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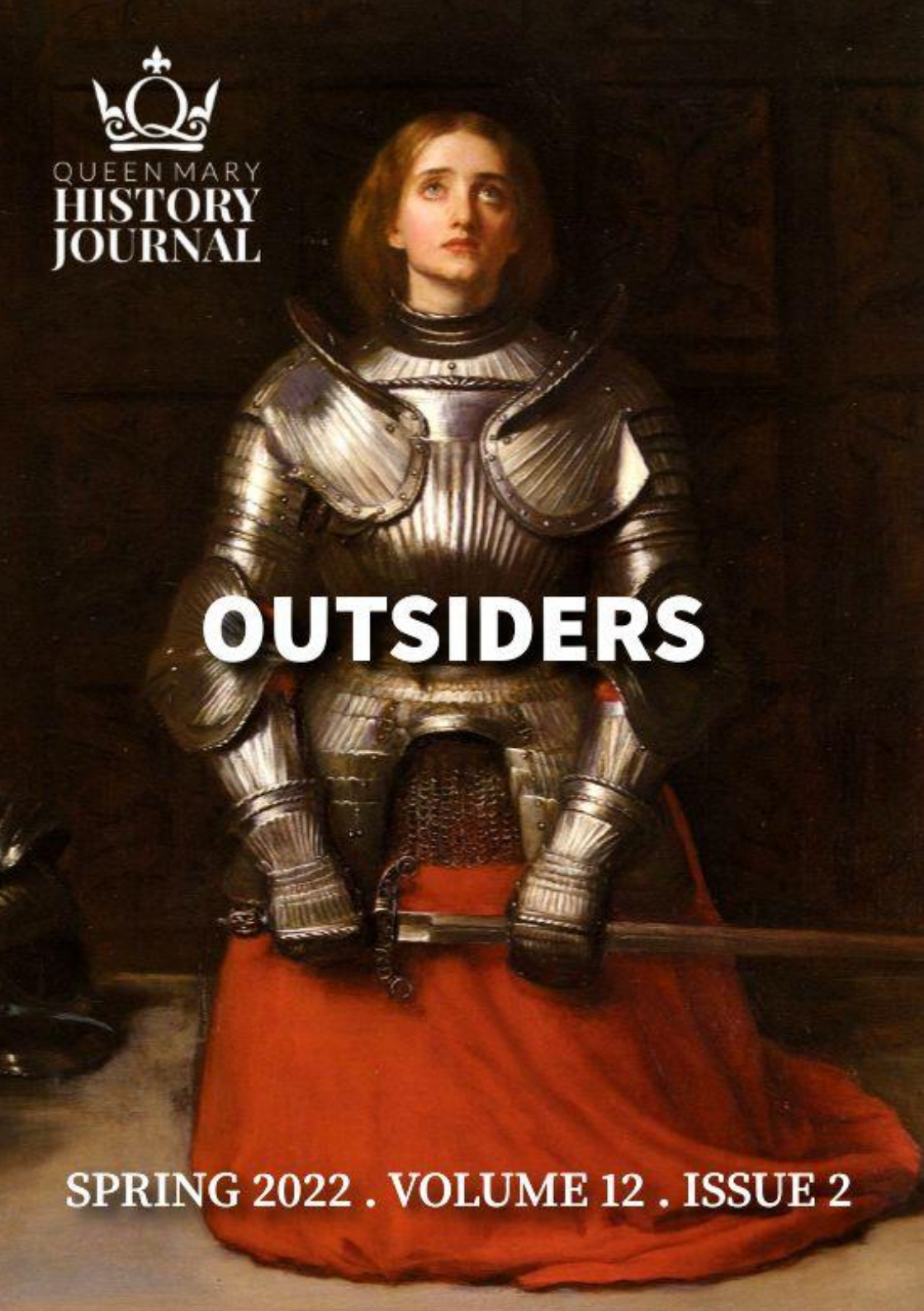

OUTSIDERS

SPRING 2022 . VOLUME 12 . ISSUE 2

Note from the Editor

The Queen Mary History Journal was founded in 2011 with the aim of publishing the best undergraduate essays from the School of History and to highlight the breadth of research at Queen Mary, University of London.

In our eleventh year, we aim to publish three journals, each with a launch event to celebrate the pinnacles of our undergraduate research. Now that Spring, a time of renewal and rejoicing, is upon us, alongside the new blooms and teetering lambs it also heralds a new edition of the journal. This time around, we have chosen the theme of 'outsiders' for our collection of essays. The daffodil shades brighter than the rest, the litter's runt left behind the four-leaf clover; Spring is abloom with outsiders. The word 'outsider' might have negative connotations, but those that dared stray from the herd have shaped history in endless ways, both in the modern day and in times immemorial. For example, the computers all of our fantastic contributors have written and edited their essays from would have been impossible without the innovations of Alan Turing, for example, a man eventually cruelly punished by the state for his sexuality. The protagonist of this edition's cover image, Joan of Arc, was a woman we can certainly view as an outsider through her gender subversion in the name of victory. As the reader can imagine, the fantastic essays we have chosen to highlight in this edition explore the unconventional. We begin in the medieval Islamic world with discussions of the wealth of taboo poetry and homosexuality at the time, especially illuminating the diversity present in enlightened cities such as Baghdad and Cairo. Next, we turn to European courts in the early modern period, and uncover the presence and contributions of black men and women in and amongst Western European nobles. Moving on to more recent times, our contributing writers have investigated working-class experiences in the United States, first through the presence of Chinese immigrants during the California gold rush, and then in the exhilarating world of the jazz movement in Harlem. Last but certainly not least, we take a look at the 'sexual revolution' and consider the line between mythos and reality.

As much as we can celebrate outsiders, we can also lament the suffering of an outcast. It isn't easy being different, and for every shining contributor and wayward pioneer, there will be those shunned and vilified, and those forcibly washed away from the stone tablets of history. Ocean Vuong, an LGBT Vietnamese-American writer and one of my personal favourite poets, warns us: "sometimes you are erased before you are given the choice of starting who you are", a notion that many of our predecessors will have nodded solemnly to. We are lucky, as historians, to be able to explore and even sometimes discover voices that were too loud to be silenced. It is through essays like these that we ensure, even briefly, groups and individuals on the margins are not erased. A queer individual myself, I am grateful to contribute towards this purposeful act of not forgetting. Tales of people on the fringes of their societies have emboldened many of us in our own ways, from 'coming out' to pursuing a career path deemed out of our reach based on gender, ethnicity, or sexuality. May we continue to recount the stories of those that came before us, in the hopes that those who come after us are equally as inspired.

As always, I owe an extended thanks to the History Journal Committee, our contributing editors and writers, and the history department here at QMUL for all of their help, without which this edition would certainly not have been possible.

Hannah Maddison Cragg
Editor in-Chief

Cover Image:
John Everett Millais, 'Joan of Arc', (1865), Oil on Canvas, 82 x 62cm, Private Collection.

Contents

What can we learn from Abu Nuwas' poetry about Ninth Century 'Abbasid Culture?

Sabeena Baig

Al-Ḥasan ibn Hānī al-Ḥakamī, more widely known as Abu Nuwas, was a poet born in the Ahwaz province in 760 AD. He is regarded to be one of the most illicit poets of his time, helping to pioneer the genres of *ghazal* (love poetry) and *khamriyyat* (wine poetry) during the 'Abbasid caliphate. Nuwas immigrated to the circular capital of Baghdad, where he studied the Qur'an and traditional forms of Arabic, ironic considering that the themes central to his poetry encapsulate non-traditional, urban ways of seeking illicit pleasure. His poetry heavily revolves around actions perceived as sinful, which he openly confesses to engaging in such as drinking and pederasty; one of these poems being *come on, pour me some wine*, which we shall focus on primarily.[1] The 'Abbasid period heralded a golden age of *Adab* literature which began in the third Islamic century, influenced massively by Persian traditions. Scholars in Baghdad and the literature they produced were, intentionally or not, reflective of their society, making them significant in engaging with the culture of the time.

Abu Nuwas was unusually open in his descriptions of certain pleasures he engaged in, and it seems he also wished for people around him to be just as open. He boldly declares, "don't pour it secretly when one can do it openly, don't pour a single drop of it for hypocrites"; here, we can infer that there may have been many people who also engaged in drinking and other illicit activities which they kept secret. From the phrase "there is no good in pleasures that are veiled", he denounces the way in which others in his community, who most likely belonged to a higher social standing, would try and maintain a pious façade whilst secretly drinking and having extramarital sexual relations. Without a doubt, Islamic, Quranic doctrine held a major sway over society and culture at the time, and the content of Abu Nuwas' poetry was highly blasphemous to orthodox Islam. However, the highly cosmopolitan Baghdad, the home of generations of highly intellectual scholars, could be at times a very forward-thinking place, considered to be the pinnacle

[1] Abū Nuwās (d. 814), 'Two Wine Poems by Abū Nuwās' pp. 40-42.

city of education and culture. Thus, the literature and poetry is reflective of the openness in Abbasid culture. There was a growth of an "urban system of life",and the Abbasids were not as coterminous with Islam as their predecessors, which perhaps explains the tolerance towards Nuwas' open confessions of sin.[2] Perhaps paradoxically, Nuwas' poetry does seem to be more reflective of the culture of Baghdad's elites, due to the fact that they were probably the only people who could actually afford to indulge in such pleasures. Nuwas' tendency to use alcohol as a solution to unhappiness was, in the long-term, as expensive as the buying of prostitutes, both female and male.

Our focus here is a homoerotic love poem in which we see Abu Nuwas' preference for pederasty- the repeated engagement of sexual relations with young, often pre-pubescent boys. His focus is on a "bright eyed boy" with the physicality of a "twig" and "slender waist" which highlights the smaller stature and younger age of this male who seems to convey a more feminine or child-like appearance. A key aspect about Abbasid culture at the time was that having sexual relations with the same gender was somewhat acceptable in certain limits- where the one dominating or penetrating was of a higher social standing and could acceptably fornicate with a boy who was submissive and effeminate. Whilst this could simply be something Abu Nuwas was interested in due to the personal relationship he had with his mentor and Persian poet Ibn Waliba; there were other influential intellectuals at the time who too were attracted to the same gender such as Arab historian and poet Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahan, who also "acknowledged his preference for young boys".[3] From this we can surmise that homosexuality was prominent among the elite part of Abbasid society. A lot of Nuwas' poetry is a satirical response to the more conventional Arabic 'courtly love' and Bedouin poetry which he studied, fortified by Stetkevych's argument of a love that was not chivalrous, but "courtly and discreet".[4] Nuwas' poem reveals how 9th century 'Abbasid culture was starkly different to the common notion of a reserved and strict state, while here we can see it as

[2] Ch. Pellat and Muhammad Manazir Ahsan, 'Social Life under the Abbasids', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* 23:1, (1980), p 14.
[3] Pellat, p.24.
[4] Jaroslav Stetkevych, 'The Discreet Pleasures of the Courtly Hunt Abū Nuwās and the 'Abbāsid Tardiyyah', *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 39:1, (2008), p.142.

slightly more liberal and boundary-pushing. Although the contents of Abu Nuwas' poetry would have been viewed as taboo, the social tolerance for them is definitely indicative of a permissive culture that recognised a wealth of human experience.

