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About the Cover

The cover image depicts the painting *La Sultane Lisant; a Lady in Turkish Costume Reading on a Divan* by the Swiss artist, Jean-Étienne Liotard, in the 18th century. This painting can be found in the article, "Princess Power: The Ottoman World Through French Eyes," by Anna Avanesyan, featured in this edition of the Michigan Journal of History.

A Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

Dear Reader,

On behalf of the editorial team, I am thrilled to present to you the eighteenth volume of the Michigan Journal of History. This year, the Journal celebrated its twenty-first anniversary with a great number of submissions covering various historical eras and fields. The articles featured in this edition were meticulously selected by the editorial team for their engaging and unique topics, eloquent writing styles, and quality of historical research and analysis. These articles highlight the richness and diversity of world history, examined from different lenses and offering new perspectives. I have no doubt that you will enjoy reading them as much as we did.

I would like to thank the editorial staff: Drew, Lily, Hannah, Annelise, Meredith, Bennett, Nicolas, Isabella, Aniket, Spencer, Jackson, Mariah, Celine, and Jill– my comrades in publishing– for their diligence and dedication throughout the editing process. The success and preservation of this Journal would simply be impossible without the team, the team, the team. In addition, I am forever grateful for the guidance of Chase Glasser, my predecessor, who taught me the ins and outs of the job. A special thank you to Professor Perrin Selcer, our faculty advisor, who gave his consistent and crucial support. I would like to extend a warm congratulations to the talented writers whose works are featured in the pages ahead. To all the writers who submitted their work for review this year, thank you for providing us with such informative reading. We are confident in your abilities, and encourage you to keep writing and submitting your work.

Sincerely,

Sundus Al Ameen

Editor-in-Chief, Michigan Journal of History

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Gendering and Ungendering of Black Women in American History

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Introduction

Intersectionality can broadly be defined as the mixing of different forms of oppression which creates unique experiences for people with multiple marginalized identities.[1] Over the past few decades, intersectionality has blossomed in many parts of academia, interrogating normative ways of studying systemic and social oppression by highlighting the interconnectedness of marginalized groups' suffering. Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term "intersectionality" in 1989.[2] In particular, she used the term in order to describe the distinct experiences of Black women who are caught at the intersection of race and gender. Being both Black and women, they are seen as the inferior race and the inferior sex. The combination of these two identity markers creates a distinct form of oppression that cannot be understood solely by seeing Black women as Black, or as women. Thus, intersectionality requires academics to understand Black women's experiences – and others whose experiences place them at the intersection of several identities – through the lens of their race *and* their gender. It is precisely because each identity marker is an integral part of the whole that stripping away one of these identity markers is particularly damaging. What would it mean for a Black woman to only be seen as a Black person? What would it mean to only see her as a woman? I argue that in order to understand Black women's oppression throughout history it is necessary to take an intersectional lens and recognize how their experiences are the result of simultaneous gendering and ungendering political, social, and legal forces.

In this paper, I make a methodological intervention into the way Black women's experiences should be analyzed throughout history. First, I briefly discuss intersectionality's historically rocky relationship with Black women. I analyze two of the main failures in academia that have characterized attempts to capture Black women's experiences. Second, I define gendering and ungendering, two concepts which are taken from Hortense Spillers' "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book." Further, I present three case studies from different points in history that illustrate distinct examples of gendering and ungendering of Black women. The case studies are 1) the punishments endured by Black

[1] Hannah Baldwin, "Bell Hooks and the Growth of Intersectionality in Western Feminism," *Manchester Historian* (blog), April 22, 2020, http://manchesterhistorian.com/2020/bell-hooks-and-the-growth-of-intersectionality-in-western-feminism-by-hannah-baldwin/.
[2] Ibid.

women during slavery, 2) the expectations imposed on Black women during the Reconstruction era, and 3) the treatment of Black women in legal claims in the 20th century. Third, I consider why gendering and ungendering occurs. I contend that the racecrafter genders and ungenders Black women in order to 1) protect white wealth and 2) assert racial dominance.

1. Failures of Intersectionality

Over the past few decades, gender and ethnic studies have closely studied the systemic and social oppressions that both women and people of color face.[3] Most importantly, thinkers such as Kimberlé Crenshaw and bell hooks have sparked discussion about how being a woman and a person of color interact with one another to amplify the oppression of people that belong to these two marginalized groups. In turn, they call for academics and researchers to adopt an intersectional approach when studying oppressed groups in order to fully understand the experiences of those at the crossroads of a sexist and racist society. In particular, an intersectional approach is paramount in order to understand Black women's experiences.[4]

Unfortunately, intersectional efforts have failed in a number of ways. One common mistake is to equate Black women's intersectionality to layered sources of oppression. In "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology," Deborah King writes "most applications […] have been overly simplistic in assuming that the relationships among the various discriminations are merely additive. [They] are interpreted as equivalent to the mathematical equation, racism plus sexism plus classism equals triple jeopardy."[5] In other words, theorists approach intersectionality by reducing Black women's experiences to distinct oppressive forces (gender, race, and often, class) that can just be layered over each other. This reading of intersectionality disables thinkers from recognizing how these systems of oppression are actually interrelated and, therefore, must be jointly combatted in order for any group to achieve freedom.

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[3] Sarah Cavill, "The Growth Of Ethnic Studies Programs In Higher Education," *Digital Media Solutions* (blog), 2020, https://insights.digitalmediasolutions.com/articles/growth-ethnic-studies-programs-higher-ed; "About," UCLA Gender Studies, n.d., https://gender.ucla.edu/about/.

[4] Hannah Baldwin, "Bell Hooks and the Growth of Intersectionality in Western Feminism."

[5] Deborah K. King, "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14, no. 1 (October 1988): 47, https://doi.org/10.1086/494491.

Another way that intersectional efforts have failed in feminist theory in particular is by simply incorporating the experiences of Black women into an already existing theory that was defined by white women. In "Gendering Racial Formation," Priya Kandaswamy writes "the language of intersectionality is often appropriated to mean […] including the experiences of those 'left out' of white feminist projects, in a way that evades theoretical consideration of race altogether."[6] Rather than rethinking and reshaping the scope of feminist theory, intersectionality, when used incorrectly, leads to the maintenance of existing flawed feminist theories.[7] Indeed, many feminist theories that try to be intersectional discuss the experiences of (white and often middle-class) women and quickly brush over Black women's different experiences. This approach implies that Black women's experiences need not take center stage because their experiences are not representative of women's experiences. In other words, by virtue of their race, a Black woman is not the mainstream woman. She is a footnote, an exception, or a closing thought after generalized commentary on women's experiences. Angela Harris perfectly captures this problem in "Race and Essentialism in Feminist Legal Theory." She names this phenomenon "nuance theory." In nuance theory, writers make (allegedly) generalizable statements about all women – but in reality, white women – and nuance their theory by adding in the different experiences of Black women. In turn, this suggests that Black women's experiences are different from the norm, therefore maintaining that white women are the norm, meaning that white women are the "pure, essential woman."[8]

Truly engaging in intersectional work means being willing to transform and even abandon mainstream conventions of analysis. This type of change is a sacrifice that can only be made through discomfort, growth, and by rethinking the frameworks we use to analyze people's experiences. As Chandra Talpad Mohanty highlights in "Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity," we must do more than simply recognize difference: "The central issue, then, is not one of merely 'acknowledging' difference; rather, the most difficult question concerns the kind of difference that

[6] Priya Kandaswamy, "1. Gendering Racial Formation," in *Racial Formation in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Daniel Martinez HoSang, Oneka LaBennett, and Laura Pulido (University of California Press, 2019), 27–28, https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520953765-003.
[7] Kandaswamy, 28.
[8] Angela P. Harris, "Race and Essentialism in Feminist Legal Theory," *Stanford Law Review* 42, no. 3 (February 1990): 595, https://doi.org/10.2307/1228886.

is acknowledged and engaged."[9] Genuine intersectionality calls for acknowledging and engaging in Black women's experiences. Thus, intersectionality is not a tool to cover the bases for inclusivity while maintaining existing frameworks – it is a robust methodological approach that should serve as the foundation of all research.

2. Gendering and Ungendering – Case Studies Across History

By using a truly intersectional methodological approach, we can accurately capture Black women's experiences throughout history, both as Black people and as women. In particular, an intersectional approach enables us to witness the gendering and ungendering that Black women go through. The concept of gendering and ungendering comes from Hortense Spillers "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book." While Spillers provides no fixed definition of these two terms, I define them as the following: Gendering is the process by which Black women are only seen as women, and their racial identity is erased. Ungendering is the process by which Black women are stripped of their womanhood and only seen as Black people. Ungendering can also occur through racialization where Black women's race is emphasized. I analyze gendering and ungendering in the following three case studies: 1) the punishments endured by Black women during slavery; 2) the expectations imposed on Black women during the Reconstruction era; and 3) the treatment of Black women in legal claims in the 20th century.

A. Black Women During Slavery

During slavery, Black women were simultaneously gendered and ungendered in their punishments. On one hand, Black women were gendered – their gender was emphasized and then weaponized to harm them. One of the principal experiences that captures this gendering is rape. In "It's Not Just a 'Black Thing:' Black Women in the Law and Issues of Double Identity and Discrimination," Jasmine Pierce relays how Deborah King argues that Black women faced the unique problem of rape that

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[9] Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham ; London: Duke University Press, 2003), 193.

Black men did not: "the rape of black women during slavery separated their experience from black men."[10]

On the other hand, Black women were also ungendered in their punishments in a number of ways. First, Black women were ungendered in physical abuse. Generally, men and women are subjected to different forms of abuse, but during slavery the conventions of treating men and women differently were completely uprooted. In "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," Spillers captures this ungendering: "A female body strung from a tree limb, or bleeding from the breast on any given day of field work because the 'overseer,' standing the length of a whip, has popped her flesh open … This [is a] materialized scene of unprotected female flesh – of female flesh 'ungendered.'"[11]

Second, Black women were ungendered in the work that was asked of them. In "Women, Race and Class," Angela Davis highlights how the slave system treated all Black people as chattel: "Since women, no less than men, were viewed as profitable labor-units, they might as well have been genderless as far as the slaveholders were concerned."[12] Essentially, Black women were mere units of production, the same way Black men were.

Third, Black women were ungendered because they had no claim to motherhood. In a time where motherhood was synonymous with womanhood, Black women were ungendered because they were deprived of this ownership title over their own children. As Davis highlights, "since slave women were classified as 'breeders' as opposed to 'mothers,' their infant children could be sold away from them like calves from cows."[13] In other words, Black women's children were not their own. Stripped of their right to raise their own children, Black women were once again reduced to nothing more than race – their gender meant nothing.

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[10] Jasmine Pierce, "It's Not Just a 'Black Thing:' Black Women in the Law and Issues of Double Identity and Discrimination" (Washington College of Law, n.d.), 4, https://www.wcl.american.edu/index.cfm?LinkServID=7384CA99-92E2-8DE0-B7F541AF4F08CE05.
[11] Hortense J. Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics* 17, no. 2 (1987): 68, https://doi.org/10.2307/464747.
[12] Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class* (New York, United Kingdom, 1981), 5, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/books/women-race-class/docview/2138589067/se-2?accountid=11311.
[13] Davis, 7.

B. Black Women During Reconstruction

Another important period when Black women suffered gendering and ungendering was during Reconstruction in the South, led by the Freedmen's Bureau. On one hand, the expectations imposed on Black women ungendered them. Both Black men and women were exploited for their labor. For instance, through the sharecropping system, Black women were subjected to the same brutal work conditions that Black men were: "In the aftermath of emancipation the masses of Black people – men and women alike – found themselves in an indefinite state of peonage."[14] In addition, even outside of the sharecropping system, Black women were used as units of production. For instance, Kandaswamy highlights how the vagrancy laws and labor contracts that were imposed on them essentially "replaced slavery with a regime of forced labor."[15]

However, the expectations imposed on Black women also gendered them. During the Reconstruction era, Black women were expected to adhere to the same norms as white women. For instance, Kandaswamy explains how institutions focused their efforts on teaching Black freedwomen how to conform to norms of white domesticity: "State and non governmental efforts to prepare freedpeople for the responsibilities of citizenship emphasized teaching freedwomen how to be good wives and mothers."[16]

In contrast to the period of slavery however, these forms of gendering and ungendering were not complementary: During slavery Black women's race and gender could be simultaneously weaponized. However, during Reconstruction, the gendered and ungendered expectations imposed on Black women conflicted with one another. Kandaswamy brilliantly captures this paradox: "The bureau's promotion of marriage predicated entry into citizenship on the performance of heteronormative gender roles while at the same time reiterating the compulsion that black women work outside the home … made that performance in many ways materially impossible."[17] In fact, when Black women *did* stay home to care for their families, they were criticized for being "lazy and idle" and "'play[ing] the lady.'"[18] In contrast, in the

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[14] Davis, 88.
[15] Kandaswamy, "1. Gendering Racial Formation," 36.
[16] Kandaswamy, 36.
[17] Kandaswamy, 37.
[18] Kandaswamy, 38.

1870s in the South, nearly 99% of white women stayed at home to care for their families.[19] In the end, Kandaswamy argues that Black women "[were] simultaneously seen as racially inferior because they do gender wrong and as doing gender wrong because of their racial inferiority."[20]

C. *Black Women During the 20th Century*

Lastly, Black women were also gendered and ungendered in legal claims in the 20th century. For instance, in *DeGraffenreid* the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri gendered and ungendered five Black women who brought a lawsuit against General Motors in 1976 to accuse them of practicing promotion discrimination against Black women.[21] On one hand, the court gendered the plaintiffs by arguing that because white women had been hired during the period that no Black women were hired, they had not suffered sex discrimination.[22] In other words, the court gendered Black women and implied that their experience could be understood through their gender alone. On the other hand, the court ungendered the plaintiffs by encouraging them to consolidate their case with another case that was already pursuing a race discrimination claim against General Motors.[23] In other words, the court ungendered Black women and implied that their experience could be understood through their race alone.

In another case, *Jefferies*, the United States Court of Appeals tried to use a more inclusive approach to understand Black women's experiences, but in the end, it also gendered Black women. The court adopted a sex-plus approach which separately considered Jefferies' race claim, sex claim, and her claim that she was a woman who faced additional discrimination because of a secondary category (race).[24] In other words, her sex *plus* her race were sources of discrimination. However, by relegating her race to a

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[19] Susan A. Mann, "Slavery, Sharecropping, and Sexual Inequality," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14, no. 4 (July 1989): 784, https://doi.org/10.1086/494544.
[20] Kandaswamy, "1. Gendering Racial Formation," 39.
[21] Kandaswamy, 141.
[22] Kandaswamy, 142.
[23] Kimberle Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989, no. 1 (n.d.): 142, : http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8.
[24] Cathy Scarborough, "Conceptualizing Black Women's Employment Experiences," *The Yale Law Journal* 98 (1989): 1470, https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=&httpsredir=1&article=7220&context=ylj.

secondary category, the Court once again prioritized Jefferies' gender and gendered her, diminishing her race.

