue." Journal of the Early Republic 21, no. 3 (2001): 393–412.

17 John Adams, "Diary of John Adams," (University of Virginia Press, 1755).

18 John Adams, "To the Inhabitants of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, 20 February 1775," (University of Virginia Press, 1775).

19 Thomas Jefferson, "The Declaration of Independence," (1776).

20 Robert E. McGlone, "Deciphering Memory: John Adams and the Authorship of the Declaration of Independence," The Journal of American History (Bloomington, Ind.) 85, no. 2 (1998): 426.

21 John Adams, "To the Inhabitants of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, 20 February 1775," (University of Virginia Press, 1775).

the source of the poor governance of the Americans. Months prior, a patriot mob had forced numerous officials out of Boston to protest the enforcement of import taxes that effectively ended the cost-saving sale of black market goods in the colonies. Here, Adams's thoughts on the "great man" once again play into his political philosophy: he writes that "the service of the public ought to be an honorary, rather than a lucrative employment; and that the great men ought to be obliged to set examples of simplicity and frugality before the people."[22] While this idea may seem simple today, the premise that leaders exist to serve the people was relatively foreign in an age of monarchs and warlords commanding almost all the nations of the Western world. Earlier political theory of Adams had been informed by the French-Indian War, a British victory which had been over for more than a decade by the time of the Battles of Lexington and Concord.

With the collapse of much of the French colonial empire after the conclusion of the Seven Years War, the new world power of Great Britain had solidified into what historians have since called the First British Empire.[23] As such, Britain had begun to turn more attention to exploiting the material and economic resources of its colonies, particularly the fourteen in North America. Important pieces of legislative context for the rising of tensions in the Massachusetts Bay Colony include the Stamp Act of 1765, the Townshend Duties, and the Tea Act of 1773, with the core issue surrounding these acts of Parliament being whether the British Parliament had the right to enact new tax codes on the American colonists, given that the Americans were not in fact represented in Congress. These two taxation acts are in fact the original source of the phrase 'no taxation without representation;' in fact, the phrase was initially "Taxation without representation is tyranny,"[24] which became a popular political slogan of the patriot cause. These acts of taxation caused civil upheaval over the course of the eight year period.

The final straw of British taxation of the colonies came in the fittingly ironic shape of the taxation of tea imports to the colonies with the Tea Act of 1773. The taxation of tea increased prices of the most popular drink of the American colonists, both increasing the American consumption of coffee and resulting in the now famous Boston Tea Party, with disguised colonists dumping loads of British tea into the Boston harbor under the cover of night.[25] The Continental Congress formed in 1774, and by 1775 Adams found himself at the center of the burgeoning American Revolution.

Of course, it makes sense that Adams wrote regarding the Governor's request for a military force for the government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in February 1775, that it was intended, "To enable it to enforce Stamp acts, Tea acts, and other internal regulations, the authority of which, the people were determined never to acknowledge."[26] The patriots came down strongly against the British taxation of the American colonies, and it was this that sparked violent resistance and the eventual 1776 Declaration of Independence. Adams continued on to criticize British officials in Boston, that they procured "troops to cut our throats, acts of parliament to drain our purses [and] destroy our charters and assemblies," in order to better represent the interests of the Crown and Great Britain over those of the colonists. He alleged corruption among said officials, in that they were "getting estates and dignities for themselves and their own families, and all the while most devoutly professing to be friends to our charter, enemies to parliamentary taxation, and to all pensions, without being detected."[27] This once again rings familiarly of Adams's idealistic vision of the "great man" and leader who serves for the sake of service for the benefit of the public, and of his idea that leaders should not be enriched at the expense of the people.

An Unsung and Disliked Statesman

In the scholarly article by Brooke Allen, "John

22 Ibid.

23 Peter Marshall. "The British Empire and the American Revolution." Huntington Library Quarterly 27, no. 2 (1964): 143.

24 John A. Schutz. "Representation, Taxation, and Tyranny in Revolutionary Massachusetts." Pacific Historical Review 43, no. 2 (1974): 151.

25 Frederick D. Stone "How the Landing of Tea Was Opposed in Philadelphia by Colonel William Bradford and Others in 1773." The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 15, no. 4 (1891): 385.

26 John Adams, "To the Inhabitants of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, 20 February 1775," (University of Virginia Press, 1775).

27 Ibid.

Adams: Realist of the Revolution," it is clear that scholars of the life and times of Adams such as Allen have a clear-cut perception of Adams as a realist, pragmatist, and stubborn man who never captured the imagination of the fledgling republic in the same way that Washington or Jefferson were able to. Allen utilized significant primary material in her construction of Adams's narrative, notably a series of speeches he made surrounding the Constitutional Convention and correspondences sent by Jefferson to unpack his impression of Adams. In comparing Adams, Jefferson, and Washington as the architects of the modern American governmental system, it is crucial to examine their timely writings to understand their political theory and personal traits. While all three men had disparate styles of leadership, Adams was the only one of the first three Presidents to be a more practical administrator rather than a sort of patriotic visionary for what America could and should be. Allen went further to study the dichotomy of the worldviews of Adams and Jefferson, stating that, "Adams looked to the bad old world, Jefferson to the glorious future, and it goes without saying that the Jeffersonian message was much more attractive."[28] It was not that Adams was some sort of pessimist in his political thought or ideology, moreso that his view of American governance was more technocratic than idealistic, which translated into a lower stature of mythos in contemporary americana.