Abu Nuwas was a strong advocate for a utopian state of bliss and freedom of his own invention, where it should be acceptable to live desires openly, an idealised vision of the Baghdad he called home. His work explores the contradiction between morality and individual desire. In the poem he openly admits to being "outrageous" "licentious" and "sin(ful)", yet he encourages the open conflagration of a sinner. Here, he opposes many of his contemporaries who believed in a continuous repression of desires in order to be spiritually pure, reflecting 'Abbasid culture in general- whilst sinful actions were occurring, it was something that was kept behind closed doors, and infrequently discussed. Through his poetry, Nuwas allows us a small glimpse into the secret lives of the gentry, mirroring his own alcoholic stupors and indulgence in pederasty.

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What were the Medieval Islamic Attitudes to Homosexuality?

Hannah Maddison Cragg

With such a broad jurisdiction of land, cultures, and languages under its hegemony, one can naturally expect that attitudes, beliefs, and practices across the Islamic territories of the Medieval period varied widely. Attitudes towards homosexuality, as we will explore, were no different. In fact, homosexual desire was afforded a degree of tolerance and even celebration. Through the use of various mediums such as miniature illustrations, poetry, and medical treatises as well as the recent wealth of historiography on the matter- particularly regarding the Promethean scholars, Stephen O. Murray and Everett K. Rowson- we can attempt to dissect and apply a geographical, religious, and historical context to these attitudes towards homosexuality. Before embarking on this task, it is perhaps worth noting that the idea of homosexuality in itself is a relatively recent phenomenon. Instead, as some Islamacists have posited, it is useful to draw connections between the Greco-Roman sexual practices and medieval Islamic modes of love in that, as Foucault suggests, pre- and non- Christian societies "did not see love for one's own sex and love for the other sex as opposites".[5] In that regard, while for the purposes of this essay we might discuss terms such as 'homosexual', 'heterosexual', or 'lesbian', it is vital to remember that these are modern labels which might not always reflect the complex cultural web of sexuality spun across the medieval Islamic world.

In order to untangle the web of medieval Islamic sexuality and attitudes towards it, the ideal starting point is elite and courtly culture. From the 'Abbasid Caliphate onwards, a convention of homoeroticism flourished among the educated elites, continuing sporadically through the Ottoman Empire, spurred on not least by a contemporary fixation with aestheticism and the translation movement.[6] Here, the translation

[5]Michael Foucault. 'The Use of Pleasure', *History of Sexuality: Volume 2,* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990) p. 187.

[6] Walter G. Andrews., Mehmet Kalpakh. *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005) p.18.

of ancient Greek texts, many of which made abundant references to homosexual love between men and younger pubescent males, may have provided a cultural justification for the emulation of male-male love amongst the educated Abbasid aristocracy, who gathered knowledge through etiquettal discussions in the *Bayt al-Hikmah (*House of Wisdom).[7] With the context of the Greco-Arabic translation movement in mind, it is not surprising that the Abbasid elite may have been familiar with the works of Plato, who advocated for love between learned men as a more fulfilling alternative to heterosexual love.[8] Andrews and Kalpakh suggest that this 'Neoplatonic' mode of thought dominated the Ottoman court well into the sixteenth century, due in part to the idea that men who pursued relations with younger males were able to enjoy a more "intellectual, refined, and spiritual component" to their love, compared to a wholly physical relationship with women.[9] While this sentiment is, of course, not necessarily true in that many medieval Muslim women were well-educated and able to pursue intellectual interests, it provides us with an example of one of the many contemporary justifications of homoerotic relationships.

Aside from the influences of texts translated from Greek, why were open discussions of homosexuality so prominent in the elite societies of the medieval period? Recent scholarship argues that the prevalence of homoerotic relationships in the Islamic world was a byproduct of a largely male-dominated society. According to classicist Eva Keuls' concept of 'phallocracy'- that is, a society centered around traditionally masculine virtues, most importantly, the penis- homoerotic love becomes a vessel for asserting male dominance.[10] In particular, 'phallocracy' ensured women were kept out of the political realm, where they were perceived by moralists to cause *fitnah* or disorder.[11] From this

[7] Houssem Ben Lazreg. 'The Abbasid Translation Movement: Al Jahiz as a Pioneer' in Waclaw M. Osadnik., Alina Świeściak. (eds.) *Studies in Translation: History and Theory,* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2015) pp. 7-22.
[8] David M. Halperin. 'Plato and Erotic Reciprocity' *Classical Antiquity* 5:1 (1986) pp. 60-80.
[9] Andrews, Kalpakh, p. 56.
[10] Eva C. Keuls. *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens,* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985), p. 2.
[11] Nizam Al-Mulk., H. Drake (trans.) 'Rules for Kings Regarding Their Wives', *The Book of Government.* (London: Routledge, 1960) pp. 185-192.

viewpoint, male-male relationships, particularly in potentially influential circles of power, had a political value. By excluding women from these political circles, men who pursued homoerotic relationships were able to reassert a patriarchal hierarchy and remove what they saw as the corrupting influence of women.[12] At the most authoritative level, there are several examples of *amir* or regional princes who had relationships with other men, such as the Andalusian prince Al-Mu'tamid,[13] or Al-Amin, whose love of boys caused a succession crisis, which was only resolved through dressing women in male attire.[14] The fact that these men were able to express homosexual desire in their esteemed positions allows us not only to regard the tolerance for homosesexuality amongst the elite, but also reasons why their love worked in their favour politically. By having relationships with men, Muslim men in positions of power were able to maintain a court culture that was entirely centered around masculine virtues. Here, this historiographical debate asserts that homosexuality was a form of maintaining male-orientated structures and subjugating women.

While the 'phallocratic' interpretation of the abundance of male homosexual relationships among the medieval elite is somewhat convincing, it is perhaps not specific enough to our understanding of the various Islamic caliphates and socio-economic factors within them as it fails to address the gendered attributes which might influence individual's choice of partner.

It would be apt to highlight the gendered factors specific to Islamic beliefs and law in order to discuss the prevalence of homosexuality in medieval societies. We must remember that sexual segregation, driven largely by a need to satisfy patrilineal succession, was prevalent in Islamic societies with few exceptions. Having sexual relations with women outside of marriage or concubinage was a serious crime, not least because it complicated issues of progeny and

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[12] Andrews, Kalpakh, p. 179.
[13] Louis Crompton. 'Male Love and Islamic Law in Arab Spain' in Stephen O. Murray., Will Roscoe. (eds.) *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History, and Literature*, (New York: New York University Press, 1997), pp. 142-157.
[14] Everett K. Rowson. 'Gender Irregularity as Entertainment: Institutionalised Transvestism at the Caliphal Court in Medieval Baghdad' in Sharon Farmer., Carol Braun Pasternack. (eds.), *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages,* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003) pp. 45-72.

succession.[15] While there were outliers to rules of social segregation, we can for the most part view medieval Islamic societies as embodying the trope of separate spheres- that is, women remained in the private or domestic sphere, while men occupied the public sphere. Consequently, heterosexual public displays of affection were, and still are, a rare phenomenon in the Muslim world. Bearing these factors of strict sexual segregation in mind, it would seem that prominent men in the medieval *Dar al-Islam* worked around social restrictions by pursuing relationships with other men instead.

Contemporary commentators such as the Sufi Deli Birader Gazali (d. 1535) provide us with gendered arguments for their homosexual relationships. Thanks to his allegories in *The Repellers of Sorrows and Removers of Cares,* we are able to consolidate revisionist understandings of male medieval homosexuality with arguments made by contemporary advocates.[16] Most notably, Gazali offers practical explanations that align with the idea of public and private spheres; beloved boys, he argues, are more desirable because they can travel alongside a man "in public for a walk" or "on military campaign", and generally speaking, are "not under someone's guardianship".[17] Painting with the same brush, the littérateur Mustafa 'Ali claimed later that "smooth-cheeked lads are loving friends and companions" compared to women, and through these, we can envision the practical advantages of male-male relationships in the public realm. Here, being able to express love in public is a benefit to homosexual relationships in itself. Glancing at an illustration by Al-Wasiti of Al-Harari's (d. 1122) infamous *Maqamat* (**Fig. 1**)*,* a collection of satirical anecdotes, we can find an example of the level of publicity afforded to expressions of homosexuality, even amidst popular prose.[18] The miniature, which depicts the two protagonists of Al-

[15] Andrews, Kalpakh, p. 80.
[16] Abdulhamit Arvas. 'From the Pervert, Back to the Beloved: Homosexuality and Ottoman Literary History, 1453-1923', in E. L. McCallum., Mikko Tuhkanen. *The Cambridge History of Gay and Lesbian Literature,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 154.
[17] Selim S. Kuru. 'A Sixteenth Century Scholar: Deli Birader', (Doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 2000) pp. 177-178.
[18] Yahya ibn Mahmud Al-Wasiti. 'Farewells of Abu Zayd and al-Harith before the Return to Mecca'*,* in Al-Harari, *Maqamat, 'Assemblies',* (1237), illustration, courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Harari's venture kissing each other goodbye on camelback, is painted in a typical 13th century style, and facilitates our understanding of public homoerotic displays of affection in two ways. The first of these elements is that depictions of two men kissing in public seems to have been less offensive than a woman and a man. Secondly, the image ties neatly into contemporary assertions that male-male relationships are desirable in that men, as opposed to women, are more readily able to travel with their partners, whether on *hajj,* travelling for pleasure, or on military campaigns. The depiction of the sheathed sword in Al-Wasiti's illustration is of particular interest here, dually alluding to combat and male virility. Besides this scene of embrace, the *Maqamat* also features other homosexual motifs, such as infatuation for an attractive slave boy.[19] Through these elements, we can view this illustration as an echo of the claims of both Gazali and 'Ali in that men were perceived more dutiful companions in terms of their public practicalities, although we must bear in mind that Al-Harari's work was principally comical.

As aforementioned, Gazali and his contemporaries justify their love for boys in ways that advocate for relationships that can be carried out in public, with repercussions (at least, in the Ottoman realm) that are less harsh than one might face for being explicit in public with a woman.[20] Sexually transgressive stories and discourses, it seems, formed a prominent motif in Ottoman literature, especially in the construction of comedies, and at times, the more risqué a piece or figure was, the more popular they were.[21] This motif of humour in sexual and gender transgressions is echoed in the role of *mukhannathun*, whose prominence in the Umayyad period specifically stemmed from their subversion of gender roles, which often extended to the type of music and poetry they performed. Rowson's extensive research on these 'effeminate' men suggests they achieved a quasi-celebrity status in Early Medina, perhaps as a direct consequence of a societal appetite for

[19] David J. Roxburgh. 'In Pursuit of Shadows: Al-Harari's *Maqamat*', *Muqarnas Online,* 30:1 (2013), pp. 171- 212.
[20] Marshall Hodgson. *The Venture of Islam: Volume 1* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974) p. 146.
[21] David Selim Sayers. 'Sociosexual Roles in Ottoman Pulp Fiction' *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* 49:2 (2017), pp. 215-232.

subversive comedy.[22] The celebration of this class of musician and comedian, although it brought occasional backlash from certain religious leaders, provides further evidence that non-heterosexual, non-masculine artists were able to flourish in some medieval Islamic societies.

