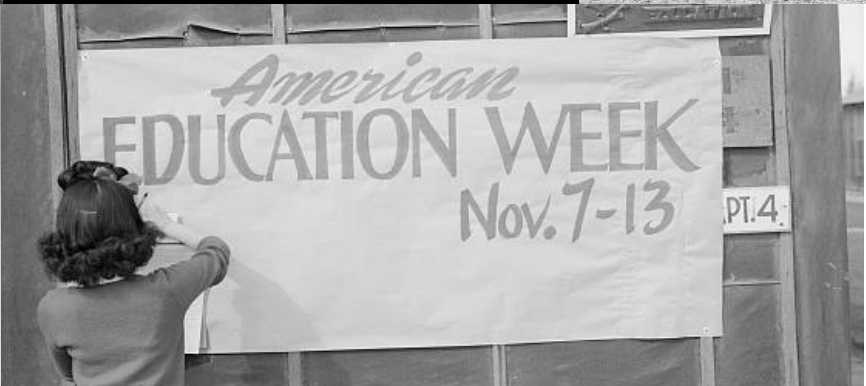# James Blair

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Review

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Letter From the Editor

Dear reader,

On behalf of our Editorial Board, it is my distinct honor to present to you our latest issue of the *James Blair Historical Review.*

In the words of William Faulkner, "the past is never dead. It's not even past." Indeed, history, the study of the past, is instrumental to comprehending our times. It is through understanding the past that we come to grips with our present and dream of shaping our future. The articles contained in this issue stand as testaments to this fact. They read as shockingly contemporary for the ideas they explore.

Dasha Jessica Pimenov's "The Grade School Brigade" is an incisive account of how America's Cold War youth learned to love capitalism and hate communism through their endless consumption of toys, trading cards, candies, and anything else 1950s marketers could cook up. I hope you have as much fun reading it as I did. Olivia Aponte's "The Legacy of the American Revolution in Red, Black, and Blue" follows. It reminds us, as Abigail Adams once said to her husband John, to "remember the ladies," bringing to light an important history of sexual violence intertwined with the founding of our nation. Luke Neill's "Edmund Burke and the Languages of Political Thought" is a brilliant analysis that gets to the heart of what the great statesman really believed in the Age of Enlightenment. I am pleased to report that it is the first paper from outside of the United States the *JBHR* has published in its ten-year history. Nadija Todovic's "The World War II Incarceration of Japanese Americans" closes the issue and implores us to take the first small step towards righting historic wrongs – remembering them.

Of course, this issue would be nothing without the hard work and dedication of all who contributed to it. Congratulations again to our authors, thank you for giving us the privilege of publishing your work.

Our Editorial Board: Kevin, Zack, Claire, Italia, Grace, Xavier, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for supporting the journal through everything. It was your initiative that allowed us to, miraculously, publish in the middle of a global pandemic and restore this journal to print after a two-year hiatus. It was an honor and joy to work with you all. I am also grateful to our wonderful peer reviewers, whose important work ensures the *JBHR* maintains a high level of academic quality. Thanks also go to Professor Christopher Grasso for his instrumental mentorship and guidance. Finally, much gratitude goes to William & Mary's Harrison Ruffin Tyler Department of History (recently renamed) and the College's Media Council for their logistical and financial support.

It is with great pride and a heavy heart that I depart the *JBHR.* Having joined the Review as a peer reviewer back in the Fall of 2017, serving as part of its staff has been a highlight of these past four years. I am beyond grateful to have had the opportunity to lead it, and place my full confidence behind its next generation of leadership. Xavier, Grace, Gracie, Sophia, Italia, I can't wait to see what you do with the *JBHR.*

As always, happy reading!

Grant Wong, *JBHR* Editor-in-Chief 2020-2021

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About the Authors

Dasha Pimenov is a senior and first-generation student at Middlebury College, double majoring in History and Film & Media Culture. Her primary research interests include the Cold War era, European and Eurasian affairs, and visual culture. She also enjoys studying the history of the ancient Mediterranean world. She would like to thank Professor Amy Morsman for her support and guidance during the research process and writing of this paper, in addition to her parents-the inspiration behind the included piece. Dasha will be attending the School of Cinematic Arts at the University of Southern California upon graduating from Middlebury and hopes to pursue a career in the film and television industry.

Olivia Aponte is a junior at the College of William & Mary and is double majoring in History and Sociology with a concentration in Criminology, Law, and Society. Her research interests include gender and women's studies, particularly the cultural and legal study of family and childhood in colonial and early America. After graduation, Olivia hopes to serve children and families in need of hope and representation through criminal justice reform advocacy and volunteering. She would like to thank Professor Dressler, Mel Noble, and her mom, dad, grandma, and sister Evelyn for continually supporting her throughout the process of writing this research paper and through her undergraduate journey more broadly.

About the Authors

Luke Neill is a fourth-year history student at the University of Edinburgh, UK. His interests lie in the history of eighteenth and nineteenth century political thought, constitutional theory, as well as the history of philosophy more generally. He spent the year 2019-20 at the Université Paris 1: Panthéon-Sorbonne, which inspired an interest in French history. Luke plans to continue his studies in September at the University of Cambridge, where he will undertake an MPhil in Political Thought and Intellectual History.

Nadija Tokovic is a junior history major at Amherst College with a concentration in US foreign policy. Her research interests include 20th century history, the history of war, international relations and global security. At Amherst, she is involved in the Amherst College Law Review and is a part of the Massachusetts Public Interest Research Group

team. Upon graduation, she hopes to pursue a graduate degree in international affairs and go on to apply her knowledge to the amelioration of political institutions and state of foreign affairs in her home country of Ukraine. She would like to thank Professor Trent Maxey for his invaluable guidance and support throughout the research and writing processes.

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The Grade School Brigade:
How Advertisements Sold the Cold War and Taught Children to Play with Politics, 1950-1959

In 1951, the Bowman Gum Company, beloved by many young boys who grew up with baseball trading cards in the 1940s, released its *Fight the Red Menace* bubble gum collection. Children bought five-cent boxes of trading cards and bubble gum, building their collections and exchanging their finds with friends. "The red star of communism and the white star of democracy are in a life-or-death struggle around the world," read the first of the forty-eight trading cards.[1] A simple piece of candy became a consequential piece of propaganda that brought children face to face with the emerging Cold War. Each card illustrated a political event that focused on the danger and destruction the "red menace" of communism brought to the world.

The cards were distributed in chronological order, following the timeline of events leading to the Cold War. *Fight the Red Menace* made explicit references to wars and battles in foreign countries beginning with the Korean War. "Reds Invade South Korea!" proclaimed the first card of the set. The last, "Doughboy's General," concluded the collection with a jubilant tone, praising American generals for their successes in the First Indochina War. All forty-eight pieces were inscribed with the slogan "Children's Crusade Against Communism," typed across the top edge of each card. The collection openly criticized Marxism and communist ideology in support of President Harry Truman's decision to use military force to contain the communist expansionism around the globe.[2] *Fight the Red Menace* bubble gum collection was a clear marker of the 1950s Red Scare. Children and teenagers paid five cents to fill their bellies with candy, but were left with a bellyful of anti-communist sentiment**.**

The ideological battle between the capitalist West and communist East extended far beyond the physical battlefield; it entered American homes and subconscious minds. The politics of consumerism and domesticity

during the Cold War affected adults and children alike, though the latter have only recently become a subject of academic discussion. Tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union conspicuously revealed themselves in gender power relations. If Soviets advocated for total gender equality by granting women the right to divorce, have an abortion, and enter the workforce without their husband's consent, then Americans stood for God, democracy, and traditional values that propagated conventional gender norms of breadwinner husbands and obedient, domestic wives. Children joined the political arena by exhibiting the behavior of their parents that strengthened each nation's respective ideology.

The two superpowers' opposing economic philosophies gave rise to an American consumerism that promised unimaginable abundance to its citizens as a means to challenge the appeal of communism. As crucial factors in this ideological struggle, material possessions and gender roles became increasingly and intimately intertwined with the political flashpoints of the 1950s. The Bowman Gum Company's *Fight the Red Menace* bubble gum collection was only one of many commodities that not only exposed America's youth to Cold War politics, but also detailed its complexities in terms children could understand. This paper examines how the US government promoted anti-communism to its youngest generation alongside the marketing strategies developed by the commercial sector to promote capitalist ethics to America's children.

Finding the Missing Puzzle Piece

An abundance of scholarly work dedicated to studying the effects of Cold War politics in the United States can be traced back to as early as the mid-1950s. Since the years leading toward the collapse of the Soviet Union and the final phase of the Cold War, numerous historians have addressed the impact the superpower rivalry had on the American home front, emphasizing the US' return to traditional gender roles and the

emergence of a consumerist economy following the Second World War. The groundbreaking studies of Lizabeth Cohen's *A Consumer's Republic* and Elaine Tyler May's *Homeward Bound* have laid a solid foundation for the growing field of cultural politics during the Cold War era.[3] Few works, however, have studied children as sociopolitical actors in the domestication of the Cold War in the 1950s.

Joel Spring's *Educating the Consumer Citizen* focuses on the origins of home economics and its prevalence in 20th century schools, films, advertisements, and cuisine, calling the cultural phenomenon a "marriage" between corporate media and the US government.[4] Despite the vast knowledge that Spring offers in the area of socioeconomics, his historical research primarily lies in the development of consumer products like Jell-O and Wonder Bread in the 1920s-1930s. Spring considers the role young American citizens played in the postwar economy of the 1950s, acknowledging the importance of television and school-sponsored dances and social events, yet his analysis is in direct reference to young adult behavior as a product of "educating the consumer citizen."[5] Spring's definition of consumer citizen is useful for this research project as a gauge of patriotic consumption.[6] He describes a consumer citizen as "a person who accepts any political situation as long as there is an abundance of consumer goods." Following this reasoning, I interpret the United States' "political situation" during the Cold War as one that promoted a competitive, capitalistic, and patriarchal society that rewarded good American behavior with consumer goods.

Similar to Spring, Marilyn Irvin Holt's *Cold War Kids* assesses the relationship between federal government policies and the 1950s American lifestyle in respect to both the country's living standards and domestic ideal, but pays closer attention to the impact it had on children of all ages, races, and economic status. The Cold War era, Holt argues, placed a greater responsibility on the state to meet children's needs

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following the postwar population burst. According to Holt, the 1950s were a "critical turning point in state-to-federal relations and an increase in federal action directly affecting children and teenagers."[7] By identifying how government involvement guided new programs for orphans, foster children, and healthcare, Holt's work functions as a historical analysis of the evolution of postwar healthcare policies and children's rights. Though Holt and Spring challenge the dominant narrative and nostalgia of a stable and culturally unified 1950s America, both historians treat media and advertising and their effects on young children on a superficial level. Nonetheless, both Holt and Spring acknowledge that the Cold War revolutionized the country's perception of the American youth and their societal function as cold warriors in training.

Victoria M. Grieve's most recent work, *Little Cold Warriors*, comes closest to providing a rich and nuanced understanding of domestic politics, recognizing the power the young generation held in American households during the postwar period. Debunking the "duck-and-cover" myth of innocent, helpless, politically neutral children[8], Grieve asserts that children were central to the success of propaganda campaigns and corporate advertisements that abused imaginative play and exploited childhood innocence. Children, in this way, became "ambassadors, cultural diplomats, and representatives of the United States."[9] Grieve primarily examines the methods in which adults deployed ideas about childhood that adhered to both the politics and commercialism of the US' Cold War agenda. Although I arrive at a similar conclusion, it must be noted that Grieve's in-depth analysis of *Lone Ranger* overshadows other forms of mass media that were utilized by the Advertising Council to target young children. Most importantly, Grieve places little emphasis on the intimate relationship and power dynamic between children and their parents in the context of consumerism.

In this paper, I build off of Grieve's claim that American children were mobilized and politicized by the federal government, private corporate organizations, and public schools in response to the political climate of the time. However, my paper utilizes a different approach, one that foregrounds visual imagery and media sources as evidence of the domestication of Cold War messages in its analysis. I give special attention to advertisements, given that the ad industry experienced a surge in gross annual expenditures that grew from $1.3 billion in 1950 to $6 billion by 1960.[10] This 1950s advertising explosion contributed to the height of nationalistic consumerism and physicalized the meaning of "Americanism" through images of white, middle-class, suburban life. This research rests upon a strong understanding of how Cold War politics manifested itself in the social and domestic sphere in American households with children. Explorations into those households reveal that a strong correlation existed between the Cold War and consumer culture in the 1950s. But how did children, specifically, contribute to that decade's consumerist habits? Furthermore, what were the ways in which material goods and mass consumption instilled a sense of an "American" identity in children and promoted traditional, patriotic values? The answers to these questions can be found by investigating the interconnection between American consumers and the media, but more explicitly how young children from white, middle-class, affluent families became a source of economic and cultural influence that helped fuel the anti-communist consumerist model. This research aims to contribute to this area of study by adding another piece to the larger historiographical puzzle of the impact the Cold War had on American families.

Historical Background: Materialism, Consumption, and the American Dream

The Eisenhower Era (1953-1961) was a time of unprecedented economic growth and expanding prosperity. While other parts of the

world struggled to recover from the devastations of World War II, standards of living in the United States surpassed the levels of its previous generations in both material comfort and income. Inflation was minimal and unemployment remained at a 4.5% low, in part due to Eisenhower's efforts to balance the federal budget. Cheap oil prices bolstered American industrial markets, while scientific and technological advancements boosted productivity as competitors in Europe and Asia had yet to revitalize their economies in the post-war period. The nation's economy also benefited from sustained increases in spending on consumer goods as manufacturing lines shifted from the military to the consumer market. Americans began to use credit, sparking a surge in loans. Families used loans to buy houses, cars, domestic appliances, and even swimming pools. They were now able to purchase items that were scarce or impossible to find during the war; in fact, Americans purchased 20 million refrigerators, 21.4 million cars, and 5.5 million stoves between 1945 and 1949, setting a trend for the following decade as the 1950s set new records of consumption.[11]

The return to normalcy, comfort, and stability in the post-war period gave the American public a hopeful and optimistic outlook on the future for the first time in years. New federal programs also played an integral part in the growing economy. The GI Bill of 1944 provided financial assistance to American veterans that allowed them to pursue higher education, buy homes, find jobs and readjust to civilian life. Creating a highly educated workforce caused an economic boom that "warded off any concerns of a new depression and created unparalleled prosperity for a generation."[12] Unlike the pre-war population that reached maturity in fear of financial debt, young Americans of the 1950s were eager to spend their hard-earned money and embraced the new culture of commercialism.[13] The long-awaited future, for them, was now.

That same economic confidence was reflected in the social and cultural aspects of the American way of life. The 1950s brought forth a

modernized version of the American Dream reliant on a consumerist society. Financial freedom and social mobility remained the backbone of the new American Dream, but it now offered its citizens a chance to become a part of the burgeoning middle class and "exercise their personal freedom" in a capitalist economy. This drew deliberate parallels with the communist economy of the Soviet Union.[14] Young men came to associate material well-being with job security that allowed them to buy suburban homes for their wives and children. The government and economy of the United States in the 1950s placed a heavy emphasis on white-collar professions in the corporate world of sales, advertising, communications, and insurance over blue-collar, industrial jobs.[15] In this idealistic life, the energized, ambitious American businessman worked in the city, owned a car and TV set, lived in suburbia with his homemaker wife and young children, and came home to a fresh-cooked dinner at the end of the day. This American Dream upheld the traditional American value system that accentuated gender norms: men worked white-collar jobs, and women took care of the single-family house and children by spending the husband's check on labor-saving devices and goods. The material comfort of the middle-class became the epitome of the American identity and success.[16] However, it is important to note that racism and poverty excluded countless numbers of Americans from attaining the commercialized 1950s American Dream. Poor and non-white consumers were not able to compete with the prosperous white, middle and working class who dominated the suburban domesticity.

Mass consumer culture and the media reinforced the belief that the American Dream was synonymous with the suburban lifestyle. Hollywood's Golden Age contributed to quality entertainment but simultaneously produced films that emphasized the importance of the American home: a house represented "fulfillment and contentment: confident dads, perky moms, and glowing children, attending good schools and, later, college."[17] Film, television, and media became

more influential than ever; television, especially, was a novel form of entertainment and a new educational medium for young American families. Television taught the importance of the traditional way of life that soon determined the rules and guidelines of media broadcasting and programming. The effort to combat any and all sources that undermined American conservative values was imminent, and censorship soon took over mass media. The "Big Three" networking channels - CBS, NBC, ABC - in the Classic Television Era spewed out images of ideal American households that dictated the roles of each family member in popular shows and sitcoms, such as *The Donna Reed Show, Leave it to Beaver, and Father Knows Best.* Maintaining family values was paramount amongst American networks and studios. The vice president of NBC, Joseph Heffernan, shared with a Senate Subcommittee that NBC's children's shows were designed "to convey the commonly accepted moral, social, and ethical ideals characteristic of American life; to reflect respect for parents, good morals, and honorable behavior; to foster healthy personality development; and to provide opportunities for cultural growth as well as entertainment."[18]

Following the pattern of commercial radio, television helped develop a national culture which provided a sanitized view of American life and family that appealed to many Americans, even though it did not accurately represent the whole of American society. Television generated ratings, but it also boosted merchandising practices by implementing advertisements into telecasting to promote consumerism. Advertisers selectively sponsored shows that supported free enterprise and embodied the optimistic promise of the American Dream; products soon became inseparable from entertainment for the American audience.[19] Television programs and commercials shaped audience aspirations by pre-packaging and selling perfect lifestyles that, it appeared, could only be obtained by the purchase of material goods.[20]

Consumer society in the 1950s, though, was not treated as a sign of decadence or moral decline by the government and media as it had been in the Roaring 1920s. Instead, the US government and advertising agencies revered and celebrated the American consumer. Both benefited, of course, from a robust economy supported by mass consumerism; advertisers earned a profit from it, while the government bolstered a strong national identity and political image in response to the threat of international rivalry. The economic battle between the Soviet Union and United States amplified national differences and helped redefine patriotism. A "good purchaser" who was dedicated to the "more, new and better" American way of life inherently became a "good citizen."[21] Lizabeth Cohen, historian and author of *A Consumer's Republic*, explains the "good purchaser" concept to be a product of an economic recovery that depended on a dynamic mass consumption economy after a decade and a half of depression and war.[22] A true patriot was, therefore, defined as an active consumer who exercised his/her rights in a free-market economy.