Bruce Miroff's article, "John Adams's Classical Conception of the Executive," focuses on a similar yet more abstract view of Adams's school of political thought: his vision of the American presidency. Miroff notes that, "While contemporary students of the presidency generally ignore or deride John Adams,"[29] his usage and construction of the presidency is in fact relevant. Similar to Allen's comparison of Adams's caretaker role relative to Jefferson's visionary status, Miroff argues that unlike the more populist Jefferson, Adams "worried about [the American people's] propensity to rush to political extremes."[30] As such, his views of the aristocracy having a role in the governing of the United States and his general "fearful view of the American people"[31] were solidly out-of-line with the populist and agrarian[32] tendencies of the burgeoning republic. As such, Adams was relatively unpopular compared to his contemporaries, a fact often taken out of context in historical analysis of his presidency and career.

The contributions of Adams to both domestic statesmanship and to standards of contemporary international diplomacy stand in contrast to his perceived failings. It is clear that a key differentiator between Adams and his contemporaries is that Adams was "admired and respected rather than loved."[33] Adams was unparalleled in the quality of his statesmanship with the possible exceptions of Franklin and Jefferson, yet his presidency is met with disdain by many a historical retrospective. Much of the fault of Adams lies in his grating personality; Thorpe argues that, "Had Adams possessed the tact of Abraham Lincoln, the two statesmen would be considered by the world as more alike than any other two in American history."[34] Whether or not this would be the case is immaterial: it is clear to say that Adams was disliked in large part because he was a difficult man to like, rather than because of any outstanding flaw in his administration or political theory that rises above that of his contemporaries. To expand on Allen's idea of the early American Presidents defining the character and global image of America, Adams, regardless of

28 Brooke Allen, "John Adams: Realist of the Revolution," The Hudson Review (New York: Hudson Review, Inc, 2002): 46.

29 Bruce Miroff. "John Adams's Classical Conception of the Executive." Presidential Studies Quarterly 17, no. 2 (1987): 365.

30 Bruce Miroff. "John Adams's Classical Conception of the Executive." Presidential Studies Quarterly 17, no. 2 (1987): 368.

31 Ibid.

32 Agrarianism was the early American ideal of the political power of the United States resting in the hands of rural communities and regions of the country. An early debate in the drafting of the Constitution, as well in later chapters of the history of the United State,s was whether the centers of political and economic power should be centralized in a metropolitan, British-style system or in the hands of the dispersed then-majority of rural America.

33 Francis Newton Thorpe. "The Political Ideas of John Adams." The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 44, no. 1 (1920): 3.

34 Francis Newton Thorpe. "The Political Ideas of John Adams." The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 44, no. 1 (1920): 9.

his accomplishments in statecraft, did not contribute positively in this regard.

This idea that the different visions of America, embodied by early Presidents, inform the current perception of the early United States should be clarified in regards to Jefferson, as "he was widely dismissed [for much of the nineteenth century] as an impractical idealist whose vision of a nation of small farmers was irrelevant to an age of industrialization and urban growth."[35] This all changed when the Progressive Era and the agrarian movements began to reshape the narrative of Jefferson as a sort of 1800s liberal icon with a grand vision for America. Adams's and Hamilton's metropolitan vision for the United States was inherently anti-agrarian and thus negatively perceived by the Progressives.[36] In fact, Greenstein among others equates this almost aspirationally British dream of America to Adams's being "stubbornly impolitic and ha[ving] no general policy vision apart from his desire to avoid war and arrive at an honorable peace with France."[37] While this may be a slight oversimplification of the ideological conflict, it is clear that Jefferson in comparison had a more clean cut and easily digestible vision for what America could and should be. A key moment in deciphering what Adams in fact dreamed of for America, if anything, was his role in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence.

So much of the recorded history of the relationship between Jefferson and Adams is devoted to their differing visions of what America could and should be at the end of the 18th century and into the future. With that in mind, a key aspect of their fraught relationship developed when the two pivotal founding fathers were "a 'sub-committee' appointed to prepare a draft"[38] of the Declaration of Independence. The history of this portion of Adams's life and his relationship with Jefferson has been thoroughly explored by contemporary historians, with an added emphasis on how Adams was minimized in much of the historical retelling of how the crucial document of the Revolution was drafted. In the years after the American Revolution, the relationship between Adams and Jefferson frayed to the point where they no longer spoke to each other, and Jefferson later recounted that he alone had been tasked with the solitary task of drafting the Declaration of Independence.[39] The clear snub of Adams's work on the momentous text undermines Adams's impact on the development of the budding republic, and could very well have impacted his personal view of his individual impact, particularly as he strove for a historic personal greatness. In a letter from Adams to former Congressman and Secretary of State Timothy Pickering on August 6, 1822, Adams paraphrases a crucial dialogue explaining why Jefferson was the credited author of the Declaration of Independence.[40] First and foremost, Adams recognized that the Declaration would be better received originating from a Virginian rather than a politician from Massachusetts.[41] Additionally, as he writes, "I am obnoxious, suspected, and unpopular. You [referring to Jefferson] are very much otherwise."[42] As such, Adams's memory of the time drafting the Declaration in retrospect portrayed his role as almost as a literary martyr; Adams saw himself as giving up the glory of authoring the Declaration of Independence because he believed the document would be better received by the American populace coming from the pen of Jefferson.

Much of the historical analysis of the early

35 Fred I. Greenstein, "Presidential Difference in the Early Republic: The Highly Disparate Leadership Styles of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson," Presidential Studies Quarterly 36, no. 3 (2006): 380.

36 The Progressives were the political movement and eventual major third party organization that promoted a reform-minded agrarian political agenda. The Progressive Era was in turn a period of American history that correlated with the rise and eventual partisan absorption of the Progressives, between the 1890s and the 1920s.

37 Fred I. Greenstein, "Presidential Difference in the Early Republic: The Highly Disparate Leadership Styles of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson," Presidential Studies Quarterly 36, no. 3 (2006): 387.

38 Robert E. McGlone, "Deciphering Memory: John Adams and the Authorship of the Declaration of Independence," The Journal of American History (Bloomington, Ind.) 85, no. 2 (1998): 411.