If praises of homosexuality were sung by many, then palaces and gardens were the opera houses in which these love songs were performed. Falling in and out of favour with spiritual patrons, many medieval poets shared close ties with the sultans and caliphs of the Islamic world. Such poets helped to normalise certain courtly behaviours, and in the case of one Abū Nuwās (d. 814), his open expressions of homoeroticism earned him great popularity in the Abbasid court, perhaps inspiring a wave of openness among other men with homosexual inclinations. Examining a surviving poem by Abū Nuwās entitled *Love in Bloom* (**Fig. 2)**, it becomes clear that this poet's homoerotic love became a source of inspiration for later court literature.[23] Typical of Arabic love poetry, Nuwās expresses the perfection of his male lover in sublime terms such as "sapling", alluding to youthfulness, and "moon", indicating waning beauty, which are themes that would continue to have prominence in Islamic poetry for centuries after Nuwās' life. This poem is of particular interest to us because it expresses no indication that such a love might be considered unnatural or *haram* to others, and we might suppose that its prolonged popularity is a testament to open celebrations of homosexuality in and beyond Nuwās' time period. In fact, most contemporary opposition towards the poet seems to have stemmed from his reverence of wine, rather than his love of boys. In another vein, we might also perceive Nuwās as being one of the first to allude to practicing homosexual dominance over boys of other religions, particularly Christian boys, as a means of conversion or forcing them into submission.[24] Of course, this particular aspect of homoeroticism was not consensual and performs, if anything, more of a role in *jihad* than anything approaching love, but it

[22] Everett K. Rowson. 'The Effeminates of Early Medina', *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 111:4, (1991) pp. 671-693.
[23] Abū Nuwās. 'Love in Bloom', in Paul Smith (trans.) *Diwan of Abū Nuwās,* (California: CreateSpace Publishing, 2018).
[24] James E. Montgomery. 'For the Love of a Christian Boy: A Song by Abū Nuwās', *Journal of Arabic Literature,* 27:2 (1996), pp. 115-124.

further adds to our understanding of medieval homosexualities as multifaceted.[25]

Thus far, we have principally discussed attitudes towards homosexuality in a court setting, and for good reason- due to their position in society, these elite pursuers of homosexual love were able to write and keep records of their works. Anecdotes by the population en-masse are comparably hard to find, if they exist at all, and this applies even more so to descriptions of homosexuality. However, there do exist examples of homosexuality within medieval military campaigns, particularly those in the mamluk dynasty, which we shall endeavour to discuss briefly now. In a chapter on homosexuality in mamluk society, Stephen O. Murray boldly claims that the enforced social segregation of mamluk army corps from general society, as well as a total elimination of inheritance rights for their children, created a cultural shift towards "same sex emotional or sexual relations".[26]

A general tolerance for military men in same-sex relationships is perhaps unsurprising given the isolated nature of campaigns. A myriad of factors can be used to explain the greater frequency of male-male relationships in mamluk society, not least the isolation from wives, who were not permitted to accompany men on campaign, as well as the encouragement of bonding between men. Indeed, as advanced by Murray, mamluk boys were often chosen based on their physical attributes or perceived attractiveness, insinuating the presence of an innately sexual element to mamluk corps. In this realm, the practice of older men dominating younger mamluk recruits also plays a role in the ideas of mentorship and camaraderie, aspects which were not unique to the Islamic world in the medieval period but instead reflect similar traditions elsewhere, whether in the context of the military or craftsmanship. Another argument Murray offers is that the perceived dispensability of the mamluk military class (combined with a lack of incentive for them to raise children) meant their sexual endeavours were

[25] Jim Wafer. 'Muhammad and Male Homosexuality' in O. Murray, Stephen, Roscoe, WIll. (eds.) *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History, and Literature*, (New York: New York University Press, 1997), p. 92.
[26] Stephen O. Murray. 'Homosexuality Among Slave Elites in Ottoman Turkey', in Stephen O. Murray., Will Roscoe. (eds.) *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History, and Literature*, (New York: New York University Press, 1997), p. 181.

less closely monitored, as long as they were not mingling with civilian populations.[27] However, this viewpoint perhaps leans too much on an assumption that the state intervened frequently on sexual deviance in the military realm, which Murray lacks sufficient evidence to uphold.

Unsurprisingly, first-hand accounts of female homosexuality are few and far between, especially those written by women themselves. Needless to say, lesbianism is not a new phenomenon, and the fact that it was infrequently written about does not necessarily mean it did not exist. Certainly, though, there was an awareness of female homosexuality within medieval Islamic scholarly circles, whether the topic was openly discussed or not.

Beginning with the tenth century *Encyclopedia of Pleasure,* we can dissect several scholarly attitudes towards lesbianism.[28] Drawing on Greek translations, Katib makes brief but clear references to lesbianism and uses concepts introduced by the physician Galen to suggest why women might be drawn to their own sex- these include having "deep [hard to pleasure] vaginas", or "vapour" which causes the labia to itch, only remediable by friction or "rubbing". Crucially, Katib's work provides us with an explanatory rather than a critical lens on what would have been seen as sexual subversions. Through this lens, the *Encyclopedia of Pleasure* offers praise of the sexual gratification women might achieve, which perhaps made small steps to normalise an otherwise stigmatised act. Indeed, as Amer posits, Katib's exploration of subversive sexualities consolidated lesbian relationships as comparably loyal and dedicated partners compared to their heterosexual counterparts.[29] In a world where a woman's fidelity is paramount, the virtue of loyalty suggested by Katib casts a redemptive light on an otherwise taboo topic. In particular, Katib, alongside his contemporary scholar al-Yemeni, take note of the fabled relationship between two women, the poetess Hind bint al-Khuss, and al-Zarqa, as the first lesbian relationship in Arab history.[30] Both sources indicate an appreciation for the devotion of the

[27] Murray, p. 310.
[28] 'Ali ibn Nasr Katib. *Encyclopedia of Pleasure, (*trans.) Salah Addin Khawwam, (Toronto: Aleppo Pub, 1977) p. 189.
[29] Sahar Amer. 'Medieval Arab Lesbians and Lesbian-Like Women', *Journal of the History of Sexuality,* 18:2 (2009), pp. 215-236.
[30] Samar Habib. *Female Homosexuality in the Middle East, Histories and Representations,* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 31.

pair, commenting especially on the piety of Hind, who they claim built a mosque in her lover's honour. Here, we can determine that early Islamic attitudes towards homosexuality might have been positively impacted by a scientific or moralistic curiousity rather than a critical gaze. Indeed, medieval discourse on other "lesbian-like" (as Bennett frames it) women, while a rarity, presents us with a unique attitude that suggests contemporary scholars were more invested in documenting and recording lesbianism than denouncing it.[31] In any case, it seems women were not punished for the act of "grinding", unlike their male counterparts who risked the punishment of stoning.

Verily, the attitudes covered thus far have been mostly optimistic, and it is necessary to remember that discourse which documents or celebrates homosexuality almost always coexists with discourse which criticises or demonises it. Shifting patterns of behaviour from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, influenced by orthodox European intervention, is reflected by a notable increase in critical texts and treatises condemning homosexuality. While the backlash of certain critics such as al-Mashtoolee[32] may have been prominent, recent scholarship has brought into question the authenticity of the hadith he uses, "women having sex with each other is one of the major transgressions", which may indeed be his own fabrication. Of course, each scholar, whether they preach acceptance or rejection of queer identities throughout the medieval period, had their own agenda, reflected in their choice of hadith and anecdotes.

In essence, attitudes towards homosexuality in the Islamic medieval period were likely just as multitudinous and shifting as they are today. Acceptance of homosexuality has been and still is shaped by regional societal norms, with (perhaps unsurprisingly) more tolerance afforded to the elite and artistic classes. All things considered, we can regard Islamic perspectives on homosexuality as mostly permissive, with unspoken rules and intricacies of their own.

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[31] Judith M. Bennett. '"Lesbian-Like" and the Social History of Lesbianisms', *Journal of the History of Sexuality,* 9:1/2 (2000), pp. 1-24.
[32] Habib, p. 58.

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Figure 1: Al-Wasiti, Yahya ibn Mahmud. 'Farewells of Abu Zayd and al-Harith before the Return to Mecca', in Al-Harari, *Maqamat, 'Assemblies',* (1237), illustration, courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

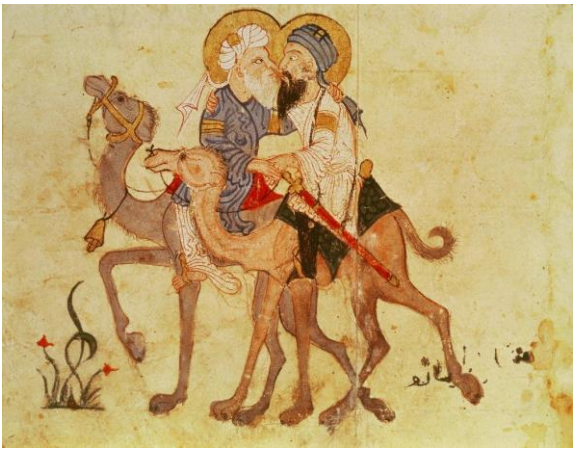

Figure 2: Nuwās, Abū. 'Love in Bloom', in Smith, Paul (trans.) *Diwan of Abū Nuwās,* (California: CreateSpace Publishing, 2018).

I die of love for him, perfect in every way,
Lost in the strains of wafting music.
My eyes are fixed upon his delightful body
And I do not wonder at his beauty.
His waist is a sapling, his face a moon,
And loveliness rolls off his rosy cheek
I die of love for you, but keep this secret:
The tie that binds us is an unbreakable rope.
How much time did your creation take, O angel?
So what! All I want is to sing your praises.

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What were the lived experiences of Black Africans at European courts?

Anwen Iris Venn

The lived experiences of black Africans at European courts differed depending on their wealth, social status, and the rulers of each court. Black Africans had more opportunities and could leverage a level of power at court greater than those outside of them, but this did not erase the inequality they faced. No matter how powerful black Africans could be at court, they always had to conform to the standards of regents' courts to be appreciated and successful, Europeanising themselves to gain respect they were not always given otherwise.

Firstly, the lived experiences of enslaved black Africans at European courts differentiated from their freed or wealthy counterparts, as they were often used to represent the social status of their enslavers with fewer opportunities available compared to freed black Africans. Black Africans in the Iberian or Italian courts, or 'slave-owning countries', were propertied and at the mercy of the leaders in charge. For example, in Spain it was customary to brand slaves, thus black Africans were always "fatally stigmatised by their past".[33] In early modern Europe, Africans were conceptualised as naturally sub-human and the property of another, a notion prominent throughout European courts.[34] For Portugal and Italy, branding was used as corporal punishment, but slaves belonging to the Portuguese crown were branded on the arm, such as the slaves taken to São Tome from Benin after 1519.[35] Thus, enslaved black Africans at European courts were dependent and visualised in their enslaver's image. The presence and ownership of black slaves was something to be exhibited to foreign visitors by leading Europeans at court, like Prince Henry the Navigator during the fifteenth

[33] Carmen Fracchia, 'The Place of African Slaves in Early Modern Spain', in Andrew Spicer and Jane Steven Crawshaw (eds.), *The Place of the Social Margins,* (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 119.
[34] Fracchia, p. 118.
[35] Kate Lowe, 'The Lives of African Slaves and People of African Descent in Renaissance Europe', in Joaneath Spicer (ed.), *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe,* (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2012), p. 25.

century.[36] In Italy, Isabella d'Este asked her agent in Venice to procure young black girls "as black as possible" between May and June of 1491, acquiring enslaved blackgirls to use them as ornamental 'exotic accessories' and to participate in European expansionism.[37] As Carmen Fracchia argues, slavery was seen as "a natural phenomenon and a constituent part of the social order" which "did not reflect […] acceptance", thus the lived experience of enslaved black Africans at European courts was an accepted form of objectification by Europeans to flaunt their prestige, with their presence not constituting equality. Perhaps, though, her argument is flawed in that it only acknowledges African objectification without also acknowledging their own achievements or the admiration their talents were given by those established in European courts. The demand for specific types of African slaves demeaned them and although these black Africans may have had better living conditions serving people of the court, they were commodified, racialised, and exoticised with little agency to stop this.