Outside of discrimination claims, courts also ungendered Black women in anti-miscegenation cases. For instance, in *Kirby*, lawyers in the trial presumed that Kirby was a Black woman based on her physical features: "Mayellen Kirby […] was spoken about and spoken for but never allowed to speak herself. There was no testimony about her ancestry; her race was assumed to rest in her visible physical characteristics."[25] In other words, Kirby was not only ungendered, but she was also completely erased. The only part of her identity that mattered was her race. Similarly, in *Monks* multiple witnesses emphasized Monks' racial features. They pointed out her fingernails, her hair, the shape of her face, her heels, her calves, her neck, etc.[26] Once again, lawyers and witnesses in this trial racialized Monks, ignoring all other parts of her identity including her gender.

3. Gendering and Ungendering – Why?

In order to understand why gendering and ungendering happens, it is first necessary to understand the concept of race. Race as a concept was born from the idea that nature had created different groups of humans, each group characterized by distinct traits that differentiated each group from other groups.[27] These "traits" could be based on skin color, biology, or even intellect. Fields and Fields argue that this entire scheme and process of attempting to sort humans into different categories is an act of "racecraft."[28] Racecraft is the process of imagining and creating race. Race on its own does not exist. Unquestionably, there are differences across different people, but "the process of naming 'the people' has never been a matter of genealogy and physiognomy so much as one of hierarchy."[29] Indeed, it is the belief that physical characteristics hold a deeper meaning about a group of people that enables the racecrafter to "craft race." Unfortunately, Fields and Fields contend that the idea of race has been woven so deeply into the fabric of

[25] Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of 'Race' in Twentieth-Century America," *The Journal of American History* 83, no. 1 (June 1996): 51, https://doi.org/10.2307/2945474.
[26] Peggy Pascoe, 56.
[27] Karen E. Fields and Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Racecraft: The Soul of Inequality in American Life*, Paperback edition (London: Verso, 2014), 16.
[28] Fields and Fields, *Racecraft*, 16–18.
[29] Karen E. Fields and Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Racecraft*, 16–18.

daily life that we take its existence – and legitimacy – for granted.[30] Further, I contend that racecraft does not begin and end with the first Europeans who encountered Africans. I believe that racecraft is a continuous process where perceptions and expectations of race are formed and updated, anchored in history and reaffirmed in the present.

By challenging the assumptions that there is such a thing as race, Fields and Fields elucidate how racecraft has spotlighted race, and left white complicity in the dark. In particular, the authors illustrate how the concept of race has given Americans the false impression that race is a natural concept, and that it is not the intentional performance of a racecrafter. For instance, take the following sentence: "'black Southerners were segregated because of their skin color.'"[31] Fields and Fields argue that this claim is misleading because it essentially states that the causal factor of segregation is Black people's skin color.[32] This argument assumes segregation is a natural result of differing skin colors, and eliminates the role of the segregationist who imagined race and then went on to enact policies based on those beliefs. Thus, this claim hides the role of the racecrafter – after all, it is the segregationist who segregated Black Southerners, not color. Skin tone and other visual traits cannot create social hierarchies alone: "Everyone has skin color, but not everyone's skin color counts as race … The missing step between someone's physical appearance and an invidious outcome is the practice of a double standard: in a word, racism."[33]

This begs the question, what is the point of racecraft? To what end does the racecrafter imagine and create race? I argue there are two motivations: 1) the protection of white wealth and 2) the assertion of racial dominance. The story of European and American development is built on economic exploitation and racial domination: through the genocide of Indigenous Peoples and theft of inhabited lands; the trafficking of Africans and the exploitation of their bodies; the breaking of bones, homes, and families; and the abuse of the poor and the vulnerable. I contend that by imagining race, the racecrafter could challenge the legitimacy of the humanity of other groups. By challenging the humanity of others, the racecrafter rid himself of his responsibility to respect others' dignity. When African Americans were

[30] Karen E. Fields and Barbara Jeanne Fields, 24.
[31] Karen E. Fields and Barbara Jeanne Fields, 17.
[32] Karen E. Fields and Barbara Jeanne Fields, 17.
[33] Karen E. Fields and Barbara Jeanne Fields, 27.

stripped of their humanity, the racecrafter could not be held accountable to respect any principles of human dignity since Black people were seen as having none. This in turn enabled the racecrafter to justify exploiting Black labor to protect white wealth and asserting racial dominance.

I contend that in order for the racecrafter to achieve its two-pronged program, Black women had to go through a process of simultaneous gendering and ungendering. First, ungendering enabled the racecrafter to protect white wealth by exploiting the labor of Black women slaves. During slavery, common practice was for women to stay at home and manage domestic life.[34] Thus, in order for the racecrafter to justify taking Black women from the sphere of domesticity in the home and force her into the field, he had to ungender her and only see her race. Indeed, as explained in the case study on slavery, Black women were subjected to the same work conditions and punishments as Black men. Angela Davis captures this twisted dynamic perfectly: "The alleged benefits of the ideology of femininity did not accrue to her [the Black woman]. She was also there in the fields, alongside the man, toiling under the lash […] In order to approach its strategic goal – to extract the possible surplus from the labor of the slaves – the black woman had to be released from the chains of the myth of feminity."[35] Thus, ungendering Black women enabled slave masters to exploit Black women's labor in order to protect and multiply their wealth.

Second, ungendering enabled the racecrafter to assert racial dominance over Black women slaves. For instance, by ungendering tasks and punishments, the slave master actively demonstrated to Black women that they did not deserve to be treated with the usual delicacy reserved for white women: "The usual standard that women were the weaker sex and should be treated delicately, the fact that the masters were so willing to give out such a harsh punishment reinforces this idea that they were beneath the usual gender roles."[36] In addition, the racecrafter asserted racial dominance by using Black women's race as a tool that negated any sort of rights that their gender could afford them. For instance, Black women had no

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[34] Susan A. Mann, "Slavery, Sharecropping, and Sexual Inequality," 784.
[35] Angela Davis, "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves," *The Massachusetts Review* 13, no. Winter-Spring (1972): 87, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25088201.
[36] Laura Ware, "Traditional Gender Roles and Slavery," 2015, https://blogs.uw.edu/ses9/hstcmp-358-spring-2015/body-for-trade/traditional-gender-roles-and-slavery/.

rights over their children. Their children were owned by their slave masters. The de-legitimization of Black women's claim over their children was an active effort to remind Black women that they are not women. It was a deliberate way of taking away a part of their motherhood, and thus womanhood: "If, as Meillassoux contends, 'femininity loses its sacredness in slavery', then so does 'motherhood' as female blood-rite/right."[37] Overall, Black women's claim to womanhood was cancelled by virtue of their race. Through these constant and brutal reminders of their status as non-women, slave masters ungendered Black women in order to establish and maintain their racial dominance.

Simultaneously, Black women were subjected to particular forms of oppression because of their gender. While the racecrafter ungendered Black women in order to 1) protect white wealth and 2) assert racial dominance, the racecrafter also gendered Black women in order to fulfill those two same goals. To begin, gendering enabled the racecrafter to protect white wealth by exploiting the labor of Black women slaves. One key event in this gendering process is the rape of Black women. During slavery, Black women's reproductive capacities were weaponized for economic interests. "Their reproductive capacities created 'future increase' for farms and plantations and human commodities for markets … The value accrued through reproductive labor was brutally apparent to the enslaved who protested bitterly against being bred like cattle and oxen."[38] In other words, the slave master used Black women's reproductive capacities for their financial prospects. The slave master literally used reproduction as a guarantee for future free workers. Through Black women's bodies, slave masters were able to protect and create generational wealth.

Moreover, rape was also utilized in order to assert racial dominance. This racial dominance played out at three differing levels. First, it directly diminished Black women. Ironically, rape – a gendered form of abuse – was used against Black women in order to remind them that they were *not* women. During slavery, Black women were unable to accuse their masters of rape because in the eyes of the law they were not women. They were Black, and thus property: "Due to the fact that an owner could

[37] Hortense J. Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe," 75.
[38] Saidiya Hartman, "The Belly of the World: A Note on Black Women's Labors," *Souls* 18, no. 1 (March 14, 2016): 169, https://doi.org/10.1080/10999949.2016.1162596.

not trespass on his own property it means that a master could not rape his slave by legal definition."[39] Thus, the slave master used gender in order to remind Black women that they could be abused because of their gender, and their racial inferiority neutralized the few gender rights they had.

Second, rape also enabled the slave master to assert his racial dominance over the entire African American community. By raping Black women, the slave master taunted all of his slaves, in particular Black men. He dared them to intervene, mocking their powerlessness, proving not only that he could abuse Black women, but that they had no power to resist any sort of abuse: "Clearly the master hoped that once the black man was struck by his manifest inability to rescue his women from sexual assaults of the master, he would begin to experience deep-seated doubts about his ability to resist at all."[40] Rape was used to remind African Americans of their powerlessness, of their lack of agency. This was especially true because slaves knew that their livelihoods and lives were at stake because the slave master could "contrive [...] a ransom system of sorts, forcing her [the Black woman] to pay with her body for food, diminished severity in treatment, the safety of her children, etc."[41] African-Americans' dignity, livelihoods, and lives were on the line, but there was nothing they could do to protect their community's women. Thus, the slave master was able to assert his racial dominance over all Black people.

Lastly, rape also enabled the slave master to assert his racial dominance over future generations that were not even born yet. The children of Black women were already slaves before being born. Christina Sharpe beautifully captures the way in which the wombs of Black women mimicked the inevitable doom that awaited Africans as they were trafficked to the U.S.: "The negation or disfigurement of maternity, writes Christina Sharpe, 'turns the womb into a factory reproducing blackness as abjection and turning the birth canal into another domestic middle passage.'"[42] In other words, through rape, the slave master could assert his racial dominance over his unborn child before that child even understood his racial identity.

[39] Laura Ware, "Traditional Gender Roles and Slavery."
[40] Angela Davis, "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves," 97.
[41] Angela Davis, 96.
[42] Saidiya Hartman, "The Belly of the World," 169.

These processes of gendering and ungendering continued during the Reconstruction Era as well for the two same economic and racial interests. On one hand, Black women were ungendered to protect white wealth in exploitative systems such as sharecropping. During Reconstruction, sharecropping arrangements were essentially slavery-like systems: "Sharecroppers … had little control over their labor … In turn, usurious credit arising from the crop-lines system often locked croppers into a system of virtual debt peonage. These factors, when combined with legal and informal controls over Black labor, such as the notorious Black Codes, created production and exchange relations reminiscent of semifeudal or semifree precapitalist forms of labor."[43] While sharecropping impacted all Black people, landowners benefited from sharecropping specifically because it enabled them to exploit the labor of Black women.[44] However, this exploitation was only possible by ungendering Black women. Similarly to slavery, white landowners had to ungender Black women in order to take them from the sphere of domesticity in the home and force them into the field.

Even outside of sharecropping, Black people, women included, continued to be exploited to further white economic interests. The exploitation of freedpeople's labor was thinly veiled in the rhetoric of self-determination and agency: For instance, the Freedmen's Bureau spread messages of how hard work was the key to financial success and upward mobility.[45] In addition, the Bureau stressed how the freedom that freedpeople had just been granted did not mean that Black people should be idle.[46] This emphasis on work was also extended to Black women who were still seen as viable sources for profit: "'A wife must do her very best to help her husband make a living. She can earn as much money sometimes as he can.' For bureau men, emancipation and free labor had not ended African American women's obligation to labor."[47] In fact, work was at the center of Black women's duties as freedwomen, even though this was not the case for other women. In other words, Black women's gender was invisible – it

[43] Susan A. Mann, "Slavery, Sharecropping, and Sexual Inequality," 777.
[44] Susan A. Mann, 782.
[45] Mary Farmer-Kaiser, *Freedwomen and the Freedmen's Bureau: Race, Gender, and Public Policy in the Age of Emancipation*, 1st ed, Reconstructing America (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 24.
[46] Farmer-Kaiser, 24.
[47] Farmer-Kaiser, 47.

was their race that determined their roles in society. And this focus on race enabled the continued exploitation of Black women's labor to protect white wealth.

Interestingly enough, ungendering Black women to exploit their labor depended on gendered dynamics. For instance, in the sharecropping system, Mann contends that the power imbalance between Black men and Black women gave the former power to control the latter: "Landowners recognized the usefulness of the male sharecropper's patriarchal authority in putting women and children to work in the fields."[48] Similarly, the Bureau actually weaponized patriarchal tradition in order to push Black men to control the labor of their wives: "bureau policies ordered that 'the [black] husband has the same right to control his wife and children that a white man has.'"[49]

During this era, Black women were also gendered and ungendered for the racial interests of the racecrafter. To start, the racecrafter ungendered Black women to prove racial supremacy. As seen in the case study on slavery, Black women were ungendered; they were nothing more than units of production, similar to Black men. The work they did was not the same work that white women did: "In 1870 in the Cotton Belt, 98.4 percent of white wives reported to the census that they were 'keeping house,' while 40 percent of Black wives reported 'field laborer' as their occupation."[50] This clear disparity between the work that was required of Black women and the work that was required of white women clearly illustrates the project of the racecrafter – Black women's race made them ineligible for the delicacies attributed to womanhood, and this neutralization of womanhood enabled the racecrafter to assert his racial dominance.

