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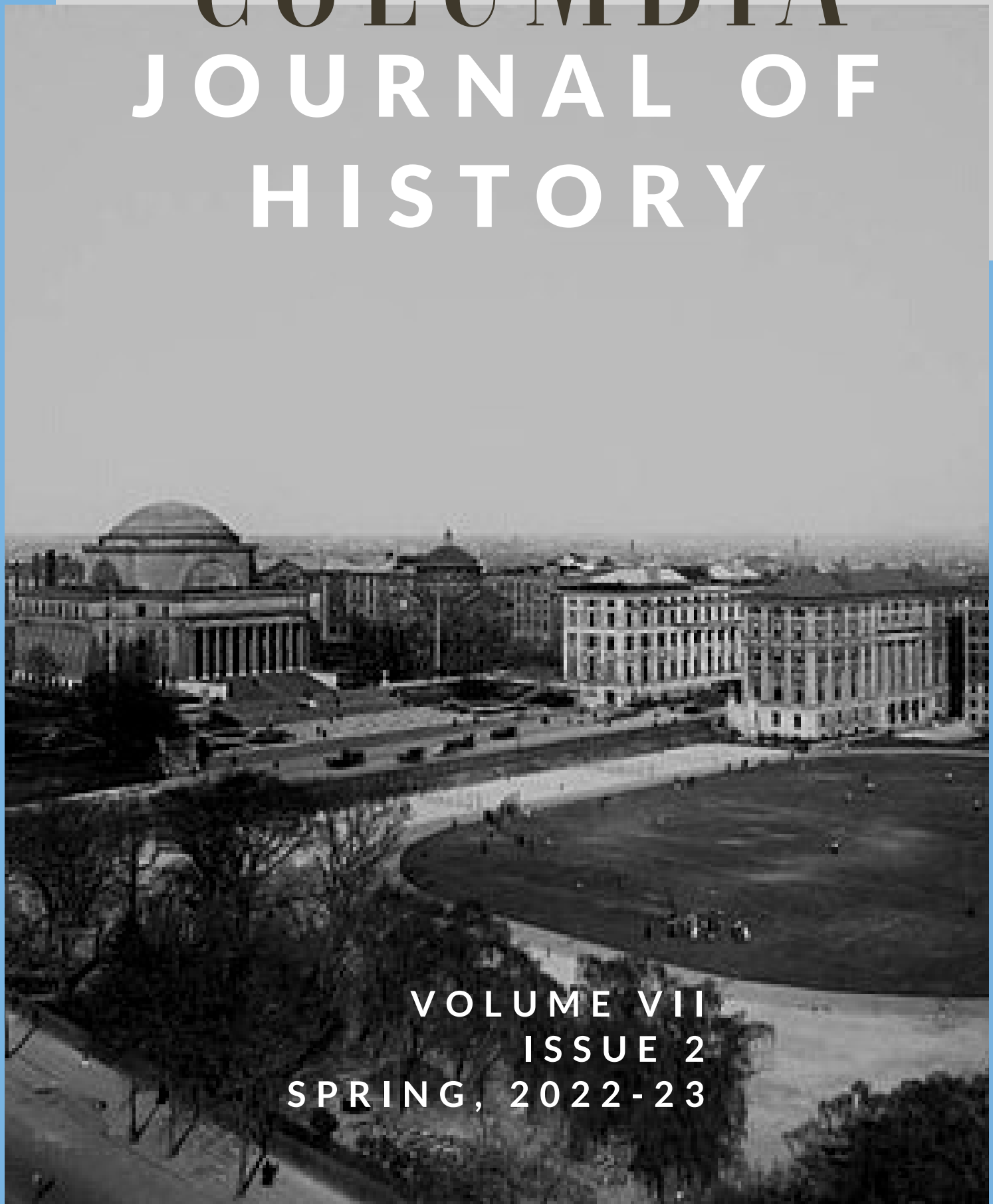

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Editorial Board

Letter from the Editors

Dear Reader,

We are pleased to present you with our spring issue of the *Columbia Journal of History*. The following edition represents tireless work from our masthead and authors to publish this outstanding undergraduate scholarship — we are indebted to all involved.

This issue's papers are wide ranging. Mehmet Durmaz explores the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire in his "Mad Sultans: Desacralization and Madness in the Ottoman Empire." Jumping nearly half a millenia later, Evan Richardson tackles international adaptations of *Sesame Street*. Sarah Konrad conducts a deep investigation of property, gender, and race in "'Dey Was Her Own': Cherokee Slave Mistresses and the Law in the 19th Century." Examining a different aspect of American history, Ian Stapleton discusses anti-Scottish sentiments pervasive at the time of our country's founding. Finally, expanding the bounds of a historical essay itself, Petra Ellerby writes a compelling account of narratives of the Indian Ocean. Each brings an impressive amount of research and a singular voice to their writing.

Our masthead supported these authors through several revisions this spring: each gave up hours of their time each week to create our spring issue. We are grateful to our editors and editorial board for their skilled assistance and valuable insights.

We hope you enjoy the fruits of our labor.

Sincerely,

Zoe Davidson and Matthew Tai
Editors in Chief

About the Authors

MEHMET DURMAZ studies economics and history at Boğaziçi University. He is interested in social and intellectual history, with the aim of integrating "ordinary" people into history writing and discovering the mentalities of premodern Ottomans. He currently works on an oral history project that will digitize the memories of the Boğaziçi University community through generations. Mehmet hopes to pursue an MA to further study history after graduating.

PETRA ELLERBY is a fourth-year student at Western Washington University with emphases in both History and Global Humanities. She has published work in the journals *Aisthesis*, *Scribendi*, and *UReCA*, and has a manuscript forthcoming from UC Berkeley's *Berkeley Journal of Classics*. Her research interests lie at the intersection of historiography, humanism, and political philosophy, with a specific focus in the socioeconomic history of the ancient Near East. After graduation, Petra plans to pursue a PhD in the humanities.

SARAH KONRAD is a sophomore at Duke University studying History and Computer Science. Her main historical interests lie in gender, politics, race, and property law throughout American history. Sarah is currently an undergraduate researcher for the Duke Institutional History Project where she focuses on the relationship between the board of trustees, their wives, and the institution of slavery at Trinity College, Duke's predecessor. This summer she will be conducting research on the discourse of consumption in the 17th century by using computational methods. She aims to go on to law school after completing her degree.

EVAN RICHARDSON recently graduated from the University of Maryland, College Park with degrees in History and Government and Politics. He was interested primarily in twentieth-century European politics while embracing a broad range of topics. One of these was Sesame Street, a focus of a senior research project which has grown into *Getting From Sesame Street to Sesamstrasse*. Since graduating from the University of Maryland, Evan has undertaken Masters study in Modern British History at Oxford University, with a dissertation focusing on the development of Eurosceptic views in the British Labour Party in the 1960s. After completing this project Evan intends to pursue a PhD in history.

IAN STAPLETON, a senior at the College of William & Mary, has studied history and economics in pursuance of a double-major degree. His greatest interests center around early American history, primarily in the eighteenth century, with a variety of approaches whether it be cultural, social, political, economic, or military history. He has done research on topics ranging from the Seven Years' War to capital punishment in the Early Republic. He has been privileged enough to take fascinating classes during his undergraduate studies such as African Diaspora before 1492, History of Russia to 1800, and Modern Chinese History, among others, which have spurred on an avid interest in all things history. This upcoming fall, he will be attending Georgetown University Law Center as a J.D. candidate with intentions of pursuing a career in law in the D.C. area.

MAD SULTANS: DESACRALIZATION AND MADNESS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Mehmet Durmaz

Abstract

The Ottoman Empire witnessed a period of crises after the reign of Süleyman I (r. 1520-66). This period was also marked by the emergence of "mad sultans," rulers who were deemed mentally impaired. This article ties the emergence of mad sultans to the gradual desacralization of rulership in the same period. Through a study of the Ottoman conceptions of rulership and the experiences of sultanic insanity, the article offers glimpses into the interplay between medical and political conceptions.

Introduction

If the ascetic were wise, he wouldn't ask me
to give up pleasure
What a shame! They have portrayed me as crazy,
and him as sane!
-Nefi[1]

İbrahim I's reign (1640-48) came to an abrupt end on 7 August 1648.[2] İbrahim learned of his dethronement only after his seven-year-old son, Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87), had already ascended to the throne.[3] Faced with the coalition of high-ranking officials that overthrew him, the sultan questioned their motives, perhaps in a last attempt to salvage his power.[4] Ibrahim's opponents had more than enough justification to remove him: he had failed to defend the Ottoman lands from Christians, which culminated in the blockade of Bosphorus; he had unjustly ordered the killing of statesmen and the confiscation of their wealth; he consulted the advice of "death-worthy sycophants" over that of "the viziers, the mufti, and the chief judges," leading the empire astray.[5] Yet, none of these reasons sufficed to dethrone a reigning sultan.

Earlier that day, when confronted by İbrahim's mother, Kösem Sultan, the coalition had provided their legal reasoning, with the former chief judge of Anatolia, Hanefi Efendi, explaining the following:

> It is written in our books that Hanafi scholars, great men of our school of religious law (*mezheb*), concluded that "The reign of an adult who is mentally impaired (*muhtellü'l-akl*) is impermissible; the reign of a sane child (*sabiyy-i âkil*) is permissible." Religio-legal opinions (*fetvalar*) were accordingly issued, and the problem was solved. If the innocent one [Mehmed IV] accedes [to the throne], the

[1] This paper was originally written for Prof. Derin Terzioğlu's Ottoman history course; I would like to express my deep appreciation to Prof. Terzioğlu for her encouragement and constructive feedback on the term paper. I am grateful to the CJH managing editor, Ruya Tazebay, and the editors, Clarence Winston Liu, Elizabeth Cristina Concepcion, Reece Hannah Brown, and Sinziana Djina Stanciu, for their laborious work and invaluable comments on the drafts of this article. Nefi in *Ottoman Lyric Poetry: An Anthology, Expanded edition, Publications on the Near East,* ed. Mehmet Kalpaklı, Najaat Black, and Walter G. Andrews (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 111, 189.
[2] Feridun Emecen, "İbrâhim," TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/İbrahim--padisah, accessed January 14, 2023.
[3] Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'îmâ: (Ravzatü'l-Hüseyn fî hulâsati ahbâri'l-hâfikayn)*, ed. by Mehmet İpşirli, 2nd ed., vol. 4, 6 vols., (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013), 1165-66.
[4] Ibid., 1165-67.
[5] Translations are my own through the article; Ibid., 1166-67.

> viziers run the state affairs. If the mindless one (*meslubü'l-akl*) sits [on the throne], as he is incapable of being taught, (...) the world goes astray, and the enemies invade our lands...[6]

In short, the large coalition comprising both the military administrators and the religio-legal scholars challenged the sultan's authority by claiming that he lacked the mental capacity to run the empire. Although the Ottoman Empire suffered financially, militarily, and morally, critics proposed that these were merely the symptoms of "the mindless one's" inability to learn the characteristics of a good monarch due to his madness.

The above account of Ibrahim I's dethronement comes from an early eighteenth-century Ottoman court historian, Mustafa Naima (1655-1716). This source, then, ought to be understood as something that reflects the sentiment arising after the tumult of removal rather than a detailed contemporary account. Regardless of its veracity, though, Naima's account illustrates the shifting image of rulership in the post-Süleymanic Ottoman Empire: sultans could be mad, and their madness—at least at certain stages or for certain types—necessitated their removal in order to preserve the well-being of the state.

İbrahim I, today widely known as İbrahim the Mad, was not the only sultan accused of being mad during his age. Instead, his madness can best be understood as a symptom arising from an era of crises for the Ottomans. This period occurred in the aftermath of Süleyman I's reign (1520-66).

The first signs of the central administration's incapacity came in the 1580s when the Ottoman administrators reduced the silver content of the akçe coin by 44% to pay for its expenditures.[7] The fiscal policy that effectively reduced the military men's salaries provoked outrage among the military cadres, and the counterfeit and substandard coins that flooded Ottoman markets only deepened the monetary crisis.[8] In the meantime, declining per capita agricultural production, the increased availability of firearms in the countryside, and maladministration plunged Ottoman Anatolia into a century of self-perpetuating violence.[9]

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[6] Ibid., 1164-65.
[7] Şevket Pamuk, "Debasement and Disintegration," in *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 131–48.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Oktay Özel, "The Reign of Violence: The Celalis c. 1550-1700," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. by Christine Woodhead (Florence, US: Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), 188–202.

In this age of crises and transformations, the Ottomans saw, for the first time in over a century, the execution of a grand vizier by rebel soldiers in 1589, during the reign of Murad III (r. 1574-95).[10] Notably, Murad III was the first post-Süleymanic sultan with rumors surrounding his mental health. After decades of urban and rural rebellions, in 1622, the rebels went as far as killing the sultan, Osman II (r. 1618-22).[11] His uncle and successor, Mustafa I (r. 1617-18 and 1622-23), was also removed from the throne after a short reign of sixteen months, with the charges of being mad.[12] As shown above, two decades later, İbrahim I followed the fate of his uncle, Mustafa, by being dethroned as a mad sultan. The decline in the sacrality of the sultans was connected to the charges of madness laid against them, and these charges gradually became stronger during this period.

Writing in 2000, the late Mehmet Genç, an economic historian, outlined the dominant paradigm within Ottoman studies in the 1960s:

> Ottomans took control of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans through brute force. The first ten sultans were energetic; under their leadership, the brutes reached the gates of Vienna. Yet, the sultans who succeeded them were weak and irresolute; they occupied themselves with pleasures, bribes, and court intrigues and lost their connection to the conquests. Since the innovations outside the empire went unnoticed, they also lost their brute superiority, and so the inevitable decline started.[13]

Fortunately, decades of work by historians moved the field beyond the confines of the decline paradigm. Rather than positing a centuries-long decline, historians now emphasize the empire's flexibility in the face of global or regional crises and the resulting dynastic longevity. Although the transformations the Ottomans underwent created some discontent, it was not homogeneously distributed; for instance, while urban rebellions marked the seventeenth century in the capital to the detriment of the courtly elite, this also brought greater urbanite participation in politics and was paralleled by a flourishing

[10] Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 175.
[11] Ibid., 163-75.
[12] Gabriel Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play*, Studies on the History of Society and Culture (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 29.
[13] Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, 11th ed. (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat A. Ş., 2014), 9-10.

urban culture.[14] Moreover, the "blame" is not put on the individual sultans but rather on the "circumstances": the Ottomans could not get beyond "the gates of Vienna" because of the limits of premodern polities, not because of the sultans' weakness.[15]

Still, despite decades of revision in Ottoman history, we do not know why several sultans that succeeded the tenth sultan, Süleyman I, were deemed "weak and irresolute" by their contemporaries and were met with charges of madness. Historians have not yet linked the emergence of mad sultans to the crises that plagued this era spanning from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. In this article, I examine how the Ottoman conception of rulership evolved in the post-Süleymanic era in response to the series of crises that shook the empire and led to the Ottoman rulers losing their connection to the divine. By establishing links between the desacralization of rulership and the emergence of mad sultans, I argue that the concept of sultanic insanity was generated as a result of changing Ottoman mentalities towards the rulers exacerbated during periods of crisis.

Ottoman Rulership and Its Sacralization

Before addressing the desacralization of rulership, it is necessary to establish what divine rule entailed for the Ottomans. In theory, the world was ruled by a caliph, God's vicegerent on earth, with universal authority.[16] As long as the Abbasid caliphs reigned, the connection to the divine was secure; far from going mad, some believed that the caliphal blood had the power to cure madness.[17] Within Sunni legal thought, the Muslim conception of rulership was relatively stable, with legitimacy emanating from families related to Prophet Muhammad.[18] Some theoreticians relaxed this necessity following the Abbasid reign, though Arab dynasties were given priority over non-Arab contenders.[19]

[14] Cemal Kafadar, "Janissaries and Other Riffraff of Ottoman Istanbul: Rebels without a Cause?," in *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World: A Volume of Essays in Honor of Norman Itzkowitz*, ed. by Baki Tezcan and Karl K. Kabir (University of Wisconsin Press, 2007); Cemal Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen and Evelyn Birge Vitz, 1st ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 243–69.
[15] Cemal Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline," *Harvard Middle East and Islamic Review* 4, 30–75 (1997-8).
[16] Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)*, Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 273.
[17] 'Azīz 'Aẓmah, *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian and Pagan Polities*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 157.
[18] Ibid., 167-68.
[19] Ibid., 168.

The Abbasid dynasty met its end following the 1258 conquest of Baghdad by Hulagu Khan (r. 1256-1265), the grandson of Chinggis Khan (r. 1206-1227). This event severed the ties between worldly and divine sovereigns.[20] The Mongol conquest injected a new form of legitimacy into the area, one deriving from Chinggis Khan.[21] Later on, during the fourteenth century, the Ilkhanate dissolved, marking the end of the polity established by the Mongols after the conquest of Baghdad. With the caliphate long gone and the Mongols facing failure, Islamic polities found themselves in a legitimacy crisis.[22] This legitimacy crisis ushered in an era of experimentation with different models of kingship, with different dynasties drawing from Turkic, Persian, Chinggisid, and Islamic sources and mixing them to validate their rules.[23] Several fifteenth-century Ottoman historians, for instance, tied the Ottoman dynasty to the legendary Turkic rulers, claiming descent from "the glorious Kayı branch."[24] Another story related their emergence to a dream of Osman I, the eponymous founder of the Ottoman polity (*Osmanlı)*, with a tree sprouting "from his navel" and expanding to cover the whole world.[25] The aim of these attempts at legitimization was to display the Ottoman dynasty's superiority over dozens of other Turco-Muslim dynasties that struggled for power in late medieval Anatolia.

The Ottoman success at establishing their rule in Anatolia and Rumelia eventually paved the way for a new conception of rulership. In stark contrast to the rise and fall of many small polities between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries were marked by large and relatively stable polities contending with each other. In the sixteenth century, the Ottomans no longer rivaled petty principalities (*beğlik*s) but instead faced large polities of the Habsburgs to the west and the Safavids to the east.[26] The competition between early modern empires over global dominance was combined with anxieties regarding the imminence of the end times. Events of religio-historical importance included the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Ottomans, the emergence of Safavids around a self-proclaimed messiah (*mehdi*), Shah İsmail (r. 1501-1524), and their conquest of Tabriz in 1501, the sack of Rome in 1527

[20] Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 273.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Christopher Markiewicz, *The Crisis of Kingship in Late Medieval Islam: Persian Emigres and the Making of Ottoman Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 6-7.
[23] Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 274-75.
[24] Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 96.
[25] Ibid., 8.
[26] Ibid., 7-8.

by the Habsburgs, and the Ottoman siege of Corfu in 1537 opening way to Rome.[27] Especially when combined with the wisdom of earlier apocalyptic texts that dated the end-times to1592, which corresponded to the end of the first millennium of the Hegira, the Islamic calendar, such events assured many contemporary observers of the imminent apocalypse.[28]

Throughout sixteenth-century Eurasia, writers such as Eliahu Capsali, di Gattinara, and Haydar the Geomancer (*remmal*), each from different confessions, tied contemporary rulers to roles that would be played in the end-times through eschatological titles, including "the conquering messiah of the last age (*mehdi-yi ahir zaman)*," "the last Roman emperor," and "the saint of saints."[29] Importantly, there was no consensus on either the date of the apocalypse or the roles the individual rulers would play.[30] Also, despite the rulers' attempts at manipulating the apocalyptic current through patronage, some readers made their own calculations regarding the date of the apocalypse.[31] Therefore, court-sponsored works did not impose a singular vision of the apocalypse upon their readers.

With the growing expectation of an imminent doomsday and a crisis of legitimacy, the early modern Islamic polities took comparable and interdependent measures, adopting divine rulership and emphasizing esotericism, as shown by the courtly reliance on occult sciences.[32] The Ottomans were also among the polities that adopted divine rulership. Already in the late fifteenth century, God was deemed the sole authority that chose the ruler; society, at least theoretically, had no role at all.[33] The succession wars between princes (*şehzade*s, lit. shah's sons) were important in acquiring the divine mandate to rule; it was customary for the Ottoman princes to compete for the throne and for the winner—the one with God's favor—to kill other male members of the dynasty to ensure the polity's integrity.[34] Indeed, the term "*devlet*" signified both dynastic power and good fortune, "with strong overtones of 'divine favor.'"[35]

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[27] Cornell H. Fleischer, "A Mediterranean Apocalypse: Prophecies of Empire in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61, no. 1–2 (March 14, 2018): 18–90.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ahmet Tunç Şen, "A Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Reader Calculating the Apocalypse," *Keshif* 1, no. 1 (2023): 47–52.
[32] Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Early Modern Islamicate Empire," in *The Wiley Blackwell History of Islam* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 353–76; for another Islamic polity, see A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam*, South Asia across the Disciplines (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).
[33] Hüseyin Yılmaz, *Caliphate Redefined: The Mystical Turn in Ottoman Political Thought* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2018), 159-60.
[34] Tezcan, "The Second Empire," 60.
[35] Ibid.; Marinos Sariyannis, "Ruler and State, State and Society in Ottoman Political Thought," *Turkish Historical Review* 4 (January 1, 2013): 96-98.

Selim I (r. 1512-1520) gained this favor by dethroning his father, Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512), with the help of a military coup and eliminating his brothers and nephews.[36] At the time of Selim's ascendance to the throne, Ottoman rule in Anatolia was threatened by the messianic movement of Shah İsmail and his proxies.[37] The rebellion of Şahkulu (lit. Shah's Servant), devastating Ottoman armies and claiming the lives of the grand vizier and the governor-general of Anatolia in 1511, posed a challenge to his rule.[38] Selim took this challenge seriously; his family's ineffectiveness against the Safavid threat was what helped Selim win elite favor to take the throne in the first place.[39] Selim confronted Shah İsmail's armies at the Battle of Çaldıran in 1514, striking a blow to İsmail's messianic claims in an event of eschatological importance for many contemporaries.[40] Following his victory against the Safavids, Selim put an end to the principality of Dulkadir in 1515, securing Ottoman control of Anatolia.[41] Between 1516 and 1517, the Ottoman army under Selim's command marched first into Syria and then into Egypt, extinguishing Mamluk rule there and doubling the size of the Ottoman Empire, which now encompassed the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina.[42] Both the need for greater legitimacy in the face of messianism and Ottoman superiority in the Islamic heartlands led Selim I to adopt titles emphasizing "his divinely-decreed superiority over all Muslim monarchs."[43] Therefore, Selim became the first Ottoman ruler to fashion himself as a divinely ordained ruler, calling himself "the lord of the conjunction" and "God's shadow" after the conquest of Egypt.[44] However, his unexpected death after a brief reign of eight years due to a boil left the articulation of divine rulership mostly to the unprecedentedly long reign of his son, Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566).

Süleyman I inherited a vast empire that spanned from the Balkans and Crimea in the north to the Red Sea in the south, controlling Eurasian trade routes and commanding one of the strongest armies in the world.[45] As seen above, there were

[36] H. Erdem Çıpa, *The Making of Selim: Succession, Legitimacy, and Memory in the Early Modern Ottoman World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 52-60.
[37] Ibid., 43-48.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Fleischer, "A Mediterranean Apocalypse:" 54-55.
[41] Çıpa, *The Making of Selim*, 3.
[42] Ibid., 5-6.
[43] Ibid., 210.
[44] Ibid.; Cornell H. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Soliman," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son Temps: Actes du Colloque de Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7-10 Mars 1990*, ed. by Gilles Veinstein, (Paris: Documentation française, 1992), 162-63.
[45] Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire: Volume 1: 1300-1600*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 315-63; Gábor Ágoston, "Empires and Warfare in East-Central Europe, 1550–1750: The Ottoman–Habsburg Rivalry and Military Transformation," in *European Warfare, 1350–1750*, ed. by D. J. B. Trim and Frank Tallett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 112–18.

already strong messianic expectations from the Ottoman sultan before Süleyman's succession. If anything, these expectations were intensified by Süleyman's accession, as he was born at the outset of the tenth century of the Islamic calendar, in the year 900 after the Hegira (1494 CE), and became the tenth Ottoman sultan.[46] One apocalyptic text written early in Süleyman's reign referred to the influential Sufi writer Ibn Arabi's (12th-13th c.) authority to argue for Süleyman's messianism:

> "As for his [i.e., Ibn Arabi's] statement, 'The letter M will appear after nine,' this signifies after nine rulers or nine centuries. As for the rulers, the first and the last are the letter S; God knows best, it seems the first and last of them are Selīm, and the letter M, signifying the Mahdi, is after them."[47]

Süleyman I lived up to these expectations and contended both ideologically and politically against other claimants of universal rule: the Safavids, the Habsburgs, and the Valois. Süleyman's greatest rival was Charles V, the Habsburg monarch who ruled not only over the Holy Roman Empire but also over Spain, the southern Italian kingdoms, the Netherlands, and an overseas empire.[48] Süleyman's first decade in power was marked by a westward expansion that culminated in the First Siege of Vienna, the Habsburg capital, in 1529.[49] In 1532, Süleyman led another march towards Vienna, organizing parades to counter Charles's claim to Roman Caesardom by showcasing "costly helmets studded with dazzling jewels and pearls," including a headgear that resembled a greater version of the papal tiara, implying Süleyman's superiority.[50] Universal rulership was so central to Süleyman's rule that he always addressed Charles as "King of Spain," never acknowledging the latter's imperial titles.[51] The Ottomans struggled against the Habsburgs over dominance in the Mediterranean, warred over the control of Hungary, expanded into Safavid lands, and led expeditions to the Indian Ocean against the Portuguese. The struggle for world dominance was omnipresent, and symbols of power played an important role in this struggle.

Süleyman contended for universal command through divine rulership.[52] His conviction sprung from the prognostications of his court geomancer, Haydar: Süleyman

[46] Fleischer, "A Mediterranean Apocalypse:" 59.
[47] I made some stylistic changes to the original; the clarification in brackets is Fleischer's; Ibid., 58.
[48] Ibid., 60.
[49] Ibid., 62.
[50] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (1989): 401–27.
[51] Ibid., 411.
[52] Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah."

would live a hundred years to see the end of the first millennium and establish "the universal rule of Islam," with the help of saintly armies as both the spiritual and the temporal ruler of the century.[53] Under Süleyman's rule, divine rulership was articulated so that the titles tying the sultan to the divine—such as "the lord of the conjunction" and "God's shadow"—started to be used by petitioners and officials alike.[54] Historical works created both inside and outside of Süleyman's court cast him as "the divinely appointed ruler of the world," who had prophetic guidance and saintly aid.[55] As historian Özgen Felek notes, people tied to the divine were perceived as free of certain maladies and at least one type of mental illness (epilepsy); rather than being afflicted by diseases, they offered cures to them.[56] Therefore, during the reign of Süleyman, Ottomans formulated a divine mode of rulership that placed the sultan away from mental illnesses.

Nonetheless, Süleyman, likely convinced that he would not live long enough to see the new millennium and frustrated by his sons' struggles to secure succession once he was gone, later abandoned his early image of a world-conquering messiah.[57] As observed by historian Cemal Kafadar, around the same time Charles divided his possessions between his brother and his son and secluded himself in a monastery, effectively ending his claim of forming a universal empire headed by a single monarch, Süleyman also adopted a much more modest and "orthodox image for the sultanate."[58] In the latter part of his reign, Süleyman oversaw the formation of a "bureaucratic" empire in which the lines of promotion were predetermined; the reigning sultan no longer needed to choose a grand vizier as everyone knew that the grand vizier, once dismissed or dead, would be replaced by the second vizier.[59]

Crisis and Madness in the Post-Süleymanic Age

Following Süleyman I's death in 1566, the empire Selim II (r. 1566-74) inherited was already bureaucratic. This left the sultan much less room to operate. Later sultans attempted to emulate Süleymanic rulership, perhaps to restore the empire to what many

[53] Ibid., 169-71.
[54] Ibid., 167-68.
[55] Ibid., 168-69.
[56] Özgen Felek, "Epilepsy as a 'Contagious' Disease in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Ottoman World," in *Plague and Contagion in the Islamic Mediterranean*, ed. by Nükhet Varlık (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2017), 153–76.
[57] Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah."
[58] Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 20.
[59] Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*, 92.

contemporaries considered to be its golden age.[60] However, both the crises the Ottomans faced and the empowerment of elite households and greater political participation of the urban population made a return to Süleymanic absolutism difficult.

In the post-Süleymanic era, the Ottomans shifted from its earlier practice of succession wars to the succession of the oldest male of the dynasty. Selim appointed only his oldest son, Prince Murad, to a governorship, leaving him the only prince with an independent power base.[61] Once Selim was dead, Murad III (r. 1574-95) simply sailed to the capital, met the grand vizier (an encounter displaying vizierial power), and acceded to the throne, ordering the execution of his brothers who were already at the court.[62] This new practice left no room for showing divine favor by out-competing other claimants. Demonstrating this shift in succession, between the mid-16th and the 18th centuries, *"devlet"* gradually lost its earlier meaning of "favor" and "sultanic power" and started to denote the state as an entity distinct from its ruler.[63]

Despite being only the second post-Süleymanic sultan, Murad III's reign marked the beginning of a new era in Ottoman rule, one full of fiscal and economic crises, revolts, political instability, and a growing consciousness of the polity's decline.[64] Indeed, many scholars identified either the accession of Murad in 1574 or the 1580 assassination of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, the grand vizier who served under Süleyman I, Selim II, and Murad III, as the beginning of the Ottoman decline.[65] Murad III's portrayals somewhat paralleled those of İbrahim I. According to chroniclers, when he succeeded his father as the new Ottoman ruler, he was sexually impotent.[66] Peçevi İbrahim (d. 1650), an Ottoman chronicler who lived through Murad's reign, wrote that Murad's impotence was due to a spell. [67] Once the spell was lifted, Murad was involved in sexual activities to such a degree that they eventually caused his death.[68] Despite this overindulgence in sex, along with the military defeats and financial difficulties that marked his reign, Murad was not faced with the fatal reaction İbrahim received half a century afterward. Indeed,

[60] Marinos Sariyannis, "The 'Golden Age' as a Political Agenda: The Reform Literature," in *A History of Ottoman Political Thought up to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 188–232.
[61] Ibid., 61.
[62] Ibid., 98.
[63] Sariyannis, "Ruler and State, State and Society in Ottoman Political Thought:" 96-101.
[64] This era constituted what Baki Tezcan calls "the formative period of the Second Empire (1580-1703),"; Baki Tezcan, "The Second Empire: The Transformation of the Ottoman Polity in the Early Modern Era," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 29, no. 3 (December 1, 2009): 556–72.
[65] Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*, 56.
[66] Özgen Felek, "(Re)Creating Image and Identity: Dreams and Visions as a Means of Murad III's Self-Fashioning," in *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies*, ed. by Özgen Felek and Alexander D. Knysh (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2013): 253.
[67] Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevi Tarihi*, ed. by Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, Kültür Bakanlığı yayınları (Ankara: KTB, 1982), 3.
[68] Ibid.

in the dream letters that he sent to Şeyh Süca, Murad acknowledged a holy fool (*meczub*, [divinely] pulled one) as connected to the divine. After recounting a holy fool's warning of bad omens, Murad wrote:[69]

> This made me extremely uneasy; what do you think of it? Don't forget to mention me in your prayers; may God Almighty save the Muslims and his poor one [me]! Have you ever seen that holy fool? My fortunate one, has he ever conversed with you? God knows I have perished out of my sorrow.[70]

These lines come from *Kitabü'l-Menamat*, a compilation of Murad's dream visions, which was prepared during Murad's reign.[71] This shows that Murad felt no discomfort in publicizing taking a holy fool seriously. More importantly, Murad associates himself with saints throughout the text, identifying himself as the greatest of all saints and performing miracles.[72] Since saints themselves were often depicted as holy fools in Sufi literature, such a strong association might have strengthened accusations of madness against İbrahim.[73]

The ease with which Murad III associated himself with saints and took holy fools seriously was related to divine rulership. Murad, acceding to the throne a few decades before the end of the first Islamic millennium, narrated his dreams in a way that bolstered his messianic claims: Murad's dreams closely mirrored the Islamic expectations of the messiah, and his future mission as a divine ruler was confirmed through divine inspirations received in dreams.[74] Therefore, Murad fashioned himself in a way reminiscent of the Süleymanic era, portraying his rule as divinely ordained.