Conversely, in countries that illegalised slavery, such as the Netherlands, England, and Scotland, the lived experiences of black Africans who were not legally 'enslaved' but treated as if they were, was a complicated reality because of manumission possibilities and elite exploitation. For many English elites, enslaved black Africans, especially children, were used in commissioned portraits, such as in the 1617 portrait of Anne of Denmark (**Fig. 1**).[38] For men at court, black servants were used as a display of imperialist power and expansionism, but for women, they were used to show their fairness and projected their own power over Africans in an age where they themselves had relatively little.[39] In Anne of Denmark's portrait, the black man is part of the shadowy background and was used to convey a faithful servitude and marginal humanity, especially when female portraits more clearly asserted the power of white over black than their male counterparts

[36] Peter Russell, *Prince Henry 'The Navigator': A Life,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 263.
[37] Paul Kaplan, 'Isabella d'Este and black African women', in Thomas Foster Earle (ed.), *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 134 & 139.
[38] Kim Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 239.
[39] Hall, pp. 226 – 228.

because of their own, differently marginalised positions.[40] These portraits were made to showcase that black Africans at English courts were devoted to their 'masters' and, despite anti-slavery laws, it is hard to interpret these Africans as having any free agency. The practice of slavery was occurring in England in all but name, for example by the third Earl of Derby who owned black 'slaves' as mentioned in the household books of his estate on 12 February 1568.[41] In the Netherlands, it was illegal to enslave black Africans, but the Dutch authorities had little incentive to uphold this, as shown by a group of more than one hundred African people arriving at Middelburg in November 1596, who were slaves in all but name, as the Dutch captain of the ship took them away.[42] The complicated nature of the illegality of slavery versus the reality of its practice is shown in the Dutch portrait of Don Miguel de Castro (1643), an emissary of the Kongo who was given respect for his position despite it stemming directly from participation in the slave trade (**Fig. 2**).[43] It is difficult to ignore the strenuous lives forced upon these enslaved black Africans at court, even by Africans themselves in these countries. Additionally, manumission was a possibility for 'enslaved' black Africans in these countries. A key example is observed in 1587 where Hector Nunes's 'slave' refused to serve him any longer and the court asserted his freedom, but often many countries refused to acknowledge active slavery because it was supposably illegal.[44] Thus, the lived experiences of black Africans at European courts where slavery was illegal was not necessarily easier than their 'slave-owning' counterparts as many were enslaved in all but name because it was more financially and socially beneficial to take advantage of these black slaves than free them.

The lived experiences of black Africans at European courts who were free, often working in entertainment, were provided greater and

[40] Hall, p. 238.
[41] Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677,* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), p. 229.
[42] Dienke Hondius, 'Black Africans in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et réforme,* 31:2 (2008), pp. 88 – 90.
[43] Mark Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade: Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World, 1595–1674,* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 215.
[44] Lowe, 'The Lives of African Slaves and People of African Descent in Renaissance Europe', p. 26.

perhaps less dangerous opportunities than many black Africans outside of the courts, but they were commodified and ridiculed for European entertainment and status. Black salaried court entertainers were often musicians and commodified by Europeans.[45] In Portugal, black singers were first heard in 1444 and black dance music was performed in 1451 during celebrations honouring the ambassadors sent by Emperor Frederick III to fetch his bride.[46] Thus, musically-gifted black Africans may have been chosen over their white peers by the Portuguese monarchs to showcase their power and status as well as for these Africans' talent.[47] Black Africans in Portuguese art were often portrayed in court contexts, such as the six black musicians in the *Santa Auta Altarpiece* of 1520-25 (**fig. 3**).[48] This painting showcases the significant presence black African entertainers had in Portuguese courts and their valued skills, but their depiction was also used to showcase the wealth of not only Prince Etherius and St. Ursula in the painting, but also Eleanor, Queen of Portugal, who commissioned the piece in 1522.[49] Another example of a black musician in European court life is John Blanke in London in the early sixteenth century. Depicted in the *Westminster Tournament Roll* manuscript as the only identifiable portrait of an African in Tudor England, Blanke's position in court would have brought him high status and a regular wage, as well as board, lodging and a clothing allowance (**Fig. 4**).[50] As trumpeters also acted as messengers, Blanke may have enjoyed diplomatic immunity to allow him free passage through foreign territory.[51] The importance of black African musicians in

[45] Joaneath Spicer, 'Free Men and Women of African Ancestry in Renaissance Europe', in Joaneath Spicer (ed.), *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe*, (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2012), p. 87.
[46] Peter Fryer, *Rhythms of Resistance: African Musical Heritage in Brazil,* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), p. 111.
[47] Kate Lowe, 'The Global Population of Renaissance Lisbon: Diversity and its Entanglements', in Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and K. J. P. Lowe (eds), *The Global City: On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon,* (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2015), p. 62.
[48] Lowe, p. 62.
[49] Fryer, *Rhythms of Resistance: African Musical Heritage in Brazil,* p. 111.
[50] Miranda Kaufmann, *Black Tudors: The Untold Story,* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2017), pp. 21 – 23.
[51] Kaufmann, p. 26.

European courts was also significant in Scotland, where James IV employed a 'Moorish' drummer in the early years of the sixteenth century and paid twenty-eight shillings to have him depicted in a painting.[52] In all three cases, the importance of depicting these black African musicians allowed European rulers to showcase their wealth, status, and foreign authority by using 'exotic' Africans to epitomise this. Their positions in these courts not only provided them a sizeable living wage, but prestige and better living conditions than many other black Africans. Courts offered upward mobility for black Africans and there were some opportunities for black slaves to become freed based on their natural capabilities, but the educational attainment of some underscores the lack of education of many Africans.[53] Therefore, their living experience at European courts was safe and well-established, but they were commodified, dehumanised, and simplified to exaggerate a ruler's position.

Additionally, besides musicians, black Africans also occupied other areas at European courts, such as João de Sá Panasco who was first a slave and then a court jester of King João III who ruled roughly from 1524-67.[54] By 1547 he was a courtier, a gentleman of the royal household, and the king's valet, later awarded a knighthood in the Order of Santiago around 1550.[55] Despite his extreme wittiness, Sá was often the victim of many jokes that centred on his former slave status and his blackness.[56] The scars he had earned in battle against the Spanish were likened to brands on the face of slaves and one sixteenth-century anthology of jokes included twenty-one jokes directed against him, compared to his own seventeen.[57] As Kate Lowe explains, "success did not cocoon black Africans", but instead left them as vulnerable as "any less successful fellow Africans".[58] Lowe's argument helps to highlight how the lived experiences of black Africans at European courts were not easy nor widely accepted, as the success of these entertainers coincided

[52] Kaufmann, p. 27.
[53] Spicer, 'Free Men and Women of African Ancestry in Renaissance Europe', p. 86 & 91.
[54] Spicer, p. 86.
[55] Spicer, pp. 86 – 87.
[56] Lowe, p. 72.
[57] Lowe, pp. 72 – 73.
[58] Lowe, p. 73.

with their white counterparts' intervention and degradation. Moreover, black African servants and entertainers were also placed in elaborate festivals and plays. In James IV's court in 1507, Scottish poet William Dunbar records the tournament of the Black Knight and the Lady where James IV played the knight and a black African woman played the lady, dressed in a gown worth £29 alone, likely to show off the king's prestige.[59] The king won and was rewarded by the black lady's kiss and close embrace, and the forty-day tournament ended with the black lady being taken and seen no more. This coincided with England where in the 1510 court performance for Henry VIII two women "covered" their complexions "blacke" as the use of racial cross-dressing for stage performances in courts was not uncommon.[60] Freed black Africans were constructed into entertainment spheres in European courts, or were used as inspiration with gross oversimplification, so that no matter how successful an African could become, they would always be commodified and racialised as entertainment, rather than just entertainers.

Lastly, for wealthy black Africans living in European courts, their experiences were less stigmatised than their enslaved or servant equivalents, but this did not mean they were free from degradation and racist ideology, often having to Europeanise themselves to convey their status and wealth. In Lisbon, black African ambassadors and their entourages were often seen, such as close male relatives of the ruler of the kingdom of the Kongo who arrived in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries to receive European classical and religious education from the monastery of Santo Elói.[61] Henrique, a son of King Afonso I of the Kongo, became the first black African Catholic bishop in 1518 and opened up black Africans to ecclesiastical positions for those who were wealthy and powerful enough, however they were not given equal respect to their European counterparts.[62] High-class black African women were also present in European courts, such as Dona Simoa Godinho who married a white Portuguese nobleman by 1560 and was

[59] Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain,* (London: Pluto Press, 1984), p. 3.
[60] Ian Smith, 'White Skin, Black Masks: Racial Cross-Dressing on the Early Modern Stage', *Renaissance Drama,* New Series, 32:1 (2003), p. 44.
[61] Lowe, p. 69.
[62] Lowe, pp. 69 – 70.

described as having a "white soul", or Margarida da Silva, a freed black former-slave who became highly esteemed at court after marrying a Kongolese royal relative. In both examples, these black women had to constantly live in comparison to their white counterparts and emulate them to maintain a strong position in court. This is visually encompassed by previous court slave-turned painter Juan de Pareja's *The Calling of St Matthew* of 1661, where he depicted himself in the example of Ethiopian's Christianity against Spanish Christian orthodoxy, whitening himself in order to free himself from the stigma of slavery (**Fig. 5**).[63] Pareja could not rid himself of his previous enslaved status and needed to Europeanise himself in order to garner respect, which showcases that black Africans at European courts could never truly express themselves because the colour of their skin itself signified to Europeans of their 'inferiority' and subjugation. When Africans did not conform to Christian European standards, they were often depicted poorly, like the portrait of *Mūlāy Ahmad,* ca. 1609, by Peter Rubens who depicted him as both the equal of European monarchs and an objectified foreigner, shown through suspicion and cruelty in his facial expression (**Fig. 6**).[64] As Joaneath Spicer argues, black Africans at court "would always encounter prejudice" despite "their immediate impact" with European elites.[65] Similarly to Lowe's thesis, the success, power and wealth of black African nobility did not mean their experiences at European courts was protected and well-respected completely, but that they needed to reinvent themselves in European ideals to get their position across.

In conclusion, the lived experiences of black Africans at European courts ultimately were one of constant comparison and competition with their European counterparts no matter their status, wealth or power. Enslaved or free black Africans at courts, even in countries where slavery was illegal or when these Africans were noble, were commodified and flaunted by leading Europeans, even if they may reach manumission or were given better living opportunities than their

[63] Fracchia, pp. 128 – 129.
[64] Kate Lowe, 'Visual Representations of an Elite: African Ambassadors and Rulers in Renaissance Europe', in Joaneath Spicer (ed.), *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe,* (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2012), pp. 106 – 107.
[65] Spicer, p. 91.

counterparts outside of court. Ultimately, black Africans living at European courts were able to leverage a certain amount of power and had some better opportunities, but continuously dealt with inequality and objectification.