In addition, Black women were gendered for racial purposes as well. This gendering is apparent in the Bureau's messaging to Black women. The Bureau called for Black women to become real women and rise above their current state. For instance, the Bureau's Assistant Commissioner Fisk asked Black women to stop being "'careless of [their] morals.'"[51] In addition, the Freedmen's Bureau stressed the urgent need for Black women to become civilized American wives and mothers: "'Let it be your first

[48] Susan A. Mann, "Slavery, Sharecropping, and Sexual Inequality," 782.
[49] Farmer-Kaiser, *Freedwomen and the Freedmen's Bureau*, 29.
[50] Susan A. Mann, "Slavery, Sharecropping, and Sexual Inequality," 784.
[51] Farmer-Kaiser, *Freedwomen and the Freedmen's Bureau*, 31.

aim,' the bureau policy maker pressed, 'to make of yourself a true woman.'"[52] He insisted that Black women needed to embody virtues of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity.[53] However, the Bureau had a very specific image of womanhood: white womanhood. One exchange at the Bureau highlights this dynamic perfectly: When a freedwoman showed up at the Bureau like a "'good colored woman''" who was "'neatly dressed'" as if "'she had been white and dressed in satin,'" Fisk was "'touched''" by the Black woman's gratitude and was so moved by her story that he complied with her request.[54] Fisk believed that "the values of true womanhood … would transcend racial lines in the postemancipation United States."[55]

Through this messaging, the Bureau clearly asserted white racial dominance in two ways: First, by demanding that Black women change the way they dressed and acted, the Bureau articulated its belief that Black women were inferior. Their conception and expression of womanhood was illegitimate because of their race. Most importantly however, by making Black women's womanhood contingent on adherence to white standards of womanhood, the Bureau explicitly asserted that white womanhood was the only true expression of womanhood. There was no such thing as womanhood without whiteness. Blackness gave Black women a negative value that could only be restored and overcome through imitations of white womanhood. This message is the manifestation of the agenda of the racecrafter – to assert the racial dominance of whiteness.

These processes of gendering and ungendering for racial and economic interests also continued in the 20th century in a number of legal claims. In the case study on legal claims, I analyzed employment discrimination and anti-miscegenation claims. First, gendering in employment discrimination claims enabled the racecrafter to assert racial dominance. In the case of *DeGraffenreid*, the court refused to recognize how Black women faced a particular form of oppression different from that experienced by Black men and white women. Scarborough makes the astute observation about how Black men never had to be divided into Black and men, and white women never had to be divided into white and women

[52] Farmer-Kaiser, 14.
[53] Farmer-Kaiser, 14.
[54] Farmer-Kaiser, 31–32.
[55] Farmer-Kaiser, 32.

because their representation was implied: "Their claims have not been treated as divided because the term 'Blacks' has been under-stood to mean Black men, and 'women' to mean white women."[56] Thus, by arguing that white women's experience can adequately encapsulate Black women's experiences, the court preserved the belief that white women are the norm. Gendering Black women resulted in the erasure of Black women's Blackness and the preservation of the white woman ideal.

Similarly, in the case of *Jefferies* where the judges analyzed discrimination with a sex-plus approach, Black women were once again disadvantaged compared to white women. The sex-plus approach states that complainants could claim discrimination based on their sex "plus" another factor. However, this approach meant that Black women were unable to address discriminatory issues to the same extent that white women were. While Black women had to use their single plus factor on race, white women did not need to worry about race, so they could use their plus factor on other sources of discrimination such as being pregnant or single with children. In other words, if a Black woman was being discriminated against for being a Black woman and being pregnant or single with children, she could not use her plus factor to address those issues. Here, Blackness was once again subjugated to white dominance because Black women might need more protection than white women, but the latter had more ability to pursue discrimination claims. The less someone resembles a white man, the more protection they need. However, with this plus factor system, the more protection someone needs, the less accessible it is: "The more someone deviates from the norm, the more likely s/he is to be the target of discrimination. Ironically, those who need Title VII's protection the most get it the least under Judge's limitation."[57]

On the flipside, in anti-miscegenation claims, the ungendering of Black women enabled the racecrafter to assert racial dominance and protect white wealth. First, the ungendering of Black women served racial purposes in both *Kirby* and *Monks*. By using anti-miscegenation law, the lawyers in these trials clearly racialized these women. Their gender was erased, and the only thing that mattered was their race. This ungendering (or racialization) was specifically used to assert racial domination: Indeed, by

[56] Cathy Scarborough, "Conceptualizing Black Women's Employment Experiences," 1469.
[57] Cathy Scarborough, 1472.

racializing/ungendering the plaintiffs, the lawyers were able to prove their Blackness, and thus racial inferiority. The ungendering of Black women was a commitment to anti-miscegenation laws that were built for white supremacy.

Second, in anti-miscegenation claims, the ungendering of Black women also served to protect white wealth. By ungendering/racializing these women, the lawyers were able to protect the wealth of the white men in both cases. For instance, in *Kirby*, Joe Kirby (a white man) was absolved of his financial responsibilities to his Black wife: "By granting Joe Kirby an annulment, rather than a divorce, the judge not only denied the validity of the marriage while it had lasted but also in effect excused Joe Kirby from his obligation to provide economic support to a divorced wife."[58] In other words, the judge in *Kirby* accepted the anti-miscegenation law that supported white supremacy and the consequence of the judge's ruling was that Joe Kirby's wealth was protected.

Similarly, in the *Monks* case, the court racialized Monks' race in order to argue that she had no right to the inheritance of her husband. As discussed in the case study, throughout this trial, multiple witnesses engaged in the act of racecraft – for instance, pointing to Monk's physical features to argue that she was Black – in order to prove that her marriage, and consequently the will left to her by her husband, were invalid.[59] Once again, the Black woman was ungendered/racialized in order to protect white wealth.

All in all, in both anti-miscegenation cases, lawyers and witnesses focused on the Blackness of Black women for two purposes: On one hand, the ungendering/racialization of Black women in anti-miscegenation claims in order to highlight their race demonstrates a clear commitment to anti-miscegenation laws that uphold white purity and racial domination. On the other hand, the ungendering of Black women was particularly prevalent when economic interests were at stake which illustrates the legal system's desire to protect white wealth. Most anti-miscegenation laws focused on marriage because "marriage carried with it social respectability and economic benefits."[60] This focus on interracial marriage highlights how it is not only the mixing of races in social or sexual relationships that

[58] Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of 'Race' in Twentieth-Century America," 72.
[59] Peggy Pascoe, 56.
[60] Peggy Pascoe, 49–50.

concerns the racecrafter – the racecrafter is particularly concerned about the transferring of respect or money to Black women.

4. Gendering and Ungendering – Looking Forward

I have explored how the gendering and ungendering of Black women represent a continued trend across history – from the punishments endured by Black women during slavery and the expectations imposed on Black women during the Reconstruction era, to the treatment of Black women in legal claims in the 20th century. Most importantly, I have considered why these processes unfold; how racecraft is a deliberate attempt to hierarchize racial groups to protect white wealth and assert racial dominance.

While the circumstances and dynamics of gendering and ungendering have unquestionably changed, these two processes continue to impact Black women to this day. On one hand, Black women are gendered – oversexualized, fetichized, and commodified.[61] However simultaneously, they are also ungendered. Their femininity is challenged, and they constantly need to reaffirm their womanhood in the beauty industry or even as a simple fact.[62] Thus, just as intersectionality is necessary in order to understand Black women's past experiences, intersectionality is – and may continue to be – just as critical in understanding Black women's experiences today.

[61] Annalycia D. Matthews, "Hyper-Sexualization of Black Women in the Media," *University of Washington Tacoma*, no. Winter (2018), https://digitalcommons.tacoma.uw.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1026&context=gender_studies.
[62] Hannah Eko, "As A Black Woman, I'm Tired Of Having To Prove My Womanhood," *Buzzfeeed* (blog), 2018, https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/hannaheko/aint-i-a-woman.

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Intra-Minority Racial Prejudices

An Examination of the Cherokee Nation and Japanese American Internment

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Abstract

While the scholarship on racism in the United States is extensive, there is a notable gap in the historiography when it comes to comparing and linking the experiences of different racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. Research tends to focus on a single minority group and their experience with racism, overlooking the commonalities and differences between minorities. Additionally, there is a false notion of minority groups as homogenous, a belief that is rooted in their shared experience with racism and oppression. While this may be true, this generalization ignores the ways in which minorities utilized ideas of "civilization" to oppress one another. Given this context, my paper investigates the ways in which the model of U.S. racism was applied to two groups: the Cherokee Nation and Japanese Americans. More specifically, I will examine the experiences of black individuals in the Cherokee Nation during the 19th century as well as the experiences of "disloyal" Japanese Americans at the hands of "loyal" individuals in the World War II era. Although my research focuses on two different time periods of U.S. history, it unites the groups in question by focusing on the U.S. perception of "civilization" and how it varied in the context of each group. Essentially, the U.S. government adjusted the idea of what it meant to be "civilized" in order to justify the oppression of each of these minorities. By focusing my attention on the definitions of "civilization" and how each one was adapted to fit the minorities in question, I will unify the histories of these seemingly distinct groups. In doing so, I will take a closer look at how racism in the United States has operated, turning minorities against one another in the interest of self-preservation.

Introduction

When studying minority populations in the United States, it is common to adopt a focus on the racial hierarchies that helped to justify oppression. In their discussion of topics such as colonialism, imperialism, and racism, historians tend to highlight how the United States government exacted its power and influence on groups that they deemed "uncivilized" and often relied on racial ideology to inform their actions. While it is true that there are countless instances of the United States professing their superiority and actively ostracizing certain groups from mainstream society, there is less of a focus on how this type

of ideology has impacted minority populations.

In many historical narratives, the minority community is often thought of as a very homogenous group, bonding over similar struggles and shared experiences. This characterization, however, is simplistic and misleading, as there are many divisions within the minority community. There is a long history of minorities oppressing one another in order to preserve their own identities—yet these occurrences are often ignored. A closer analysis of some minority groups reveals how they adopted U.S. ideals about the racial hierarchy and actively engaged in the "othering" of certain groups. It can be said that minorities have viewed the model of U.S. racism as a way to ensure their own safety as a group, even though it did not provide the level of "protection" that was intended. Through an analysis of black individuals in the Cherokee Nation in the 19th century as well as the experiences of "disloyal" Japanese Americans at the hands of "loyal" individuals in the World War II era, it becomes evident that the model of U.S. racism resurfaces in minority groups as well, based on the biased distinction of who is "civilized."

1. Cherokees in the 19th Century

When looking at the Cherokees in the 19th century, understanding the role of the United States is crucial. The U.S. had its own economic interests, which led to an increase in their presence in Cherokee territory. This inevitably resulted in an influx of U.S. values into Cherokee society, especially when it came to governmental structure, religion, and other characteristics that the U.S. considered to be "civilized." In an effort to protect themselves from further violations of their sovereignty, many Cherokees adopted these values and the U.S.'s anti-Black rhetoric. By looking at the immense pressure that the U.S. placed on the Cherokee Nation and the changes that occurred in their society, the poor treatment of the black population becomes more visible.

A. Economic Interests

In an effort to advance their economic interests, the U.S. actively defied past treaties with the Cherokees. Driven by their desire for land and the expansion of the system of slavery, the U.S. government actively violated the peaceful agreements that they had previously arrived at with the Cherokees. The *Treaty of Holston* (1791) stated that "There shall be perpetual peace and friendship

between all the citizens of the United States of America, and all the individuals composing the whole Cherokee nation of Indians," but this promise was broken on many occasions afterwards.[63] In the years following the signing of this treaty, the U.S. government and residents of the southern states put increasing amounts of pressure on the Cherokee population. Although the aforementioned treaty was meant to put an end to unwarranted claims on Cherokee land, a Cherokee County plat issued to Stephen Carter in 1832 clearly outlines Georgia's claim to 160 acres of Cherokee territory.[64]The plat and the land grant explicitly profess that the land belongs to Georgia, but that the Cherokees are currently inhabiting the area. Practices such as this one were very common, and the state of Georgia and its inhabitants were quite confident in their claims to Cherokee lands.

B. Religion

In addition to the economic interests of the U.S., the spread of religion was also another reason why the Cherokee nation was important to Americans. The dissemination of religious values has long been a gateway for dominant populations to exact greater influence on the populations that they are trying to subdue. By imposing religious ideas on the Cherokees, Americans were aiming to gain moral power. An example of a religious group that was active in the Cherokee territory was the Moravian Missionaries, and they became involved in a town named Hightower. Once in Hightower, the missionaries attempted to build schools in the area for Cherokee children to attend. In her book *Ties that Bind*, historian Tiya Miles describes this process in detail, noting how "Cherokees in Hightower supported the mission school in a variety of ways: by lobbying for its construction, by helping to build the campus, by enrolling their children, and by attending religious services."[65] Even though the Cherokees were ambivalent about the American presence in their territory, supporting the religious efforts of the Moravians was seen by many as a way to protect their sovereignty. For the Cherokees, knowing English and learning Western ideas, even if they did not necessarily approve of them, allowed them to defend themselves against white

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[63]"Treaty With the Cherokee: 1791," The Avalon Project, 2008, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/chr1791.asp.
[64]Cherokee County plat, 1832, and land grant, 1834, issued to Stephen Carter, Headright and Lottery Loose Plat File, Survey Records, Surveyor General, RG 3–3- 26, and Land Lottery Grant Books, Lottery Records, Surveyor General, RG 3–5-29, Georgia Archives, Morrow.
[65]Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind: the Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), 90.

encroachment. In fact, there were many examples of Cherokees who did not approve of the Moravian missionary schools that were being built—but a large portion of the Cherokee population foresaw the possible benefits of conforming to Moravian ideology, at least on the surface level.

From this interaction between the Cherokees and the Moravians, ideas about what constituted "civilization" are also present. Due to the dominant role of the United States, they had the power to dictate what cultural practices, beliefs, etc. were acceptable and "civilized." For the Moravians, the erection of religious institutions and schools was the equivalent of bringing progress to Cherokee society. In *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, which is a diary from the mission, there is a story about an earthquake in the town of Springplace. One of the missionaries informed the Indians that "they had reason to thank Him that He was so merciful to them this time and should see it as a warning to stop serving sin and to obey His voice."[66] After this, it is noted that "[the Indians] hung their heads and seemed to be deep in thought."[67] The missionary's reaction to the earthquake reveals how practicing anything other than the Moravian religion was seen as a sin. In essence, by adopting certain American values (which were put forth by white people), the Cherokees were actively looking to be labeled as "civilized" in the eyes of the U.S. government. This label offered protection, power, and legitimacy, which were all unachievable through the continuation of traditional Cherokee practices.

While some have argued that the pressure on the Cherokees gave them no choice but to adopt the religious ideologies that were pushed on them, the Cherokees had agency and control over their decision. They actively made the choice to support the schools, and they were aware of the fact that the religious ideology of the Moravians could help their overall relationship with Americans and government officials. They were also painfully aware of the ways in which their inability to speak English prevented them from seeing the true intentions of Americans in treaties/agreements. Providing children with an English education through the missionary schools were seen as a way to prevent that some Cherokees even asked the missionaries for new schools to be built due to the value that they placed in the formal education system. In a way, the choice that the Cherokees made to "prove" that they were civilized through the

[66] *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, in Tiya Miles, *Ties that Bind*, 237.
[67] *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, in Tiya Miles, *Ties that Bind*, 238.

adoption of these religious ideas allowed them to deracialize the definition of "civilization." Civilization and progress had been exclusively applied to whiteness, but the Cherokees sought to demonstrate that Indians could be civilized as well. Ultimately, regardless of the criticism that the missionaries received, they were still able to make significant inroads in the Cherokee community.