Aired on television in 1951, an episode from the *March of Time*, titled "The American Consumer," underscored the notion of consumers acting as true Americans and fulfilling their duties as good citizens. The show was produced by Henry Luce, founder of *Time, Fortune*, and *Life* magazine, who was a staunch anti-communist and used his immense influence to create content in line with patriotic consumption and capitalist ideology.[23] In doing so, *March of Time* boldly stated that the American customer was "probably the most independent individual in the world today." The episode evoked democratic values and beliefs using words such as "freedom," "independence," "prosperity," and "happiness" - all that the United States stood for. According to the television host, 1950s America was "a nation which does not attempt to regiment its citizens in what they do with their money, where they spend it or what they buy."[24] Applying patriotic language to the consumerist model, the

show justified the obsessive American behavior of finding purpose and meaning in material things. However, this consumer mentality was ingrained into American citizens by marketers and advertisers. The desire to achieve a higher standard of living by buying new and trendy material objects, along with the overwhelming exposure of advertisements, commercials, and popular television series like *March of Time*, made shopping a major pastime in the United States.

A New Generation of Consumers

The baby boom revolutionized the economic model of consumer culture in 1950s America. Due to the favorable economic conditions and national stability that followed World War II, Americans shifted their focus to family life and the normalcy, security, and sense of safety it offered. Early marriages and nuclear families became the social norm after the war, leading close-knit white communities with husbands, wives, and young children to reassert the ideals and values of the realm of domesticity. The US' child population under the age of ten increased by 45% from the year 1940 to 1950, as 60 million American children were introduced into the world between 1946 and 1960.[25] The baby boom was not only a manifestation of the healthy economy, but also its main contributor; the phenomenon brought the birthrate to a twentieth-century high after more than a hundred years of steady decline.[26]

Children of the 1950s became a core part of the marketing demographic upon which producers and advertisers capitalized. Childrearing stimulated on-going consumer activities, and manufacturers responded by introducing new home appliances such as automatic washing machines, refrigerators, and toasters. The baby boom also led to a revival in markets for toys, candies, cereals, and brought forth hundreds of superfluous products in the form of soft-toned pink bathroom tissues that were used to "blend in gently with Susie's rosebud panties" and her nursery room (see Figure 1).[27] As baby boomers continued to grow,

advertisement agencies and companies found innovative ways to maintain their parents' buying interests while also marketing to the maturing children's own needs and wants. The American 1950s revolved around youth appeal as the nation prioritized and celebrated its children, yet strategically instilled in them the material realities of middle-class America that reflected and set the decade's cultural trends.[28]

Advertisers reinvented the holiday season by marrying American patriotism to consumer products and Christian values. They did so in direct contrast to their notion of Soviet nationalism and communal ownership at the height of the Cold War. The clash between a free enterprise and a communist economic system inspired the American government and advertising agencies to commercialize Christmas Day and strongly promote the spirit of gift giving. Middle-class white families now lived in large houses in the suburbs with more space and land that needed to be filled with material things, and Christmas became the perfect season for buying those goods. Popular department stores such as Sears and JCPenney offered a wide variety of Christmas gifts for the entire family, from children's books and electric blankets to women's stockings and lingerie.[29] In every page of a magazine, every television show, and every radio broadcasting, American advertisers bombarded consumers with advertisements and commercials of popular brands like Ship'n Shore, Lee, and Playtex.[30]

At the center of this consumerist paradise were children; they led the market with their material needs and desires and inadvertently affected adult sales and advertising. From 1952 to 1954 Munsingwear showcased its annual Christmas special with a "Look-Alike" line of pajamas that featured two adult parents and two young children (see Figure 2). All three ads captured the anticipating moment of Christmas morning, as children opened the presents under the Christmas tree and played with their toys. The holiday spirit and leisure were evoked in the description of the family, as they "lounge" together. Furthermore, the opening line of

the ad illustration referenced the famous "God Rest Ye Merry Gentlemen" Christmas carol with the pajama collection's promise of "comfort and joy." Munsingwear depicted the nuclear family in its full warmth and traditionalism as happy, heterosexual, white Christians - the selling point of these pajamas.

There is little doubt that the Munsingwear magazine ads reinforced gender norms by presenting a contrasting image of masculinity and femininity to produce a well-balanced, harmonious home. The clothes were strictly divided by gender with the 1952 slogans "like father, like son" and "like mother, like daughter."[31] A 1953 advertisement went further, describing the pajamas as "beautifully matched for mother and daughter" and "handsomely teamed for father and son."[32] These advertisements physicalized traditional roles for their buyers by pushing them to associate gender with the meaning behind the illustrated gift choices: the boy energetically played with his toy plane and the girl gently held a twin doll that resembled her physical appearance. The "masculine" was active and public, while the "feminine" was domestic and submissive. The magazine ads created a positive association that not only sold a product, but also promoted a lifestyle, a lifestyle that strove to be the polar opposite of those of the "distressed and penniless" communists stereotyped by the media. The capitalist system's superiority, then, as implied in American advertising, lay in its ability to commodify happiness for its consumers. Every single family member in the Munsingwear advertisements were depicted as either joyful, excited, or at peace. The ad reinforced a consumerist mentality and constructed the idea that all problems, whether they were everyday boredom and restlessness or fractured relationships, could simply be resolved by purchasing the product. If the implication was too subtle, buyers only had to read the bottom of the page: "'Look-Alike' Balbriggan Pajamas can solve your family Christmas problem beautifully."[33]

American businesses were optimistic and confident about their prospects for profit as they began to realize the value of children as consumers. The birth of a new generation pushed the American consumer economy to modernize with its young citizens. Hand-me-downs were too old-school – the imitation of adult trends became the latest craze. The *Wall Street Journal* article, for instance, titled a fashion and apparel report "Child Population Rise Fuels Rocketing Sales of Kiddie Clothiers Makers Also Aided by Trend to Adult Styles." "The bright outlook for children's wear has encouraged a number of large adult apparel firms to enter the juvenile market," it noted.[34] The report provided details on Cluett, Peabody and Co. as it introduced a new line of shirts, swim trunks, sweaters, and other sportswear for young boys that mirrored adult men's fashion. "We're confident enough to spend a whale of a lot of money advertising the line," commented one company executive.[35]

The automobile industry in particular recognized the new potential power of children in their sales and marketing strategy. Car ads were no longer limited to sleek black Cadillacs for elegant evening affairs; illustrations captured lively and adventurous family road trips in Buicks and Edsels. Scenes depicted happy families enjoying days at the beach and on wide American freeways with captions that read, "first big family car - with a sports car heart."[36] In 1954, Nash-Kelvinator Corporation became part of the largest corporate merger of its time as it joined Hudson Motor Car Company to create the American Motors Corporation. [37] This multi-million dollar corporation invested its money into commercial and print advertisements that centered on the convenience and enjoyment that their latest model of cars had to offer to young families in suburbia. "Nash Thought of the Children, too, in the World's Finest Travel Car!" read the slogan for the Nash '56 advertising campaign (see Figure 3).[38] The print featured a father driving the car in a clean suit and tie, with an equally fashion-forward mother sitting in the backseat. The mother smiled at her sleeping children, who were enjoying

the latest feature of the new Nash model, an "instant nap couch nearly 3 feet wide for two youngsters."[39] The family-centered advertisement repeatedly emphasized the "benefits for children's comfort and parents' peace of mind" that it provided to its American buyers, upholding the nuclear family domestic ideal, while encouraging families to buy into the automobile culture, an important and growing sector of the mass consumer economy.

With the success of indirect advertising in television programming, commercial prints began to implement similar methods, including alluding to a famous haven for young consumers: Disneyland. The American Motors Corporation strategically utilized product integration by visually referencing the happiest place on Earth on the eve of its 1955 debut and including a line below the company's logo encouraging the viewer to look into Disneyland on the ABC television network. The same Nash '56 automobile in the ad was shown to be parked in Disneyland, as a mother and her two young children waved in the background while riding the Dumbo the Flying Elephant theme park attraction. The Insurance Company of North America also took advantage of Disneyland's popularity among youngsters, pulling on parents' heartstrings by offering the company's insured protection of young Americans.[40]

Quality family time at Disneyland grounded a sense of childhood innocence that, as the media pushed American citizens to believe, was in dire need of protection from the radical communist left. Insurance Company of North America's 1957-1958 advertising campaign presented a series of staged photographs of traditional families in Disney's amusement park (see Figure 4). Couples were pictured with their young children who beamed with laughter, while holding snacks and souvenirs - the epitome of a wholesome American family. Echoing Munsingwear's depiction of a pure and heartfelt moment of a nuclear family during the holiday season, Insurance Company of North America chose to include a

rather simple yet profound question: "Can you put yourself in this picture?"[41] That picture-perfect advertisement would have been incomplete without children, given that they became an integral part of the 1950s American Dream. The advertisement built on the expectation of a breadwinner husband by holding him responsible for the safety and financial wellbeing of his family with the phrase, "every family man wants his wife and children to enjoy a wonderful today, unclouded by worry about tomorrow."[42] Advertisers presented Disneyland as an escapist utopia that was then compared to the insurance plan, and simultaneously placed a heavy emphasis on traditional gender roles in the family and societal functions as a whole. The advert incepted American citizens with the notion that a home and family can only be happy when the man of the house was able to provide his wife and children with an abundance of new goods and experiences.

Communism, in the eyes of the US government and commercial media, was inherently flawed because it was anti-materialist in its very nature and stood as a threat to the capitalist system. The Soviet ideology, by extension, endangered the principles of freedom and democracy - the essence of the American family life and way of living. Consumer capitalism offered a solution to the US government's agenda: American businesses and ad agencies commercialized childhood innocence, purity, and adolescence – values that invoked powerful rhetoric in furthering anti-Soviet attitudes; for what was more important for American fathers and mothers than saving their children from the raging communists?

Cold War Rhetoric in Baby Boomer Marketing

Children signified the promise of the American capitalist democracy; they were a product of the sociopolitical environment of the Cold War that they were engulfed in. In 1953, John Sirjamaki, a professor and sociologist, described the multiplication of independent nuclear families to be an embodiment of American individualism that instilled a

"democratic personality" in the youth. Children, he asserted, "share withtheir elders in the basic values of American culture - dignity of human personality and equality of opportunity, but also personal freedom, individual conscience, and moral responsibility."[43] American historian David M. Potter took a step further in this direction by tying the flourishing economy with the baby boom generation .

Potter believed that national abundance and prosperity were at the core of the US economy and central to the formation of the distinct American character. He claimed that the US' per capita income surpassed all other countries, including the Soviet Union, and boasted that the average American's daily 3,186 calorie intake was "unquestionably" the highest nutritional number in the world.[44] Potter listed a variety of consumer goods from telephones and vacuum cleaners to bathtubs and supermarket products to highlight the United States' affluence, which, he believed, gave its infant citizens full care, nourishment, housing, clothing, and much more. A country's wealth, Potter argued, was "determined by the economic organization and technological advancement." In this sense, the Soviet Union was the clear loser in the superpower rivalry due to its communist economic system that created a scarcity of material goods and left parents and their children empty-handed. The USSR, by default, was unable to compete against the mighty US that splurged money on its consumer citizens, and was, for that reason, economically superior.[45]

If the standard of living of each nation's youth determined the winning country of the Cold War, then American manufacturers and ad agencies were resolved to sell the idea that the United States was, first and foremost, an unparalleled land of opportunity and abundance for children. The extension of child welfare, labor laws, and health-care programs in the early 20th century signaled a change in the US government's perception of its youth, especially following the creation of the US Children's Bureau in 1912 that acknowledged the importance of children's physical health.[46] By the start of the Cold War, however, the

federal government shifted its attention to the social presence and media representation of its youngest generation, as it utilized advertisements to create images of happy, healthy, and pampered children that symbolized the blessings of capitalism. There is no coincidence, then, that children constituted 11% of all advertising images in *Look* and *Life* magazine from 1950 to 1964 [47]. A 1955 issue of *Life*, for example, featured a white toddler as the cover star with a headline that read, "Mass Luxury: A $73 Billion Market Basket" (see Figure 5).[48] The magazine pictured the child holding a small plastic bag of snacks for his mother, while seated in a shopping cart flooded with ketchup bottles, ready-to-eat ham, fresh vegetables, canned goods, and other grocery items. Mass media advertised the United States as a land of milk and honey, offering to its citizens all the possible food, comforts, and luxuries for child rearing that the Soviet Union could not.

American ads also incorporated children - living embodiments of simplicity and innocence - into brand slogans and taglines to appeal to parents, as well as kids themselves. Much like its 1950s competitors, Hires Root Beer and Canada Dry, the soft drink corporation Seven-Up pictured enthusiastic American children drinking soft drinks with their families in its marketing.[49] For instance, in its "Seven-Up is so pure...so wholesome!" advertisement, Seven-Up described its titular product as an "all-family drink" enjoyed by everyone in the house, "be he nine months, nine years or ninety" (see Figure 6).[50] The print ad went as far as to feature a vivaciously laughing infant in a wooden high chair, holding a baby cup while eagerly waiting for the mother to finish pouring a Seven-Up from the bottle. Seven-Up assured parents that even the youngest of customers were safe to consume the brand's soda: "For a fact, you can even give this sparkling drink to babies—and without any qualms. Lots of mothers do just that!" Consumption practices, sometimes in the unhealthiest forms, made and maintained capitalist identities. Perhaps the American people did enjoy their daily 3,186 calories that the

Soviets could not, but the US government certainly left humble pie from their diets. The government preached about the superiority and greatness of capitalism to the American public but drew a veil over the system's shortcomings: poverty, gentrification, unemployment, a lack of universal healthcare, and systemic inequality. Advertising agencies cooperated by spreading the narrative of American superiority, where the free market reigned supreme and white, cosseted children were evidence of that success.

Advertisements attempted to showcase the greatness of the red, white, and blue through children's commercial products as well. In fact, it was children's increased consumption habits that exposed where the real ideological battlefield took place. *Fight the Red Menace* fostered anti-Soviet sentiment among American boys through the use of provocative symbols, loaded language, and color psychology (see Figure 7). All forty-eight *Fight the Red Menace* trading cards demonized the Soviet Union, as well as other leftist groups and leaders in Asian, European, and African countries. Hyperbolic language was utilized to spark fear and anti-communist hysteria by contrasting America as the "free west" to the Soviet Union's empire of "red slavery" [100]. Aside from the repetitive use of the term "Reds," the cards called Soviet soldiers "murderers," "threat," and "the enemy," painting a negative image of the USSR that was reinforced with horrific visuals of torture techniques and a white phantom taking over cities. Chairman Mao Zedong, a Chinese communist revolutionary, was colored completely green, perhaps to symbolize envy, and looked straight at the reader with a sinister smile. His ominous gaze was intensified with the bloody red background of a gorilla-like figure swaying a sword, a racialized element of the art that served to further villainize communism. [52].

Children's products created a new opportunity for the US government to exercise its soft power and politicize even the smallest and insignificant consumer items. Children, primarily boys, underwent a

political learning process by reading *Fight the Red Menace*, as each card rhetorically degraded communism and elevated capitalism. American military commanders, for example, were described and illustrated as heroes in their uniforms with either an American flag or a glorious battlefield in the background of their portraits. The cards sold the idea of American supremacy by juxtaposing "the bad guy" communist Russia against capitalist America, "the white star of democracy that stands for mercy and life".[53] "I pray that they [people enslaved by the State] may be delivered from oppression… I pledge my faith, loyalty and devotion to the cause of freedom for all mankind," read the "Crusader Oath," a written pledge printed on the back of every five-cent box. Such rhetoric revealed that the United States also interpreted the Cold War as a moralistic "crusade" against evil. Its militaristic tone instilled the values of Americanism in young boys by underscoring that an ideal US citizen believed in nationalist exceptionalism, defending the country's righteous superiority, and supporting mobilization in defense of peace from the menacing "other".[54] *Fight the Red Menace* crystallized the Cold War state of mind in the American home front. These children's cards mirrored the Western propaganda printed in advertisements and broadcast on commercial television that proudly claimed to be "united in detesting communist slavery".[55]

Advertisements and consumer goods also employed subliminal messaging to influence young citizens to believe that their nation was a benevolent superpower. They sold the idea that the United States was a "Candyland" for children; after all, it was home to the world-famous "Berlin Candy Bomber," a US pilot who airdropped chocolates and candy to children in West Berlin in 1948.[56] Pixy Stix, peanut M&Ms, and PEZ were all popular treats among the American youth, but it was the mid-century jawbreaker – the Atomic Fireball – that became a pop culture obsession. Introduced in 1954, the hot and spicy cinnamon-flavored candies were packaged in yellow boxes that featured a large mushroom

cloud.[57] The mouth-scorching taste of the fireball candy was meant to resemble the burning sensation of a nuclear test that was a playful, yet gruesome, nod to the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the growing threat of nuclear annihilation with the Soviet Union. American children practiced "duck-and-cover" drills at schools, yet swapped nuclear-themed candy and competed to see how many Fireballs each person could hold in their mouth for the longest amount of time.[58] Though the Atomic Fireball deflected nuclear anxiety and desensitized children to American atrocities, the Soviet threat, implanted by the US government, remained ever-present in the minds of the American youth. The ideological warfare soon extended to children's everyday toys and objects.