Murad III was not alone in depicting Ottoman rulership as divine. Hoca Sadeddin Efendi (d. 1599), Murad's mentor and a prominent powerholder, described the ideal ruler as esoterically tied to the divine in his *Selimname,* a collection of anecdotes about Selim I.[75] In one anecdote, a sheikh foretold Selim's triumph over the Safavid forces under Shah İsmail's command and said that "the spirits" were "with him," i.e., Selim was supported

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[69] Özgen Felek, ed., *Kitabü'l-Menamat: Sultan III. Murad'ın Rüya Mektupları*, Birinci basım (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014), 243.
[70] Ibid., 243.
[71] Ibid., 15.
[72] Özgen Felek, "Re-Creating Image and Identity: Dreams and Visions as a Means of Murad III's Self-Fashioning" (Ph.D. Thesis, 2010): 125-29.
[73] For holy fools, see Michael W. Dols, *Majnun: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 410-22.
[74] Özgen Felek, "(Re)Creating Image and Identity:" 263-66.
[75] Saʿdeddīn Efendi, *Prognostic Dreams, Otherworldly Saints, and Caliphal Ghosts: A Critical Edition of Saʿdeddīn Efendi's (d. 1599) Selimname*, ed. by H. Erdem Çıpa (Brill, 2021).

by divine forces.[76] In the final anecdote, Sadeddin noted that macrocosmic signs of Selim's greatness were in place at the time of his birth: "The beneficial body of the aforementioned ruler, whose sins are forgiven, emerged, and that moon of the constellation of kingship rose from the horizon of felicity."[77] The auspicious rule of Selim was divinely determined at his birth and astrologically demonstrated by the positions of celestial bodies.

Despite all the evocations of divine rulership, Murad III's sanity did not go completely unchallenged. Mustafa Âli (d. 1600), an Ottoman bureaucrat and a contemporary of Murad, wrote of rumors regarding Murad's mental health, with some people claiming that the sultan was actually an epileptic.[78] Nonetheless, Mustafa Âli was quick to dismiss the claims.[79]

Therefore, divine rulership was still safe during the reign of Murad III. Yet, things quickly changed in the following decades, with Mustafa I (r. 1617-18 and 1622-23), Murad's grandson, becoming the first post-Süleymanic sultan to be dethroned in 1618. The dethronement of the sultan marked a shift in the conception of rulership, which used to be beyond the control of anyone but God. However, Mustafa's reign also marked a transitional stage between the saintly madness of Murad III and the medicalized madness of İbrahim I.

As early as 1618, shortly after Mustafa I's accession and before his dethronement, an anonymous pamphlet published in London associated divine rulership with the sultan.[80] The pamphlet was on the life of Mustafa I under the reign of Ahmed I (r. 1603-17), his brother; despite the custom for Ottoman sultans to execute their brothers upon accession to eliminate rivals, Mustafa became the first prince to escape such a fate.[81] According to the pamphlet, although Ahmed I planned to execute Mustafa, divine intervention prevented the latter's death:

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[76] Ibid., 57.
[77] This is the final anecdote, at least in the manuscript Erdem Çıpa translated; there might be variations across manuscripts; Ibid., 72.
[78] Felek, "Epilepsy as a 'Contagious' Disease:" 171-72.
[79] Ibid., 171-72.
[80] *Nevves from Turkie. Or a True and Perfect Relation Sent from Constantinople: Touching the Death of Achmet the Last Emperour of the Turkes. As Also the Miraculous Deliuerances of Mustapha, (Brother to the Said Achmet Then Emperour,) and His Strang Escapes from His Purposed Death. Together with the Memorable Accesse of the Said Mustapha into the Turkish Empire, and a Narration of Such Things as Haue since Happened*, electronic resource (London: Printed by William Iones for Samuell Nealand, and Nathaniell Browne, 1618), https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240892294/9984843I.
[81] Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*, 46-47.

> When that Achmet [Ahmed I] sawe that he had Children, many times he proposed to his Councell the putting to death of his brother [Mustafa I] and it seemeth miraculous that the same Councell came not to effect. For among other times it is reported that one euening his death hauing beene determined and appointed to be executed the day following, the Emperor Achmet found himselfe all the night long so troubled with apparitions and hidious dreames, that the day being come, he sayd, seeing that the onely resolution of putting his brother to death had so troubled him, he did beleeue that his paine and torment would be much encreased, if he should execute his purpose, and therefore he commaunded, that his brother should liue.
>
> Another time, (…) Achmet entering into choller (through distrust) tooke his Bowe (which he could drawe with great dexterity and good ayme) and bending the same with the Arrowe couched, he aymed at his brother to sticke him but at the very instant he felt so great paine in his arme and shoulder, that being not able to execute his purpose, he said with a loud voice that God would not that Mustapha should dy.[82]

According to the report, although Ahmed tried to get rid of his brother multiple times, each time, divine interference saved Mustafa from dying, convincing Ahmet that God wanted Mustafa to survive. While the veracity of the report can be questioned, it was known that Ahmed accorded great importance to dreams and dream narratives.[83] Given that the episode suggested that Ahmed refrained from executing his brother after a dream, the report likely came from someone close to the courtly circles. This account shows that it was believed that God picked Mustafa to rule over the Ottoman Empire.

Nonetheless, this divine source did not keep the Ottomans from replacing Mustafa with his nephew, Osman II (r. 1618-22), only a few months after the publication of this pamphlet, with the charges of being mad.[84] According to Peçevi, the chief mufti (*şeyhülislam*, the chief religio-legal official) and the interim grand vizier had initially thought enthroning the oldest male of the dynasty (Mustafa) mattered more than ensuring the sultan's mental health.[85] However, news concerning Mustafa's "weird behavior," including kicking the grandees' headgear and throwing out gold and silver

[82] *Nevves from Turkie. Or a True and Perfect Relation Sent from Constantinople*.
[83] Ahmet Tunç Şen, "A Mirror for Princes, A Fiction for Readers: The Habname of Veysi and Dream Narratives in Ottoman Turkish Literature," *Journal of Turkish Literature*, 2011: 50.
[84] Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy*, 11.
[85] Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevi Tarihi*, 337-38.

coins at the fish, birds, and poor, had spread across the city and necessitated his removal.[86] While Mustafa's madness, if anything, was deemed a divine sign at the start of his reign, his madness also resulted in his dethronement only a year later, marking this time as a transitional period.

Mustafa II's alleged madness also did not keep him from becoming the sultan again after Osman II was dethroned and executed in 1622 for his alleged plans to cross to Anatolia and form a new standing army.[87] Hüseyin Tuği, a contemporary who participated in the rebellion that led to Mustafa's enthronement, characterized the short-lived reign of Osman as one marked by ill omens, including unprecedented floods in the capital, a "great plague," and the freezing of the Bosphorus: "That year [1620], shortages hit. As you know, food supplies and grain arrive in Istanbul through the sea; is it possible for ships to arrive once the sea turns into land?"[88] Immediately after this remark, Tuği added: "Know also that both Sultan Ahmed and Sultan Osman tried to kill Sultan Mustafa multiple times but failed, because God had no such will," presenting further evidence that Mustafa's survival was deemed the result of divine intervention.[89] In his account of the rebellion, Tuği also described Mustafa as a divinely anointed sultan who could foretell the future, drawing parallels between the lives of Mustafa and the Prophet Joseph.[90] Tuği even underlined the rulership's divinity by referring to the sultan as "Mustafa the Saint."[91]

Such views evoked a past conception of rulership but failed to save Mustafa from once again being dethroned and subsequently executed. This changing conception of rulership was captured in the writings of Samuel Purchas (1577-1626), a contemporary European travel writer. Purchas wrote that "Mustafa was esteemed rather holy (that is franticke) than wise and indeed fitter for a cell than a scepter."[92] The divine conception of rulership that marked sixteenth-century Ottoman rule was on a decline due to decades of crises and transformations. According to Purchas, holiness was no longer deemed important to be fit to rule, and the aura of divinity surrounding Mustafa I and his madness was what ultimately led to his removal. Despite the great change in attitudes towards sultanic madness in the few decades between Murad III's and Mustafa's reigns,

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[86] Ibid.
[87] Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play*, 9-29.
[88] Yeniçeri Solak Hüseyin Tuği, "Tuği Tarihi," ed. by Mithat Sertoğlu, *Belleten* 11, no. 43 (1947): 506.
II," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 72, no. 1 (2009): 49-55.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Baki Tezcan, "The History of a 'Primary Source': The Making of Tûghî's Chronicle on the Regicide of Osman II," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 72, no. 1 (2009): 49-55.
[91] Ibid., 53.
[92] Purchas, *Relation*, 1370, quoted in A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 64a.

it took the reign of İbrahim I for the dissociation between sultanic madness and divinity to be complete.

Driving İbrahim Mad

Having studied the changing nature of madness and kingship, I turn to the study of İbrahim I and his madness.

Vecihi Efendi (1620-61), a contemporary of İbrahim, noted that Cinci Hüseyin Efendi, an exorcist, was summoned to the court only when medical remedies failed to address the sultan's heart tremors (*renc-i hafakan*).[93] Katip Çelebi (1609-57), another contemporary, wrote that years spent under house arrest and the fear of death led the sultan to develop the symptoms of "some melancholic (*sevdavi*) diseases. (…) Saying that 'the material cures don't suffice,'" İbrahim preferred the religious healing that "great and luminous men" offered, and soon afterward, Cinci Hüseyin was summoned.[94]

Notably, both accounts recognized İbrahim's condition as a disease and noted that the sultan appealed to Cinci Hüseyin only after considering "material cures" insufficient. Evliya Çelebi (1611-1685), the famous Ottoman traveler, did not recognize İbrahim's illness but gave more direct information regarding its nature:

> In the year (-), when the late sultan acceded to the throne, the grand vizier was Kara Mustafa Pasha – a pasha who was benevolent to the state and brave. After executing him, all male courtiers and dwarves and mutes and eunuch Arabs and royal favorites and concubines and Cinci Hoca and Hezarpare Grand Vizier Ahmed Pasha found opportunities to manipulate that gullible (*sade-dil*) sultan into adopting multiple excesses which led him to accept bribes from viziers, bureaucrats, religious scholars, and religious men to buy some goods.
>
> And they led the sultan deep into intimate affairs with women (*zenan sohbeti*) and diverted the revenues from Egypt to Mülki Bula and Şekerpare Bula and Telli Haseki and Saçbağlı Haseki, giving each of them one Egyptian treasury, and one

[93] Vecihi Hasan, *Vecihi Tarihi: Sadeleştirilmiş ve Kısaltılmış Şekliyle*, ed. by Buğra Atsız, 1. Baskı, Post/Tarih (İstanbul: Post, 2016), 50-51.
[94] Kâtip Çelebi, *Fezleke*, 324.

> treasury even to Cinci Hoca, and many treasuries were used for meaningless palaces and festivities and mansions covered with sable.[95]

Claes Rålamb (d. 1622-98), a Swedish ambassador who visited Constantinople in 1657, echoed Evliya Çelebi and the chroniclers in his description of the reign of İbrahim:

> In the room of Sultan Murat [Murad IV], his brother Sultan İbrahim was set up for emperor, who was naturally stupid; (…) Kara Mustafa Passa the vizir being a prudent man, and reflecting on the new emperor's incapacity as well as inclination to women and all sorts of pleasures, and fearing lest his follies might prove obstructions to his carrying on the administration, he supplied the emperor with store of beautiful women, musicians, and other pleasures to which the emperor addicted himself to intirely, that he never thought of the government, but left it to the vizir's care. He had nine women given him for his lawful and principal wives, who were called hassaki Sultanas [sultan's favorites], and were to serve him alternately, among whom was one named, on account of her beauty and agreeableness, Szekerpara (as much as to say a bit of sugar) [Şekerpare Hatun, lit. Sugar Lump] who gained the emperor's heart preferable to others; and being a quick and cunning woman set the emperor upon many extravagancies. She brought it about that Jussuff capitan bassa [Yusuf Pasha, the chief admiral], who returned victorious from Candia, lost his life, merely because he had brought her no presents; she made the emperor waste upon her and the other women the whole treasure which Sultan Murad had heaped up, and distributed all offices in the empire among his favourites.[96]

The parallels between these distinct narratives show a shared understanding of İbrahim I and the nature of his illness. These narratives allow us to draw some conclusions. Firstly, at least after his dethronement, the sultan's condition was widely viewed as a natural ailment. Although the sultan relied on religious healing, he probably first tried his luck with educated physicians. Only after finding out that the physicians were incapable of curing him did he reach out to the exorcist Cinci Hüseyin. This was

[95] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. I. Kitap*, ed. by Ali Kahraman, Robert Dankoff, and Yücel Dağlı (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, n.d.).
[96] Claes Rålamb, *A Relation of a Journey to Constantinople: Giving an Account of Divers Occurrences, How Far the King of Sweden's Commission Was Executed There, as Also of the State of the Turkish Monarchy at That Time, Being a Reportmade to the Most Potent Prince, Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals* (London: printed for Henry Lintot and John Osborn, 1745), 693.

very much in line with the Ottoman (and the premodern) medical scene, which was marked by a variety of medical doctrines and greater patient power.[97] In any case, İbrahim was considered to suffer from an ailment and was not regarded as a saint or a holy fool. This was the result of medicalization and the desacralization of the sultan and his body. Secondly, the narratives suggest that İbrahim's illness was caused by excessive occupation with sexual activities. Immoderate sexuality causing harm was in line with the dominant medical paradigm, humoralism, which advised balance in all activities.[98]

According to multiple narratives, İbrahim's excesses harmed the empire and eventually led to his dethronement. The sultan was still expected to "rule over the sultanate of the body," as expressed by Dervish Hasan, a Sufi preacher, a few decades ago.[99] More directly, in Katip Çelebi's account, Abdurrahim Efendi, one of the plotters against İbrahim, links İbrahim's behaviors to the adherence to the outdated divine rulership:

> "(...) The reason behind this sultan's [İbrahim I] strangeness is Mehmed Pasha. He was quite a sycophant. After he replaced Mustafa Pasha following his execution, he turned – in an attempt to save his life – into such a sycophant that even the mindless (*haliyyü'z-zihn*) sultan realized this. The sultan one day inquired: My teacher Mustafa Pasha used to sometimes disagree with me and say certain things are not possible. I have never heard such words from you (...) [Mehmed Pasha responded:] You are the caliph on earth, God's shadow. What comes from your radiating face is divinely inspired. In terms of expression and action, you do no wrong; therefore, there is no reason to disagree."[100]

The "feeble-minded (*safi-meşreb*)" sultan, according to Abdurrahim Efendi, took Mehmed Pasha's words too seriously, which led him to discount others' advice and indulge himself in excesses.

Notably, Abdurrahim Efendi—or Katip Çelebi—blamed İbrahim I for using titles that belonged to the divinely ordained, messianic sultans of the sixteenth century. These titles were adopted by Ottoman rulers and used to a great extent in daily

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[97] Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, *Ottoman Medicine: Healing and Medical Institutions*, 1500-1700 (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2010); Roy Porter, "The Patient's View: Doing Medical History from Below," *Theory and Society* 14, no. 2 (1985): 175–98.
[98] Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900*, Studies on the History of Society and Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 32-33.
[99] Derin Terzioglu, "Sunna-Minded Sufi Preachers in Service of the Ottoman State: The Nasihatname of Dervish Hasan Addressed to Murad IV," *Archivum Ottomanicum*, no. 27 (2010): 285.
[100] Kâtip Çelebi, *Fezleke*, 925.

correspondence, especially in the earlier years of Süleyman I's reign. However, in İbrahim's time, Süleymanic rulership was outdated to the degree that taking titulature connecting the ruler directly to the divine seriously was regarded as inappropriate.

Conclusions

When viewed together, the conception of rulership and the experiences of insanity can offer glimpses into how medical and political theories shaped and were shaped by each other and by the changing circumstances of the Ottoman state. In the sixteenth century, the Ottoman rulers used titles denoting their connection to the divine, but these same titles were deemed inappropriate in the mid-seventeenth century and were tied to excesses, insanity, and dethronement.

The titles held special significance for the Ottomans because they conferred a sacral status to the sultans. As power was devolved, the desacralization of the sultan and the emergence of the state as a distinct entity also followed. The desacralized sultan was no longer the Süleymanic saintly conqueror but a sedentary figure who could be replaced by statesmen.

Surely, neither desacralization nor medicalization followed a steady path to modernity. Although the study of three mad sultans here suggests a gradual desacralization and medicalization, expanding the study to encompass more monarchs would yield a more complex picture. Murad IV (r. 1623-40), İbrahim's predecessor and older brother, probably had a stronger aura of sacrality around him, especially given the military expeditions he led against the Safavids. Additionally, desacralization was never completed; İbrahim I was still divinely ordained. This was what led to his execution, as there could not have been two caliphs at the same time.

Apart from these findings, the article leaves many questions unanswered. The channels of transmission between medical theory and political theory, the historiographical reconstruction of mad sultans, and the changing conceptions of insanity are only a few research topics that would have enriched our understanding of the relations studied here. As Ottomanists and their audience started to conceptualize madness more in more medical terms, they lost sight of how early modern madness was understood and reconstructed the sultans' insanity in modern terms; popular books, plays, and TV shows might have contributed to this reconstruction. In any way, this article should be taken as a preliminary and a very limited first step.

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Reimagining Influence: Movement and Identity in a Pre- and Post-Colonial Indian Ocean

Petra Ellerby

Abstract

This brief study seeks to illuminate complex changes and persistent continuities apparent in the history of Indian Ocean interchange both before and after the advent of European hegemony. Its core historiographical contributions involve a re-framing of European power and a corresponding emphasis on the agency, influence, and impact of indigenous actors throughout the early-modern and modern eras. The paper's argument points toward an understanding of Indian Ocean history that moves beyond tidy and self-contained narratives of 'cosmopolitanism, interrupted' and engages instead with multifaceted patterns of mutual influence, negotiation, and cooperation—adaption as well as adoption—which exist on both sides of a modern-premodern/Indigenous-European chronological and cultural divide.

Introduction

This brief study seeks to illuminate complex changes and persistent continuities apparent in the history of Indian Ocean (IO) interchange both before and after the advent of European hegemony. Its core historiographical contributions involve a re-framing of imperial power and a corresponding emphasis on the agency, influence, and impact of indigenous actors throughout the early-modern and modern eras.

Central to this attempt is a move away from hermeneutic models which place Western presence in a privileged—and often primary—explanatory position. In order to effectively recenter academic discourse on pre-and post-colonial IO relations, the paper must interact with scholarship that portrays the premodern Indian Ocean as either a provincial arena or a realm of utopian pluralism.[1] Reductive accounts of twenty-first century regional homogeneity are likewise eschewed, and interpretations of IO affairs which allow for the endurance of key historical patterns up to but not through the end of European empire are also selected for critique. This revisionist methodology is by no means unprecedented; the present study follows Sugata Bose in centering "human agency, imagination, and action" against interpretations which assign principal exegetical power to an abstract and invulnerable West.[2] But while Bose and others have successfully dismantled "entrenched notions of a West versus the rest" as they apply to the imperial period itself,[3] an article-length treatment expansive enough to address historical continuities with origins before the medieval era remains to be seen.[4]

Indeed, it is the thesis of this short survey that a more careful collation of pre- and post-colonial Indian Ocean realities can reveal rich areas of cultural, ideological, and physical continuity.[5] This argument points toward an understanding of regional history

[1] See Amitav Ghosh, *In an Antique Land* (London: Granta, 2012), 288 for the argument that Portuguese explorers introduced violence "unprecedented on th[ese] shores."
[2] Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 4.
[3] Bose, *Horizons*, 4. For similarly nuanced understandings of European presence, consult Jane Hooper, "Pirates and Kings: Power on the Shores of Early Modern Madagascar and the Indian Ocean," *Journal of World History* 22, no. 2 (2011): pp. 215-242, https://doi.org/10.1353/jwh.2011.0053, Garth Myers, "Diaspora and Nation in the Indian Ocean: Transnational Histories of Race and Urban Space in Tanzania," *The AAG Review of Books* 4, no. 3 (February 2016): pp. 139-141, https://doi.org/10.1080/2325548x.2016.1187495, and Himanshu Prabha Ray and Edward A. Alpers, *Cross Currents and Community Networks: The History of the Indian Ocean World* (New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[4] The conversation as a whole would benefit from a more comprehensive effort to apply Bose's methodologies along a wider stretch of IO time. My own temporal lens is more expansive, my space shorter; less focus will be paid (accordingly) to the minutiae of political events, while more is directed towards the project of identifying and illuminating a few key threads or themes involving chronological continuity and mutual influence.
[5] Connections, that is, which challenge teleologies of dominance and problematize Eurocentric hermeneutics.

that moves beyond tidy and self-contained narratives of 'cosmopolitanism, interrupted' and engages instead with multifaceted patterns of mutual influence, negotiation, and cooperation—adaption as well as adoption—which exist on both sides of a modern-premodern/Indigenous-European chronological and cultural divide. Imperial influence cannot be ignored, of course, but its hegemonic role within canonical accounts of early-modern IO history should not be left unexamined. Replacing a unidirectional flow of influence and effect with a less linear perspective allows for more measured analyses of modern ideologies, more faithful reproductions of local realities, and more humane accounts of the innumerable lives which undergird this vital ocean's complex past. Such a compound inquiry can reveal not only the patterns and processes which structure our contemporary world but also the irony, contingency, and *tenuousness* associated with those forces—an understanding which functions, too, to endow indigenous entities with the agency determinism disallows.

Methods

The following work employs a pair of analytical categories designed to demonstrate two important (and interdependent) points. These interpretive classifications, created for hermeneutic ends and applied for the sake of argumentative organization, are identified with the words 'movement' and 'identity.' Movement is conceived in broad terms, allowing for the admission of topics ranging from migration and immigration to travel and trade. 'Identity,' in a similar fashion, is understood here to include ideas involving community, commonality, sovereignty, and statehood.[6] Both concepts are invoked in order to establish the diachronic parameters of key socio-cultural patterns, and each idea is also employed to illuminate complex realities of mutual influence which existed alongside Western power during the fifteenth through twentieth centuries.

In accordance with its emphasis on deep histories of movement and ideas, the study employs a variety of diverse sources which span from approximately 50 CE to the present day. The paper's initial analysis of premodern exchange prioritizes engagement with primary texts—among which include the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Ibn Battuta's *Rhila*, and assorted accounts of Zheng He's medieval voyages—while subsequent periods are generally viewed through a more historiographical lens. Events that span the modern and early-modern eras are of foremost concern, but a full and faithful account of both

[6] Shared conceptions of religious faith, geographical unity/boundaries, and the role of personal/commercial relations in creating inter-IO connections are also relevant.

changes *and* continuities demands engagement with more expansive temporal parameters than might otherwise be employed.

First addressed are a set of interconnected case studies involving economic and cultural exchange during the first through fifteenth centuries. The paper's second portion provides an introduction to European influence which is framed within an abbreviated discussion of its conventional historiographic presentation. Next in line are two related explorations which seek to complement (and complicate) this foundational understanding, adding indigenous influences and 'subaltern' ideas to our ever-expanding index of analysis. These final sections emphasize adaption and adjustment on the part of actors 'Western' and 'Eastern' alike, foregrounding the agency and impact attributable to a set of traditions which are—in spite of various arguments to the contrary—very much alive.[7]

Throughout all of these sequential sections, the shifting nature of regional affairs is never far from view. Nevertheless, it is the study's final focus on historical continuity and cultural perseverance which best captures its central aim: to illuminate both the power *and* contingency of the present moment, to dismantle monolithic models of modernity and replace them with a more complete account of those complex choices and compromises which undergird contemporary Indian Ocean history. It is here that we gain access to "a more fluid, more uncertain world: a world that resembles our own."[8]

Conflict and Cooperation in a Premodern Sea

It is a myth long since dispelled that European imperialism transformed the Indian Ocean from an "uncivilized" collection of disparate cultures into a connected and cosmopolitan "British lake." Michael Pearson and Sunil Amrith, among others, have written convincingly of a flourishing system that—even under imperial authority—owed much to a set of deep historical ties established well before the West was a power worthy of concern.[9] There is an abundance of recent scholarship willing to tackle this very clearly reductive idea, a veritable wave of convincing work.[10] No secondary studies, however, are as eloquent and informative as the descriptive documents we possess which were composed during the premodern era.

[7] See (for instance) Ghosh, *Antique Land*, 287-8.
[8] Amrith, *Crossing the Bay of Bengal*, 285.
[9] Pearson, *Indian Ocean*, 27-62 and Amrith, *Crossing the Bay of Bengal*, 13-9 and 27 *et passim*.
[10] See note 3 above. Bose's writings are of primary interest.

First in line among these assorted texts is the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, a first-century account of the IO world as recorded by an Egyptian Greek.[11] Written by an outsider, a 'Westerner',[12] this report is (nevertheless) a useful source for external information on Indian Ocean interchange during an era when European influence was neither uniform nor hegemonic. The author's focus lies primarily in the IO's western basin, and includes number of 'alien' peoples and unfamiliar products found along the shores of Eastern Africa,[13] Arabia,[14] the Gulf region,[15] Central India,[16] and even the land just north of the Ganges,[17] but there is also mention of goods from areas as far afield as Eastern China.[18] Though the *Periplus*' tone is often hostile,[19] its pages also contain useful ethnographic and economic observation. Spices, wine, gold, ivory, metals, cloth, flowers, silk, and precious stones, for example, are included within this web of economic and cultural interchange. The image that emerges is one of vigorous—although not entirely unified or uncontentious—maritime trade.[20]

Bias aside, the *Periplus* presents a useful portrait of an ancient IO world connected by complex networks of fiscal (and physical) interaction. But while the *Periplus*'s wide-ranging economic geography does imply—however obliquely—some semblance of conceptual Indian Ocean 'unity',[21] its etic narrative fails to capture the breadth of social relationships and shared ideas contained within these fundamentally human systems.

Not all hope, however, is lost. That critical set of affective and ideological information which is largely absent from the *Periplus*' pages can be addressed with the aid of in another, albeit later, text: Ibn Battuta's *Travels*. While this medieval manuscript

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[11] An individual (that is) "in active trade" who "personally made the voyage to India" (Wilfred H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century* [New Delhi, India: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1995], 15-6.)

[12] I.e. a Roman subject.

[13] Identified by the toponyms 'Opene' and 'Rhapata'. Cf. Schoff, *Periplus*, sections 15 and 16.

[14] 'Eudaemon' and 'Cana'. See (ibid.) sections 26-7.

[15] 'Spasini' and 'Charax'; consult section 35.

[16] ''Barbaricum', 'Barygaza' (sections 14 and 39).

[17] See section 47.

[18] 'Thinae'; section 48. The regions beyond China to the east and Africa to the west are described as being "difficult of access because of their excessive winters and great cold, or else cannot be sought out because of some divine influence of the gods" (section 66, p. 49; also cf. section 18).

[19] Various groups are described as "unruly", "quarrelsome", "piratical", "rascally", "villainous", "treacherous", "criminals", and "uncivilized". See (respectively) ibid. pp. 25, 26, 28, 29, 35, 36, 46, and 48.

[20] Cf. Ghosh, *Antique Land*, 18 for a medieval counterpart to this ancient exchange.

[21] This sense of coherence is established primarily through the *Periplus*' description of economic exchange, though it could also be argued that the author himself creates a negative framework for one (odd) IO 'identity' through his consistent depictions of disparate peoples/places as uniformly 'alien'.

does describe a world that is temporally distant from the *Periplus*' day, its comprehensive chronicle of IO trade meshes well with the Greco-Egyptian's earlier account.

Medieval adventurers of particular persuasions had one significant advantage over their first-century counterparts. Battuta, an Islamic emissary, operated within a world already linked by shared networks of confessional ties, common beliefs that greased the wheels of trade and travel alike.[22] For Battuta, these religious connections also applied to the personal sphere, and his *Rihla* is rife with accounts of temporary courtships (*mut'ah*) conducted with Islamic women indigenous to communities dispersed throughout the wider Indian Ocean.[23] Battuta, "like other scholars who circulated among the cities and princely courts of Islam, sought marriage as a way of gaining admission to local elite circles and securing a base of social and political support".[24] Though descriptions of economic affairs are not absent from the *Travels* as a whole, it is this understanding of a translocal (though not universal) IO *identity* which predominates—and pervades every aspect of Battuta's text.[25]

The *Rihla*'s eclectic combination of geographical, diaristic, and theological musings provides its readers with extensive insight into an idiosyncratic life—a life that, nevertheless, serves to illuminates shared realities regarding cultural and ideological interactions between such disparate locales as Iran, Arabia, Somalia, India, and Southeast Asia. Alongside its emphasis on spiritual affairs is an implicit engagement with intercultural connection *as well as* a demonstration of relevant geographical knowledge, two additional identity-related considerations which tie Battuta's exploration to that of the *Periplus*. (A common spatial conception or *schema* of Indian Ocean topography is one additional aspect that might be associated with this study's analytical

[22] The role of the Hajj is relevant here, as is the place of casual conversion in allowing indigenous individuals to 'contravene' cultural strictures against ocean crossings. Cf. Gaiutra Bahadur, *Coolie Woman: the Odyssey of Indenture* (London: Hurst & Company, 2016), (note to) page 46. See also Scott S. Reese, *Imperial Muslims - Islam, Community and Authority in the Indian Ocean, 1839* (Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

[23] (*Rihla*' is the title of Battuta's *Travels* when written in its shortened (and Romanized) Arabic form.) See Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta, a Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012), 327 for one example. See also Scott S. Reese, *Imperial Muslims - Islam, Community and Authority in the Indian Ocean, 1839* (Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 5 (note 20; also consult page 169). Cf. p. 20 for the messier side of these economic/domestic partnerships.