Appendix

Figure 1. Paul van Somer I, *Portrait of Anne of Denmark,* 1617, oil on canvas, Queen's Audience Chamber, London.

Figure 2. Jasper or Jeronimus Becx, *Portrait of Don Miguel de Castro,* 1643, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen.

Figure 3. Unknown Artist, *St Alta Altarpiece,* 16th century, oil on panel, MNAA National Museum of Ancient Art, Lisbon.

Figure 4. Unknown Artist, *Westminster Tournament Roll,* 1522, illuminated manuscript, College of Arms, London.

Figure 5. Juan de Pareja, *The Calling of Saint Matthew,* 1661, Oil on canvas, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Figure 6. Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Mulay Ahmad,* ca. 1609, oil on panel, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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To what extent did Nativism affect American attitudes towards Chinese immigrants in the Nineteenth Century?

Sylvie Eleanor Taylor

In April 1848, there were, at most, two or three Chinese immigrants living in California.[66] By 1852, this figure had reached twenty-five thousand, owing to the discovery of gold near Sacramento as well as the increased labour demand which followed.[67] Three decades later, in 1882, the immigration of Chinese labourers was federally prohibited by the Chinese Exclusion Act. In the nineteenth century, American attitudes towards foreigners were often shaped by the burgeoning nativist movement. Nativism has been defined by John Higham as "intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign...connections", characterised by a fear of disloyalty, foreignness, and 'un-Americanism'.[68] Here, we will explore the extent to which nativism affected attitudes towards Chinese immigrants, and their resulting exclusion, specifically in nineteenth-century California. Whilst economic factors had the biggest impact on these attitudes, they were also heavily influenced and rationalised by a uniquely orientalist nativism.

The economy was almost always at the centre of controversy surrounding Chinese immigrants in California. At an essential level, there were four non-Chinese parties involved in this controversy: the state government, employers, merchants, and white labourers. After achieving statehood, the Californian government experienced consistent economic deficits. The second foreign miners' tax of the gold rush period was instituted in 1852 at a rate of $4 per month.[69] This tax provided the government with a fiscal incentive to oppose the exclusion of Chinese

[66] 'China', *The California Star*, vol. 2, no. 13, 1 April 1848, n.p., https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=CS18480401.2.8&srpos=50&e=-------en--20-CS-41-byDA-txt-txIN-china-------1, (accessed 2 April 2020).
[67] M. Kanazawa, 'Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California', *The Journal of Economic History*, 65:3 (2005), p. 781.
[68] J. Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002), p. 4.
[69] Kanazawa, p. 785.

labourers in order to collect more state revenue. Employers also opposed exclusion, enjoying the financial benefit of cheap Chinese labour. Of the same bourgeois class were merchants, who were anxious that exclusion would damage their trading relations with China.[70] As the nativist orator Denis Kearney posited it, "those...making money out of them are very much in love with them."[71] For government officials, employers and merchants, the 'Chinese question' was a hypothetical one. However, for white labourers, it was a question at the central intersection of their moral, social and economic lives.

White and Chinese labourers generally lived near to one another and competed for the same income. During the early years of the gold rush, foreign miners faced significant social, not to mention legal, discrimination - they were excluded from white camps, driven from their own claims and violently attacked.[72] As California went through a process of industrialisation, Chinese labourers acquired jobs in a wide range of sectors.[73] When competing with white labourers, it was believed that the Chinese would always win because they were culturally, or even biologically, accustomed to lower standards of living.[74] That white wages were being undercut by the employment of Chinese workers was an economic issue. Consequently, it took on culturally racist forms, such as orientalist political cartoons. G. F. Keller's "What shall we do with our boys?" (**Fig. 1)** indicates how Chinese workers were at once seen as morally corrupt and excessively, even sinisterly, diligent. Mark Kanazawa argues that the negative attitudes towards Chinese immigrants were

[70] Kanazawa, p. 788.
[71] Kearney, 'Kearney and Hayes talk', *Speeches of Denis Kearney, Labor Champion*, (New York City: Jesse Haney & Co.,1878), p. 27.
[72] I. B. Cross, *A History of the Labour Movement in California*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935), p. 74.
[73] H. George, 'Chinese in California', *New York Tribune*, 1 May 1869, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1869-05-01/ed-1/seq-1/>, [Accessed 9 April 2020].
[74] Kearney, 'Appeal from California. The Chinese Invasion. Workingmen's Address', 1878, cited in R. H. Bayor (ed.), *The Columbia Documentary History of Race and Ethnicity in America*, (New York City: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 269; 'The Chinaman in America', *Marin Journal*, 16:3, (30 March 1876), <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=MJ18760330.2.10&e=-------en--20--1--txt-txIN---------1>, [Accessed 6 April 2020].

caused by the detrimental economic effect they had on white employment. Moral arguments, about their associations with vice, and nativist concerns with disloyalty and 'un-Americanness' were used only as rationalisations.[75] Conversely, Ira B. Cross asserts that 'anti-foreigner feeling' actually preceded economic tensions in the case of mining. He sees the nativist inclination to push foreign-born miners from their claims as having caused the Chinese insemination into the workforce, thus leading to white unemployment once the mines proved unprofitable.[76] From contemporary sources, such as Keller's cartoon, it is evident that nativism played a key role in the presentation of attitudes towards Chinese immigrants. Whilst economic problems provided white labourers with ammunition, they were able to disguise their selfish aims with moral and nativist arguments. The ease with which they vilified Chinese labourers is certainly telling of the pre-existence of nativism amongst American settlers in California. White American beliefs about the supremacy of Anglo-Saxons, and the very visible 'un-Americanness' of Chinese immigrants, undoubtedly influenced the way economic problems were interpreted.

The benefit provided by Chinese immigrants to government finance, international trade and growth of industry meant there was a prominent, if not popular, resistance to exclusion. Whilst this resistance was indeed influential, it was almost completely silent. The attitudes presented in the press, as well as on the street, were typically racist, exclusionist and impossible to ignore. However, as a columnist in 1879 pointed out, "the Chinese do not go...because the people of California, while protesting against their presence, continue to utilize their labor in a hundred ways".[77] Not only did employers continue to prioritise low wages over white, 'local' employment, but many Californians also relied on Chinese immigrants for a huge range of services and goods. This demonstrates that, although negative economic factors contributed to nativist exclusionism, it was ultimately the financial influence which kept the Chinese population in California. Nativism could never provide a

[75] Kanazawa, p. 784.
[76] Cross, p. 74.
[77] 'Why the Chinese Do Not Go', *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, 7:270, (10 January 1879), <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SDU18790110.2.9&e=-------en--20--1--txt-txIN--------1>, [Accessed 10 April 2020].

positive case for Chinese immigration but the economy could, and continuously did so.

White labourers and their nativist associates accused Chinese immigrants of coolieism. Coolies were Chinese labourers considered to be working as slaves to pay for their loaned passage to America. Unsympathetically, this belief was used as an exclusionist argument rather than a humanitarian one against the traffickers. The Kearneyist rhetoric was most common - Chinese immigrants were undercutting white wages and stealing jobs. The nativists contrasted the inherent servitude of the coolie and the freedom of America's labour market, implying that Chinese immigrants were too 'un-American' to ever truly assimilate.[78] Additionally, they reconfirmed fears of foreign loyalty, in that enslaved people were assumed to be primarily 'loyal' to their master.[79] Whilst this was presented as a nativist stance in the exclusion argument, it was rooted in the economic struggle of the working classes.

Circular migration raised nativist and economic concerns. Kearney complained of Chinese immigrants' tendency to "go back to China with all their earnings."[80] This opposition to circular migration was typical of nativist fears of disloyalty. Kearney saw the employment of Chinese labourers as theft from the Californian economy because their wages would not be recirculated.[81] Whilst Kearney was more worried about economic consequences, an official San Franciscan spokesman complained that Chinese immigrants were "without desire of citizenship...and without interest in the country [they] inhabit", and considered their presence "demoralizing and dangerous".[82] This demonstrates an element of nativist speech regarding circular migration which was rooted exclusively in moral, not economic, nativist concern. Both quotations show how a nativist fear of disloyalty, sometimes influenced by economic tension, encouraged negative attitudes towards Chinese immigrants in California.

The nativist sentiment directed towards Sino-Californians took

[78] Kearney, 'Appeal from California', p. 269.
[79] Kanazawa, p. 784.
[80] Kearney, 'Appeal from California', p. 269.
[81] R. White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own" A New History of the American West*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), p. 341.
[82] E. C. Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1939), p. 25.

on a uniquely orientalist character. Before 1848, and the ensuing wave of immigration, Californian newspapers described their Chinese trading partners favourably. There is even evidence that their culture was greatly admired. For example, one columnist dedicated an article to complimenting the 'fashionable' and 'elegant' styles of a Chinese dandy.[83] Nonetheless, this admiration was focused on the difference between the writer and his subject. It is easy to see how this difference, once viewed through the lens of economic aggravation, could become the basis for discriminatory intercultural relations. By 1873, a columnist in the *Los Angeles Herald* regarded the "invasion of California by the Chinese…as fatal to the country as the leprosy which they promulgate". In the article, he combines nativist concerns of circular migration with yellow perilist fears of 'invasion'. He also supports the orientalist idea that people from the 'East' are a fundamental 'other', using stereotypes such as immorality, low hygiene and dishonesty.[84] The transition from admiration to racism demonstrates how the orientalist view of Chinese people was used to justify nativism. Vitally, it also shows how significant the changing economic dynamic between California and China was in encouraging that transition.

Orientalist attitudes also created moral concern, separate from nativism, over what some believed was the naturally sinful disposition of Chinese immigrants. On the whole, Chinatown was a community of peaceful economic immigrants.[85] However, like most communities, it also had a criminal, and sometimes violent, element. William Farwell's map of San Francisco's Chinatown from 1885 (**Fig. 2)** shows a staggering number of gambling shops, brothels and buildings related to opium production and use. In 1876, an advocate of expulsion argued that the populace of Chinatown "utterly disregard all the laws of health, decency and

[83] 'Chinese Dandy', *The California Star*, 1: 21, (29 May 1847), <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=CS18470529.2.7&srpos=5&e=-------en--20-CS-1-byDA-txt-txIN-chinese-------1>, [Accessed 5 April 2020].
[84] 'Chinese Immigration', *Los Angeles Herald*, 1:2, (3 October 1873), <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH18731003.2.7&srpos=1&e=-------en--20--1--txt-txTA-%22Chinese+Immigration%22-----Chinese+Immigration--1>, [Accessed 5 April 2020].
[85] R. H. Dillon, *The Hatchet Men: The Story of the Tong Wars in San Francisco's Chinatown*, (New York City: Van Rees Press, 1962), p. 18.

morality".[86] The *Wasp*'s November 1885 issue was published with a covering illustration (**Fig. 3)** entitled, "The Chinese: Many Handed but Soulless". It depicts a Chinese man as a god-like figure stealing the employment and innocence of his white victims. Most significantly, he is seen to be forcing men to smoke opium (**Fig. 4)** and play *Fan-Tan*, a favourite in Chinatown gambling halls. Both the expulsionist's quote and the *Wasp* cover demonstrate the moral outrage directed at Chinatown. According to Elmer C. Sandmeyer, the moral failings of Chinese immigrants were considered to be inherent.[87] To this effect, an article from San Francisco in 1876 tells us, "there is not a Chinaman in this town but who gambles".[88] The belief that Chinese immigrants were natural-born sinners bent on committing vice and corrupting their white peers was a particularly orientalist moral concern. Whilst there was undoubtedly a Christian element to this concern, it would be wrong to disregard the anti-racism of Protestant missionaries. For example, the Chinese Protective Society used racial incarceration rates to argue that Chinese people "are on the average nearly twice as moral as...whites".[89] However, this anti-racism was very limited and the moral outrage aimed at Chinese immigrants was overwhelming. Such moral outrage, with its orientalist flavour, demonstrates a xenophobic sentiment that was not entirely reliant on nativist rhetoric.