39 Ibid.

40 John Adams. "From John Adams to Timothy Pickering, 6 August 1822," Founders Online, National Archives (1822).

41 Ibid.

42 Robert E. McGlone, "Deciphering Memory: John Adams and the Authorship of the Declaration of Independence," The Journal of American History (Bloomington, Ind.) 85, no. 2 (1998): 413.

United States and the Adams presidency is in fact defined by a minimization of Adams's impact and of the presidency as a whole in the broader context of American history. Adams's history as a less mythological character in comparison to Washington or Jefferson is often unpacked without care taken to understand the actual social and political impact of his singular term in office. Thompson argues that, in fact, Adams was a "more typical American president than either of the country's heroes, Washington or Jefferson."[43] Adams was a conservative raised in New England rather than in Europe, and self-made at that. This background coming out of Massachusetts, in conjunction with his rather subdued personality, contributed greatly to the understatement of Adams's impact as noted in the historical record. Thompson additionally notes how Adams had a "vain love of public adulation,"[44] which conflicted with his desire for a calmer domestic life with his wife Abigail. Adams's struggles with his self-confidence and his lifelong desire to become a "great man" emerge once more in the historical record in his writings ahead of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. As he left home, Adams confessed that he was "at a loss, totally at a loss, what to do"[45] at the Constitutional Convention and how to go about building a new nation. Thompson identifies these self-doubts as his "fundamental uncertainty, his self doubt, as well as his honesty."[46] The conflict between Adams's insecurities and his large life is apparent in various aspects of his life, both political and domestic.

In part due to the slight humility his insecurities afforded him, John Adams never expected to be immortalized in the way that Washington became, yet he still "longed to be remembered as a notable American statesman."[47] Today, the diplomatic career of John Adams is examined with mind taken to note the impact of Hamilton and Franklin on the contemporary perception of Adams as a statesman and a President. Adams was well aware that history would judge him in a critical manner, and devoted much of his post-presidency to authoring honest works to tell his side of the story. He knew that "foes within his own Federalist Party, notably Alexander Hamilton, had maligned his presidency,"[48] a fact that contributed to his reemphasis of the work in foreign affairs he had done to advance the national interest of the revolutionary and post-revolutionary United States. The first case of Adams being undermined by his contemporaries occurs on the tail end of the American Revolution in 1778, as he sailed to France to replace the American envoy Silas Deane in treaty negotiations. Upon arrival in France, Adams discovered that "the envoys [Silas] Deane, [Benjamin] Franklin, and Arthur Lee, had negotiated treaties of alliance and commerce with France, so that his mission was useless."[49] The voyage across the Atlantic was treacherous and long, so when Adams landed at Bordeaux much of his time and effort in the aftermath of the American Revolution was wasted because his fellow envoys had not waited for his arrival to begin negotiation.

While in France, Adams began to come into conflict with Franklin, the American diplomat closest to the French diplomatic class. In both his diary and in letters to patriot leaders back in North America, Adams "portrayed Franklin as a hedonist whose indolence and debauchery adversely affected the day-to-day conduct of business,"[50] in other words complaining that Franklin was over-involved in the social aspects of international diplomacy and apparently disinterested in the role of negotiation and treaty fabrication. It was the sociability of Franklin that led to his being named United States Minister to France in 1779, as the French simply got along better with Franklin than Adams. Understandably frustrated, Adams "believed that he deserved better from his country."[51] At this point, Adams had been separated from his wife and

43 Carol L. Thompson, "John Adams: Forgotten President," Current History 14, no. 77 (1948): 14.

44 Carol L. Thompson, "John Adams: Forgotten President," Current History 14, no. 77 (1948): 15.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 John Ferling, "John Adams, Diplomat," The William and Mary Quarterly 51, no. 2 (1994): 227.

48 Ibid.

49 John Ferling, "John Adams, Diplomat," The William and Mary Quarterly 51, no. 2 (1994): 228.

50 John Ferling, "John Adams, Diplomat," The William and Mary Quarterly 51, no. 2 (1994): 235.

51 John Ferling, "John Adams, Diplomat," The William and Mary Quarterly 51, no. 2 (1994): 236.

three children for over a year, and began the journey to return home to his family, quite distraught. As he waited on the coast of France to return to America, "he stormed that he had been treated badly by Congress."[52] Adams's first tour in France between 1778 and 1779 is exemplary of his general irritability and of that trait's capacity to instigate conflict for Adams, as well as the pattern that emerged of Adams feeling cheated by the American political class, and feeling that he had been done a disservice both in his career and the history books.

Warren's History as External Context

A recurring accusation that plagued Adams both during his presidency and after he left office was that he supported the voluntary subjugation of the Americans to the British, as well as a British-style metropolitan America. The latter may have been accurate, as the Hamiltonian vision of an America built on industry and a strong financial sector centered around urban hubs, elaborated against the Jeffersonian ideal of the dispersed, agrarian America. However, during the time of the Revolution, Adams in fact argued strongly against loyalists in the press; prior to the outbreak of war, Adams "advanced colonial autonomy within the empire,"[53] taking a relatively anti-British stance. It is important to note that both Adams's writings and the anonymous writer Massachusettensis, who "rationalized American subordination to British imperial sovereignty,"[54] were intended to stop the written conflict of ideas from escalating to war. Of course, in April 1775 both the patriots and the British had begun to mobilize forces in the colonies, and these nonviolent efforts were rendered useless.