[24] Dunn, *Battuta*, 232-3. In the Maldives, this effort resulted in an honorable posting as a chief judge, a *qadi* of the realm (234). Cf. Ulrike Freitag and William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean: 1750s-1960s* (Leiden: Brill, 1997),*&.

[25] In his (representative) recollections of a passage through the Gulf of Cambay, Battuta remarks upon the beauty of this "great emporia" and assigns its principal cause to the fact that "the majority of its inhabitants are foreign [and Islamic] merchants, who continually build there beautiful houses and wonderful mosques" (Dunn, *Battuta*, 218).

category of identity.)[26] For Battuta, religion was of paramount concern, but the richness of his account reveals much that is useful beyond this central preoccupation. On the whole, the *Rihla* acts as an informative encyclopedia of the cultural *and* economic *and* confessional interactions that underlay its author's physical travels.[27]

It is clear, then, that Islam was not the only force which marked and mediated cross-cultural contact within Ibn Battuta's medieval ocean. Traders and travelers of various stripes engaged with their wider world through frameworks of exchange and behavior dictated by diverse socio-political (and -economic) structures. The Chinese diplomat-explorer Zheng He's fifteenth-century voyages reflect a complex relationship with internal Chinese political affairs, an uneasy but spectacular marriage between martial, cultural, and economic concerns.[28] Ramisht of Siraf, a twelfth-century "merchant millionaire", provided lavish support for Islamic institutions, a practice which can be argued to represent political as much as religious motivations.[29] And the tangled world of cross-cultural relationships unwoven throughout Amitav Ghosh's monumental *In an Antique Land* (1992) provides even more evidence for a truly pluralistic ocean, a theater of human action which was united in part by religion, in part by economics, in part by mutual spatial conceptions,[30] and in part by affection—a world in which a Jewish merchant could reasonably write to an Islamic Arabic trader about merchandise, money, *and* love. (One such text, included in Ghosh's introductory chapter, is "lit with [a] warmth" that personalizes its mercantile context.[31] "I was glad when I looked at your letter", exclaims the trader Khalaf Ibn Ishaq, "even before I had taken notice of its contents. [...] You mentioned, my master [referring to the friend and business partner Abraham Ben Yiju], that you were longing for me. Believe me that I feel twice as

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[26] See Himanshu Prabha Ray, *The Archaeology of Knowledge: Traditions of the Indian Ocean World* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2021) for "conceptualization[s] of the seas and maritime landscapes in Sanskrit, Arabic and Chinese narratives". For the ideological counterpart to this geographical concept, consult Scott S. Reese, *Imperial Muslims - Islam, Community and Authority in the Indian Ocean, 1839* (Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

[27] Cf. the 12th-century travels of one Ramisht of Siraf, a "merchant millionaire" whose colorful life epitomized this symbiotic marriage of IO commerce and Islamic religion. (S. M. Stern, "Rāmisht of Sīrāf, a Merchant Millionaire of the Twelfth Century," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 99, no. 1 [1967]: pp. 10-14, https://doi.org/10.1017/s0035869x00125110, esp. pp. 10.)

[28] Robert Finlay, "The Voyages of Zheng He: Ideology, State Power, and Maritime Trade in Ming China," *Journal of The Historical Society* 8, no. 3 (2008): pp. 327-347, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5923.2008.00250.x, 330-1. For an indigenous (and contemporaneous) perspective on this complex question, consult Ma Huan, "Ma Huan: Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan, 'the Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores' (1433)," trans. J.V.G. Mills, Internet Archive, accessed March 14, 2022, https://archive.org/details/ying-yai-sheng-lan-j.-v.-g-mills/page/141/mode/2up. See also Ying Liu, Zhongping Chen, and Gregory Blue, *Zheng He's Maritime Voyages (1405-1433) and China's Relations with the Indian Ocean World: A Multilingual Bibliography* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

[29] See Stern, *Ramisht*, 12-13.

[30] I.e., common conceptions of connected 'IO' lands. See also note 28.

[31] Ghosh, *Antique Land*, 18.

strongly and even more than what you have described".[32] Ben Yiju's slave, Bomma, is also the recipient of "plentiful greetings".[33])

This cosmopolitan world of commerce and companionship was not, however, absent conflict. Battuta's travels were dogged by various episodes of civil strife, and the scholar himself became a political prisoner during his time in India.[34] Political landscapes familiar from one trip were foreign on another; shifting borders of statehood and sovereignty both combatted and complemented larger notions of Indian Ocean community.[35] The vagaries of conflict (economic, cultural, military) are apparent throughout the recorded history of this vast region, and the rise and fall of various major IO cities[36]—not to mention civilizations—stretches back well beyond the fourteenth century.[37]

Taken together, this collection of circumstances and concepts, identities and ideas, commonalities and conflicts convey a sense of awe. A strange sort of pluralistic coherence is certainly apparent: despite the absence of one all-powerful religion or universalizing political system, piecemeal commonalities of faith, interest, knowledge, and economy cannot be overlooked. But similar patterns are apparent in the violence and discord which exist alongside these important realities, challenging processes and unsettling events which belie any reductive account of the premodern Indian Ocean that presents its past as either insuperably inhospitable[38] or innocently utopian.[39] If anything may reasonably be said of this history as a unit, it must have recourse to the full complexity which necessarily underlies such an idiosyncratic and animated world.

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Dunn, *Battuta*, 216 and 218. As Battuta "made his way out of the sultanate of Delhi", writes Dunn, "it progressively collapsed behind him".

[35] This conflict between local ideologies and larger networks of trade/travel/interchange is especially apparent in Robert Finlay, "The Voyages of Zheng He: Ideology, State Power, and Maritime Trade in Ming China," *Journal of The Historical Society* 8, no. 3 (2008): pp. 327-347, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5923.2008.00250.x.

[36] Often entrepôts. See note 37.

[37] The *Periplus*' incidental description of small-scale (and often internecine) conflict is of some relevance. See section 7, among others. One example drawn from the medieval Persian/Arabian Gulf also illustrates the persistent presence of dynamic conditions. The decline (and fall) of Siraf, Ramisht's native city, and the ascension of Kish, an entrepôt located slightly south of its ill-fated counterpart, dramatize the seismic effects of conflict and competition in a premodern IO world. In the words of its principal historian, David Whitehouse, this shift in power reflects events both at home ("political fragmentation" and "the changing fortunes of local rulers") and abroad ("a background of economic decline caused by events in Iran and Iraq and by the diversion of trade from the Gulf to the Red Sea"). See David Whitehouse, "Maritime Trade in the Gulf: The 11th and 12th Centuries," *World Archaeology* 14, no. 3 (1983): pp. 328-334, https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.1983.9979872, 234 and 328.

[38] And 'uncivilized', and cutthroat, and disunited/disconnected.

[39] And, hence, both exotic and alien.

As a whole, this introductory section has served to establish the possibility of a self-contained IO system during the centuries before European hegemony.[40] Rich realities of conflict and cooperation illustrate the relevance and persistence of both movement- and identity-oriented considerations. And while this primary exploration cannot combat tendentious scholarship centered only on the modern era, it functions well to forward a foundational understanding of key historical patterns which will scaffold this paper's treatment of continuity and change during the age of imperial power.

The 'European' Epoch

Within the established historiographical tradition rejected by recent revisionist studies,[41] Ibn Battuta's rich and muddled era met its inevitable end with the arrival of European explorers during the long fifteenth century. According to this teleological account, Vasco da Gama's 1498 expedition was the death knell of Indian Ocean independence, the beginning of the end for everything 'unique' and 'untarnished' in greater regional affairs. Even the eminent scholar K.M. Panikkar, in his *Survey of the Vasco da Gama Epoch of Asian History*, succumbed to a similarly deterministic view, writing that the 'four hundred and fifty years which began with the arrival of Vasco da Gama in Calicut [...] and ended with the withdrawal of British forces from India in 1947 [...] constitute a clearly marked epoch of history'.[42] Within this framework, early Portuguese presence could have led to nothing but empire.[43]

There can be no denying the magnitude of change attributable to European activity in the Indian Ocean arena. Disruptions in patterns both physical and cultural upended long-established traditions of interaction and identity, creating chaos in and

[40] In another formulation: the IO world was perfectly capable of war and peace, connection and commerce, continuity and change without 'Western' help.
[41] Bose's work is first among these important contributions. See above.
[42] K. M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance: A Survey of the Vasco Da Gama Epoch of Asian History* (New York, NY: John Day Co., 1959), 11. Panikkar's perspective is projected in his very title. See also pp. 12-3: "the da Gama epoch presents a singular unity in its fundamental aspects". This argument for the power of empire as a unifying force is echoed (with a good amount of added nuance) in Sunil Amrith's *Crossing the Bay of Bengal.* See below; also cf. Panikkar's page 15.
[43] For more on this "dishonest [...] trust in historical inevitability" that has supplanted the "bewilderment" which characterized early European accounts of IO expeditions, cf. Ghosh, *Antique Land*, 287. Da Gama's misinterpretation of Hindu ceremonies as Christian rites is also relevant. See Oliver J Thatcher and J S Arkenberg, trans., "Journal of Vasco Da Gama's Voyages," Internet history sourcebooks, accessed March 12, 2022, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1497degama.asp: "When the members of this expedition arrived in Calicut, they assumed that any inhabitants of the city who were not Muslims ['Moors'] were Christians. In fact the people they met were Hindus..."

among the intricate systems established centuries before Portuguese arrival. The influence of empire on extant ideas (and realities) of movement and migration was stark; economies of domination and subjugation created demands for labor that were satisfied by the advent of (official, institutionalized, primarily British) indentured servitude, the inter-ocean transportation of convict workers, and even an intensification and exploitation of recruitment strategies associated with the Islamic world's already-extant slave trade.[44]

Such attempts to impose imperial imperatives upon the physical patterns of Indian Ocean life were also tied with influence (and interference) of a more ideological or identity-related nature. As Gaiutra Bahadur illustrates in her powerful account of indentured servitude during the decades before 1917, the disorienting and denaturing effect of Britain's IO 'middle passage' robbed laborers of family, identity, and status.[45] For Hindu 'coolies', in particular, crossing the "black waters" (*kala pani*) entailed a loss of caste as well as a separation from history and homeland.[46] It is indeed difficult to imagine the medieval travels of Battuta and Ben Yiju within this newly systematized sphere of controlled movement and coerced migration.

Similarly powerful shifts were at play in the conceptual efforts essayed by imperial powers to carve discrete administrative categories out of ambiguous local realities. All across the shores of the Indian Ocean, European ideas (often essentialist) about race and identity clashed with systems more complex than these new frameworks were willing to admit. Cultures—and, especially, *cities*—with long histories of inter-IO migration proved particularly problematic for imperial agents; As Ned Bertz writes in his exploration of "Race and Urban Space in Tanzania", East Africa's "location as a historical crossroads for [...] circulations of diverse peoples" made "emerging and evolving conceptions about race" an especially disruptive external force.[47] Bertz's case study also provides important

[44] (In spite of Britain's 1807 ban.) Unable to find 'satisfactory' laborers in locales like Burma, European official facilitated the importation of 'foreign' workers from the Indian subcontinent in order to assuage an insatiable thirst for prosperity and profit. See Amrith, *Crossing the Bay of Bengal*, 103-4 and 119 (among others). For three informative accounts of the complex—and often excruciating—lived experiences associated with these various types of unfree labor, consult Bahadur, *Coolie Woman*, 66-7; Amrith (above), and Anand A. Yang, "Indian Convict Workers in Southeast Asia in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of World History* 14, no. 2 (2003): pp. 179-208, https://doi.org/10.1353/jwh.2003.0029, 180-6 and 202. Yang's article is especially relevant; in his eyes, convict transportation "had the added 'advantage' of supplying 'servants' to labor-deficit areas that were vital to the project of the British Empire" (190).

[45] According to Anand Yang, this disruptive effect was also essayedemployed by European (especially. British) officials to 'punish' Indian convict workers. See Yang, *Convict Workers*, 186.

[46] Bose, *Horizons*, 24 and Gaiutra Bahadur, *Coolie Woman: the Odyssey of Indenture* (London: Hurst & Company, 2016), 48, 46, 45, and especially 43. See also Amrith, *Crossing the Bay of Bengal,* 25.

[47] Ned Bertz, *Diaspora and Nation in the Indian Ocean: Transnational Histories of Race and Urban Space in Tanzania* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2015), 1. For related explorations involving race-based conceptual weaponry,

insight into the political/ideological impacts associated with these new sets of ideas and taxonomies: as he writes, racial categorizations were also employed for border-building and citizenship-related ends.[48]

Arguments involving the claim that European powers introduced new categories of political organization into the Indian Ocean's collective consciousness are among the more defensible assertions associated with generally deterministic accounts of British domination. It is impossible to deny that, "[a]s new colonial territories around the Indian Ocean were brought under British rule, the varied governing strategies formulated in the India of the Raj made their way across the sea".[49] The influence of these administrative 'innovations' was so pervasive as to effect even "such disparate matters as landholding, forest management, and the design of irrigation systems".[50] Ideology met reality, interacting with new (and old) ideas about movement and identity to create a new cultural system with far-reaching impacts.

Sunil Amrith's cogent history of the early-modern Bay of Bengal provides one window into a far-reaching conceptual influence that may be associated with this concrete imposition of tangible power.[51] As Amrith writes, it was already by the 1930s that (heretofore unremarkable) Indian Ocean migrants "appeared as people out of place" within a political landscape characterized by impermeable borders. Individuals who would have been at home in the era of Battuta or Ben Yiju now "troubled the architects of new nations"—a bitter irony which reveals the full extent of ideological hegemony established by European modernity. "The [Indian Ocean] that had echoed over centuries—a world of competing empires and overlapping diasporas—gave way to a sea of nations."[52] Civic tools employed by imperial agents had come to dominate regional discourse so completely that defiance *against* these structures was framed within the only system now viable within this unfamiliar world: that of nation-states with borders and boundaries, citizens and aliens, members and "minorities".[53] Even the organizational

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see Leonard Y. Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree: Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2010) and (especially) Jonathon Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011).

[48] *Urban Space*'s focus on the formal ramifications of imperial ideas (thus) illuminates a second core conceptual tool employed by empire: the weapon of sovereignty.

[49] Thomas R. Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 16.

[50] Metcalf, *Imperial Connections*, 16.

[51] Power that was—here as before—framed within (ostensibly) alien civic structures.

[52] Amrith, *Crossing the Bay of Bengal*, 213.

[53] Ibid., 123. Modern and early-modern attempts at pan-Asian alliances, however illusive, also indicate the presence of shared conceptions regarding the geographical unity of a wider IO world. Cf. Zheng He's topographical/geographical command and/or Battuta's Islamic *umma* ('community'; see section 1 above).

structure of administrative evidence stored in national archives of various Indian Ocean nations "took as natural, and permanent, the political boundaries that emerged in the 1940s."[54]

The practical effects of this radical re-structuring must be acknowledged.[55] As is true of issues involving both migration and citizenship, powerful realities birthed by imperial ideology redounded directly upon the lived experiences of residents all around the Indian Ocean rim. Ties between the role of ideology and its real-life ramifications are readily apparent; the degree to which conceptual impositions associated with labor, race, and sovereignty affected the spatial structures of statehood and migration is almost comically clear.

This study's analytical categories of movement and identity/ideology are, then, never more relevant—and never more intertwined. But the correspondence between these core concerns does not imply a linear relationship, and the interaction between imperial impositions and older, indigenous structures is not as straightforward as it may seem.[56] Influence did not run in one direction only, and European power was never left unmediated or unchallenged.

Complexities and Continuities

The eras of European exploration, influence, and hegemony have earned a necessary reputation as markers of (and precursors to) the emergence of 'modernity' in a larger Indian Ocean world.[57] But this acknowledgment, while important, must take care not to imbue Western involvement with undue exegetical power in explaining the sum total of sociocultural changes visible during this turbulent era. Histories were disrupted, identities unmoored, but key influences located behind these assorted transformations include actions not adequately explained by one analytical framework.[58] Eurocentric rationales for a West-centered historiography of the 'European epoch' risk erasing reality

[54] Ibid., 214.
[55] The details of dispossession as experienced by various unfree migrant communities are indeed significant—and almost exclusively unhappy. Amrith's extended exploration of the means by which competing nationalisms were weaponized *by* IO communities *against* IO communities highlights one of the most painful ironies apparent in his larger account. See pp. 217-8, 222-4, and especially 230.
[56] Indeed, the irony inherent in these patchwork power-plays also indicates that something more is afoot—as does the fact that everything but *politics* was conspiring to unite the Bay of Bengal during this era of formal atomization. Cf. Amrith's pp. 231, 239, and 244-3 for spiritual/confessional, cultural, and environmental continuities.
[57] ('Modernity', that is, as defined in Western terms.)
[58] Any perspective which ignores the realities of mutual influence and collective change cannot help but overlook important evidence.

and replacing it with a strange sort of monolithic simulation—an obfuscating ideology of the sort this study seeks to redress.

External influence has never existed in a 'pristine' or unaffected form anywhere throughout the wider Indian Ocean.. In 1640 as in 1940, European ideologies pertaining to political rule were introduced into an arena that was—if this paper's exploration of Battuta and Ben Yiju indicates anything—far from a *tabula rasa*. On the early side of this temporal spectrum, one might invoke the struggles of pioneering Portuguese traders to survive within preexisting systems of commerce and culture;[59] in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries similar anecdotes abound; and in the twentieth century an investigation into the nuances of nationalism is all but obligatory.

Jane Hooper's illuminating article on "Pirates and Kings" in the early modern Malagasy world allows one avenue of access to these realities of mutual influence during the period sandwiched between Da Gama and the Raj. As Hooper argues, the process of state formation on the east coast of Madagascar seems to have been spurred by the arrival of European pirates who "presented novel ideas of power to elites on the island", ideas which allowed indigenous leaders to "establish [...] new states using strategies [they] gained through contact with [these] pirates".[60] But this flow of influence was not unidirectional, and the balance of power that existed between Indigenous residents and European interlopers was not as simple as it might appear. In contrast to popular perceptions, Western pirates were not "powerful warlords" but vulnerable parties who "depended on Malagasy elites for survival".[61] Rather than the passive recipients of 'superior' cultural constructs, Indigenous communities can then be conceived as multidimensional historical agents able to capitalize on concepts and connections presented by their European interlocutors.[62] (It merits mention—in light of this study's engagement with both identity/ideology and inter-IO movement—that the pirates' ability to connect Madagascar with larger regional trading networks was located at the forefront of their political appeal, their prestige.[63]) Hooper's work puts forth a compelling portrait of the mixed Indigenous-European civic institutions birthed by this fascinating cross-cultural interaction,[64] a complexity which is only heightened by *Pirates*'

[59] Ones, moreover, that they could not control. Cf. Oliver J Thatcher and J S Arkenberg, trans., "Journal of Vasco Da Gama's Voyages," Internet history sourcebooks, accessed March 12, 2022, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1497degama.asp, 4-14 (also addressed below).
[60] Jane Hooper, "Pirates and Kings: Power on the Shores of Early Modern Madagascar and the Indian Ocean," *Journal of World History* 22, no. 2 (2011): pp. 215-242, https://doi.org/10.1353/jwh.2011.0053, 217-8.
[61] Hooper, *Pirates and Kings*, 225 and 215.
[62] Cf. ibid., 230.
[63] Ibid., 217.
[64] Cf. ibid., 228 and 230-9.

claim that the states "formed by these Malagasy elites eventually presented a direct challenge to the rise of British and French power in the southwestern Indian Ocean."[65]

This brief interaction with a single phenomenon evident during a single period does, in spite of its topical nature, reflect larger socio-political patterns identifiable even in the twentieth century.[66] Realities of adaption and accommodation—the admission of which was anathema to adherents of imperial ideology—can also be unearthed in areas as far afield as the annals of the British Raj. According to historian Thomas Metcalf, European governance in the Indian subcontinent owed much to an array of indigenous structures which *predated* its advent. But in spite of this influential reality, the "diffusion and adoption of 'Indian' ideas of governance" across the Indian Ocean arena occurred "with little avowed acknowledgment of their Indian origin".[67] It was only on occasion that "Indian precedents were acknowledged," and even then "only to be contested" or used in a "transformed administrative structure in [a] new colonial context".[68] Here, the influence of indigenous actors upon critical imperial structures associated with sovereignty and administrative identity is obscured by colonial self-presentation.

This pattern of agency and obfuscation applies to Metcalf's example as easily as it does to others. Principal among these additional instances of unacknowledged influence are the mobilization and modification of nationalism to benefit indigenous ends;[69] the adoption and adaption of colonial race theory in service of IO political projects;[70] and the agency exerted by convict workers and other unfree laborers who sought to make meaning (and extract use/utility) from coercive contexts.[71] In none of these examples are

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[65] Ibid., 218.

[66] Hooper's work is not directly applicable to discussions involving official (imperial) colonization. The power imbalance evident in such formally-structured interactions is much more stark than anything addressed within "Pirates and Kings'. Nevertheless, it *is* true that much early European activity *was* marked by adaption and adoption on the part of even the most well-sponsored 'Westerners'. Key patterns of mutual influence apparent in Hooper's article also apply, in modified form, to situations in which an asymmetry of coercive power cannot be ignored. (Cf. da Gama's missteps as outlined in Thatcher and Arkenberg, *Journal*, 4-12.)

[67] Thomas R. Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 16.

[68] Metcalf, *Imperial Connections*, 16.

[69] As well as the invocation of ancient identities with regards to status, sovereignty, and statehood—claims that were employed to legitimize nationalist aims. Cf. Amrith, *Crossing the Bay of Bengal*, 241 and 174. See also Ghosh, *Antique Land*, 273.

[70] Cf. note 71. (The entirety of) Jonathon Glassman's important volume (*War of Words, War of Stones*) is also relevant.

[71] See especially Janet J. Ewald, "Crossers of the Sea: Slaves, Freedmen, and Other Migrants in the Northwestern Indian Ocean, c. 1750-1914," *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (2000): p. 69, https://doi.org/10.2307/2652435, 79-80: "Slaves themselves sometimes seized the physical mobility of urban and maritime work, translating it into social mobility. [...] Slaves [...] negotiated with their masters, seeking their own jobs". Also cf. Yang, *Convict Workers*, 202 and 204: "Many convicts who served out their terms of transportation elected to remain in their host communities, their descendants becoming part of the significant minority that Indians constitute in the plural society of Malaysia."

indigenous individuals acted *upon* but not *with*; in none are the dominant 'Western' powers free from an imperative to compromise, to work within parameters of possibility both established and influenced by historical IO realities. Even in an era which foregrounds the hegemony of 'European' thought,[72] it is all but impossible to point towards a political policy which did not have to consider—and was not later modified or made use of by—the wider Indian Ocean world.[73]

These interwoven complexities and iterative interactions illuminate one productive half of the more nuanced analytical equation that this paper seeks to explore. The act of locating such a vast collection of cultural shifts within a framework of recursive influence can be one helpful way to contextualize European hegemony, to place Western power within a larger narrative of Indian Ocean interchange. But this understanding of mutual influence and collective dependence need not operate entirely on its own. There are a number of notable cultural continuities apparent throughout the pre- and post-colonial Indian Ocean with great relevance to our interpretive categories of both movement and identity.

An opposite example can be identified in the ability of deeply rooted religious structures to unite disparate communities even during the most restrictive eras of colonial rule. European arrival did not immediately bring an end to Islam's role (familiar from Battuta's time) as a sort of spiritual lingua franca, a passport to trade that often abutted local IO belief systems.[74] The perseverance of Islam as a political force coexisted with European presence in the early modern eras, marked as they were by the continued survival of Islamic states, although this influence also extended beyond the fall of the Mughals, Safavids, and Ottomans. A mobilization of Islamic identity associated with (non-Western) nationalist rebellion is also worthy of note; the ability of shared confessions to unite diverse groups of coreligionists appears to have persisted long after the fall of indigenous empire.[75]

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[72] That is, the ability of European modernity to dictate what sorts of intellectual/perspectival options were (are?) accessible or even imaginable.

[73] This argument need not imply that indigenous communities were somehow co-responsible for their own oppression. Instead, it seeks to emphasize acts of *resistance*: efforts, that is, to make the best *use* of inequitable realities. Cf. Jane Hooper's Malagasy elites; also cf. Ghosh, *Antique Land*, 236 and 273.

[74] For this emphasis on additive change, see Michael Pearson, *The Indian Ocean* (London: Routledge, 2010), 77: "we are looking at additive change much of the time, as opposed to substitutive change. The former implies that an existing body of belief is added to, while the latter means existing notions are cast aside and replaced."

[75] For a Buddhist parallel, consult Amrith's pp. 230-1, which feature a "mass conversion ceremony in the Indian city of Nagpur". Although the current study has not directed significant attention towards Buddhism as a premodern organizing force, Zheng He's descriptive travel documents—discussed above—provide one earlier parallel to this important historical phenomenon (The voyager's eclectic collection of spiritual beliefs is also relevant. See "Zheng He," Encyclopædia Britannica, accessed March 12, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Zheng-He#ref331836).

Islam's role as a movement-facilitating religion,[76] coupled with its perseverance throughout the 'European' era, indicates a certain continuity not only in identity/ideology but also in *migration* during these changing times. As Tamil nationalists would later emphasize in their pursuit of independence from Burma's nationalist government,[77] Indian communities brought to the shores of twentieth-century Malaysia had a notable migratory history in the region. In the words of one prominent Tamil newspaper, it was "migrants from South Asia [...] who had struggled to tame [Malaysia's inhospitable forests], attacked by tigers and bitten by mosquitoes", migrants who "were responsible for Malaya's prosperity and development".[78] But this contemporary history did not exist alone; accompanying such modern arguments were claims that Tamil laborers also possessed *ancient* ties to their adopted land. Invoking the idea that "Malaya and most of Southeast Asia were deeply shaped by Indian cultural influence", Tamil workers argued that Indians had never truly been "foreigners in this part of the world".[79]

There is, in spite of their activist origins, a good amount of historical truth to these political claims. Patterns of movement under British rule did mirror (to some extent) indigenous histories of migration and exchange.[80] It came as a significant shock to a long-connected world when, in the 1930s, "international migration in eastern Asia was to a large extent arrested and even reversed in its course"—that is, *after* the end of empire.[81] But the disruptions engendered by imperialism and its end did not either create or destroy Indian Ocean movement.[82] In spite of the dulcet tone taken by Ghosh and other historians,[83] the collapse of European rule and the rise of independence movements framed within an ideological/intellectual discourse dominated by nation-states did erase all historical connections at home within an interconnected IO world.

In Amrith's words, "[t]he reasons of state governed relations across the Bay of Bengal in the postcolonial age, but an older universalism was still alive and continued to animate the flow of ideas across the water."

[76] See (for ex.) Pearson, *Indian Ocean*, 76: "The cosmopolitan, international aspect of Islam has often been cited as a prime motivation for conversion. Coastal people especially find their indigenous beliefs, localised and very specific, to be inadequate as their world expands. When they are exposed to a universal faith [...], the attraction is obvious, and can be widely seen all over the Indian Ocean world at this time."

[77] That is, its national (indigenous) government.

[78] Amrith, *Crossing the Bay of Bengal*, 173.

[79] Ibid., 174. For a parallel example, cf. page 233: "Many Indian residents in Rangoon told me that their people had come from India 'long, long ago'."

[80] Once again, cf. (ibid.) 233.

[81] Ibid., 182.

[82] In simplified terms: Important patterns both pre- and post-dated British power.

[83] See (for ex.) note 7.

Parallel systems of regional trade persist to this very day. Alongside the twentieth- and twenty-first century processes of globalization and containerization lies an indigenous trade which competes with, complements, and is even made necessary by the logistical barriers associated with consolidated shipping.[84] As Jatin Dua writes in his recent account of Indian Ocean "Dhow Encounters", traditional dhow vessels still "make the circuit from Kutch and Gujarat in South Asia to Somalia via the ports of Dubai and Sharjah", creating "a world of trade abutting the container ships [...] that regularly ply these waters".[85] Immediately apparent in Dua's list of regional toponyms is a certain commercial affinity to the world of Battuta and Zheng He, Ben Yiju and Ibn Khaldun. ("Laden with everything from rice to dentist chairs", writes Dua, "arriving [via dhow] into the port cities of Somalia is a somewhat anachronistic experience".[86] Dua's invocation of a medieval Indian Ocean is indeed apt, although the continuing presence and importance of this very 'anachronistic' trade does to some extent belie its status as an anachronism.)

Shared, too, are commonalities of both affinity and animosity. It is—as argued in section 1 above—a misconception that European powers maintained monopolies on violence within the bounds of early-modern IO affairs.[87] This truth, too, *remains* true; and it is here that "Dhow Encounters" is once again relevant. According to Dua's anthropological analysis, this still-extant institution mobilizes kinship for commerce as well as plunder.[88] In an "inhospitable sea", then, these networks exist as "place[s] of [...both] hospitality and hostility".[89] Think again of Ghosh's medieval traders, Ben Yiju and his beloved Ibn Khaldun—and think, too, of the violence which haunted Ibn Battuta's travels, the conflict that has shaped the fortunes of cities and civilizations from the time of the *Periplus* to the present day. The persistence of both rapport and rivalry in IO exchange is, it seems, of perennial import.[90] Continuities of companionship and conflict are once again thrust to the fore.

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[84] In the 1970s, the emblematic vessel of the Indian Ocean (the dhow) was "refashioned into a [tool] that operated in the underbelly of the logistics revolution", functioning "as a realm of arbitrage" that continues to fill lacunae in a system too big to be flexible. (Jatin Dua, "Dhow Encounters," *Transition*, no. 119 [2016]: p. 49, https://doi.org/10.2979/transition.119.1.07, 56.)

