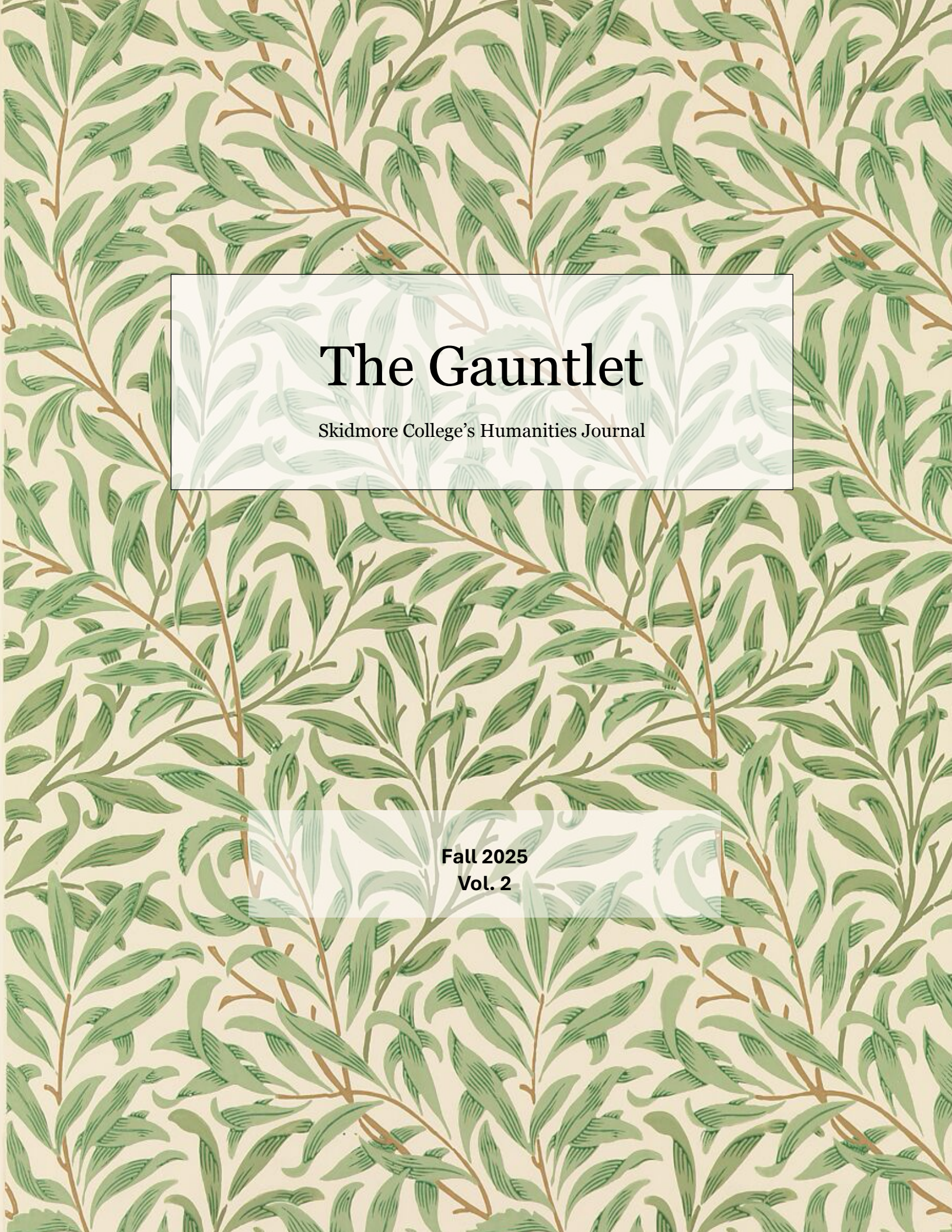




The Gauntlet

Skidmore College's Humanities Journal

Fall 2025
Vol. 2

Table of Contents

FALL OF ROME FINAL PAPER	3
THE SILENT SACRIFICE: NATIVE AMERICANS IN VIETNAM, AND THE LASTING IMPACT OF THE WAR	2
REBELS WITH A CAUSE: THE PUNK AND FAR-RIGHT CONSERVATISM PORTRAYED BY NIKKI LEE	15
AN ISLAND, THE SEA, AND ITS PEOPLE: THE IMPACT OF OYSTERS ON STATEN ISLAND'S HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT	27
ANCIENT HATRED IS AHISTORICAL	15
SHADES OF AMOR IN CATULLAN POETRY: THE OBSESSIVE, THE TRANSCENDENT, AND THE EVER VOLATILE IN-BETWEEN	24

Fall of Rome Final Paper

Sabeena Ali

Professor Randolph Ford

Fall of Rome

May 3, 2024

Rome's power over Gaul had shifted because of several political and cultural interactions with the region from the beginning to the end of the empire. Starting from the Second and Third centuries BCE, Rome had interacted with the region and conquered it in 58 BCE. In the beginning of the Roman Empire, Rome's power over Gaul was stable. However, due to the Third century crisis and during the Fifth century CE Rome's power over the region declined. Furthermore, Rome's politics and interactions shifted with the province; its power declined over Gaul from being a dominant power to a lesser one.

Before the conquest of Gaul by Caesar, there were little interactions with Gaul. However, during the Roman Republic, the interactions with Gaul had changed, and Rome was a more dominant force in Gaul. Military interactions with southern Gaul can be traced back to the Second or Third centuries BCE, however they were minor interactions so the Romans could campaign elsewhere like in Spain. Near the end of the Second century, there were more major campaigns to protect Italy from migrations. In the First century BCE, there were colonies and provinces founded in Gaul by the Romans and "sporadic warfare" in Gaul before Caesar's campaigns and conquest of Gaul in the 50's BCE. Before the conquest of Gaul, little was known about the Gaul or its society. The Romans thought of them as inferior and foreign, "thoroughly warlike and untamed folk."¹ The Romans often had stereotypes of Gauls and their society as being secondary to them. Gaul society was mainly agricultural and had few cities before its conquest. During Caesar's campaigns in Gaul and after his conquest, the Romans knew more about their society and culture. By this time, the Romanization of Gaul was underway. In the Second and Third centuries BCE, there were little military interactions with Gaul. However, towards the end of the Republic, Rome had conquered Gaul and was the dominant power. There

were many cultural and military interactions as the Romans had direct contact by learning more about their society with them while conquering them.

During the First and Second centuries CE, Roman control was stable because of the Romanization of Gaul. After the conquest of Gaul, Roman control over Gaul was stable, so there were little military interactions but more cultural interactions. At the start of Augustus's reign, Gaul was formally made into Roman provinces. During the Roman Empire, the Romanization of Gaul started. Romanization was a form of imperialism that the Romans used to "civilize" the Gauls by introducing them to their culture and society. Examples of Romanization of Gaul included the creation of Roman towns, cities, roads, etc in Gaul. Other examples of Romanization were the spread of Roman literature and art in Gaul and also the spread of Latin. In the process of Romanization of Gaul, Augustus had split Gaul into three provinces and began the urbanizing process. Each of these provinces had a capital and subdivision in a Roman style. Most of the urban centers of Gaul were in the south and some of these centers were "civitas-capital and received Latin rights."² In the Romanization of Gaul, there was the question of full Roman citizenship for Gaul. By 212 CE, full Roman citizenship was granted to all inhabitants of the Empire. Thus, in the First and Second centuries CE, Roman interactions consisted of Romanizing Gaul and introducing Gaul to a "more civilized society".

During the First and Second centuries CE, Roman control was stable because of the Romanization of Gaul. However, in the Third century CE, there was a crisis that almost destroyed the Empire. In this century, there were less cultural interactions as the Romans were fighting new "barbarian" groups that appeared in the Gaul. The Third century crisis was instability within the empire and invasions from "barbarian" groups and wars fought with the Persian empire. During this time, some groups like the Goths, Franks, and Alemanni appeared in

Gaul. The Alemanni moved into the Agri Decumates region and were divided among many kings. The Franks were of multiple tribes of Franks and were along the lower Rhine. The Alamanni and the Franks served in the Roman military as Roman military officers with the Franks replacing the Alemanni, so they knew how the Roman military worked.

In the middle of the Third century, there were many “barbarian” invasions from the Goths, the Franks, and the Alemanni. By this time the Goths had begun invasions against the Empire by land and sea. The Romans could not hold back the Goths because of how weak the military was, the Empire focusing the eastern half of the Empire and trying to fight off the Persian Empire, and other problems within the Empire such as the plague and political instability. The military was weak because of the Romans holding on to old Roman strategies, larger and stronger armies, and being too close to the emperor. Because of this crisis, the Empire was split into three divisions: the Gallic Empire, the Central Empire, and the Palmyrene Empire from 260-274 CE, with multiple emperors having a claim to the Empire. However, emperor Aurelian who ruled from 270-275 CE, retook the Palmyrene Empire in 273 CE and the Western Empire in 274 CE. With Aurelian taking back most of the Empire, the Empire was relatively restored in 275 CE. Under Diocletian who ruled from 282-305 CE, he had created a tetrarchy, 2 Augusti and 2 Caesars, each ruling a part of the Empire and bringing stability to the Empire.³

Compared to the First and Second centuries CE, the Third century showed how weak Rome had become. Because of how weak the empire was in the Third century, Rome’s power over Gaul had declined. In the First and Second centuries CE, Rome’s power over Gaul was relatively stable enough that they were able to “Romanize” Gaul and be a dominant power over Gaul. However, in the Third century, because of the rise of new groups such as the Franks, the Alemanni, and the Goths in the west, the Romans could not hold back those groups for various

reasons such as weak military, invasions, political instability, etc. Their interactions had shifted from cultural to military and had changed from Rome being a dominated power to being a lesser power trying to hold on to their Empire. For Gaul, it shifted from an “uncivilized society” that was conquered to multiple groups with stronger armies and fighting against the Romans. However, in the later Third century its interactions had changed again, as Rome was able to get the Empire restored again and have power over Gaul.

In the Fourth century CE, Rome’s power was stable over Gaul as the Empire was restored under Aurelian and Diocletian. However, instead of trying to “Romanize” Gaul like in the first and second centuries, Rome tried to keep their power over Gaul during the Fourth century CE. In the latter half of the Fourth century CE, new “barbarian” groups started to appear. Around 376 CE, a nomadic group called the Huns had appeared and during this time groups called the Tervingi and Grethungi Goths had settled near Gaul. The Huns began a series of invasions in the western half of the empire and because of this the Tervingi Goths wanted to settle in the Empire for safety. Hundreds of Tervingi Goths entered the Empire, but Rome lacked manpower and resources to handle that many people entering the Empire. While Rome was fighting with Persia, there was not enough land for the Goths, so they had revolted against the Romans and the battle of Adrianople in 378 CE took place with the emperor Valens dying in that battle. In 382 CE, Theodosius the Great who ruled from 379-395 CE made a treaty with the Goths in 382 CE that gave land for farming south of the Danube and self-governance within the Empire.⁴

In the 390s, the Goths that lived in the empire were now called the Visigoths and were ruled by Alaric who was king among the Visigoths. During this time, Alaric began invasions in Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece. In 406 CE, the Vandals, Alans, and the Suevi had crossed the Rhine. In 410 CE, Alaric had invaded Italy and sacked Rome for three days. After the Visigoth

sack of Rome, Rome kept trying to keep the empire together. By 425 CE, Rome had lost Britain, the Visigoths had power over Gaul now, and the Vandals, Alans, and the Suevi in control of Spain. The only places that Rome had control over during this time were North Africa and Italy. In 429 CE, the Vandals had crossed into Africa and signed a treaty in 435 CE giving them North African provinces in 439 CE, the Vandals had invaded Carthage and other rich provinces and by 442 CE, North Africa had fallen to the Vandals. There were several attempts from Constantinople to get back to North Africa, but those failed, and in 455 CE the Vandals had sacked Rome for fourteen days. During this time not only were Constantinople trying to get control of North Africa but also trying to control what was happening in the western half of the Empire and trying to keep the empire together. During this time the Visigoths, the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Vandals were also gaining power and expansion. By the late Fifth century and into the Sixth century, these groups had established their own kingdoms, the Visigoths in Spain, the Franks and the Burgundians in Gaul, and the Ostrogoths in Italy. By this time, Rome had relatively no power, and these groups had established.⁵ During this time, Rome's military interactions had shifted from going on the offense to trying to defend and keep its border and new groups like the Visigoths gaining new power and expanding and establishing new kingdoms.

Over the centuries, Rome's power over Gaul had shifted and its interactions, political and cultural, had also shifted. After the conquest of Gaul in the 50's BCE Rome's power over Gaul was stable because of the Romanization of Gaul. During the Third century crisis, Rome's power over Gaul had declined because of problems outside and inside the Empire. After the crisis during the Fourth century, Rome kept trying to keep their power and the Empire, however in the Fifth and into the Sixth, the rise of new groups and their rising power had established power in Gaul and other provinces, as Rome lost its power. Rome's military interactions had shifted from

a strong army to a weaker one from the rise of new and stronger groups. Over the centuries, Rome's interactions had shifted from being a dominant power in Gaul to a declining power.