Aside from the motivating factor of becoming "civilized," the Cherokees were also swayed to support the Moravian faith due to the black population's increasing influence. As the Moravian missionaries made their way into Cherokee communities, they also interacted with the black population in the area, including the slaves that some Cherokees owned. Another excerpt from the Springplace mission suggests that blacks practiced the faith so that they could "take the salvation of their souls seriously."[68] In particular, many slaves saw an opportunity to advance their position through the Christian faith that the Moravians professed. Through their religious instruction, they gained practice in the English language. As a result, they often served as translators for Cherokees who did not speak English. This was an interesting role reversal because instead of the slave being dependent on the master, the master became dependent on their slave in these situations. An entry from a Moravian missionary notes that "An Indian came to us and soon after that 2 women who had earthenware bowls for sale, which we bought from them. A Negro was our interpreter for this."[69] Here, there is an explicit reference to the involvement of black people in the interactions between Cherokees and the missionaries. Given this information, it can also be concluded that some Cherokees accepted the Moravian faith so that they could communicate without the aid of their slaves. However, there is no doubt that the Moravian presence allowed slaves to gain power that they might not have had otherwise.

While the presence of the Moravians and their missionary schools did not change the lives of all Cherokees, it revolutionized everyday life for some. The Moravians were firm believers in the idea that someone could not be "civilized" if they were not Christian. This also extended beyond religion, as "they not only taught their students to read the Bible and pray but also taught them how to dress, eat, keep house, cook, and farm."[70] Therefore, the missionaries' presence in the Cherokee society and the

[68]*The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, in Tiya Miles, *Ties that Bind*, 238.
[69]*The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, in Tiya Miles, *Ties that Bind*, 237.
[70]Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Removal: a Brief History with Documents*, 2nd ed. (Boston, MA:

establishment of the schools was impactful because of the ways in which they influenced Cherokee customs. Slowly, Cherokees began to imitate the Anglo-American way of life — a concept that transferred into governmental policy as well.[71]

C. Governmental Structure

As the United States continued to encroach on Cherokee society, the Cherokees began to shift their governmental structure to align with U.S. ideals. Similar to how the Cherokees thought that the Moravian religion would help protect them, conformity to the U.S. legal structure was also seen as a way to ensure that Cherokee sovereignty was maintained. To the U.S. government, their own form of governance was deemed civilized, which the Cherokees recognized and strategically implemented. The Cherokee government moved from the loosely connected "town" system that they previously had in place to a national body, which was called the National Council. Historian Tiya Miles points out that the Cherokee system of governance prior to this change still had a hierarchy, but unlike the U.S. model, it was constructed based on harmony, goodwill, spiritual practice, and respectful negotiation.[72] The U.S. model was distinct from the traditional Cherokee structure because they placed such a high value on personal wealth, and representatives were selected based on their status and influence.[73] In essence, while the Cherokees prioritized the needs of the community, U.S. society elevated the needs of the individual, and this became clear through their governmental systems. Another significant change that accompanied the gradual shift to a U.S.based governmental structure was the elimination of the communal nature of politics. The Cherokee "town" system enabled women and even children to be deeply involved in political life, but the National Council only allowed male representatives and greatly reduced the collective voice of the community.

D. Anti-Blackness in Practice

Along with this transformation of government structure came racist ideas about the Black population, a change that directly impacted Black individuals in Cherokee territory. To preserve the

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Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 12.
[71]Ibid.,13.

[72]Miles, *Ties That Bind: the Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*, 70-71.
[73]Ibid., 70.

autonomy of the Cherokee Nation, the Cherokees based their Constitution closely off of the U.S one—this included anti-Black sentiment. The *Cherokee Constitution* (1827) actively discriminated against blacks and excluded them from major parts of society, including governance. Article III stated that "no person who is of a negro or mulato parentage either by the father or mother side, shall be eligible to hold any office of profit or honor or trust under this Government."[74] There were clear restrictions on the Black population, prohibiting them from holding political office and other positions of power. Therefore, even if black individuals were not slaves, their status as freedmen did not award any real opportunities for societal involvement because their lineage was still African.

The only exceptions to these regulations occurred in the case of Afro-Cherokee citizens. Their Cherokee citizenship afforded them some protection from the discrimination that black non-citizens had to endure. Their status was based on "legally recognized Cherokee blood relations," a distinction that is important to recognize.[75] The presence of Cherokee blood is what allowed these Afro-descendant individuals to be legitimate Cherokee citizens *despite* their African ancestry. If it was not for their Cherokee heritage, these individuals would be Black non-citizens, and would have suffered the same restrictions outlined in the 1827 constitution. The vastly different experiences of these two groups of Black individuals reveal the extent to which anti-Black rhetoric from the U.S. influenced Cherokee society. In order to preserve the Cherokee nation, only those with Cherokee ancestry could be legally accepted and recognized as citizens—"blackness" made a person fall under immediate suspicion.

By adopting anti-Black rhetoric and implementing it into Cherokee law, the Cherokees were able to claim that they were indeed "civilized." For the Cherokees, this seemed like a viable way to ensure greater protection from U.S. encroachment. This attitude is best seen in John Ross's speech to Congress in 1829. John Ross was the Principal Chief of the Cherokee nation beginning in 1828, and he performed his speech to Congress in the hopes of convincing them that Indian removal was not an effective option.

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[74]Cherokee Nation. 1828. *Constitution of the Cherokee Nation formed by a convention of delegates from the several districts at New Echota*, July 1827. Available through: Adam Matthew, Marlborough, American Indian Histories and Cultures, http://www.aihc.amdigital.co.uk.proxy.library.upenn.edu/Documents/Details/ Ayer_251_C211_1828 [Accessed December 15, 2020].

[75]Miles, *Ties That Bind: the Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*, 168.

He asserted to Congress that "the history of the prosperous and improving condition of our people in the arts of civilized life and Christianization, is before the world, and not unknown to you."[76] Here, he explicitly states that the Americanization of the Cherokees made them "civilized," and this included the adoption of anti-Black sentiment. By conforming to U.S. ideals and customs surrounding government, racial ideology, and education, the Cherokees felt that they were protecting themselves and their territory.

Another instance of anti-black rhetoric in legal documents is evident in the *Laws of the Cherokee Nation* (1824). In New Echota, the capital of the Cherokee Nation, the status of free Blacks posed a particular threat. According to a law written on November 11, 1824, free blacks would "be viewed and treated, in every respect, as intruders, and [would] not be allowed to reside in the Cherokee Nation without a permit from the National Committee and Council."[77] These individuals were not members of the Cherokee Nation, so their presence was problematic. Free blacks became anomalous figures, and they were constantly surrounded by controversy.[78] From this example, it is evident that the pressure to adopt American ideas regarding racial thinking complicated the relationship between the two minority groups of blacks and Cherokees.

In addition to perception of blacks as intruders, the regulations around intermarriage in the *Laws of the Cherokee Nation* (1824) also reveal the subordinate status of Blacks. A law from New Echota (New Town) outlined "that intermarriages between negro slaves and indians, or whites, shall not be lawful," and went on to say that "any person...permitting and approbating his, her or their negro slaves, to intermarry with Indians or whites...shall pay a fine of fifty dollars."[79] The prohibition of intermarriage showcases the inferior status of blacks, especially black slaves. This anti-Black rhetoric was similar to regulations that were instituted in U.S. society, demonstrating the influence of American ideals into the Cherokee Nation. This law is a clear example of how the Cherokees adopted the notion of anti-Blackness that was prominent in American society, and integrated it into their legal structure. Additionally, the same law stressed "that any male Indian or white man marrying a negro woman slave…[would] be punished with

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[76] Gary E. Moulton, ed.,The Papers of Chief John Ross, vol.1 (University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), pp. 154-157.
[77] *Laws of the Cherokee Nation: adopted by the Council at various periods [1808-1835]*, 36.
[78]Daniel F. Littlefield and Mary Ann Littlefield. "The Beams Family: Free Blacks in Indian Territory." *The Journal of Negro History* 61, no. 1 (1976), 16.
[79]*Laws of the Cherokee Nation: adopted by the Council at various periods [1808-1835]*, 38.

fifty-nine stripes on the bare back, and any Indian or white woman, marrying a negro man slave, shall be punished with twenty-five stripes on-her or their bare back."[80] The fact that Indian individuals would receive such harsh punishments for choosing to marry an enslaved black person reveals the deep-rooted racial tensions in Cherokee society. Marrying a Black person, especially an enslaved Black person was seen as demeaning. As anti-Black rhetoric became a key part of everyday life, measures such as the National Council's policies on intermarriage were put in place and reflected the popular attitudes at the time.

As well as restrictions on intermarriage, Cherokees instituted consequences for those who interrupted any Cherokee or white religious ceremonies. The fact that the law did not specify any punishments for infringing on black ceremonies is a clear indication of their inferior status in Cherokee society. The law explained that "if any person or persons shall interrupt...any congregation of Cherokee or white citizens, assembled...for the purpose of Divine worship, such person or persons, so offending, shall...be fined in a sum not exceeding ten dollars."[81] Aside from this monetary fine, however, there was a distinct punishment for any black enslaved person. Instead of a fee, "any negro slave...convicted of the above offence...shall be punished with thirty-nine stripes on the bare back."[82] The distinctions in the charges for enslaved Blacks is yet another example of anti-Black rhetoric transferring from U.S. society into the Cherokee Nation. This anti-Black rhetoric was coming from the "civilized" nation of the United States, so in essence, the Cherokees could characterize themselves as "civilized" if they adopted similar law codes. Aside from the racial stereotypes associated with the black population, "anti-Blackness" became a marker of civilization, one the Cherokees could use to arm themselves against the dominance of the United States.

E. Continuities in Cherokee Society: Kinship

Despite these changes in their legal structure, it is important to note the continuities in the structure of Cherokee life, notably the kinship system. In *Sustaining the Cherokee Family: Kinship and the Allotment of an Indigenous Nation*, the authors explain that "Cherokee's recognized matrilineal

[80] *Laws of the Cherokee Nation: adopted by the Council at various periods [1808-1835]*, 38.
[81] *Laws of the Cherokee Nation: adopted by the Council at various periods [1808-1835]*, 107.
[82] *Laws of the Cherokee Nation: adopted by the Council at various periods [1808-1835]*, 107.

descent, meaning that anyone born a Cherokee mother belonged to her clan and was a person with rights and obligations to other 'Real Human Beings,' or *Ani-yun-wiya*, as they called themselves."[83] The clan system was crucial to the functioning of Cherokee society, as it determined who was a legitimate member of a clan and dictated who were the true members of the Cherokee Nation. Tiya Miles emphasizes this point, noting that "for hundreds of years kinship had been the web that bound Cherokees as a people, and individual Cherokees viewed the world through the intricate netting of this web."[84]

When discussing the kinship system, it is crucial to point out that in most cases, Black individuals were not welcomed as part of this structure. This exclusion indicates the application of the model of U.S. racism in Cherokee society. Anyone of African descent (with the exception of Afro-Cherokees) was not regarded as Cherokee, even if they had lived in the territory for all of their life. Afro-Cherokees were individuals who were of African and Cherokee descent, and in some cases, their Cherokee lineage enabled them to become a part of the kinship system. However, this group still faced differential treatment because of their African heritage, which only worsened with U.S. influence. In simpler terms, not only did the Cherokees incorporate regulations and punishments that reflected the anti-Black rhetoric of U.S. society, but they incorporated this ideology into their own pre-existing practices.

F. *After the Indian Removal Act of 1830*

While the Cherokees adopted the model of U.S. racism as a way to protect themselves, the passage of the Indian Removal Act (1830) reveals that this strategy did not protect the Cherokees in the way that they intended. Despite the Cherokees' best efforts to be "civilized" in the eyes of the Americans, they were still looked down upon and taken advantage of. Adopting anti-Black rhetoric, changing their governmental structure, and accepting Moravian religious influence did not prevent the Cherokees from being kicked off of their land and having their sovereignty violated. Section four of the act stated that "That if, upon any of the lands now occupied by the Indians...there should be such improvements as add value to the land claimed by any individual or individuals of such tribes or nations, it shall and may be

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[83]Rose Stremlau. Sustaining the Cherokee Family : Kinship and the Allotment of an Indigenous Nation. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 22.
[84]Miles, *Ties That Bind: the Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*, 50.

lawful for the President to cause such value to be ascertained by appraisement or otherwise, and to cause such ascertained value to be paid to the person or persons rightfully claiming such improvements."[85] To the United States government, "improvements" on the land was the equivalent of using the system of slavery to cultivate the land and make a profit off of it. Despite the fact that the Cherokees involved themselves in the system of enslavement and even owned slaves, they were clearly not as entitled to the land as white individuals were. In other words, even though the Cherokees tried to prove that they were "civilized" by emulating U.S. actions, they were still not able to achieve the label of "civilized."

Even after removal, anti-black sentiment and the tenuous relationship between Indians and Blacks continued. In some cases, these divisions became even more pronounced in Indian societies, including in the Cherokee nation. An article from the *Cherokee Advocate* in 1847 discusses the kidnapping of "two mulatto children...both free, and of Cherokee mixture."[86] While this is only a short excerpt, it provides a significant amount of insight into the racial dynamics of the time period. Being mixed race with African ancestry made these girls a target, revealing that despite their Cherokee heritage, they still experienced discrimination because of their African heritage. Additionally, the fact that their racial background was explicitly mentioned in the newspaper article reveals the importance of race in Cherokee society and the endurance of U.S. value systems.