It is the domestic portion of his early life and middle ages that best exemplifies the impact of his unbridled ambition and how it conflicted with his lingering self doubts. In Jennifer Bruzan's honors thesis, "An Uncommon Exchange: The political conversation between Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren," the forty-one year correspondence between Abigail Adams and Warren—a literary powerhouse, the wife of the onetime Massachusetts Speaker of the House James Warren, and noted anti-Federalist—is unpacked with particular regard for the impact of Warren's 1805 work History. Through a review of the two women's letters and general correspondence, it becomes clear that Abigail "encouraged her husband John to go serve on the Continental Congress,"[55] and generally exerted influence over Adams's political and professional activities. After Adams's election to the presidency in 1797, Abigail took an outsized role in his administration and in the political affairs of the executive branch as an unofficial presidential advisor. Bruzan emphasizes that Adams "tried to remain independent of his cabinet and tended to ignore their advice."[56] He instead relied heavily on one of the few people he consistently trusted and leaned on throughout his life: Abigail.

This relationship was tested most notably when Adams went to France during and after the Revolution, as well as after the publication of Mercy Warren's History. Bruzan notes that after Warren's "embarrassing portrayal of John Adams in her History, Abigail abruptly discontinued their relationship."[57] Mercy Otis Warren's writings had a myriad of impacts around the time of the American Revolution and the emergence of the early United States, but none were more impactful or relevant to her relationship with the Adams' than the publication of History in 1800. Three years after the Adams presidency, Warren published the final installment of her literary career, the three-volume work History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution, better known as her History. Upon reading the treatise, Adams was infuriated and "felt cheated that Mercy failed to give him the credit he deserved for all his years

52 Ibid.

53 Colin Nicolson et al., "A Case of Identity: Massachusettensis and John Adams," The New England Quarterly 91, no. 4 (2018): 651.

54 Ibid.

55 Jennifer Bruzan, "An Uncommon Exchange: The Political Conversation Between Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren," Vanderbilt University. Dept. of History, (2009): 13.

56 Jennifer Bruzan, "An Uncommon Exchange: The Political Conversation Between Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren," Vanderbilt University. Dept. of History, (2009): 15.

57 Jennifer Bruzan, "An Uncommon Exchange: The Political Conversation Between Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren," Vanderbilt University. Dept. of History, (2009): 37.

in public service, and she belittled his successes."[58] The publication of History defined much of the later perception of Adams's impact on American history and society, and fueled many of the personal retrospective insecurities of Adams's later life.

In 1807, decades after she began her most comprehensive academic and literary work, Mercy Otis Warren published the three volume History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution. At first, the Adams' appeared not to have read Warren's History, as Abigail's letters to Warren were still quite upbeat and conceptual in regards to political theory and the current events of the time. However, Adams eventually read the book in its entirety and was disturbed by what he found. He interpreted Warren's history as a personal slight, minimizing his accomplishments and levying personal and political attacks against his career and person. Much of the book does not mention Adams as a central component of the American push for independence, finally broaching the more subjective analysis of his contributions in the third volume and describing Adams as, "undoubtedly a statesman of penetration and ability; but his prejudices and his passions were sometimes too strong for his sagacity and judgment."[59] Of course, descriptors such as these were a clear effort of Warren to defame Adams's politics and not his character; however, Adams's ego was bruised by many of the accusations he felt Warren hurled at him.

A key turning point in Adams's career, as defined in Warren's book, was his time as an envoy of the Americans in France. Warren elaborates on his feelings of the negotiations that commenced, remarking that: "Nothing can more strongly exhibit the pride Mr. Adams felt in the Gallican alliance, and his zeal for supporting it, than his expressions contained in his own letters on the subject, on his first residence at the court of France."[60] In treating History as primary sourcework, one must note that it is also a secondary work of history that was based on both Warren's own experiences with the various leaders depicted in its pages, but also quite material writings and records. As such, the letters Adams wrote from France on both his tours became central to Warren's most damaging criticism of the second President: that he was in fact a monarchist who believed that America should become more like Britain. Adams, she wrote, "resided there four or five years; and unfortunately for himself and his country, he became so enamoured with the British constitution, and the government, manners, and laws of the nation, that a partiality for monarchy appeared, which was inconsistent with his former professions of republicanism."[61] This was a recurring criticism throughout Adams's career, of course, as he had been a proponent of a more metropolitan and unitary America. Adams took this quite personally, as he viewed himself in the light of statesmanship and American patriotism. The words of Warren, to him, appeared like a personal betrayal of his and his wife's trust. History asserted even more than just a mere leaning of Adams in favor of monarchism, however: Warren penned that "he undoubtedly discovered a partiality in favor of monarchic government, and few scrupled to assert for a time, that he exerted his abilities to encourage the operation of those principles in America."[62] Accusing Adams of abusing his position of power in the young United States to attempt to move America towards becoming a monarchy of sorts was the last straw for him, and he retaliated. Adams wrote a series of letters to Warren rebuffing her assertions, which were later related to the press and the historical record left the impression of him as "an angry man with an irrational temper."[63] The incident, occurring years after the conclusion of his presidency, proved embarrassing and became a mark on Adams's legacy.

Conclusion

John Adams was a complicated man, both personally and historically. A prevalent theme throughout his life and writings was his crushing

58 Jennifer Bruzan, "An Uncommon Exchange: The Political Conversation Between Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren," Vanderbilt University. Dept. of History, (2009): 47.

59 Mercy Otis Warren. History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution. (1807): 675.

60 Mercy Otis Warren. History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution. (1807): 294.

61 Mercy Otis Warren. History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution. (1807): 675.

62 Mercy Otis Warren. History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution. (1807): 677.

63 Jennifer Bruzan, "An Uncommon Exchange: The Political Conversation Between Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren," Vanderbilt University. Dept. of History, (2009): 48.

insecurity over his public perception, reputation, and internally perceived success. Adams's burning desire to become what he thought of as a "great man" influenced and shaped his life and key moments of American history over the course of generations, spanning from the French-Indian War to the publication and dissemination of Mercy Otis Warren's History, and had an outsized effect on both the historical perception of Adams's presidency and the objective quality of his leadership. It may not be fair to compare Adams to Jefferson or Washington, visionary leaders remarkable in their tact and leadership capabilities. However, when comparing Adams with his contemporaries, it is not much of a choice at all: his deep-rooted insecurities plagued his presidency, contemporary comparisons, and the qualitative analyses that have been conducted since.