Bibliography

- Haussler, Ralph. "De-Constructing Ethnic Identities: Becoming Roman in Western Cisalpine Gaul?" *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement*, no. 120 (2013): 35–70. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44216738>.
- MacMullen, Ramsay. "Gaul." In *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*, 85–123. Yale University Press, 2000. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1cc2kx2.8>.
- J. Raleigh Nelson. "Dramatic Incidents in the Conquest of Gaul." *The School Review* 4, no. 8 (1896): 617–24. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1074344>. Underwood, Douglas. "Good Neighbors and Good Walls: Urban Development and Trade Networks in Late Antique South Gaul." In *Urban Interactions: Communication and Competition in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Michael J. Kelly and Michael Burrows, 373–428. Punctum Books, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv19cwdm9.14>
- Walter Goffart. "Rome, Constantinople, and the Barbarians." *The American Historical Review* 86, no. 2 (1981): 275–306. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1857439>.
- Woolf, Greg. "Beyond Romans and Natives." *World Archaeology* 28, no. 3 (1997): 339–50. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/125023>.

The Silent Sacrifice:

Native Americans in Vietnam, and the Lasting Impact of the War

Will Bryce

October 1, 2024

As a child I knew that my grandfather slept in a separate room from my grandmother, on a separate floor of the house, but I never thought to wonder why. I found out the reason as an eight year old on a family vacation. On that trip, I shared a room with my younger brother and grandfather, and his screams during the night woke and terrified us. My grandfather and namesake, William John Bryce, is 85 years old and decades removed from his U.S. Army service in Vietnam, but the scars remain. Over a decade into his retirement my grandfather still wakes frequently with flashbacks and night terrors.

I am a proud Native American of Chippewa heritage through my grandfather. As an enrolled tribal member, I have always wondered why my grandfather was willing to give so much for a nation he did not feel safe revealing his Indigenous identity to until well into adulthood. In this paper I will explore how, and why, Native Americans like him served in disproportionately high numbers during several American wars with a specific focus on Vietnam.

The “Vietnam Generation” of Native Americans enlisted at astonishingly high rates during the conflict due to both poor economic circumstances and the warrior tradition present in many Native cultures. At least 42,000 Native Americans served in Vietnam, a ratio of one in four eligible Native Americans as compared to one in twelve eligible non-Natives.¹ When the call to serve in Vietnam arrived, Native Americans volunteered en masse, in spite of the tragic history between their tribes and the U.S. military. Despite referring to it as a “white man’s war,” Native Americans in Vietnam fought valiantly, often being given especially dangerous assignments. Although Native Americans typically received a better homecoming after the war than non-Native soldiers, PTSD is rampant among Native veterans of the conflict. Because Native Americans sacrificed so much for a war in which they had so little stake, it is imperative that their sacrifices are neither forgotten, nor misunderstood.

¹ National Museum of the American Indian, “Vietnam.”

Despite only making up 0.6% of the U.S. population, the smallest minority group in the country at the time, Native Americans served at a higher rate than any other ethnic or racial group during the Vietnam War.² Native Americans in Vietnam essentially enlisted at a rate three times higher than non-Natives. Native American participation during Vietnam is already impressive given the commonly accepted count of 42,000 soldiers, but the actual count of Natives involved in the conflict was likely even higher. Native Americans who served in Vietnam recall being listed as everything from Mongolian, to Caucasian, to “other.”³ It is also likely that many soldiers listed as Hispanic were in fact enrolled tribal members. Even considering the fact that a wholly accurate count of how many Native Americans participated in the conflict is unlikely to be confirmed, their miniscule population compared to their participation rate represents a tremendous contribution to the war effort. Their impressive rate of service is not limited to the Vietnam conflict either, with Native Americans having a higher percentage of honorable discharges than any other ethnic or racial group in U.S. military history.⁴

Native soldiers' mass participation is even more notable considering their tragic and tumultuous relationship to the U.S. armed forces. Native warriors in the American military were not ignorant of the fact that they were serving an institution which had been used to devastate their people. An unnamed Native American soldier recalled his service as follows:

I went to Vietnam, was wounded twice and won the Silver Star, not because I have any particular loyalty to the United States, but because I have loyalty to my own people, my own tradition. We are pledged by a treaty to provide military assistance to the U.S. in

² John A. Little, “Between Cultures: Sioux Warriors and the Vietnam War,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (2015): 357.

³ Tom Holm, “Forgotten Warriors: American Indian Servicemen in Vietnam,” *A White Man’s War: Race Issues and Vietnam* 1, no. 2 (1989): 58.

⁴ Kathleen Roberts and Molefi Asante, “War, Masculinity, and Native Americans,” in *Global Masculinities and Manhood*, ed. Ronald Jackson and Murali Balaji (University of Illinois Press, 2011): 141.

times of war. I know that the U.S. has broken its part of the bargain with us, but we are more honorable than that.⁵

In addition to needing to forgive prior sins of the U.S. to effectively serve within its armed forces, Native soldiers sometimes had negative experiences with the military within their own lives. In South Dakota the Pine Ridge reservation had 1 / 3 of its territory cordoned off by barbed wire after the U.S. placed live landmines during training exercises in the Second World War.⁶ Native American veterans in the Vietnam Generation were clearly willing to put aside any ill-feelings toward the U.S. military in order to serve in such large numbers.

The high rate of enlistment by Native veterans required intense motivating factors to lead so many young men, like my grandfather, to join the conflict. The experiences of growing up as Native Americans in the Vietnam Generation served as perfect catalysts to lead men into military service. First and foremost, Native Americans who fought in Vietnam were raised by those who served in World War II—a point of pride across Native communities. Their service in this war led to a noticeable shift in the American public’s view towards them. The hard work and sacrifice of Native Americans in the war starkly countered the popular stereotype of the drunk and lazy Native. Hollywood, with its immense power to create stereotypes and influence American culture, shifted the role of Native Americans in its Westerns as a result of the war.⁷ Prior to World War II, Natives in Westerns typically served as obstacles to the protagonists, and robbed and raped innocent white townspeople. However, a new role for Native Americans in film emerged as the helpful sidekick after the war. New Westerns would commonly feature an Indian sidekick, eager to help the white protagonist in his quest against evil, just as he had during

⁵ Tom Holm, “Strong Hearts, Wounded Souls: An Excerpt: Chapter 4: A Legacy of War: The American Indian Vietnam Generation,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 11, no. 2 (1995): 10.

⁶ Roberts and Asante, “War, Masculinity, and Native Americans,” 143.

⁷ Holm, “Forgotten Warriors,” 56.

their time in the military.⁸ The Native youth of the Vietnam generation undoubtedly saw their parents as heroes, and likely believed the war led to an increase in status and reputation for Native Americans across the U.S.

The idolization of their elders had a noticeable impact on Native American service rates. From 1985 to 1988 a study was conducted involving 170 Native American Vietnam veterans from seventy-seven tribes. In the study, which will be referenced regularly throughout this essay, 51% of the veterans stated that family tradition was a very important factor in leading them to serve.⁹ A further 24% agreed that family tradition was of some importance to their decision to serve.¹⁰ Offering a firsthand account of the reasoning for his service, Leonard R. Brugier, a Yankton Sioux veteran who served multiple tours between 1964 and 1970 stated: “Well, it has always been a tradition that ... Indians serve in the service. It’s a family tradition.”¹¹ Rosebud Sioux tribal member and Vietnam enlistee Robert L. Stands claimed that his grandfather fought against Custer, which led to Stands’ belief that the service of prior generations directly influenced Native American youth to enlist for Vietnam.¹² It is readily apparent that family tradition played a large part in many Native Americans' decision to enlist. My great-grandfather’s service in the Second World War certainly played a role in my grandfather’s decision to enlist in Vietnam.

Native Americans growing up during the Vietnam Generation often suffered from either poverty or a lack of identity, with many struggling with both. Native Americans were urbanized incredibly quickly after the Second World War, leading to two distinct groups of Native youth in America during the Vietnam era. Those who grew up on reservations had known poverty and a

⁸ Holm, “Forgotten Warriors”, 56-57.

⁹ Holm, “Forgotten Warriors,” 58.

¹⁰ Holm, “Forgotten Warriors,” 58.

¹¹ Little, “Between Cultures,” 360.

¹² Little, “Between Cultures,” 360.

lack of opportunity throughout their lives, while those raised in urban areas, like my grandfather, may have had access to more opportunities, but often struggled with poverty as well. Urban Indians also struggled with a lack of identity, as they had been stripped of many elements of their culture in their move away from their communities.¹³ In the same study of 170 Native American Vietnam veterans, several veterans said that there was an expectation for them as young men to leave their communities between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five.¹⁴ Young Native men were expected to gain experience and skills outside of the community to then bring back and share. Some of the veterans believed this to be a leftover tradition from when virtually every young Native man became a warrior and left to fight and hunt. The military was essentially the only opportunity available to young Native men on reservations who felt pressured by this tradition. Looking at a lifetime of menial labor ahead of him, with no ability to further his education, the financial opportunities the military offered my grandfather were simply irresistible.

Urban Indians, while sometimes enlisting for financial gain, often cited reasoning that pertained to finding their identity. In a study on Sioux Vietnam veterans, for example, many reported being ashamed of being Native American, constantly encountering negative stereotypes. The opportunity to serve allowed these young men to find strength in their heritage, and to reconnect themselves with traditional values.¹⁵ In the study of 170 veterans, there was a universal distaste for the education they received (or the lack thereof).¹⁶ Whether impoverished on a reservation, or facing a lifetime of manual labor as an urban Indian, joining the military would be an attractive opportunity for change and self-realization.

¹³ Tom Holm, "PTSD in Native American Vietnam Veterans: A Reassessment," *Wicazo Sa Review* 11, no.2 (1995): 85.

¹⁴ Holm, "Forgotten Warriors," 59.

¹⁵ Little, "Between Cultures," 361.

¹⁶ Holm, "Strong Hearts," 6.

Warrior tradition also played a monumental role in leading Native Americans to enlist. Across many Native cultures and societies in America, warriorhood is an essential aspect of masculinity, and is a tremendous honor. In some Native cultures, veterans exist in the highest social class one can obtain. For some tribes, such as the Cheyenne, Chippewa, and Sioux, veterans earn special rights in ceremonies. For example, a veteran must recount a war story before a ceremony can begin. If an eagle feather is dropped at a pow-wow in these cultures, only a veteran can pick it up.¹⁷ Tom Holm, a Cherokee Vietnam veteran and historian, argues that warriorhood to Native Americans is neither a social role nor a profession, it is a relationship to the community.¹⁸ To be a warrior means that the young man is capable of caring for and protecting his community, and he is revered within the community for this service. In the same study of 170 Native veterans, 43.5% said that tribal tradition was a very important factor leading them to enlist, with a further 31% stating that tribal tradition played some role in their decision to go to war.¹⁹ Some of the members of the study reported that they were singled out specifically within their families to become warriors by their respective maternal grandfathers.²⁰ This points to the fact that the young and old alike upheld these warrior traditions. As Robert L. Stands stated rather pointedly, “well, us Indian people ... we’re not really concerned about the political aspects of why we’re over there in Vietnam and more or less then [sic] concerned about playing the warrior image of being over there.”²¹ There is clear evidence that Native Americans were deeply influenced by warrior ideals in their societies, even to the point of ignoring the politics of the wars in which they fought.

¹⁷ Holm, “Forgotten Warriors,” 61.

¹⁸ Holm, “PTSD,” 84.

¹⁹ Holm, “Forgotten Warriors,” 58.

²⁰ Holm, *Strong Hearts*, 10.

²¹ Little, “Between Cultures,” 360.

These traditions would play a large role in preparing soldiers for war. Commonly, soldiers would participate in special ceremonies before going off to fight. These traditional rituals have likely been carried out for centuries within their respective tribes. Sioux Vietnam veterans, for example, often held ceremonies before going away where the soldiers were given medicines and charms for their protection, and received a new name to signify their transition to becoming warriors.²² With all of the bravado surrounding warrior ceremonies, and given the highly respected status of warriors within Native communities, it is clear why young, likely disillusioned Native men would agree to go off and fight.

While at war, Native Americans were subject to especially brutal conditions, both circumstantially and by design. Native American veterans on average saw much more combat than non-Native troops simply due to where they were positioned in the military. The study of 170 Native veterans explored their experiences during the war, with the veterans being asked about their profession and combat experience. Of the 170 Native Americans interviewed, over 41% served in infantry units, with a further 8% serving in airborne combat roles.²³ While some volunteered for front-line service to fulfill their desires of becoming a warrior, many were assigned to the infantry due to poor test scores.²⁴ In fact, studies indicate that the poorest economic class of soldiers was twice as likely to see combat as middle and upper-class soldiers.²⁵ With nearly half of the Native veterans who were interviewed being in direct combat roles, it is unsurprising that as a group they experienced heavy combat. When asked to categorize their experience with combat from “heavy” to “none,” 36.5% of the veterans in the study of 170 reported seeing heavy combat. A further 27% reported experiencing moderate combat.²⁶ Native

²² Little, “Between Cultures,” 361.

²³ Holm, “Forgotten Warriors,” 63.

²⁴ Holm, “Forgotten Warriors,” 61.

²⁵ Holm, “Forgotten Warriors,” 61.

²⁶ Holm, “Forgotten Warriors,” 64.

Americans during Vietnam were often given especially dangerous assignments due to inaccurate and racist stereotypes.

While there is little actual data that has been collected on the subject, Native Americans report being forced to lead their patrols (known as “walking point”) much more than their non-Native comrades. Kathleen Roberts, a professor at Duquesne University who has previously written about the myth of the ‘noble savage’, asserts that Anglo commanders held on to false stereotypes of Indians being natural woodsmen and trackers, and therefore asked Native soldiers to walk point or serve in reconnaissance missions more often.²⁷ Assignments based on these incorrect and outdated stereotypes could almost be laughable if not for the devastating impact it had on the Native soldiers forced into these dangerous roles.