[85] Dua, *Dhow Encounters*, 49.

[86] Ibid., 57.

[87] In another formulation: the da Gama 'epoch' did not mark the introduction of conflict into an innocent world. (The presence of violence before, during, and after they heyday of European empire does much to deflate any remaining assumptions associated with an inevitable imposition of European dominance.)

[88] Dua, *Dhow Encounters*, 53.

[89] Ibid., 58.

[90] Cf. Ghosh, *Antique Land*, 275.

Similar echoes of premodern movement are evident in Ghosh's elegiac treatment of his adopted 'antique land'. While there is little room left for conceptual continuity in Ghosh's personal tale, mirrored migratory histories are—as may be expected—ever-present.[91] In discussing a contemporary Hindu community which has disavowed its cosmopolitan roots by "discovering a[n official] History to replace [its] past", Ghosh describes the compound reality contained within a local shrine:

> I had to struggle with myself to keep from applauding the ironies [embedded] in th[is sea-side] temple. The past had revenged itself on the present: it had slipped the spirit of an Arab Muslim trader past the watchful eyes of Hindu zealots and installed it within the Sanskritic pantheon.[92]

Modern ideological (and identity-oriented) shifts have obscured many of the distinct cultural legacies attested by the unintentional worldliness of this very *layered* temple, but underlying realities of physical movement still persevere, in spite of their political reception, throughout the centuries.[93]

These material ties, as Dua makes clear, also extend into the conscious cultural arena. Human connections and cosmopolitan identities still thrive, in places, if in altered form; and those individuals on the receiving end of cultural impositions and nationalist regulations are not—and never have been—merely passive recipients of external influence, unsuspecting embodiments of ideological 'ironies' and physical 'echoes'. Like Jane Hooper's Malagasy pirate kings and Gaiutra Bahadur's 'coolie' laborers, Dua's dhow traders are fully-fleshed historical actors, able and willing both to alter and adapt those forces and structures they are asked merely to adopt.[94]

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[91] Ghosh, *Antique Land*, 274.
[92] Ghosh, *Antique Land*, 273-4.
[93] Ghosh's case for the spatial persistence of a cosmopolitan world which has (to him) disappeared from the conceptual realm is again invoked in his introduction to the contemporary Mangalore, a metropolis with a "lost" identity but a *present* past: "[A]ppropriately, Mangalore does not treat its lost history as a matter of crippling melancholy: it has always been a busy, bustling kind of place, and today it is again a thriving, relatively prosperous city. Its ancient connections with the Arab world have bequeathed it a [...] useful legacy [of commerce and prosperity]. In this, as in many other ways, Mangalore remains perfectly true to its medieval heritage" (ibid., 245).
[94] For a present-day parallel, cf. Amrith, *Crossing the Bay of Bengal*, 270: "today, just as in the exploitative imperial world of the 1920s, some workers succeed in using legal provisions to fight for their rights." Both cultural and spatial continuities, then, remain relevant in a modern Indian Ocean world. These patterns of interaction with historical traditions and ancient identities indicate as much—and more. Ongoing interactions between indigenous histories of movement/ideas and the realities of external power are paired with the persistence of both physical and conceptual IO patterns. Our analytical categories of influence and perseverance are (thus) finally and fully matched with their counterparts of 'movement' and 'identity'.

Conclusion

The exercise of agency in an inhospitable context characterizes much of modern IO history. As this study hopes to have demonstrated, that era—and that agency—exist in a more contingent relationship than is often allowed. Continuities in patterns of movement, parallels in paradigms of identity and understanding, and mobilizations of the past for contemporary causes all exist within a world defined by both cooperation and compromise. The modern Indian Ocean experience may well be marked by a real and even "desperate" engagement with modernity,[95] but those investments and interactions cannot account for the full complexity of contemporary IO affairs. The 'West' has indeed functioned as a hegemonic and invasive power with impacts both physical and psychological, but its forces have not and do not exist uncontested, unaffected by the ideas and identities they seek to overmatch. From the earliest recorded era to the present day, actors of all origins have made their own way within systems they themselves serve to shape.

The Indian Ocean has never been a blank slate nor a pacifist utopia, a powerless victim of change and coercion, a realm of cosmopolitanism or conflict alone. There is no trans-historical truth to the ocean, much less its rulers; and those assorted patterns of migration and ideology that have persisted and persevered through the millennia owe as much to change and its ever-evolving opportunities as they do to continuity. In an era of climate catastrophe and geopolitical conflict, it is "no longer Europeans" who hold the central political reins in today's globalized system—but despite these larger shifts and looming catastrophes, older patterns remain visible within the Indian Ocean's tumultuous world. Modern-day realities of conflict and contention are certainly cause for concern, but if there is anything this study might best reveal, it is the *contingency* of human activity: the understanding that agency is never absent, that intricate histories are not easily eradicable,[96] and that the present moment is not the only possibility. It is this historiography of complexity and complementarity, conflict and cooperation, continuity and change that finally allows us to understand Amrith's "uncertain world": a world that is, after all, our own.

[95] As Ghosh puts it. Cf. pp. 236-7 & 273.
[96] Or erasable...

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"Dey Was Her Own": Cherokee Slave Mistresses and the Law in the 19th Century

Sarah Konrad

Abstract

Existing scholarship on the practice of slavery in the Cherokee Nation is fragmented, and several historians contend that forms of enslavement practiced by the Cherokees were more lenient and benign. Through examining the role of Cherokee slave mistresses and the property rights conferred to them, this paper aims to deconstruct purported conclusions of a "kinder" and "milder" version of slavery exercised in the Cherokee Nation relative to white slaveholding counterparts, arguing that relations between Cherokee slave mistresses and those they held in bondage were equally as unjust, violent, and corrupt. Analyzing several historical records and oral testimonies, this paper uncovers the vast range of experiences, spanning from relative leniency to physical brutality, encountered by those enslaved by Cherokee women, piecing together the interactions between race, gender, and violence and the complexities of 19th-century property law.

Introduction: The Vaught-Wellborn Dispute

On May 16th, 1838, a warrant for arrest was issued "To any Sheriff of the State of Alabama," commanding them "to take the bodies of James Vaught and Catharine, alias Kitty Vaught his wife wherever they may be" and bring them before the judge of Morgan County. They were "to answer Isaac Wellbourn a plea of determin that they render unto him the following property to writ— Andy a negro man about Twenty five years old of the value of one thousand dollars, and Jack a negro man about Twenty four years old of the value of one thousand dollars."[1] A fraudulent sale of property had taken place. General Isaac Wellborn of Alabama had paid James Vaught for two male slaves, Andy and Jack, but these enslaved men had failed to pass into his possession. Rather, Catharine Vaught managed to return Andy and Jack to her household despite the financial arrangements established between her husband and Wellborn. She asserted that James had, "when she was from home, sold the whole of said negroes" against her will " to Gen. Wellborn."[2] Andy and Jack were *hers,* not James's. Catharine maintained that James had no legal right to conduct such a transaction with Wellborn as the sale of Andy and Jack constituted a violation of her property rights.

Under the legal doctrine of coverture, which had undergone few official alterations in Alabama by 1838,[3] a wife's civic identity was subsumed into that of her husband's upon marriage. Distinctions between his and her property were supposedly erased once nuptials were complete. The wife was transformed into a *feme covert* who voided all rights to the property she owned as a single woman that was brought into the marriage; the husband became free to dispense, sell, and control what was now entirely his property as he so desired.[4] Given a strict interpretation of the confines of coverture, James Vaught's actions should have been perfectly legal. There should have been no property rights of Catharine's to violate since she had forfeited them to James upon marriage. No property dispute should have arisen between her and Wellborn. But there

[1] Letter from Louis Wyeth to the Honorable R. Chapman and C. C. Clay, 16 May 1838, 4026.691, John Ross Papers, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma. https://collections.gilcrease.org/object/4026691.

[2] Letter from John Ross to Joel R. Poinsett, 18 July 1838, 4026.782-.1. John Ross Papers. Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma, https://collections.gilcrease.org/object/4026782-1. For further elaboration on the incident see also, Joel R. Poinsett to Brigadier General Matthew Arbuckle on December 17, 1838, 4026.700-.1,John Ross Papers, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma. https://collections.gilcrease.org/object/4026700-1.

[3] Richard Chused, "Married Women's Property Law 1800-1850," Georgetown Law Journal 71, no. 1359 (1982-1983): 13, 42. Alabama only created its first chancery court for women to apply for feme sole status in 1848. A few dozen women had received feme sole status by legislative decree prior to 1848 and abandoned married women were granted feme sole status after 1846. However, Alabama did not adopt a separate estate act for married women until 1848.

[4] Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 41-81.

was a singular, yet notable, complication for the legal legitimacy of General Isaac Wellborn's claim: Catharine Vaught was Cherokee.[5]

With the Vaught-Wellborn dispute serving as a point of commencement for historical analysis, this paper explores the relationship between race, gender, slavery, and violence as it pertains to the differences between Cherokee slaveholding women and their white counterparts. For Catharine Vaught, her status as both a citizen of the Cherokee Nation and as a woman situated her in a unique legal position when it came to her asserting her rights as the owner of Andy and Jack, a position that differentiated her from white slave mistresses who had to contend with the practical realities of coverture that often had a greater power to circumscribe their ability to exercise their property rights. While several historians have maintained a view of a gentler, more benign version of slavery being practiced in the Cherokee Nation, the behaviors exhibited by Cherokee mistresses run contrary to this conclusion. A vast range of experiences encompassed the lives of those enslaved by Cherokee women, a range of experiences spanning relative kindness to outright physical brutality that bear marked similarity to the range of experiences had by those enslaved by white women. Regardless of the specifics of the property law that governed their lives, both Cherokee and white slaveholding women found themselves in positions of power over the enslaved and acted accordingly to those positions.

Cherokee Women & Property Law:

Changing Tides and Persisting Traditions

In the words of Cherokee chief John Ross, Catharine Vaught's claim of ownership to Andy and Jack superseded any purported sale of them to Isaac Wellborn because "by the laws of the Cherokee nation, the property of husband and wife remain separate and apart and neither of these can sell or dispose of property of the other."[6] Indeed, the Cherokee had a longstanding tradition of a matrilineal society in which women retained their property distinct from that of their husbands.[7] The original structure of Cherokee society mandated clan membership based upon matrilineal descent. Blood ties came from the line of the woman, and fathers were not blood relatives of their children.

[5] John Ross to Joel R. Poinsett, John Ross Papers.
[6] John Ross to Joel R. Poinsett, John Ross Papers.
[7] Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998). 42-43.

Marriage did not give men membership into the clan of their wives; they retained their clan ties to their own maternal lineage even as they moved into the residence of their wives after nuptials.[8] As a consequence of this matrilineal practice, women's original rights to their property did not change upon marriage. This practice was so divergent from coverture that in his visit to Cherokee lands 18th-century botanist William Bartram was careful to comment on how "marriage gives no right to the husband over the property of his wife"[9] among the Cherokee. An anonymous white observer in the 19th century stated with a touch of disbelief that husbands' and wives' property was as "distinct as that of any other individuals, they scarcely have anything in common."[10] However, by the time John Ross penned these words in 1839, the system of matrilineal kinship had become increasingly destabilized due to the adoption of several Euro-American customs into Cherokee society. Since Cherokee men were not blood relatives of their children, their belongings had typically passed to members of their own clan line.[11] White outsiders regarded this practice as cruel to widows and children because in the words of the Indian Agent Return J. Meigs, it "left [the wife and children] destitute unless she had some property which she brought to the family or acquired by her industry afterwards."[12] Several elite Cherokee men shared this sentiment as they had amassed considerable fortunes through plantation slavery that they desired to pass onto their progeny.[13] In 1808, the national council declared that it would "give protection to children as heirs of their father's property and to the widow's share,"[14] signifying a shift to European, patrilineal style inheritance patterns. Catharine Vaught obtained possession of Andy and Jack through these newly established conventions. Her father John Gunter "devised to his Daughter Catherine Gunter nine negroes."[15]

Why then was Catharine Vaught able to retain ownership of Andy and Jack upon marriage if the Cherokee no longer strictly followed matrilineal traditions? Although the Cherokee no longer adhered to inheritance practices along maternal lines by 1838, the

[8] Ibid., 41-42.
[9] William Bartram, "Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians, 1789," *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* 3, part. 1 (1954): 66.
[10] Anonymous, "Reflections on the Institutions of the Cherokee Indians," *Analectic Magazine* 36 (1818): 43.
[11] Perdue, *Cherokee Women,* 151.
[12] Return J. Meigs to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn August 5th, 1805. In Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998). 139.
[13] Perdue, *Cherokee Women,* 140.
[14] Laws of the Cherokee Nation, adopted by the Council at various periods: printed for the Benefit of the Nation,1826, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/28014184, 3-4. The capitalization of the quotation here has been altered in its transcription to fit Columbia Journal of History standards surrounding capitalization. All integrated quotes are stylized as uncapitalized for the first word, regardless of its original capitalization. No content of any text or historical source has been altered in this paper, their capitalization has merely been formatted for stylistic appeal.
[15] John Ross to Joel R. Poinsett, John Ross Papers.

separation of property for women remained steadfastly ingrained in their legal tradition. In November of 1819, the National Committee and Council of the Cherokee Nation specifically resolved "that any white man who shall marry a Cherokee woman, the property of the woman so married, shall not be subject to the disposal of her husband, contrary to her consent."[16] While this law did not specify the legal capacity of Cherokee men to dispose, sell, or manage their wives' property, later Cherokee legislation was passed that addressed the matter and reaffirmed the property rights of Cherokee women. On November 2nd, 1829, the National Committee and Council decreed that "it has long been an established custom in this Nation and admitted by the courts as law, yet never committed to writing, that the property of Cherokee women after their marriage cannot be disposed of by their husbands, or levied upon by an officer to satisfy a debt of the husband's contracting, contrary to her will and consent, and disposable only at her option."[17] The original 1819 law's racial designation of white men may possibly be interpreted as a measure to arrest white encroachment on Cherokee lands and property, but the 1829 law indicates that Cherokee women's property had remained wholly separate after marriage, regardless of the race of their spouse. As a consequence, the 1819 law's univocal emphasis on white men implies a disconnect between Cherokee and Euro-American jurisprudence surrounding women's property rights. Under coverture, it was within full range of the law for a wife's property to be seized to pay her husband's debts or for a husband to sell or otherwise dispose of his wife's property. White men who intermarried into the nation, presumably, had assumed the doctrine of coverture applied. Punishment for that assumption was pronounced: Cherokee citizenship was to be revoked for white men who disposed of their wives' property or had it levied to pay off their own debts.[18]

Increasingly, the married women's property protected by Cherokee law was often held in the form of enslaved persons. By 1835, at least twenty households were headed by slaveholding Cherokee women, as recorded on the removal census. Two of these women owned more than twenty slaves.[19] It is highly likely more Cherokee slave mistresses existed than were enumerated on the census. Cherokee households were traditionally matrilocal, with husbands migrating to the household of their wives upon marriage. Men

[16] "CHEROKEE LAWS. New Town, Cherokee N. Nov. 2, 1819, Resolved by the National Committee and Council," *Cherokee Phoenix* 1, no. 6, printed March 27, 1828. https://www.wcu.edu/library/DigitalCollections/CherokeePhoenix/Vol1/no06/cherokee-laws-page-1-column-1a.html.
[17] Laws of the Cherokee Nation 1852 (Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation: Cherokee Advocate Office, 1852), reprinted by The Legal Classics Library, 1995, 142-143.
[18] "CHEROKEE LAWS, Nov. 2, 1819."
[19] Cherokee Census of 1835 (Henderson Roll), U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington D.C..Microfilm T-496. https://www.archives.gov/files/research/microfilm/m1773.pdf.

inhabited the homesteads of women's families and matrilineal kinship links guided spatial relationships.[20] The 1835 census was conducted by agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, who as white outsiders, likely failed to grasp the central role Cherokee women played as heads of their households and incorrectly interpreted the Cherokee as having a patriarchal household system.[21] Even if a male head of a household was listed, that did not preclude his wife from owning part or all of the enslaved persons listed, nor did it preclude her from being the head of the household since the census enumerators were likely unaware of Cherokee matrilocality practices that placed women at the head of households.[22] What emerges of singular importance from the historical record concerning women's property law in the Cherokee Nation is that their property was unequivocally, and explicitly their own, and there were key legal protections to ensure it remained as such. Catharine Vaught was one such Cherokee woman who enjoyed these legal protections, even in the midst of Cherokee Removal. Vaught was unwilling to compromise on her property rights as United States soldiers marched her, her family, and her nation westward. The consequence of this meant that Andy and Jack, and the other seven people enslaved by her, endured both the Trail of Tears and enslavement under a woman to whom the law guaranteed indisputable ownership of them.[23] The legal protections for Cherokee slaveholding women that enabled the forcible migration of Andy and Jack alongside their owner were to remain intact in the newfound territory of the Cherokee Nation once resettled in Oklahoma.

White Women & Property Law:

Coverture As Fiction and As Reality

White slaveholding women, in contrast, had to contend with the doctrine of coverture when it came to asserting their rights as slave mistresses. Officially, these women voided their property rights—and thus those whom they enslaved—to their husband's control upon marriage.[24] However, in practice, many slaveholding women

[20] Perdue, *Cherokee Women,* 24.
[21] The enumerators were George W. Underwood and Col. Charles H. Nelson for Georgia; Gen. Nathaniel Smith for North Carolina (later appointed Superintendent of Cherokee Removal); Rezin Rawlings for Alabama; and Daniel Henderson for Tennessee. See "Cherokee Removal Census of 1835."
[22] Perdue, *Cherokee Women,* 24.
[23] For further discussion of the intersection between slavery and Cherokee Removal, see Chapter 8 in Tiya Miles, Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom (University of California Press, 2015).
[24] Diane Klein, "Their Slavery Was Her Freedom: Racism and the Beginning of the End of Coverture," Duquesne Law Review 59, no.1 (2021): 110.

found ways to control, maintain, and uphold their property rights outside the bounds of coverture. The advent of separate estates, chancery court judgments, and trusts all helped to secure the positions of white mistresses as those with the utmost authority over those they enslaved slaves. In her groundbreaking work, *They Were Her Property*, Stephanie E. Jones Rogers intricately describes the ways in which white slaveholding women of the antebellum used these legal avenues to assert their claims over those they enslaved. Many of these women used the formal legal processes mentioned previously in order to circumvent the confines of coverture.[25] Many of them also used informal antenuptial agreements and marriage contracts. However, Jones-Rogers also concedes that there were plenty of white slave mistresses "who were indeed constrained by the legal doctrine of coverture."[26] The experiences of white women concerning slavery and property varied; in certain instances coverture was binding, and in others, it was not. White women had to contend with property law that was applied haphazardly and inconsistently concerning their rights to the enslaved in a way that Cherokee women did not as there was no necessitated evasion of coverture for Cherokee slave mistresses. Jones-Rogers cites the interview of the formerly enslaved Morris Sheppard to dissect the ways in which women "reinforced their property claims in conversations with or in the presence of their slaves."[27] Of his mistress, Morris Sheppard said, she "inherit about half a dozen slaves, and say dey was her own and old Master can't sell one unless she give him leave to do it."[28] However, what Jones-Rogers neglects to mention is that Sheppard's mistress was no ordinary slave mistress: "Old Mistress was small and mighty pretty too, and she was only half Cherokee." Morris Sheppard was one of the many enslaved persons who were the property of Cherokee women. Rather than his commentary on his mistress's economic authority over her slaves reflecting white slaveholding women's efforts to assert their positions as slaveholders in spite of coverture, Morris Sheppard's testimony reflects the outright and overt ways Cherokee property law enabled Cherokee women to be enslavers. These direct and overt ways were ways that white women did not always have access to.

The ways in which white women behaved as slave mistresses are varied, yet overarchingly violent. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, one of the first historians to reevaluate

[25] For elaboration on the various legal avenues white women used to assert their positions as slaveholders, see Stephanie E. Jones-Rogers, *They Were Her Property: White Women As Slave Owners in the American South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 25-79.
[26] Jones-Rogers, *They Were Her Property,* 27.
[27] Jones-Rogers, *They Were Her Property*, 37.
[28] Interview with Morris Sheppard, *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936–1938*, vol. 13, Digital Collection, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division. http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/snhome.html, Oklahoma Narratives, 285.

the role of the plantation mistress in the system of slavery, wrote that for white slaveholding women, "Slavery, with all its abuses, constituted the fabric of their beloved country—the warp and woof of their social positions, their personal relations, their very identities."[29] To maintain a system of human bondage, and their essential identities as slaveholders, white slaveholding women used brutal means. Thavolia Glymph's formative work, *Out of the House of Bondage*, examined the continuum of violence practiced by white mistresses inside the plantation household, both psychological and physical. Citing countless interviews with formerly enslaved persons alongside diaries, manuscripts, and private letters of slaveholding women, Glymph showed that "control and management of slaves required white women's active participation and authorized the exercise of brute or sadistic force."[30] From this juncture, to understand the unique relationship between race, gender, and violence that existed in the antebellum South in a manner that moves beyond Black-white dichotomies, it becomes necessary to examine the behaviors of Cherokee mistresses towards those they enslaved in order to understand the ways in which slaveholding status operated for women along racial, national, and cultural lines. By examining, interrogating, and analyzing the role Cherokee mistresses played in enslavement in the Cherokee Nation in comparison with the behavior of white slaveholding women, longstanding notions of a more "benign" form of slavery existing in the Cherokee Nation can be contradicted or challenged in gendered terms.

The Gamut of Violence to Benevolence: Cherokee Mistresses in the Memory of the Enslaved

When it comes to examining the peculiar institution as a system inside the Cherokee Nation, and in the ancestral homelands of the Cherokee before forcible relocation, historians are confronted with the issue that few primary sources exist that center the experiences of those enslaved by members of the Cherokee Nation. The interviews conducted by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in the 1930s with formerly enslaved persons are the most valuable among these sources, but a mere twenty-two interviews were given by Cherokee Freedmen and Freedwomen. The minuscule number

[29] Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 334.
[30] Thavolia Glymph, "'Beyond the Limits of Decency': Women in Slavery." In *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 32–62. For further exploration of violence used by white mistresses, see this citation.

of interviews is attributable to a variety of factors: the majority of Cherokee Freedmen and Freedwomen had passed away prior to the 1930s, among the survivors there were likely many who were unable or unwilling to give interviews, and those enslaved by citizens of the Cherokee Nation constituted a mere fraction of a percentage of all persons enslaved in the United States. Yet, it remains that the existing pool of records is so remarkably small it cannot possibly encompass the lived experience of the more than four-thousand slaves held by members of the Cherokee Nation at the time of slavery's legal extinction in 1865.[31] In conjunction with this, of all the slave narratives published prior to the Civil War, only Henry Bibb's contains testimony of enslavement in the Cherokee Nation.[32]

Historiography on the system of slavery in the Cherokee Nation is both varied and minimal compared to that of the slavery practiced by white antebellum society in the 19th century. When focus is given to the figure of the Cherokee mistress, it is either mentioned off-hand in passing or as a footnote in the history of slavery practiced by whites. Nevertheless, several historians have used these descriptions of slavery offered by former slaves of Cherokee Nation citizens to generalize human bondage in the Cherokee Nation as a "benign" or "kinder" version of enslavement, as a majority of the twenty-two Cherokee Freedmen and Freedwomen WPA interviews make few mentions of physical violence. Theda Perdue, preeminent among historians of the Cherokee, argued in 1979 using the WPA interviews that "although Cherokee planters required hard work from their bondsmen, they probably treated their slaves much better on the average than did their white counterparts."[33] In a similar vein, Michael Roetheler claimed in 1964 that "the benign attitude thus demonstrated to the Negroes by the Cherokees leads one to conclude that slavery existed among the Cherokees in a mild form."[34] However, Celia Naylor, a scholar of a more recent generation, offers a different view in her scholarship from the 2000s: "to believe that Indian cultures made bondage more tenable to people of African descent or somehow countered the denigrating process of enslavement is to deny the insidious nature of a system based on the ownership of human beings."[35] Naylor cites the same testimony given by Cherokee Freedmen and Freedwomen that Roethler and

[31] Estimates of the total number of enslaved persons owned by the Cherokee vary. See William McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic (Princeton University Press, 1986).
[32] Gilbert Osofsky, ed., Puttin' on Ole Massa: The Slave Narratives of Henry Bibb, William Wells Brown and Solomon Northup (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 141.
[33] Theda Perdue, Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 98.
[34] Michael Roethler, "Negro Slavery Among the Cherokee Indians, 1540-1866" (Ph.D. diss., Fordham University, 1964), 129.
[35] Celia Naylor, "'She better off Dead than Jest Livin' for the Whip': Enslaved Women's Resistance in the Nineteenth Century Cherokee Nation," Rewriting Dispersal: Africana Gender Studies, no. 7.2 (2009).

Perdue pulled from to attest to the violence, brutality, and inhumanity of bondage in the Cherokee Nation.[36] These shifts in historiography indicate a varying, if not evolving, historical interpretation of enslavement in the Cherokee Nation as historians return time and time again to analyze the interviews of the formerly enslaved. Yet, the dearth of scholarship in the field lends to continuing fragmentation and difference in scholarly views of Cherokee masters.

As for Cherokee mistresses, an examination of the ways in which their relationships with the enslaved followed or did not follow the familiar contours of white Antebellum plantation practices is vital to understand how categories of race, gender, and class affected and intersected with the maintenance of an extensive system of human bondage. An investigation of their relationships with the enslaved is also necessary to deconstruct the purported notion of a more "benign" form of slavery existing in the Cherokee Nation. In the eyes of the enslaved, Cherokee mistresses ran the gamut from benevolent matriarchs to perpetrators and beneficiaries of violence, like their white slave mistress counterparts. The following range of relationships between enslaved persons and their mistresses explored in this section serve as a reflection of the intricacies of the intimate nature of the plantation household and its interplay with the brutality of bondage for those enslaved inside it. Nancy Rogers remembered her Cherokee mistress, a woman she called Mrs. O'Neal, in mostly positive terms: "she treated me the best of all and gave me the first doll I ever had."[37] In the wake of the Civil War, the grounds of slavery on which Rogers' relationship with her mistress had been established were now at odds with her newfound freedom. Any attachment by Rogers to her former enslaver had lost its dimension of legal coercion. However, Rogers' affection ran so deeply that she "wanted to stay with her [Mrs. O'Neal], she was so good." Likewise, Chaney Richardson framed her relationship with her mistress in similarly affectionate terms yet with a more explicit familial undercurrent. Richardson addressed her Cherokee mistress in terms typically reserved for mother figures, recounting how "I was a orphan after I was a big girl and I called her "Aunt" and "Mamma" like I did when I was little. You see my own mammy was the house woman and I was raised in the house, and I heard the little children call old mistress "mamma" and so I did too. She never did make me stop."[38] Betty Robertson, who was enslaved by the Vanns, the largest slaveholding Cherokee family, was unreserved in her affection and fondness for her "old Mistress." While it is unclear which of the Vann women Roberston was referring to, she asserted her mistress "was a widow woman and a

[36] Celia Naylor, African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).
[37] Interview with Nancy Rogers Bean, Slave Narratives, vol. 13, Oklahoma Narratives, 13.
[38] Interview with Chaney Richardson, Slave Narratives, vol. 13, Oklahoma Narratives, 258.

good Christian and always kind" and that Robertson "sure did love her."[39] These accounts illustrate how alleged bonds of affection, bonds that belied the ideology of paternalism and the notion of masters and mistresses as the heads of extended families both free and unfree, certainly existed as a controlling component of the complex ways in which the dynamic between the enslaved and their mistresses manifested on Cherokee plantations and inside Cherokee homes. The experiences of Rogers, Richardson, and Robertson represent a singular variation in the spectrum of interactions that constituted slave-mistress relations; theirs are categorized mainly in terms of emotional attachment and endearment, an attachment that was likely fostered by the intimate physical proximity of domestic work inside the plantation house where labor was demanded of all three women.

However, economic principles guided the bonds that tied Cherokee mistresses to those they enslaved first and foremost. Even among mistresses described in relatively favorable terms by those they enslaved, the denial of the humanity of the enslaved by mistresses dominated their interactions. No amount of somewhat tender reminiscences masks the inherently degrading, brutal, and debasing nature of human bondage that Cherokee mistresses maintained by viewing and using those they enslaved as economic objects. Sheppard, whose mistress explicitly and frequently commented on her right to hold human beings as property, was described by Sheppard as "kind to me like I was part of her own family."[40] Yet, as wartime upheaval exacerbated economic pressures on the plantation, Sheppard's master and mistress began selling slaves to ameliorate their financial difficulties. Sheppard's mother, aunt, brother, and sisters were sold, and Sheppard's mother ended up in the possession of a master who was much harsher than her previous owners. Sheppard's mistress soon gave him news that his mother had died from "rough treatment." But the sale of Sheppard's closest relatives failed to sustain the finances of the plantation in the wake of war. "I never forget when they sold off some more negroes at de same time, too," Sheppard recalled, "and put dem all in a pen for de trader to come and look at." As the steamboat pulled away from the dock, separating families in the same manner that Sheppard himself had been separated from his family a few mere months prior, "Old Mistress cried jest like any of de rest of us when de boat pull out with dem on it."[41] Whatever kindness his mistress had extended to Sheppard before the sale of members of the enslaved community and whatever emotion the sale provoked in her were ultimately trumped by the fact that the sale was still finalized.

[39] Interview with Betty Robertson, Slave Narratives, vol. 13, Oklahoma Narratives, 267.
[40] Interview with Morris Sheppard, Slave Narratives, vol. 13, Oklahoma Narratives, 289.
[41] Interview with Morris Sheppard, Slave Narratives, vol. 13, Oklahoma Narratives, 290.

Sheppard, his family, and others enslaved on the plantation were commodities to be bought and sold according to the financial needs of his mistress and master, regardless of how "kindly" those commodities may have been treated.