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Corsairs and Captivity: Slavery and Race During the Early Modern Period

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Introduction

Slavery has a long and complex history, with the racialization of this institution becoming apparent during the course of European colonization and the transatlantic slave trade. The dynamics of race in relation to the British people are complex, as they both suffered from slavery in the Mediterranean and practiced enslavement in the Americas. In the 17th and 18th centuries, British mariners made frequent contact with the Islamic world. During this period, Barbary corsairs from Morocco and the Ottoman-influenced provinces of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunisia captured at least 20,000 Britons.[1] This raises questions about the role of race in the Muslim and British conceptualizations of slavery. Muslim rationalizations for enslaving Britons were based on financial recompense and religious differences as opposed to the inherence of slave status based on race. While Britons initially did not view slavery as racially restricted, their sense of racial superiority grew in tandem with their imperial expansion in the eighteenth century, causing them to struggle with the idea of their own enslavement. In contrast, the British people considered sub-Saharan Africans as natural slaves due to their race.

Barbary Slavery: A Lack of Racial Rationalizations

Ransoms: The Temporal Limit of Slavery

First, Barbary corsairs did not conceptualize British captives as innate slaves due to their race, and their bondage was often limited in time due to the possibility of being ransomed. The ubiquity of ransoming in the Mediterranean highlights the redemptive possibilities of British enslavement. Barbary corsairs had a specific aim in mind, for they "routinely took captives for the express purpose of generating revenue from ransoms."[2] In the slave markets, captives with "enough wealth and connections at home to buy themselves out of captivity" were commodities with lucrative potential.[3] Thus, the financial motive behind the corsairs' actions is displayed by the fact that captives with resources had a chance to regain their freedom. Corsairs saw these detainees as assets with the potential for emancipation through payment. In this sense, British slaves were not destined to serve their masters for life due to the perceived inferiority of their race. The liberatory possibility of British enslavement demonstrates the mutability of their condition.

Furthermore, the temporal limit to captivity, in the context of ransoming, is exhibited through the circumstances of Britons who were afforded hostage status. This is illustrated through the account of Elizabeth Marsh, an Englishwoman who was briefly held captive in Morocco in 1756 and subsequently wrote a narrative about her experiences. Elizabeth and the crew of her ship possessed wealth and connections, allowing them to participate in high-level discussions with the Sultan of Morocco, Siddi Muhammad. During their conversations, Muhammad assured Elizabeth and her companions that they were "not after all to be enslaved."[4] Rather, they would "be detained as hostages until Britain [agreed] to establish a proper Consul in Morocco."[5] Ultimately, Muhammad bargained with the British Governor of Gibraltar and granted their return.[6] The semantic distinction between detention and enslavement is a critical nuance that is explicitly articulated by Muhammad, indicating a recognition of the different degrees of captivity. The hostage status of these captives created a precarious limbo state between freedom and subjugation. Ultimately, the fact that Elizabeth was granted hostage status indicates that her captivity had a finite duration. Thus, Elizabeth did not experience the same level of permanent bondage

1 Linda Colley, Captives (New York: Anchor Books, 2003), 73, 89.

2 Michael Guasco, Slaves and Englishmen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 124.

3 Robert Davis, Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 70.

4 Linda Colley, The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007), 119.

5 Colley, The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh, 119.

6 Colley, The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh, 139.

as chattel slavery. The primary function of their detention was to serve the political goals of the Sultan. Accordingly, their captivity was not based on inherent racial traits but rather political purposes.

Although many British captives endured the harsh realities of enslavement and never managed to return home, ransoming was still a common occurrence in the early modern period. While some slaves were assigned to household work, the majority of captives had "no particular skills or obvious signs of wealth or rank," and thus they were "swept up into galley service." [7] This labor was considered to be "a real, living hell" and the men were chained to their oars in tight conditions, provided with meager rations, and deprived of sleep.[8] In this regard, conditions were extremely unpleasant and degrading for many British slaves. However, individuals without wealth or status could still be ransomed in certain circumstances. Linda Colley, a specialist on British imperial history, argues that after 1650, "English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish male captives of Barbary," in addition to affluent women, "could usually look forward to being ransomed at some point," even if it took decades.[9] The British government routinely made diplomatic agreements with the Barbary powers to secure ransoms. For example, a British envoy was sent to Morocco in 1734 to bargain for the release of 150 captives that came from "twelve different ships." [10] The efforts on behalf of the British state to secure the repatriation of their sailors demonstrate that even individuals without extensive connections had a possibility of returning home. Ultimately, captives could often experience a more amorphous form of slavery. In this sense, their bondage was not an inevitable fate prescribed by their race.

Religion: Infidels and Conversion

Additionally, Muslim captors rationalized the enslavement of Britons based on their Christian faith as opposed to their race. During this period, Islamic societies were generally "prepared to enslave anyone, of any color or race, as long as they were initially infidel."[11] The widespread existence of slavery in Islamic societies was not predominantly justified by racial distinctions, but rather by religious identity. More specifically, "infidels taken in war" could be enslaved "under Islamic law."[12] In turn, "North African corsair attacks [...] were rarely indiscriminate" and "it was Christian shipping that these corsair fleets targeted."[13] Muslims viewed the enslavement of Christians as permissible, and the targeted nature of the attacks demonstrates that Islamic law was manifested in practice. Ultimately, "prejudice against unbelievers," was the "'single great prejudice of Muslim peoples.'"[14] This highlights that existing Muslim attitudes towards Christians played a pivotal role in shaping the conditions surrounding enslavement. In this regard, religious affiliation was paramount in determining the treatment of individuals within Islamic societies.