G. The Importance of Race in the Enrollment Process

The actions of the Dawes Commission and the process of Enrollment also demonstrate the emphasis on racial classifications. *The Color of the Land* by David Chang describes the enrollment process in the Creek Nation, but it took on a similar form in the Cherokee Nation. Chang notes that "each person seeking enrollment came before a Dawes Commission official…generally working with an interpreter, the official quickly interviewed each person about his or her ancestry...if the person did not claim to be a 'full-blood,' the official questioned the individual about her or his parents and grandparents."[87]As seen through these interviews, ancestry was a crucial part of the enrollment process

[85]*Indian Removal Act, 1830*, in Tiya Miles, *Ties that Bind*, 253.
[86]"Kidnapping," *Cherokee Advocate*, October 7, 1847, in Tiya Miles, *Ties that Bind*, 257.
[87]David A. Chang, *The Color of the Land : Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 94.

because it helped determine an individual's blood quantum. Chang goes on to say that "being enrolled meant being permanently and unchangeably classified into a racial group: 'full-blood,' 'negro,' or 'mixed-blood.'"[88] The Dawes Commission conducted these interviews in the 1890s, about 60 years after removal, yet racial categories were still being imposed on the Indian tribes. These racial categories also shaped how people within Cherokee territory interacted with one another, especially because anti-Black rhetoric remained a part of Cherokee society. Even "one 'drop' of African 'blood' established that a person was 'Negro,'" demonstrating how the deep-rooted attitudes against blacks in the United States permeated Cherokee society.[89] Regardless of whether these ideas originated from the United States, they still became a part of everyday life in the Cherokee territory.

As seen through the previous examples, it is clear that Cherokee society, government, and culture underwent major changes as the U.S government encroached on their territory in the 19th century. In an effort to retain their status as a community and a nation, Cherokees began to model their society off of the United States, adopting racial policies and attitudes towards the Black population. The model of U.S racism fused with Cherokee ideals about kinship and connection, thus creating a hostile environment for Blacks and ostracizing them from pivotal aspects of society. As a result of this, even free Blacks became subject to discriminatory and racist practices at the hands of another minority—not white people. This example helped to set a precedent for the oppression of one minority group at the hands of another, solely for the purpose of survival and self-preservation. Anti-Blackness and the notion of "civilization" became a model that the Cherokees could adopt and adapt to suit their needs.

2. Japanese Americans During WWII

While the experiences of the free Blacks in the Cherokee Nation reveal how one minority group can adopt the model of U.S. racism and use it against another minority, there are also instances where this model has been used *within* a minority group. This situation was especially prominent during World War II, where those who were deemed "loyal" Japanese Americans adopted the same ideals of U.S. racism that were being imposed on them to condemn those who were branded as "disloyal." This is similar to

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[88]Chang, *The Color of the Land : Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929*, 94.
[89]Chang, *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929*, 94.

how the Cherokees implemented anti-Blackness and supported U.S. notions of "civilization" to protect themselves from U.S encroachment.

A. Outlining Historical Differences

Prior to delving into the intricacies of the Japanese American experience during WWII, it is important to note the historical differences between this time period and the 1800s, when the anti-Black sentiment amongst the Cherokees is most evident. During WWII, the social and political circumstances were quite different than they were in the 1800s. The racial discrimination that Japanese in the United States experienced (whehter they were aliens or citizens) stemmed not only from an ideology of racial superiority but from the geopolitical implications that the war produced. Japanese in the U.S were regarded as extremely suspicious because of the threat that Japan posed. Japan was an enemy, and as a result of this, Japanese individuals residing in the United States, whether they were U.S. citizens or not, became enemies as well. Given these dynamics, this time period clearly had more of an international context despite the fact that evacuation and internment occurred within the United States.

Another important distinction between the two time periods is that the imminent threat of war influenced the "military necessity" rationale of the War Department. Commanding General of the Western Defense Command, John L. DeWitt, voiced his concerns in a memorandum written in February 1942. He emphasized that "the Japanese race is an enemy race...and while many second and third-generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become 'Americanised,' the racial strains are undiluted."[90] The racial prejudices in this text are quite clear from this excerpt, as DeWitt felt that any Japanese lineage made someone an enemy, regardless of their citizenship status.

Additionally, the memorandum highlights DeWitt's duties as the Commanding General of the Western Defense Command, and his concern with national security. Given the views that he harbored of the Japanese (Japanese Americans or not), it makes sense that he would see the Japanese on the West Coast as a major security threat. The first page of the memorandum outlines four types of probable Japanese attacks, which DeWitt warned would be carried out with the help of Japanese Americans or

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[90]John L. DeWitt, "Memorandum: Subject: Evacuation of Japanese and Other Subversive Persons From the Pacific Coast," February 13, 1942, in Daniels, Roger, ed., American Concentration Camps, Vol. 2: January 1, 1942-February 19, 1942, 2.

aliens on the coast.[91] He also professed that one of the missions of the Western Defense Command was "local protection of establishments and communications vital to the National Defense for which adequate defense cannot be provided by local civilian authorities."[92] Clearly, his concern was national security and defending the nation from any type of threat.

On the other hand, the predicament that the Cherokees found themselves in was largely confined to the U.S. While the Cherokee Nation was technically a sovereign nation, there were not any international connections or implications that compare to those of the WWII period. For example, there were no international influences that caused the Cherokees to be seen as an "enemy," but the looming threat of Japan had that exact effect on the U.S.'s Japanese population. Despite the distinctions between the two time periods in question, the experiences of the Black population in Cherokee territory and the "disloyal" Japanese have many commonalities. Analyzing the experiences of these groups alongside one another demonstrates that the adoption of the U.S. model of racism by the Cherokees set a precedent for future groups.

B. The Early WWII Years

During the early WWII years, members of the Japanese American Citizens League (who were *Nisei*)[93] sought to prevent their evacuation and subsequent internment by highlighting the dangers of the *Kibei* population.[94] They joined other government/military officials in doing so, actively seeking to portray their loyalty to the U.S. at the expense of the *Kibei*. The JACL claimed to represent the views of all Nisei and adopted a strategy of cooperation in an effort to display their loyalty. However, this strategy inevitably failed, and in a way, they became complicit in the internment of their own people.

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[91]John L. DeWitt, "Memorandum: Subject: Evacuation of Japanese and Other Subversive Persons From the Pacific Coast," 1.
[92]John L. DeWitt, "Memorandum: Subject: Evacuation of Japanese and Other Subversive Persons From the Pacific Coast," 1.
[93] *Nisei* is a "term for the children of Japanese immigrants, originating from the Japanese language term for "second generation." In the American context, the term is generally understood to apply specifically to the American-born—and thus U.S. citizen—children of Japanese immigrants who arrived prior to the cessation of Japanese immigration to the U.S. under the dictates of the Immigration Act of 1924."
"Nisei," Nisei | Densho Encyclopedia, March 9, 2013, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Nisei/#:~:text=Term%20for%20the%20children%20of,to%20the%20cessation%20of%20Japanese.
[94]*Kibei* were a subset of the *Nisei* population, and the terms *Kibei Nisei* or *Kibei* were "applied to those who were born in the U.S. but mostly raised or educated in Japan."
"Nisei," Nisei | Densho Encyclopedia, March 9, 2013, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Nisei/#:~:text=Term%20for%20the%20children%20of,to%20the%20cessation%20of%20Japanese.

In order to comprehend how such deep divisions were able to emerge within the Japanese American population even prior to the war, understanding the characteristics of the *Nisei* and the *Kibei* is beneficial. While the groups had certain similarities, their differences are what became the focus of white officials and policymakers, and subsequently the JACL. Both the *Nisei* and *Kibei* were American citizens by birth, but they were distinct from one another in terms of their connection to Japan. Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) officer Kenneth Ringle substantiated this point, identifying the *Kibei* as the most dangerous group out of all of the Japanese in the U.S. Unlike the Nisei, the *Kibei* had spent considerable time in Japan as children or young adults, receiving a Japanese education and immersing themselves in the Japanese language. Ringle asserted that "the most potentially dangerous elements of all are the Kibei...such persons must be considered guilty until proven innocent beyond a reasonable doubt."[95] He went on to say that because of their experiences in Japan, the *Kibei* probably served in the Japanese army and thus were loyal to the emperor. This imagery is captured effectively in the film *Know Your Enemy* (1945), where the voiceover discusses Japanese education and loyalty alongside an image of pounding steel.[96] The pounding steel represents the indoctrination of the *Kibei* and other "disloyal" elements at the hands of the Japanese emperor, making them extremely threatening and dangerous. These negative attitudes about the *Kibei* contrasted greatly with Ringle's characterization of the *Nisei*, who were not considered loyal to Japan. Ringle commented on the *Nisei's* pathetic eagerness to be American, which made them much less of a threat than the *Kibei* were.[97]

C. Japanese American Citizens League and Their Policy of Cooperation

The JACL adopted the dominant view of the U.S. government that classified the *Kibei* as extremely dangerous. They reiterated that the educational experiences of the *Kibei* made them a threat, feeding into the over-generalization that the group was loyal to Japan and the emperor. At the same time, they sought to demonstrate their own loyalty to the United States and actively excluded the *Kibei* from the "loyal" group. The primary way in which they did this was through the use of U.S. ideals of racism,

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[95][Kenneth D. Ringle], "Japanese in America: The Problem and the Solution," *Harper's Magazine* 185 (1942), pp. 491-492.
[96]Frank Capra and Joris Ivens, *Know Your Enemy: Japan*. 1945: U.S. Department of War.
[97]C.B. Munson, "Japanese on West Coast," and "Report and Suggestions regarding Handling Japanese Question on the Coast," U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, *Hearings* (Washington DC: GPO, 1946), Part 6, 2685.

elevating themselves at the expense of the *Kibei*. As the possibility of evacuation and internment loomed, the JACL became even more desperate, taking every measure necessary to prove the loyalty of the *Nisei*. A hallmark example of the "superpatriotism" of the *Nisei* is the *Japanese American Creed* (1940), which is essentially an oath of loyalty to the United States. One section of it reads "because I believe in America, and I trust she believes in me...I pledge myself to do honor to her at all times and in all places; to support her Constitution; to obey her laws, to respect her flag, to defend her against all enemies."[98] "Enemies" included the *Kibei*, as their reputation had been severely damaged by the reports from government and other public officials. In order for the JACL to protect themselves from evacuation, they strove to prove their loyalty by slandering the name of the *Kibei* and professing their devotion to U.S. civilization. By turning away from the *Kibei*, they also condemned Japanese education and language, which the U.S. government saw as unpredictable and suspicious.

The JACL's policy of cooperation with the government officials only alienated the *Kibei* even more, demonstrating the deep divisions within the Japanese community and the need to be more "American" to be accepted. In this case, the JACL drew on what the U.S. considered to be "civilized" in order to protect the *Nisei*, similar to how the Cherokees used Moravian religious education and the U.S. governmental structure to preserve their own group. When asked about his religion in an interview, JACL leader Mike Masaoka proudly stated "to show you how American I am, Latter Day Saints, Mormon."[99] From his response, it is clear that religious affiliation was a crucial part of determining who was American and who was not. Buddhism and other religions practiced by the Japanese were extremely suspicious, so in an effort to appeal to U.S. government officials and the military, Masaoka denounced any sort of connection to Japan.

In the same interview, Masaoka also discussed his educational experience and assured the interviewer that he had never been back to Japan and was definitely not educated there. He also reaffirmed that he had very little knowledge about the Japanese language.[100] Throughout the interview,

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[98]Mike Masaoka, Japanese American Creed, May 9, 1941.
[99]"Testimony of Mike Masaoka, National Security and Field Executive, Japanese American Citizens League," in U.S. Congress. House. Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration. *Hearings* (Washington D.C.:GPO, 1946), 11144.
[100]"Testimony of Mike Masaoka, National Security and Field Executive, Japanese American Citizens League," in U.S. Congress. House. Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration. *Hearings* (Washington D.C.:GPO, 1946), 11147.

Masaoka excluded the *Kibei* from his definition of loyalty. Unlike him, they were educated in Japan, in the Japanese language, and spent a considerable amount of time there. In his effort to appeal to U.S. notions of civilization, he distanced himself from his Japanese heritage and described anything about himself that made him "American." Excerpts from the JACL's national newspaper, *The Pacific Citizen*, provide more insight into the JACL's policy of cooperation. An article from March 1942 states that "as the only national representative body of loyal Americans of Japanese extraction, the Japanese American Citizens League and its 20,000 members have cooperated and will continue to cooperate wholeheartedly in all matters integral to National Security."[101] March 1942 was approximately one month after the passage of Executive Order 9066, which mandated the removal of all Japanese individuals from the West Coast. Therefore, since this article was written after the executive order, the JACL fully intended to cooperate with evacuation as well. Even though they had spent the pre-war years and the beginning of WWII eager to prove their loyalty, they continued to do so after evacuation, even though they did not agree with it. In doing so, the JACL showed respect for the power of the U.S. government and the military, both of which were hallmarks of "civilization." As seen through these examples, the JACL's actions mirrored those of the Cherokees. Appealing to U.S. ideals of civilization, such as religion, English education, and government, the JACL attempted to shield itself from the violation of its citizenship rights. The *Japanese American Creed* referenced the U.S. Constitution as a way to gain the trust of the U.S. government and prove that they favored American ideas over those of the Japanese. Mike Masaoka's interview reveals the ways in which the JACL distanced themselves from the Japanese language and culture, professing loyalty to U.S. ideals instead. This act of distancing from Japanese culture and the *Kibei* marked yet another attempt by the JACL to assimilate through the adoption of white U.S. Christian culture, mirroring the actions of the Cherokees in regards to missionary schools. By supporting missionary schools, Cherokees sent that message that they were willing to adapt to U.S. ideals, even if they did not always agree with them if they did not always agree with them. It is clear that both groups used religion to prove that they were adhering to U.S. values and they actively tried to apply the label of

[101]"J.A.C.L Pledges Full Support to American Government," *Pacific Citizen* (Los Angeles, CA), March 1, 1942. https://pacificcitizen.org/wp-content/uploads/archives-menu/Vol.014_% 2363_Mar_01_1942.pdf

"civilization" to themselves.

D. After Removal from the West Coast

During internment, the labels of "loyal" and "disloyal" evolved due to the complexities of camp life and the involvement of the War Relocation Authority (WRA). In pre-war times and the early war years, the *Kibei* were consistently labeled as "disloyal" while the JACL members and other Nisei were associated with being loyal. However, as Japanese aliens and Japanese Americans were forced into internment camps by the military, the WRA was put in charge of the operations in the camps. One of the key arguments in favor of evacuation argued that there was not enough time to determine which Japanese on the West Coast were loyal and which were disloyal. This is seen in the U.S. Department of War's *Final Report*, where the Department of War justified that "because of the ties of race, the intense feeling of filial piety and the strong bonds of common tradition, culture, and customs, this population presented a tightly-knit racial group."[102] Reservations about Japanese culture, religion, and education are seen through this document. It continues, saying that "no ready means existed for determining the loyal and disloyal with any degree of safety. It was necessary to face the realities—a positive determination could not have been made."[103] The combination of the threat that the Japanese population on the West Coast posed (i.e. aiding in acts of espionage and sabotage) with the fact that there was not enough time to determine loyalty, the Department of War concluded that evacuation was justified under "military necessity."