What is particularly striking about Sheppard's account is his allocation of blame for the sale of his family, friends, and community members and the ways in which he describes his mistress with both explicit affection and implicit resentment throughout the process. The initial placement of blame resides with the master: "*he* sold my mammy and my aunt dat was Uncle Joe's wife and my two brothers and my little sister." However, there is a shift in language that lends greater ambiguity as to who held the final economic authority over the transaction that triggered separation and unimaginable anguish for Sheppard and his kin. Sheppard later states, "I never forget when *they* sold off some more negroes."[42] Such a statement distributes blame between master and mistress, perhaps not equally, as the use of *"they"* provides clear indication of her involvement as an authority in addition to the master. But other sections of Sheppard's account offer further proof of his cognizance of the extent of his mistress's role in the sale of his kin and other members of the enslaved community. "She inherit about half a dozen slaves, and say dey was her own," recalled Sheppard, "and old Master can't sell one unless she give him leave to do it." Sheppard also noted his mother as being among the enslaved his mistress inherited. He stated "My mammy was a Crossland negro before she come to belong to Master Joe and marry my pappy, and I think she come wid old Mistress and belong to her."[43] While it is unclear whether the word 'Crossland' refers to a region of the country or perhaps the name of a specific family of slaveholders Sheppard's mother belonged to at one point in time, Sheppard's statement is unambiguous that his mother belonged to his mistress, not his master. It is also important to note that Sheppard only spoke of his mistress being exceptionally kind "When Mammy went" and "old Mistress took me to de Big House to help her." The information scattered throughout Sheppard's account—his mistress's distress upon the wartime sale of slaves, her kindness, and the fact that his mother was held as property by his mistress and not his master—indicate a definite and enormous degree of economic jurisdiction held by Cherokee mistresses over those they held in bondage. That degree of economic control was one white slaveholding women had to create for themselves against the grain of coverture through the instatement of separate estates and the outcome of chancery court judgments. Conversely, Cherokee women's property rights were well-defined and legally indisputable as slave mistresses, a fact that Sheppard's account reveals those enslaved in

[42] Ibid., 289.
[43] Ibid., 285.

the Cherokee Nation were acutely aware of when it came to the sale of their friends, relatives, and community members.

While Sheppard's mistress may have cried "jest like any of de rest of us," it was the economic authority Cherokee law afforded to her as a slave mistress that enabled her to sell Sheppard's relatives. Whatever emotional response said sale provoked in her, perhaps guilt that manifested as a particular kindness to Sheppard following the sale of his mother, does not alter the fact that Cherokee mistresses' relationship with the enslaved was staked on grounds of unfree labor as its most fundamental purpose. At its core, the relationship between mistresses and the enslaved was an economic relationship, one that hinged on the coerced labor of the enslaved. Nancy Rogers's ex-mistress, Mrs. O'Neal, who gifted Rogers her first beloved doll, strictly regimented her daily schedule on the basis of her labor. It was only after Rogers had "done housework, ironing, peeling potatoes and helping the main cook" that "[Mrs. O'Neal] allowed [Rogers] one hour every day to play with [the doll]."[44] Aspects of life as fundamental to development as playtime for children were mandated and structured by Cherokee mistresses for enslaved children. Nancy Rogers' beloved doll and the regulation of her use of it serve as a powerful reminder of her status as an unfree person, regardless of how highly she spoke of her mistress. Chaney Richardson likewise described the watchful eye of her mistress, Miss Nancy, who regulated the labor of her and her mother extensively. "When we weave the cloth we had a big loom out on the gallery," Richardson said, "and Miss Nancy tell us how to do it" despite the fact that Richardson and her mother wove textiles for the household on a daily basis.[45] Basic tasks carried out in the household by the enslaved were monitored and carefully overseen by Cherokee mistresses. Labor was highly regulated with keen eyes and scrutinizing directives, reaffirming the role of the enslaved in household affairs as economic objects. The avowed affection Sheppard, Rogers, and Richardson had for their mistresses existed in the confines of a system that defined them as property, not persons. As historian Tiya Miles wrote of Peggy Vann, the most famous of all Cherokee mistresses, regardless of her purported benevolence, she had power over her "human possessions, extracted their labor by compulsion, and never outwardly questioned the ethics of this dynamic."[46] Mistresses like Vann may have felt "personally attached to particular individuals" but "her relationship to her slaves was fundamentally exploitative."[47] Whatever kindness certain Cherokee mistresses exhibited does not

[44] Interview with Nancy Rogers Bean, Slave Narratives, vol. 13, Oklahoma Narratives, 13.
[45] Interview with Chaney Richardson, Slave Narratives, vol. 13, Oklahoma Narratives, 258.
[46] Tiya Miles, The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 174.
[47] Ibid.

redeem them from their status as enslavers or prove a more "benign" form of slavery was practiced in the Cherokee Nation. Rather, it shows us a singular variation of the social relationship between slave and mistress that was superimposed over its underlying basis of economic exploitation and the particular ways in which that relationship had the potential to unfold in Cherokee Nation, in gendered terms.

The figure of the Cherokee slave mistress in the historical record is not solely limited to the archetype of the ostensibly benevolent matriarch. Brutality by Cherokee mistresses was not unheard of. In certain instances, it could reach an apogee of cruelty. Writing to the Secretary of War in 1819, Reuben Lewis, an Indian Agent in Arkansas for the Cherokee reported an incident involving a Cherokee woman and her male slave. Incensed by how the slave had troubled her husband, the Cherokee mistress called for her husband to put the slave to death. Her husband refused. She responded by taking matters into her own hands and "she then with an axe nocked [sic] him [the enslaved man] in the head; cut it off, and threw the body into the River." Lewis noted how he was told, though his account is unclear on whose authority he received this information, that this incident was "not the only one of the kind which has happened among the Cherokees."[48] Even when violence did not take forms as extreme as those observed by Lewis, it was still paramount to the plantation household for Cherokee mistresses. They exercised it and or benefited from its exercise against the enslaved. Of their white slaveholding counterparts, Thavolia Glymph writes, "mistresses became expert in the use of psychological and physical violence and, from their perch in the household, influenced the construction of antebellum slave society in its gender and racial dimensions."[49] But the gendered and racial dimensions of slavery were not so simplistic as to be construed completely along a white and Black binary in Indian Territory. Sarah Wilson experienced this at the hands of her Cherokee mistress, Annie Johnson. "Old Master wasn't the only hellion neither. Old Mistress just as bad," Wilson said, "and she took most of her wrath out hitting us children all the time. She was afraid of the grown Negroes. Afraid of what they might do while old Master was away, but she beat us children all the time."[50] Repeatedly beaten throughout her childhood, the threat of physical violence at the hands of her mistress loomed large in the background of Wilson's day-to-day existence. Failing to appear when her name was called meant

[48] Reuben Lewis to the Secretary of War, Cherokee Agency, Arkansas, on August 15th 1819. In R. Halliburton, Jr., Red over Black: Black Slavery Among the Cherokee Indians (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977), 42. Another description of the incident exists in Fay Yarbrough and Randal Hall, Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 116.
[49] Glymph, Out of the House of Bondage, "Beyond the Limits of Decency," 33.
[50] Interview with Sarah Wilson, Slave Narratives, vol. 13, Oklahoma Narratives, 347.

"Mistress would beat me for that." Wilson's testimony hints at gendered tensions within the plantation household that dictated a hierarchy of master, mistress, and slave. While Annie Johnson certainly felt empowered to beat, slap, and otherwise abuse enslaved children, her position as mistress gave her pause when it came to laying a hand on enslaved adults. Worry about reprisal when her husband, the main vessel of authority on the plantation that provided a perceived barrier between her and the enslaved, was away from the household dictated that she sanctioned physical violence against only the most vulnerable members of that household. Annie Johnson's gender appears to have restricted her ability to practice violence, for the prospect of being devoid of a male authority guided which enslaved persons she chose to victimize on a physical basis in particular.

Annie Johnson's sadism did not begin and end with physical means. Johnson forced upon Sarah Wilson and her sister a type of unique depersonalization that denied their identities and branded them with a mark of ownership by naming them after herself. Wilson told her interviewer that "My name is Sarah now but it was Annie until I was eight years old. My old Mistress' name was Annie and she name me that." She recalled how "Mammy was afraid to change it until old Mistress died, then she change it." She claimed that her mother fought to preserve their dignity in the face of such degradation by keeping the legitimate names of her children alive inside her mind: "Lottie's [Wilson's sister] name was Annie, too, but Mammy changed it in her own mind but she was afraid to say it out loud, a-feared she would get a whipping."[51] Historian Ann Patton Malone has observed that similar practices were commonplace in the white slaveholding South. "As a demonstration of control," Malone writes, "some owners forbade slaves to name their own children; this was especially common for house servants, in whose affairs owners took a particular interest."[52] Stephanie E. Jones-Rogers also observed similar occurrences in her research, writing that "slave-owning adults indicated future ownership when they named enslaved infants after their own children or even allowed their children to name enslaved infants."[53] Yet what makes Annie Johnson's behavior particularly unique is the fact that rather than simply taking away the agency of Wilson's mother by forbidding her to name her own children, Johnson named Wilson and her sister after herself. Similar denials of agency typically included slaveholders naming enslaved children after their own children, as Patton describes, but a slaveholder using their own name for the practice is remarkably uncommon in the historical record. Even

[51] Ibid., 345.
[52] Ann Paton Malone, Sweet Chariot: Slave Family and Household Structure in Nineteenth- Century Louisiana, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 232.
[53] Jones-Rogers, They Were Her Property, 5.

though Annie Johnson named Wilson and her sister after herself and not her offspring, the psychological violence of reasserting ownership through a denial of identity was equally debasing. To resist Johnson's narcissistic naming conventions spelled the lash for Wilson's mother. The way Wilson's mother had been conditioned to "a-feared she would get a whipping"[54] in response to saying her children's proper names suggests that Annie Johnson had used the whip on multiple occasions prior. Annie Johnson's coupling of psychological and physical violence may have had a dual effect on enslaved children and adults alike, as a deprival of agency as intense as the ability to name one's own children reinforced the subordinate position of enslaved persons in the household hierarchy. Cherokee mistresses, it stands to reason then, were no strangers to the idea of using violence both as a tool for slave discipline and management and as a means of cultivating a culture of terror inside the plantation household.

When Cherokee mistresses were not exacting violence—physical or psychological—against the enslaved by their own hands, they reaped the rewards of its use by husbands, male relatives, and overseers. Whenever Nancy Rogers "would try to get mean," the result was "always I [Rogers] got me a whipping for it."[55] While the particular identity of who whipped Rogers is unknown, she primarily labored in domestic tasks that were overseen by both her Cherokee mistress and other Cherokee mistresses she encountered while being hired out for work. It is plausible that the whippings Rogers spoke of were administered by these women directly. Whether or not these mistresses were the ones doling out the lash, when the whip was used on Nancy Rogers, it reasserted their position of power as slaveholders and reminded Rogers of the excruciating consequences of their displeasure, which may have been for failing to comply with the demands they exerted on her or perhaps no tangible reason at all. Charlotte Johnson White, who was tasked with caring for the children of her mistress as a young girl, accidentally dropped the baby one day. The consequence was swift and brutal: her master "grabbed me and shoved me into de fire! I sent into dat fire head first, but I never know how I got out. See this old drawn, scarred face? Dat's what I got from de fire, and inside my lips is burned off, and my back is scarred wid lashings."[56] White's perceived inadequacy at childcare for her mistress earned her lifelong disfigurement. Her mistress may not have been the one to lay a hand on her, but Johnson White gained intimate and painful knowledge of what displeasing her mistress could result in. To keep the continued profit of enslaved labor for their households, Cherokee mistresses

[54] Interview with Sarah Wilson, Slave Narratives, vol. 13, Oklahoma Narratives, 345.
[55] Interview with Nancy Rogers Bean, Slave Narratives, vol. 13, Oklahoma Narratives, 13.
[56] Interview with Charlotte Johnson White. In T. Lindsay Baker and Julie P. Baker, The WPA Oklahoma Slave Narratives, (Tulsa: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 465.

depended on the use of fear tactics and merciless punishments that prompted expediency and obedience from the enslaved. Retribution could come from their hands, or from others, as part of the normalized violence inherent to slavery. Even if they themselves were not always the direct perpetrators of the violence that comprised these tactics, Cherokee women served as principal beneficiaries of violence when it was wielded against those they enslaved.

Running the Gamut Across Racial, National, and Cultural Lines

The gamut of violence and benevolence Cherokee slave mistresses ran in their interactions with the enslaved encompassed a range of behavior that bears great similarity to the range of behavior exhibited by white antebellum slave mistresses. Relatively kindhearted and so-called humane mistresses, Cherokee and white alike, certainly existed. Robertson, Rogers, Sheppard, and Richardson held great affection for their Cherokee mistresses and spoke of their alleged goodness. Conversely, some enslaved by whites also felt as though their mistresses awarded them compassionate treatment. Amos Gadsen, enslaved in South Carolina, claimed "I never got a slap from my mistress; I was treated like a white person."[57] Lucy Gallman proclaimed her mistress "as fine a woman as ever lived."[58] Yet, these experiences do not erase the violence, implicit atrocity, and inhumanity enslaved persons endured at the hands of Cherokee and white women. Sarah Wilson's treatment by Annie Johnson and the murder of the unnamed enslaved man in 1819 by his mistress suggest that violence at the hands of Cherokee mistresses was neither extraordinary in its use nor in the extremes it could reach. White women were equally, and oftentimes, as brutal. Delia Garlic's mistress "pick up a hot iron an' run it all down my arm an' han'" so hot that it took "the flesh off when she done it."[59] Of her mistress, Fannie Moore recalled, "She whipped me many a time wif a cow hide."[60] If we are to understand the range of behaviors that white slaveholding women engaged in, as shown by the seminal scholarship of Thavolia Glymph, Stephanie E. Jones-Rogers, and Elizabeth Genovese among others, and conclude that "mistresses's violence against slave women in the plantation household ran along a continuum: Bible-thumping threats of

[57] Interview with Amos Gadsen, Slave Narratives, vol. 14, South Carolina Narratives, 91.
[58] Interview with Lucy Gallman, Slave Narratives, vol. 14, South Carolina Narratives, 100.
[59] Interview with Delia Garlic, Slave Narratives, vol. 6, Alabama Narratives, 130.
[60] Interview with Fannie Moore, Slave Narratives, vol. 15, pt. 2, North Carolina Narratives, 128.

hell for disobedience, verbal abuse, pinches and slaps, severe beatings, burnings, and murder,"[61] then we must also reckon with the fact that, in spite of a comparatively limited number of sources, evidence of Cherokee mistresses engaging in that same continuum exists. In the end, a slave mistress was a slave mistress, and a slave mistress was someone with inherent power to treat those she enslaved however she pleased, whether it be with abuse or care. "Kindhearted" mistresses were only kindhearted insofar as any direct beneficiary of a system of human bondage, exploitation, and brutality can be, white or Indigenous.

Conclusion: Race, Gender, and Violence

Race, gender, and violence were profoundly interlaced for Cherokee, white, and Black people in the antebellum South. The story of Catharine Vaught, Isaac Wellborn, and Andy and Jack represents a historical confluence of the dispossession of native peoples from their lands, enslavement of Black people, and women's rights under the law. Vaught and Wellborn's dispute arose at a time of great upheaval and chaos for the Cherokee. It also occurred at the start of an era when slaveholding white women were increasingly challenging strict constructions of coverture and staking their own separate claims to the enslaved they held as property against the estates of their husbands. Race, gender, and the manifold interactions those social categories had for Catharine Vaught and the men enslaved by her in 1838 offer crucial insight into the complexities of 19th-century property law. For the slaveholding women of Antebellum society, that law created immense ramifications for the human beings they held as property. The authority of Cherokee mistresses under this law determined the lives of the enslaved in a range of aspects as mundane as their daily schedules and to those as profoundly agonizing as the separation of family, kin, and community. Cherokee slave mistresses cannot be neatly generalized into a single category in terms of how they acted towards those they enslaved. Historical accounts and oral testimony indicate that experiences varied, and they varied greatly. These variations of behavior closely mirror the range of behavior exhibited by white slave mistresses, indicating that loyalty to slaveholding superseded any distinction of race, nation, or culture when it came to the suffering these mistresses could inflict on those they enslaved.

Property ownership conveys important powers, obligations, and responsibilities that were systematically denied to women in the history of the United States. However, these

[61] Glymph, Out of the House of Bondage, 35.

very same powers, obligations, and responsibilities that were directly conferred to Cherokee women under the laws of the Cherokee Nation enabled them to enslave others and enjoy the prerogatives attached to slaveholding status. The unjust power derived from that status granted Cherokee women inordinate control over the lives of those they held in bondage, creating a relationship as equally corrupt as any other relationship created on the same ground of enslavement by a male or female counterpart, whether they were Cherokee or white. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese once wrote that for those enslaved in the American South, "power was no abstraction: it wore a white, male face."[62] But for those enslaved in Cherokee households, in many instances, that power wore an Indigenous and female face, too.

[62] Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 190.

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GETTING FROM *SESAME STREET* TO *SESAMSTRASSE*: THE DEVELOPMENT OF SESAME STREET'S INTERNATIONAL ADAPTATIONS, 1970-1978

Evan Richardson

Abstract

"Getting from *Sesame Street* to Sesamstrasse" looks at the American children's television show *Sesame Street* and its international adaptations in the early 1970s, tracing the development of a iterative model of co-production that sought ever-greater collaboration between the Children's Television Workshop and native producers and educators. Through adaptation, *Sesame Street* proliferated into many nationally unique programs within the umbrella of the original program, emphasizing the benefits of adaptation against an imperialist model of cultural diffusion. A narrative not present in extant historiography, the coproduction model provides a valuable case study into intentioned cultural adaptation, pointing to a successful model for education and for television production.

Introduction: Can you tell me how to get to Sesame Street?[1]

On May 20th, 1978, a major international conference in Amsterdam drew officials from around the world to discuss one subject: *Sesame Street*. Broadcasting executives, educational experts, and television producers from nations as far afield as Germany, Japan, Kuwait, Kenya, and the United States—among others—were meeting to discuss adapting *Sesame Street* for international audiences.[2] This meeting was not the beginning of a process of adaptation; rather, it was the culmination of nearly a decade of trial and error, experimentation, and expansion of the program. *Sesame Street*, originally designed for American audiences, had by the end of the 1970s spread throughout the world. The goals for the Amsterdam Conference laid out by Gerald Lesser, the Children's Television Workshop's (CTW) head educational advisor reflected the evolution of the program which had required changes to content and format.[3] Among the concerns for the conference were finding "ways to make a co-production truly represent a country's culture" and ensuring "ways to achieve the best mixture of entertainment and education [and] how much to predetermine the educational goals of the series."[4] The aims of the conference sought to ameliorate the issues that arose from *Sesame Street*'s first attempts at international adaptation in the early 1970s. *Sesame Street* was the first American children's educational program to reach a worldwide audience, and in doing so, had to develop different versions of the program, address issues of cultural imperialism, overcome cultural and educational conflicts, weigh the benefits of direct exportation versus local adaptation, and outline a new model for broadcasting with the introduction of international co-production.

Fully understanding the importance of these developments requires an examination of *Sesame Street*'s original American production, its educational model, and its immediate popularity. Prior to Sesame Street, American television had not catered to children's educational needs. Television in the United States was a devolved and commercialized medium dominated by broadcasters and their profit motives. As a medium it was not viewed as an

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[1] This article is dedicated to the memory of the author's grandmother Miriam Thomas. Many thanks also to Dr. Katarina Keane, Michael Henry, and to the editors at the CJH for their assistance throughout this project.

[2] "International Conference on Adaptations of 'Sesame Street' Addendum to Roster of Participants by Country," CTW.12.1.168, Box 168, Folder: International Conference on Adaptations of Sesame Street May 1978, Children's Television Workshop Records, 0073-MMC-NPBA, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Maryland, College Park, MD (hereafter Children's Television Workshop Records).

[3] In this paper the Children's Television Workshop will also be referred to by the acronym CTW. The CTW was the producer of *Sesame Street* and other programming such as *The Electric Company*. Now known as Sesame Workshop, they continue to produce *Sesame Street* to this day.

[4] "International Conference on Adaptations of 'Sesame Street' Agenda," 3, CTW.12.1.168, Box 168, Folder: International Conference on Adaptations of Sesame Street May 1978, Children's Television Workshop Records (hereafter cited as International Conference Agenda, CTW Records).

educational or social product in the public interest and subject to state oversight.[5] Given that children were not themselves significant consumers, broadcasters did not prioritize children's programming, a part of what led to Federal Communications Commission chairman Newton Minow's declaration in 1961 that television had become a "vast wasteland."[6] Historian Stephen Kline has described this wasteland for children as dominated by cartoons and puppet shows that were both simplistic and repeatable, yet still entertaining—a natural result for an audience with limited buying power in a commercialized environment.[7] This is not to say that their television was not still rife with advertisements, as companies like Mattel introduced toys connected to television programs and shows like *Howdy Doody* aimed at very young children released branded merchandise.[8] Therefore, what children's programming did exist was driven by advertisers and commercial interests, not by educators. The incessant commercialization of children's television, and of broadcasting more broadly, set the United States apart from other countries. Unlike countries in the Soviet bloc which had state-controlled broadcasting, or countries like the United Kingdom that subsidized public broadcasting through the BBC and produced children's programming, the United States before 1967 had no organized, national system of public broadcasting.[9]

Sesame Street's production was intimately related to the development of public broadcasting. An explicitly non-commercial show aimed at education did not serve the profit motives of the national broadcasters, and as a result, there had been no attempt at explicitly educational children's programming before it. By the late 1960s, Minow's "wasteland" had not improved, nor had the quality of programming more broadly. It was this need for quality educational programming aimed at both children and adults which led to the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act (PBA) in 1967, setting out structures and allocating funds for governmental support of educational programming which would allow for the launch of the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) in 1969.[10] In addition to governmental action, private actors and public foundations had similarly begun to develop explicitly educational programming; even

[5] Colin Ackerman, "Public or Private Interest? The History and Impacts of Children's Television Policy in the United States, 1934 to Present," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 12, No. 2 (Spring 2019): 285-289.
[6] Stephen Kline, *Out of the Garden: Toys, TV, and Children's Culture in the Age of Marketing* (London: Verso Books, 1993), 119.
[7] Ibid., 120-130.
[8] Howard P. Chudacoff, *Children at Play: An American History* (New York: NYU Press, 2007), 153-158; Michael Davis, *Street Gang: The Complete History of Sesame Street* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009), 32-33.
[9] Katalin Lustyik, "From a Socialist Endeavor to a Commercial Enterprise: Children's Television in East-Central Europe," in *Popular Television in Eastern Europe during and since Socialism*, Routledge Advances in Internationalizing Media Studies, ed. by Imre Anikó, Timothy Havens, and Katalin Lustyik (New York: Routledge, 2013), 107-109; David Oswell, *Television, Childhood, and the Home: A History of the Making of the Child Television Audience in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 45-47.
[10] James Day, *The Vanishing Vision: The Inside Story of Public Television* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 136-141, 145-148.

though *Sesame Street* would not debut until 1969, its beginnings predate the PBA and can be traced to 1966. The Carnegie Corporation, one of the largest philanthropic organizations in the United States, had become focused on the issue of childhood education and childhood poverty. The Corporation sponsored a commission on the subject and provided financial support to organizations addressing these issues. In 1966, Lloyd Morrissett, an official at Carnegie, gave life to *Sesame Street* by approaching Joan Ganz Cooney, a television producer and the future chairwoman of the CTW, who was at that time producing a study for Carnegie on the educational prospects of television. From this initial meeting and based on the conclusions of her report, Cooney contacted other organizations and governmental bodies that enthusiastically signed on to the idea of educational children's programming. Cooney secured public and private funding for program development from the Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation, and federal funds through the PBA, among other sources. This allowed for the official launch of the CTW in October 1968 with the explicit aim of developing an engaging and educationally rigorous children's program.[11] The first step in the show's development was a feasibility study undertaken by Cooney, outlining a plan for a program that "foster[ed] the intellectual and cultural development of young children" and which had "many of the production values (meaning pace, humor, professional performing talent, film inserts, animation, and so forth) to which today's young children have become accustomed."[12] It would not be enough to simply produce educational television. Cooney presciently argued for a program that combined educational *and* entertaining television, a combination that would underpin *Sesame Street*'s world-pacing success.

The Children's Television Workshop was itself a novelty in American television broadcasting, a production company receiving both public and private funding with a priority not on profits, but on education. The CTW was created with the purpose of addressing the educational "wasteland" of children's television through the newly created national public broadcasting stations; the method developed to address this wasteland would be *Sesame Street*. Cooney's proposal for funding outlining the goals of the CTW reflected an interest in social justice, arguing that the goal of any program they produced must seek to address educational gaps in young children and use the television screen as a preparation for, or substitute for, preschool.[13] Such an ambitious goal found support from the government and from socially-minded foundations, like the aforementioned Carnegie Corporation, who combined to

[11] Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 232-234.
[12] Joan Ganz Cooney, "The Potential Uses of Television in Preschool Education," quoted in Richard M. Polsky, *Getting to Sesame Street: Origins of the Children's Television Workshop* (New York: Praeger, 1974), 10-11.
[13] Joan Ganz Cooney, "Television for Preschool Children – A Proposal," quoted in Polsky, *Getting to Sesame Street*, 40-42.

contribute over eight million dollars to the program.[14] Thus, unlike most non-commercial and local educational broadcasters subject to strict budgetary and time constraints, the CTW was given ample funding and over 18 months to develop *Sesame Street* between 1968 and 1969 to be aired on the soon-to-be launched PBS.[15]

Having established a production studio and secured funding to create an educational and entertaining program with high-budget production values, the CTW's next priority was creating a model for empirically researched children's television. The model, or in other words, the curriculum, was an explicit outlining of *Sesame Street*'s educational goals developed through a series of seminars in the summer of 1968. Bringing together educators and television officials to work on finding a balance between education and entertainment, these seminars produced a document entitled "The Instructional Goals of Children's Television Workshop." Ranging from the ability to recognize numbers and letters and visual discrimination between objects to more abstract concepts, like the relationship between the child and the physical environment, the social environment, and social interactions, the "Instructional Goals" were the most academically rigorous program for children's television ever created.[16] Importantly the goals were not designed to be static, but to be continually updated, which they were both domestically and later through international adaptation.[17]

Much of the literature that examines children's television in general and *Sesame Street* in particular focuses on this founding period. Historians and media scholars alike have examined the show's development, with particular attention on the funding for the show and the development of its educational model. Education researcher Richard Polsky has provided systematic coverage of the show's development, where he argues that the show's success was a result of clear planning, talented officials, sufficient funding, and emergence during a time of social change.[18] Created in a moment of upheaval and national re-definition brought about by

[14] Polsky, *Getting to Sesame Street*, 114. Polsky provides a detailed breakdown of the funding in *Getting to Sesame Street*. The five largest donors to the program were the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Office of Education ($3,325,000), the Ford Foundation ($1538,000), the Carnegie Corporation ($1,500,000), the Corporation for Public Broadcasting ($625,900), and the HEW's Office of Economic Opportunity ($650,000). Altogether the show's first season received $8,191,700 in funding.
[15] Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge,* 234-235.
[16] One of the participants at these seminars was the children's author and illustrator Maurice Sendak. Gerald Lesser, one of the seminar leaders, includes some of Sendak's doodles made during the discussions in his book. These subversive sketches contrast the educational content of the meetings and the resulting goals. For example, in the section of visual discrimination and labeling body parts Sendak's doodle shows naked children looking at each other. Gerald S. Lesser, *Children and Television: Lessons from Sesame Street* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), 62-74.
[17] Charlotte F. Cole, Beth A. Richman, Susan A. McCann Brown, "The World of *Sesame Street* Research," in *G is for Growing: Thirty Years of Research on Children and Sesame Street,* ed. by Shalom M. Fisch and Rosemarie T. Truglio (Mahwah, N.J.: Routledge, 2000), 147-148.
[18] Polsky, *Getting to Sesame Street*, 95-105.

the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, and the expansion of the Great Society, *Sesame Street* was to be an urban-set program with a multi-racial cast from varied socio-economic backgrounds, reflecting the changing faces of the United States and catering to the needs of the most vulnerable.[19] One of the main appeals to funders of *Sesame Street* was the potential for it to supplement preschool education for inner-city children who could not afford it. The structure of the show as it developed reflected this; by centering the program on a city street and through the mixture of human and puppet characters representing everyday figures in a child's community, *Sesame Street* was a product of its time, for the children of its time.[20]

Gerald Lesser, a Harvard Child Psychologist and educational advisor to the CTW, drew very similar conclusions in his book, *Children and Television*, a history of the show which emphasizes the importance of the educational model and the process of its development.[21] Beyond the "model," the show's pioneering role in public broadcasting is also discussed. The American debut of *Sesame Street* was met with immediate critical acclaim and widespread popularity, with the pilot episode viewed in 1.46 million households.[22] James Day, a long-time television executive, described the show's premiere as having been an overdue yet momentous occasion; it was a rigorously tested, financially supported, and publicly popular endeavor that was long needed and pointed directly to the importance of public broadcasting.[23] In a similar vein, historian Robert Morrow praised the show for its championing of a new approach to children's television but lamented the lack of large-scale reform in the wake of its debut; *Sesame Street*, he argued, for all of its laudable characteristics remained a unique but very popular part of the American television landscape.[24]

Sesame Street's immediate popularity was vital to its rapid overseas expansion. Yet the adoption of the program into foreign contexts reveals the complicated dynamics of cultural exchange across national borders. Herbert Schiller and other scholars of American mass communication and cultural expansion use the term cultural imperialism to describe a one-way imposition of American ideals into other cultural contexts; instead of a process of negotiations between cultures, American values are said to supersede native ones and replace native culture.[25] Television, in Schiller's view, typifies this dynamic, as American marketing practices

[19] Day, *The Vanishing Vision*, 157-160.
[20] Davis, *Street Gang*, 147-155.
[21] Lesser, *Children and Television*, 234-241. A further analysis of the CTW model and its educational impacts may be found in Gerald S. Lesser and Joel Schneider, "Creation and Evolution of the *Sesame Street* Curriculum," in Fisch and Truglio, eds., *G Is for Growing*, 25-38.
[22] Day, *The Vanishing Vision*, 160.
[23] Ibid., 169.
[24] Robert W. Morrow, *Sesame Street and the Reform of Children's Television* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 1-6.
[25] Herbert I. Schiller, *Mass Communications and American Empire* (New York: A.M. Kelley, 1969), 110-115.

and corporate reach allow for American programming to spread around the world and replace domestic productions.[26] Media historian Heather Hendershot has looked directly at *Sesame Street* as an example of "an imperialistic export product" which expresses American culture under a guise of neutrality.[27] From this she argues that the CTW does not adapt their educational model, but imposes it upon viewers in other countries.