Furthermore, Barbary captors expressed repugnance toward their captives due to their religious faith. Muslims believed that infidels were unclean, and their bigotry concerning Christian, British slaves was exhibited by their behavior. James Irving, who was held captive in Morocco for a year in 1789, noted that Muslims "'would never use any vessel that had touched [their] lips: so great was their detestation & contempt for'" the Britons.[15] Thus, Muslims held a distinct distaste for their captives which stemmed from their immoral nature as infidels. In the account of Elizabeth Marsh, she stated that a Moroccan woman was "'extremely inquisitive, curious in examining [her] dress.'"[16] The European style in which clothes were "close to the crotch and legs for men, and to the waist for women" could be considered "immoral and obscene" from a Muslim perspective.[17] Thus, British clothing could offend the religious values and customs of their captors. The ensuing phenotypically

7 Davis, Christian Slaves, 74.

8 Davis, Christian Slaves, 75-76.

9 Colley, Captives, 94.

10 Colley, Captives, 82-83.

11 Robin Blackburn, "The Old World Background to European Colonial Slavery." The William and Mary Quarterly 54, no. 1 (1997): 99.

12 Colley, Captives, 92.

13 Colley, Captives, 74.

14 Colley, Captives, 168.

15 Colley, Captives, 168.

16 Colley, The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh, 104.

17 Colley, Captives, 168.

based discrimination was on account of their Western, Christian attire as opposed to their race. Ultimately, the enslavement of Britons was legitimated by their Christian beliefs and lack of accordance with sacred Islamic practices.

Moreover, due to the relationship between religion and enslavement, conversion and assimilation to Islam had a tangible impact on the well-being of white slaves. In 1638, the English sailor Vincent Jukes was captured by Algerian corsairs and sold into slavery in Algiers. After he "converted to Islam, submitted to circumcision, and adopted local dress," Jukes gained "greater mobility and choice of occupation."[18] He was allowed to continue to be a sailor, which would later provide him with an opportunity to escape captivity.[19] These enhanced rights were a direct consequence of his conversion and integration into Islamic culture. Although Jukes was not freed as a function of his conversion, his improved mobility highlights the flexible status of slavery and its uniquely religious dimensions. An additional example of this phenomenon can be observed through the case of Joseph Pitts, a fifteen-year-old who was captured and sold into slavery in Algiers in 1678. He was enslaved for over a decade and converted to Islam. [20] Upon returning to England, he reflected that he had a "strong temptation to 'continue a Mussulman'" because he was "'in a much fairer way for honour and preferment in Algiers, than [he] could expect ever to have been in England.'" [21] He stated that his last Algerian master "promised to leave him money on his death."[22] This is a striking illustration of the ways in which converted English slaves could join Islamic society and improve their well-being. By readjusting to this new way of life, Pitts developed an intimate relationship with his master and was treated as a son, reinforcing the notion that the status of white slavery was elastic and tied to religion.

While these narratives illustrate that white slaves could be treated well, the coercive nature of conversion is a theme in British literature on captivity. In 1597, English cleric Giles Fletcher wrote in The Policie of the Turkish Empire that Muslims wished to do "'nothing more then . . . drawe both Christians and other to embrace their religion and to turn Turke.'"[23] Although this statement might be seen as a dramatic portrayal, this piece of literature reflects the perception among some Britons that forcible conversion to Islam and enslavement were inextricably linked. However, captivity was not monolithic, and Britons experienced a range of fates. There was a considerable nuance to the degree to which conversion was coercive. In Elizabeth Marsh's tale, she was propositioned by Sidi Muhammad to join his harem. She rejected his advances by deceptively maintaining that she was married.[24] As they continued to speak through an interpreter later in the narrative, Muhammad asked her, "'Will you become a Muslim? Will you properly consider the advantages resulting from doing as I desire?'"[25] This underscores that although conversion was not always forced, there were still significant power dynamics at play; decisions made in this context were not purely driven by free will. However, it is notable that Muhammad explicitly acknowledged that there were advantages to conversion. This bolsters the notion that slave status was mutable depending on religious factors. Thus, religion was the primary lens through which Muslims conceptualized the enslavement of Britons.

Race and Slavery: The British Perspective

The Normalization of White Slavery

In the 16th and 17th centuries, Englishmen did not view slavery as racially restricted. However, as the imperial power of Britain increased during the eighteenth century, Britons began to develop a greater sense of racial superiority, which brought about a challenging confrontation with the potentiality of their own enslavement. In the first half of the early modern period, "slavery was never something securely and invariably external" to the English due to the threat of Barbary slavers.[26] Thousands of Englishmen were captured in this period, and it was "not at all unusual for English mariners to be waylaid in the

18 Colley, Captives, 124.

19 Colley, Captives, 124.

20 Colley, Captives, 172.

21 Colley, Captives, 172.

22 Colley, Captives, 172.

23 Guasco, Slaves and Englishmen, 138.

24 Colley, The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh, 131.

25 Colley, The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh, 133.

26 Colley, Captives, 99.

Mediterranean."[27] Thus, enslavement was not an abstract concept to these sailors, but rather a legitimate and predictable danger.