Native Americans had a markedly different experience with their homecoming compared to non-Native soldiers. Unlike the Second World War, it was not uncommon for soldiers returning from Vietnam to be treated almost as traitors rather than heroes. Many in the American public saw Vietnam veterans as reminders of an unjust and brutal conflict. Others saw them as reminders of an American defeat. The horrific treatment experienced by soldiers returning from the hellish jungle combat of Vietnam has become almost notorious in U.S. history, with many mentions in film and pop culture over the following decades.

Native American Vietnam veterans largely avoided this negative reception due to their communities. As Sioux veteran Thomas L. Roubideaux recalls about his homecoming, “[E]verytime I came home, I was honored. ... I’d make it through the hippies [sic] and everybody else [and] get to South Dakota and it was just like you’re coming into a veil. ... Then folks would come over and shake hands and treat you well.”²⁸ As Roubideaux clearly portrays,

²⁷ Roberts and Asante “War, Masculinity, and Native Americans,” 143.

²⁸ Little, “Between Cultures,” 369.

there was an immediate and obvious difference in the treatment he received from his community and from non-Natives. Another unnamed Native veteran recalled something similar: “We fought a white man’s war, you know, and the first thing that happens when I get back is that some white kid, a girl, at the LA airport spits on me.”²⁹ The respect given from Native communities to their warriors starkly contrasted with the typical attitude experienced by Vietnam veterans throughout America.

Despite usually receiving a much more pleasant homecoming than their non-Native comrades, Native American Vietnam veterans experienced PTSD at a horrific rate. The survey group of 170 Native veterans reported that 80% of those who served experienced bouts of depression, and 77% suffered from sleep issues.³⁰ Seventy-one percent demonstrated uncontrollable anger or rage, and 63% experienced flashbacks.³¹ Many also reported suffering from substance abuse issues in an effort to cope with their experiences. Eighty percent of the survey group admitted to drinking heavily, while 32% admitted to using harder drugs such as cocaine.³² In addition to their experiences in heavy combat, Native Americans experienced PTSD at such high rates due to how disconnected the nature of warfare was in Vietnam from Native American warriorhood. American soldiers in Vietnam weren’t protecting their home communities, nor were they fighting righteously against a clear enemy of their tribes. U.S. soldiers in Vietnam served an impersonal, monolithic, industrialized military. There was, and still is, an emphasis on stripping away any shred of individuality during basic training. All of these factors led many Natives to become disillusioned and to lose the ideals of warriorhood they

²⁹ Holm, “Forgotten Warriors,” 65.

³⁰ Little, “Between Cultures,” 370.

³¹ Little, “Between Cultures,” 370.

³² Little, “Between Cultures,” 370.

enlisted for in the first place.³³ While never turning to alcohol or drugs, I see my grandfather reflected in these statistics, suffering from flashbacks and night terrors throughout his life.

Native ceremonies and traditions played a monumental role in addressing and healing this trauma experienced by a majority of Native Vietnam veterans. Just as there were important ceremonies held for warriors before they left for combat, communities held ceremonies for their returning warriors. In these ceremonies, Native soldiers could be stripped of any sins or wrongdoing they committed while at war. As Kathleen Roberts writes, “While Native Americans do not ignore the potentially horrific effects of battle, they are more likely to assist returning soldiers in reframing the experience as the acquisition of wisdom.”³⁴ Native Americans, often having their culture intimately connected to warfare for centuries, were much more willing and able to accept and treat PTSD symptoms than non-Natives after Vietnam. Tom Holm, a Cherokee author who served in the Marines during Vietnam, lays out a clear example of Native acceptance of trauma from warfare. He states that age acceleration from combat is treated positively by Native cultures, in contrast to other cultures.³⁵

While it was obvious to every culture that has participated in war that their soldiers aged prematurely, or “lost innocence,” Native Americans were one of the only cultures to celebrate this as the gaining of wisdom. Simply shifting the perspective to one where something is gained rather than lost could be enough to shift a soldier's outlook on their experiences. Directly speaking about the importance of Native ceremonies in healing from PTSD, the study group of 170 veterans stated that there was a high correlation between working through PTSD symptoms and participation in tribal or community ceremonies. Several of the veterans from this group stated very specifically that these ceremonies had saved them from either committing suicide or

³³ Holm, “PTSD,” 84.

³⁴ Roberts and Asante, “War, Masculinity, and Native Americans,” 149.

³⁵ Holm, “PTSD,” 85.

drinking themselves to death.³⁶ The importance of Native culture in healing from wartime trauma cannot be understated for Native American veterans.

Native Americans, like my grandfather, gave far too much during the Vietnam war to be forgotten when remembering the conflict. The mass participation of Native Americans during Vietnam paints a clear picture of a kind of participation and cooperation within the United States that many fail to acknowledge entirely. The myth that Native history after colonization is marked solely by resistance to the U.S. crumbles very quickly when their extensive cooperation with the U.S. military is examined. Whether inspired by their elders, driven by poverty and a lack of opportunity, or called by the desire to become a warrior, Native Americans enlisted at a higher rate than any other ethnic group during the war, and were decimated by PTSD in exchange for their service. The experiences of Native American soldiers in the U.S. military during and after the Vietnam war can be used to illuminate Native Americans' complex place within American society in the 1960s and 70s.

I saw my grandfather's story reflected in the lives of dozens of Native Americans I examined while researching this paper. He grew up as an urban Indian, with his father leaving the reservation in Michigan after his service in WWII. Through a combination of being inspired by my great-grandfather's service in the Pacific campaign, as well as due to having very few economic opportunities, my grandfather enlisted to serve in Vietnam. He spent fewer than four years in the country, but he brought home with him PTSD that has stuck with him for more than sixty years. He still suffers from flashbacks and night terrors at over eighty-five years old from experiences he had in his twenties. Despite his trauma from Vietnam, he went on to serve for twenty-two more years in the Army, followed by an additional two-decade career at the post office. Retiring with two pensions, my grandfather used the opportunity given to him in Vietnam

³⁶ Holm, "PTSD," 84.

to lift himself above the poverty line. His hard work and sacrifice in Vietnam, and in his career following the war, is the reason I am fortunate enough to attend higher education today.

Bibliography

Holm, Tom. "Forgotten Warriors: American Indian Servicemen in Vietnam." *A White Man's*

War: Race Issues and Vietnam 1, no. 2 (1989): 56–68.

Holm, Tom. "PTSD in Native American Vietnam Veterans: A Reassessment." *Wicazo Sa Review*

11, no. 2 (1995): 83–86. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1409105>.

Holm, Tom. "Strong Hearts, Wounded Souls: An Excerpt from Chapter 4, 'A Legacy of War:

The American Indian Vietnam Generation.'" *Wicazo Sa Review* 11, no. 2 (1995): 2–15.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/1409092>.

Little, John A. "Between Cultures: Sioux Warriors and the Vietnam War." *Great Plains*

Quarterly 35, no. 4 (2015): 357–375.

Roberts, Kathleen Glenister, and Molefi K. Asante. "War, Masculinity, and Native Americans."

In *Global Masculinities and Manhood*, edited by Ronald L. Jackson and Murali Balaji,

141–160. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011.

Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian. "Vietnam." Accessed April 12, 2024.

<https://americanindian.si.edu/static/why-we-serve/topics/vietna>

Rebels with a Cause:

The Punk and Far-Right Conservatism Portrayed by Nikki Lee

Andrew Crews

Art History 321: History of Photography

April 4, 2024

What do two images by Nikki Lee in the Tang Museum's collection have in common? They both show two subcultures that find unity in aggression. Lee's *The Ohio Project (7)* (1999) and *The Punk Project (1)* (1997) work as part of a larger series of photographs called *Projects* where from 1997 to 2001¹ Lee immersed herself in several social groups and took pictures of her time in the social groups.² These pictures do not merely capture a one day event, but instead, showcase experiences that would take weeks to months of assimilation.³ For each series of photos, Lee aimed to change her appearance and traits to accurately immerse herself in each subculture.⁴ She would adjust her dress, hairstyle, makeup, and mannerisms to become one with each group, a self-created character who has adopted another culture. The people in the photos are true members of the groups, whereas she is the interloper. A passerby or a member of the crew would take the pictures, which made Lee both a subject and the artist. Although Lee created several pictures for both *The Punk Project* and *The Ohio Project*, this essay will only be discussing: *The Ohio Project (7)* and *The Punk Project (1)*. These two images are especially interesting because of their inherent tension with authority. In this paper I will argue that these photos demonstrate how these two anti-establishment groups show their fight against societal rules and display both social protest and subcultural resistance.

Generally, scholarship on Lee has focused on her inclusion in these various social groups, the process of her assimilating to said subcultures and how her work demonstrates a chameleon-

¹ Cherise Smith, *Enacting Others : Politics of Identity in Eleanor Antin, Nikki S. Lee, Adrian Piper, and Anna Deavere Smith / Cherise Smith*, (2011) 189.

² Jennifer Dalton, "Look at Me: Self-Portrait Photography after Cindy Sherman," *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* 22, no. 3 (2000): 47.

³ Jane Harris, "Nikki S. Lee: When in Rome," *Artext* no. 77 Summer (2002), 44.

⁴ Hyun Joo Lee, "A Passage to the Undercommons: Virtual Formation of Identity in Nikki S. Lee's Self-Transformative Performance," *Cultural Critique* 104, (2019), 72.

effect in street photography. My argument, however, will target how two dissident groups express their group pride. Much research concentrates on Lee's *Projects* series as a whole. Instead, I closely examine, visually analyze, and theorize about only on these two images and, therefore, demonstrate more targeted research.

The Ohio Project (7)

Lee sits on the arm of a leather reclining chair looking at the camera. She wears bright



pink shorts and a white tube top with bright pink trim and thin pastel lines that wrap around the garment horizontally. Her hair, dyed blonde, feathers out in a way that is reminiscent of Farrah Fawcett. Across her head sits a blue and white striped headband. She has applied her makeup simply with just black eyeliner on her bottom eyelid. In the seat rests a white man with brown hair and a beard in a white T-shirt, jeans, and brown boots. He holds in his hands a rifle pointing to a

Confederate flag with the phrase "I AIN'T COMING DOWN"

emphatically emblazoned on it. The two sit in a corner of a room with a distinct '80s interior style of flowery wallpaper, light pink drapes, and a rosy runner over a two layered wooden coffee table. The coffee table has two open green soft drinks, an open bag of chips, a thick book, a small lamp with a blue shade, a topaz-colored semi-transparent ashtray, and a black remote control. On the bottom left corner, imprinted vertically, the digital camera has produced the date Lee took the picture: "8 18 '99." The viewer can infer from the timestamp the physical sensation of the oppressive heat of late August. Lee's tube top and shorts as well as the man's t-shirt and sunburnt skin allude to an awareness of the outside warmth and time spent experiencing it.

A conservative political ideology brazenly displayed in the image appears so prevalent that it almost becomes a third subject. Their Confederate flag stands out from this collection of pastels as a triumphant statement of identity and heritage. In the composition of the photo, everything seems to point to the flag. Lee's title for this picture: *The Ohio Project (7)*, distinguishes itself from *The Punk Project (1)* in that it claims a place as integral to the identity like the importance of the South to the Confederacy. The Confederate flag serves as a representation of the couple's beliefs. Their proud display of the banner implies that they identify with the ideals of the Confederacy, a place—now no longer existent—that represented a past glory of far-right conservatism. Additionally, the man's brandished gun acts as the protectorate of the flag and the racist ideal. White, disenfranchised, conservatives herald the Confederate flag as a relic of a time in which they felt powerful and the viewer can assume that due to the photo's composition, this man agrees with this sentiment.

As Ari Ben Am and Gabriel Weimann illustrate in "Fabricated Martyrs: The Warrior-Saint Icons of Far-Right Terrorism," far-right conservatives, such as the man in this photo, feel under attack and cling to unifying traditions and weapons to declare that they "AIN'T COMING

DOWN.” The Confederacy represents a time of unity for white men, power for white men, and prosperity for white men. These ideals attract white, conservative, impoverished men who feel the growing globalization and diversity in the US threaten their way of life. In many ways they may feel powerless and pushed out of opportunities by minority groups. Through organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, which preach a brotherhood under a perceived white superiority they can feel safe despite economic struggles. And with a gun in the hand of the man they do not need to feel scared again.

This photo illustrates the most radical and outspoken branch of far-right extremists. This social group feeds on what Am and Weimann describe as “strident nationalism (usually racial or exclusivist in some fashion), fascism, racism, anti-Semitism, anti-immigration, chauvinism, nativism, anti-LGBTQ, and xenophobia.”⁵ Lee captures this angst well in *The Ohio Project* (7). The scene appears calm, but there remains an undertone of resentment and antagonism in the photo. The gun laid across them signals that they are not welcoming and the flag signifies that they are not open for change.

Although Lee portrays herself convincingly as a white woman, her Korean ethnicity causes the viewer to wonder how strongly the man holds these racist beliefs if he were to agree to pose with her. Their interracial interactions behind the scenes would act against the beliefs of the Confederacy and alludes to a more complex relationship he may have with far-right values. However, Lee may have chosen to pose with him because of the questions it would garner about this man’s beliefs and then his actions.

⁵ Ari Ben Am, and Gabriel Weimann, “Fabricated Martyrs: The Warrior-Saint Icons of Far-Right Terrorism,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 14, no. 5 2020: 133.