Not all scholars agree with this view of cultural domination. Other scholarship, like that of Richard Pells's discussion of Europe, examines the global spread of American culture as a process of transmission or exchange; instead of submission he theorizes a cross-fertilization of American and global cultures that results in a new culture and set of values.[28] Against the view of Hendershot, consultation with the CTW archives points towards *Sesame Street*'s international adaptation as an example of the latter process. Initial overtures for international expansion came not from the CTW, but from foreign producers and officials in countries like Britain, Germany, and Mexico.[29] Going forward, the CTW adapted the program with a focus on the foreign viewer, which ultimately led to the excision of "American" content and eventual creation of the co-production model. The co-production model, in the description of *Sesame Street* producer Gregory Gettas, shared the responsibility for production between the CTW and foreign producers. The former provided stock footage, and the latter collaborated with educators and the CTW to develop new programming and educational priorities based on local needs to create a more effective educational product.[30]

The development of the co-production model came in stages. The earliest attempts to export *Sesame* Street focused on English-speaking countries, and expansion in the United Kingdom ignited controversy. Learning from that experience, the CTW then created "Open Sesame," a project that created culturally neutral versions of the program that could be dubbed and exported around the world, stripped of explicitly American content. From this version came the international co-productions, of which this paper focuses on two: Mexico's *Plaza Sésamo*, one of the first planned international co-productions, and Germany's *Sesamstrasse*, an evolution of a "Open Sesame" project into a full-fledged co-production. Co-production was inspired by the CTW's educational model: experimentation and research. These facets of the

[26] Herbert I. Schiller, *Culture, Inc.: The Corporate Takeover of Public Expression* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 120-128.
[27] Heather Hendershot, "*Sesame Street*: Cognition and Communications Imperialism," in *Kids' Media Culture*, ed. by Marsha Kinder (London: Duke University Press, 1999), 159-165.
[28] Richard Pells, "American Culture Abroad: The European Experience Since 1945," in *Cultural Transmissions and Receptions: American Mass Culture in Europe*, ed. by Rob Kroes, Robert W. Rydell, D. F. J. Bosscher, and John F. Sears (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1993), 67-84.
[29] Cole, "The World of *Sesame Street* Research," 148.
[30] Gregory J. Gettas, "The Globalization of 'Sesame Street': A Producer's Perspective," *Educational Technology Research and Development* 38 No. 4 (1990): 56, 60-61.

model revealed what worked and what did not with the aim of creating an entertaining and informative product. This paper seeks to analyze *Sesame Street* as a microcosm of American cultural diffusion. Investigation of the iterative development of the co-production model, starting from early cultural clashes over *Sesame Street* in the United Kingdom, sheds light on processes of learning by the CTW and television producers as a representative experience of this cultural diffusion not yet subject to historical analysis.

"Trans-Atlantic Attitudes ...[and] Authoritarian Intentions": Sesame Street and the BBC[31]

The export of *Sesame Street* to the United Kingdom revealed early growing pains in the CTW's international model. It was there where the earliest, and one of the most prominent, conflicts over international adaptation occurred. Although the history of this expansion has been misconstrued by scholars like Day in his history of public television through mention only of conflict and not of its resolution, narratives about the UK experience shaped subsequent attempts to bring *Sesame* Street to international audiences.[32] The version of *Sesame Street* first pitched to the BBC in 1970 was not adapted for British audiences but was unchanged from the American version. After several months of negotiations, the program was rejected by the BBC because of its "authoritarian" teaching style which emphasized one correct answer to questions.[33] While the rejection by Monica Sims, the BBC's director of children's programming at the time, was certainly a challenge, histories of the program have yet to address the circumstances that led up to the rejection, nor have they considered the consequences of the rejection in depth.[34] CTW archival materials complicate the story and shed light on the conclusions that were drawn from the controversy, especially the challenge of exporting American programming directly into foreign contexts and navigating conflicting responses between educators and the general public to said programming. Out of these lessons came changes in future adaptations to other nations.

[31] Monica Sims, memo "Sesame Street," 7 September 1971, 5, CTW.12.2.185, Box 185, Folder: BBC – Monica Sims – Background and Clippings, 1971, Children's Television Workshop Records (hereafter cited as Sims, "Sesame Street," CTW Records).
[32] Day, *The Vanishing Vision,* 163. James Day's *The Vanishing Vision* is one history which references the UK conflict over *Sesame Street* but does not tell the whole, or even a fully accurate version, of the story.
[33] Associated Press, "BBC Doesn't Buy 'Sesame,'" *Washington Post*, September 8, 1971, B10.
[34] Monica Sims, OBE, was the first female executive at the BBC, first working in radio before taking over children's television. In the 1960s, she broke "taboos by broadcasting provocative items about women's physical and mental health, religious doubts, financial difficulties ... and sexual orientation," before moving to children's television and eventually becoming director of radio programming in 1983. Despite her many achievements, her rejection of *Sesame Street* became a key part of her biography. See Anne Karpf, "Monica Sims Obituary," *The Guardian*, November 30, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/media/2018/nov/30/monica-sims-obituary.

Expansion of *Sesame Street* into the United Kingdom was not driven solely by the CTW. As early as February 1970—only three months after the show's US premiere—BBC officials (including Sims) were in discussions with the CTW about purchasing the show as a complement to *Play School* and *Blue Peter*, the BBC's two flagship children's programs.[35] Discussions regarding the BBC's purchase of *Sesame Street* continued throughout 1970, with tapes sent over in April, until that summer when Sims informed the CTW that "we would not wish to show the whole program in Britain because we felt it was too specifically geared to an American audience and also in some ways overlaps with Play School."[36] Sims went on to write that "we are interested in the entertainment provided by the programmes rather than its formal teaching content and I am sure 'The Muppets' would be greatly appreciated here by both children and adults."[37]

The insistence on only wanting to purchase only entertainment—not educational content—was revealing because Sims later linked her rejection of the program to its educational model. In the summer of 1971, Sims wrote a memo to press correspondents outlining why she had decided to block the BBC from purchasing the program. After opening with an acknowledgement of the Muppets' "sardonic humor" and concluding that the program would be better suited for five to eleven year-olds, she turned to the main cause of the rejection: "the educational content of the programme and its effect on very young children."[38] Buttressing her attack on the educational quality of *Sesame Street*, Sims cited a series of American and British critics of the program, using their words to allege that the show distorted reality by suggesting "that learning is always easy and always fun."[39] Additionally, Sims expressed concerns about *Sesame Street*'s impact on domestic programming:

> One danger of the proliferation of a single-formula package deal is that *Sesame Street's* claim to teach letters and numbers may succeed in swamping the development of the individual national programmes based on the indigenous culture of each country and although some British objections to the American vocabulary and accent do not seem to me important I am concerned about the

[35] Letter from John Fitzgerald to David Connell, 4 February 1970, CTW.12.2.185, Box 185, Folder: BBC Correspondence, General, 1970, Children's Television Workshop Records.
[36] Letter from Monica Sims to David Connell, 17 August 1970, CTW.12.2.185, Box 185, Folder: BBC Correspondence, General, 1970, Children's Television Workshop Records.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Sims, "Sesame Street," 1, CTW Records. When citing documents written in British-English I have retained the original spellings.
[39] Ibid., 2.

> trans-atlantic attitudes embodied in the programme and its authoritarian intentions.[40]

Beyond the educational content of the program, she further attacked the "middle-class" values of *Sesame Street,* which she saw as designed for viewers from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. Sims argued that *Sesame Street*'s targeting of disadvantaged communities was mere pandering, and that the program's educational methodology was nothing but cover for the broadcasting of "white middle-class values to an audience ill-equipped to question."

> To decorate a street with dirty walls and dustbins as a self-conscious sop to the other half does not constitute communication with a child whose interest in the street where he lives is how to go about the difficult and interesting process of living in it.[41]

In sum, the success of the program, in her view, was because it was "about the only children's programme which has been given a large amount of money and production effort" in the United States, in contrast to the long-standing commitment of the BBC to children's broadcasting.[42] Her memo attacked the show for its educational content and structure, citing fears of cultural imperialism.

However, in the wake of her rejection it became clear that the British public, and even the BBC's leadership, did not entirely agree with Ms. Sims. The CTW quickly found itself embroiled in media controversy in Britain following Sims's rejection. Yet a BBC ban did not end the prospects for *Sesame Street* in Britain, as the Independent Television Authority (ITA), a commercial competitor to the BBC, purchased rights to broadcast the show beginning in early 1972. Following the BBC's ban, press coverage in the UK sharply rejected Sims's characterization of the show's authoritarian nature. In *The Times*, Nigel Lawson, political columnist and future Chancellor in Margaret Thatcher's cabinet, described *Sesame Street* as "a minor miracle," popular with parents and children, but anathema to the educational establishment because of its deterministic educational style.[43] Another article praising the ITA for purchasing the program questioned why education officials sought to block the one American program of educational quality being exported into Britain.[44] Similar sentiments were evident in a *TV Guide* article following ITA's initial

[40] Ibid., 5.
[41] Ibid., 6.
[42] Ibid., 9.
[43] Nigel Lawson, "The Minor Miracle of Sesame Street," *The Times,* 22 December 1971, CTW.12.2.185, Box 185, Folder: Clippings, Children's Television Workshop Records.
[44] "Reopening Sesame Street," CTW.12.2.185, Box 185, Folder: Clippings, Children's Television Workshop Records.

run of programs titled "In England, nobody loves Sesame Street … but the people."[45] Again Sims's characterization of *Sesame Street*'s authoritarianism and "middle-class" values came under fire, with viewers, educators, and CTW director Joan Ganz Cooney herself questioning the logic of the BBC's decision.

Press coverage indicated that the battle over *Sesame Street* had become a proxy war for a larger cultural battle in Britain regarding the methods of modern education and the influence of American culture. On the one side was a public in favor, on the other was the educational establishment personified by Sims as head of BBC children's programing. While fears of American cultural and educational dominance contributed to the BBC's refusal to air the program, the public's desire to have access to the program and make it a part of British educational and television culture drove support for *Sesame Street*. The contested nature of *Sesame Street*'s expansion into the UK exemplifies the challenges of cultural exchange when the cultural product is not adapted, but simply exported. While it had public support, to some the program was an unwelcome intrusion of American culture and teaching styles into the British context.

After the initial run of *Sesame Street* programs by the ITA, they commissioned a study to gauge the show's popularity, summarized in "Reactions to Sesame Street in Britain." This report brought together discussion of the ITA's decision to purchase *Sesame Street*, surveys of children's programming in Britain, and extensive research into learning outcomes and viewer responses to the program. Acknowledging both that the style of education in Britain was more "unstructured," as Sims argued, and that educational children's television already existed, the report still concluded that the best test for *Sesame Street* in Britain was to air it.[46] From these initial broadcasts, ITA researchers approached British audiences much like the CTW had with American audiences in the program's initial development. In this case, the broad categories of questions were two-fold: How effective were the show's teaching elements? And, how applicable was the show's American design to a British context?[47] Overall, the researchers found that children were most engaged by the Muppet segments—except for Bert and Ernie— and were less interested in segments involving human characters like Susan and Gordon.[48] These findings indicated to the CTW

[45] Edith Efron, "In England, Nobody Loves Sesame Street … but the People," *TV Guide*, 11 March 1972, CTW.12.2.185, Box 185, Folder: Clippings, Children's Television Workshop Records.
[46] *Reactions to Sesame Street in Britain, 1971*, 7-9, CTW.12.2.185, Box 185, Folder: Reactions to Sesame Street in Britain (Parts 1 &2), 1971, Children's Television Workshop Records.
[47] Ibid., 15.
[48] Ibid., 16-17. One of the segments studied by researchers featured James Earl Jones reading the alphabet and feigning forgetfulness. While the children engaged with this, they "were reticent when confronted with the pronunciation of Z as Zee," rather than Zed, as the letter is pronounced in the UK.

that when exporting *Sesame Street* abroad, sections of the program containing explicitly American content, such as the social dynamics of Susan and Gordon and other human characters displayed, were less effective as educational tools in foreign contexts.

In addition to surveying children as they watched the show, ITA distributed questionnaires to gauge the popularity of the initial run. After the continued controversy launched by the BBC's ban, these responses gave a clear consensus to the public verdict. Much like the *TV Guide*'s article, no one loved *Sesame Street* but the people. Ninety-eight percent of parental responses from London were in favor of the show continuing beyond its initial run, 98 percent found it enjoyable, and 92 percent thought it would assist their children preparing for school; however, 43 percent of Londoners and 64 percent of Welsh viewers thought the show was "too American," and 31 percent and 43 percent of viewers from those respective regions thought the show should have "less Americanisms."[49] Beyond the structured questionnaire responses, the report also included excerpts from unsolicited letters from parents who felt compelled to write to the network about the program. Most letters praised *Sesame Street*, and even those who criticized the program also commended some aspects of the program. One such letter criticized the show's use of American slang but applauded its ability to "transcend cultural barriers."[50]

Viewer responses and journalistic vitriol gave credence to the BBC's blunder in rejecting *Sesame Street* for British audiences. While granting that the show was in some cases too American, viewers had, by and large, embraced the program. This extremely negative reaction led BBC executives to attempt to limit the damage, even if they were by then unable to acquire the program for themselves. At the CTW and BBC's behest, Monica Sims issued a "correction" to her original memo, refuting her original arguments and pointing out the positives of *Sesame Street.*[51] This revised memo went point-by-point through her original claims and replaced them with information "provided" by the CTW regarding the program and its expansion into new markets.[52] One point of note is a quote

[49] Ibid., 22. The ITA was at this time made up of regional broadcasters – ITV stations – that were tied to regions, hence why the responses were reported in this manner.
[50] Ibid., 41,43. Not all letters came from parents, as ITA included the "shortest" letter they received from a Welsh viewer: "I am writing to say that I enjoy Sesame Street. I am five years old and run home from school to watch it. Love, Paul Manning."
[51] Letter from Michael Dann to Huw Weldon, 12 November 1971, CTW.12.2.185, Box 185, Folder: BBC Correspondence, General, 1971, Children's Television Workshop Records.
[52] Monica Sims, "Memo to Broadcasters," 1, CTW.12.2.185, Box 185, Folder: BBC – Monica Sims – Background and Clippings, 1971, Children's Television Workshop Records. Sims prefaced the memo by saying: "It has been brought to my attention by the Children's Television Workshop, that the paper contained several errors of fact which placed the Sesame Street experiment in an unduly harsh light. In the interests of fairness, I am sending this note to those of you who received my original document, and I hope that your perusal of it will help present a more balanced picture of the American series and its aims and achievements."

from Joan Ganz Cooney cited in Sims's original memo that "like the British Empire, the sun will never set on Sesame Street," which Sims acknowledged in her correction was said "in jest."[53] This correction was followed by Sims mentioning that there were not yet foreign-language versions of *Sesame Street*; they were forthcoming and would be created with input from foreign educators.[54] Even though this correction did not change the situation, it is an important part of the history that has not been mentioned previously, providing further evidence of the complicated and contested nature of *Sesame Street*'s expansion into Britain.[55] The conflict between the BBC, the CTW, and the public highlighted the difficulties of direct exportation of American programs into foreign contexts. This first foray was a learning moment, one which drove the CTW towards the path of adaptation in the years to come.

"Open Sesame": Neutrality as a Project

The CTW understood that future expansion would require a new approach. Rather than simply exporting American programs, or dubbing them into a native language, new versions of the show would need to be created with diverse viewers in mind. It was from this idea that "Open Sesame," a new approach to international programming, was born. The concept was simple: international versions of *Sesame Street* would henceforth be stripped of American cultural signifiers but would retain core educational elements. "Open Sesame" would provide a platform for foreign educators to adapt their own versions of *Sesame Street* around a base of stock material provided by the CTW. Planning for "Open Sesame" began in earnest in 1973. On July 2nd of that year, Edward Palmer, the CTW's research director, held a meeting to discuss pressing questions about the project's implementation.[56] These questions were both logistic and conceptual, ranging from the amount of content needed to launch the series, to interaction with educational officials in other countries and the addition of content by native producers.[57] The priorities laid out by the CTW emphasized that the goal of the "Open Sesame" model was not to be an imposition of an American program, but rather a collaborative process between the CTW and producers in other countries.

[53] Ibid., 6
[54] Ibid.
[55] Davis, *Street Gang*, 211. Michael Davis in his "*Complete History of Sesame Street*," includes mention of Sims's memo and ITV's purchase of the program but does not provide any further details. Archival materials complicate and flesh out the story far beyond what has been told so far.
[56] Letter from Edward Palmer to Jack Vaughn, Norton Wright, Lutrelle Horne, Trish Hayes, Gretchen Bock, Eileen Bohn, "Reference Notes for July 2 meeting on 'Open Sesamo'" [sic], 2 July 1973, 1-2. CTW.12.1.168, Box 168, Folder: Open Sesame, Children's Television Workshop Records. The archival copy has a handwritten acknowledgment of the titular misspelling.
[57] Ibid.

Adaptation in avoidance of "Americanisms" had clearly been learned from the British experience. This process suggested the dynamic nature of cultural exchange. Rather than a forceful introduction of American programming into foreign contexts, the CTW sought a more cross-cultural approach by providing a neutral program that would be applicable in multiple contexts.

For the Children's Television Workshop's leaders, the most important element of "Open Sesame" was maintaining the extensively researched and tested educational model. The learning model was adjusted to fit around the world and in many cultural contexts. In practice, this meant making the lessons more "neutral" by removing street scenes and other "American" signifiers and shortening the length of programs from an hour to 27 minutes, leaving in place only the core pedagogical elements.[58] Visual discrimination of letters, one of the core parts of the *Sesame Street* curriculum, remained a centerpiece of the program, but local productions had leeway to institute changes. Lessons involving letters not used in all markets—W, J, K, X, Y—were eliminated from the program, and all other letters were given equal coverage without emphasis on sequential order.[59] Numeric lessons had to undergo less adaptation, as counting is more universal and could be easily adapted to other countries in a way phonetic language could not. Other aspects of the *Sesame Street* curriculum—visual and auditory discrimination, classification of objects, problem solving, and segments concerning social relations, such as those about the child in relation to the family and the world— were also deemed neutral enough to be included in the plan for the program.[60] The top targets laid out by the CTW for "Open Sesame" were mainly European markets but included countries from around the world; some of these were Sweden, Holland, France, Japan, Iran, Yugoslavia, and India.[61] From these discussions came the formal proposal for "Open Sesame." The show was *Sesame Street* with the "street scenes" deleted, with a focus on Muppet sketches and animated segments, and "void of any specific U.S. cultural references

[58] "Suggested Guidelines for Open Sesame Tapes," 2 August 1973, 1, CTW.12.1.168, Box 168, Folder: Open Sesame, Children's Television Workshop Records.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid., 2.
[61] Ibid., 3. The Guidelines listed eighteen countries in order of highest potentiality for expansion. The seven listed were first, second, third, sixth, eleventh, thirteenth, and sixteenth respectively.

and values."[62] In short, "Open Sesame" included only "the best of *Sesame Street*'s ethnically-free material" while maintaining a primary focus on its educational curriculum.[63]

After establishing a framework by which *Sesame Street* could adapt to new contexts and not simply remain a direct American export, CTW officials were then faced with the next pressing question: how to ensure that the educational quality of the respective programs was upheld in its new forms. Their solution was to establish a review system for programming produced in foreign countries. Foreign broadcasters in conjunction with educational advisory boards made up of three educators designated by the CTW would review the broadcast material.[64] These advisors maintained educational standards, while simultaneously adapting language to local contexts and therefore maximizing the effectiveness of the programs. While the pilot episode of a broadcast was to be of the highest importance for review, periodic review of following episodes —whether every fifth episode or by some other count—would ensure the effectiveness of a given adaptation.[65] Crucially, these advisory boards were not intended to answer directly to the CTW, nor were they to be given direct funding by that body; they were run only by native broadcasters with the aim of preserving independence. The CTW hoped this would allow the series to flourish in countries which were "nationalistic, independent and touchy about anything even slightly suggestive of imperialism" and prevent the imparting of American values onto native productions.[66] These considerations point to the CTW's learning, approaching the project through neutrality so that the programs could blend into new cultures.

As "Open Sesame" had moved from idea to practice, the CTW sought partnerships with international broadcasters. The project's early successes came most prominently in Europe, where adaptations of the program were launched quickly, such as Spain's *Abrete Sésamo*, the

[62] "The Children's Television Workshop Presents Open Sesame," 1, CTW.12.1.168, Box 168, Folder: Open Sesame, Children's Television Workshop Records (hereafter cited as "The Children's Television Workshop Presents," CTW Records).
[63] Ibid. It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze whether "Open Sesame" was truly culturally neutral, or whether that is possible. Some, like Theodor Adorno, argue that television's reflection of mass culture leads to a psychological impact on the viewer reinforcing dominant attitudes regardless of the goals of the program's creators. For the purposes of this paper assessment will be drawn based on written records in the archives, as episodes of the programs are not easily available. Regarding Adorno's theory of television, see Theodor Adorno, "How to Look at Television," in *The Culture Industry*, ed. by Theodor Adorno (New York: Routledge Classics, 1991), 158-178.
[64] Educational Quality Control of "Open Sesame" Series, 1, CTW.12.1.168, Box 168, Open Sesame, Children's Television Workshop Records (hereafter cited as Educational Quality Control, CTW Records).
[65] Ibid., 2.
[66] "Educational Quality Control," 2, CTW Records; Edward L. Palmer, Milton Chen, and Gerald S. Lesser, "Sesame Street: Patterns of International Adaptation," *Journal of Communication* 26, no. 2, (Spring 1976): 112. Another issue raised was whether CTW would require an educational advisor to speak English to help facilitate communication. It was decided that this expectation was unreasonable given the disparities in English fluency across target countries, and the requirement became a mere recommendation.

Netherlands's *Sesamstraat*, Sweden's *Sesam*, Germany's *Sesamstrasse* and France's *Bonjour Sésame*. These proved popular, with foreign press reactions mirroring those of the American media upon *Sesame Street*'s original debut in 1969: ebullient praise. A French-Canadian journalist posed the rhetorical question following *Sésame*'s premiere, "*Si cette série est si bonne pourquoi n'en avons-nous pas bien avant?"* (If this series is so good, why didn't we have it long before?)[67] France's TF1 station provided coverage of the show's debut and quoted Lutrelle Horne from the CTW, who attested that the show was "independent of a specific culture" and was one of many versions of the program spreading around the world.[68] The *Göteborgs-Posten*, a Swedish newspaper, heralded the launch of *Sesam* as the arrival of "the world's most appreciated children's TV show today" and emphasized the importance the show placed on appealing to underprivileged children and its educational record.[69] Most succinctly, a Spanish newspaper declared "Sesame Street, finally in Spain!"[70]

The press reaction demonstrated clear excitement at the introduction of "Open Sesame" adaptations, a reaction which justified the collaborative expansion between the CTW and foreign educators and broadcasters who sought out the show. To assess the longer-term interest in the program, Swedish broadcasters commissioned a study about *Sesam* which was forwarded on to the CTW. This study compared the impacts and popularity of *Sesam* to the Swedish-produced, *Five Ants are More than Four Elephants*, an educational series explicitly inspired by *Sesame Street* with the aim of reducing childhood achievement gaps.[71] Interestingly, *Sesame Street*'s structure was strongly contrasted with that of *Five Ants*. The former's rapid pace was described as a result of *Sesame Street*'s need to appeal to the American commercial environment, much unlike conditions in Sweden which do not have "the same need to make the programs entertaining."[72] This analysis led to the conclusion that to a Swedish audience *Sesam* is far more entertainment than education. When

[67] Pierrette Deslandes, "Sésame: la voix de L'Amerique nous parle en Français," in "News: Some Reactions by editors in Europe and the Western Hemisphere to the New International Versions of Sesame Street," CTW.12.1.168, Box 168, Folder: Open Sesame, Children's Television Workshop Records (hereafter cited as News: Some Reactions, CTW Records). "News: Some Reactions" was an internally published CTW collection of foreign press reactions to newly debuting versions of *Sesame Street* and did not always provide full citations for these excerpts. What information is available is included. All translations from press clippings were done by the author.
[68] "Bonjour Sesame: Un Emission Ancienne des Rondez-vous Nouveaux" in News: Some Reactions, CTW Records.
[69] "Brasse, Magnus och deras myror i all ara Nu Kommer Sesam," 31 October 1975, *Göteborgs-Posten* in News: Some Reactions, CTW Records. The quoted phrase is "*Sesame Street* är konkurrens världens mest uppskattade barn- TV program idag."
[70] Jose Antonio de Las Heras "¡Abrete, Sésamo! Por Fin en España," in News: Some Reactions, CTW Records. The picture attached to the article features a promotional photo of Bert and Ernie, who were "Blas y Epi" in *Abrete Sésamo*.
[71] Leni Filipson, *Sesam*, 2, in memo "Sweden – 'Open Sesame'" from Sarah Frank to Peter Orton, Lutrelle Horne, Dave Connell, Ed Palmer, and Frank Leuci, 26 January 1977, CTW.12.1.168, Box 168, Folder: Open Sesame, Children's Television Workshop Records.
[72] Ibid., 4.

comparing the two programs, the study found that children and parents responded positively to them both, but more so to *Five Ants*. The study's conclusions may be summarized in short: "As entertainment programs [*Sesam*] functions beautifully, but if the purpose is to accomplish more serious objectives, clearly a completely Swedish-produced series—which can be directly adjusted to Swedish needs and conditions—is better."[73]

The Swedish reaction—enjoyment tinged with reluctance—suggested to CTW leaders that the "Open Sesame" model may not have solved all the challenges involved in exporting *Sesame Street* overseas. If the case of *Sesam* was to hold across other contexts, the CTW needed to consider yet another approach if it wanted to maximize the effectiveness of international adaptations. While the "Open Sesame" model offered many advantages over direct export of American content, it was still a work in progress. Attempting to better cater to foreign viewers led the CTW to embrace a third model, international co-productions. Understanding the shortcomings of the so-called "neutral" model, CTW leaders came to the logical conclusion that the best course of action would be to launch programs explicitly targeted towards international audiences and produced through cooperation with foreign broadcasters. Expansion was not a one-way street, but a collaborative process.

Mexico and Germany: From the Street to the Plaza and the Strasse through Co-Production

The new co-production model went beyond "Open Sesame" by empowering foreign producers to create their own content, characters, and settings. While co-production became the dominant model for *Sesame Street* adaptation in the late 1970s, Mexico's *Plaza Sésamo,* the first co-production, debuted concurrently with "Open Sesame" adaptations in 1973.[74] Like *Sesame Street*, this project was seen by the CTW as both an important research opportunity and as a tool for social improvement. As a result, the project received funding from Xerox and the Ford Foundation, which bankrolled the more ambitious aims of the program.[75] With this financial support, the CTW began to develop a program for Spanish-speaking international audiences, as well as a separate Portuguese language

[73] Ibid., 13. The character that resonated most with children in the study was Cookie Monster, or as he was known in Sweden, Kakmåns. This study's author questioned whether that association was good, "since the function of the Cooky Monster in the program is more destructive than constructive."
[74] John K. Mayo, et al, "The Transfer of *Sesame Street* to Latin America," *Communication Research* 11, no. 2 (April 1984): 269-270.
[75] Letter from Edward Palmer to Joan Cooney, 27 March 1973, CTW.12.2.180, Box 180, Folder: Plaza Sésamo General File, 1970-1980, Children's Television Workshop Records (hereafter cited as Palmer to Cooney, CTW Records); Palmer, Chen, and Lesser, "Sesame Street," 112.

program for Brazilian audiences, *Vila Sésamo*, which would be far more independent than adaptations in the "Open Sesame" model.[76]

"Open Sesame" was predicated on the idea of a "neutral" program without clear attribution of American cultural values or signifiers deemed to reflect American life too closely. In contrast, *Plaza Sésamo* sought to ground the program's content *within* foreign contexts. The "neutral" approach in programs like *Bonjour Sesame* or *Sesam* lacked street scenes, as the CTW felt that the titular street was a tie to an American context that would not necessarily relate to European viewers.[77] For *Plaza Sésamo*, a radically different approach was taken. Instead of eliminating the street, producers would re-imagine it, hence the transition from street to plaza in the program's title. The narrow street evoking images of New York would be replaced by "a small, urban plaza" characteristic of Mexico with mountains in the background, and also featured "a fountain, benches … a corner store" and badly paved streets: "In general, the plaza, street, and buildings look somewhat rundown but picturesque."[78] So too would the show's characters be adapted into the new context. Humberto and Andrea were a Mestizo couple, the former an *electro-mecanico* and the latter a loving housewife and mother of their three children. Don Manuel was the curmudgeonly shopkeeper in the vein of Mr. Hooper whom the children knew was kind at heart behind a rough exterior. Filiponio and Loro Maloro were the show's versions of Big Bird and Oscar: Filiponio was a man-sized puppet of unclear animal variety, and Loro Maloro was designed as a parrot living in the plaza providing "caustic comments."[79]

Alongside the creation of culturally relevant content, the adaptation of the learning model and curriculum were important for the success of the program in foreign contexts. Rather than imposing learning goals based on what had been successful in the United States—the representation of numbers and letters—educational advisors to *Plaza Sésamo* were given autonomy to develop their own curriculum through planning seminars similar to those held for *Sesame Street* in 1968.[80] These seminars produced a highly amended curriculum, which included a revised approach to reading and sight recognition that de-emphasized phonetics and discrimination of individual letters, along with a greater focus

[76] Mayo, et al, "The Transfer of Sesame Street," 273-275; Palmer to Cooney, CTW Records.
[77] "The Children's Television Workshop Presents," 1-5, CTW Records.
[78] "Premise: 'Plaza Sésamo'," 1-2, CTW.12.2.180, Box 180, Folder: Plaza Sésamo General File, 1970-1980, Children's Television Workshop Records (hereafter cited as Premise: "Plaza Sésamo," CTW Records).
[79] "Premise: 'Plaza Sésamo'," 4-5, CTW Records. By the time *Plaza Sésamo* came to air, Filiponio had been replaced by Abelardo, Big Bird's cousin, with a similar design but different colorings to his American counterpart after originally being cast as a crocodile. Loro Maloro also underwent a name change and became Paco but remained as a parrot. "Meet Sesame Street's Global Cast of Characters," *Smithsonian Magazine*, November 6, 2009.
[80] Palmer, Chen, and Lesser, "Sesame Street," 112-113.

on problem solving.[81] These revisions were evident in the curriculum for the show's second season. Where *Sesame Street*'s curriculum had begun with symbolic representation and cognitive processes, *Plaza Sésamo*'s began with "El niño y su mundo,"—the child and his world—which had been relegated to lowest status in *Sesame Street*'s model.[82] *Plaza Sésamo*'s curriculum gave a detailed outline of educational goals which systematically addressed social relationships and the needs of children, as well as practices that were intended to produce good habits. The parts of the body and their functions were given high priority, along with personal care through prioritizing good hygiene: children would be shown the importance of properly brushing their teeth, eating good food and drinking clean water, and expressing emotions like love, surprise, and sadness.[83] Social relationships formed another pillar of *Plaza Sésamo*'s educational model, with a focus on presenting individuals' different perspectives and the importance of cooperation, the division of labor, and how to solve conflicts in daily life.[84] These focuses did not mean that symbolic and numeric representation were entirely cut out of the program; still many of the educational goals found in *Sesame Street*—the recognition of numbers and letters, basic geometric forms, listening skills, and basic comparatives—remained part of *Plaza Sésamo*'s curriculum.[85] However, international co-productions had leeway in emphasizing different educational skills and could present them in a different order. The similarities and differences in focus point to a broader dynamic of co-production—it provided local producers with a wide breadth for interpretation of content and learning objectives to fit into other contexts, free of direct CTW oversight. Such a method was intended to produce an educationally sound program that would respond to local contexts more effectively than would have been possible otherwise. This outcome was the result of years of experimentation with the various forms of international production and again highlights the CTW's prioritization of maximizing educational effectiveness and adapting into local cultures over producing an American product exported for foreign audiences.