In the same way as the confectionary industry, toy manufacturing and marketing underwent an even greater change during the Cold War era. In the early twentieth century, children's games mainly consisted of fun and interactive toys for amusement purposes. The 1920s introduced modern mass production that popularized die-cast metal cars and planes for boys and hard plastic Madame Alexander dolls for girls, along with marbles, tinker toys, and the yo-yo.[59] Despite the high poverty levels that the country experienced during the Great Depression and Dust Bowl years, children still managed to play with inexpensive toys such as the Rockford Red Heel Sock Monkey and Kewpie dolls.[60] World War II saw even lower toy production rates with the material shortages of rubber, metal, and plastic that were used in the war effort in which children had to make do with handmade toys. Those who could not afford a Slinky or a toy military gun made bubble wands and other homemade playthings, but all American children were encouraged to raise money for war bonds and buy stamps.[61] Although the US government found ways to involve children in politics and regarded them as positive contributors during the wartime period, the Golden Age of Capitalism the 1950s represented fully integrated the American youth in its Cold War affairs and

submerged them in psychological warfare.

Baby boomer toys became a crucial sociopolitical tool that familiarized children with the real-world conflicts of the Cold War. The toy industry simultaneously promoted consumer practices and educated children about the country's political confrontations, though its narrative sanitized the reality of these events and sought to glorify America's prowess in matters of both peace and war. Game designers and toymakers helped communicate, simplify, and rationalize the containment policy and the US' use of military force against the aggressive and nuclear-armed Soviet Union and its communist allies. Part of a Kix cereal promotion, the Lone Ranger Atomic Bomb Ring reflected the dichotomy of nuclear fear and optimism that Americans experienced. This miniature spinthariscope was sold for 15 cents with a box top and was advertised to children as a "seething scientific creation" that contained "brilliant flashes of light in the inky darkness inside the atom chamber."[62]. Though released in 1947, the Lone Ranger Atomic Bomb Ring remained popular until the early 1950s and set a precedent for toys in the new decade. Toymakers continued to draw inspiration from the Nuclear Arms Race by producing "completely safe and harmless" atomic games and playthings, such as the Giant Atomic Bomb, Gilbert U-239 Geiger Counter, Atomic Age Air Rifle, Uranium Rush, and more.[63] The toy market allowed American children to make sense of the political world around them, as international rivalry, militarism, and national security were interpreted into play. The trend continued when Soviet-American relations reached the galactic frontier sparking the start of the Space Race. After the Soviets successfully launched their Sputnik satellite in 1957, American toy store shelves replaced nuclear toy bombs and radioactive games with robots, flying saucers, and spaceships.[64]

Gendered Politics and Play

The US government devised a way to re-establish gender norms for

its consumer society through the juvenile market. Similar to the *Fight the Red Menace* cards, most, if not all of the space and atomic toys were marketed towards young boys who imitated the behavior of soldiers, astronauts, and even their fathers through role play. Not unlike the Christmas edition of Munsingwear pajamas, a toy advertisement for Lionel Trains encouraged parental bonding based in gender (see Figure 8). The ad visualized a blond boy in pajamas, beaming with thrill and excitement upon discovering his new toy. Sitting right next to him was his handsome father who oozed the type of masculinity associated with the Marlboro Man and John Wayne.[65] He projected an image of the "Company Man," a modern cowboy that symbolized American individualism and muscular democracy, supposedly something the Soviets could not understand with their state ownership and communal living. The father's clean-shaven face, slicked-back hair, and white-collar attire were used by the ad to conceptualize the vigor and patriotism of corporate culture for both parents and children.[66] The father fulfilled his American duty and upheld the capitalist system by working a middle-class company job that not only fed his family but that also spoiled his kids with consumer goods. "One of the best ways Men get to know Each Other" was the headline of this happy image, juxtaposing a scene in the top corner of the ad of an alienating father reading a newspaper and a disappointed son sitting on the ground.[67]. The advertisement encouraged fathers to establish a connection with their children and act as positive masculine role models for their sons. Thus, parent-child relationships in advertisements set clear binary gender norms for children to follow.

The politics of consumerism and childrearing converged with the domestic ideals of the Cold War era. The media, in cooperation with the US government, communicated the importance of family as a basic social unit that offered economic security, allowed social mobility, and functioned as a refuge from Cold War threats, particularly during the　.

Atomic Age.[68] The United States imagined itself to be a haven for family values, a sanctuary against godless, foreign communism. The Red Scare of the 1950s, therefore, cultivated a national identity of distinct gender norms in an effort to protect the American way of life. Ideology rested on domestic relations, and parents were given a moral responsibility to groom their children to become patriotic American citizens by instilling gendered values and behaviors. Women, most of all, felt the social pressures of setting an ideal example for their daughters.

The ideals and virtues of housewives manufactured by the American government and propagandized by advertising agencies forged a close relationship between domestic life and political identity. A postwar reconversion closed off women from the workforce and pushed them out of labor unions in the backdrop of the anti-communist witch-hunt that plagued the nation; the job loss for women in the labor force reinstated them to the domestic sphere.[69] The standards of the 1950s dictated that a working mother was a political liability; she was a financially independent woman that carried the risk of becoming "enamored" by her paycheck and growing reluctant to quit her job.[70] In more direct terms, a working mother was bound to make her "intolerant of traditional feminine roles in the family" - a suburban catastrophe and an American nightmare.[71] Print, radio, magazine, and television advertisements pressured American women to embrace the return to the traditionally feminine role in the domestic realm that now offered modernity with the pleasures of suburban living and the consumer activity it entailed.

Throughout the 1950s, the once-dominant cultural icon of Rosie the Riveter was replaced by a white middle-class housewife who was, once again, confined to the home by the capitalist patriarchy. Advertisers painted a blissful image of a female homemaker, one that was both a submissive wife and caring mother who managed housework with a smile. To counter communism's appeal as an ideology that championed women's rights, the American government and media directed

housewives to find their economic freedom and importance in the consumer economy. Advertisements indoctrinated women into the lifestyle of consumer femininity that depicted housewives to be primary consumers of the family; the men of the house were expected to earn the money, while the women were encouraged to spend it.[72] Ad agencies created a direct link between consumption and citizenship, especially for women, given that their purchasing power and traditional housewife status dictated their worth as a citizen.

Women's magazines were flooded with bright visuals of home appliances and amenities. Ads featured "ready-made glamour" of the Magic Chef color-chrome gas range that promised to "modernize" the kitchen by adding a splash of color. Melmac dinnerware was advertised as a perfect gift for brides who would "enjoy it happily ever after" and for mothers who wished to set "lovely tables for important dinners" and "brighten everyday meals."[73] The unrealistic expectation of a perfect housewife and mother was best exemplified by the over-the-top Decorator Refrigerator. This "fashion first" take on a kitchen appliance convinced housewives that matching a refrigerator with the window curtain fabric was imperative to the color scheme of the room, since kitchen decoration was of the utmost importance in pleasing a husband and impressing guests.[74] Commercials and advertisements soon reached young girls and entrenched them with the idea that their role in society and the family was much different from that of their male counterparts.

Girls and boys might have enjoyed some of the same goods such as food and candy, but gender placed limitations on forms of self-expression like fashion, decor, and entertainment. Boys played with miniature trains, cars, guns, gadgets, and other toys that typified masculinity, while girls amused themselves with 8-inch-tall walking dolls with auburn curls and bright harlequin dresses.[75] Ad agencies clearly identified gender expectations by contrasting children's tastes and preferences. Carter's

differentiated children's underwear and pajamas by conjuring up images of masculine and feminine traits in its 1956 ad (see Figure 9). The boy roleplayed a Native American with a feather headband and toy tomahawk in his white underwear; the girl practiced a graceful ballet routine in her pink pajama set. The ad mirrored the traditional gender roles practiced by adult Americans by using active language and adventurous themes for boy clothing that advised mothers to "save their scalps by keeping Indian brave well supplied with Carter's 'TRIGS'" [76] Clothes marketed towards mothers for their daughters, however, emphasized the "special softness and warmth" that Carter's offered to future ballerinas and prom queens. Elegant, nurturing, beautiful, passive, and pink were characteristics that ads and the media assigned to young girls.

Gender-specific literature pushed pubescent girls to follow in their mother's footsteps by putting their purchasing power to use. First published in 1944, *Seventeen* magazine reached the height of its popularity during the post-war period [77]. During World War II, the magazine primarily focused on service and citizenship, but by 1953 the content shifted to include fashion, recipes, and dating advice. Explicit political content was minimized, yet citizenship training remained in the form of consumerism. *Seventeen* issues were saturated with ads about clothes, department stores, gifts for bridal registries, cosmetics, records, and more.[78] As members of a privileged generation that grew up in suburban homes and shopped in malls, girls now carried the responsibility of being active consumers. Patriotic consumption trained them to become future housewives and mothers who, as advertisements propagandized, reinforced the cultural and economic ideals of American capitalism and democracy.

The Opposition

It is important to acknowledge that a discontent for consumer culture and an opposition to the capitalist system existed even in 1950s America.

"Red diaper babies," children whose parents supported the communist left and some who were members of the United States Communist Party, participated in communist youth cultural and political organizations.[79] After Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were convicted of co-conspiracy in 1951 and infamously executed by the US federal government in 1953, communist support began to plummet among the American liberal population, and many children were compelled to conceal their family's controversial and anti-American political opinions.[80] The eruption of the Second Red Scare and the growing influence of McCarthyism resulted in a series of investigations, arrests, and backlisting that forced some communist parents to go underground and others to distance themselves entirely from politics for fear of the consequences their children would have to bear by association.

Other, less politically extreme, Americans were also quick to criticize the rise of a consumer economy, but more so its consequences on national character and childrearing. Philip Wylie, author of the provocative and best-selling 1943 book Generation of Vipers, extended his social criticism of the 1940s well into the following decade. Wylie focused on the deterioration of the American home as a consequence of materialism that spoiled the young baby boom generation. The home and family, he argued, have "become child-monarchies in which the reins are turned over to the play and grade-school brigade."[81] Having drawn this conclusion from his visit to a famous surgeon's home, Wylie complained about the lack of parental control in the house. The children, Wylie wrote, protested in front of the house guests and demanded store-bought toys from their parents, a drink and wet silicone baby for the girl and an absurd $50 pedal-operated fire engine for the boy.[82] He proceeded to emphasize Americans' appreciation of consumer goods versus spiritual values as a growing trend in American history, and he stressed the need for parental discipline when buying material things for children.

The Girl Scouts of the USA, an organization founded in 1912 to "build girls of courage, confidence, and character, who make the world a better place," also took sharp notice of the negative effects the mass consumer economy had on children.[83] The organization's leaders expressed concern about the dangers consumer advertising posed to young girls. In their Girl Scouts Handbook, which went out to every one of their young members, they cautioned girls about consumer desires and urged consumer education, advising girls to study advertisements to "see how companies make you want to buy their products."[84] The organization, however, was targeted by the right-wing anti-communists the following year. The Illinois branch of the American Legion Department denounced the Girl Scouts for "subversive and un-American influences" that they believed were "attempting to capture the minds of the youth" in the 1953 handbook.[85] The Resolution implored parents to "keep a close watch" on their children and the activities they engaged in and forced the Girl Scouts to revise their manual with the provided list of corrections.[86]

Conclusion

As Cold War tensions escalated, the US government gained fluency in the political language of advertising, and American households were soon dominated by consumer capitalism. Ad agencies, the media, and the federal government refashioned the American Dream to directly contrast the Soviet lifestyles and values. Material culture became inseparable from national identity, and the politicization of youth was pursued relentlessly by government and ad agencies alike. Despite being politically invisible, children became socioculturally significant in the domestication of the Cold War. Baby boomers ushered a new era of opportunities, modernity, and vigor. They were targets for mass-marketing techniques that functioned as a soft propaganda tool for patriotic pageantry. Aggressive advertising took control of childrearing in an attempt to showcase the

consolidation of the West to its citizens. The US government found a new purpose for its youth that made anti-communist messages and the process of psychological warfare clearer through children's products and commercials. Children were no longer frivolous youngsters but future consumers who required gendered training from their parents and special attention in media and advertising. The juvenile market groomed young girls and boys to become loyal citizens and was weaponized by the American government in reaction to the growing influence of the communist East. By the 1950s, the image of material abundance became the selling point of American superiority, suburban domesticity grew to be the new norm for American families, and the commodification of the Cold War was in full effect - but at the center of it all were children.

Appendix

Figure 1: ScotTissue's 1956 "Mad about Color!" campaign popularized pastel-colored baby tissues among domestic women and housewives.[87]

Figure 2: Munsingwear was one of several brands to market family fashion during the holiday season; "Comfort and joy are knit into this wonderful Christmas idea…" headlined its 1953 "Look-Alike Pajamas."[88]

Figure 3: The American automobile culture extended to suburban life and family, as depicted in this Nash 1956 ad: "Nash Thought of the Children, too, in the World's Finest Travel Car!"[89]

Figure 4: The Insurance Company of North America featured a happy nuclear family in the foreground of its Carefree Corner building at Disneyland's Main Street, USA in the 1957 "Disneyland and the Magic of Happiness" advert.[90]

Figure 5: Life magazine covered the American food industry in its 1955 issue, titled "Special Issue: Food. Mass Luxury: A $73 Billion Market Basket."[91]

Figure 6: "Pure Pleasure!", "Seven-Up is so pure...so wholesome!", and "Nothing does it like Seven-Up!" brand slogans were used in this 1956 Seven-Up advertisement.[92]

Figure 7: One of Bowman Gum Company's forty-eight *Fight the Red Menace* cards included a "War-Maker" characterization of Communist Party of China leader Mao Zedong, also known as Chairman Mao (1951). Each box also contained the "Crusader Oath" for children to recite.[93]

CHILDREN'S CRUSADE AGAINST COMMUNISM

47. **War-Maker**

Mao Tse-tung is the leader of the Chinese Reds who attacked the United Nations forces in Korea. His army was built up, in the first place, with the help of outlaws. Later the Russian Reds supplied him with arms and advisers. He captured the China mainland in three years of savage warfare against the Nationalist government. Mao delights in war. History, he says, "is written in blood and iron." The free world must find a way to keep war-makers like Mao Tse-tung from shedding the blood of innocent people.

FIGHT THE RED MENACE

© 1951 Bowman Gum, Inc., Phila., Pa., U.S.A.

Join the Children's Crusade Against Communism

Crusader Oath:

I Believe in God, and the God-given freedom of man. I believe in the United States of America and the United Nations. I believe in government of the people, by the people, and for the people … I am against any system which enslaves man and makes them merely tools of the State. I pray for the people who must live under such a system. I pray that they may be delivered from oppression. I pledge my faith, loyalty and devotion to the cause of freedom for all mankind.

Figure 8: A 1954 Lionel Trains advertisement, published in *The Saturday Evening Post*, featured a young father, his son, and a complete model of railroad tracks with the caption "One of the best ways Men get to know Each Other."[94]

Figure 9: Carter's underwear apparel advertising included "Indian Territory. Keep Out!" and "Look, Mom, She's Dancing!" (1956).[95]

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The Legacy of the American Revolution in Red, Black, and Blue:
The Evolution of Sexual Violence against Women in the Chesapeake, 1760-1820

In Maryland during 1787, a free black woman named Elizabeth Amwood was raped by "a Negrow Man Slave" on the orders of a white man named William Holland. Both Amwood and the enslaved man were held at gunpoint by a man named John Pettigrew. Despite this traumatic incident with multiple witnesses, Holland was only charged with and convicted of assault and battery for cutting off Amwood's hair. However, Holland's petition to be pardoned reveals the vulnerability of women – especially black women – to sexual violence victimization throughout the early Republic. After cutting her hair, Holland forced Amwood to "Pull up her Close and Lie Down he then called a Negrow [sic] Man Slave… and ordered him to pull Down his Britches and gitt upon the said Amwood and to bee grate with her," and repeatedly asked Amwood if it "was in" and "was sweet."[1]

After the incident, Holland created a false alibi: he "went up into the Company and Called for Water to wash his hand, saying he had bin putting a Mare to a horse."[2] Reflecting upon this extremely violent—and apparently dismissed—scenario, rape incidents in early America were often complicated. It was often unclear who held responsibility for a nonconsensual sexual encounter. As in this case, many sexually violent acts "were performed through relations of subordination."[3] However, throughout post-Revolutionary America, white men increasingly tried to paint racialized black-and-white pictures of who were the "deserving victims" and "unforgivable offenders" in cases of sexual violence.

This paper examines the evolution of sexual violence against women before, during, and after the American Revolution in the Chesapeake (Virginia and Maryland) from 1760-1820. The Revolution transformed debates and discourse on women's bodies and sexual vulnerability in relation to the sexual natures and desires of white patriarchs and black

men. While ideas of equality and independence circulated throughout the Chesapeake colonies, black and white women and black men were purposely excluded, at different degrees, from gaining rights of bodily autonomy and protection that were heralded among white men.

I argue that sexual violence throughout the Chesapeake was rooted in hierarchies of gender and race. Sexual violence in the Chesapeake persisted throughout the early Republic through cultural and legal changes that strengthened white heteropatriarchy. White women, unlike black women, were the only females recognized (when they were sometimes recognized) as legitimate victims of rape. This was because white women's bodies were imagined as reflective of the new nation's morality and virtue. Unlike white men, black men were deemed sexually aggressive towards white women and represented the "typical rapists" who threatened the nation's social order. In the Chesapeake, the American Revolution marked for black and white women the decline of safer home and labor environments from experiences of sexual violence, and black men became more vulnerable to charges of rape, unlike white men.