The Punk Project (1)

Six young adults stand by each other on a sidewalk in New York City. They wear black leather jackets with metal stud embellishments, band t-shirts, dark or plaid pants, and midnight-colored combat boots. They have brightly colored hair, and some use hairspray or gel to create towering spikes. Several wear heavy eyeliner and piercings that dot their face. Lee appears as one of the two girls in the group. Displaying her pink hair she leans against a smirking boy with a yellow and green dyed mohawk. The group's ages appear to range from late-teens to mid-twenties. Behind them stands a row of small eateries—with the main one in sight appearing to be a deli advertising bagels and coffee on its white plastic sign and its blue awning. On the left side of the image, two cars stand parked alongside the curb. Closest to the group there is a van painted a beige color with a ladder attached to the top. Alongside one of its front doors the word "Avenue" appears legible, implying the rest of the blue taped letters denote a business that owns the small truck. Parked trailing the first vehicle, emerges the front of a blue van. In the bottom right hand corner of the image a red date reads: "97 2 27" making this picture the only one of the two taken in winter. Trees planted along the sidewalk echo the barrenness with their lack of foliage.



The tension in the image comes from the underlying tenets of the punk subculture: finding unity in rebelling against society. Their eye-catching outfits and the brazen middle finger of the man on the left tell the world around them that they are not to be trifled with. Behind the group, a handful of civilians appear in view, though many visible only as part of a head or face. In Gerfried Ambrosch's article "American Punk: The Relations between Punk Rock, Hardcore, and American Culture" he writes about the differences in American punk and British punk, which he sees as starting around the same time. Two main bands he writes about are the Sex Pistols and the Ramones. He notes that British punk came from a generation growing up in a Britain that had been destroyed by World War II and used punk music as an outlet to express frustration with high unemployment rates and an increasingly conservative government.⁶ On the

⁶ Gerfried Ambrosch, "American Punk: The Relations between Punk Rock, Hardcore, and American Culture," *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 60, no. 2/3, 2015: 217. ⁷ Ambrosch, 215.
The Gauntlet: Fall 2025

other hand, American punk stemmed from a response to an idyllic suburban overconsumption that began in the 1950s. Based on the photo alone, it appears unclear whether or not this group finds its roots in American punk or British punk, but their location in New York—which Ambrosch sees as the origin of American punk⁷—would have influence over some of their group ideals.

Synthesis

The Punk Project (1) group of young adults represents a social group based on music taste and outfit choice as opposed to *The Ohio Project (7)*, whose social group stems from a belief in conservative ideology. Though together, they proudly display their counter-establishment culture. *The Punk Project (1)* demonstrates that across origin and age, this group of young adults has formed to identify with a large subculture of punk. Being punk was a choice they created based on either friendships they formed or music they started listening to. Similarly, in *The Ohio Project (7)* the man chose to express his frustration with the world by seeking to empower his own race at the expense of minorities.

The relationships displayed in *The Ohio Project (7)* and *The Punk Project (1)* work as opposites to each other in that visually one is a monogamous heterosexual relationship and the other appears more like that of a polycule. Conservative values, like those seen in *The Ohio Project (7)*, aim to eradicate homosexuality⁷ and forms of sexual and romantic relationships that they see as perverse. Therefore, although not directly propagandistic, *The Ohio Project (7)*

⁷ Arie Perliger, “Conceptualizing the American Far Right,” *Challengers from the Sidelines: Understanding America’s Violent Far-Right*, Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point, 24-25

demonstrates the visual goal of a heterosexual couple in a domestic space. Whereas *The Punk Project (I)* represents a group with undefined relational boundaries out in an urban space.

The appearance of the timestamp on the photos illustrates not only the time of year, as I have previously mentioned, but it implies an intimacy and candor to the image. These photos were not taken on a professional camera or even by a professional photographer, but instead a cheap disposable camera. In post-production Lee could have easily removed these red numbers, but she kept them to illustrate their relaxed nature. The goal of the photos is not to appear as high art, but as something that could be found in a photo album or scrapbook. If the photos had a more professional appearance they would lose the perceived truthfulness of the photo and the moment. However, at the same time Lee increased their size to create a photo seeming to be worthy of high art appraisal,⁸ which alludes to a belief that a photograph does not need to be high quality to be considered high art. Lee has used this snapshot photography to emphasize a singular moment in each subculture. For *The Punk Project*, she has highlighted their unity as a group and one that finds home in a metropolitan area. In *The Ohio Project*, she spotlights an intimate domestic moment by an emblem of hate, telling the viewer that in their portrait they want to be associated with their political ideals. Lee is not operating as a photographer for these pictures. Rather, she is acting as a member of the group. Since these are not groups dedicated to photography, they would not be using a high quality camera to photograph them. It is more likely that they would use a camera that was most accessible, light, and easy to use.

The Ohio Project and *The Punk Project* pair well together because of the way that they both fight against society. The punks rebel against values of being clean cut, properly dressed, and listeners of polished music. Whereas, far-right conservatives defy the US government they

⁸ Jennifer Dalton, "Look at Me: Self-Portrait Photography after Cindy Sherman," 49
The Gauntlet: Fall 2025

feel is taking their guns, the ideals of a multicultural America, and any values they deem as liberal. These two groups may never interact or even recognize their similarities, but their anger with the world makes them appear unified.

Conclusion

Lee approaches a variety of complex subjects of human life in her *Projects* series. I have chosen these two photos because of the way that they operate as opposites of each other yet display social qualities that can apply to everyone. She takes these deeply human photos that represent a microcosm of American life and demonstrates despite their differences these subjects all look for meaningful relationships. People form groups to feel connected and even if the average viewer does not recognize a relationship between a far-right conservative and a group of young punks they can see how beliefs and friendship act as integral components to their life.

Bibliography

Allison, Amanda. "Identity In Flux: Exploring the Work of Nikki S. Lee." *Art Education* 62 (1) (2009): 25–31. doi:10.2307/27696316.

<https://research.ebsco.com/c/gqml4/viewer/html/7it3ghu5dr?modal=cite>

Am, Ari Ben, and Weimann, Gabriel. "Fabricated Martyrs: The Warrior-Saint Icons of Far-Right Terrorism." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 14, no. 5 (2020): 130–47.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26940043>.

Ambrosch, Gerfried. "American Punk: The Relations between Punk Rock, Hardcore, and American Culture." *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 60, no. 2/3 (2015): 215–33.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/44071906>.

Dalton, Jennifer. "Look at Me: Self-Portrait Photography after Cindy Sherman." *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* 22, no. 3 (2000): 47–56. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3247840>.

DiAngelo, Robin. "Socialization." *Counterpoints* 497 (2016): 27–43.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/45157297>.

Exley, Roy. "Nikki S. Lee: Stephen Friedman Gallery, London." *Parachute*, no. 99 (July) (2000): 59–60. <https://research.ebsco.com/c/gqml4/viewer/html/rm5riztdhj>.

Grello, Catherine M., Welsh, Deborah P., and Harper, Melinda S. "No Strings Attached: The Nature of Casual Sex in College Students." *The Journal of Sex Research* 43, no. 3 (2006): 255–67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20620257>.

Harris, Jane. "Nikki S. Lee: When in Rome." *Artext*, no. 77 (Summer) (2002): 44–47.

<https://research.ebsco.com/c/gqml4/viewer/html/cdnt7z5v5f>

Lee, Hyun Joo. "A Passage to the Undercommons: Virtual Formation of Identity in Nikki S.

Lee's Self-Transformative Performance." *Cultural Critique* 104 (2019): 72–100.

<https://doi.org/10.5749/culturalcritique.104.2019.0072>.

Lyon, Danny. "Nikki S. Lee: Projects." *Aperture*, no. 167 (2002): 6–8.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/24473136>.

Perliger, Arie. "Conceptualizing the American Far Right." *Challengers from the Sidelines: Understanding America's Violent Far-Right*. Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point, 2012. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep05612.5>.

Ribbat, Christoph. "Queer and Straight Photography." *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 46, no. 1 (2001): 27–39. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41157626>.

Schaffner, Ingrid. "Tourist Snaps." *Art on Paper* 3, no. 3 (1999): 39–41.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/24557773>.

Smith, Cherise. *Enacting Others : Politics of Identity in Eleanor Antin, Nikki S. Lee, Adrian Piper, and Anna Deavere Smith / Cherise Smith*. Duke University Press. (2011)
<https://research.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=2cb83cb9-fdf7-3b89-b246-b69265aedede>.

Thomasson, Amie L. "The Ontology of Social Groups." *Synthese* 196, no. 12 (2019): 4829–45.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/45238181>.

Wright, Peter. 2016. "Seeing is Believing. Or is it?: Visual Literacy in Art & Design Education." *Art Libraries Journal* 41 (1) (01): 32-39. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1017/alj.2015.6>.
<https://lib-proxy01.skidmore.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/seeing-is-believing-visual-literacy-art-amp/docview/1798450844/se-2>.

An Island, The Sea, and Its People:
The Impact of Oysters on Staten Island's History and Development

Isabelle Duperval
History 266: American Environmental History
Professor Eric J. Morser
April 25, 2025

Introduction

When thinking of New York City people tend to imagine towering skyscrapers or Wall Street or even overpriced gift shops. What they don't usually think of is Staten Island. Even the residents of Manhattan, Queens, Brooklyn, and the Bronx hardly see Staten Island as belonging to their collective. In many ways it is not just a borough set apart, but its own little world. These differences are due to many factors that leave the island in a state of isolation. For one, Staten Island is separated from Brooklyn and Manhattan by the Upper New York Bay, the only connection points between them are the Verrazano Bridge and the Staten Island ferry. This is in contrast to the many public transportation systems connecting the other boroughs. For another, Staten Island has a much more suburban, and even rural atmosphere. Large stretches of wilderness filled with deer and other wildlife still cover the region. These reasons are combined with the fact that Richmond County, the former name of Staten Island, didn't vote to join NYC until 1898, making it officially the newest edition.

Before we begin to further explore how a specific member of the local wildlife affected the development of Staten Island, we should first examine what exactly the land looked like before European settlement brought about drastic changes. Staten Island is situated within the New York Harbor and was shaped by the same movement of glaciers that carved out Long Island and Manhattan.¹ The environment that developed included vast stretches of dense oak forests and rolling hills, as well as saltwater marshes like what is now known as Saw Mill Creek (which itself was formed by the Wisconsin Glacier 15,000 years ago).² The wildlife that lived on the island included deer, foxes, beavers, rabbits, and even weasels, bears and wolves. The harbor

¹ McCully, Betsy. "Ice Age History of New York: Glacial Landscapes & Ancient Ice Sheets." New York Nature by Betsy McCully - Your portal to the nature and natural history of the New York region, March 23, 2025. <https://newyorknature.us/ice-age-new-york/>.

² "Saw Mill Creek Marsh Preserve - Forever Wild." Forever Wild: NYC Parks. Accessed April 25, 2025. <https://www.nycgovparks.org/greening/nature-preserves/site?FWID=14>.

teemed with oysters that could grow up to a foot long, an animal that would play a critical role in what would become Richmond County.³ All in all it was a quaint place, with a harmonious ecosystem perfect for its original settlers.

The indigenous inhabitants of Staten Island were a part of the Lenni Lenape Nation, whose range stretched across modern-day Philadelphia, New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut. The Lenape often resided along rivers and both hunted and farmed the land. In order to address the loss of fertility that comes as a natural consequence of repeatedly farming the same soil, bands would frequently relocate.⁴ The bands of people living on Staten Island specifically were known as Raritan Indians. They referred to Staten Island as Aquehonga Manacknong, which meant “the high and sandy place”, a reflection of the Island’s hills, beaches, and somewhat sandy soil. They thrived on the natural resources available, especially oysters, clams, and fish.⁵ While Native Americans, of course, affected the natural environment through their farming and fishing, this would pale in comparison to the change brought about by Dutch, then later British, colonists.

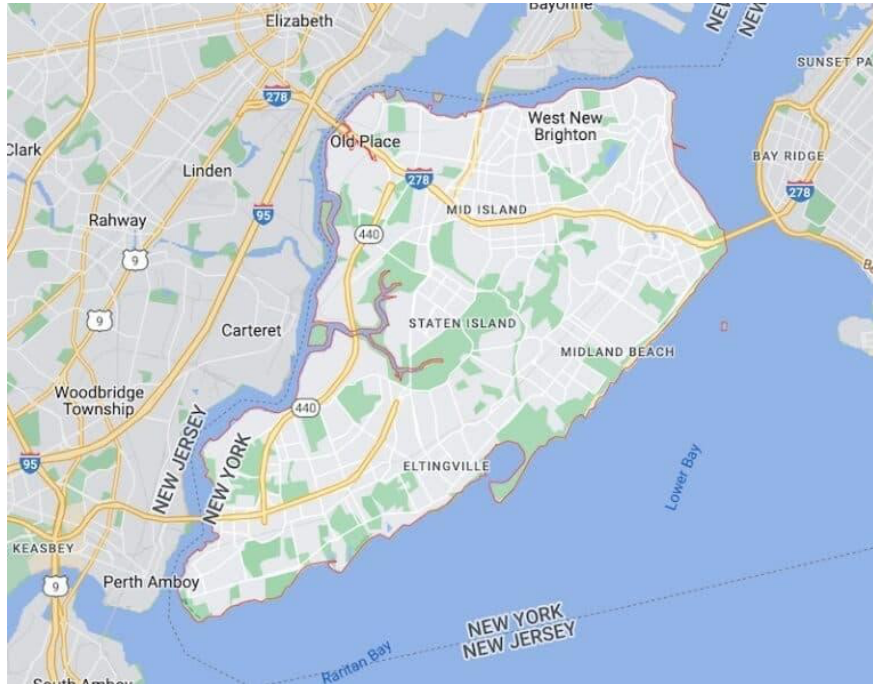
Out of all the resources available to the colonists who would make their home on Staten Island, the most pivotal one would be the oyster. This particular mollusc would one day dominate the island’s economy and deeply influence how the area developed. Oyster collection and cultivation also greatly influenced the social development of Staten Island, leading to the formation of distinct, yet overlapping, social groups, as well as inspiring the adoption of tools useful for the industry that would open up even more occupations. In many ways oysters are what tied the people of Staten Island together, and contributed to its unique identity.