Further, Barbary slavery was normalized because the people of the British Isles learned about the institution through media, entertainment, and official decrees. During the period "before 1730," the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland were "exposed to far more information about white Barbary slavery than about any other variety of slavery." [28] Notably, many captives came from London, which was "the centre of Britain's print culture, as well as of its shipping and its trade."[29] This is an important dynamic because the dissemination of information on white slavery reinforced the notion that Britons could be slaves – this was the reality. Ultimately, British captivity prompted "extensive newspaper, pamphlet, and ballad coverage," in addition to "church sermons and appeals for ransom money on a nationwide basis."[30] This broad and diverse base of media coverage suggests that white slavery was a topic of significant public interest and concern. Slavery was not just a personal tragedy for individuals and families, but a matter of national importance. Further, the themes of "piracy, slavery, and forced conversion" were very common in "theatrical productions [...] during the late Tudor and early Stuart eras." [31] These were popular and resonant cultural tropes that captured the imagination of audiences. The fact that these themes were prominent in popular entertainment indicates that they were widely recognized and understood by the public, further reinforcing the idea that the captivity of British citizens was a real and present threat.

Additionally, official documents even made mention of white slavery. For example, a royal proclamation from the late 17th century stated that many British sailors had become "slaves in cruel and inhumane bondage." [32] This language does not necessarily criticize the institution of white slavery itself, but rather condemns the mistreatment of slaves. In this sense, the British crown acknowledged the reality of white slavery during the period. Thus, discourse that normalized the enslavement of white Britons was prevalent during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Struggling to Conceptualize White Slavery and Imperial Success

However, Britons developed a more distinguished sense of racial superiority in the 18th century due to their imperial success, and this led to a difficult reckoning with the existence of white slavery. British racial identity gradually began to strengthen in the 18th century due to the growth of the empire, which bolstered their self-perception as a civilized and advanced race. Before the late 16th century, few Englishmen "displayed much interest in the world beyond their own continent."[33] However, by the early 1700s, Britain and its trading companies "claimed authority over more than half a million white settlers, as well as hundreds of thousands of free and enslaved non-whites scattered over four of the five continents of the world."[34] Britain's prosperity as a maritime force became constitutive of its identity. Sea power was vital to their "cherished and totemic commerce" and "mythologies of empire."[35] Ultimately, the nation's mastery over the sea signified "freedom, power and proud British identity."[36] In this regard, Britain's imperial might and emphasis on freedom distinguished them as a flourishing, civilized group of people. Since this status of supremacy was distinct to Britons, their sense of superiority was racial in nature. However, Britons struggled to reconcile enslavement with their self-perception as a dominant, civilized racial group. This sentiment is displayed through 'Rule, Britannia!', a popular British patriotic poem written by James Johnson in 1740.[37] He wrote, "Rule, Britannia! rule the waves: Britons never will be slaves."[38] The notion that they "rule the waves" connotes the idea that Britons are the masters, not the slaves. Further, the assertion that "Britons will never be slaves" conveys that British

27 Guasco, Slaves and Englishmen, 124.

28 Colley, Captives, 99.

29 Colley, Captives, 99.

30 Colley, Captives, 99.

31 Guasco, Slaves and Englishmen, 138.

32 Colley, Captives, 100.

33 Colley, Captives, 23.

34 Colley, Captives, 24.

35 Colley, Captives, 77.

36 Colley, Captives, 78.

37 Colley, Captives, 77.

38 Colley, Captives, 77.

racial identity was antithetical to enslavement.

Furthermore, Britons experienced difficulties in coming to terms with their own enslavement as a result of their sense of racial superiority and advanced civility. When a British sailor was enslaved in Algiers in 1789, he wrote that he was "a poor slave [...] in the hands of barbarians."[39] He went on to state that it was "contrary to the laws of Great Briton to have a true Briton a Barberish slave."[40] The idea that a "true Briton" could not be a slave indicates the trend that individuals began to equate British racial identity with freedom and civility—the opposite end of the spectrum from slavery. Moreover,the reference to the "laws of Great Briton" emphasizes the sophisticated nature of the British people. Notably, the use of "barbarians" reaffirms this emphasis on civility, as the sailor demeans his captors as racially inferior. Thus, the enslavement of Britons ran counter to their self-perceptions as racially advanced.

Moreover, there was reluctance among some Britons to acknowledge the possibility that they could be enslaved by a phenotypically darker person in this period. When James Irving, a Protestant Scot slave trader, was captured and enslaved by Moroccans in 1789, he expressed contempt at his captors and described them as "'black cattle.'"[41] Irving experienced an "inversion quite beyond his bearing" when he was enslaved by "black-skinned" individuals.[42] In this respect, he could not comprehend the possibility of enslavement at the hands of a phenotypically dark-skinned person. Irving was drawing upon the phenotypical characterization of race, and he viewed his captors as inferior due to the color of their skin. This relates to ideas of British racial status, which was synonymous with white identity. After the mid-eighteenth century, it became less acceptable for British writers to portray their own people "in anything approaching the fashion of black slaves."[43] This highlights a critical change in societal attitudes and perceptions toward the representation of white people in comparison to black slaves. In the preceding period, depictions of white slavery were ubiquitous. However, the idea that white people could be treated similarly to black slaves had become inconceivable to some Britons.