Once internment began, the responsibility of running the camps was given to the War Relocation Authority, a civilian agency created in 1942. They were tasked with what the War Department could not do at the time of removal: determining who was loyal and who was not. The first attempt at this actually involved segregating the *Kibei* from the rest of the internees, but this approach was not valid because the *Kibei* were a diverse group. While some were indeed considered to be disloyal, others were loyal. Therefore, the WRA found out that segregating the *Kibei* would not only damage the reputation of loyal *Kibei*, but it would "miss entirely some of the most effective and persistent troublemakers in the evacuee population."[104]After the riots at Poston and Manzanar, the need to segregate the internees became even

[102]U.S.Department of War, Final Report: Japanese Evacuation From the West Coast, (Washington D.C., 1943) p. 9.
[103] U.S.Department of War, Final Report: Japanese Evacuation From the West Coast, (Washington D.C., 1943) p. 9.
[104]War Relocation Authority, *A Story of Human Conservation*, (Washington, D.C.): GPO, 1946, 46.

more pressing due to the fact that the actions of "disloyal" internees disrupted camp life and undermined the authority of the WRA administrators.

In an effort to do this, the WRA (supported by the JACL) created a loyalty questionnaire that would segregate the Japanese internees into two groups—loyal and disloyal. This questionnaire produced more division between the internees in the camps, and the definition of disloyalty was expanded from the *Kibei* group. The loyalty registration process also had the purpose of recruiting Nisei for a segregated army unit, the 442nd, although this aspect of it was largely unsuccessful. Through a closer analysis of questions twenty-seven and twenty-eight on the loyalty questionnaire, the expansion of the "disloyal" category beyond the *Kibei* population becomes clear. Instead of the *Kibei* being synonymous with "disloyal," the questionnaire was structured to determine whether someone was loyal or not, assessing their commitment to the U.S by examining their willingness to distance themselves from Japan and Japanese traditions. These categorizations of "loyal" and "disloyal" were enduring and had long-lasting effects on the internee population. Question 27 asked "Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?"[105] As stated previously, this question was crafted with the intention of registering loyal Japanese Americans for the armed forces. However, this question was also rife with complications. Some internees

questioned why they would help ensure freedom and peace while they were locked in camps. Even those who were interested in serving in the army did not want to leave their families behind. Similarly, Question 28 asked, "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign and domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?"[106] This question also ignored the complications that might be associated with a "Yes" response, especially for the *Issei*.[107] It required individuals to denounce any connection to Japan, so doing

[105]"The so-Called 'Loyalty Questionnaire,'" Densho Digital Repository, 1943, http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-72-4/, 4.
[106]"The so-Called 'Loyalty Questionnaire,'" Densho Digital Repository, 1943, http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-72-4/, 4.
[107]*Issei* is a "term for Japanese immigrants originating from the Japanese language term for "first generation." In the American context, the term is generally understood to apply to those who migrated prior to the cessation of Japanese immigration to the U.S. under the dictates of the Immigration Act of 1924, the bulk arriving after 1885. The vast majority of Issei were thus middle-aged or older during World War II.
"Issei," Issei | Densho Encyclopedia, March 9, 2013, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Issei/.

this would render the *Issei* stateless. They were not U.S. citizens, and relinquishing their Japanese citizenship was not really an option, so many of them were branded as disloyal.

E. Loyal vs. Disloyal: A Closer Look at the Dynamics Between the Two Groups

After closely considering these questions, it is clear that the model of U.S. racism was applied within the Japanese American community. To be loyal, one had to denounce any sort of connection to Japan; in some cases, this even included citizenship. Essentially, loyalty meant being "civilized" and Americanized. In order to be "loyal," Japanese had to firmly believe in American values and disconnect themselves from their Japanese background. Understandably, this was a sacrifice that not everyone was willing to make, a choice that characterized these individuals as disloyal. They were automatically associated with being troublemakers and dissenters, even if they did not take any action against the United States. Merely holding onto Japanese culture *was disloyal*, as it ran counter to American ideals of "civilization." Thus, for these individuals, the disloyal label endured, and they were ostracized from the loyal Japanese American community. The stigma of the brand of "disloyal" continued long after the "disloyal" individuals were transferred to the Tule Lake Segregation Center, and it extended in the post-war years as well.

Among the disloyal were those who were draft resisters. One group, in particular, the Fair Play Committee (FPC), was made up of Nisei men of draft age and was based in the Heart Mountain Internment Camp. They advocated that they would not serve in the army unless their civil rights were restored, as they thought it was unjust for them to defend freedom and other U.S. values while their imprisonment violated their citizenship rights.[108]While they gained a considerable amount of support in their legal fight against internment, there were plenty of "loyal" Japanese Americans who actively denounced their actions. The official camp newspaper, the *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, reflected the attitudes of those who were "loyal" when it came to the FPC. An editorial from June 17, 1944, asserts that "it has been the belief of The Sentinel that the 63 Heart Mountain Men now on trial are doing all Japanese Americans a disservice."[109] This editorial effectively demonstrates the division that continued to plague

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[1085]"Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee," Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee | Densho Encyclopedia, n.d., http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Heart_Mountain_Fair_Play_Committee/.
[109]Editorials, *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, June 17, 1944.

the Japanese American community and the discrimination that those who were "disloyal" faced. It conveys how the JACL and other "loyal" Japanese condemned those who were "disloyal," even if their arguments were valid considering the injustice of internment.

A newspaper from the Topaz internment camp reflects similar resentments held by "loyal" Japanese against those who were "disloyal." On July 5,1944, the newspaper published a story about U.S. citizenship being withdrawn from disloyal Japanese. The article reads, "a legislation to withdraw the citizenship of Japanese born in this country whose loyalty to the enemy marks them as Japanese nationals was signed by President Roosevelt."[110] U.S. citizenship is not a privilege that can be taken away from someone, yet the circumstances were changed to accommodate "disloyal" Japanese Americans. This action reveals the negative portrayal of "disloyal" Japanese at the hands of "loyal" Japanese and governmental officials. The U.S. model of racism, which is well-known for excluding certain groups and condemning them if they do not fit the U.S view of "civilization," was clearly applied to "disloyal" Japanese during WWII and afterward.

By taking a closer look at the experiences of "disloyal" Japanese Americans and aliens, the ways in which they were treated by those who were considered "loyal" becomes very clear. In the pre-war years, this "disloyal" label was mainly associated with the *Kibei*, whose educational and cultural ties to Japan made them threatening. However, after the policy of segregation was enacted in 1943, this "disloyal" category expanded to include more people besides the *Kibei*. Anyone who was not willing to denounce Japan and their heritage was branded as disloyal, even if they did not take any outward action against the United States. As government officials and camp leaders separated the "loyal" internees from the "disloyal" ones, "loyal" internees continued to voice their support for the government. They condemned the actions of the "disloyal," as is seen in countless camp newspapers. At the same time that they did this, they made sure to profess their own devotion to the United States, its constitution, and other aspects of "civilization." In this way, the "loyal" Japanese emulated the model of U.S. racism that had been used for centuries. Not only did this model rely on a racial hierarchy, but it also derived from what was considered to be "civilized" and what was not.

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[110]"Topaz Times Vol. VIII No. 1 ." Densho Digital Repository, July 5, 1944. https://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-142-321/.

3. Synthesizing the Cherokees and the "Loyal" Japanese

Given this information, it is evident that the ways in which the Cherokees treated the Black population in their society are comparable to how the "loyal" Japanese interacted with the "disloyal." Both the Cherokees and "loyal" Japanese drew on what the United States considered to be "civilized" and tried to embody that to protect themselves. For the Japanese, the expression of loyalty was initially used to prevent evacuation and discredit the *Kibei*. JACL leaders such as Mike Masaoka asserted their religious affiliation and educational experiences to portray themselves as American. After removal and segregation, however, the definition of "disloyal" expanded, and the "loyal" Japanese sought to separate themselves from the other group by highlighting their own devotion to the United States and speaking out against "resistors." Additionally, "loyal" Japanese remarked on their U.S. educational experience as well as their engagement with "American" religions, separating themselves from Buddhist practices and the use of the Japanese language–both of which were seen as markers of "disloyalty."

For the Cherokees, appealing to "civilization" meant adopting U.S. religious practices and educational structures (even when they did not agree with them), changing their system of governance, and using anti-Black rhetoric. If the Cherokees could construct an image of themselves as "civilized" in the eyes of the U.S., then perhaps they could protect their land and their sovereignty. Both Cherokees and Black individuals were subjected to the dominant racial views of the United States, but through their actions the Cherokees tried to deracialize the concept of civilization, looking to prove that Indians could be "civilized" as well. Adopting anti-Black rhetoric was a crucial part of being considered civilized by the U.S., as it had already become an integral part of American society. Since African enslavement was already occurring in the Cherokee territory, embedding these attitudes into their already existing biases was not an extremely complicated task to achieve. Because of the belief that it would offer protection, both the Cherokees and the "loyal" Japanese sought to prove that they were indeed "civilized."

4. Other Conclusions from These Experiences

Aside from the comparisons between the different groups, these stories also reveal how mainstream society has the final say in matters such as inclusion or acceptance. No matter how much the

Cherokees or Japanese Americans tried to portray themselves as civilized and deserving of respect, the United States was still the ultimate power in each of these scenarios. Put simply, both the Cherokees and the *Nisei* failed to leverage their adoption of the model of U.S. racism and fundamental American values to protect themselves from the domination of the U.S. government. The U.S. removed the Cherokees and other Indian nations from their land, and later the U.S. forced the Japanese out of the west coast and confined them to internment camps. Through their actions, it is clear that the Cherokees and the "loyal" Japanese adopted this model of U.S. racism as a means of protection, but it did not protect them.

While the Cherokees and the "loyal" Japanese followed a similar trajectory, failing to protect themselves from U.S. encroachment, the aftermath of these failures was quite different for both groups. After WWII, Japanese Americans became accepted, and they were considered to be national heroes. This occurred after the federal government redefined what "Americanism" meant. Instead of it being a matter of race, Americanism was tied to shared values and ideas. In her essay "To Undo a Mistake Is Always Harder Than Not to Create One Originally," Eleanor Roosevelt proclaims, "we have no common race in this country, but we have an ideal to which all of us are loyal: we cannot progress if we look down upon any group of people amongst us because of race or religion."[111] The rapid shift from the discrimination of Japanese Americans to accepting them took place because the U.S. used "loyal" Japanese for propaganda purposes. This is seen in relation to the 442nd regiment, as the presence of Japanese Americans in the U.S. Army allowed the government to combat claims that WWII was a race war. In essence, Japanese Americans transformed "from the obvious symbol of racial discrimination into a living representation of America's denunciation of racism."[112]

Because this shift to disavowing racism only occurred in the mid-1940s, the socio-political environment that the Cherokees lived in post-removal was still dominated by *blood will tell racism*. This type of racism was hyper-focused on race and ethnicity, excluding "inferior races" from integration into mainstream society. It barred Cherokees from exercising more authority and also led to increased dependence on the United States. While the Japanese were affected by *blood will tell racism* at the

[111] Eleanor Roosevelt. "To Undo a Mistake is Always Harder Than Not to Create One Originally," *Collier's Magazine* (1943), 24.
[112] Tayashi Fujitani. "*Go for Broke*, the Movie: Japanese American Soldiers in U.S National, Military, and Racial Discourses," in T. Fujitani, et al., ed., *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)* (Durham, 2001), 244.

beginning of WWII and during it, towards the end of the war, the shift to disavow racism occurred. This change allowed the Japanese to be framed as heroes and true Americans, instead of being seen as outsiders. While the experiences of the Cherokees and the Japanese Americans were different, the contrast between their experiences is emblematic of the societal ideals of the time period. The Japanese Americans were able to gain acceptance because of the disavowal of racism that occurred in the mid 1940s, but the Cherokees never had that option.

Conclusion

After looking at the examples of the Cherokees in the 19th century and the "loyal" Japanese in the WWII era, it becomes clear that the model of U.S. racism is not exclusively utilized by a white majority, but resurfaces both within and between minority groups. These examples demonstrate that the endurance of racial ideologies and notions of "civilization" is not dependent on a majority group oppressing other minorities. While this is undoubtedly a part of the process, the ways in which minorities react to oppression can actually aid in spreading the model of U.S. racism. There are many cases where minorities sought to end their oppression or protect themselves by adopting U.S. values and seeking U.S. approval. This choice can lead to the adoption of new racial biases, increased focus on already existing ones, or both. The example of the Cherokees set a precedent for minority groups in future years, including the JACL and other "loyal" Japanese. By exploring the complicated experiences of these groups, the traditional narrative of a majority or dominant group oppressing minorities is redefined. The minority community is not a unified group, and there are many differences that arise within them and between them, especially when it comes to reacting to oppression and exclusion. This nuanced understanding of minority groups is critical to identifying the model of U.S. racism in everyday life and in communities that one might not expect to find it in. Additionally, taking a closer look at minority groups reveals how dominant narratives of the United States oppressing minorities leave out key details about how these groups adapted to subjugation.

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The True American Intent Behind the 1953 Iranian Coup

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Rioters filled the streets of Tehran on August 17, 1953. With the help of Iranian agents and a budget of over $150,000,[113] the CIA hired a crowd composed of Iranian nationalists, opponents of the Shah, and young communists to incite demonstrations in the capital city that would provoke fears of a communist takeover. Despite the chaos, the meeting between nationalist Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadegh and American Ambassador Loy Henderson outshined the riots in importance. Henderson had received clear orders from Kermit Roosevelt, the CIA Director at the time, to threaten to evacuate all Americans from Iran unless Mossadegh took immediate, firm action to stop the rebellions. Mossadegh heeded Henderson's request. He called in the army and the police to quell the insurrection and banned all public demonstrations.

The Prime Minister did not know, however, that the army was colluding with Western, anti-Mossadegh forces. The commander of the Imperial Guard, Colonel Nemotalloha Nasiri, was working with the Americans, the British, and Mohammad Reza Shah to replace Mossadegh with General Fezlollah Zahedi: a retired military officer whom the British recruited because of his pro-Western leniencies. Two days later, according to Roosevelt's plan, anti-Mossadegh protestors flooded the streets again, but this time, there were no counter-demonstrators to oppose them. Because Mossadegh had banned public demonstrations, his supporters stayed home. The army, who Mossadegh expected to calm the violence, instead carried out the American plans for the coup. By the end of the night, Zahedi had become Iran's newest Prime Minister.[114]

The American government's reluctance in publishing the true extent of its involvement in Iran suggests that the government was aware of the inappropriate nature of this intervention. Thirty-six years after the coup, the State Department released what was advertised as the official record of the intervention. In reality, these documents were highly sanitized and actively avoided any reference to American interference in the event. Supplementing this limited information, the New York Times leaked a 200-page classified internal history of the CIA operation in 2000. Still, documents directly implicating

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[113]Mark J. Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'etat in Iran," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 19, no. 3, Cambridge University Press, (1987): 274, accessed December 18. 2021, http://www.jstor.org/stable/163655.