³ Lundrigan, Margaret. *Staten Island: Isle of the bay*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2004.

⁴ Licht, Walter, Mark Frazier Lloyd, J.M. Duffin, and Mary McConaghy. “The Original People and Their Land: The Lenape, Pre-History to the 18th Century.” West Philadelphia Collaborative History. Accessed April 25, 2025.

<https://collaborativehistory.gse.upenn.edu/stories/original-people-and-their-land-lenape-pre-history-18th-century>.

⁵ Margaret, 7



Google Maps

An Oysterman's Dream Economy

Much to the chagrin of both the Dutch and English colonists, Staten Island was never particularly well suited for agriculture. The island is small and covered in rocky, hilly, and sandy landscapes that require continuous fertilizing in order to maintain any profitable farms⁶. With this environmental reality in mind it's no wonder that residents began to look for alternatives, especially since the island was isolated from bigger business centers in Manhattan (thanks to all the water). Colonists quickly took note of the abundant oysters, fish, and clams that resided in the waters surrounding Staten Island as they provided the perfect opportunity for exportable goods. Oysters, especially, would later become a booming industry not just in Staten Island, but

⁶ Historic Richmond Town Museum. Accessed March 12, 2025

New York as a whole.⁷ As said by Scottish songwriter Charles Mckay who visited the city in 1857, “There is no place in the world where there are such fine oysters as in New York ”⁸.

While the northern shore of the island was too rocky for proper oyster growth, the southern and western sides of the island were areas with the proper tides for abundant oyster growth⁹. Though oysters were not particularly nourishing as a food, unlike foods rich in carbohydrates or proteins, oysters were greatly appreciated as a delicacy that could be enjoyed by people from a range of social classes, believed to carry a taste of the sea itself. As a result they were heavily in-demand in areas away from the bays where such food was harder to come by.¹⁰ Not only were oysters good for eating, their shells could even be used as a source of lime, which was used to help construct stone homes that would be cool in summer and warm in winter¹¹. The only other major competitors for oyster supply were New Jersey and Virginia, which had access to their own beds (though oyster beds were often shared by oystermen in Staten Island and New Jersey).¹² As a result of these factors, oysters became the first example of year-round, mass-production practiced in New York.¹³

Oysters were such a valuable resource to Staten Island’s economy that legislators at the time were willing to implement conservation laws as a means of protecting them. This was during a time when nature was viewed more as an infinite commodity than something that needed to be protected, a view that would be widely held until events such as the transcendentalist movement in the 1820s. The fact that Staten Island was so ahead of the curve

⁷ Marine Fisheries Review. United States: NMFS, Scientific Publications Office, 1990.

⁸ Kurlansky, Mark. *The big oyster: New York in the World: A molluscular history*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2006.

⁹ *History of Richmond County (Staten Island), New York: From Its Discovery to the Present Time*. United States: L.E. Preston, 1887.

¹⁰ Kurlansky, *The big oyster: New York in the World: A molluscular history*, 15

¹¹ *History of Richmond County (Staten Island), New York: From Its Discovery to the Present Time*, 151

¹² Historic Richmond Town Museum. Accessed March 12, 2025

¹³ *History of Richmond County (Staten Island), New York: From Its Discovery to the Present Time*

goes to reflect just how valuable oysters were, even back in the colonial era. In 1715, the colonial government implemented a law that banned the harvesting of oysters from May 1st to September 1st, even going so far as to mandate that any non-residents caught working the beds during this time would have their vessels and equipment confiscated. Slaves and servants were outright barred from collecting or selling oysters. These measures were taken for the sake ultimately for the sake of preserving Staten Island's most valuable economic resource, and ensured an economy structured for the benefit of certain classes (the free working class of white men). However these measures were ultimately in vain.¹⁴ By the 1810s most of Staten Island's natural beds had been exhausted and overharvested, leaving the Island's economy in peril. Luckily for them, the solution to the issue would ironically result from collaboration through imports from Virginia, one of their few competitors.

In order to continue supplying the increasing demand for oysters, oystermen in both Staten Island and New Jersey began importing larval sets of oysters from areas such as the Chesapeake Bay in Virginia. This decision laid the groundwork for economic ties that would last as long as the Oyster industry dominated (through the Civil War and for some time afterwards). These sets were then planted into the formerly populated beds in areas such as Raritan Bay, thus allowing locals to essentially start up oyster farms rather than relying on their natural reproduction. By the 1840s, this "farming" had become a sophisticated form of cultivation, as some were even able to make fortunes off of the industry.¹⁵ Oyster cultivation became such a prevalent industry that, by the 1850s, nearly all inhabitants of Southern Staten Island were involved. Oyster culture was able to wholly support a grand total of 150 different island

¹⁴ *History of Richmond County (Staten Island), New York: From Its Discovery to the Present Time,*

¹⁵ Historic Richmond Town Museum. Accessed March 12, 2025

families¹⁶. Even those who had previously worked in agriculture began to flock towards oystering and other forms of fishing. As one farmer put it in 1842, “The domestic fishery too, abstracts greatly from attention which would otherwise be applied to the cultivation of the soil”. Evidently the shores were much more fertile than the fields.¹⁷

The oyster industry in Staten Island continued to expand even more, helped in part by the implementation of oyster dredges. The oyster dredge was a contraption made from a heavy bar with a netting basket attached. These dredges were initially attached to sail boats before being used with steam engines, which greatly enhanced their efficiency. These dredges were so efficient that they were referred to by the French as “oyster guillotines”. They were efficient to the point that in 1820, New Jersey even went so far as to ban its use. Oystermen could only collect their catches the traditional way, sifting through the water with their hands. With enough time, however, people grew less suspicious of the technology, and, by 1846, dredges attached to sailboats were allowed in Raritan Bay and Sandy Hook Bay specifically to be used in planted beds. This adopted technology in combination with the adoption of oyster farming to replace wild populations is what allowed the economy to flourish on Staten Island, ultimately allowing so many families to depend on the industry.¹⁸

The oyster industry only grew throughout the later half of the 1800s, and by the 1870s a variety of wealthy planters, shippers, wholesale dealers, and commission merchants shipped oysters throughout the US and even abroad. Most small-scale or independent planters were eventually swallowed up by major companies. Even by the end of the century 200,000 bushels of oysters were produced annually¹⁹. Ultimately, the economy of Staten Island was dominated by

¹⁶ History of Richmond County (Staten Island), New York: From Its Discovery to the Present Time. United States: L.E. Preston, 1887.

¹⁷ Historic Richmond Town Museum. Accessed March 12, 2025

¹⁸ Kurlansky, Mark. *The big oyster: New York in the World: A molluscular history*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2006.

¹⁹ Historic Richmond Town Museum. Accessed March 12, 2025

these tiny molluscs, and many families were able to support themselves, build homes, and find communities with their fellow oystermen. Speaking of communities, quite a few can thank the oyster for how they turned out.

Oyster Society

The social culture of Staten Island has always been a unique one. Despite technically being a part of New York and right next to New York City, the island developed mostly independently. There was no established ferry or alternative method of transport during the colonial era or post the Revolutionary War, and so people really only came and left for business reasons. This resulted in a sort of group mentality, a sense of separation embraced culturally, that lingers even to this day.²⁰

Oysters only added to the division. A clear example of this was during the Revolution, when Island oystermen weren't particularly concerned with loyalist or rebel sentiments. It didn't affect their oysters much whether they were British or American so it wasn't an issue. In fact, their number one adversaries at the time were actually the residents of New Jersey. The Arthur Kill tidal strait is the body of water that separates the two, and was also a hot spot for oyster beds. As a result there was competition over which side would have access to the resource, as so grew animosity. The animosity was so great that when New Jersey seemed to harbor more rebellious sentiments, the Staten Islanders leaned loyalists. When New Jersey seemed more loyalist, the Staten Islanders leaned to rebellion. So long as they were on opposite sides that was all that mattered, which in many ways reflected the island's isolationist attitude.²¹ Ultimately

²⁰ Dacrio, Mildred. *Staten Island*. Rutgers University, 1966

²¹ Kurlansky, Mark. *The big oyster: New York in the World: A molluscular history*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2006.

their own industry mattered more than the other colonies or the newly proposed United States as a whole.

The Northern area of Staten Island was never well suited for oystering. The water in this region did not have the tides needed for oyster beds, so the molluscs never grew. As a result it remained sparsely populated only by a few farms. As they say though, one man's trash is another man's treasure. The man who would find treasure in this otherwise disregarded region was Thomas Davis. In the 1830s he purchased a large tract of land, seeing as he could obtain the disregarded stretch for cheap, which would then be named New Brighton.²²

Once Thomas Davis bought up New Brighton, he divided the area into lots and began development. Because of his endeavors, towns sprang up in various North Shore areas and Richmond Terrace became a residential area for the large homes of rich people who settled on the island. The area also became known for having a very fashionable and youthful air to it, as well as a thriving horse culture with various stables spread throughout the area. Several hotels became open to southern planters who flocked in during the summer months, fleeing the intense heat of their homeland in favor of more moderate temperatures and access to beaches.²³ It is incredible to think that oysters were influential enough that even their absence in an area could create substantial change. The culture of the island became split for these reasons, split between the oystermen and the socialites.

Oysters were also responsible for the development of a different area within Staten Island, one that, once again, had ties to Virginia. Remember how oyster seeds and larva were often imported to Staten Island from the Chesapeake Bay? Well, back down in Virginia there was a notable portion of black oystermen who would be periodically hired by white captains to travel

²² Dacrio, Mildred. *Staten Island*. Rutgers University, 1966

²³ History of Richmond County (Staten Island), New York: From Its Discovery to the Present Time. United States: L.E. Preston, 1887.

up north and help tend to oyster beds on Staten Island. While on the island, these oystermen came into contact with the residents of a neighborhood known as Harrisville. Harrisville was an agricultural community founded by the Harris brothers Moses and Silas, two free and educated black men who had established themselves along Staten Island's Southwest Shore. The two focused on cultivating cabbage, potatoes, asparagus, and were even responsible for introducing strawberries to the island for farming. With the money they made selling their goods in Manhattan, they were able to establish the thriving community Harrisville for other black Americans seeking their freedom. As a result, many of the oystermen who interacted with the Harrisville residents ended up staying, living much freer lives than they otherwise would have had in the south.²⁴ Not only that, but the southwestern side of Staten Island was as rich in oysters as the Chesapeake Bay, meaning they could continue to pursue their industry of expertise.

Harrisville, eventually known as Sandy Ground, also acted as a stop along the Underground Railroad in the years leading up to the Civil War. Residents such as Captain Jackson helped sneak enslaved people into Harrisville, allowing them to stay if they saw fit or continue moving northward. Captain Jackson operated a ferry, known as the Blazing Star, which could transport people from New Jersey to the island, thus providing some distance from the mainland and its slave catchers. Because of its appeal, at the height of Harrisville's development, there were 150 families who lived in the area. The people who lived there were able to own land, gain voting rights, and have access to education. There was even coexistence between the residents of Harrisville and their white neighbors, as they depended on one another through

²⁴ "The History of Staten Island Sandy Ground." Sandy Ground Historical Society, February 16, 2025. <https://thesandygroundhistoricalsociety.org/about/>.

shared goods and services.²⁵ In Harrisville, escaped slaves could find peace and freedom as well as plentiful economic opportunities, most of which were thanks to oysters.

In many ways, Staten Island's social circles were heavily influenced by the presence, absence, and / or use of oysters. They both brought people together and divided them, providing extravagance for some and freedom for others. Oysters also provided a myriad of jobs for these different social groups, as the oyster industry needed various tools and people to make them.

Oyster Inventions and Adaptations

While the previous two sections of this essay have touched somewhat on how the oyster industry affected the development of neighborhoods and technology (oyster dredges) it is important to acknowledge the various other tools adopted to support the cultivation of oysters on the island.

As the industry was first being established it quickly became clear that a standard unit of measure was needed when packing up and exporting the caught or cultivated oysters. For this purpose the oak-splint bushel basket became the standard. This ended up opening a new job within the trade, oyster-basket making. This involved bending splints of oak or maple to fit molds.²⁶ Unsurprisingly the demand for oyster baskets only grew as the production of oysters skyrocketed, and so emerged a full-time job for the oyster basket makers.²⁷

An example of someone who was able to make a living off of basket making was James A. Morgan, who turned away from his father's practice of shoemaking in order to pursue working in the oystering industry. In the mid 1850s, he was able to construct a basket workshop

²⁵ "The History of Staten Island Sandy Ground." Sandy Ground Historical Society, February 16, 2025. <https://thesandygroundhistoricalsociety.org/about/>.

²⁶ Kurlansky, Mark. *The big oyster: New York in the World: A molluscular history*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2006.

²⁷ Historic Richmond Town Museum. Accessed March 12, 2025

in New Springville and operated his business for the next 50 years, producing hand-made oak and maple splint baskets to support his family of six and widowed mother.²⁸ Some residents of Harrisville were also able to become basket makers, opening their own shops and making baskets from the local white-oak saplings that grew in the area.²⁹ In this way, oysters provided another avenue for work that was more suitable for those who perhaps weren't fans of the sea. Creatives could still support themselves and aid their community.