The historiography of sexual violence against women is extensive. Interest in researching domestic violence, including sexual violence, against women rapidly accelerated during the feminist movements of the 1970s. Feminists argued that all Americans should care about domestic violence because "the personal is political."[4]. That is, the causes and consequences of what happens behind closed doors are influenced by and reflective of larger societal structures.

However, the historiography of rape in early America mostly focuses on the New England colonies. The majority of scholarship uses records from New England to delineate an overarching national evolution or trend of sexual violence in law and culture. As such, we still need to know more about regional experiences of and reactions to sexual violence in the Chesapeake. As noted by historian Philip J. Schwarz, "every society

defines and punishes crimes. Slave societies such as Virginia [and Maryland] defined and punished… crimes, however, in a distinctive way."[5] How was sexual violence understood, defined, and experienced in the Chesapeake before and after the American Revolution? Did the Revolution bring about changes in how (white) communities conceptualized or reacted to rape? What ideological and legal changes accompanied these shifts in Virginia and Maryland? How did access to and punishment by legal authorities for rape vary depending on the relationship, gender, and race of the victim and perpetrator? These are the questions this paper seeks to elucidate.

Linda Kerber's ground-breaking 1980 monograph *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* argues that the American Revolution was conservative in its transformation and elevation of (white) women's status and political engagement. When discussing the Revolution's impact on divorce law, Kerber focuses only on New England colonies, specifically Connecticut. Divorce was more accessible to women in New England because their legal codes recognized marriage as a civil contract that could be broken when necessary. When women requested a divorce in New England, many cited desertion from their husbands, which was grounds for divorce, because of his violence or "cruelty."[6] There are more accounts of domestic violence in New England's court testimonies and newspapers than inMaryland and Virginia, where divorce was rare and had to be granted either by the church or through an individual legislative petition; the Chesapeake's judicial courts were denied authority over specifying and granting divorce.[7] Thus, more research is needed to understand domestic sexual violence in Virginia and Maryland to support and expand upon Kerber's argument that the American Revolution did not radically improve women's lives.

Sharon Block's 2006 monograph *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* expands how we previously thought of rape by complicating the

one-dimensional theory that sexual violence is solely a male-versus-female issue. Emphasizing that all sexual encounters differed depending on the relationship between the victim and perpetrator and their race, class, gender, and age, Block argues that ideas about and legal charges and punishments for rape were increasingly racialized after the Revolution. She concludes that these cultural and legal changes ultimately strengthened white privilege and heteropatriarchy.[8] Ruth Bloch's 2007 article, "The American Revolution, Wife Beating, and the Emergent Value of Privacy," builds off of Block's claim that domestic violence against women "remained fundamentally intact throughout this [post-Revolutionary] period."[9] Bloch revolutionized the historiography of domestic abuse by directly challenging the theory that American wives' experiences within the home progressively became less violent and oppressive after the American Revolution. Bloch argues that throughout early America, white husbands, as the official heads of the private institution of the family, were increasingly protected by state laws and judicial courts in exerting physical force against their wives and female dependents.[10]

This paper uses legal and non-legal sources to gain a more holistic understanding of how the Chesapeake's evolution of laws and ideology relating to rape was both influenced by and influenced men's and women's knowledge and experiences of sexual coercion. Virginia and Maryland's legal codes on rape reveal how the victim's and perpetrator's social status in the post-Revolution Chesapeake—free or enslaved, black or white, and male or female—largely determined if and how an offender was punished. Newspaper articles from the *Virginia Gazette* and the *Maryland Gazette* reveal how the Chesapeake's residents and criminal justice institutions responded to allegations of rape as a community, and how pervasive sexual violence persisted throughout the early American Republic.

Through examining the pre- and post-Revolutionary encounters of men and women with sexual violence in Maryland and Virginia, I seek to make transformative insights into this often-overlooked history of the early American Republic. Additionally, I aim to disavow the prevailing claim, most recently promoted by former president Donald Trump, that "America's founding set in motion the unstoppable chain of events that… built the most fair, equal, and prosperous nation in human history."[11] This paper will contribute to existing scholarship by arguing that sexual violence, even though it was not formally recognized and classified the same way as today, was still a major societal issue that crossed boundaries of race, class, gender, and age in the early American Republic. I hope that the findings of this study will help us better understand how America's founding, inextricably tied to systemic oppression, affects the #MeToo movement of 2017 and sexual violence survivors along the intersections of race, gender, sexuality, and class.

In the decade and a half before the Revolutionary War, Virginia's legal codes reflected the Chesapeake's relative unconcern for crimes of rape committed by men against women. In the colonial Chesapeake, as in the rest of the British North American colonies, rape (charged as a capital offense) was defined as the "unlawful and carnal knowledge of a woman by force and against her will."[12] In Virginia's legal acts, published in 1769, crimes concerning rape, frequently called "ravishment," were absent; moreover, the words "rape" or "ravish" were not mentioned at all. The phrase "carnal knowledge" was written in the acts only to lay out the state's harsh punishment for incest: to anyone who "shall hereafter, without marrying, carnally know, or have Copulation with, any person within the Degrees aforesaid,…[they] shall be fined." If they "refuse immediately" to pay the fine, they "shall be publickly whipped on his or her bare Back, not exceeding thirty nine Lashes."[13] Besides incest, the only illicit sex that greatly concerned the legislatures of Maryland and Virginia were adultery and fornication, which presumably implied

consensual, although illegal, sexual activity. Similarly to convictions of incest, offenders (not being a servant or enslaved person) convicted of adultery or fornication forfeited one thousand pounds and five hundred pounds of tobacco and cask, respectively, and received twenty-five lashes, "well laid" on their bare back "at the publick Whipping Post" if they did not pay or give security for the payment.[14] The Chesapeake's legal institutions' minimal addressing of nonconsensual sex, specifically rape, created the sexual double standard that women had to both accept and resist at the same time.

The Chesapeake's laws in the 1760s and early 1770s did not prioritize specifying the legal retributions for rape because, per the double standard, forcing a woman into sexual relations was not framed as entirely coercive or abusive. Women were never completely innocent in their involvement in alleged nonconsensual sexual encounters. White men claimed that women actually wanted sex, but could not express or act on their desires without enduring regret and social sanctions and disapproval. Put bluntly in the *Virginia Gazette*, communities had to be skeptical when a woman claimed rape: "A Woman, though known to be a whore, may take away the Life of any Man by swearing she is ravished."[15] Women were held responsible for restraining the natural sexual appetites of men—the latter frequently referred to in the Chesapeake's newspapers as "Passion's Slave"—*and* were expected to initially resist men's sexual overtures to appear modest, but ultimately submit to their physical force.[16] Thus, white men, at the intersection of race and gender-based power, used their social status to manipulate and blur the distinctions between consensual and nonconsensual sex to sexually exploit their female dependents (servants, daughters, and enslaved black women) in terms that appeared mutual. White men were able to gratify their sexual desires sometimes without ever having to physically threaten or hurt their female dependents because the unbalanced power in their relationship dictated if a woman was willing or able to oppose her superior's demands.[17]

However, in case a female servant or enslaved woman dared to physically resist her male master's sexual overtures, the Chesapeake's legal codes guaranteed harsh punishments designed to properly restore the white patriarchal social order. Corporal punishment against a free or enslaved black female reasserted their gendered and racial inferiority: "that if any Negro, Mulatto, or *Indian*, bond or free, shall at any Time lift his or her Hand in Opposition to any Christian, not being a Negro, Mulatto, or *Indian*, he or she so offending shall…receive thirty Lashes on his or her bare Back, well laid on."[18] Punishment of longer servitude for a female servant reasserted her inferiority as a woman and employee: "that all Servants shall faithfully and obediently…do all their Masters or Owners just and lawful commands; and if any Servant shall resist...or offer Violence to any of them,…[they] shall…be adjudged to serve his or her Master or Owner one whole Year after the Time [their contract]… shall be expired."[19] Rape was deemed just another form of illicit sex— most likely secretly consensual and later regretted by the woman—that a white master or owner had rightful access to. Consequently, Chesapeake newspapers simply listed crimes of rape among non-violent/non-coercive crimes: "the following criminals were brought to their trials at the general court, and received sentence accordingly:…John Ware, from Bedford, for burglary; guilty; Death. John Watkins, from Henrico, for a rape: Lies over to April next. William Baker, from Westmoreland, for felony; acquitted."[20]

However apathetic the Chesapeake's white men seemed about rape, Virginia's pre-Revolution legal codes highlight the fear that white communities felt towards black men's presence in interracial legal spaces. In 1692, Virginia became the first colony to create separate county courts of oyer and terminer, usually led by justices of the peace, for the purpose of segregating the prosecution of enslaved people charged with capital offenses, like rape.[21] Unlike Maryland, Virginia's legal system deprived enslaved people of the right to a trial by jury that all other

inhabitants, including women, servants, and children, had a right to [22]:

WHEREAS it is absolutely necessary that effectual Provision should be made for the better ordering and governing of Slaves, free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians, and detecting and punishing their secret Plots and dangerous Combinations, and for the speedy Trial of such of them as commit capital Crimes:…that every Slave committing such Offence as by Law is punishable with Death, or Loss of Member,…without the Solemnity of a Jury.[23]

Despite Virginia and Maryland's different rights for enslaved people on trial and their lack of laws specifically on rape, both colonies' laws expose white men's fear of black men stealing the sexual and legal privileges entitled to them. The legislatures banned interracial marriages for the specific purpose of "further Prevent[ing]…that abominable Mixture [of a free Christian white woman and Negro/Mulatto]" and punished free white offenders with six months in prison and a ten-pound fine.[24] Additionally, for the specific purpose of "preventing the Mischiefs that may happen by the corrupt and precarious Evidence of Negroes, Mulattoes, and *Indians*," none of these people, "whether a Slave or free, shall be admitted in any Court of Record, or before any Magistrate of this Colony, to be sworn as a Witness, or give Evidence of any Cause whatsoever, except upon the Trial of a Slave for a capital Offence."[25]

Although the previously-mentioned laws were not specifically on rape, the law banning interracial marriages could be applied to prosecute black men charged with raping a white woman, while the law restricting witnesses in trials was used to protect white men charged with raping a black woman. The former law deterred black men from forming mutual relationships and having sexual relations with white women, neither of which, according to white men, white women would willingly consent to. The latter law prohibited black men and women from testifying against a

white man charged with raping a black woman. This law could greatly be used to white men's advantage and legal protection since enslaved women were the most vulnerable and accessible victims to white men's sexual violence, and they often were around other enslaved people who witnessed the abuse or confided in other enslaved people on the plantation after the violence occurred.[26] Both during and after the Revolution, white men's fear towards black men in interracial sexual and legal spaces was explicitly expressed through the Chesapeake's racialized laws on rape.

At the outset of the American Revolution, Virginia's and Maryland's (white male) justices of the peace started to apply racialized punishments for rape before such distinctions were written into the law. Virginia's statutes from 1775-78, 1779-81, and 1782-84 do not include the words "rape," "ravish," or "carnal knowledge" in the indexes or when detailing capital offenses.[27] However, Virginia's 1774 justice of the peace manual explicitly grants justices the authority to corporally punish enslaved men convicted of raping a white woman: "the Power of the County Courts to order the Castration of any Slave…is taken away, except such Slave shall be convicted of an Attempt to ravish a white Woman, in which Case they may inflict such Punishment."[28] The manual also includes a sample warrant for a black-on-white rape scenario and a sample judgment from the court in which the enslaved man is found guilty, but it does not include a sample judgment for white-on-white rape cases. On the ground and in practice, the Chesapeake's white elite males started redefining the image of the "typical rapist" along racial boundaries.[29]

Justices of the peace in Baltimore, Maryland, responsible for "keeping the peace" in a "border city" between the North and South, particularly struggled to maintain their authority during the Revolution. To maintain their white privilege, they negotiated definitions of domestic abuse, including rape, contingent on the victim's and perpetrator's race. The

majority of these justices, along with those in Virginia, had no formal legal training and had to rely on manuals to guide their decision making. White litigants had access to more economic and social opportunities to manipulate the legal process in their favor compared to non-white litigants. Thus, because the high-ranking, formally-trained court judges did not impede justices' biased enforcement of the law, "patriarchal power [in the Chesapeake's criminal justice institutions] was made from the bottom up as well as from the top down."[30]

The constant fear of slave uprisings during the Revolutionary War, particularly during Britain's Southern campaign from 1778 to the war's end, caused the Chesapeake's white communities to fear for their safety and livelihood. In Virginia and Maryland from 1776 to 1781, British troops raided, pillaged, and plundered goods and enslaved people. The colonies' white populations were shaken to their core, as they feared the prospect of their human property deserting, being stolen, or becoming inspired to revolt to dismantle the institution of slavery. While the main goal of these British operations was to raid the Chesapeake's resources of tobacco and food production (accounting for half of all colonial trade), because of the large black population in the region (one-half of the total population), thousands of enslaved people were abducted to serve the British military or fled to British troops voluntarily in hopes of freedom. Throughout the campaign, the "peculiar institution" of chattel slavery became destabilized by the chaos of war, upheaval of social order, and the loss of organized labor to sustain the Chesapeake's agricultural and plantation economy.[31] As white plantation owners, especially in Virginia, lost their slaves as they fled to British troops, they blamed the British for baiting and convincing their property to rebel against and "defraud" their masters, when they would have otherwise been "content" and "subservient."[32]

During this time of immense social upheaval in the Chesapeake, any outlying enslaved person who was unaccounted for or outside of white

surveillance was perceived as a serious threat to the physical safety of all white people. Through this racialized lens, the sexual safety of white women was prioritized as a grave concern. Slave resistance played a vital role in pushing southern colonies to independence and shaped the ideology and actions of frightened white slaveholders.[33] Fear of black insurrection was a factor used to unite white planters to collectively act to disarm, monitor, and subdue enslaved people.[34] Although the following Virginia law from 1782 is not specifically about rape, one of its purposes aims to limit black men's sexual opportunities: "And when any slave or slaves shall be found wandering about, it shall be lawful for any justice of the peace to commit such slave or slaves to the gaol of his county,…and to confine him, her or them in close gaol for three months".[35] This law is not explicitly about enslaved men exerting sexual aggressiveness against white women to demolish the Chesapeake's racial hierarchy. However, it reflects the white population's fear of the threat formerly enslaved men posed to the existing social order, which rested on white men's exclusive sexual access to (and hence possession of) white women. Rape was portrayed and treated as a crime against a white man's property, being his white wife, daughter, or servant.[36] The Chesapeake's legislatures passed such legal measures because, although enslaved people were at the bottom of the social hierarchy, all people in the Chesapeake understood enslaved people's position during the Revolution as a valuable, threatening force that could alter the Chesapeake's entire social order of white privilege and superiority.[37]

After the Revolution and into the early nineteenth century, slavery in Maryland and Virginia, particularly in the cities of Baltimore, Richmond, and Washington, weakened significantly when compared to the "peculiar institution" in the Deep South. The steady arrival of escaped and newly freed enslaved people increased the free black population and decreased the enslaved black population in such "border" cities. Moreover, with the arrival of white immigrants in the Chesapeake, many whites became

domestic servants, an occupation previously and mostly held by black people. Many white domestic servants were between the status of enslaved and free, as their personal freedom was restricted to certain degrees. Consequently, the "easy inference that black equaled slave, therefore, was questioned sharply" in the post-Revolution Chesapeake. [38]

Post-Revolution, the raping of a white woman by a black man, particularly an enslaved man, reflected the Chesapeake's devastated social and economic hierarchies and weakened institution of slavery that white communities desperately attempted to preserve. Amid social flux, the new standard for assessing the nation's prosperity was the evaluation of white women's chastity and virtue. Given the political responsibility of embodying the "Republican Mother," white women were now expected to practice rationality and self-control over their emotions in their homes. [39] Their virtuous behavior would act as a model for their husbands and sons to emulate in the male-dominated political spheres and would deter outside men from sexually taking advantage of them. In order to successfully use crimes of rape by black men to protect white supremacy and the institution of slavery, the Chesapeake's communities and criminal justice institutions had to somewhat overlook the cultural belief that most rape accusations were a lie.

Thus, white women, unlike enslaved or free black women, became the only legitimate victims of rape deserving of legal recourse.[40] As women's economic provider, white men were entitled to sexual access to their female dependents, particularly wives and enslaved women. Black men who had sexual relations with white women, whether consensual or nonconsensual, directly overturned the Chesapeake's white patriarchal hegemony by "replacing" white men as females' economic provider.[41] As a result of Virginia's and Maryland's high black population, black on white violence was recognized as a threat to and subversion of authority of white men within their patriarchal relationships with their subordinates.

Black-on-white sexual violence was treated as open resistance to white supremacy which undergirded the Chesapeake's social structure and hierarchy. Thus, white communities in the Chesapeake rarely called on a white person to defend a black man accused of raping a white woman. [42] To ensure white men's authority during the destabilized social order in the nascent nation, the Chesapeake's legislatures strengthened the racialized punishments for rape.