The Enslavement and Racialization of Sub-Saharan Africans

The enslavement of sub-Saharan Africans in the Americas was distinct from the Muslim enslavement of Britons in the Mediterranean because it was rationalized through a racial lens. Britons conceptualized sub-Saharan Africans as innate slaves due to their skin color and barbaric nature. First, it is important to note that the English were familiar with the practice of enslaving sub-Saharan Africans prior to the 16th century. North Africans had "facilitated the trade in sub-Saharan Africans into the Mediterranean and southern European worlds for several centuries" before the rise of the transatlantic slave trade.[44] In this regard, there was a foundation for viewing sub-Saharan Africans as a population that was suitable for slavery. Moreover, the slave status of black individuals was underscored by the idea that dark skin was inferior. For example, this is demonstrated through the biblical "Curse of Ham" theory, which explains that Ham and his descendants were cursed for eternity because he uncovered "his drunken father's naked body" and incurred "the wrath of God".[45] Proponents of the theory argued that "Africans' skin color was a fixed marker originating in this curse and that they were destined by the curse to be slaves."[46] As well, blackness was used to represent evil and abnormality in English literature, theater, and woodcuts during the Tudor and Stuart periods.[47] In 1584, Reginald Scot described the devil as having "clawes like a beare, a skin like a Niger, and a voice roring like a lion."[48] Thus, these perspectives on dark skin bolstered the notion that sub-Saharan Africans were racially inferior. In turn, this phenotypical aspect of racialization cemented that black individuals were inherent slaves, as they could

39 Colley, Captives, 101.

40 Colley, Captives, 101.

41 Colley, Captives, 170.

42 Colley, Captives, 101.

43 Colley, Captives, 170.

44 Guasco, Slaves and Englishmen, 66.

45 Justin Roberts, "Race and the Origins of Plantation Slavery." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History, (March 2016)

46 Roberts, "Race and the Origins of Plantation Slavery."

47 Guasco, Slaves and Englishmen, 106.

48 Guasco, Slaves and Englishmen, 106.

not change the color of their skin.

Furthermore, the enslavement of sub-Saharan Africans was racialized because they were construed as barbarians. In the Barbados Slave Act of 1661, Africans were described as a "'heathenish brutish and an uncertain dangerous pride of people' who required harsher 'punishionary Laws for the benefit and good' of the colony."[49] The use of the word "pride" equates sub-Saharan Africans to lions, which is an explicit animalization of these individuals. These views manifested in the mistreatment of black slaves, which included "severe whippings, the slitting of noses, the slicing off of ears, and ultimately gelding."[50] In this regard, these slaves were treated as if they were cattle and experienced incredibly degrading punishment and disfigurement. This bestialization was instrumental in distinguishing black people as part of an inferior racial category. Thus, the dehumanizing treatment and enslavement of sub-Saharan Africans were considered permissible because they were viewed on a similar level to animals.

In turn, this process of racialization led to the perception among Britons that sub-Saharan Africans were inherent slaves. In 1680, the Anglican minister Morgan Godwyn remarked that "[t]hese two words, Negro and Slave' had 'by Custom grown Homogenous and Convertible."[51] Thus, the racial category of sub-Saharan Africans, or "negro", was explicitly equated with slavery. The synonymous nature of these two words was also codified into law. For example, the Barbados Slave Act of 1661 "employed Negro interchangeably with slave."[52] The fact that the terms "Negro" and "slave" were used to connote the same meanings suggests a reduction of sub-Saharan Africans to a single, monolithic identity. This essentializing of black identity served to justify the enslavement of an entire group of people based on their perceived racial characteristics.

In contrast to the enslavement of Britons in the Mediterranean, the racial dimension of black slavery meant that bondage was permanent and could not be influenced by religious conversion. First, the eternal and hereditary quality of the enslavement of sub-Saharan Africans signified their inherent status as slaves. In 1654, the author Henry Whistler commented on the "miserabell Negors borne to perpetuall slavery thay and thayer seed," which relates to the adoption of hereditary enslavement in Barbados.[53] While white slaves in the Mediterranean may have looked forward to the possibility of ransoming, sub-Saharan Africans in the Americas were rootless and trapped in a generational cycle of bondage. The idea that black children would be enslaved denotes the view that these individuals were innate slaves based on their genealogy. Moreover, religious conversion did not impact the standing of sub-Saharan African slaves. The Jamaica Slave Act of 1684 stipulated that "if a slave were to become a Christian, conversion would in no way alter his or her status as a slave." [54] Even if a black slave changed their pagan condition, they would still be treated in accordance with their race. The quality of life for white slaves in North Africa significantly improved when they converted to Islam; however, conversion to Christianity had no impact on the well-being of an African slave. Thus, race shaped the rationalization and conditions for the enslavement of sub-Saharan Africans to an extent that was not seen in the Mediterranean.

Conclusion

Muslim rationalizations for the enslavement of Britons stemmed from the prospect of financial gain in addition to religious differences as opposed to race. At first, Britons did not conceive of slavery as racially restricted, yet they began to doubt the validity of their own enslavement in the context of the growth of their empire and racial superiority. Conversely, sub-Saharan Africans were demeaned as inherent slaves due to their race. Furthermore, it is crucial to recognize the enduring legacy of slavery and its profound effects on contemporary society. Millions of individuals remain trapped in various forms of enslavement in the status quo, and this institution is closely intertwined with

49 Edward Rugemer, "The Development of Mastery and Race in the Comprehensive Slave Codes of the Greater Caribbean during the Seventeenth Century." The William and Mary Quarterly 70, no. 3 (2013): 438.

50 Rugemer, "The Development of Mastery and Race," 457.

51 Guasco, Slaves and Englishmen, 171.

52 Rugemer. "The Development of Mastery and Race," 438.

53 Rugemer. "The Development of Mastery and Race," 434.

54 Rugemer, "The Development of Mastery and Race," 450.

racial dynamics.[55] The majority of "people in debt bondage in South Asia belong to minority groups" and are targeted due to this status, and "indigenous peoples are disproportionately affected" by forced labor in Latin America.[56] In Lebanon, dark-skinned individuals are at a higher risk of enslavement than their light-skinned counterparts.[57] These examples highlight the inseparable link between race and slavery that has persisted for centuries. Race has been exploited as a means to create artificial divisions between groups, with oppressors utilizing skin color and notions of barbarism to perpetuate subjugation. Ultimately, recognizing the historical legacy of racial slavery is crucial to understanding the lasting impact of this practice around the globe.

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