Another example of a tool adopted by the oyster industry of Staten Island was the skiff boat. Skiff boats are small boats, usually used with oars, intended for river or short-distance sea travel. They were introduced to North America from the United Kingdom and quickly adopted in areas such as the St. Lawrence river between Canada and the United States and Staten Island.³⁰ These boats were useful for oystermen who needed boats they could use to collect oysters from their beds without disturbing the ocean floor. Thus, a smaller and more lightweight boat model was especially useful. Oystermen would float out to the oyster beds on their skiff boats using tongs, another oyster tool that was adopted from the Lenape, and rake the beds until they had collected enough oysters to fill the floor of their skiff.

Tools such as the skiff and tongs also provided even more manufacturing jobs. An example of a community that benefited from this was Sandy Ground. People in this area quickly adopted various crafts. Those who weren't oystermen or farmers opened up shops to craft and sell oyster baskets. They also became blacksmiths, crafting tongs, rakes, and other equipment used when sailing in skiffs.³¹ Not only did oysters provide the means for industry, they further

²⁸ Historic Richmond Town Museum. Accessed March 12, 2025

²⁹ Kurlansky, Mark. *The big oyster: New York in the World: A molluscular history*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2006.

³⁰ History of Richmond County (Staten Island), New York: From Its Discovery to the Present Time. United States: L.E. Preston, 1887.

³¹ "The History of Staten Island Sandy Ground." Sandy Ground Historical Society, February 16, 2025. <https://thesandygroundhistoricalsociety.org/about/>.

expanded opportunities for Staten Islanders in these adjacent fields and created the means for even those uninterested in directly catching the oysters to support themselves and live comfortably. This led to a significant culture of smaller workshops, which explains how even now the Island mostly lacks the big businesses characteristic of Manhattan or Brooklyn.

Conclusion

Oysters were the underlying force molding Staten Island's culture, economy, and industries, shaping the lives of just about everyone who grew up and lived on the Island from the colonial period all the way through the 1800s. Without them Staten Island as we know it would not exist, it would lack the unique agricultural and rural atmosphere it has to this day. The people of Sandy Ground would not have found community, peace, and freedom if they did not have oysters to catch. People like James Morgan wouldn't have been able to pursue new industries and follow their dreams if baskets didn't need to be made. Whole families wouldn't have been able to build homes and support generations if the resources for such weren't present. In many ways us Islanders owe much of our lives to the molluscs that bury themselves in our waters.

The importance of the oyster has, unfortunately, been forgotten over time, especially now that they aren't exactly a common sight. Commercial pollution and shifts in favor of other industries have made it so that oysters aren't nearly as plentiful as they once were. There are however groups seeking to change this fact. The Billion Oyster Project is an organization seeking to reintroduce oysters to New York City's different harbors as a means of purifying the water and stabilizing the ecosystems that once flourished³².

³² "Ecosystem Engineers." Billion Oyster Project. Accessed April 25, 2025.
<https://www.billionoysterproject.org/ecosystem-engineers>.

It is important for us to preserve the history of oysters in order to understand how Staten Island developed its own unique culture, and to preserve the stories of the people who have lived and died on the Island, helping it develop into the place we see today. Not only must we preserve Environmental History, but the environment itself, so that future generations can enjoy the same environmental resources, clean water, and amazing oysters.

Bibliography

Dacrio, Mildred. *Staten Island*. Rutgers University, 1966

“Ecosystem Engineers.” Billion Oyster Project. Accessed April 25, 2025.

<https://www.billionoysterproject.org/ecosystem-engineers>.

Historic Richmond Town Museum. Accessed March 12, 2025

History of Richmond County (Staten Island), New York: From Its Discovery to the Present Time.

United States: L.E. Preston, 1887.

Kurlansky, Mark. *The big oyster: New York in the World: A molluscular history*. London:

Jonathan Cape, 2006.

Licht, Walter, Mark Frazier Lloyd, J.M. Duffin, and Mary McConaghy. “The Original People

and Their Land: The Lenape, Pre-History to the 18th Century.” West Philadelphia

Collaborative History. Accessed April 25, 2025.

<https://collaborativehistory.gse.upenn.edu/stories/original-people-and-their-land-lenape-pre-history-18th-century>.

Lundrigan, Margaret. *Staten Island: Isle of the bay*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2004.

Marine Fisheries Review. United States: NMFS, Scientific Publications Office, 1990.

McCully, Betsy. “Ice Age History of New York: Glacial Landscapes & Ancient Ice Sheets.” New

York Nature by Betsy McCully - Your portal to the nature and natural history of the New York region, March 23, 2025. <https://newyorknature.us/ice-age-new-york/>.

“Saw Mill Creek Marsh Preserve - Forever Wild.” Forever Wild: NYC Parks. Accessed April 25, 2025. <https://www.nycgovparks.org/greening/nature-preserves/site?FWID=14>.

“The History of Staten Island Sandy Ground.” Sandy Ground Historical Society, February 16, 2025. <https://thesandygroundhistoricalsociety.org/about/>.

Ancient Hatred is Ahistorical

Emily Gress

Professor Yildiz

Communal Boundaries

May 6, 2025

After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Iraq came under British rule. In the 12 year period of British rule in Iraq, “the Jewish community was secure and well represented in parliament and government.”⁹ Upon Iraq’s independence in 1932, the situation for the Jewish minority began to change. Avi Shlaim was born in 1945 in Baghdad, Iraq, two years before Israel's War of Independence, or the Palestinian Nakba. Shlaim enjoyed his childhood in Iraq, mainly reaping the fruits of Iraqi upper class society that included Iraqi Muslims, Christians, and Jews. However, that pleasure was short-lived as in 1951, due to a lethal combination of Arab nationalism and militant Zionism. Shlaim’s family made the difficult decision to leave their lavish Iraqi lifestyle and immigrate to Israel, leaving their Iraqi citizenship behind. Shlaim was educated as a political scientist and historian at the University of Cambridge in England, his education there added political and historical context to what he suffered as an Iraqi-Jew and aided him in adapting a different set of politics, a different way of framing history that disrupted the Israeli state narrative that eroded his Iraqi heritage.

Shlaim is considered one of the “New Historians” of Israel, meaning he went through Israeli state archives of their actions in 1948 and came away understanding the conflict to have happened differently than the Israeli state narrative of a moral struggle. Shlaim has authored many books about the historical and present day realities of Israeli domination over Palestinians, but none, until now, about how his own identity is seen in this struggle. In 2023, he released his memoir, *Three Worlds: Memoir of an Arab-Jew* which in his words is “both a personal record of a complex story and an essay with a political argument,”¹⁰ nodding to how his identity as an Arab-Jew and his occupation as a historian and political scientist are about to become

⁹ Khadduri, Majid. *The International History Review* 20, no. 3 (1998), 745

¹⁰ Avi Shlaim, *Three Worlds: Memoirs of an Arab-Jew* (One World, 2023), 17

intertwined to make his readers reflect on the necessity of “reviving or reimagining the kind of religious tolerance and civilised dialogue between Jews and Arabs...”¹¹ Shlaim believes this is necessary to any attempt towards a peaceful and sustainable future for Israel and the Arab World.

Integral to Shlaim’s “aim to recover and reanimate a unique Jewish civilization of the Near East”¹² is his mother, Mas’uda, or Saida’s, story. Shlaim dedicates a whole chapter of his memoir to her, and she is the only character he deems important enough to name a chapter after. Through his mother, Shlaim narrates the discomfort of Iraqi assimilation to an Ashkenazi-oriented Israeli society. In this paper, I will explain how he uses his mother’s stories to strengthen his political argument that the Zionist narrative of “an ancient hatred between Jews and Muslim” is incorrect and ahistorical. Shlaim begins his mother’s chapter with a disclosure, “my mother was an entertaining narrator - but not always a consistent one.”¹³ Shlaim includes this to prime his audience for the contradictions and nuances his mother’s story will reveal about her Iraqi-Jewish identity. Saida was the parent who felt the move to Israel was necessary for the family’s safety, while also firmly rejecting Zionism as an “Ashkenazi thing.”¹⁴

Saida enjoyed a lavish lifestyle in Iraq and formed close relationships with her Muslim neighbors. While her living status was higher than the majority of Iraqi-Jews, her relationships with Muslim friends were completely left behind in the country that “aspired to be in the Middle East but not of the Middle East,”¹⁵ and aimed to demonize a category of people she knew to be kind. Before marrying Shlaim’s father, Yusuf Shlaim, Saida had a romantic relationship with a

¹¹ Shlaim, 301

¹² Shlaim, 7

¹³ Shlaim, 49

¹⁴ Shlaim, 9

¹⁵ Shlaim, 301

Muslim man she met at a club they were both members of. This relationship was formed by their shared class status and the integrated social club they were a part of. However, her family did not approve and wished her to marry an Iraqi-Jew. Her family felt that “Business partnerships and playing cards with Muslims were one thing, intermarriage was another. It was an absolute taboo.”⁸ Shlaim includes this tidbit about his mother's past history to show that she did not share this sentiment, perhaps due to her being young, but he chooses not to delve further into her opinions on Jewish-Muslim intermarriage. He mentions the hunger strike she went on in protest, yet, says it was due to her being “simply informed that she was going to marry a man she had never met,”⁹ and not explicitly due to the true love she may have felt towards her Muslim partner.

In Israel, Saida's friendship circle changed to being solely Iraqi-Jews, which was a strange and uncomfortable experience for her. This was a consequence of the country she was in, as Shlaim says, “a state whose cultural and geopolitical orientation identified it almost exclusively with the West.”¹⁰ This state, located in the Arab World, rejected, and positioned itself in opposition to, Arabness. But, Saida was an Arab, and she was not used to socializing with

Europeans. She found an insular circle of upper class Iraqi-Jews to befriend. She did not have Muslim friends, like those she did in Iraq. The Palestinian Muslims inhabited a lower social class than even the Arab-Jews, and were completely isolated from and demonized by Israeli society. This was very different from the religiously diverse society Saida grew up in, Shlaim notes that his mother dearly missed Christmas celebrations in Iraq. He notes the mental toll this took on Shaida, “Outwardly she appeared steadfast and confident when in fact... she was depressed and teetered on the verge of a nervous breakdown.”¹¹ Once her husband arrived in Israel, he felt the mental toll as well as his attempts at building a successful business in Israel

failed, and he was unable to master the dominant language, Hebrew. The Shlaim family's native language was Arabic. Shlaim remembers that both of their social lives changed drastically, as once he arrived, “they began to drift apart and move to different social circles.”¹² The depression his parents felt in Israel undoubtedly stems from the “profound grief, accentuated by the knowledge that there was no going back to our home and beloved homeland”¹³ that Shlaim describes his family felt when they left Baghdad. Shlaim also includes a story of Saida’s loyalty to Israel being explicitly tested. She was being scouted by the Mossad, and emotionally contextualizes the story with his mothers adherence to Iraqi customs of honor. An Israeli intelligence officer invites her to meet, and makes it clear the Mossad is interested in recruiting her due to her beauty, native Arabic speaking ability, and her understanding of Arab culture. They wished to weaponize her Arab identity and use her against other Arabs, most likely Muslims, of whom she had never seen as enemies before. Saida vehemently rejected his offer. Saida tells Shlaim that she responded, “that she was one hundred percent Iraqi and that Iraqis are *sharifin*, people of honour...”¹⁴ In a challenging moment, Saida identified herself with her Iraqiness, thus placing herself in opposition to her “Israeliness.” This moment made it clear she could not be both Israeli, and Iraqi. She chose to present herself as an Iraqi in this situation, and makes a case for all Iraqis to be people of honor, including Iraqi Muslims who would be seen as enemies of her new home country, and enemies of Saida herself, according to the Zionist narrative.

⁸ Shlaim, 75

⁹ Shlaim, 75

¹⁰ Shlaim, 9

¹¹ Shlaim, 199

When Shlaim recounts the decision making process leading to his family's immigration in chapter eight, "Farewell Baghdad" he again discloses that "On the precise reasons for our departure, my only source was my mother and her account was not entirely consistent."¹⁵ Shlaim was initially presented with a few reasons for their leaving, all vaguely related to his health. Later on in his life, his mother discloses that the real reason they left was due to a rise in persecution against Jews. Iraqi Jews were being surveilled, imprisoned, in what Shlaim describes as looking "like a government-sanctioned campaign of harassment."¹⁶ Shlaim doesn't say whether Saida herself experienced this treatment, but it is understandable that this climate of fear, as well as the explicit targeting of Jews would make her want to leave Baghdad, no matter how pleasurable her life there was otherwise. Members of a gang that had previously blackmailed and threatened to kidnap Saida's daughter had been released from prison at this time as well, adding to the family's fear. In 1941, two days of violent rioting broke out against Iraqi Jews who lived in Baghdad, known as the *Farhud*. This resulted in the deaths of 128 helpless Iraqi Jews. A Zionist narrative calls it "Arab Kristallnacht,"¹⁷ making the claim that the riot arose due to centuries of Iraqi anti-semitism against Jews, as was the case in Europe.