While *Plaza Sésamo* had been designed from the outset to be a co-production, the other route taken was by "Open Sesame" programs which developed over time into an independent production with its own content. The CTW did not adopt co-production in all markets simultaneously. In some locations, the CTW attempted to use the "Open Sesame"

[81] Ibid., 113.
[82] "Exposición de los fines educativos que se persiguen en la segunda temporada experimental de 'Plaza Sésamo,'" 11 November 1974, 1, CTW.12.2.180, Box 180, Folder: Plaza Sésamo General File, 1970-1980. Children's Television Workshop Records (hereafter "Exposición de los fines educativos," CTW Records); Lesser, *Children and Television*, 62-65.
[83] "Exposición de los fines educativos," 1-2, CTW Records.
[84] Ibid., 3-4.
[85] Ibid., 4-10.

model before transitioning to a greater reliance on local production. One such example is *Sesamstrasse*, which began as part of the "Open Sesame" program but later developed its own identity. Broadcasters from the *Norddeutscher Rundfunk*, a television station based in Hamburg approached the CTW in 1970 with a concept for *Sesam Strasse*, a German-produced version of the program that would retain educational goals but adapt some of the "American" content, all with the aim of promoting independent learning in children.[86] With the introduction of "Open Sesame," the first step towards implementing the proposal was taken.

In 1973, *Sesamstrasse* launched in Germany and as had been the case in Britain, quickly became mired in controversy, though in the German case the conflict centered more on the show's social values than its educational content. *Der Spiegel* wrote of parents exasperated by their children ravenously eating like Cookie Monster or flipping over trash cans looking for Oscar the Grouch.[87] Alternatively, some parents embraced the show along with their children, such as one who complained "on behalf of my five years old son" when parliamentary hearings pre-empted the show.[88] The conflict between parents and educators who favored the program and those who despised it was a highly regional one in Germany, as Bavarian broadcasters—similar to the BBC—banned the program, while other regions enthusiastically added it to the daily schedules.[89] German critics questioned whether the American blend of entertainment and learning with the show's high production values took away from the pedagogical impact of the program, with the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, a Frankfurt newspaper, remarking: "In Germany learning and laughing never belonged together. Work and play were always in conflict. Shall that be changed all of the sudden?"[90] The answer to this controversy was a German-produced version of the program. The anger of some sections of the German public and educational establishment demonstrated that the supposed neutrality of "Open Sesame" was not enough for the success of a program. To win the support of German audiences, the CTW allowed German broadcasters to include specifically German segments in their adaptation of the program. In the beginning, this accounted for around thirty percent of the total programming on *Sesamstrasse* created in

[86] Norddeutscher Rundfunk, "Sesam Strasse: Ideas and Thoughts about a German Version of 'Sesame Street,'" 2-4, CTW.12.2.187, Box 187, Folder: Germany, Sesamstrasse Correspondence, 1970, Children's Television Workshop Records.
[87] "Children's Turn Also Comes Sometime," *Der Spiegel*, 5 March 1973, 2, CTW.12.2.187, Box 187, Folder: Germany, Sesamstrasse Correspondence, 1971-1973, Children's Television Workshop Records (hereafter cited as "Children's Turn," CTW Records). This article was fully translated by the CTW, and it is this version found in the archives that all quotes are drawn from.
[88] Ibid., 3.
[89] Ibid., 7.
[90] Ibid., 11.

Hamburg.[91] Co-production therefore sought to overcome the cultural misunderstandings created by the "Open Sesame" model.

This early form of co-production was not without challenges, especially regarding what the CTW saw as the educational integrity of the program and of its intellectual property. Michael Davis's *Street Gang* mentions a controversy between the CTW and German broadcasters over the use of the word *Scheisse*, which most closely translates into English as "shit."[92] In Davis's account, the CTW allowed this to air, ascribing this as a part of cultural adaptation as the word was used as "street vernacular." While an entertaining anecdote, archival sources show that neither the word in question nor the CTW's reaction is accurate in this record of events. Pointing to the collaborative relationship between the CTW and the Hamburg-based production team led by Dr. Karl-Heinz Grossman, internal correspondence records an objection from the CTW over the use of *Schiesse*, and a clarification and response by Hamburg. In reality, the word *Arsch* had been used as part of a colloquial expression that had been cleared by the program's board of advisors and the controversy was nothing more than a misunderstanding.[93] Rather than a story of culture shock, this more accurate account reveals the autonomy given to domestic producers to adapt local cultures into the programs. By the mid-1970s in Germany, this led to an even greater independence of *Sesamstrasse* and other "Open Sesame" projects through the introduction of more natively produced content, with the CTW retaining only a distant role supervising the educational quality of the programs.[94] The development of this approach could only have occurred following the lessons from the show's earlier years in Britain, "Open Sesame," and the introduction of the co-production model.

Conclusion: Sesame Street Around the World

Learning from the "Open Sesame" and co-production models, producers from around the world gathered at the Amsterdam Conference on International Adaptation in 1978 to

[91] Ibid., 26.
[92] Davis, *Street Gang*, 210-211. Davis, a journalist, compiles his "complete history" almost entirely through interviews and recollections in oral histories, creating a very readable and personal story, but one which is not perhaps without incidental errors due to the fallibility of human memory.
[93] Letter from A.H. Dwyer to Norton Wright, 13 April 1973, CTW.12.2.187, Box 187, Germany, Sesamstrasse Correspondence, 1971-1973 Children's Television Workshop Records; letter from Karl-Heinz Grossman to Norton Wright, 17 April 1973, CTW.12.2.187, Box 187, Folder: Germany, Sesamstrasse Correspondence, 1971-1973, Children's Television Workshop Records.
[94] One example of adaptation in the German context was *Sesamstrasse*'s theme song. Rather than "Can you tell me how to get to Sesame Street?" The song's refrain was "Der, die, das/wir, wie, was/wieso, weshalb, warum?/Wer nicht fragt bliebt dumm," in English: "This, that, there/who, how, what/how come, wherefore, why?/The one not asking remains stupid." "Children's Turn," 3, CTW Records.

create a unified strategy and platform for future adaptation. The core of the conference's agenda was the screening of different co-productions, some of which had grown out of "Open Sesame" and some which were original co-productions. These included: *Iftah Ya Simsim*, an Arabic version of *Sesame Street*; *Sesamstrasse*, which by this time consisted of mainly German produced material; *1, Rue Sésame*, the French co-production which grew out of *Bonjour Sésame*; a Japanese adaptation in English; and finally, *Sesame Street* itself.[95] The conference revealed how much the productions had diverged, while still retaining shared core principles and aims.[96] Adaptation led to unique characteristics for each production, but the focus on education and on empirical research as the basis of designing an effective pedagogical tool and entertaining program remained central. The many forms of *Sesame Street* reflected the format and structure of their source material, even as they underwent great changes in implementation and emphasis. Reflecting on the conference, participants concluded that there was a need for continued focus on research and collaboration in the sharing of findings intended to promote the quality of programs across the world.[97]

Co-production thus became truly international, a collaborative process that transferred ideas not only between the CTW and foreign producers, but among the coproducers themselves, such as the development of a research partnership between German and Dutch-Belgian joint producers which grew out of the Amsterdam conference.[98] The development of the co-production model was done through iterative learning that allowed the CTW and foreign producers to create a variety of programs that were explicitly designed to adapt to local contexts. The internationalization of collaboration points to a truly transnational diffusion of culture, both from the CTW and its source material to foreign producers, and within those producers themselves regarding structure and content. *Sesame Street*'s international adaptation is one concrete example of how cultural diffusion can occur through processes of learning and adaptation that synthesize different cultures into a new product, rather than an imperialistic imposition of a dominant culture on others. By the time of the Amsterdam Conference, there was not one *Sesame Street*, but many: *plazas*, *rues*, *Strassen*, and *vilas* all directed towards one central aim, creating an entertaining and educational program for young children.

[95] International Conference Agenda, 1-2, CTW Records.
[96] Letter from Margot Berghaus to Gerald Lesser, 14 January 1979, 1-2, CTW.12.1.168, Box 168, Folder: International Conference on Adaptations of Sesame Street, May 1978, Children's Television Workshop Records (hereafter cited as Berghaus to Lesser, CTW Records).
[97] "International Conference on Adaptation of 'Sesame Street,'" 15-17, CTW.12.1.168, Box 168, Folder: International Conference on Adaptation of Sesame Street, Children's Television Workshop Records.
[98] Berghaus to Lesser, 2-3, CTW Records.

The collaborative, symbiotic relationship between the CTW and international coproducers set out in Amsterdam continued to grow in the years that followed. By 2000, *Sesame Street* was aired in 120 countries and had 130 million viewers. The original program had launched nineteen co-productions; in addition to *Sesamstrasse, Plaza Sésamo, Sesamstraat,* and *1, Rue Sésame*, co-production had expanded to new projects like Sweden's *Svenska Sesam*, Russia's *Ulitsa Sesam*, China's *Zhima Jie*, and Poland's *Ulica Sezamkowa*, among others.[99] Some of these versions remained on air for only a few seasons, but the continued growth of the program points to the enduring success and global interest in the co-production model created in the 1970s, and to the success of the research-focused educational model first devised by the CTW in 1968. Development of *Sesame Street*'s international programming was a process of continual growth which considered local tastes while retaining its focus on fusing education and entertainment with the aim of using television to reduce educational gaps among young children both in the United States and around the world.

Historian Richard Pells, summarizing the relationship between post-1945 American and European culture, has argued that the ever more interconnected nature of these regions must, for harmony's sake, coincide with acknowledgement of the benefits of "a pluralistic mixture of artistic and intellectual influences."[100] In modern globalized society, such a statement goes beyond an Atlantic context in asserting the value to be had through collaboration. *Sesame Street* is a clear example of the potential success inherent in such a venture. While Heather Hendershot may discount adaptation as akin to advertisers adapting to sell American products around the world, the collaborative process of co-production is much more than this, bringing in educators and producers to mold programs to foreign settings.[101] The CTW changed their approach in response to the problems that emerged in Britain over the direct importation of the American program.[102] Their original approach, if extended into other contexts, would have severely limited the show's popularity and success of the educational model. By first pursuing neutrality, the CTW observed the adaptability of their educational model, as well as the limitations to that approach. Only through recognizing the strengths of adaptation was *Sesame Street* able to succeed around the world. But this success should not be seen as a victory of American over native cultures; rather, the

[99] Cole, "The World of *Sesame Street* Research," 148-154.
[100] Pells, "American Culture Abroad," 83.
[101] Hendershot, "*Sesame Street*," 168-171.
[102] Some companies like Disney have pursued importation of their programming into foreign contexts. An example of this may be seen in the case of Eastern Europe, where Disney capitalized on the newly deregulated and independent television market in the 1990s to introduce their programs. Broadcasting dubbed versions of American shows, Disney, followed by Nickelodeon and Cartoon Network, flooded and dominated children's broadcasting in the region by the early 2000s. Lustyik, "From a Socialist Endeavor to a Commercial Enterprise," 111-118.

co-production model allows for an approach that speaks to the needs of local viewers and creates independent productions which retain standard educational goals, but which present themselves in different forms and with different emphasis. Beyond the unique characters of the individual programs, *Sesame Street* in all its forms promoted understanding between individuals and cultures– an achievement in television worth celebrating.

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"Too much Scoticism!": Anti-Scottish Prejudice and Conceptions of Identity in Eighteenth-Century America

Ian Stapleton

Abstract

This paper investigates the anti-Scottish prejudice of revolutionary Americans as an element of a broader trend in these sentiments in America across the eighteenth century. It also explores how this "othering" of Scots reveals conceptions of colonial identity in America. Plenty of historians have discussed the anti-Scottish feelings of the Revolution, but very few seem to have studied how this may have connected to similar opinions earlier in the century, both in America and England, nor have any historians read into these sentiments as providing insight into English colonial identity. Through the use of newspapers, letters, pamphlets, journals, and other sources, this work contends that the anti-Scottish prejudice of the Revolution was a continuation in this feeling across the century driven by the factors of Scottish cultural separation, occupation of positions of power, and association with Jacobitism and tyranny. This prejudice reveals a colonial attachment to a strictly English identity with particular emphasis upon Protestantism and English liberty. This paper adds to the scholarly discussion of early American identity from a unique perspective of anti-Scottish attitude.

Introduction

In the summer of 1775, faced with the growing threat of rebellion in the English colonies, the royal governor of North Carolina, Josiah Martin, fled New Bern, the colony's capital, and looked for help in suppressing the potential outbreak of violence. He found this aid among a people "immoveably attached to His Majesty and His Government": recent immigrants from the Highlands of Scotland (a mountainous region encompassing the country's northwest) who had settled in Cumberland County.[1] Of these immigrants, Martin singled out Allan MacDonald and Alexander McLeod for leadership positions in the loyalist force he hoped to assemble, claiming that they had "most extensive influence over the Highlanders here, great part of which are of their own names and familys."[2] As the situation deteriorated for the British in North Carolina over the next several months, eventually forcing Martin to a ship offshore as the patriots seized the major trading port of Wilmington, the governor knew decisive action needed to be taken.[3] Writing from that ship in the Cape Fear River on January 10, 1776, Martin called upon MacDonald, McLeod, and other loyal Scots "to erect the King's standard … against the most horrid and unnatural rebellion that has been excited herein by traiterous, wicked, and designing men," granting them full authority to resist the rebels "by force and arms."[4] Receiving this command, the Scotsmen gathered and began their march in February down the Cape Fear from Cross Creek toward Wilmington where they would rendezvous with a larger British force to clear the region of rebels.[5] As recent immigrants to the colonies and recipients of generous land grants from the imperial government, the Scots were ready to put down the insurrectionists.[6]

This formidable contingent of Scottish soldiers, much to Martin's chagrin, never made it to Wilmington. At Moore's Creek on February 27, around twenty-five miles outside of Wilmington, the Highlanders confronted a numerically inferior but determined patriot force composed of militia and minutemen from various counties as well as from New Bern and Wilmington. Richard Caswell, a militia officer present at the

[1] Josiah Martin to William Legge, 30 June 1775, in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, vol. X (Raleigh, N.C.: P. M. Hale, Printer to the State, 1886), 41, 45-47.
[2] Ibid., 41, 45-47.
[3] Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh, UK: Birlinn, 2001), 68.
[4] Josiah Martin, "His Excellency Josiah Martin, &c. &c., to Allen McDonald…" *The Providence Gazette; and Country Journal*, 20 April 1776, p. 1.
[5] David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 162.
[6] T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire and the Shaping of the Americas, 1600-1815* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 186.

battle and the future first governor of the state of North Carolina, was pleased to report to the Provincial Council of North Carolina that the "Tories were totally put to the rout."[7] As for the commanding officers, MacDonald had been taken prisoner and McLeod had been killed during the battle. The patriots thereafter maintained a sustained presence at Cross Creek, intending to prevent "any attempt to embody again" among the Scots.[8] Less than a month after this disaster for the British, reports emerged that the Scottish had sought to return the loathed Governor Martin "to the interior parts of the province" where they would provide him sufficient protection.[9] These reports raised further suspicions, casting MacDonald and McLeod as duplicitous agents of the crown by claiming that while in New Bern a few months before the battle they swore a "solemn oath… that their business in the province was only to see their friends and relations."[10] Such perceived dishonesty amplified the level of hostility faced by the Scottish in North Carolina. By 1777, the events of early 1776 were already being cast as an "insurrection" wherein the colonists were "threatened by the Scotch."[11] Indeed, at Cross Creek, opportunistic patriots like William Rand moved to the Scottish stronghold, where "he made himself remarkable by plundering the poor ignorant Scotch people after their defeat at Moore's Creek."[12]

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Scottish immigration to the Americas was nothing new by the time of the American Revolution. The Scottish had arrived in various British colonies as early as the 1620s, heading first for places like Nova Scotia and Barbados. Nearly as many Scots ventured across the Atlantic in the seventeenth century as did the Dutch and French.[13] While only a few hundred Scots are suspected to have emigrated to North America prior to 1650, roughly 150,000 Scottish men, women, and children reached the shores of the continent by 1785 according to one liberal estimate.[14] More specifically, several historians estimate that about 80,000 migrants from Scotland came to the colonies of America (i.e., excluding Canada and the West Indies) between 1701 and 1780. Of those 80,000, around

[7] Richard Caswell, "Extract of a Letter from Col. Richard Caswell…Feb. 29, 1776," *The Pennsylvania Packet*, 25 March 1776, p. 2.
[8] Ibid.
[9] "Williamsburg, March 22," *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, 4 April 1776, p. 2.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Robert Rowan to Richard Caswell, 18 September 1777, in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, vol. XI, ed. William Saunders, (Raleigh, N.C.: P. M. Hale, Printer to the State, 1886), 626, 628.
[12] Rowan to Caswell, 18 September 1777, in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina* vol. XI, 626, 628.
[13] David Dobson, "Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas," in *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period,* ed. Alexis Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, (Boston, MA: Brill Publishers, 2005), 106, 128.
[14] Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, 4.

45,000 migrated between 1763 and 1775.[15] This explosion in migration in the eighteenth century had a number of contributing factors. One key contributor was the 1707 Act of Union, which removed all restrictions on trading and immigration between Scotland and English America.[16]

Prior to 1763, Scots arrived in the colonies of British North America with various motives for immigration. Some Highlanders were encouraged to come by colonial officials for their renowned martial ability, which made them perfect frontier guardsmen, while others came unwillingly as Jacobite exiles following the rebellions of 1715 and 1745.[17] More than 900 Stuart sympathizers were sent to America by English authorities as a result of the latter rebellion, often as prisoners or indentured servants who were never to return to Britain.[18] Before 1763, colonies like Virginia were so desperate for workers that they readily welcomed Scottish criminals into the colonial labor force.[19]

After 1763, new circumstances in Scotland drove Highlanders and Lowlanders (those from the country's southeastern region) alike to the American colonies. Returning from the frontlines of the French and Indian War, Highlanders generated a novel enthusiasm among their communities back home to immigrate to the New World which they had just visited in combat.[20] After the English government dismantled their traditional clan systems following the Jacobite defeat in 1746, Highlanders envisioned America as a place of freedom to replicate and practice their old social systems.[21] Such attractions to America were so strong that one historian has estimated that roughly eighteen percent of British emigrants to these colonies during the period of 1763 to 1775 were from the Scottish Islands and Highlands.[22] For the Lowlanders, who were less bound to community and acted more individualistically than their Highland counterparts, migration was often an economic choice.[23] To leave Scotland for America

[15] Devine, *Scotland's Empire and the Shaping of the Americas*, 100, 108.
[16] Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, 94.
[17] Alexis Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* ed. Alexis Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, (Boston, MA: Brill Publishers, 2005), 13. These rebellions were uprisings based in Scotland that sought to restore the Stuart dynasty to the English throne which the Hanoverians concurrently occupied. The Jacobite name is derived from the Latin form of James (*Jacobus*) from King James II, the last Stuart monarch to rule in England.
[18] Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, 94-96.
[19] Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 13.
[20] Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, 89.
[21] Eric Richards, "Scotland and the Uses of the Atlantic Empire," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire,* ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 93-94.
[22] J.M. Bumsted, "The Scottish Diaspora: Emigration to British North America, 1763-1815," in, *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800,* ed. Ned C. Landsman, (London: Associated University Press, 2001), 135.
[23] Ned C. Landsman, "Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800," *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (1999), 474-475.

as a Lowlander was to escape from oppressive landlordism and arrive in a place "where provincial liberty still flourished."[24] The economic downturn of the early 1770s in Scotland made migration to America an attractive option, even if it required being an indentured servant. As one observer near Glasgow wrote to his friend in Philadelphia, "[M]any hundreds of our labourers and mechanics, especially weavers in this neighbourhood, have lately indented and gone to America."[25]

Although these Scottish immigrants came to the Americas eager for new opportunities, they could not escape the xenophobic perceptions of their English counterparts simply by leaving Britain. This paper investigates anti-Scottish prejudice in the colonies during the eighteenth century, arguing that pre-existing animosity toward the Scottish was amplified during the Revolutionary period. Thus, it was a continuation of an eighteenth-century trend driven primarily by Scottish cultural separation, occupation of positions of power, and associations with Jacobitism and tyranny.[26] This work also adds to the scholarly record on the matter of colonial identity, asking what this "Scottophobia" reveals about sources of colonial identity during the eighteenth century. Anti-Scottish prejudice, this paper contends, reveals the eighteenth-century colonial attachment to a narrowly defined English identity with its associated cultural values, particularly those of Protestantism and English liberty.

Notwithstanding this prejudice, English colonists of the eighteenth century had plenty reason to view their Scottish contemporaries favorably and amicably welcome them to the New World. During this era, when American cities and towns began to establish their own academic institutions, it was the Scottish method of instruction — not the English one — that they adopted.[27] American leaders like Benjamin Rush had been educated at the University of Edinburgh, while the Scots-born signatory of the Declaration of Independence James Wilson graduated from the University of St. Andrews. Thomas Jefferson, furthermore, had been educated at the College of William & Mary in Virginia, a school founded by the Scotsman James Blair, where he was taught by another Scot, William Small.[28] Prior to 1776, more Americans graduated from the

[24] Ned C. Landsman, "The Provinces and the Empire: Scotland, the American Colonies and the Development of British Provincial Identity," in *An Imperial State of War: Britain from 1689 to 1815*, ed. Lawrence Stone (New York: Routledge, 1994), 270.
[25] "Extract of a letter from a gentleman near Glasgow to his friend in this city [Philadelphia], dated March 14," *The Virginia Gazette*, published by Clementina Rind, 9 June 1744, Supplement, p. 2.
[26] Cultural separation is here defined as being comprised of two elements: cultural difference and physical separation, or community isolation.
[27] Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, 60.
[28] Devine, *Scotland's Empire and the Shaping of the Americas*, 174, 180-181.

University of Edinburgh than they did from either Oxford or Cambridge.[29] John Witherspoon, the only other Scottish signatory of the Declaration, served as the president of the College of New Jersey, where he not only educated James Madison, but also Aaron Burr, seventy-seven U.S. senators and representatives, and a host of other early American officials.[30] During his time at what would become Princeton University, Witherspoon introduced Scottish works on theology, history, and moral philosophy into the curriculum.[31] The effect of Scottish Enlightenment thought on American revolutionaries has been documented extensively, and leading Scottish intellectuals such as David Hume and Adam Smith were notably sympathetic to the American cause.[32]

Beyond this shared sense of identity through education, further sources of colonial identity could have fostered a connection between the Scottish and English colonists in America. With respect to the Highlanders, the colonists, particularly around the time of the Revolution, could have commiserated with the Scotsmen over a shared sense of suffering under and resentment toward the Hanoverian throne.[33] This apparent opportunity for connection was not lost on the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, for as late as August 1775 they established a committee "to confer with the Gentlemen who have lately arrived from the highlands in Scotland," attempting to "urge them to unite with the other Inhabitants of America in defence of those rights which they derive from God and the Constitution."[34] In light of these potential points of connection between the Scottish and the American colonists, the persistence of anti-Scottish prejudice throughout the eighteenth century indicates just how strong these prejudices must have been.

The historiographical record falls relatively silent on the matter of what drove these hostile sentiments toward the Scots and to what extent this prejudice in the Revolutionary period was a continuation of anti-Scottish prejudice in England and the colonies earlier in the century. A few historians have come close to addressing these questions directly. Ned C. Landsman has done extensive work on the experience of the

[29] Richards, "Scotland and its Uses in the Atlantic Empire," in *Strangers within the Realm*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, 98.
[30] Gideon Mailer, "Anglo-Scottish Union and John Witherspoon's American Revolution," *The William & Mary Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (2010), 710.
[31] Ned C. Landsman, "Witherspoon and the Problem of Provincial Identity in Scottish Evangelical Culture," in *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment,* ed. Richard B. Sher and Jeffrey R. Smitten (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 38.
[32] Michael Fry, "Scotland and the American Revolution," in *Scotland and the Americas, 1600 to 1800,* ed. Michael Fry, (Providence, RI: The John Carter Brown Library, 1995), 89-90.
[33] Bailyn and Morgan, eds., *Strangers within the Realm*, 19.
[34] "The Journal of the Proceedings of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, Held at Hillsborough," 23 August 1775, in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, vol. X, 173-174.

Scots in the Atlantic World, particularly on their role within the British North American colonies, but anti-Scottish prejudice has figured into this research only tangentially: *From Colonials to Provincials: American Thought and Culture, 1680-1760* addresses this important topic, but it shares little about the lasting colonial dislike of the Scottish. David Dobson has likewise focused much on Scottish migration patterns, as in his book *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785*, but anti-Scottish prejudice plays a minor role in the work. Michael Fry's *The Scottish Empire* explores how the Scottish have generally figured into the British Empire throughout its broad history. Fry focuses on the Scottish experience during the American Revolution, specifically, and not across the entire century. Lastly, the work of T.M. Devine came closest to answering these questions when he wrote that "the public loyalism of so many Scots was not sufficient in itself to account for the rampant Scottophobia which manifested itself in America in the early 1770s."[35] Despite this pronouncement, Devine does not explore what accounted for this "rampant Scottophobia." Because all of these works were published in the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century, the historiographical record needs updating. Indeed, the most recent scholarly work on the trend of anti-Scottish prejudice in the colonies across the eighteenth century was the 1956 book *Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783* by Ian Charles Cargill Graham, who recognized an "absence of a systematic treatment of Scots settlement in the colonies."[36]

Cultural Separation

For the Scottish immigrants to America, their apparent cultural difference — particularly distinctions in religion, language, and levels of "civilization," and their perceived proclivity for clannishness — fueled xenophobic attitudes toward the Scots across the eighteenth century. The cultural differences between the Scottish and English colonists, including religion, language, and supposed levels of "civilization," may be understood best through the colonial perspective that Scottish identity was to be treated as "other." Such sentiment is evident in Jefferson's initial draft of the Declaration of Independence, in which he blames the king for "[sending] over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade & deluge us in blood."[37] The

[35] Devine, *Scotland's Empire and the Shaping of the Americas*, 186.
[36] Ian Charles Cargill Graham, *Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1956), v.
[37] Thomas Jefferson, "'original Rough draft' of the Declaration of Independence," in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, vol. 1, 1760-1776 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), 243-247.

Scottish soldiers were thus not of "common blood" with colonists like the English soldiers, but they were more like the Hessian mercenaries from the European continent. The foreignness which Jefferson perceived was hardly a novel insight; it was a continuation of an English tradition that disdainfully regarded the Scottish as a distinct people. As early as 1725, one observer noted that, in London, Scottish surgeons "come here like flocks of Vultures every day, and by a merciful providential kind of instinct transport themselves to foreign countries."[38] London, therefore, was understood as a part of a foreign country to the Scots, making them a foreign people to the English. Despite the 1707 Act of Union, this distinction between the English and the Scottish hardly dissolved across the century in both the colonies and the British Isles, for one Englishman, upon traveling to Edinburgh in 1785, noted in his diary that, while there, he "[f]elt strongly the impression of a company completely Scottish."[39]

Contributing to this sense of the Scottish as foreign was the difference between the Presbyterian or Catholic faith of the Scottish immigrants and the Puritan or Anglican faith of the English colonists who received them, which perpetuated prejudices that were already prevalent within the British Isles. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Anglican Church marginalized Calvinistic theology while the Presbyterians held firm to it, sowing a greater rift between the two faiths at the time.[40] Despite sharing this view of Calvinist theology, New England Congregationalists looked upon the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and their newly arrived followers with disdain. While the Presbyterians were initially welcomed to the region, the Americans eventually treated them with "active hostility and intolerance," perhaps explaining the limited Scottish immigration to New England across the century.[41] Even then, more evangelical Presbyterians in America alienated incoming Scots who favored the old style of worship practiced back in Scotland.[42] In the Southern colonies, where the Anglican Church was the legally established church, the Scottish found yet another source of distinction and prejudice. The Presbyterians already held a critical view of the Anglican establishment in Westminster, leaving little room for common ground with the English colonists in the South.[43] In one instance, Scottish merchants hoping to establish a Presbyterian meeting

[38] A.D. McKillop, *James Thomson: Letters and Documents* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1958), 12-13.
[39] William Windham, in *Diary*, ed. H. Baring,(London: Longman, 1866), 64.
[40] Anders Kraal, "Anglicanism, Scottish Presbyterianism, and the Irreligious Aim of Hume's Treatise," *Hume Studies* 39, no. 2 (2013), 176.
[41] Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, 84.
[42] Elaine G. Breslaw, *Dr. Alexander Hamilton and Provincial America: Expanding the Orbit of Scottish Culture* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), 4.
[43] Gideon Mailer, *John Witherspoon's American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 20.

house in Petersburg, Virginia, in 1758 were regarded as "Dissenters," and the local Anglican priest pleaded with the church authorities in Williamsburg to deny them their "preposterous License," which they would have needed to set up the meeting house.[44] Although evangelical Presbyterians found themselves sympathetic to the American cause during the Revolution and Low Church Presbyterians desired unity with the Americans against perceived British corruption, these prejudices could not be overcome.[45] Such sentiments flowed both ways, however, which further contributed to hostile views toward the Scottish immigrants. Dr. Alexander Hamilton, a Scotsman from Edinburgh, denounced in 1744 the "New Light biggots" and deplored the revivals of the Great Awakening that swept the colonies from the mid-1730s into the 1740s.[46] Besides the anti-Presbyterian sentiment that they confronted in America, the Scottish, especially the Highlanders, also had an association with Roman Catholicism. Both Presbyterian Scots and Anglican Englishmen in Britain regarded this religious difference as uniquely odious, a sentiment that they carried to the colonies. As one Scottish Presbyterian remarked of his countrymen in the Roman Catholic clergy as early as 1720, by nature of being Catholic, they were "enemies of the Government and [of] our Religion."[47] This issue of Scottish ties to Catholicism, however, will be addressed further in the section on Scottish associations with Jacobitism and tyranny.