The capital and corporal punishment reforms in the decades after the Revolution strengthened institutionalized, racialized punishments for rape that benefitted white men. The overwhelming majority of rape cases in the colonial Chesapeake resulted in convicted offenders being sentenced to death, regardless of their race. The punishment recorded in Virginia's 1774 justice of the peace manual for "unlawfully and carnally know[ing] and abus[ing] any Woman Child under the Age of ten Years" by "enter[ing] her Body, and emitt[ing]" was death without the benefit of clergy for both black and white men.[43] However, the Revolution inspired a change in attitude towards the acceptance of capital and corporal punishments. Consequently, the death penalty and bodily injury, especially castration, were replaced with incarceration for white men convicted of most capital crimes, including rape.[44] As written in Virginia's justice of the peace manual of 1810, "the penitentiary system not embracing the case of a slave" convicted for rape and instead resorting to violence and death to publicly subdue them deterred other enslaved men from transgressing social boundaries, thus protecting the institution of slavery.[45]

Thus, these sentencing reforms did not transfer to black defendants because the Chesapeake's legislatures needed to reaffirm that a black male's transgression of sexual boundaries was more severe than when done by a white male. Directly after the Revolution, in 1785, Virginia's acts of the General Assembly constructed rape in a racialized manner: "that it shall not be lawful for any county court to order and direct

castration of any slave, except such slave shall be convicted of an attempt to ravish a white woman, in which case they may inflict such punishment."[46] In 1819, Virginia's General Assembly legislated that if a "man do ravish a woman, married, maid or other, where she did not consent before nor after," he will be "adjudged a felon." However, "if the said person be free, [he] shall be sentenced to undergo a confinement in the jail and penitentiary house, for a period not less than ten, nor more than twenty-one years; but, if the said person be a slave, shall suffer death, as in case of felony, without the benefit of clergy."[47]

In the same year, punishments for the rape of a child were also racialized in law and printed in justice of the peace manuals the following year: "IF any person shall unlawfully and carnally know and abuse any woman child under the age of ten years,…if a free person, shall undergo a confinement in the jail and penitentiary house, for a period not less than one, nor more than ten years, and, if a slave, shall suffer death as a felon, without the benefit of clergy."[48] Maryland's post-Revolution laws reflect similar capital and corporal punishment reforms.

Although enslaved men were still entitled to a trial by jury in Maryland, they had little success in escaping corporal and capital punishments for attempted and completed rape charges. In Maryland in 1799, "Slaves convicted of consulting, advising, conspiring or attempting to raise any insurrection, or to murder or poison any person or to commit a rape upon any white woman…shall suffer death without benefit of clergy."[49] The rape of white women by enslaved black men was considered as equally threatening to the social order of white supremacy as were legitimate, and possibly violent, insurrections by enslaved people to gain their freedom.

Conversely, if "any free male person, or any male servant or apprentice" was convicted of "an assault; with an intent to rob, murder or commit a rape," the judges may sentence them "to serve and labour for any time…not exceeding 7 years for the same crime, on the public roads

of the said county, or in making, repairing, or cleaning the streets or bason of Baltimore-town"[50] Additionally, in 1811, Maryland's General Assembly passed a law that "An act for the punishing the offences of adultery and fornication, as relates to corporal punishment for fornication, be and is hereby repealed."[51] In practice, however, this legal reform was mostly applied to white men accused of illicit sexual activity. Through these legal measures, the Chesapeake's criminal justice institutions made white men less legally—and culturally—responsible for sexual violence against women, including rape, compared to black men.

The Chesapeake's post-Revolution legal racialization of rape, in turn, racialized the cultural image of rape. With the help of pro-white supremacy institutions, white men were much less likely to be charged with rape and much more likely to be convicted of a lesser crime (like assault, adultery, or fornication) when charged with rape, be acquitted of rape charges, have their sentences commuted when found guilty of rape, and settle their charges extralegally.[52] In fact, under the index of Virginia's laws of 1808, the description for "Rape" was "Attempted by a slave on a white woman, how punishable."[53] Similarly, under the index of Maryland's 1811 laws, the description for "Rape" was "See *Negroes and Slaves*".[54] White men moved from rapists to "seducers," implicative of their sexual nature as "inherently less violent" than black men's. This transformation was aided by the Chesapeake's racialized application of the law, but also because of the popularity of seduction novels in the decades following the Revolution.

In these fictional novels, white men were depicted as passionate charmers who seduced, not violently forced, young white women into engaging in illicit *consensual* sexual relations [55]. Through these legal and cultural changes, the archetype of the typical violent rapist was now solely embodied by black men. Black men became the Chesapeake's "publicly irredeemable rapists" because they were still castrated and/or sentenced to death at much higher rates than white men for attempted and

completed rape.[56] In a self-perpetuating cycle committed to preserving racial hierarchy, black men's high rates for charges and convictions of rape solidified their image as rapists, which in turn fueled more charges and convictions of rape against them by white patriarchal institutions.

After the Revolution, the Chesapeake newspapers' increased reporting of black-on-white rape cases and decreased reporting of white-on-white rape cases made it easier for white communities to justify the harsher punishments on enslaved men for rape. As seen in the *Maryland Gazette* in 1818, in the case where "a coloured man was tried and convicted for a rape committed upon the body of a white girl," the Chesapeake's criminal justice institutions employed rape by black men to restore white supremacy: "The following fact…of the inefficacy of the S[t]ate Prison, as a mode of punishment,…demonstrates that on some minds, the fear of death is incomparably more influential than that of imprisonment even for life."[57]

Conversely, in 1805, the *Maryland Gazette* promoted the belief that when a white man committed a rape, it was a reflection of the individual sinfulness and deviance of the man, not of white men as a whole: "that a man, (I may with more propriety say a monster in human form,)… commit[ed] the abominable, disgraceful, unnatural and unheard-of-crime, of a Rape on the body of his own daughter!! a girl of only 13 years of age!…This is, probably, the only instance of the kind that ever occurred since the world begun."[58] Publicized black-on-white sexual crimes in newspapers helped change the Chesapeake's culture surrounding rape by reinforcing that white men were the legitimate patriarchs of the nation, because they, unlike black men as whole, exercised their masculine sexual desires appropriately.[59]

Overall, following the Revolution, all female dependents in a household, whether black or white, enslaved or free, were at greater risk for sexual violence by their white male patriarch. Despite the popular rhetoric of "private rights" and "private life" that white men promoted

during the Revolution, the rights of protection from domestic violence, assault, and battery, as well as rights protecting interference from government in one's private life, were increasingly afforded only to white men. White men were the head of the family, which was, in the decades following the Revolution, regarded as a private institution that could not be interfered with by the government. Thus, these same protections from domestic physical abuse were not given to white wives, nor other female dependents, as individuals because they fell under the authority of the family patriarch and were part of the private family institution that the government should not trespass on.[60] This cultural and legal transformation, including the racialization of rape laws, effectively granted more power to white male patriarchs to physically and sexually violate their female dependents when punishment, correction, or self-gratification was deemed necessary.[61]

The American Revolution marked a turning point in how white men justified and minimized their responsibility for rape. White men's status as master of the home strengthened following the Revolution and led to greater cultural and legal claims to sexually violate women under their control, specifically wives, female servants, and enslaved African American women. Courts and newspapers in Virginia and Maryland, like the rest of the nation, increasingly cast black men as sexually threatening not only to white women but to white patriarchs who suffered "damages" to their masculine authority from their inability to protect and control their female dependents' sexual encounters. Summed up by historian Stephanie Cole, "Maryland [and Virginia] legislators and jurists protected the prerogatives of household heads by both mandating against rebellion in the home and ignoring much of what went on there."[62]

The study of rape in the colonial Chesapeake can help us better understand how America, through the #MeToo movement, is still reckoning with the intersections of gender, race, and class that shape a woman's individual experience of sexual violence. Over a decade before

#MeToo went viral in 2017 as a social media campaign, the #MeToo movement was a grassroots, community-based effort started by black activist Tarana Burke to support female survivors of sexual assault in disadvantaged—mostly African-American—communities. While Burke's movement from its inception directly addressed impoverished black women's experiences of sexual violence, the media only took notice of and promoted #MeToo in 2017 when affluent white women, mainly from Hollywood, started sharing their personal experiences of sexual violence in the workplace. The media coverage minimized and excluded the experiences of female survivors outside of this privileged demographic: women who are poor, a racial or ethnic minority, identify as LGBTQ, or are disabled.[63]

The spotlight's exclusive elevation of wealthy white women's voices is not an accidental or new phenomenon. As discussed throughout this project, the cultural acceptance of and legal and community support for white women's claims of sexual violence victimization can be traced back to the Revolutionary era when white communities used the fear of rape by black men against white women to strengthen white supremacy. Black women, especially those who were enslaved, were the most vulnerable to sexual assault victimization, particularly rape, in their homes, which for many doubled as their workplace as well. The legacy of the Revolution leaves many women of color today still having to fight to be recognized, believed, and supported as sexual violence survivors. With the #MeToo movement, as with all other human rights campaigns, the attempt to solve a social issue inevitably exposes more underlying problems and brings about more questions to be asked and conversations to be had. While the #MeToo movement has undoubtedly raised more awareness to the public health crisis of sexual violence against women, a critical analysis of America's historical past can help this movement advance towards greater inclusion for protection and justice in the future.

Endnotes

[1] Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 85.

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[3] Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*, 85-86.

[4] Carol Hanisch, "The Personal is Political," *Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation*, ed. Shulamith Firestone and Anne Koedt (1970).

[5] Philip J. Schwarz, *Twice Condemned: Slaves and the Criminal Laws of Virginia, 1705-1865* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 321.

[6] Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 12, 159-160, 170, 172-173.

[7] Thomas E. Buckley, S.J., *The Great Catastrophe of My Life: Divorce in the Old Dominion* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 14-15.

[8] Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*, 6, 53-55, 148-149.

[9] Block, Rape and Sexual Power, 6.

[10] Ruth H. Bloch, "The American Revolution, Wife Beating, and the Emergent Value of Privacy," *Early American Studies* 5, no. 2 (2007): 230, 238, 241, 249.

[11] "Remarks by President Trump at the White House Conference on American History," The White House, September 17, 2020, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-white-house-conference-american-history/.

[12] Block, *Rape and Sexual Power,* 29.

[13] *Acts of Assembly, Now in Force in the Colony of Virginia* (Williamsburg, VA: Printed by W. Rind, A. Purdie, and J. Dixon, 1769), 91.

[14] *Acts of Assembly, Now in Force in the Colony of Virginia,* 28.

[15] *Virginia Gazette*, Aug. 25, 1774.

[16] *Virginia Gazette*, July 16, 1772.

[17] Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*, 17-18, 36-38, 51; Sharon Block, "Lines of Color, Sex, and Service: Comparative Sexual Coercion in Early America," in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, ed. Martha Hodes (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 158.

[18] Schwarz, *Twice Condemned*, 206-207; *Acts of Assembly, Now in Force in the Colony of Virginia*, 261.

[19] *Acts of Assembly, Now in Force in the Colony of Virginia,* 310.

[20] *Virginia Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1774.

[21] Schwarz, *Twice Condemned*, 17, 22; Philip J. Schwarz, *Slave Laws in Virginia* (Athens: GA, The University of Georgia Press, 1996), 71. Courts of oyer and terminer (literally, "to hear and to determine") were a secondary court system created to expedite the judicial process of trying and condemning enslaved people of African descent for serious felonies, thereby denying them the legal protections and rights granted to all English subjects.

[22] Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*, 168-169.

[23] *Acts of Assembly, Now in Force*, 258-259.

[24] *Acts of Assembly, Now in Force,* 311.

[25] *Acts of Assembly, Now in Force,* 260.

[26] Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*, 61-62, 65, 67.

[27] William W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (Richmond, VA: J. & G. Cochran, 1821), vol. 9; William W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (Richmond, VA: George Cochran, 1822), vol. 10; William W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (Richmond, VA: George Cochran, 1823), vol. 11.

[28] Richard Starke, *The Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace Explained and Digested, Under Proper Titles: To Which are Added, Full and Correct Precedents of All Kinds of Process Necessary to be Used by Magistrates: In Which Also the Duty of Sheriffs, and Other Publick Officers, is Properly Discussed* (Williamsburg, VA: Printed by Alexander Purdie and John Dixon, 1774), 292-293.

[29] Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*, 127-128, 167.

[30] Stephanie Cole, "Keeping the Peace: Domestic Assault and Private Prosecution in Antebellum Baltimore," in *Over the Threshold: Intimate Violence in Early America*, ed. Christine Daniels, and Michael V. Kennedy (New York: Routledge, 1999), 149-153.

[31] Sylvia R. Frey, W*ater from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 113-114, 143-145, 149, 155, 159.

[32] Gary B. Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 336.

[33] Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 45.

[34] Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 48-49, 60, 72, 78-79.

[35] William W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (Richmond, VA: George Cochran, 1823), 11:24-25.

[36] Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 207.

[37] Schwarz, *Twice Condemned*, 162, 210.

[38] Cole, "Keeping the Peace," 149-150.

[39] Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 245.

[40] Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*, 167.

[41] Cole, "Keeping the Peace," 151; T. Stephen Whitman, "'I Have Got the Gun and Will Do As I Please with Her': African-Americans and Violence in Maryland, 1782-1830," in *Over the Threshold: Intimate Violence in Early America, ed. Christine Daniels, and Michael V. Kennedy* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 262-263, 265.

[42] Schwarz, *Twice Condemned*, 71, 84, 162-163; Schwarz, Slave Laws in Virginia, 64, 80.

[43] Richard Starke, *The Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace* (Williamsburg, VA: Printed by Alexander Purdie and John Dixon, 1774), 292.

[44] Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*, 142-143, 244; Schwarz, *Slave Laws in Virginia*, 94-95.

[45] Hening, William Waller, *New Virginia Justice, Comprising the Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace, in the Commonwealth of Virginia* (Richmond, VA: Johnson & Warner, 1810), 474.

[46] *Collection of All Such Public Acts of the General Assembly, and Ordinances of the Conventions of Virginia, Passed since the Year 1768* (Richmond, VA: Printed by Thomas Nicolson and William Prentis, 1785), 9.

[47] *Revised Code of the Laws of Virginia: Being a Collection of All Such Acts of the General Assembly, of a Public and Permanent Nature, as are Now in Force; with a General Index* (Richmond, VA: Printed by Thomas Ritchie, 1819), 1:585.

[48] Hening William Waller, *New Virginia Justice, Comprising the Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace, in the Commonwealth of Virginia* (Richmond, VA: J. & G. Cochran,1820), 551-552.

[49] Thomas Herty, *Digest of the Laws of Maryland, Being an Abridgment, Alphabetically Arranged, of All the Public Acts of Assembly Now in Force, and of General Use* (Baltimore, MD: Printed for the editor, 1799), 196, 382.

[50] Herty, *Digest of the Laws of Maryland, Being an Abridgment*, 196.

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[52] Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*, 190.

[53] *Collection of All Such Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia of a Public and Permanent Nature as Have Passed since the Session of 1801* (Richmond, VA: Samuel Pleasants, Junior, 1808), 2:304.

[54] Maxcy, ed., *Laws of Maryland. With the Charter, the Bill of Rights, the Constitution of the State*, 3:ccxvii.

[55] Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 239-246.

[56] Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*, 195, 208-209.

[57] *Maryland Gazette*, Mar. 12, 1818.

[58] *Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 10, 1805.

[59] Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*, 200-204.

[60] Ruth H. Bloch, "The American Revolution," 223, 226, 238-240.

[61] Cole, "Keeping the Peace," 152-153.

[62] Cole, "Keeping the Peace," 151.

[63] Neha Kagal, Leah Cowan, and Huda Jawad, "Beyond the Bright Lights: Are Minoritized Women Outside the Spotlight Able to Say #MeToo?," in *#MeToo and the Politics of Social Change*, ed. Bianca Fileborn, and Rachel Loney-Howes (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 133-136, 145.

Edmund Burke and the Languages of Political Thought:
A Reassessment of the Reflections on the Revolution in France

Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France, first published in 1790, is a cornerstone of eighteenth century political thought, and its influence has extended far beyond the boundaries and contours of his original argument.[1] To understand his explanation of the Revolution, one must first reckon with his legions of interpreters – as recent scholarship has increasingly recognized, critics have too often misappropriated his thought and thereby confused his position in the politico-historical canon, thrusting him in different directions to reflect disparate ideological criteria.[2] In the nineteenth century, this took the form of Burke as a "liberal" advocate of moderate reform; in the twentieth century, by contrast, conservative commentators such as Hoffman, Kirk and Stanlis emphasized the religious and anti-metaphysical convictions of the Reflections, rendering Burke as a "counterrevolutionary."[3] This latter strand of thinking depicted Burke as the founder of modern conservatism, whose morbid prognosis for France could be swapped for Russia in the anti-Bolshevik polemic.[4]

However, in line with John Pocock's seminal article of 1960, this essay will refute the idea that there is a distinct philosophical or ideological program to Burke's writings, instead arguing that the *Reflections* is an amalgamation of different political "languages" that are concomitantly mobilized in one text.[5] By focusing on these "languages" – that is, the various political and philosophical traditions that can be found in Burke's thought – we can better recover the historical context in which he wrote the Reflections. This methodology takes inspiration from the work of Quentin Skinner, who has emphasised the importance of the context and purpose of political languages for understanding their meaning.[6] One such "language" to be found in the Reflections is that of political economy, first linked to Burke in a later article by Pocock, which

highlighted Burke's fear of public debt and a deep concern for the financial crisis of the French state.[7] Far from refuting this thesis, this essay will show the extent to which Burke's financial concerns in the *Reflections* coexist with a "fideistic politics" of "Anglican scepticism," which was rooted in an early eighteenth-century theological context. This understanding informed Burke's religious views, as well as his suspicion of metaphysical casuistry in politics.[8] This essay will first examine this in light of Burke's treatment of the financial crisis, followed by his criticism of natural rights and the anti-religious iconoclasm of the revolutionaries.