[114]Ervand Abrahamian, "The 1953 Coup in Iran," *Science & Society*, vol. 65, no. 2, Guilford Press (2001): 206-211 and Stephen Kinzer, *All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror* (Hoboken, New Jersey, John Wiley and Sons, 2004), 11.

the CIA in organizing and planning this coup were kept secret. Finally, in 2013 and then in 2017, the State Department released files containing direct references to the US government's involvement in the coup. The initial unwillingness of the State Department to release these files provoked a backlash from many US citizens, historians, and policymakers who felt they had a right to understand America's role in such an important event. In an effort to increase government transparency, Congress passed the Foreign Relations Statute in 2012, instructing the government to release all documents about foreign policy 30 years after the fact.[115]

Given the staggered releases of these files, secondary analyses are limited to the information made public at the time and continue to evolve as more details are uncovered. Combining the internal government files released in 1989, 2000, 2013, and 2017 with American media coverage of the events, as well as analyses by leading historians and Iranian experts Ervand Abrahamian, Mark Gasiorowski, and Stephen Kinzer, this paper seeks to shed new light on American involvement in overthrowing the democratically elected prime minister. In an effort to protect Western control of oil and maintain NATO alliances, the US exaggerated Iran's susceptibility to communism both internally and publicly, thereby destabilizing a nation that was on the path to democracy.

Despite resentment toward Western nations for interfering in their economy and vying for their oil, Iranian leaders historically submitted to British demands for greater control of oil. Deference to Britain incited popular discontent from the Iranian people toward their own government. To understand this discontent, it is necessary to know a little about the history between Britain and Iran regarding oil.

In 1908, foreseeing the potential of a life-changing investment, a group of British investors founded the Anglo-Persian Oil Company to exploit Iranian oil reserves. The company's profits grew to astronomical levels due to the increasing global reliance on this resource, but Iranians were not receiving their fair share of the benefits. While British executives resided in pristine mansions and enjoyed access to gorgeous beaches and delicious restaurants, Iranian workers were crowded into unsanitary dormitories and barred from British amenities. Only receiving 16% of the company's profits, Reza Khan Shah

[115]Ervand Abrahamian, *Oil Crisis in Iran: From Nationalism to Coup D'Etat* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 1-5.

suspected the British were cheating Iranians of their rightful share and sought a more equitable division of the revenue. In 1933, the British agreed to grant Iran a larger share of the profits, improve working conditions, and change the name to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) at Reza Shah's request. In return, the Shah extended this deal, set to expire in 1961, for thirty-two more years.[116] His decision set off popular revolts among his people and strengthened calls for the nationalization of Iranian oil.

It is against this background that Mossadegh moved to nationalize Iranian oil in 1951. His bold action, intended to result in reduced oil revenue going to Britain, increased hostilities between Iran and the West and precipitated US involvement in his removal. Serving in the Majlis, the Iranian parliament, at the time, Mossadegh emerged as the leader of the cause to end British control of oil. Head of the National Front, a party composed of a coalition of clerics, non-communist parties, and a progressive nationalist party, he wrote a law forbidding further concessions to foreign companies that the Majlis passed in 1947. Beloved by his people as a champion of Iranian independence and national freedoms, the Majlis elected Mossadegh prime minister on April 27, 1951. Immediately upon taking office, Mossadegh nationalized Iranian oil, leading the British to enact an embargo on Iranian oil that weakened Iran's economy and increased tensions between the countries. Under President Truman, the US mediated negotiations between these two nations with the goal of preventing an armed conflict. When President Eisenhower succeeded Truman in 1953, he took a wildly different approach. After two years of what he deemed failed efforts by Truman, Eisenhower, who was ardently opposed to communism, gave up on a peaceful resolution between Iran and Great Britain, and eventually endorsed the CIA's plan to enact a coup.

The CIA had been advocating in favor of a coup for years and initially tried to get President Truman's support for it. American officials in Iran claimed that Mossadegh received support from communists in an effort to convince President Truman to support their proposal to enact a coup. The CIA intentionally exaggerated the threat from the communists in Iran, the Tudeh party, to justify American intervention. Fearful that the nationalization of Iranian oil would limit Western access to this valuable resource and impede American efforts of winning the Cold War, the CIA released an intelligence estimate

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[116]Kinzer, *All the Shah's Men,* 47-61

describing Mossadegh's government as a "Dictatorship of the 'Streets:

> *The Mossadeq government is the prisoner of the "streets." The "streets" are composed of two main groups: the followers of Mullah Kashani and the Tudeh Party (with satellite fronts), both of which are exploiting to the fullest a wave of genuine nationalistic feelings of a broad section of the upper middle class. Although Kashani's following is possibly more numerous than that of the Tudeh, the former has neither the organization, discipline, nor revolutionary and conspiratorial training and experience of the latter. Accordingly, of the two the more powerful is undoubtedly the Tudeh Party."*[117]

Mullah Kashani indeed had been one of Mossadegh's key supporters, but he later turned on the Prime Minister after the British recruited him as an agent to incite friction in the parliament and weaken the National Front's position.[118] The Tudeh party, however, did not have significant power or influence over Mossadegh's government. The party began as a modernist movement and initially shared the National Front's goals of reducing the clergy's powers to secularize the country. In 1944, however, the Tudeh fell to its pro-Soviet faction, peaked in influence in 1946, and steadily declined in power since.[119] Thus, the assertion that the Tudeh was more powerful than Kashani at this time was false, and as demonstrated later in this paper, the CIA knew it was false when they wrote it.

Because Truman continued to support negotiations over armed intervention, the CIA continued to emphasize the communist influence in Iran. In an intelligence estimate from May 22, 1951, CIA officials warned that the Tudeh "party might be able to seriously undermine internal security" and that this "danger would be increased if… Mossadeq legalizes the status of the [communist] party."[120] By arguing that Mossadegh's legalization of a political party would create danger, the CIA advocated for censorship over a democratic value like freedom of speech. In fact, the CIA's esteemed collaborator and instrumental figure in carrying out the coup, Mohammad Reza Shah, banned the Tudeh party in 1949 after they

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[117]"Telegram From the Station in Iran to the Central Intelligence Agency," October 12, 1951, Truman Library, Papers of Harry S. Truman, President's Secretary's Files, Box 180. Secret, Office of the Historian, Foreign Relations of the United States.
[118]Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'etat in Iran," 269.
[119]Kinzer, *All the Shah's Men,* 65-66; Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'Etat in Iran," 276.

[120]CIA, "CIA, Intelligence Estimate, Current Developments in Iran, May 22, 1951, Secret, CIA," May 22, 1951, U.S. Intelligence on the Middle East: 1945-2009, Brill Online.

attempted to assassinate him.[121] This act exposes the repressive measures the Shah was willing to take in order to keep his power. To strip Mossadegh of his official responsibilities, the CIA required the Shah's cooperation and willingness to sign "a royal decree naming Zahedi as Chief of Staff " to mark Mossadegh's removal.[122] The CIA's reliance on him as an agent reflects a willingness to overlook his blatant violations of democratic values. In supporting the actions of the Shah over Mossadegh—a leader who encouraged free political expression—the CIA revealed their willingness to sacrifice American ideals in pursuit of their political agenda.

Despite their assertions of the Tudeh's party strength, the CIA was aware of the weak state of the Tudeh party, thus demonstrating that their intent to enact a coup was not based upon fears of Iran's susceptibility to communism. In a Special Intelligence estimate from March 16th, 1951, the CIA admitted that "the illegal pro-Soviet Tudeh Party is not believed to be capable of taking advantage of the current tension to gain control of the government or even seriously to disrupt the government's control."[123] Due to British efforts that involved paying Iranian agents to strengthen the Tudeh party in the period leading up to the coup, the communist party had begun to gain more popularity by the start of 1952. They had amassed 20,000 members and 110,000 sympathizers. Still, the party paled in power to the government's military and armed tribes and lacked the legitimacy to take control of Iran. Following an uprising outside of Mossadegh's home that was orchestrated and sponsored by the British MI-6 in February of 1953, the CIA admitted that despite the growing instability in Iran, the "Tudeh does not as of yet appear ready to attempt a coup" and even if they did, "there is little chance… that it could succeed."[124] This concession proves that US officials were aware that the Tudeh party did not pose a significant threat and prepared them to increase their efforts to destabilize Iran. Realizing that British intelligence efforts had not gone far enough, the CIA petitioned Eisenhower to approve Operation AJAX and grant them permission to supplement the efforts of the MI-6. Finding a more willing partner than Truman,

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[121]Kinzer, *All the Shah's Men,* 65-66.
[122]Donald Wilber, "Appendix B," n.d [March 1954], CIA, Clandestine Services, National Security Archives, George Washington University, 16.
[123]CIA, "Special Estimate," March 16, 1951, NIC Files, Job 79S01011A, Box 3, Folder 3, SE–3, The Current Crisis in Iran. Secret, Office of the Historian, Foreign Relations of the United States.
[124] CIA, "CIA, Briefing, the Situation in Iran, March 19, 1953, Top Secret, CREST" March 19, 1953, U.S. Intelligence on the Middle East: 1945-2009, Brill Online.

Eisenhower agreed. On March 18, 1953, the CIA officially became the head of the covert operation to oust Mossadegh.

Only released by the State Department in 2013, the "'London Draft of the TPAJAX Operational Plan" reveals the details of the coup and exposes how the US blatantly spread misinformation to achieve their goal of keeping Iranian oil in Western hands**.** Donald Wilber, the principal architect of Operation AJAX, wrote a 200-page account detailing the planning, initiating, and aftermath of the coup just months after its completion. In it, he describes the plans for a "massive propaganda campaign against Mossadeq and his government but with Mossadeq himself as the principal target" that was to be proliferated throughout Iran prior to the coup.[125] He includes six specific themes by which he plans to undermine Mossadegh, one of which is to emphasize that he "favors the Tudeh Party and the USSR."[126] For example, published in an Iranian newspaper in the summer of 1953, "Our National Character" is a propaganda piece that seeks to undermine Mossadegh's position in Iran:

> *Ever since the alliance between the dictator Mossadeq and the Tudeh party, Iranians have been less polite, less hospitable, and less tolerant. Iranians have become rude, rough and unfriendly. Many of our people are acting more like Bolsheviks than like Iranians. Dictator Mossadeq, you are corrupting the character of the Iranian people.*[127]

This piece likens Mossadegh to a communist, oppressive dictator and exemplifies US efforts to generate hostility against the Prime Minister within his own country.

Another propaganda article likened Mossadegh to the Soviets in order to provoke resentment of him in Iran and generate public protests against him. Titled, "Mossadegh's Spy Service," this piece accused the Prime Minister of pretending to be the "savior of Iran," while instead acting in his own self-interest. Alleging that he has created a "private spy service" to protect his position, the article condemned Mossadegh for only spying against "his friends who helped bring the national movement into power" and not the real enemy, the "Soviet Tudeh."[128]These accusations reaffirm the notion that

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[125]Wilber, Appendix B, 15.
[126]*Ibid,* 16.
[127]Document 20: CIA, Propaganda Commentary, "Our National Character," n.d. [1953], Source: CIA Freedom of Information Act release, National Security Archives, George Washington University.
[128]Document 21: CIA, Propaganda Commentary, "Mossadeq's Spy Service," n.d., Source: CIA Freedom of Information Act

Mossadegh had turned towards the Bolshevik side and abandoned the Iranian people. The unfounded claims against Mossadegh in these articles reveal that the US was not genuinely interested in ousting the prime minister because he was leading the country towards communism. American intelligence officers were aware that the Tudeh posed an insignificant threat, and that its increased power was partially a result of British interference. Instead, America's desire to oust Mossadegh was to preserve Western control of oil profits and preserve its relationship with Britain. Using the threat of communism and acting as though Iran was falling victim to Soviet influence was simply the more palatable excuse for its actions.

The US also spread propaganda internally to galvanize support at home for the coup and frame their involvement in Iran as a mission to stop the spread of communism. The White House's publication of Eisenhower's denial of aid to Mossadegh in the New York Times exemplifies how the government manipulated the media in order to weaken Mossadegh's standing. On May 28, 1953, Mossadegh wrote a letter to President Eisenhower asking for "economic assistance to enable Iran to utilize her natural resources" and to help his people who "have been suffering financial hardships and struggling with political intrigues carried on by the former oil company of the British government."[129] He alludes to the fact that the US had promised Iran a $25 million loan from the Export-Important bank that his nation never received "because of unwarranted outside interference." This "interference" was in fact caused by British lobbying efforts in Washington against aid to Iran.[130] In response, Eisenhower expresses his and many Americans' feelings of "friendliness for Iran" and conveys his hope that "the Iranian people will be successful in realizing their national aspirations."[131] Yet, the president rejects Mossadegh's request, explaining that "it would not be fair to the American taxpayers… to extend any considerable amount of economic aid… so long as Iran could have access to funds derived from the sale of its oil."[132] In this letter, Eisenhower breaks from Truman's policy of supporting Iranian nationalization of oil, delivers a harsh blow to the Iranian economy, and implies true US intentions in the region: Gaining access to oil.

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release, National Security Archives, George Washington University.

[129]Mohammand Mossadegh and Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Text of the Letters by Mossadegh and Eisenhower" July 10, 1953, The New York Times Archive.
[130]Abrahamian, "The 1953 Coup in Iran," 194.
[131]Mossadegh and Eisenhower, "Text of the Letters by Mossadegh and Eisenhower."
[132]Mossadegh and Eisenhower, "Text of the Letters by Mossadegh and Eisenhower."

Hoping to capitalize on Iran's weakened economic state, the US government purposely leaked these letters to the New York Times on July 10, 1953. CIA director Kermit Roosevelt released a report analyzing the impact of the publication of these letters on weakening Mossadegh's position in Iran. This report reveals the government's intent to spread propaganda about Mossadegh that would undermine his power. Roosevelt reports that the "Eisenhower letter has had tremendous impact and Parliament[,] press[,] people[,] and foreign policy [are] now turning against Mossadegh. His position is [the] most critical of [his] career."[133]Broadcasting the letters supported the goal of the CIA's propaganda campaign outlined in Wilber's draft of Operation AJAX to allege that Mossadegh is "deliberately leading the country into economic collapse."[134] These letters show that Mossadegh lost American aid because of his unwillingness to relinquish Iranian control of oil. Yet, in Roosevelt's reporting, he made it seem as though the rejection of aid, leading to Iran's economic collapse, was due to Mossadegh's stubbornness.