From a linguistic perspective, the vast differences between Highland Gaelic and English added to the strong dislike of the Scottish.[48] Many Scots from the Highlands arrived in the colonies speaking Gaelic exclusively. James Grey, a contractor in Georgia who agreed to guide forty recently arrived Highlanders to a settlement in the colony in 1741, requested a higher price for his services knowing that the Scots might mutiny without a Gaelic-speaking conductor, as they knew no English.[49] The Presbyterian Highlanders of Cumberland County appealed for a Gaelic-speaking minister as early as 1741, not receiving one from Scotland until 1758.[50] This desire was sensible considering Reverend Hugh McAdam's belief that, when he preached to the same Highlanders in

[44] George Trask to Commissary Dawson, 9 December 1758, in "Letters of Patrick Henry, Sr., Samuel Davies, James Maury, Edwin Conway and George Trask," *The William & Mary Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (1921), 281.
[45] Mailer, *John Witherspoon's American Revolution*, 12-13, 19.
[46] Breslaw, *Dr. Alexander Hamilton and Provincial America*, 1; Alexander Hamilton, "The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton," in *Colonial American Travel Narratives*, ed. Wendy Martin, (New York: Penguin Books, 1994), 182.
[47] "Additional Memorial Concerning the Growth of Popery," c. 1720, cited by Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1980), 228.
[48] Bailyn and Morgan, *Strangers within the Realm*, 22.
[49] "Journal of the Earl of Egmont, First President of the Board of Trustees, from June 14, 1738 to May 25, 1744," in *Colonial records of the State of Georgia compiled and published under the authority of the Legislature*, ed. Allen D. Candler, vol. 5 (1906), 504.
[50] Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, 112.

English in 1756, practically no one seemed to understand a word he said.[51] Likewise, after a group of Jacobite refugees arrived in Virginia in the late 1740s, the local court was required to maintain a Gaelic interpreter for several years.[52] The Lowland dialect of broad Scots was similarly foreign to English colonists, for one Jacobite exile from the 1715 rebellion wrote in the broad Scots tongue that he needed to learn English in order to succeed in the colonies.[53] This issue continued throughout the century not only in the colonies but also in England, where Scotsmen "strove without much success to acquire an English accent."[54] One leading Scottish official at the time of David Hume's death in 1776 jested that "on his death-bed … the philosopher confessed not his sins but his Scotticisms."[55] In one encounter with a Scotsman named Johnson in the early 1780s, a French traveler in the colonies claimed the Scot spoke "english in so unintelligible a manner," leading his English companion to ask him "very ingenuously, what language he was speaking."[56] The aforementioned Dr. Hamilton, a Lowlander from Edinburgh, remained wary throughout his life of speaking a distinctively Scottish dialect while in the colonies.[57] This linguistic differentiation made Scottish cultural distinction all the more apparent in the English colonies during the eighteenth century.

Scottish Highlanders were viewed as particularly uncivilized by the colonists, motivating general prejudice against Scots across the eighteenth century. A 1748 report from the Scottish Society for the Propagation for Christian Knowledge regarded the Highlanders as "wild and barbarous," calling them "not quite civilized."[58] This attitude existed in the colonies, as well; the roughness of the Highlanders made them ideal in the colonists' eyes for the frontier, where they could subdue the wilderness.[59] In Georgia, where Highlanders were recruited to protect the English colonists from the Spanish threat on the borders, one colonial agent believed this frontier work would "effectually civilize [their] Highlanders."[60] Some Scots, particularly well-to-do Lowlanders, looked

[51] Graham, *Colonists from Scotland*, 108-109.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Donald Macpherson to James Macpherson, 2 June 1717, in the Library of Congress's *Early State Records Project*, vol. 1.
[54] John Buchan, *Sir Walter Scott* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1932), 13.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North-America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782*, vol. 2 (Dublin: Colles, et. al., 1787), 119.
[57] Breslaw, *Dr. Alexander Hamilton and Provincial America*, 17.
[58] Robert Walker, *A Short Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge* (Edinburgh: Thomas Lumisden and Company, 1748), 50.
[59] Richards, "Scotland and its Uses in the Atlantic Empire," in *Strangers within the Realm*, ed. Bailyn and Morgan, 95.
[60] Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, 115; Daniel McLachlan to Unknown, May 9, 1735, in *Colonial records of the State of Georgia compiled and published under the authority of the Legislature*, ed. Allen D. Candler, vol. 20 (1902), 339.

upon the English colonists with similar contempt. Dr. Hamilton commented in 1743 that in living in the Chesapeake, he had chosen to live in "a Barbarous and desolate corner of the world."[61] One Scottish officer who fought the revolting colonists deemed America "a barbarous country" and referred to those same colonists as "vermin."[62]

Besides these sources of cultural difference between the colonists and the Scottish, the relative isolation of Scottish communities within the colonies further fueled suspicion and prejudices directed at the immigrants. Across the eighteenth century, English colonists understood the Scottish to favor only one another and disregarded outsiders.[63] This source of prejudice was also present in England, for Scots found it easy to ingratiate themselves among pre-existing groups of London Scots when they headed south as early as the 1720s.[64] Alexander Carlyle, a Scottish physician, toward the latter half of the century, made note of the vast, informal social network among the Scots in England, which allowed him to acquaint himself with other Scottish physicians.[65] In the colonies, the Highlanders remained loyal to their clans, but even Lowlander merchants and officials were suspected of being outsiders who sought to favor other Scots. Well before Scottish mercantile success, Scottish traders became notorious for allegedly trading within extensive networks of their own countrymen.[66] Scottish colonial authorities acting on behalf of their crown were likewise viewed as developing and maintaining close ties with powerful Scots elsewhere in the colonies.[67] The establishment of St. Andrew's Societies, wherein immigrant Scots gathered to preserve their Scottish identity, in cities like Charleston, Philadelphia, New York, and Savannah, contributed to this thinking.[68] English colonists viewed Scottish immigrants as a distinctive, isolated "other," conspiring to undermine English colonial society.

These elements of cultural separation illustrate that colonial identity was grounded in English culture, which was understood to be altogether unlike Scottish culture. Evidently, English colonists understood "civilization" in the same terms as the

[61] Alexander Hamilton to Robert Hamilton, 29 September 1743, from Maryland Historical Society, cited in Breslaw, *Dr. Alexander Hamilton and Provincial America*, 1.
[62] James Murray to Bessie Smyth, 1 September 1777, in *Letters from America, 1773 to 1780: Being the Letters of a Scots Officer, Sir Jmes Murray, to His Home during the War of American Independence*, ed. Daniel Robson, (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1950), 48; James Murray to David Smyth, 10 August, 1778, in *Letters from America*, ed. Daniel Robson, 55.
[63] Landsman, "Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire," 468.
[64] Pat Rogers, *Johnson and Boswell: The Transit of Caledonia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 195.
[65] J. Kinsley, ed., Alexander Carlyle, *Anecdotes and Characters of the Times* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 175-176.
[66] Landsman, "Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire," 468.
[67] Ned C. Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 126.
[68] Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, 88-89, 104, 122.

English across the Atlantic, and they also viewed the English language to be a given part of their identity; Scottish foreignness was as apparent to these colonists as it was to the English on the British Isles. Illustrating this perception of foreignness, one London political cartoon from 1762 referred to the Scottish as the "Fingal," a Gaelic-based word roughly meaning "white stranger."[69] The eighteenth-century English author Junius was entirely convinced "that the Scots, transplanted from their own country, are always a distinct and separate body from the people who receive them."[70] Colonists shared this perception, given the Scots'— especially the Highlanders'—"strongest attachment to their place of nativity" and propensity to carry their culture with them when they emigrated, "[changing] nothing but the place of abode."[71] Such obvious cultural distinction therefore fostered strong prejudice among the colonists, revealing an attachment to a strong English identity, with its associated Protestant faiths: Anglicanism and Puritan Congregationalism.

Occupation of Positions of Power

The resentment of the Scottish during the Revolutionary Era was furthermore fueled by many Scots' ascension to prominence in both economic and political positions of authority in the British Empire, a phenomenon endured by English colonists with continuing contempt across the eighteenth century. This prejudice was founded upon lasting suspicions of corruption and exploitation among these influential Scots as colonists carried with them across the Atlantic an "anti-Scottish prejudice … common to most middle-class and virtually all plebeian Englishmen" well before the outbreak of revolution.[72]

Between 1738 and 1769, Scottish merchants at Glasgow and other ports increased their share in the tobacco trade from ten percent to 52%, establishing themselves as notable creditors in the colonies.[73] By the 1770s, Scots controlled about two-thirds of traffic in the tobacco trade.[74] Scottish merchants spread out over the Atlantic world,

[69] "The Congress; or a Device to lower the Land-Tax," London and Westminster, 1762.
[70] Junius, "Preface," in *The Letters of Junius*, ed. John Wade, vol. 1 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1899), 99.
[71] Scotus Americanus, "Informations Concerning the Province of North Carolina Addressed to Emigrants from the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland," 1773, in William K. Boyd, ed., *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton, 1927), 429; Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Lawrie & St. Mington, 1792), 135.
[72] Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 510.
[73] J.H. Soltow, "Scottish Traders in Virginia, 1750–1775," *The Economic History Review* 12, no. 1 (1959), 85.
[74] Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, 67.

reaching the West Indies, Western Canada, and the colonial backcountry, making them an ever-present feature of colonial trade.[75] Unsurprisingly, these commercial developments fostered significant colonial resentment.[76] In one telling instance from 1766 Virginia, an English merchant and creditor was labeled a "Scotch rebel" and a "Presbyterian fellow" by a debtor who was, himself, the son of Scottish immigrants.[77] That the son of native Scots used "Scotch" and "Presbyterian" as pejoratives to condemn the avarice of an Englishman illustrates that perceptions of "Scottish-ness" had by this time in the British colonies become fundamentally tied to traits of greed and immorality. The perceived greediness of Scottish merchants was magnified in the 1770s when an economic downturn in Scotland led many creditors to call in their debts.[78] Within this context, one can understand why one colonist complained in 1771 of how the "Scotch part" of tobacco merchants abused the colonists of Virginia. Having been "raised from beggary to affluence," the Scots were all too "fond, as is their nature, of exercising arbitrary power" in this profitable trade.[79] Prior to the Revolution, as this embittered Virginian makes clear, the Scottish had already gained a reputation for wanton exploitation in their exalted positions of economic power.

After the major crash in Glasgow in 1772, another complaint came in 1773 from consumers in Bedford County, Virginia who claimed that colonial traders engaged in what they believed to be price gouging had "imbibed Scotch principles."[80] One Scottish merchant proudly declared in 1777 that "two thirds of Virginia and Maryland [were] mortgaged or otherwise engaged to [Scottish merchants] or was owned in Scotland." He did not stop there, for he even suggested "that the Scotch would in a very few years have all the property in Virginia if not in general of North America." This boasting of economic strength and authority startled the colonists not a little, for the same man who heard these bold proclamations found them to be "very alarming."[81] Colonists thus had a

[75] Landsman, "Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire," 470.
[76] Resentment toward Scottish merchants for their economic success was not universal among the colonists, however, as demonstrated by one North Carolinian who in 1764 claimed the presence of Scottish merchants "changed the state of things for the better," but such feelings were exceptional. See William Few, "An autobiography of Colonel W[illia]m Few of Georgia, to [a member] of his family in New York," 1748/1828, The University of Georgia Libraries, 5-6, online access through the Digital Library of Georgia.
[77] Woody Holton, *Liberty is Sweet: The Hidden History of the American Revolution* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2021), 83-86.
[78] Devine, *Scotland's Empire and the Shaping of the Americas*, 185.
[79] Junius Americanus, "From Bingley's Journal, July 20. To the Earl of Hillsborough," *The Virginia Gazette*, published by Clementina Rind, 17 October 1771, p. 1.
[80] Tillias, "To the Printer," *The Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, 25 November 1773, p. 2.
[81] Ezra Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, vol. 2, ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1901), 227-228.

formed picture by the time of the Revolution of the Scottish as not only price gougers but insatiable merchants eager to extract as much wealth from them as possible.

The Scottish occupation of positions of political power in the colonies was also omnipresent in the colonial imagination, strengthening a narrative of colonial abuse at the hands of Scotsmen. From 1707 to 1783, roughly thirty colonial governors were Scotsborn.[82] Scottish imperial officials in the colonies along the entire governmental hierarchy were especially visible and aggressive as advocates for imperial supremacy, prompting significant colonial backlash.[83] Scottish governors such as Alexander Spotswood in Virginia and James Glen in South Carolina built up such reputations in the early eighteenth century.[84] Anti-Scottish sentiment was especially pronounced in East Jersey, a colony under thirty years of Scottish governorship during its first half-century of existence.[85] As early as 1703, people complained that political power in the colony was "in the hands of a very few Scotch" due to perceived partiality for Scots under Scottish governorship.[86] Governor Robert Hunter aroused criticism for his bringing to the colony other powerful Scots such as James Alexander, a former Jacobite, and Cadwallader Colden, future colonial governor of New York from 1760 to 1775.[87] Such apparent favoritism, when taken in conjunction with the aggressive landholding practices of Scottish proprietors in New Jersey, did little to temper anti-Scottish feeling.[88] This suspicion of Scots with political power ranged all along the colonies, for a similar complaint came from Boston in 1770 that "old Custom Officers" were being turned out for "petty Scotch Laddy's" from the South to New England.[89] Further Scottish favoritism was perceived under the governorship of Scotsman Gabriel Johnston of North Carolina, for various inhabitants petitioned to the Secretary of State for the Southern Department of the colonies in 1748 claiming that Johnston "notoriously countenanced and favoured Scots Jacobites, by placing them in Chief Offices of Trust and Power."[90] Such accusations of partiality contributed to colonial resentment for any and all Scots who

[82] Graham, *Colonists from Scotland*, 142.
[83] Landsman, "Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire," 472.
[84] Devine, *Scotland's Empire and the Shaping of the Americas*, 185.
[85] Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony*, 125-126.
[86] Colonel Robert Quarry to the Lords of Trade, 2 December 1703, in William A. Whitehead, ed., *Documents relating to the colonial history of the state of New Jersey, 1631-1776*, vol. 3 (Newark, NJ: Daily Journal Establishment, 1880-1886), 14.
[87] Landsman, "Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire," 473; Devine, *Scotland's Empire and the Shaping of the Americas*, 167.
[88] Gary B. Nash, The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America (New York: Viking, 2005), 5.
[89] "Boston, July 16, 1770," *The Boston Evening-Post*, 16 July 1770, p. 2.
[90] Francis Corbin and Isaac Arthand to the Duke of Bedford, Petition, 14 December 1748, in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, vol. 4, 926.

held political power in the colonies, viewing them as nothing more than self-interested officials seeking to benefit their fellow countrymen.

Perhaps the most apparent example of anti-Scottish prejudice directed at Scottish leadership in both the colonies and in England would be that of John Stuart, the third Earl of Bute. Despite being Prime Minister for less than a year between 1762 and 1763, Bute continued to bear much of the blame for the failures of British policy leading up to the outbreak of revolution. Fundamentally tied to this was his Scottish identity. Political cartoons incessantly identified him with a kilt, and his Scottish identity became the very object of disgust for English radicals such as John Wilkes, the infamous supporter of the American cause.[91] The faults of the Stamp Act were blamed on Bute as well as Lord Mansfield, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, another Scot, despite his having been out of office for a couple years before its passage.[92] Even well beyond that, a Bostonian political cartoon from 1775 — over a decade after Bute was out of office — titled "Scotch Butchery" portrays a tartan-wearing Bute and Mansfield as "Superintendents of the Butchery" over this fictitious scene of Scottish violence against the colonists as English soldiers look on in horror.[93] As late as 1776, colonists were placing blame for British oppression upon Bute and Mansfield before naming Lord North, the concurrent English Prime Minister who had held the post since 1770.[94] Bute was also mockingly referred to as "McBoot," stressing his Scottish identity and tying him in colonial minds to the infamous Shakespearean depiction of Scottish abuse of power in *Macbeth*.[95] As the names of Bute and Mansfield became synonymous with the failings of British colonial policy, so did such failing become synonymous with the inherent problems of Scottish political authority.

[91] Richards, "Scotland and its Uses in the Atlantic Empire," in *Strangers within the Realm*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, 99-100.
[92] Devine, *Scotland's Empire and the Shaping of the Americas*, 187.
[93] "The Scotch Butchery," Boston, 1775.
[94] *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 13 July 1776, in *Letters on the American Revolution, 1774-1776*, ed. Margaret Wheeler Willard, (Boston, MA: Riverside Press, 1925), 312.
[95] Jason Shaffer, *Performing Patriotism: National Identity in the Colonial and Revolutionary American Theater* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 89.

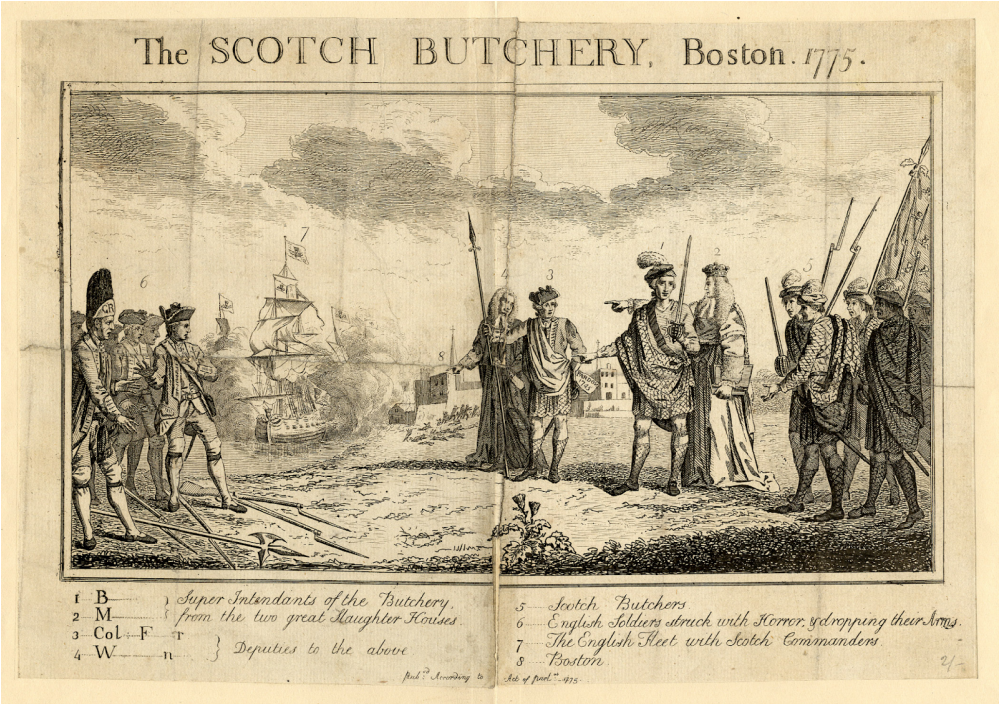

Fig. 1. *The Scotch Butchery*. Boston, 1775.

By the time of the Revolution, it had become a fixture in colonial society to blame governmental failure on some conniving Scottish parties in positions of power. Indeed, in 1775, one Bostonian claimed that the king's "[infatuation] with a parcel of Scotchmen" was the source of revolution. If the king had "removed his evil councillors [the Scottish] long since" he would have "thereby healed this unhappy quarrel."[96] Scottish governance was intolerable to the colonists, indicating a narrow sense of English cultural and social belonging. English governance would have been more tolerable, but, as Benjamin Franklin put it, Jonah had instead swallowed the whale, "for the Scotch had in fact got possession of the government, and gave laws to the English."[97] The English shared in this feeling with the colonists, as demonstrated by some English soldiers and officers in Boston who, in 1775, blamed "a number of Scotch officers" for the failings of the British army and furthermore faced reprimand "for swearing they ought to be commanded by Englishmen."[98] English colonists and Englishmen alike resented Scottish authority, viewing governance of the English colonies as a strictly English task. Distrust and

[96] *The London Evening Post*, 25-27 July 1775, in *Letters on the American Revolution*, Willard, ed., 143.
[97] Benjamin Franklin cited by Thomas Jefferson in *Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies, from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 1, ed. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, (Charlottesville, VA: 1829), 26.
[98] *The London Evening Post*, 7-10 October 1775, in *Letters on the American Revolution*, Willard, ed., 190.

hostility toward Scottish governance thus reinforced the notion that colonial American identity was narrowly rooted in an English tradition.

Associations with Jacobitism and Tyranny

The Jacobite risings of the first half of the eighteenth century fundamentally tied Scottish identity to Jacobitism, and, by extension, tyranny, in the minds of American colonists. The fears of a Stuart restoration, particularly as a result of the last Jacobite rebellion in 1745, were tangible in the colonies, giving rise to a lasting suspicion of the Scottish. This was not isolated only to the notable Highlander supporters of James II's heirs, but to the Scottish in general. The English colonists' association of Jacobitism with the Scottish people themselves was part of a common narrative propagated by those in England. As one commentator remarked, if the government's forces "battered" the entirety of Edinburgh, regardless of whether the victims were avowed Jacobites or not, "not five of the king's real friends would have suffered by it."[99] The question of loyalty in the minds of the English in the wake of these rebellions therefore did not revolve around Jacobite allegiance so much as it did around Scottish identity. The Duke of Cumberland, the defender of the Hanoverian throne which the Jacobites threatened and who crushed the Jacobites in 1746, subsequently gained heroic status in the colonies as a defender of Protestantism and English liberty.[100] The Duke noted himself that the "only people to be trusted" among the Scots were the members of the Church of Scotland alone.[101] Within this charged atmosphere, one can make sense of the accusation made in Boston in 1747, soon after the suppression of the most daunting rebellion, that "all Scotchmen were rebels."[102] This threat was not confined to the British Isles, for English colonists in the Americas treated Scottish Episcopalians and High Church Anglicans with suspicion as early as the 1715 Jacobite rebellion.[103] Indeed, there may have been some cause for such domestic concern, for some migrants to South Carolina were "loyal to the last degree" to the Stuarts and openly celebrated the birthday of James III, son of King James II, who

[99] Chesterfield to Newcastle, 29 September 1745, cited by Plank, *Rebellion in Savagery*, 80-81.
[100] Geoffrey Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery: the Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the British Empire* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 5.
[101] Duke of Cumberland to Duke of Newcastle, 28 February 1746, cited by Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery*, 81.
[102] William Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and the Present State of the British Settlements of North-America*, vol. 1 (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1750), 254n.
[103] David Parrish, *Jacobitism and Anti-Jacobitism in the British Atlantic World, 1688-1727* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 147.

was never crowned king.[104] The association between the Scots and Jacobites lasted well past 1745, however, despite the commitment of Scottish soldiers to the British cause during the Seven Years' War. One political cartoon featured Lord Bute as a Stuart-sympathizer and connected him to the Jacobite rebellions while he mourned the repeal of the Stamp Act, this connection revealed by his wearing of the blue bonnet, a symbol of the Jacobite resistance.[105] Scottish identity was intrinsically connected to the Jacobite rebellions in the view of the colonists, prompting deep suspicion and lasting prejudice against all Scots.

Particularly alarming to the colonists in terms of this connection was its decided relation with the French — the perennial enemies of the English — and with Catholicism, which, according to the colonists, was a direct connection to tyranny. These fears of association further reveal a colonial attachment to an English identity based in English conceptions of liberty and Protestantism. As one historian has argued, Jacobitism played a critical role in shaping colonial Protestant identity in the eighteenth century.[106] As English liberty was claimed by colonists in the eighteenth century to be their source of political sovereignty, the Jacobite risings were an attack on their freedoms as well, making the Scots a potential threat at all times.[107] Colonial assertions

[104] Thomas Brett to Campbell, 12 September 1724, cited by Parrish, *Jacobitism and Anti-Jacobitism in the British Atlantic World*, 116.
[105] Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery*, 99; Stephen Foster and Evan Haefeli, "British North America in the Empire: An Overview," in *British North America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century,* ed. Stephen Foster, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 57.
[106] Thomas S. Kidd, *The Protestant Interest: New England after Puritanism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 116-117.
[107] Landsman, *From Colonials to Provincials*, 151.

Fig. 2. *The Repeal or the Funeral of Miss Ame[rican]-Stamp*. 1766.

that the Catholic Church and French throne actively worked with the Jacobites gave rise to such associations between the Scottish and tyranny.[108] As one Boston preacher noted in 1746, the Jacobite defeat saved the colonists from "Popery and Slavery; perpetuating them to the Enjoyment of their Rights and Liberties, which distinguish them from the other Nations of the Earth."[109] In addition to colonial fears that Jacobite victory would lead to the cessation of colonial territory to the French, Benjamin Franklin spoke for the fears of many in 1748 when he asserted that if the Jacobites had succeeded, the colonists "were all to be converted to the Catholick faith!"[110] Such an idea was abhorrent to the English colonists whose identity was firmly anti-Catholic, for as one historian has suggested, anti-Catholicism and pro-Americanism in the colonies went hand-in-hand.[111]

[108] Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery*, 78.
[109] Charles Chauncy, *A Sermon Occasioned by the Present Rebellion in Favour of the Pretender* (Boston: D. Gookin, 1746), 43.
[110] Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery*, 4-5; Benjamin Franklin, "Poor Richard Improved, 1748," in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 3, 1 January 1745, through 30 June 1750, ed. Leonard W. Labaree (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961) 243–263.
[111] Robert Kent Donovan, "The Popular Party of the Church of Scotland and the American Revolution," in *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment*, eds. Sher and Smitten, 93.

According to one Philadelphian in 1776, the Scots — whom he labeled Jacobites — were "all that favour the cause of slavery and oppression," grouping them into the likes of "German mercenaries [and] Irish papists."[112] The Scots were therefore grouped alongside outsiders who sought to destroy English liberty and English Protestantism, two features most dear to colonial identity.

Conclusion

Ezra Stiles, the president of Yale at the end of the eighteenth century, encapsulated English colonial sentiment perfectly in one raging diatribe. Targeting John Witherspoon, the active Scottish supporter of American independence, Stiles bemoaned, "Too much Scoticism! He wants to save his Countrymen, who have behaved most cruelly in this American conflict." Stiles could not keep from ranting further about Witherspoon and his Scottish compatriots, writing, "The Policy of Scotland & all the governmental Ideas of the Body of that People are abhorrent to all Ideas of civil Liberty & are full of rigorous tyrannical Superiorities & subordinations." Witherspoon was actually planning for the ruin of America according to Stiles, for if "it had not been for [the Scottish] this Quarrel [the Revolution] would never have happened." Indeed, this entire outbreak of war between the colonies and their mother country was due to "their Earl of Bute behind the curtain."[113]

Present within the remarks from this one man are the three factors of anti-Scottish prejudice in eighteenth-century America: Scottish cultural separation, Scottish occupation of positions of power, and Scottish association with Jacobitism and tyranny. Although the proactive loyalism of many Scots in the colonies infuriated the colonists, it only aggravated pre-existing animosity which had been building over the course of the past century. Scottish identity became inherently repulsive in the colonies, for as one character remarked in Robert Munford's 1777 play *The Patriots* — which featured the Scottish caricatures McFlint, McSqueeze, and McGripe — "The nature of their offence, gentlemen, is, that they are Scotchmen; every Scotchman being an enemy."[114] Scottish cultural difference as manifested in religion, language, and their level of "civilization" cast the Scots as "other" in the colonial mind, and this was intensified by the perceived clannishness of the Scottish immigrants. The exceptionally visible Scottish

[112] *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, July 13, 1776, in *Letters on the American Revolution*, Willard, ed., 314, 318.
[113] Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, vol. 2, ed. Dexter, 41, 185.
[114] Robert Munford, *The Patriots*, in *A Collection of Plays and Poems, by the Late Col. Robert Munford* (Petersburg, VA: William Prentis, 1798), 72.

merchants and politicians within positions of imperial authority, whether it be as large creditors, as governors, or as a prime minister, drew the ire of English colonists throughout America. Consequently, the failing of British policy in the eighteenth century, particularly those failings which led to revolution, could easily be attributed to Scottish malfeasance. Bolstering such a perspective was the colonial notion that the Scottish were devoted to the cause of tyranny, an idea which emerged out of the Jacobite rebellions and connected Scotsmen, directly and indirectly, to the French court, who harbored the Stuart exiles, and to the Catholic faith those exiles followed. These factors of cultural difference, occupations of positions of power, and associations with Jacobitism and Catholicism were present well before colonial calls for independence. The "Scottophobia" of the revolutionary colonists was no new phenomenon. Rather, it was a continuation of anti-Scottish animosity which permeated the eighteenth century thanks to these three key factors.

Each of these sources of anti-Scottish prejudice reveals a colonial attachment to an identity defined as narrowly English. This confirms a view taken by multiple historians that English colonists, particularly prior to the Revolution, did not view themselves as "a new form of humanity but rather as the better sort of Briton, truer to the metropole's essential virtues than the inhabitants of Britain itself."[115] Those "essential virtues" were often specifically seen as English Protestantism and true English liberty, and even at the point of Revolution, the colonists appealed to these same virtues which Parliament had supposedly violated with their increasingly odious acts during the 1760s and 1770s. Samuel Adams argued explicitly that the colonists' liberty was protected as the "absolute right of Englishmen," and from such liberties were excluded the "Roman Catholics, or Papists."[116] Colonial identity was shaped not only as British, but as English-British, meaning that the Scots were an estranged people to the colonists, explaining why such prejudice bolstered English colonial identity and made colonists so comfortable in their "Scottophobia."

Future research into Scotophobia may focus upon how the Scottish migrants themselves reacted to this hostility and how non-English European colonists such as Germans, Irish, and Scots-Irish viewed the Scottish migrants. Colonial identity is important to understand in all its forms, and this piece has added to the vast body of

[115] Foster and Haefeli, "British North America in the Empire," in *British North America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Foster, 46.
[116] Samuel Adams, "The Rights of the Colonists as Men," in *The Constitution of the United States of America and Selected Writings of the Founding Fathers* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 2012), 20-21.

work detailing that identity from a unique perspective centered around attitudes toward the Scottish in the eighteenth century.

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