Shlaim makes the argument that the *Farhud*, the Iraqi pogrom in Baghdad, was not motivated by ancient anti-semitism, but by anger towards British actions in Iraq. Iraqi Jews prospered under the British, as compared to other Iraqis who were in "poor and backward conditions."¹⁸ This reframing contributes to the overall argument of his book, which is to challenge the Zionist narrative of an instinctual hate between Jews and Muslims. When Shlaim

¹² Shlaim, 200

¹³ Shlaim, 153

¹⁴ Shlaim, 198

¹⁵ Shlaim, 154

discusses Saida's recollection of the event, he includes her memories of "Muslims in the mixed neighborhoods went to great lengths to help their Jewish neighbors and friends in their hour of need."¹⁹ He also includes a story Saida told him about the wife of an Iraqi Muslim colonel taking up arms against the rioters. Shlaim spends more time going over his mother's memories, and implies that her recollection makes the case that this was not an anti-semitic pogrom like ones seen in Europe, but instead a divergence in Iraqi treatment of Jews caused by anti-British and anti-colonial sentiment. He says that Saida believed "the people were not driven by hatred of the Jews but saw the state of anarchy that prevailed as an opportunity to loot and pillage."²⁰ She adds an example of a man stealing a radio from a Jewish electronics store as an example of Iraqis being more motivated by greed than anti-semitism, as this was a time of poverty for many Iraqis.

Of the impoverished Iraqis, historian of Jews in the Middle East Hayyim J. Cohen says, "They took part in the outbreak mainly for the sake of easy gain,"²¹ as compared to Iraqi soldiers, officers, and members of para-military groups "who were influenced by Nazi propaganda"²² that was spreading in the Arab world as fear of Zionism grew. Cohen adds, "The fact that the masses did not hate the Jews or thirst for their blood, but only the small group influenced by imported Nazi propaganda, can further be supported by the point that no outbreak took place in any other town of Iraq."²³ Within the Zionist narrative, the *Farhud* is seen as the result of centuries of anti-semitism, instead of a combination of Nazi propaganda, Zionism, and

¹⁶ Shlaim, 154

¹⁷ Julius, Lyn. "The Blogs: The Farhud: The Arab Kristallnacht the World Forgot" *The Times of Israel*. Jewish News, June 2016. <https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/the-farhud-the-arab-kristallnacht-the-world-forgot/>.

¹⁸ Khadduri, 746

¹⁹ Shlaim, 70

instability in Iraq. Many Arabs, both Jewish and non, were opposed to Zionism, seeing it as a way for Western imperialism to spread in the Arab world. Moshe Gat, professor of history at Israel's Bar-Ilan University, says that the education division of the Zionist underground in Iraq aimed “to extend Zionist influence to every Jewish home in Iraq.”²⁴ That effort added to the belief that all Iraqi Jews supported the establishment of a Jewish ethnostate, which antagonized many Arab nationalists. Adding the *Farhud* to a history of European pogroms helped the Zionist narrative make the case for why Iraqi Jewish immigration to Israel was crucial to Jewish safety. Iraqi Jews were caught in a terrible storm of Nazi propaganda being imported into Arab nationalism, which was rising rapidly. Shlaim asks us not to diminish the violent onslaught and destruction Iraqi Jews faced by not placing it alongside European pogroms, but to acknowledge the external political factors that paved the way for such a terrible moment in Iraq’s history.

Shlaim does not shy away from admitting how complex understanding the *Farhud* was. He is adamant that it should not find its place in history with the centuries long European pogroms, as “There had been no other attack on the Jewish community in recent centuries,”²⁵ including during the Ottoman Empire, until British interference that left Jews isolated and targeted. Shlaim quotes Elie Kedourie, a Jewish-Iraqi-British scholar, “It was thus as supporters of the British that the Jews were murdered and looted.”²⁶ Shlaim and his mother’s stories, identities, and outlook on Iraqi Jewish history are unpopular. They present contradictions that

²⁰ Shlaim, 71

²¹ Cohen, Hayyim J. “The Anti-Jewish ‘Farhūd’ in Baghdad, 1941.” *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1966, pp. 2–17.

²² Cohen, 13

²³ Cohen, 13

²⁴ Gat, Moshe. “The Connection between the Bombings in Baghdad and the Emigration of the Jews from Iraq: 1950-51.”

couldn't possibly exist if you follow the Zionist narrative. And more contradictions and nuances to Shlaim's framework will surely arise as more discover it. Shlaim uses Saida's story to remind us of a time when communal boundaries between Jews and Muslims were not marked with blood, but friendship and celebration of differences; he argues that remembering this is necessary for envisioning a sustainable future where Arab-Jewish identity is no longer seen as a juxtaposition.

Bibliography

Avi Shlaim, *Three Worlds: Memoirs of an Arab-Jew* (One World, 2023), pp. 5-151.

Cohen, Hayyim J. "The Anti-Jewish 'Farhūd' in Baghdad, 1941." *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1966, pp. 2–17. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4282184> . Accessed 19 Dec. 2025.

Gat, Moshe. "The Connection between the Bombings in Baghdad and the Emigration of the Jews from Iraq: 1950-51." *Middle Eastern Studies* 24, no. 3 (1988): 312–29. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4283249>.

Khadduri, Majid. *The International History Review* 20, no. 3 (1998): 745–47. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40101384>.

Julius, Lyn. "The Blogs: The Farhud: The Arab Kristallnacht the World Forgot" *The Times of Israel*. Jewish News, June 2016. <https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/the-farhud-the-arab-kristallnacht-the-world-forgot/>.

²⁵ Shlaim, 64

²⁶ Shlaim, 64

Shades of Amor In Catullan Poetry:

The Obsessive, the Transcendent, and the Ever Volatile In-Between

Tess Overstreet

Professor Oh

Amor in Roma CL 365

May 8, 2025

Catullus, a Neoteric poet from antiquity, wrote about a wide range of topics, such as people he was feuding with, friends he missed, grief, and the most evident of all, love. He lived and died between 84-54 BCE, though scholars highly contest the exact dates.¹ Catullus was part of a wealthy equestrian family; while he grew up in Verona, his father eventually sent him to Rome, as was somewhat common among the upper classes.² Catullus became deeply involved in the writing scene in Rome, forging connections with other writers such as Lucius Calvus and Gaius Cinna.³ Rome is also where he met many romantic interests, such as Iuventius, Ispitilla, and Lesbia, who would later appear in his poetry.⁴ Out of the 116 poems we have from him today, the majority of them deal with themes of love and desire. This tells us that love dominated Catullus's life, or at least the life of his poetic persona. By giving his accounts of raw, real love – and its inherent struggles – Catullus created an atmosphere of angst and authenticity that readers appreciate even now. He also understood that love cannot be confined by a strict set of feelings: it is both longing and hate, desire and romance, as well as pleasure and pain. Catullus presents two distinct forms of love in his poetry, one more carnal and obsessive, while the other is more transcendent and everlasting. These forms of love form a spectrum in his poetry, creating rippling effects that challenge traditional Roman societal expectations of love and manhood and further readers' understanding of love poetry near the end of the republic, carving out Catullus's place in Latin literature in both ancient Rome and modernity.

Catullus's poetry is unique because of its interactions with Roman conceptions of

¹ Green, Peter. *The Poems of Catullus: A Bilingual Edition*. The University of California Press, 2005.

² *ibid*

³ We know this because Catullus mentions these fellow writers in his poetry. Poems 14, 50, 53, and 96 are about Catullus's friendship with Lucius Calvus, while Cinna is referenced in poem 10.

⁴ Once again, we know this because of Catullus's poetry – Iuventius is in poems 24 and 48 and Ispitilla in poem 32. Lesbia is mentioned by name in many of his poems, including poems 5, 7, 43, 51, 72, 83, 86, 87, and 92. However, she is also the likely unnamed subject of poems such as 2, 8, and 85.

masculinity and manhood. A typical male trait in Roman antiquity is the ability to “control themselves.”⁵ Catullus clearly did not exemplify this trait, as his obsession with love drove him to do things a person in control of himself would never do. Additionally, Catullus’ behavior differed from the typical Roman sense of love, which is where the lover is said to be in a “state of temporary insanity.”⁶ While the insanity is temporary for typical Roman men, Catullus’s insanity was lifelong; in poems 7 and 51, Catullus even goes so far as to refer to himself as crazy. In other examples of love poetry in the late republic, love is often described in a way that indicates emotional distance. Authors such as Ovid, Propertius, and Horace liken love to a battlefield and themselves to soldiers.⁷ Meanwhile, authors such as Lucretius and, once again, Propertius, compare love to an illness that they are desperate to cure. Lucretius in particular conveys his self-imposed emotional distance from love through his poetry. He uses dactylic hexameter, a meter that is often used in epic or didactic poetry; with this didactic tone, he explains lust and love in a clinical manner.⁸ These conceptions of love as a battlefield, an illness, or a temporary bodily urge all convey this sense of removal from love. For poets like Lucretius or P, love isn’t their end goal – satisfying their needs is. This aligns with the typical Roman view of love and marriage, where the primary purpose is children, and emotional distance from the spouse is encouraged.⁹ Catullus rebels against this shallow form of love and conceptions of masculinity, adding to our modern understanding of love poetry during the late Republic. The love that Catullus experiences and conveys in his poetry can best be described as a spectrum. At one end is

⁵ Asikainen, Susanna. “Masculinities in the Ancient Greco-Roman World.” In *Jesus and Other Men: Ideal Masculinities in the Synoptic Gospels*, 2018, 19–45.

⁶ Konstan, David. “Two Kinds of Love in Catullus.” *The Classical Journal*, 68(2), 1972, 102–106.

⁷ Arkins, Brian. “A Reading of Latin Love Poetry.” *Classics Ireland* 13 (2006), 1–22.

⁸ Fitzgerald, William. “Lucretius’ Cure for Love in the ‘De Rerum Natura.’” *The Classical World* 78, no. 2 (1984): 73–86.

⁹ *ibid*

a deeply carnal and obsessive form of love, which is depicted in poems such as 32 and 51. In these poems, Catullus's passion is overwhelming – so much so that it strips him of his senses, wreaking havoc upon his mind and body. Catullus 32 epitomizes this expression of love, a form which aligns with the typical Roman sense of love, where the tone is overtly obsessive and sexual in a way that feels more temporary than other Catullan poetry. There is no mention of an eternity with Ipsitilla – in fact, Ipsitilla is never mentioned in another poem. This aligns with the normative Roman conception of love as a temporary inconvenience, a corporeal urge that can be satisfied. The Latin and its translation are below:

Amabo, mea dulcis Ipsitilla,
meae deliciae, mei lepores,
iube ad te veniam meridiatum.
et si iusseris, illud adiuvato,
ne quis liminis obseret tabellam,
neu tibi lubeat foras abire,
sed domi maneat paresque nobis
novem continuas fututiones.
verum si quid ages, statim iubeto:
nam pransus iaceo et satur supinus
pertundo tunicamque palliumque.

Please, my sweet Ipsitilla,
My delight, my charm,
Order me to come to you at midday.

And if you order, help that
lest anyone bolt the tablet of the door,
Lest it is pleasing for you to go outside,
But remain at home and prepare for us
Nine continuous sexual relations.
But if you ask anything, immediately order:
For I'm lying down after having my meal and I'm full and lying on my back
For I am thrusting through my tunic and my cloak.

Catullus continues to grasp at the potential of quenching his desire in line 4, where he uses a conditional clause to tell Ipsitilla what she should do. If she orders to see him, she should keep the door unbolted, stay at home, and prepare for “novem continuas fututiones” (32.8). His choice to use a conditional clause is key to the interesting power dynamic in this poem because Catullus is not telling Ipsitilla that he is going to come to her house to have sex with her. However, if she orders him to come to her, he is also telling her exactly what to do before his arrival. Once again, Catullus is not making much sense here – he is powerless and fumbling for control, which only makes him appear more desperate for Ipsitilla's affection. Additionally, the “nine sexual copulations” (32.8) Catullus tells Ipsitilla to prepare for must be hyperbolic. However, Catullus is characterized by his hyperbolic amounts in relation to love, as also seen in poems 5, 7, 11, and 48. This poetic trademark of his is a way to attempt to encompass his huge, almost indescribable feelings. In the final line of his poem Catullus gives Ipsitilla, whether desired or unwarranted, a depiction of himself yearning for her. He says this: “pertundo tunicamque palliumque,” or “I am thrusting through my tunic and my cloak” (32.11). This vibrant visual solidifies this poem's place on the carnal end of the spectrum regarding Catullus'

poetry. While he might call Ipsitilla his “deliciae” or his “lepores” (32.2), at the end of the day, Catullus primarily wants Ipsitilla’s affections in order to satisfy his body’s desires.

Poem 5 is towards the middle of this spectrum that extends from temporary and carnal to transcendent and everlasting. While poems 5 and 7 deal with very similar themes and match the other’s intensity, poem 5 perfectly embodies the infatuation Catullus feels towards the beginning of his relationship with Lesbia. This obsession isn’t as corporeal as some of Catullus’s other poetry, instead focusing on kisses and an eternal relationship. This level of intense feeling towards Lesbia, which is reminiscent of the shiny, giddy feelings experienced at the beginning of a relationship, disqualifies this poem as conveying a transcendent, overpowering love. See the Latin and translation below:

Vivamus mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
rumoresque senum severiorum
omnes unius aestimemus assis!
soles occidere et redire possunt:
nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
nox est perpetua una dormienda.
da mi basia mille, deinde centum,
dein mille altera, dein secunda centum,
deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum.
dein, cum milia multa fecerimus,
conturbabimus illa, ne sciamus,
aut ne quis malus invidere possit,
cum tantum sciat esse basiorum.

Let us live, my Lesbia, and let us love

And let us value all the rumors of the rather serious old men
at one penny!