The financial crisis of the French state was central to Burke's critique of the Revolution. His explanation of the crisis derived from two sources: first, that public debt had created a "monied interest" of creditors who exerted pressure on the French state and drove it towards revolution; second, that the efforts to rectify the public debt by confiscating Church lands amounted to a subversion of established order.[9] Burke's suspicion of the public debt was corroborated by the calling of the Estates-General in 1789, which had brought together the three "estates of France" – the nobility, the clergy, and the commoners – to address the problem of the royal finances. The debt that France had accrued through its endless wars, including the vast expense of the American Revolution, had meant that the "monied interest" of creditors held significant influence over the state. As a result, although Burke was writing in 1790, prior to its full culmination, the early events of the Revolution led him to conclude that all that is "human and divine" in France had been "sacrificed to the idol of public credit," which would naturally lead to "national bankruptcy."[10] The intersection between political economy and the moral state of society had been a dominant theme throughout the eighteenth century. The writings of Adam Smith, for instance, had promoted the idea that self-interest was a driver of commercial growth and a positive agent in the natural "progress of opulence" in modern

societies.[11]

However, Burke's concern for the "human and divine" suggested that he remained deeply suspicious of this detached pursuit of self-interest, fearing that an unstable fiscal system based on public credit could undermine the cherished institutions and customs that society was built on. He blamed this sacrifice on the relationship between the "monied interest" and a "literary cabal" of writers and philosophers who had eroded respect for institutions and desired the "destruction of the Christian religion."[12] Burke was referring here to the seizure of Church property by the revolutionaries to pay for the debt – an action which had believed had been legitimised by the anti-religious polemics of the *philosophes*. For Burke, this "alliance" between the creditors and *philosophes* had two damaging consequences: not only did it remove the "popular odium and envy" that had previously attended the public debt, but it was the "*cause* for the general fury with which all the landed property of ecclesiastical corporations has been attacked."[13] In this sense, Burke saw public credit as the ideological ammunition for these "men of letters" who, through their alliance with the creditors, utilized it as a tool for the exploitation of the people and the French state. This led to a system of arbitrary power predicated on the control of the debtors by the "monied interest" who sought to solidify their power by expanding public credit even further.[14]

This view was informed by Burke's deep concern for the fate of the "landed interest" after the Revolution. His opposition to the public debt and the self-interested pursuit of wealth was founded on a conviction that the established political and economic structures of society were more stable pillars of long-term growth and prosperity. As a result, Burke lamented the fact that the new "monied interest" had destroyed the sanctity of traditional property ownership, which Burke thought was the dominant source of wealth in society, and which preserved the ancient feudal hierarchies that society had been built on. This meant that the

fact that it would not work. He did not see the confiscation as enough to act as security for the new paper money circulation of assignats. Its value, then, would be uncertain and liable to abuse by "money-jobbing" and "speculation," resulting in the pursuit of quick profit and a fall in the value of property.[20]

On the other hand, the confiscation reflected a much more fundamental affront to Burke's view of society in general, for which, as Pocock has stated, a broader definition of political economy must be deployed.[21] Instead of simply considering the management of public revenue, Burke was concerned with the social, cultural and political conditions that were inherent to advancing commercial societies, a sort of "commercial humanism" that sought to inculcate the virtues of civic humanism and classical republicanism into modern conceptions of the state.[22] This manifested itself in Burke's theory of chivalry, which he saw both the foundation of morality, manners and politeness, and the combination of the "spirit of the gentleman and the spirit of religion."[23]

Unlike his Scottish contemporaries such as David Hume and Adam Smith, who believed that commerce and the diversification of labour were the foundation of manners, Burke conversely saw commerce, trade and manufacture as the "creatures" and "effects" of the ancient system of morality and manners promoted by chivalry.[24] It is this breakdown of "dignified obedience" which also informed his scathing critique of the assault of Marie Antoinette's bedchamber – by denigrating the customary respect for women and "loyalty to rank and sex" that is demanded by the chivalric citizen, the revolutionaries were destroying the very bedrock of manners and politeness that commerce had been built on, thereby eliminating even the possibility of any further commercial growth.[25]

This links back to his contention that landed property, including that of the Church, was essential to the maintenance of civil order. The revolutionaries, under the "new conquering empire of light and reason," sought to demolish "all the pleasing illusions which made power gentle

and obedience liberal," which had preserved the ancient principles of "fealty" and inculcated a moral"compass" that could properly regulate civil society.[26] By destroying the foundations of the "spirit of religion," as one of the defining constitutive features of the ancient system of chivalry that had made commercial growth possible, the revolutionaries therefore propounded a "barbarous philosophy" that was "as void of solid wisdom as it is destitute of all taste and elegance."[27] Society, in Burke's eyes, was having its moral and civic foundations ripped from under its feet, which had been spurred by the reckless pursuit of the public debt and the elaborate means to fund it. In this way, the financial crisis and the consequent confiscation of Church property became the fulcrum upon which Burke mounted his assault on the wider institutional and cultural breakdown of the Revolution.

A central feature of this wider assault is Burke's criticism of natural rights, which strongly influenced his explanation of both the causes and implications of the Revolution. The doctrine of "natural right" assumed that there existed universal, fundamental, and inalienable rights of man that were valid in all times and places.[28] The adoption of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" by the National Assembly in late 1789 codified these natural rights into the French constitution and were utilized to justify the Revolution on theoretical grounds. The first article of the Declaration, for example, states that "men are born free and remain equal in rights."[29] Whilst this conception of liberty may seem axiomatic in our modern understanding, Burke did not see freedom as a right which existed independently of other factors. He stated in the Reflections that he cannot praise liberty until it coincides with "government, with public force, with the discipline and obedience of armies, with the collection of an effective and well-distributed revenue, with morality and religion, with the solidity of property, with peace and order, with civil and social manners."[30] Even fundamental rights such as liberty are therefore contingent on the whole institutional and cultural

framework of society, which has been built up and successively adapted over generations to suit the needs of individuals.

Although Burke would have agreed that liberty is a desirable condition in society, he could not countenance the restructuring of society to safeguard liberty if it sacrificed the wider societal virtues, such as chivalry, that liberty depended on. He instead propounded a "manly, moral, regulated liberty" determined by the political and cultural realities of society, going against the view of natural rights that exist only in "metaphysical abstraction" and that are "stripped of every relation" to men and society.[31] Burke's view of a "regulated liberty" was reaffirmed in a letter to his brother in 1792, where he called the Declaration a "new fanatical religion" which rejects all "establishment" and "civil order."[32] The construal of the Declaration as a new religion portrayed the philosophy of natural rights as supplanting the existing societal order, which usurped the position of the Church as the moral regulator of society. By affirming the primacy of natural rights over the Church, the revolutionaries denied the importance of the pre-established institutions and customs of civil society, which had gradually instilled these rights over time.

Burke was therefore entirely opposed to "metaphysical stipulation" in politics, instead advancing a view of society that was dictated by "inherited" rights and principles. He elucidated this by praising English history and its constitution, which he saw as a model of stability, in contrast to developments in France. He stated that the Glorious Revolution was an attempt to protect "all we possess as an inheritance from our forefathers' taking care not to 'inoculate any cyon alien to the nature of the original plant.'"[33] Burke's "original plant," far from being an abstract "form" of political rights or freedoms, was the accumulated "stock of inheritance" from antiquity that derived its power from historical precedent and reverence for established custom. This meant that revolutionary change, conceived of as a destabilising "cyon alien,"

ignored the supreme value of society's long line of inherited traditions, which the progress of history had gradually built up and enhanced over time. Historians have linked this idea of English history to a seventeenth-century common-law tradition, which saw English liberties as linking back to the Declaration of Right of 1689, the Magna Carta, and a still more ancient "standing law of the kingdom."[34] Burke expatiated insistently on this position, in rhetoric which aggrandized the distinct "Englishness" of these rights in contrast to France:

> In the famous law of the 3rd of Charles I, called the Petition of Right, the parliament says to the king, "your subjects have inherited this freedom", claiming their franchises not on abstract principles "as the rights of men", but as the rights of Englishmen, and as a patrimony derived from their forefathers.[35]

The reference here to the Petition of Right of 1628 is particularly important, as it represented a concerted effort by the people to seek reform not by removal of established institutions, but out of respect for restoring pre-existing liberties that had been lost. This undermines the notion that natural rights informed by pure reason can justify Revolution or form a more solid basis for society than the inherited stock of what already exists, emphasising the futility of revolutionary doctrines.[36]

Burke's criticism of natural rights was also informed by a broader concern for the state of Europe itself. This is clear in his contribution to eighteenth-century discussions of reason of state – that is, generally speaking, the question of state interest and necessity.[37] Burke believed that the Glorious Revolution was justified because it fulfilled the conditions needed to justify revolt in the interest of public necessity.[38] Whilst the events of 1789 may also have been the result of internal public necessity, because the state of the royal finances demanded popular intervention; externally, it represented a very real threat to the entire European balance of power in a way that the Glorious Revolution did not. [39] In his Letters on a Regicide Peace (1796), Burke affirmed that

France was seeking a "universal empire" by means of a "universal revolution" forming "a new code of communities according to what she calls the natural rights of man."[40] As Armitage notes, the drastic promotion of France's universalist ambitions threatened the international reasons of state that had been enshrined by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), which in Burke's eyes justified war against France and rendered the Revolution unjustifiable.[41] A prominent reason for Burke's enduring importance is that this view was in many ways vindicated – the War of the First Coalition, from 1792 to 1797, was interpreted by Burke as evidence of these universalist ambitions, leading to a Europe-wide conflict that was eventually continued under Napoleon from 1799. Burke therefore construed natural rights as the ideological framework behind a dangerous scheme of revolutionary conquest, showing that their place in his explanation of the Revolution is not just that of chimerical metaphysics, but as a threat to the international as well as the internal order in society.

It is helpful to link Burke's view of natural rights back to his attitude to the Church and its social function. His religious views are essential to his explanation of the Revolution, in part because he used the state of the Church as a metric for the state of society. In the *Reflections,* he stated that "religion is the basis of civil society and the source of all good and of all comfort," giving the Church a social function as the backbone of political order.[42] The emphasis on the social function of the Church goes some way in explaining his fierce reaction to the seizure of Church lands and has provoked discussion about how Burke's religious views should be interpreted. On the one hand, historians have suggested that Burke held a "theism" that was arguably firmer than his Christianity, where religion plays the part of a "resource" that can that can fulfil its social function without necessarily being true.[43] This has been associated with a "latitudinarian" position, where religion is more generally considered as the "sacralisation of man's social nature,"

can be easy to misunderstand the purpose of Burke's vituperative rhetoric. One of Burke's most immediate goals for writing the Reflections was to address radical Protestant Dissenters in England, notably Richard Price. Burke made repeated reference to Price's sermons, in which he praised the French Revolution as a triumph of enlightened ideas and liberty introduced by the Glorious Revolution in England.[50] Burke thought that Price was advocating for the principles of natural right alongside a doctrine of resistance, which would foment similar revolutionary fervour in Britain.[51] The status of Price as a Protestant Dissenter is important, as he was seen to embody the principles of the so-called "British Enlightenment" that combined "political liberalism, rational religion, and anti-Catholicism."[52] In this sense, by praising the liberty achieved by the Revolution, Price represented a political threat that went against the natural "Whig" conception of liberty which favoured gradual and purposeful accommodation.[53] This linked to Burke's wider critique of Enlightenment rationalism in France, which he saw as a principal cause behind the anti-religious revolutionary doctrines based on natural rights. In his advocacy of rational religion and anti-Catholicism, Price had transposed this threat to England and attacked at the heart of the religious order that Burke sought to protect.

It is possible here to draw on the idea of Burke's "Anglican scepticism," a tradition that was first linked to Burke by Iain Hampher-Monk. In this thesis, Burke's conviction to protect the religious establishment was informed by a distinct sceptical approach to natural rights. In particular, his use of certain sceptical epistemological arguments in his writings were "secular adaptations of those deployed by Anglicans against the Deists."[54] In the early eighteenth-century, the rational Deists propounded the idea that the use of reason and empirical observation could be a legitimate route to establishing religious truth.[55] For the "sceptical fideists," a group of Anglican thinkers who arose in opposition to this idea, the notion that religion had a rational foundation

independent of denominational concerns.[44] However, this interpretation risks underestimating the centrality of religion to Burke's entire political thought: instead of simply a "resource" or tool that is utilized in a well-functioning society, he saw religion, in particular the Church of England, as the foundation of manners and chivalry. Along with the "spirit of the gentleman," the "spirit of religion" provides the groundwork for civilization and morality that creates the conditions within which commerce can develop. [45] This view may have been influenced by other writers on chivalry at the time, with William Robertson's View of the progress of society in Europe (1769) also presenting Christianity as an intrinsic feature of manners and commercial society.[46]

Conor Cruise O'Brien has suggested that Burke's reaction to the anti-religious nature of the Revolution may be derived from a more innate conviction, considering his anti-Jacobinism as inseparable from "his sense of identification with Catholics, that is to say from his Irish origin."[47] This could help explain his anxiety for the state of the French clergy, noting that they had the "hearts of gentlemen and men of honour" and lamenting the denigration of their rank.[48] However, O'Brien's interpretation is reductive, as although his Irish heritage may have instilled a personal affection for the Catholic Church, the idea that he saw the French clergy as a proxy for his own Catholic identity is insufficient. Instead, he was preoccupied with the state of religion itself as an institution, including both the Catholic Church and the Church of England. The confiscation of Church property and the efforts of the philosophes to seek the "destruction of the Christian religion" were therefore subversive to the entire political and social order that Burke was defending, removing the essential social function of the Church in the regulation of morality.[49]

It is important to situate Burke's critique of anti-religious iconoclasm within the context that the Reflections was written. Although Burke's writings are often held up as foundational texts in conservative thought, it

ignored the limits of human reason, as there was no way of establishing an epistemological certainty of God.[56]

By extension, it was necessary to accept religion as an inherited order of institutions and customs that accepted, on the one hand, the Church of England, and on the other hand, the political settlement of the Glorious Revolution.[57] Burke used these arguments to create a "fideistic politics," which does not consider government or religion "a priori," and which preserves order on the basis of a trust for the inherited institutions. [58] Just as certainty of religious truth was unable to be achieved through the use of reason, so too was society unable to be re-founded based on purely rational principles, as reason could not provide a firmer foundation for society that what has already been gradually established throughout history. This faith in what is established, suspicious of the use of reason in arriving at an alternative model of society, explains the overlap between Burke's criticism of natural rights and his defence of the French Catholic establishment, which had its roots in a theological language of early eighteenth-century scepticism.

Having considered the central themes that informed Burke's Reflections, it is clear that an analysis of a range of different philosophical and political languages is essential to understanding the purpose of the text. While Burke used the language of political economy to explain the financial crisis of the French state, which precipitated the creation of the "monied interest" and the confiscation of Church property, he also used the languages of chivalry, reason of state, and Anglican scepticism to attack the foundations of revolutionary doctrine and defend society's "inheritance" as the best protection for social and political order. It was this repudiation of the religious and institutional traditions of society in the pursuit of natural rights that was the main contention in Burke's argument, and historians have too often ignored the need for a syncretic treatment of his intellectual influences that can properly explain this conclusion.

However, the fact that Burke's ideas have been subject to such a panoply of scholarship does not mean that he eludes definition, nor undermine the analytical utility of searching for "traditions" or "influences" that he may have drawn upon.[59] Indeed, by assessing the role of Burke's Anglican scepticism, we have seen that his criticism of natural rights and defence of religion were both informed by the same logic, placing faith in inherited institutions over the speculative use of reason. In many ways, it is exactly this position that has cemented Burke's reputation as the founder of modern conservatism, in the literal sense that he favored "conserving" over revolution. But by recognizing that these ideas exist alongside his view of chivalry, political economy, and other languages such as reason of state, we can arrive at a more comprehensive grasp of the Reflections which recognizes Burke's broad range of influences and the complex amalgamation of political and philosophical concerns that guided his influential attack on the French Revolution.

Endnotes

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[16] Pocock, "The Political Economy of Burke's Analysis of the Revolution," 200.

[17] *Reflections,* 45.

[18] *Reflections,* 197.

[19] *Reflections,* 92.

[20] *Reflections,* 167-8.

[21] Pocock, "The Political Economy of Burke's Analysis of the Revolution," 194.

[22] Pocock, "The Political Economy of Burke's Analysis of the Revolution," 194.

[23] Burke, *Reflections,* 69.

[24] *Reflections,* 69; David Hume, "Of Refinement in the Arts," in *Essays, Moral, Political, And Literary* (Indianapolis: LibertyClassics, 1987), 268-280.

[25] *Reflections,* 62.

[26] *Reflections,* 67, 69.

[27] *Reflections,* 68.

[28] John Henry Merryman and Rogelio Pérez-Perdomo, *The Civil Law Tradition: An Introduction to the Legal Systems of Europe and Latin America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018), 17; In the words of Jeremy Bentham, this is "Nonsense upon Stilts."

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[47] Conor Cruise O'Brien, *The Great Melody: a thematic biography and commented anthology of Edmund Burke* (London: Sinclair-Stevensen, 1992), 39.

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[54] Hampsher-Monk, "Burke and the Religious Sources of Skeptical Conservatism," 259.

[55] Hampsher-Monk, "Burke and Skeptical Conservatism," 241.

[56] Hampsher-Monk, "Burke and Skeptical Conservatism," 241.

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The World War II Incarceration of Japanese Americans in Contemporary Community and Public Memory

Introduction

In *The Past Within Us*, historian Tessa Morris-Suzuki inquires, "How do we pass on our knowledge of the past from one generation to the next?"[1] This question is central to understanding the preservation of histories of silenced groups, such as those Japanese Americans subjected to incarceration during World War II. In the absence of empowering social and political circumstances in the decades after the war, Japanese Americans were almost denied the possibility to pass their history on to the next generation by the US government, the general American public, and by constraints within their own communities. At first, collective awareness of the incarcerations outside of the Japanese American community were based almost entirely on a narrative constructed by the US government designed to justify its actions. Only decades later, with the triumph of the Redress Movement, did Japanese Americans acquire the means to narrate their own experiences, effectively reclaiming their history. The manner in which the Japanese American World War II experience is embedded into community and public memory today is inextricably linked to the hardships the ethnic group faced after the war, individual and community efforts within the Japanese American community to shed light upon their experiences, and the political realities of each subsequent decade. Both community and public memory of the experience have also been significantly influenced by the technological, social and political developments of the new millennium.