Moral concerns with Chinatown were not limited to the illicit activities that went on there - police corruption created fears of a growing conspiracy against goodness itself. Richard H. Dillon describes police policy towards Chinese vice and gang warfare in the mid-nineteenth century as 'laissez-faire'.[90] There is even evidence to suggest that police were being paid by gambling halls, lottery officers and brothels to turn a

[86] 'The Chinaman in America'.
[87] Sandmeyer, p. 34.
[88] 'The Chinese Question', *Daily Alta California*, 28:9507, (16 April 1876), <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=DAC18760416.2.23&srpos=20&e=------187-en--20--1--txt-txIN-gambling+chinese-------1>, [Accessed 6 April 2020].
[89] 'Some Facts Relating to Chinese', *Sacramento Daily Union*, 38: 5825, (27 November 1869), <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SDU18691127.2.19&e=-------en--20-CS-1-byDA-txt-txIN-chinese-------1>, [Accessed 6 April 2020].
[90] Dillon, p. 18.

blind eye.[91] A significant turning point in police engagement was Farwell's map and report published in 1885. The report was published under the Board of Supervisors and, although it was not unanimously supported, it was highly influential. It highlighted police shortcomings and shamed white landlords, the effect being a move away from previous 'laissez-faire' policies.[92] The transformation in attitudes of the police towards Chinatown can be attributed to the growing attention given to corruption. In the case of Farwell, this attention was influenced by his nativist background which led him to scorn the 'inherent' opposition of Chinese immigrants to American laws.[93] Although concerns over police collusion were moralistic, it was Farwell's orientalist nativism which led to the disruption of such a conspiracy.

Anti-Chinese agitation led to the 1882 act which banned the immigration of Chinese labourers for ten years. It is important to note that only labourers were barred, indicating a class-bias in the legislation.[94] This highlights that the negative attitudes towards Chinese immigrants were predominantly the result of economic competition for wages. Appallingly, illegal atrocities were also committed against Chinese communities across the American West. In the 1885 Rock Springs massacre, for example, twenty-eight Chinese people were murdered by a white mob.[95] This demonstrates that there was a more fervent opposition to Chinese immigrants than can be simply explained by economic problems.

American attitudes towards Chinese immigrants, both positive and negative, were most heavily influenced by economic circumstances. Orientalism and the growing nativism in nineteenth-century America coloured the way these immigrants were initially received. Orientalist nativism also provided an effective way to turn working-class economic distress into a widespread moral panic. Newspapers and political

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[91] 'The Chinese Investigation', *Daily Alta California*, 28: 9512, (21 April 1876), <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=DAC18760421.2.15&srpos=1&e=------187-en--20--1--txt-txIN-gambling+chinese-------1>, [Accessed 7 April 2020].
[92] Dillon, pp. 213-218.
[93] Dillon, p. 210, 218.
[94] E. Lee, 'The Chinese Exclusion Example: Race, Immigration, and American Gatekeeping, 1882-1924', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 21:3 (2002), p. 36.
[95] R. G. Nokes, '"A Most Daring Outrage": Murders at Chinese Massacre Cove, 1887', *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 107:3 (2006), p. 332.

cartoons provided a breeding ground for anti-Chinese sentiment that eventually overwhelmed the upper-class resistance to exclusion. In the end, economically-fuelled orientalist and nativist rhetoric meant that human lives were lost and whole communities were alienated and terrorised. In discussing the causes and rationalisations of racist action, I hope not to dehumanise its victims but rather to expose the ease with which economic tension can provide space for fatal ideologies.

Appendix

Fig. 1. G. F. Keller, 'What Shall We Do With Our Boys?', *The San Francisco Illustrated Wasp*, San Francisco, 3 March 1882.

Fig. 2. W. B. Farwell, J. E. Kunkler, E. B. Pond, 'Official map of "Chinatown" in San Francisco', San Francisco, Bosqui Eng. & Print Co., 1885.

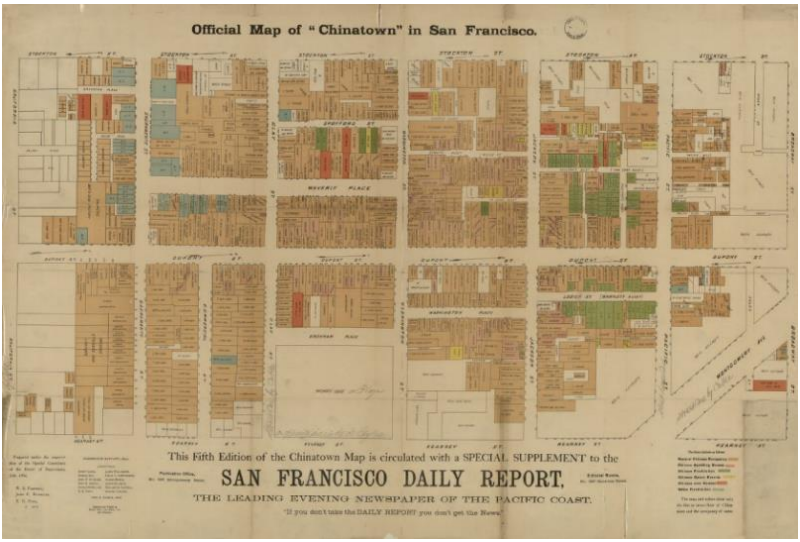

Fig. 3. 'The Chinese: Many Handed but Soulless', *The San Francisco Illustrated Wasp*, San Francisco, Schmidt Label & Litho. Co., 14 November 1885.

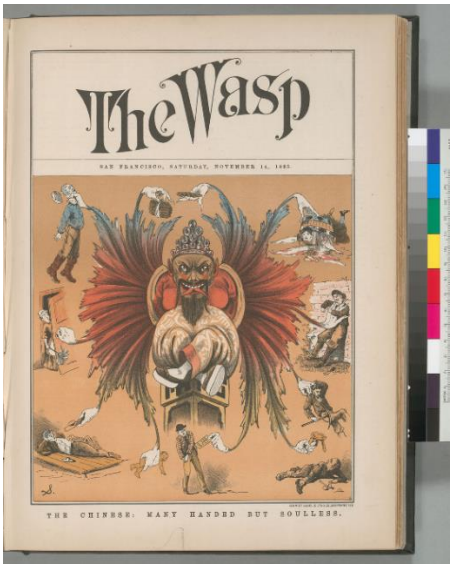

Fig. 4. Detail from above. A man being plied with opium, a baby being snatched, and a man being forced into a game of Fan-Tan.

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What role did jazz play in shaping the lives of Harlem's communities in the inter-war period?

Jayden Micheal Horell

Much of the exploration surrounding interwar Harlem focuses heavily on the political implications and literary contributions of intellectuals, such as W. E. B. DuBois and Alain Locke. While these were certainly influential, the role of jazz has been downplayed and debates have often focused more on the music, rather than on its social, economic, and cultural impacts. This essay suggests that jazz's role extended beyond music, helping shape the lives of Harlem's communities, particularly the working-class. Firstly, jazz is discussed as a tool used to establish the agency of black culture, with a focus on the ability of black performers to reclaim and utilize the 'primitive' aspects of their culture that were often fetishized to their own benefit. What follows is an exploration into the ways jazz created a sense of racial solidarity and pride, particularly for the black working-class. Finally, building on the arguments of historian Rachel Gillet, jazz offered black people a cosmopolitan experience, which benefitted both musicians and those who lived vicariously through them.

One role that jazz played in shaping the lives of inter-war Harlem's communities was in establishing the agency of black people, which was achieved in their reclamation of the 'primitive', and utilizing it to their advantage. Much of the historiography surrounding the commercialisation and festishisation of jazz performers of the period has focused on its clear negative implications. For example, music historian Thomas Hennessey notes that white club owners financially benefitted by playing up the exotic appeal of black culture for the entertainment of white audiences.[96] While this is undeniable, accepting that this practice meant jazz played an inherently negative role in Harlem would be to ignore the awareness of black communities to utilize and criticize it. As historian Nathaniel Sloan suggests, such exhibitionism, to a certain extent, can and should be reframed as a "virtue, rather than a corrupting influence," if the performers are considered as active rather than passive

[96] Thomas Hennessey. *From Jazz to Swing: African-American Jazz Musicians and their Music, 1890-1935* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994), p. 100.

historical actors.[97] For example, they were often able to assert their agency against the control of white owners; *Cotton Club* dancer Isabel Washington publicly criticised the exploitation of Duke Ellington by his manager Irving Mills.[98] Similarly, African-American media routinely criticised the door policies of the *Cotton Club* (which excluded black audience members), evident in a report by Guy Brewer, who sued the club for discrimination after being refused entry.[99]

African-American performers also recognised their ability to utilize the white interest with the 'primitive' to their benefit. As Charley Gerard explains, the opportunities of musicians for social mobility and fame was largely dependent on the demand for their music by white people.[100] Yet, as historian David Levering Lewis writes, a fundamental characteristic of Harlem's agency was, "the manipulated manipulating," and "the politically and economically impuissant attempting to acquire […] advantage by other means."[101] In Jamaican-American writer Claude McKay's *Banjo,* the character 'Banjo' defends his choice to play the instrument and namesake: "But wha' you call coon stuff is the money stuff today. That saxophone-jazzing is sure coon stuff and the American darky sure knows how the makem wheedle-whine them "blues."[102] In a 1929 essay by McKay, he highlights the slogan, "Return to the Primitive", and suggests that the art world was interested in achieving the "wisdom of the primitive", with "an ultracivilised public [sitting] at the feet of a simple savage teacher." In both this essay and *Banjo,* McKay demonstrates an awareness of the ability of black people to use the interests of white people to make money, as is the case with the character 'Banjo', and to reclaim the 'primitive' aspects of their culture. Historian John Lowney reflects on McKay's essay, suggesting that his identification of 'primitive' with wisdom, education, and progress

[97] Nathaniel Sloan. 'Jazz in the Harlem Moment: Performing Race and Place at the Cotton Club,' ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, (August 2016), p. 9.
[98] Sloan, p. 12.
[99] 'Harlem Politician to Sue Cotton Club for Discrimination,' *Pittsburgh Courier* (6 February 1937), quoted in Sloan, p. 12.
[100] Charley Gerard. *Jazz in Black and White: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Jazz Community* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998).
[101] David Levering Lewis. *When Harlem Was in Vogue,* (New York: Penguin, 1997), p. xxiii.
[102] Claude McKay. *Banjo,* (1929; New York: Ecco, 1970), p. 91.

recovers categories that have historically been used to belittle black cultures.[103] This was also achieved by people, such as Ellington and Cab Calloway, who, as Sloan explains, placed great emphasis on 'class', particularly evident in their perfection of their appearances and demeanors.[104] Similarly, *Cotton Club* dancer Margot Webb recounted that "if the girls did what they call a jungle number, it was always very tasteful, never suggestive, nothing like that, it was all very fast, beautiful ideas, all the settings were so creative".[105] These examples demonstrate how performers articulated a new form of black identity, redefining their culture in a modern, urban setting, in the context of their own exhibitionism. Thus, jazz offered black performers a way to gain cultural independence through highlighting and using the exploitative practices used against them.