Suns are able to set and rise again:

But for us once our brief light sets,

One eternal night must be slept.

Give me a thousand kisses, then a hundred

Then a thousand, then a hundred

Then another thousand, then another hundred

Then, when we will have made many thousands,

We will mix those up so we do not know

Or so that some bad man is able to be jealous,

when he knows that there are so many of kisses.

This infatuated energy begins in the first lines of poem 5, where Catullus invokes Lesbia in a similar manner to that which poets invoke muses in epic poetry. While Lesbia is not a goddess like the muses are, Catullus seems to view her this way. With the poem's first line, Catullus is asking her if they may embark on the poetic epic of their relationship, a lifelong journey. Catullus makes it clear from the beginning of this poem that his focus is Lesbia; more specifically, the intertwinement of his life and hers. He specifically states this in the first clause of poem 5 with the phrase "Let us live my Lesbia." There is no "my life" or "her life" for Catullus – only "us." However, Catullus does not just want a life with Lesbia, he wants a love with her two

of them, not just from him to her, where it is violently stopped, like we see in Tibullus's poetry.¹⁰ With the repetition of the word "us," he reinforces the fact that the two of them are in love and are going to spend their lives together—or at least, should. The only word in this first line that invokes a sense of uncertainty is its first: "Let." This word can be read in two primary ways. In the context of the first line by itself, the choice of "let" implies that Catullus is asking his love to let them be in love and to live a life spent together. However, the second line of poem 5 shifts this narrative with the introduction of "senum severiorum" or "rather serious old"¹⁰. In Tibullus 1.1, Tibullus describes unreciprocated love with a woman named Delia. Specifically, he states this: "I stay the doorkeeper before her unfeeling doors" in line 10. men" in line 2. Already, there are people encroaching on Catullus and Lesbia's relationship. In order to live their lives, or rather, their life together, Catullus and Lesbia have to actively block "all the rumors" (5.2) these old men have. The way Catullus chooses to handle this is by valuing these rumors "unius aestimemus assis," or "at one penny" (5.3). He tells Lesbia to do the same. This way, Catullus and Lesbia regain control in their relationship instead of letting the power shift to these older men and their unsolicited opinions.

With the next line comes yet another twist; Catullus begins discussing his and Lesbia's mortality. He laments how the suns are able "occidere et redire" (5.4) while humans are mortal. The repetition of "ere" in "occidere" and "redire" linguistically represents the eternal, repetitive cycle of the sun rising and setting. Although Catullus acknowledges his and Lesbia's mortality, he also wishes for them to be able to have one perpetual night together. This once again reminds the reader that Catullus is absolutely enamored by Lesbia. His greatest wish is to spend eternity with his love. It is also significant that it is specifically an eternal "nox," or night, referenced in

¹⁰ In Tibullus 1.1, Tibullus describes unreciprocated love with a woman named Delia. Specifically, he states this: "I stay the doorkeeper before her unfeeling doors" in line 10.

line 6. The night shields Catullus and Lesbia from the rest of the world. The darkness surrounding them is a comfortable cocoon, keeping them safe from the unwanted rumors of old men. After all, if it is dark, there can be no eyes watching Catullus and his lover. There is a sense of glorious anonymity that accompanies the nighttime for Catullus. He does not want to proclaim his love for Lesbia to the world – she is his world, and all he wants is for them to be together for eternity.

In this eternity, Catullus demands that Lesbia give him kisses. There is once again a twist in this poem. There has been an emphasis on hortatory subjunctives in this poem so far: Catullus is asking Lesbia to let them live, to let them love, and to let them value these rumors at the worth of one penny. However, now he uses the imperative of “Da” (5.7). Lesbia’s kisses are not something that Catullus wants; they are something he requires. However, this is not a small favor. Catullus asks for a hyperbolic, enormous number of kisses. The number of kisses, which sums up to 3,300 kisses, is a cosmic amount – fitting in the cosmic, nighttime-centered atmosphere of this poem. However, Catullus and Lesbia should not be adding up the exact number of kisses; instead, he insists that they mix that number up “ne quis malus invidere possit,” “lest a bad man is able to be jealous” (5.12). By ending the poem with this sentiment of watching eyes, rumors, and people encroaching on his relationship with Lesbia, Catullus lets his readers know that this is a true fear of his. Catullus wants to keep his relationship private, which once again references this first phase in a relationship where everything feels perfect.

However, this perfection comes with a cost: Catullus is capturing how it feels to be afraid of other incubating egg or a cocooned caterpillar. It needs time, and the perfect conditions, in order to thrive. By introducing the unpredictable or distressing opinions of others, this relationship’s shaky foundation could crumble. Catullus feels this pressure; he frames his poem

with these to signify the suffocating, smothering effects of others' opinions on a new relationship. However, although surrounded by these watching, wondering eyes, Catullus and Lesbia are safe within their construct of an eternal night.

Poem 5 is unusual because it embodies both of the types of love that Catullus presents in his poetry. It epitomizes this more volatile, transient form of love in the sense that Catullus and Lesbia's relationship has only just begun. Catullus has a perfect, glossy image of Lesbia – at least for the present. However, he wants his love with Lesbia to last for eternity, a notion that is dazzlingly romantic and a direct violation of traditional Roman views on love. For men, love is a temporary thing, a bodily urge, an insanity that hinders the senses. It is impractical and should be taken care of efficiently so men can follow more respectable pursuits like politics or philosophy. However, Catullus challenges this notion by surrendering himself to the heart-wrenching, exhilarating, terrifying throes of love. He is “rebellious” and “unconventional”¹¹ because he allows himself to defy the norms of the society he lives in. In Roman manhood, there are two major concerns – “being a good man” and “being good at being a man.”¹² To Roman men, Catullus is not very good at being either because he does not adhere to the strict view of Roman love, nor does he pursue traditional paths such as politics, the military, or philosophy. They find him too feminine because of the way in which he conveys his true, raw desire for eternal love with Lesbia. They do not find him “good at being a man” in any way. Catullus's violent reaction

¹¹ Gaisser, Julia Haig. “Picturing Catullus.” *The Classical World*, vol. 95, no. 4, 2002, pp. 373

¹² Wray, D. *Catullus and the poetics of Roman manhood*. Cambridge Univ Press, 2007, pp. 67.

to these claims are demonstrated in poem 16, where two men, Furius and Aurelius, devalue his manhood. In this verbal bashing of the two men, Catullus reclaims his manhood, but does not seem to care about “being a good man” – he would rather live out his life doing what he loves.

This differing view of love in poem 5 is taken to the extreme in poems such as Catullus 72, 87, and 92. Catullus has reached the point of no return in his love with Lesbia. While poem 5 exists in a liminal space between the two ends of the spectrum of love, these poems exist at the transcendent end. Poem 72 in particular exemplifies how Catullus’s love has eclipsed and surpassed the type of love most Roman men will ever feel. Catullus’s love for Lesbia has consumed him, and this is both a horrifying and glorious fact to him. Poem 72’s Latin and corresponding translation are below:

Dicebas quondam solum te nosse Catullum,
Lesbia, nec prae me velle tenere Iovem.
dilexi tum te non tantum ut vulgus amicam,
sed pater ut gnatos diligit et generos.
nunc te cognovi: quare etsi impensius uror,
multo mi tamen es vilior et levior.
qui potis est, inquis? quod amantem iniuria talis
cogit amare magis, sed bene velle minus.

You used to say once that you knew Catullus alone,
Lesbia, nor before me would you wish Jupiter to hold.
I have loved you then not only as the crowd loves the girlfriend,
But as a father loves his sons and sons in law.

Now I know you: therefore although I am being burned more deeply,

You are a lot more cheap and trivial.

How can this be, you say? Because such an injury

Compels a lover to love more, but wish well less.

The poem begins with a jab at Lesbia, where she only knew Catullus, and that not before him would she “wish Jupiter to hold.” This claim implies that Lesbia used to know only Catullus deeply and romantically and that she would not want to be with anyone over him, not even the king of the gods. However, the emphasis in line 1 on “Dicebas quondam” or “You used to say once” implies that this status has changed. Catullus, as obviously conveyed in poem 5, wants to be eternally in love with Lesbia. So, the implication that Lesbia is getting to know other people romantically, a fact that is also mentioned in Catullus 11, is deeply disturbing to Catullus. However, the next two lines affirm that Catullus’s devotion to Lesbia has not wavered. In fact, he loves her not as “the crowd loves the girlfriend, but as a father loves his sons and sons in law” (72.3-4). This quote is interesting because of the unique way that it depicts Catullus’s love for Lesbia. Catullus makes it clear that his love for Lesbia is not limited to this temporary insanity that Roman men tend to feel. He is not a part of the “vulgus” (72.3). Instead, his love for her cannot be contained by the binds of romantic love. His feelings for Lesbia are too overpowering and eternal – they transcend romantic love and meld together with familial love.

When Catullus says that he loves Lesbia “pater ut gnatos diligit et generos,” Catullus is saying that he loves Lesbia in the way a father loves his sons. This does not seem to carry an incestual tone; instead, it is conveying that Catullus loves Lesbia unconditionally and is absolutely devoted to her. This devotion, commitment, and loyalty are of a level that is only matched by the relationship a father has with his sons. A father’s relationship with his sons is one

that is lifelong, unconditional, and unbreakable. The average Roman didn't pursue this kind of love in their partners – their relationships were often for marriage, financial well-being, and children. Therefore, the best way that Catullus can articulate his feelings towards Lesbia is by comparing his love for her to the love shared between fathers and sons.

Parents are able to love their children without necessarily liking them; Catullus feels similarly about Lesbia. Poem 72 is definitively farther into his relationship than poem 5 because in line 5 Catullus says: “nunc te cognovi,” or “now I know you.” His idealized perception of Lesbia has shattered, and now she is “a lot more cheap and trivial.” Calling someone cheap is extreme: this indicates that Catullus does not find Lesbia goddess-like or perfect anymore. In fact, she is worth very little. However, despite all of this, Catullus is still absolutely devoted to her. His love for her is eternal, and he is even being “impensius uror,” or “burned more strongly” (72.6). In both lines 5 and 6, Catullus uses comparatives to convey both the heightened sense of worthlessness and the heightened sense of love he feels for her. However, this love is not blissful – it is painful and scorches him. The final two lines of poem 72 once again convey this idea that Catullus is able to love Lesbia without liking her as a person. He compares his love of her to an “iniuria” and says that this “injury” (72.7), “compels a lover to love more, but wish well less” (72.8). This affirmative, powerful statement shuts down this poem. There is no indecision on Catullus's part regarding his feelings for Lesbia. He also has no remorse for feeling this way; he does not wish Lesbia well, and he is unapologetic about it. Poem 72 encapsulates the transcendent form of love to which Catullus falls prey to in his relationship with her. He wished for an eternal love with Lesbia, and his wish came true – however, the cost is high, even if Lesbia's worth is not.

Love, in Catullus's poetry, is made distinctive because of its intense effects. Catullus feels love deeply: it burns him and it injures him, but it also delights him. Catullus is enamored by love, regardless of its sometimes destructive, trapping effects. His genuine approach to writing poetry is what makes him feel so real to readers. The situations that Catullus finds himself in, ones where he admires someone more than they admire him, or where he's obsessed with his new relationship, or where he really wants to see the object of his affections, are all very relatable situations. Not only are they relatable to ancient Romans, but they have also withstood the test of time. Humans will always be navigating the confusing, embarrassing, vulnerable, passionate, and powerful effects of love, and this is partly why Catullus's poetry is so impactful. However, the relatability of Catullus's poetry isn't its only significance – it is also vastly important because it furthers our modern understanding of the reality of love and manhood in the late Roman Republic. While other poets from this era often equate love to violence and temporary urges, Catullus sees it as a worthy, lifelong venture. His poetry adds complexity to our modern perception of late republican identity for men, and how Roman men were expected to act to be seen both as good men and as being good at being men. Whether Catullus's poetry is a performative poetic persona, an act of rebellion against the performative nature of masculinity, a true representation of his life, or a mix of all of these aspects is something that scholars will never be able to decisively answer. However, this age-old question is one that continues to fascinate scholars and contribute to the discussion on poetry, love, and masculinity in ancient Rome.

Bibliography

- Arkins, Brian. "A Reading of Latin Love Poetry." *Classics Ireland* 13 (2006), 1–22.
- Asikainen, Susanna. "Masculinities in the Ancient Greco-Roman World." In *Jesus and Other Men: Ideal Masculinities in the Synoptic Gospels*, 2018, 19–45.
- Fitzgerald, William. "Lucretius' Cure for Love in the 'De Rerum Natura.'" *The Classical World* 78, no. 2 (1984): 73–86.
- Gaisser, Julia Haig. "Picturing Catullus." *The Classical World*, vol. 95, no. 4, 2002, pp. 372–85.
- Greene, Ellen. "The Catullan Ego: Fragmentation and the Erotic Self." *The American Journal of Philology*, 116(1), 1995, 77–93.
- Green, Peter. *The Poems of Catullus: A Bilingual Edition*. The University of California Press, 2005.
- Gunderson, Erik. "Catullus, Pliny, and Love-Letters." *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 127, 1997, 201–231.
- Konstan, David. "Two Kinds of Love in Catullus." *The Classical Journal*, 68(2), 1972, 102–106.
- Seider, Aaron. "Catullan Myths: Gender, Mourning, and the Death of a Brother." *Classical Antiquity*, 35(2), 2016, 279–314.
- Skinner, Marilyn. "Clodia." *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2016.
- Wray, D. *Catullus and the poetics of Roman manhood*. Cambridge Univ Press, 2007.