"Sites of Memory"

Today, the memory of Japanese American incarceration is preserved within a diverse range of "sites of memory" to be passed on to coming generations. First conceived and popularized by French historian Pierre Nora's three-volume Realms of Memory, "sites of memory" are

"deliberate attempts to limit forgetfulness and establish a sense of historical continuity."[2] Nora explains that sites of memory "originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory." Thus, we must deliberately record history because we feel it is our duty to prevent it from perishing.[3] The starting point for their creation is "the will to remember:" thus, it follows that the histories that are preserved in these sites are selected as "worthy of remembrance" by a group of people.[4] Today these sites include media, museums, organizations, remembrance days, memorials, oral testimonies, historical sites and educational curricula. The stories of individuals are building blocks for sites of memory, and as scholar David Thelen notes in "Memory and American History," "the starting place for the construction of an individual recollection is a present need or circumstance."[5] In the seventy-five years since the closing of the concentration camps, following an interplay between the social and political backdrops of different decades, Japanese American individuals' stories evolved from a collective silence to the emergence of personal testimonies, then discussion and debate within their ethnic community memory, and finally into the realm of public memory.[6] Thelen also notes that "the memory of past experiences is... profoundly intertwined with the basic identities of individuals, groups, and cultures," a phenomenon which became visible as Japanese Americans began to produce public memory more assertively in response to the increase in ethnic pride within both their families and communities. [7] It was a gradual emergence and strengthening of the community's "will to remember" that embedded their stories in sites of memory. Thus, it is impossible to examine the memory of Japanese American incarceration today separate from the history through which it evolved.

Silence and Fragmentation

As traumatic and uncomfortable histories often are, especially those that call government policy into question, the incarceration of Japanese Americans was a topic silenced within both the ethnic community itself

and the American public for decades. The term "historiography of oblivion," defined by Morris-Suzuki as a presentation of history meant "not simply to 'revise' understandings of the past, but specifically to obliterate the memory of certain events from public consciousness," can be directly applied to the silence surrounding incarceration.[8] Amid the repressive social and political realities of the post-war years, Japanese American victims were generally silent, which allowed the perpetrators of their incarceration to foster a narrative convenient for them by publically presenting hand-picked testimonies.[9] Sociologist Tetsuden Kashima has noted that Senator Joseph McCarthy's anti-Communist crusade and the Cold War, which characterized the US political circumstances from the 1940s to the mid-1960s, resulted in "a national attitude that discouraged criticism of the government."[10]

After WWII ended and the camps were closed, the children born in the US to Japanese-born immigrants, known as the Nisei, encountered immense difficulties finding homes and jobs, most often having lost their old homes and businesses. Faced with intense hostility from most communities, they needed to tend to basic concerns for personal and family safety. Exacerbated by inflammatory West Coast newspaper headlines such as "Japanese Return to Cause Trouble, Californians Fear," prejudice manifested itself through direct violence, including cases of arson, firebombing and shooting at homes.[11] Under these distressing circumstances, the Nisei occupied themselves with securing the best possible future for their children in a nation with a history of racialized, discriminatory policies. A dedication to hard work in an attempt to prove themselves "good American citizens" took precedence over discussion of their traumatic experience, rebuilding fragmented ethnic communities, and confronting the US government's injustices.[12]

Indeed, the postwar Japanese American experience was defined by a silence surrounding the community's wartime experiences and fragmentation. During the war, the Japanese American community was

divided by competing views on military service, the US government, and protest in the camps. Its lack of communication prompted further community disintegration after the war. Conversations about their wartime experience that did occur, as Jeanne Wakatsuki, recounted, were "superficial," as "people didn't know how to talk about it."[13] General silence on the topic within the wider American community, too, fostered feelings of shame and frustration for the Nisei; former incarcerate Dan Hayashi explained that "the fact… that nobody wanted to talk about it gave [him] a message that there was something to be ashamed about."[14] Silence characterized approaches to the topic even within the family unit; the Nisei were unsure of how to approach stories of their experience with their children. Some believed that their children would not be interested in hearing their stories. Others felt a sense of shame about being imprisoned. Their experiences too painful to recount, they hoped that they could forget them with time. All were worried about burdening their children. In turn, the Niseis' children, known as the Sansei, refrained from asking questions out of consideration for their parents.[15]

The silence and "success stories" of Japanese Americans rebuilding their lives and becoming relatively economically affluent seemed to verify the US government's narrative and promoted the "model minority" myth. Based on stereotypes, the model minority myth characterized Asian Americans across the US as a quiet, law-abiding demographic with high levels of educational achievement and socioeconomic success. This myth was promoted to mask the postwar struggles of Japanese Americans and allowed the government to justify their failure to aid the community in its resettlement and reintegration, take initiatives against systemic racism, and provide official redress for incarceration. Moreover, the social and political atmosphere of the early postwar period did not provide a climate in which Japanese Americans could share their wartime experiences, both within their community and with wider American society, or challenge

the government narrative.

An avoidance of addressing Japanese American incarceration permitted the US government to evade taking responsibility for its violation of both habeas corpus and the civil liberties of its citizens and residents for decades. It even provided the government a convenient means to discourage other minority groups from protesting against racial discrimination. The US government asserted that Japanese Americans had become successful after the war because of their wartime cooperation, their exceptionally hard work as they re-assimilated, and their silence surrounding their incarceration, misconstrued as a quick recovery from the crisis.[16] This narrative, promoted from the closing of the camps up until the 1960s was not written by the people who had actually experienced the history. Instead, the US government promulgated a politically expedient history which "minimized the extent of suffering and resistance among incarcerees, emphasized stories of military service and overstated 'recovery' of former incarcerees embracing opportunities for assimilation after the war."[17]

Stories of exceptional bravery within the all-Nisei 442nd Regiment were specifically hand-picked in support of the model minority myth. The Regiment was sent to fight in especially treacherous battles in WWII, and remains the most decorated unit for its size in US military history.[18] Its legacy, however, normalized the idea that Japanese Americans needed to work much harder than other groups to be deemed worthy of praise. This narrative is visible in Go for Broke!, a 1951 Hollywood film directed by Robert Pirosh. The film presents the loyalty and patriotism of the 442nd all-Nisei Regiment as they bravely fought in Europe, while their families remained behind the barbed wires of concentration camps in America. The title, Go for Broke, is a reference to the unit's motto, which signified putting everything on the line in an effort to secure a big victory. Although it reflected the soldiers' commendable bravery in the face of severe discrimination, it also connoted the disproportionate efforts

Japanese Americans had to exert to be considered worthy of recognition. The soldiers knew that their actions would be considered representative of their whole ethnic group and thus carried the weight of battling the prejudice inflicted upon their incarcerated families. The story is told from the perspective of a white lieutenant, who is prejudiced against the Japanese American soldiers under his command but gains a deep respect and admiration for them by the end of the movie.[19] The director intended to invoke this change in attitude from a white American audience. Thus, the movie prompted a nationwide recognition of Japanese American military achievement during World War II, yet it did not raise questions about why the soldiers needed to become the most decorated unit in American history to earn respect and admiration. Its narrative normalized the fact that the soldiers had to risk their lives to prove their loyalty to a white audience, even after having their civil liberties taken away. Indeed, Go For Broke! remained one of the only mainstream portrayals of the Japanese American wartime experience until the 1960s.

The film's influence is noteworthy because of the general public's tendency to rely on popular media, rather than formal academic sources for their exposure to historical events.[20] Along with the government emphasis on 'success stories,' Go for Broke! constituted the crux of public memory of the Japanese American wartime experience for two decades. It became natural for the vast majority of the general public to accept the government's narrative without much hesitation as a result of what historian David Fischer calls the "fallacy of negative proof."[21] It is easy for people to adopt the belief that events did not occur if there is a complete lack of conversation about them, especially if a topic is omitted from standard educational curricula.[22]

It was only the rise of civil rights movements during the 1960s that brought forward an impetus to break the silence surrounding Japanese American incarceration and provide the public with new narratives. As Ueno Chizuko explains in "The Politics of Memory," the experience of

silenced groups in the aftermath of traumatic events is often widely known; however, what changes as the years go by and the issues become publicly discussed is "the way that [the facts are] perceived."[23] The social and political milieu of the 1960s and 70s created a "new consciousness on the part of historical victims and their descendants that their demands for justice be heard and addressed."[24] Inspired by activists in the Civil Rights, Black Power and antiwar movements, the Sansei, accompanied by a few progressive Nisei, became vocal in their criticism of the model minority myth. They realized that they needed to confront repressed memories that were psychologically damaging to both generations and perpetuated victimization.[25] Former incarcerees became more inclined to share their memories with the rest of the Japanese American community and were encouraged by community events such as pilgrimages to former camps and Day of Remembrance programs.[26] In this way, the increased participation in "sites of memory" prompted the creation of even more.

The Sansei, many of whom went to college by the 1960s, were exposed to campus activism, which led them to critically question their parents' silence.[27] They began doubting the government-sanctioned values of "assimilation" and their parents' determination to raise them as "true Americans." As noted by Alice Murray, they were especially "appalled by the way the mainstream media interpreted their parents' silence as evidence of success and acceptance."[28] The Sansei's awareness that their parents and grandparents' stories were silenced for decades frustrated them, fostering within them a desire to ensure that their stories would be heard. Intergenerational dialogue between the Nisei and Sansei, stimulated by the Redress Movement, provided the latter with knowledge of their family and community history, strengthened their ethnic pride, and inspired them to continue the struggle against discrimination. This rise of ethnic pride also prompted a reunification of the Japanese American community, bolstering a movement for formal

government apology and financial compensation. It also allowed for wider communication on how the community wanted to preserve their history within the public sphere.

The Redress Era

In the shifting global environment of the 1980s, politicians around the world were pressured to address their nations' past wrongdoings. This global context was another factor which made Redress more urgent than ever. As explained by historian Elazar Barkan, two driving forces for national apologies were a new emphasis on morality and the global scale of outreach that new information technologies provided to peoples with grievances.[29] The release of large numbers of formerly classified documents via the Freedom of Information Act in the 1980s, which publicized the explicitly discriminatory intentions of the wartime government, also played a crucial role in encouraging Redress. The Nisei began to grasp the gravity of the injustice they were subjected to, as well as the difference they could make by sharing their experiences and joining the campaign for Redress.

The Civil Rights Movement bolstered the historical revisionist approach, which emphasized instances of dissent and resistance and redefined the notions of loyalty and patriotism. The work of historians in the 1970s brought to light wartime experiences overlooked in face of preserving a traditionalist grand narrative of America's democracy and patriotism. However, the passage of Redress in the deeply conservative climate of the 1980s Congress required a strategic emphasis on narratives of military heroism by activists and policymakers hoping to produce change. Thus, despite the emergence of new histories, traditionalist historical approaches remained prominent in public consciousness too.

This strategic emphasis produced successful results as the Redress movement culminated in President Ronald Reagan's signing of the Civil Liberties Act on August 10, 1988. The act granted each living incarceree $20,000 of compensation and articulated a formal apology for the

"fundamental violations of the basic civil liberties and constitutional rights of these individuals of Japanese ancestry."[30] As articulated by Japanese cultural anthropologist Yasuko Takezawa in her book Breaking the Silence: Redress and Japanese American Ethnicity, "for both generations [of Japanese Americans], redress had a double significance: it repaired their own psychological damage and financial loss and it corrected an injustice and a violation of the Constitution."[31] No longer having to devote their energy to the social and economic survival of their families while striving for Redress, Japanese Americans could now more easily afford to listen to each other's testimonies and reflect upon what caused fragmentation and misunderstanding within their community. An understanding that the preservation of their shared history would further strengthen their community grew. As theorized by David Thelen, the new political reality combined with the growth of ethnic pride displayed that change in personal and community identity significantly influences the construction of memory.[32]

The Redress Era thus created an environment in which revisionist narratives could finally be presented to the public without restraint; the necessity of presenting narratives to satisfy a conservative government disappeared. As articulated by civil rights activist Noriko Sawada Bridges, narratives could now "portray the truth as [Japanese Americans] see it."[33] Activists were able to move away from the pervasive characterization of Japanese American history as "the saga of the Nisei soldiers" and diversify portrayals of experience that were presented to the public through new sites of memory.[34] An emphasis was placed on bringing forward stories of resistance in camps and presenting them as legitimate and widespread responses to unconstitutional mass incarceration. These stories are presented in John Howard's monograph *Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow*.[35] Published in 2008, the book focuses on the WRA camps of Jerome and Rohwer, placing the Japanese American

experience into a wide history of discrimination in the US and illuminating stories of hardships faced by women, immigrants and resistors to Executive Order 9066. This is just one significant example of a "site of memory" that challenged one-dimensional representations of heroism, loyalty and patriotism; not only were these stories brought to light, but they were also presented as heroic for fighting against unconstitutional actions and the values of American democracy.

Escaping the confines of intergenerational dialogue in families and discussion within ethnic communities, conversations about the meaning and legacy of incarceration finally entered the public sphere. Since the Redress Movement, collective memory of Japanese American incarceration has been cultivated in increasingly empowering political and social circumstances with a growing public awareness of the multi-dimensionality of experiences and harm done by the government narrative that had prevailed for decades. Two major federal and state funding programs also sparked an immense growth of media projects and scholarship on Japanese American incarceration. The Civil Liberties Act established the federal Civil Liberties Public Education Fund, which provided a means for memory of the experience to be preserved in ways the Japanese American community felt were best. In 2009, Congress also appropriated $1 million for the first year of the Japanese American Confinement Sites Grant Program. The Grant Program is designed to provide "funds to private nonprofit organizations; educational institutions; state, local, and tribal governments; and other public entities working towards the preservation and interpretation of historic confinement sites."[36] The funding programs also became a means for the US government to provide what scholar Gi-Wook Shin terms "thick" reconciliation, or a full restoration of peaceful relations through congressional action and institutional change. Beyond providing an ambiguously-worded apology, as governments have done historically when seeking to avoid direct confrontations with past injustices, the US

government has bolstered its official apology by providing the Japanese American community with a platform to overwrite racist historical narratives.[37] These initiatives served as a significant step towards repairing the relationship between the Japanese American community and the nation as a whole. Finally, feeling that their stories were supported on a national level, even more former incarcerees shared their experiences and contributed to public education efforts.

The Preservation of Japanese American History in Sites of Memory

In her article "Contested Places in Public Memory," Gail Lee Dubrow argues that "insider accounts have not merely added more facts about Japanese Americans to the historical record; instead, they have re-shaped public understandings of American history."[38] New testimonies brought the diverse range of experiences of the formerly ostracized groups of draft resistors, the "no-no boys," and protestors to the forefront. [39] Increased public understanding of why these people chose to make the decisions that they did allowed their stigmatization to slowly recede. New awareness that the postwar "success stories" were largely inaccurate prompted the wider American public to acknowledge the oppressive nature of the model minority myth. Histories of resistance created an increasing public awareness that the US government had acted unconstitutionally and had evaded responsibility and apology for decades. While experiences differed from camp to camp and family to family, new testimonies clearly demonstrated that the experiences of a select few cannot not be viewed as representation of a whole ethnic group. Thus, Dubrow's argument certainly holds true; the way the Japanese American experience is perceived by the public has progressed.

Notable sites of memory that focus on the diversity of experiences include the documentaries *Rabbit in the Moon*, *Conscience and the Constitution* and the *Only What We Could Carry* anthology. *Rabbit in the Moon*, an Emmy Award-winning 1999 documentary by filmmaker Emiko Omori, provided a platform for former incarcerees to speak openly on

topics that were formerly considered taboo. Furthermore, it gave the public substantial insight into key aspects of wartime Japanese American history: the fragmentation of the ethnic communities during and after the war, the breakdown of families, the loss of ethnic pride, the refusal to respond to the loyalty questionnaire, the frustrations with euphemistic language, the Japanese American Citizens League's wartime cooperation with the government authorities and the families' repatriation to Japan. [40] Continuing Omori's efforts, producer Frank Abe, noticing that a history of organized resistance was absent from the resources he had access to when learning about his ethnic experience, was inspired to create a documentary detailing the story of the draft resistance movement at the Heart Mountain concentration camp in Wyoming. Abe's project received a $100,000 grant from the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund. Debuting in 2000, the film *Conscience and the Constitution* received a national PBS broadcast and became a recipient of numerous national awards.[41] Published in 2000, *Only What We Could Carry: The Japanese American Internment Experience* is an anthology of primary sources and commentaries. The sources include oral histories, poetry, artwork, official documents, diaries and excerpts from memoirs detailing the experiences of those who served in the military, draft resisters, and non-incarcerees associated with the incarcerations. Uniquely, the book also presents the experience of persons of Japanese ancestry in Canada, Mexico, Central and South America, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. [42]

The advent of electronic technology also had a tremendous influence on the way public memory of Japanese American experience has been constructed and presented. The rapid technological development of the past two decades has created a massive proliferation of access to information. The Internet became a new and unique site of memory, providing unprecedented access to enormous amounts of information. People around the world today can easily read histories they are interested

in without having to physically visit museums and historical sites or sort through academic archives. Informational websites often incorporate interactive elements that allow audiences to engage with the information they learn by sharing their responses to the topic and reading the responses of others. Technology is now used in interactive museum exhibits; an awareness of the countless new possibilities provided by modern technology has influenced many curators to abandon the standard conventions of static exhibits for passive and silent viewing. Overall, technological developments have provided audiences with the ability to interact with the information they are being presented, which allows them to better process and empathize with stories of Japanese American experiences.