As well as allowing Harlem's Black communities to gain agency through the reclamation and utilization of aspects of their culture, jazz played a formative role in the development of the working-class community by offering a sense of racial solidarity and pride. As historian Eric Porter contends, jazz was "a vehicle for individual and communal identity formation".[106] Porter indicates that jazz's ability to inspire racial solidarity can be evidenced by the advertising and popularity of "race records," beginning with "Crazy Blues" and "It's Right Here for You," by Mamie Smith, which were often specifically targeted towards black audiences.[107] Similarly, *The African Blood Brotherhood* and Marcus Garvey's *United Negro Improvement Association* have been known to have sponsored jazz performances as a way to encourage support for their causes, clearly suggesting an ability of jazz to inspire camaraderie. Also, when considering the spaces in which jazz was played, one can see how solidarity was encouraged. In *Home to Harlem,* McKay introduced the 'Congo' nightclub as "a real throbbing little Africa in New York," which served as an entertainment venue for "the unwashed of the Black

[103] John Lowney. *Jazz Internationalism: Literary Afro-Modernism and the Cultural Politics of Black Music,* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2017), p. 37.
[104] Sloan, p. 7.
[105] Margot Webb. Interview with Delilah Jackson (undated), quoted in Sloan, p. 8.
[106] Eric Porter. *What Is This Thing Called Jazz?: African American Musicians as Artists, Critics, and Activists* (California: University of California Press, 2002) p. 6.
[107] Porter, p. 7.

Belt," referring to the workers of Harlem.[108] Lowney's analysis of the 'Congo' suggests the club represented the potential of the working-class community, as well as the power of jazz to aid the move beyond the social and economic tensions that otherwise divided workers.[109] Stephen Robertson and his peers also placed emphasis on the physical places of leisure, suggesting that rent parties, nightclubs, and cabarets offered an opportunity for the different classes in Harlem to mingle.[110] While private apartment bridge parties and cocktail parties had long been staples of middle-class black leisure, jazz opened the possibility for leisure for the working-class.[111] This, Porter argues, allowed performers and audiences alike to "reclaim their bodies as instruments of pleasure" rather than simply of labour.[112] This analysis is consistent with McKay's identification of 'New Negro' Harlem with the black working-class, particularly in his focus on their interest in cabarets as places of pleasure.[113]

In terms of how jazz impacted black working-class pride, the prose of poet Langston Hughes are revealing in their celebration of the genre. While other intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance, such as James Weldon Johnson and Alain Locke, solely celebrated the African origins of jazz, Hughes, like McKay, also believed jazz to represent "the low-down folks, the so-called common element".[114] Hughes' writings highlight the hardships of working-class life, while discussing jazz's function as an expression of working-class consciousness. For example, in his 1926 essay 'The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain', Hughes describes jazz as "the tom-tom of revolt against weariness in a white world, a world of subway trains, and work, work, work", whilst also

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[108] Claude McKay. *Home to Harlem* (1928; Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987) p. 29.
[109] Lowney, p. 39.
[110] Stephen Robertson; Shane White; Stephen Garton; and Graham White. 'This Harlem Life: Black Families and Everyday Life in the 1920s and 1930s,' *Journal of Social History,* 44:1 (Fall, 2010), pp. 107-8.
[111] Robertson..
[112] Porter, p. 7.
[113] Lowney, pp. 34-5.
[114] Lowney, p. 38;, Langston Hughes. 'The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain,' *The Collected Works of Langston Hughes,* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002).

being "the tom-tom of joy and laughter".[115] This implies jazz was created and used by working-class black people as a tool for their own entertainment, for group expression, and to "revolt". To further exemplify the pride held by black workers for the music, in May 1925, *The Opportunity* argued that jazz was the product of the "unlikely Negro." The writer, Charles Johnson, noted jazz as an "immense, even if unconscious irony" that black people had devised, underlining their achievement despite their circumstances: "They, who of all Americans are most limited in self-expression, least considered and most denied, have forged the key to the interpretation of the American spirit."[116] Then, in 1939, Ellington reflected on his community's development of jazz, suggesting it to have always been "authentic Negro music," and driven by the desire to produce "a genuine contribution from our race".[117] These examples demonstrate how the working-class communities in Harlem found pride in jazz, and how they were brought together through its popularity.

Alongside its impact as a tool for cultural agency and working-class solidarity, jazz is partly responsible for the international reach of Harlem, hence the neighbourhood coming to be known as a "race capital".[118] The 'Jazz Age' of Harlem extended to both Paris and London, allowing hundreds of musicians and performers the opportunity to find employment in Europe.[119] Rachel Gillet has coined the term "jazz migration" to describe the unprecedented surge of musicians to and from Europe between 1919 and 1925.[120] Gillett notes that historians have often ignored the significance of jazz as an international tool, citing Tyler E. Stovall, who argues that intellectuals and writers had more of an international experience due to the extent of their travel and

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115 Hughes, ibid.
116 Charles Johnson (ed.). *The Opportunity* (May 1925) pp. 132-3, quoted in Alwyn Williams. 'Jazz and the New Negro: Harlem's Intellectuals Wrestle with the Art of the Age,' *Australasian Journal of American Studies,* 21:1 (July 2002) p. 6.
117 Duke Ellington. 'Duke Says Swing Is Stagnant,' *Down Beat Magazine,* (1939), quoted in Porter, p. 1.
118 Alain Locke. *The New Negro,* (1925; New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), p. 6.
119 Rachel Gillett. 'Jazz and the Evolution of Black American Cosmopolitanism in Interwar Paris,' *Journal of World History,* 21:3 (September 2010), p. 474.
120 Gillett. p. 473.

socialisation.[121] There is, however, evidence to suggest that black performers did partake in cosmopolitan social networks, although their black cosmopolitanism was not recorded in intellectual literary works.[122] For example, a 1925 newspaper report recorded that a "growing group of internationally famous stars" were "plying back and forth across the ocean as if they were merely making trips back and forth to Harlem on the subway."[123] This report demonstrates the significant mobility experienced by African-American performers, who created a 'jazz diaspora' in Europe. Some examples of those who left the United States to live and work in Europe include George G. Evans, Ada "Bricktop" Smith, and Florence Mills.[124] Mills reflected on her shock when realising she had the ability to visit "London, that city of my dreams, 3,000 miles across the ocean".[125] Gillett describes interactions between Bricktop and other performers, such as Josephine Baker, to which she gave advice, and Fats Waller, whom she hired to play at her club.[126] These interactions exemplify how links were maintained with each other, as well as with those back in Harlem. They also serve to demonstrate how jazz gave these performers the opportunity to become more than their lives in Harlem.

While it is evident how jazz facilitated international travel and social networking for musicians and performers, it is perhaps less obvious how jazz internationalism was experienced by the rest of Harlem's communities. Gillett offers one mode to explore this, through black press, including the *Chicago Defender,* the *Amsterdam News,* and the *Pittsburgh Courier*. While her focus is less on Harlem and more on a combination of US cities, Gillett's argument can certainly be applied to Harlem. She suggests that stories in black press highlighting the international experience brought familiarity and awareness of their

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121 Tyler Stovall. *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light,* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), p. 129.
122 Gillett, p. 479.
123 'Lottie Gee Sailed for Europe Oct. 3,' *Chicago Defender,* (10 October 1925) quoted in Gillett, p. 474.
124 Gillett, p. 472.
125 Florence Mills. 'Magic Moon That Brought Me Money: Colored Star's Romantic Rise to Fame,' quoted in Gillett, p. 476.
126 Gillett, p. 478.

global communities.[127] Bricktop's biographer James Haskin's notes how "blacks who had made it were a common topic of discussion," allowing many to be on "intimate terms with the stories of the few of us who had managed to burrow out from under."[128] As Gillett explains, international travel was a novelty for the majority of black people in the inter-war period; it represented a freedom of movement for a group who had historically been denied that experience, and so took on great substance.[129] As well as this vicarious experience of travel and black cosmopolitanism, the non-performers of Harlem gained a greater awareness of injustice within the US. The jazz migration offered the possibility of transcending the Jim Crow limitations of interwar America. Gillett argues that cross-racial relationships in Europe most clearly illustrate this point, allowing a chance to "escape from America's racial Puritanism."[130] Such freedoms were then used as a basis to criticize American society. For example, reporter Marcel Pays noted that, in France, "le nègre isn't limited to the jazz band but is welcomed on the dance floor as well, and men and women of a variety of skin colors and nationalities dance together freely."[131] It is clear, then, that jazz played a role in creating international opportunity for black performers, as well as allowing those remaining in Harlem to experience their culture on a global-level, and to communicate with Europe from a political stance.

To conclude, jazz made evident the commercialisation and fetishization of black people, which was criticised and utilised by performers to their own benefit, particularly financially. It also allowed performers to gain cultural agency by reclaiming the exploitation of the 'primitive', which was exemplified in the writings of McKay. Jazz played a formative role in Harlem's working-class communities, encouraging the unity of classes and of workers in cabarets, nightclubs, and rent parties. A sense of racial pride aided this solidarity, which was evidenced by the popularity of 'race records' and the celebration of the music by Langston Hughes. Finally, jazz's influence was extended into Europe, offering

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[127] Gillett., p. 486,
[128] James Haskins. 'The Last Dawn for the One, the Only, World Queen of Nightclubs,' *Rolling Stone* (29 March 1984), pp. 124-5, quoted in Gillett, p. 486.
[129] Gillett, p. 476,
[130] Gillett, p. 487.
[131] Michael Pays. 'Un Bal Nègre,' *Information,* (23 July 1928), quoted in Gillett, p. 491.

performers the ability to transcend hierarchical barriers, experience the novelty of travel, and gain an awareness of global racial issues in comparison to the United States. Thus, jazz gave Harlem's communities independence and aided black internationalism. It is important to consider the wider roles of jazz, as it places black people at the centre of its history, making them active participants. Historians can use this debate to explore other avenues, such as politics and leisure, to consider their history 'from below.'

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Was the Sexual Revolution a myth?

Raminta Kacinskaite

The Sexual Revolution was a social movement within the 1960s that was commonly known as a time of promiscuity and permissiveness, with new music, fashion, and a sense of sexual openness.[132] The era was classified as a revolution as it upturned the morals of the 50s, however, this essay will explore the definition of a revolution in terms of if it was a sudden change, if it affected everyone and whether it created a new way of life.[133] The extent to which the 60s embodied this revolutionary behaviour will be explored through the themes of men, women, and homosexuality. Focusing on how the roles, attitudes, and behaviour of men and women were revolutionised by the 60s, whilst homosexuals experienced the myth of the revolution. Yet Hera Cook's statement that social constructs, like sex, adapt over time, will consolidate the idea that the 60s were not impactful enough to be classed as a revolution.[134] Progress in the 60s was overturned with the return to Conservatism under Thatcher. Cook's argument that social constructs do not change overnight justifies this essay's focus on the 1950s to 80s, as focusing primarily on the 60s, limits the ability to assess the change towards sexual attitudes over a greater period.[135] Ultimately arguing that there was an evolution rather than a sexual revolution.

The first signs of a sexual revolution are seen with the changing attitudes of men, who no longer saw sex as being an act for reproduction but the pleasure of women, as they considered the treatment of women during sex, straying away from what was previously seen as culturally acceptable. Progressive ideas like these surfaced after the two world wars, which Annan argued, caused many soldiers to feel disenfranchised from establishments, whom they blamed for the slaughters. The once respectable thought of these institutions was rejected by the soldiers who

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[132] Sue Cartledge and Joanna Ryan (eds.), '*Sex & Love: New Thoughts on Old Contradictions'* (London: The Women's Press, 1983), pp. 26-27.
[133] Ashley, Montagu. 'The Pill, the Sexual Revolution, and the Schools.' *The Phi Delta Kappan,* 49: 9 (1968), p. 480.
[134] Hera, Cook. 'The English Sexual Revolution: Technology and Social Change', *History Workshop Journal*, 59: Spring (2005), p.124.
[135] Ibid

believed they were entitled to seek acts of permissiveness to aid their suffering.[136] This paired with Marie Stopes' book '*Married Love'*, which aimed to normalise the discussion around sex, led to a change in male attitudes as they became interested in the workings of the female body.[137] She gained traction and a readership of over 40% male in the early 50s, symbolising how she was writing at a time when interest in sex was high, even before the sexual revolution of the 60s.[138] Despite the sources discussing different topics, they both present how men were straying from common thought and seeking answers. This trend continues to the 80s, as Collins argues softcore porn began to present women in a humanising light, continuing the narrative that women liked to be pleasured. By showing women as engaged and fascinated by their bodies, they seemed to be emotionally connected to the idea of sex, rather than being objects of desire. Thus, creating an awareness of the female needs and wants.[139]

Regardless, the era of the 60s to the 80s was subpar in changing male attitudes, with the sexualisation of women becoming intensified in the media.[140] As consumer industries focused on producing sexual material, which was for the ears and eyes of men, with charts being dominated by songs called 'Itsy Bitsy Teeny Weeny Yellow Polka Dot Bikini',[141] and the expectation of women to follow fashion trends by wearing sexual items of clothing, like the miniskirt.[142] This meant the sexualisation of women continued. Additionally, the availability of porn, regardless of how it claimed to improve the representation of women,

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136 Noel, Annan, 'The Cult of Homosexuality in England 1850-1950', *Biography,* 13:3 (1990), p. 196.
137 Lesley A. Hall, *Hidden Anxieties: Male Sexuality* (Great Britain: Polity Press, 1991), p. 8.
138 Hall pp. 9-10.
139 Marcus Collins, 'Porn Free: Men's Sexuality and Women's Emancipation', *Modern Love: An Intimate History and Men and Women in Twentieth Century Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p. 146.
140 Hera Cook, 'Truly It Felt Like Year One', *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex and Contraception, 1800-1975* (London: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 274
141 Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution*, p. 293.
142 Cartledge and Ryan (eds.), 'Sex and Love', p. 27.

continued to reduce women to the male gaze.[143] When we also consider that softcore porn only covers a minority of explicit material, Collins' argument (which chooses to focus on softcore porn only) becomes less convincing, as it fails to explore the treatment of women in various sorts of pornographic media.[144] Therefore, undermining the sexual revolution, as the sexualisation of women increasing in the 60s, whilst the 50s created a larger and more positive discourse on sex, contrasting to the common conservative thought at the time.

The emancipation of women was overstated during the era of the sexual revolution, as the impact of new contraceptive practises was undermined and double standards continued to be enforced. The introduction of the NHS in 1948, newspapers, and the growth of birth control clinics, started a discussion on pre-marital sex before the sexual revolution of the 60s.[145] For instance, the Family Planning Association, was a centre for advice on contraception, which solidified its presence by having a working party set up in 1957.[146] Then there were newspaper outlets discussing contraception in a light-hearted manner, using phrases like 'no-baby-drug' and 'free love formula', to present a hopeful future filled with possibilities regarding the use of contraception.[147] Despite this, Gorer's examination of sex showed the women of the 50s holding themselves to a double standard, with 8% of women and 2% of men believing pre-marital sex was degrading to the woman.[148] Similarly, women were still wary of the idea of contraception, associating it with prostitution and believing that their status would be lowered to a prostitute if used. [149] Regardless, Montagu likened the creation of the pill to the 'discovery of fire',[150] presenting it as changing the structure of society, whilst Cook believes that contraception in general, was only 'a

[143] Cartledge, ibid.
[144] Collins, *Modern Love,* p. 135.
[145] Hall, 'Hidden Anxieties', p. 170.
[146] Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution*, p. 275.
[147] Cook, p. 278.
[148] Geoffrey Gorer, 'Ideas about Sex', *Exploring English Character* (London: The Cresset Press, 1955), p. 96.
[149] Cartledge and Ryan (eds.), 'Sex and Love', p. 13.
[150] Ashley, Montagu. 'The Pill, the Sexual Revolution, and the Schools.' *The Phi Delta Kappan,* 49: 9 (1968), pp. 480.

minor component of sexual change'[151]. Despite discussing the same concept, Montagu's claims perpetuate the common view of the 60s, by providing a first-hand perspective on why the sexual revolution was not a complete myth. Yet it lacks the commentary of Cook who had a different awareness towards contraception, from seeing how it evolved from the 60s to the 2000s. Supporting this with 75% of women who had used the pill by 1989, suggesting its impact evolved over a greater period.[152] Thus undermining Montagu and the idea that the pill was key in causing the sexual revolution, as its impact was seen further down the line.

Nevertheless, women struggled to receive contraceptives during the 60s, supporting Cook's claim, that complete accessibility to the pill occurred only in 1969, nearing the end of the sexual revolution.[153] This was due to GPs 'colonizing and controlling the female sex in the bodies and minds of their patients', by withholding access to the pill.[154] As they believed it was medically immoral to inhibit life and encourage permissiveness by giving non-married couples the chance to copulate. However, if they were married, they had access through a clinic or an NHS prescription.[155] Therefore the avoidance of pregnancy was difficult, as the 60s held permissive views partnered with pro-marriage ideologies, two concepts that gave women a limited amount of freedom and did not allow them to take full advantage of the pill.[156] Thatcher's return to family values in the 80s resumed this restrictive thought as she believed moral deterioration was occurring due to a permissive society.[157] The rise of single-parent families and births outside of marriage confirmed to Thatcher that the sanctimonious act of marriage should be under state control.[158] Therefore, the hopeful future that the 50s population had expected from the creation of contraception was inhibited due to limited access and stigma. This undermined the concept of the sexual revolution,

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151 Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution*, p. 280.
152Cook, p. 281.
153 Pat Thane, *Divided kingdom: a history of Britain, 1900 to the present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 285.
154 Hall, 'Hidden Anxieties', p. 5.
155 Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution*, p. 279.
156 Cartledge and Ryan (eds.), 'Sex and Love', p. 4.
157 Thane, *Divided kingdom*, p. 338.
158 Thane, pp. 383-386.

as women's access to contraceptive practises had not evolved from the 50s, due to restrictive legislation, a difficulty homosexuals also faced.

The 60s failed to revolutionise attitudes towards homosexuality, with weak attempts at reform proving that the supposed revolution did not apply to same-sex relationships. The 50s were known for being a time of 'repression and conservatism',[159] for instance homosexuality was seen as deviant, especially between men, as it compromised their 'traditional manliness'.[160] Homosexuality between schoolboys were also punished as reports of expulsions due to homosexual offences increased. However, public schools made the effort to acknowledge that boys sometimes had strong friendships, but this should not be a cause of concern for anything further.[161] The Wolfenden Report of 1957 attempted to understand same-sex relationships by decriminalising sexual behaviour that occurred in private. Yet penalties for public displays of affection were heavily increased, this emphasised the idea that self-restraint should be practised between homosexuals, as the public would disapprove.[162]

The 60s pushed a narrative of pleasure, believing that 'anything went'.[163] This was seen with the acceptance of sex between 'men with men and women with women'[164], subverting the idea that sex had to be with the intent of conceiving, thus giving value to homosexual relationships, that made it anatomically impossible to have children. Regardless of this attempt of unity, legislation in the 60s mimicked the 50s, in which weak attempts were made to reform. The 1967 Sexual Offences Act exposed how limited reform was, with sex between men legal if they were consenting adults over the age of 21, if the act was in private, and they were not part of the military or navy.[165] This feeling of neglect for homosexuals during the 60s created a different concept of what it meant to be gay in the 70s, with Anan stating that homosexuality adapted to

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159 Cartledge and Ryan (eds.), 'Sex and Love', p. 184.
160 Collins, *Modern Love,* p. 148.
161Anan, 'The Cult of Homosexuality in England', p. 198.
162 Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution*, pp. 282-283.
163 Gavin, Ewart and Michael, Foreman. 'The Sexual Revolution Continued', *Ambit* 48 (1971), p. 38.
164 Gavin. p. 39.
165 Lucy, Robinson, 'Reporting Change: Law Reform, Homosexual Identity and the Role of Counter-Culture.' *'In Gay Men and the Left in Post-War Britain: How the Personal Got Political' (*Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 35.

society, seen with new gays demanding that they should be 'acknowledged as homosexuals', not deviants.[166] A large contrast to the older gay community that tried to assimilate with the Thatcher era.[167] However, Anan's conclusions fail to consider why homosexuals had to constantly adapt to a changing society, as the impact of the 60s Sexual Revolution focused on its influence on men and women. Presenting how homosexuality was ignored, especially after the 60s, which went as far as enforcing legislation, as seen with Section 28 of the Local Government Act in 1988. Although, never enforced due to public outcry, this went on to hold same-sex relationships at arm's length, as it aimed to ban all publishing's of homosexual acts, by viewing it as a promotion of deviancy and illustrating how the sexual revolution of the 60s was a myth for homosexuals, as they became tolerated but never integrated within society.[168]

To summarise, the Sexual Revolution of the 60s was not completely a myth as it initiated a change towards sexual attitudes and behaviours. Out of the three groups discussed (men, women, and homosexuals) homosexuals were the ones to experience the myth of the revolution. Women suffered both positives and negatives, with their sexual emancipation undermined by a lack of control over their bodies. Men profited off this with the normalisation of sexually graphic media and contraception. However, to argue this era was revolutionary would be ignoring the progressive developments of the 50s, and reversal of the system back to Thatcher's period of conservatism. Therefore, it can be argued that the Sexual Revolution was more an evolution rather than a revolution, with discussions on changing sexual attitudes continuing within the 21st century.

[166] Anan, 'The Cult of Homosexuality in England', pp. 189-202.
[167] Anan, p.202.
[168] Thane, Divided kingdom, pp. 338-339.

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QUEEN MARY HISTORY JOURNAL

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SPRING 2022 . VOLUME 12 . ISSUE 2
ISSN: 2633 - 6529