Historian Gail Lee Dubrow suggests that, "perhaps the most ambitious attempt to connect oral histories of the internment with public audiences is the Seattle-based Densho Project."[43] *Densho: The Japanese American Legacy Project* is a non-profit organization started in 1996 with the initial goal of preserving oral testimonies. The project expanded through the years and its mission statement today is "to preserve and share the history of the WWII incarceration of Japanese Americans to promote equity and justice […]."[44] Densho's online Encyclopedia presents a colossal digital archive of primary sources, detailing a wide variety of key concepts, people, events, and organizations related to the incarceration experience. One can find a collection of over 900 video interviews with former incarcerees, along with testimonies from non-Japanese American witnesses. In 2017, the organization launched their "Resource Guide to Media," and a directory was created to provide educators seeking materials for their curricula with an organized database. Nonetheless, this database can be utilized by anyone hoping to expand their knowledge on the Japanese American experience.[45] The careful organization and free access of this vast amount of resources on a single database greatly contributes to the visibility of the Japanese

American wartime experience. However, it is also likely such databases are accessed primarily by those who already have an established interest in the topic; awareness of the history must be established before certain sites of memory enter the public realm.

Digital applications and mediums intended for popular audiences also provided a platform for the spread of awareness of the incarceration experience. The creation of Youtube in 2005 played an immense role; documentaries, testimonies, speeches, and short films are now freely available and only a click away. The "HiHo Kids" channel, for example, started their Kids Meet series, in which children meet and have a conversation with people of varied experiences and worldviews. Their six minute video "Kids Meet a Survivor of the Japanese-American Internment" received an impressive 1.1 million views. The video shows that, despite the children's young age and the fact that they are not acquainted with the intricacies of World War II and US policy, they clearly understand the notions of what is just and unjust, empathize with the former incarcerees, quickly identify the racism of incarceration, and pose thoughtful questions about the contemporary implications of this history.[46] To the wide viewership of the channel, this video provided some insight into the former incarcerees' preferred use of terminology and their efforts to spread awareness about the history of racism in America in hopes of avoiding a similar situation for minorities today. It also illuminated how important communication about the incarcerations is, particularly within school curricula. For those who may not be inclined to view a long documentary, or even a historical fiction movie, short videos such as this one can serve as an introduction to an important topic and inspire them to learn more, at which point they could turn to the substantial resources provided by websites like Densho.

The findings of contemporary studies on effective learning styles transformed the way many museum curators approach their exhibits. Additionally, rather than presenting prescriptive views, recent exhibits

have been curated to encourage visitors to both think about how history and memory are shaped and contribute their own memories and thoughts. "The Defining Courage Experience" exhibition by the Go for Broke National Education Center, opened to the public in Los Angeles in 2016, is an example of a holistic and interactive exhibit. It represents a culmination of decades of Japanese American activism, combined with modern curating approaches. The exhibit incorporates a range of electronic technologies to appeal to the "tech-savvy" millennial generation.[47] The experience begins with a calm and joyful atmosphere, which abruptly switches to a simulated shock upon hearing the news of the attack on Pearl Harbor. This exhibit is followed by the presentation of a comprehensive history of racism in the United States. The history of Japanese American discrimination is shown alongside a comprehensive history of other minorities in the US whose "rights have been violated in the name of national security."[48] The US government's discriminatory policies of the past are presented alongside contemporary news articles reflecting on the same trends today. A sense of immediacy is created by establishing direct parallels with the contemporary discrimination of Muslim Americans. Next, the immense power of propaganda in influencing public opinion is displayed through a collection of hands-on activities: creating one's own propaganda poster and seeing how easily meaning can be changed, an engaging matching game for younger visitors, and an activity allowing each visitor to attempt to distinguish propaganda from fact. After this, visitors are placed "into the shoes of Japanese Americans who lived during World War II." They are challenged to make decisions on military service and the loyalty questionnaire on a touch screen, while reading stories about specific individuals who had to make the exact same choices in the 1940s.[49]

The exhibit provides a chance for each visitor to create a mini-documentary, compelling them to think about how they would present the complexity and relevance of the Japanese American history to a modern

audience. The visitors gain an awareness of the challenges of presenting history to the public and are encouraged to reflect on the narratives shaped by their own historical perceptions. The focal point of the exhibit is an art piece created from visitors' responses to a question of the month; it allows guests to contribute their own thoughts and read the thoughts of others, illustrating how a greater picture of history is achieved from a collection of individual approaches. When a visitor has completed a tour of the exhibit, they arrive at a space where they can contemplate what they have learned and converse with other visitors. It reminds the visitors that conversation is what brought Japanese American history forward from silence, highlighting the importance of dialogue in processing difficult and traumatic topics in general. The final component is a "Wall of Heroes," which features the accomplishments of both veterans and dissenters, as well as the non-Japanese Americans who played a role in helping the incarcerees.[50] The display of the stories, accentuated in traditional and revisionist representations alongside each other, reflects that the social and political milieu of the twenty-first century allows us to view the Japanese American experience as a multi-dimensional whole. The exhibit highlights that all wartime experiences are interlaced and play an equal part in telling the ethnic group's story, thereby promoting a reconciliation between the historically opposed traditionalist and revisionist representations.

Another important development in the framework of public memory about incarceration has to do with the language utilized to describe the experience. Many within the Japanese American community felt that in order to convey their stories to the general public with accuracy, they needed to use the vocabulary that truthfully described the removals they were subjected to and the establishments they were confined in. Criticism of the reference to confinement sites as relocation, evacuation, and internment camps grew after the Redress Era. Activists pushed for the abandonment of the euphemistic language used by the racist officials who

carried out Order 9066 to "control public perceptions" and "obscure the unconstitutional nature of [forced removals]."[51] Debates about the terminology utilized to describe the incarcerations and camps culminated in the Japanese American Citizens League's Power of Words Resolution of 2010. In 2013, the JACL created a handbook detailing the history of euphemisms used by the government to "control public perceptions" about the incarcerations and "obscure the unconstitutional nature" of government policy. It then identifies the terms which provide a more accurate description, along with explanations why. The handbook recommends that "forced removal" be used in place of "evacuation," "relocation" and "incarceration" rather than "internment," "temporary detention center" instead of "assembly center," and "American concentration camp," or "incarceration camp" in the place of "relocation center."[52] This document presented another means for Japanese Americans to reclaim their own history, and this vocabulary is increasingly used in new sites of memory. By acknowledging the harsh conditions and illegality of the confinements, these sites ensure that the history preserved is much more representative of the experiences.

Annual pilgrimages to former concentration camps became another building block for the creation and preservation of memory. The first pilgrimage occurred in 1969 when 150 people drove to Manzanar in the hopes of learning about the former incarcerees' experience and honoring them and their hardships.[53] This first pilgrimage garnered substantial media coverage, stimulating community discussion of internment.[54] Pilgrimages to Manzanar became an annual event and a catalyst for pilgrimages to other camps. Organizations were formed to undertake initiatives to preserve the camps and furnish them as sites of memory with exhibits and documentaries to educate visitors. The pilgrimages proved to be an enormously powerful experience for younger generations of Japanese Americans because they provided an opportunity to establish an intimate connection with their ancestors' history. For the former

incarcerees, these pilgrimages provide a chance to relive and reflect on their experiences, often providing relief for their trauma. Younger generations often visit the sites with older generations; reliving their family history together serves as an especially valuable experience for many Japanese American families. Speeches and ethnic ceremonies presented at most pilgrimages continue to strengthen ethnic pride, unity and understanding. All of these elements encourage a continuation of efforts to preserve this history.

Sites of memory concerning incarceration in the 2000s and 2010s began to encompass broader scopes; shifting away from an exclusive focus on wartime experience, they also detail pre- and post-incarceration histories. The Japanese American experience is now commonly situated in the context of a comprehensive history of racism in the United States. In this way, solidarity with other minority groups and reflections on general issues of racism in America are promoted by the new ways in which internment memories are framed. This holistic presentation is increasingly visible in the way that the subject is taught in school curricula. The past two decades saw a rise in the coverage of Japanese American wartime experience in school programs across the US. In 2011, the Japanese American Citizens League issued their The Japanese American Experience Curriculum Guide, which thoroughly reflects the fruit of activists' efforts for the public presentation of their history's multi-dimensionality. The guide begins with a detailed historical overview recounting the Japanese American experience from 1848 until the passage of the Redress legislation, including a section on Japanese incarceration in Latin America. The Japanese American World War II experience is thus placed in a comprehensive context of both relations between Japan and the US and early US attitudes on immigration, revealing what "influenced the manner in which the Japanese in the US were treated."[55] A section on "Civil Liberties in Crisis" places the Japanese-American incarceration into a context with other groups whose

civil liberties have been violated by the US government; it details the Alien and Sedition Acts, habeas corpus in the American Civil War, the Red Scare and the Palmer Raids, the War on Terror's impact on Muslim Americans, and 9/11. Finally, the guide also provides a lengthy list of topical resources with abstracts, categorized according to media type.[56]

Nevertheless, even today, sites of memory focusing primarily on military heroism, loyalty and patriotism remain a part of public memory. The millennium began with President Bill Clinton's awarding of the Medal of Honor to 20 members of the 442nd Regiment and the 100th battalion in a highly publicized White House ceremony. He remarked that the veterans' heroism "did much more than prove they were Americans"; it made the "nation more American."[57] Undoubtedly, the rhetoric Clinton employed during his speech was significant in shaping public memory of the Japanese American wartime experience, especially bearing in mind the magnitude of the event's audience. The Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism in Washington, D.C. was erected in 2000 with a similar imbalanced focus on military service and patriotism. The monument's inscriptions include the names of the ten concentration camps with a number of incarcerated individuals under each, the names of those who were killed in military service, as well as quotes from key figures in the Japanese American wartime history. The inclusion of an excerpt from former JACL leader, Mike Masaoka's Japanese American Creed, which "identifies patriotism with government cooperation," raised significant controversy. The monument completely omits the bravery of those who resisted imprisonment and the draft. It also recognizes Masaoka as a "civil rights activist," while consensus on this title does not exist in the Japanese American community. This prompted the critics to create a website, JAvoice.com, with the goal of "making certain that the collective recollection of Japanese Americans is representative of the diversity of [their] entire community" and establishing their stance that "those who courageously endured the camps and those who resisted"

should be honored alongside those who served. Although the monument remains as is today, the activists' efforts culminated in a "a formal apology to the resisters for failing to recognize their loyalty" by the JACL.[58] It is also possible to imagine that there will be a shift away from such sites of memory in the future as awareness of the diversity of experiences grows within the general American public.

On the other hand, prominent figures of Japanese American descent sometimes choose to focus on narratives of military history when recounting their experience to the public. In 2014, George Takei, a Star Trek actor of Japanese American descent, gave a TED Talk, "Why I Love a Country that Once Betrayed Me." In his speech, he recounts the difficulties of his early childhood incarceration experience but also identifies the soldiers of the 442nd Regiment as his heroes for their bravery, loyalty and belief in the American ideals of democracy.[59] His speech displays a continuity with older narratives; however, his statements can be interpreted differently in the contemporary context. The outpour of new sites of memory in the new millennium has brought forward an unprecedented collective awareness of the diversity in experience of former Japanese American incarcerees. A speech is a different "site of memory" than a presidential ceremony or a public monument; it is a personal testimony. Takei presents the story that he personally identifies with. In presenting his own childhood experience and explaining why those that served inspire him, he claims his own history. Takei's listeners now have access to an abundance of sites of memory that inform them of the histories of those who actively resisted, those who cooperated with the government and those who complied with orders and endured the injustice. This diversity of testimonies allows Japanese Americans today to truly discern their own stories and tell them as they are, without the pressure speaking for their entire ethnic community as was expected of the 442nd during World War II. With the knowledge that other praiseworthy achievements exist, military valor can

be recognized and celebrated in its own right.

Contemporary Parallels with the Muslim American Community

With the start of the new millennium, the growth of "sites of memory" preserving the Japanese American experience gained significant momentum resulting from the impact of 9/11 and the consequent rise of anti-Muslim sentiment. A consciousness of the dangers of mass hysteria and the tragic results of targeting specific ethnic groups in exclusionary immigration-reform proposals inspired scholarship on the Japanese American experience post-Pearl Harbor in hopes to avoid these mistakes today.[60] The heightened awareness of the general multi-dimensionality of historical experiences in today's society allowed the Japanese American community's focus to shift from preserving their history onto emphasizing what many draw to be the "lesson" of their incarceration and their difficulties in the postwar decades: "Never again." In the contemporary political climate the legacy of the tragic results of targeting specific ethnic groups in exclusionary immigration-reform proposals is especially relevant. This relevance has been highlighted by several prominent voices of the Japanese American community and by the annual joint pilgrimages to the Manzanar National Historic site with members of the Muslim American community.

Mas Hashimoto gave a Ted Talk on "Racism and America's Concentration Camps" in 2018 in which he delineates the parallels between Japanese American incarcerations and the post 9/11 discrimination of Muslims in America. The Californian high school teacher's speech has been able to garner almost 100,000 views. In his speech, Hashimoto recounts his experience when Executive Order 9066 was issued in 1942 and directly compares it to current immigration bans on predominantly-Muslim countries and post-9/11 islamophobia. However, he notes that today "we have so many groups, and individuals, supporting what really is of true America, something we didn't see in 1942." He suggests that while the suspension of civil liberties might not

occur "under the guise of military necessity" today, it is more important than ever for us to be aware of manifestations of discriminatory attitudes as they might not be as plainly visible. His overarching message is that "it's up to us, all of us, to work in peace, and harmony, compassion, to overcome hate and bigotry."[61] Thus, he appeals to the American public to learn about the history of racism in their country, empathize with former victims, be aware of escalations of discriminatory sentiment and put forward their best efforts to vocally combat them before they can be translated into legislation.

George Takei promotes a very similar message in his 2017 op-ed "Internment, America's Great Mistake" for *The New York Times.* He emphasizes the significance of continued efforts to preserve the Japanese American incarceration history and educate the younger generations to avoid a repetition of not only the cruelties they were subjected to during the war but also the immense difficulties and injustices they faced in the decades that followed.[62] Takei and Hashimoto have created "sites of memory" which clearly deviate from past representations in their focus; their main focus is to shed light on what lessons can be drawn and directly applied to a contemporary issue. Moving forward from creating memory as a way to heal, these two speakers hope to combat racism nationwide and inspire others to do so.

The Japanese American community has taken a clear stance of solidarity with Muslim American communities across the nation through joint pilgrimages to the Manzanar National Historic Site. These annual trips consolidate their allyship and solidarity with each other's hardships. The two communities strengthen their connection by spending a few days at the site, honoring the former incarcerees, holding an interfaith ceremony, sharing their experiences and fostering discussion about the support they can continue to provide each other and other minority groups in the future. In this way, a site of memory preserving the Japanese American experience has initiated and cultivated a strong inter-

community relationship between two ethnic groups.

Conclusion

The long evolution of the Japanese American World War II experience within community and public memory exemplifies the difficulty of preserving traumatic histories. The possibility to reclaim their history and create new memories required a very specific combination of social and political circumstances which took decades to arrive. The unprecedented proliferation of sites of memory was made possible by federal funding, modern advances in technology and approaches to education, as well as rising concern with the parallels between the growth of Islamophobic sentiment. The possibilities to create sites of memory, their content and the audience that they draw all change as time goes by and social and political contexts shift.

I have also displayed that the preservation of memories does much more than establish historical continuity. In conversation with David Thelen's theories about the connection between memory and individuals, groups, and cultures, this paper proves that cultivation of memory can provide opportunities for healing on an individual level, shape and repair relationships within communities, foster inter-community solidarity and determine the relationship between an ethnic group and the nation state. These social developments affected the final products of memory, which then became embedded into sites of memory. Additionally, memory can be used to manipulate population groups, as seen in government narratives crafted to avoid responsibility for injustices and discourage other minority groups from protesting. It can also be utilized as a political tool when framed in a context which brings to light contemporary injustices and is complemented by rhetoric to motivate action. For people outside an ethnic community, learning about their history brings them to a closer understanding of the community and culture.

However, this paper also raises concerns about the preservation of ethnic histories outside of pressing circumstances. Had the Japanese

American community not needed a restoration of unity and ethnic pride and if the US government had taken steps towards reconciliation immediately, it is possible that less effort would have been exerted to cultivate their history both today and in the past. It can be conjectured that without obvious contemporary parallels, the incarceration experience would probably not be as widely studied or discussed within the public realm. These considerations have prompted me to contemplate the question, what makes the history of a specific ethnic community "matter" within the public realm? Is the preservation of ethnic histories most important to the members of that ethnic community, or is it only possible to consider the preservation "successful" if sites of memory garner substantial audiences within a national or global realm? While sites of memory as "deliberate attempts to limit forgetfulness and establish a sense of historical continuity" are certainly a key constituent in the preservation of memories of ethnic groups, they must be examined in a context of a wide contemporary public community which may not come into contact with these sites.[63]

The history of Japanese American incarceration today is preserved in an abundance of astutely curated and accessible sites of memory, yet it is likely that a majority of the audience for sites of memory on Japanese American history consists of those with Japanese ancestry, those affiliated with the wartime experience or ethnic community and those with specific scholarly interest in the culture. Documentaries and databases especially, which truly present the culmination of efforts to preserve the Japanese American experience in the way the community has fought to present it for decades, are unfortunately the least likely to reach mainstream audiences. Despite their existence and accessibility, these sites of memory cannot be considered public memory unless they reach a much larger and more diverse audience. This issue is especially pertinent in regards to Morris-Suzuki's question: "How do we pass on our knowledge of the past from one generation to the next?"[64] She calls

this the "crisis of history," a modern reality in which "contemporary topics and practical skills" are prioritized over historical knowledge.[65] However, the study of the creation of sites of memory does allow us to redefine the way we interact with history and gain fascinating insight on human values and tendencies, as groups realize that they have immense leverage in shaping how their histories are preserved.

Endnotes

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