Throughout the rest of July until the day of the coup, August 19, 1953, Iran withstood popular demonstrations and rebellions that reflected the CIA's success in destabilizing the country that it had falsely advertised as unstable. Counselor at the Embassy in Iran, Gordon Mattison, reported the "largest and best organized" gathering of the Tudeh party… perhaps in [the] party's history" on July 22, 1953. Mattison's telegram reveals American intention to increase the power of the communist party in order to oust Mossadegh. Encouraging communist demonstrations was a part of Operation AJAX and was intended to stir up chaos in the days preceding the coup. If American intentions were genuinely to stop the spread of communism in Iran, then government officials like Mattison would not have provoked communist rallies to incite a coup.

The legacy left by the US in Iran is one of crushed dreams and stunted progress. An era of political repression followed Mossadegh's removal. The new government sentenced Mossadegh to three years in prison and confinement to his home village for life, and arrested over 1200 Tudeh activists and many of Mossadegh's close ministers and partners. Newly made Prime Minister Zahedi and the Shah installed a dictatorship that paved the way to the Iranian Revolution of 1979. Despite all of Mossadegh's

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[133]Kermit Roosevelt, "Document 5: Re impact Eisenhower Letter," July 14, 1953, Source: CIA Freedom of Information Act release, National Security ARchives, George Washington University.
[134]Wilber, "Appendix B," 17.

efforts to return Iranian oil to its rightful owners, the US proposed for a consortium of Western countries to gain control of Iranian oil. The AIOC, renamed British Petroleum, received 40% of the shares, a group of American firms also received 40% of the shares, 14% were allocated to Royal Dutch/Shell, an ally of the British, and 6% of the controlling shares were allocated to the French company, Compagnie Française de Pétroles. In other words, the US achieved their goal of restoring Iranian oil to Western hands.[135]Although the consortium gave Iran 50% of the oil profits, the country could not audit the books nor could any Iranian sit on the board of directors.[136] American interference was unwanted in Iran, thwarted Iran's move toward democracy, and was undertaken primarily to secure America's own economic interests. Indeed, America's actions in Iran set a rather poor and hypocritical example for a nation who views itself as "city on a hill," and a leading example of democratic self-rule.

Historical narratives are both produced by the information found in the archives, as well as all the information that is obscured, redacted, or sanitized. By hiding so many necessary documents, the government prevented the story of the coup from being told accurately. It is not fair that innocent Iranian people should have to bear the brunt of American mistakes. Now that nearly all of the CIA files have been made public, hopefully, American foreign policymakers in the future will reflect on the intervention in Iran to avoid damaging another nation.

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[135]Abrahamian, "The 1953 Coup in Iran, 211-2114.
[136] Kinzer, *All the Shah's Men,* 196.

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http://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/us-intelligence-on-the-middle-east/cia-brief ing-the-situation-in-iran-march-19-1953-top-secret-crest;umeoumeob01382.

Donald Wilber, “Appendix B,” March 1954, CIA, Source: The New York Times, National Security Archives, George Washington University, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB28/appendix%20B.pdf.

Document 20: CIA, Propaganda Commentary, "Our National Character," n.d. [1953], Source: CIA Freedom of Information Act release, National Security Archives, George Washington University, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB435/docs/Doc%2020%20-%201953-00-00%20231%20propaganda%20-%20national%20character.pdf

Document 21: CIA, Propaganda Commentary, "Mossadeq's Spy Service," n.d., Source: CIA Freedom of Information Act release, National Security Archives, George Washington University, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB435/docs/Doc%2021%20-%201953-00-00%20144%20propaganda%20-%20spy%20service.pdf

Kermit Roosevelt, “Document 5: Re impact Eisenhower Letter,” July 14, 1953, Source: CIA Freedom of Information Act release, National Security ARchives, George Washington University, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB435/docs/Doc%205%20-%201953-07-14%20Re%20impact%20Eisenhower%20letter.pdf

Mohammand Mossadegh and Dwight D. Eisenhower, “Text of the Letters by Mossadegh and Eisenhower” July 10, 1953, The New York Times Archive, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1953/07/10/96496731.html?pageNumb er=4.

Princess Power:

The Ottoman World Through French Eyes

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Introduction

For centuries, the Near East as perceived through the Western European lens has caught the eyes and captured the minds of countless consumers. This fascination with the mysterious and alluring Ottoman world invited the stories, culture, and fashion of the empire to weave themselves into the fabric of Western consciousness, especially throughout the Enlightenment period. The 18th-century marked a pivotal point in European *Ottomania* -- the obsession with the culture and customs of the Ottoman Empire. Resulting from strengthened political ties between the West and the Ottoman East, the ideas and images associated with the Ottoman Empire quickly spread between the two spheres.[137] *Ottomania*, furthermore, aligned with and built upon the European inclination at this time towards *Orientalism*, or the tradition of western academic interest in Eastern cultures and peoples to differentiate the occidental *self* and the oriental *other*.[138] Characterized by shifting understandings of selfhood, 18th century Western Europe desperately clung to this school of thought in a process of self-discovery. The 18th century Ottoman Empire, therefore, served as an important focal point that allowed the West to define itself.

Europe's 18th-century *Ottomania* begets the question: From where did this obsession with the Ottoman Empire stem? This vast and complex query can be answered by mapping the spread of Ottoman fashion from the pages of French Ambassador Charles de Ferriol's 1715 album, *Recueil de Cent Estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant*, to later Ottoman-inspired depictions of members of the18th-century French court.[139] In doing so, we can observe the cultural implications of de Ferriol's album and how it affected fashion and the 18th-century concept of the French self.

Relations Open Up

[137]Inal, Onur. "Women's Fashions in Transition: Ottoman Borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman Exchange of Costumes." (Journal of World History, vol. 22, no. 2, 2011), pp. 243–272. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/23011711. Accessed Apr. 2, 2021. 256.
[138] Lowe, Lisa. *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), 3.

[139] Nefedova, Olga. *A Journey into the World of the Ottomans: the Art of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671-1737)*. Skira, 2009. 117.

By the year 1600, in an active effort to foster friendly relations with the Ottoman Empire, France established a permanent embassy in Istanbul.[140] However, only with the decline of its once-unrivaled power, did the Ottoman Empire reciprocate the efforts of the French.[141] To maintain the security of his realm and formally establish reciprocal diplomatic ties, Ottoman Sultan Ahmet III decided to succumb to the European game and send full-ambassador Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi to France from 1720-1721. The visit of Ambassador Mehmet Efendi marked the first time that the Ottoman Empire deployed a high-level diplomatic official to a non-Muslim court.[142] Moreover, this event formally opened the Western European and Ottoman spheres to one another and laid the groundwork for political cooperation and diplomacy.

Stronger ties between the Ottoman Empire and France rendered the two states accessible to one another at unprecedented levels and facilitated the movement of people, culture, and ideas. In a plight for self-betterment, the Ottomans consumed the technology and innovation of the West, and Europe clamored after "real" Ottoman culture.[143] In fact, from the first visit of Ambassador Mehmet Effendi through the 1790s, France dominated the European trade scene in the Levant.[144] Because the French crown, unlike some of its European counterparts, did not possess the benefits of a diversified colonial empire, its relationship with the Ottomans was integral to filling this niche and developing robust international trade. Consequently, by 1789, the Ottoman Empire emerged as the third most important trading partner for the French who, in turn, accounted for approximately half of all European trade with the Near East.[145] As diplomatic intermingling and trade continued, the stark historical border between the Christian and Muslim worlds slowly eroded. The winds of cultural curiosity blowing from Paris to Istanbul soon became a hurricane of cultural evolution.

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[140] Ibid, 94.
[141] Inal, 252.
[142] Jirousek, Charlotte A. "The Eighteenth Century -- An Expanding World." Essay. In *Ottoman Dress and Design in the West: a Visual History of Cultural Exchange*, 146–84. (Indiana University Press, 2019.) 152.
[143]Nefedova, 89.
[144] "The Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century." (*Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 16, no. 2 (1992): 179-216.) Accessed September 7, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43385332. 195.
[145]Jirousek, 156.

The Artist Vanmour

Born on January 9th, 1671, Flemish artist Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, shaped the Europeanized Ottoman World through his depictions of the exotic events of daily life.[146] Though little is known about the beginning of Vanmour's career, records show that the Guild of St. Luke of Valenciennes blacklisted the artist for selling his artwork directly to the public as a non-member, and banned him from carrying out private orders. After his squabble with the Guild, it is assumed that Vanmour spent time in Paris before arriving in Istanbul between the years of 1703 and 1704 upon the request of the French ambassador, Charles de Ferriol.[147] Vanmour stayed 30 years in Istanbul. Throughout this time, he produced countless works, which immeasurably affected French and Western European culture. Among these, however, the effects of de Ferriol's 1712-1713 album, *Recueil de Cent Estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant,* otherwise known as *Album of One Hundred Prints Representing the Various Nations of the Levant,* reign supreme.[148]

Contained within the pages of de Ferriol's album, prints of Vanmour's 100 depictions of daily life throughout the Ottoman Empire transported rapt European readers. However, though the artist's paintings served as a basis for the images seen in de Ferriol's album, it is important to note that they were not entirely produced by the artist himself. Due to the scale of production of images in Vanmour's semi-commercial workshop, he likely worked closely with locally trained artists to capture these iconic snapshots. This collaboration between the Artist and native Ottomans is subtly shown in the awkward perspectival design of some paintings, clearly done by those not trained in the European painting style.[149] In fact, by the final edition of *Recueil de Cent Estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant,* at least nine engravers worked to create the prints which transported European readers to the chamber of the Sultan, the divan of the harem, and the streets of Istanbul. The extreme success of the first edition of de Ferriol's album prompted a second in 1714. Furthermore, the popularity of the album prompted the

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[146] Nefedova, 83.
[147] Nefedova, 86.
[148] Ibid, 117.
[149] Bevilacqua, Alexander, and Helen Pfeifer. "Turquerie: Culture in Motion, 1650–1750." (*Past & Present*, no. 221 (2013): 75-118.) Accessed May 21, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24543612. 84.

release of the 3rd edition of *Recueil de Cent Estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant* not only in black and white, but also in color.[150] In this, the album provided readers with a pseudo-photographic depiction of the nuance of Ottoman life and became an inspiration for countless works which sought to replicate the majesty of the artist's Ottoman world.

Vanmour's work differed from its precursors through its emphasis on the romantic and exotic aspects of Ottoman life. The artist lacked interest in communicating the perceived villainy of the Oriental despot as had been emphasized in the past, creating an idyllic aura surrounding his subjects and scenes.[151] This shift was congruent with the developing diplomatic and trade relations between France and its Ottoman neighbor at the beginning of the 18th century. With the establishment of friendly ties, the historical threat of the previously hostile Ottoman Empire to European security subsided. In the place of this fear emerged intrigue and longing towards the once unfamiliar and unwelcoming Ottoman dominion. Vanmour's works utilized warm lighting and perspective to welcome European lectors into their borders. In this, the artist played into his consumers' desires of experiencing the newly accessible and mysterious Ottoman World for themselves.

Vanmour's images, moreover, confirmed the impression that the Ottoman Empire created for itself in Europe. Ambassador Mehmet Efendi wrote in an account of his time in France, *Sefaretname:* "Although I… could not bring an equipage worthy of such occasions, by the help of God we were nevertheless assured that no one in Paris had ever seen so superb an entry as ours" with so many people, horses, colors, and moving parts.[152] Insecurity-induced displays of wealth put on by the declining Ottoman Empire sought to impress the Western World by demonstrating the empire's capacity and success. Coupled with the performances that occupied at the forefront of French perceptions and amazement with the Levant, Vanmour's work legitimized the romanticization of Ottoman reality to early 18th-century consumers.

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[150] Nefedova, 117.
[151] Ibid, 163.
[152] Ibid, 44.

Contemporaneously with the opening of diplomatic doors to the Ottoman East, the Age of Enlightenment saw the shift of Western European, especially French, perceptions of self, and historical demarcations of difference. Most importantly, at this time the role of religion as a distinguishing factor began to wane.[153] Movement away from the inherent supremacy of the Christian God and His followers tasked French society to develop new explanations for its position in the global arena. Amidst this uncertainty, a space for Orientalism emerged. In the past, the Ottoman Empire existed in the French collective consciousness as a powerful, menacing, and inaccessible land. However, the development of robust trade and diplomatic relations positioned the Levant as a new and exciting possibility. Vanmour's works in de Ferriol's album heightened this curious energy.

Vanmour's Harem

Fig 1: "Recueil De Cent Estampes… " By Élisabeth-Sophie Chéron, Charles de Ferriol, and Jean-Baptiste Vanmour. Licensed under public domain via https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark.

[153] Wahrman, Dror. *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*. (Yale University Press, 2007.) 65.

The print above is a scene from the Ottoman Empire published in Charles de Ferriol's 1715 album.

Titled *Fille turque jouant du tu tehegour*, it shows a woman sitting on a low Turkish divan gazing into the distance while strumming a tune on a non-European instrument. The subject is opulently clad in silk which glistens as the light hits its glossy folds, and she wears a heavy cape along with an intricate belt on her hips, just barely seen in the shadow of her instrument. The richness of the rich fabrics and splendor of the scene, especially when shown in color, drew the French eye and imagination toward Ottoman fashion and lifestyle.[154] In tandem with this, the perspective and intimacy of *Fille turque jouant du tu tehegour*, aspects characteristic of Vanmour's works, fostered a sense of voyeurism akin to looking through a peephole. Thus, the artist created a sense of familiarity between the distant Ottoman World and the viewer -- sparking excitement towards and comfort with the 'exotic' among the wealthy consumers of de Ferriol's album. Though *Recueil de Cent Estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant* depicted people from all strata of Ottoman society, images of the upper classes especially caught the eye of the elite. Coupled with popular accounts detailing the experiences of the French political class among the Ottoman upper crust, the world of the wealthy and well-connected became synonymous with the whole of the Ottoman empire.[155]

Vanmour heightened the allure of *Fille turque jouant du tu tehegour* by positioning the spectator as if sinking into the divan across from his subject, as opposed to many miles away. This intimate familiarity is ironic, for it is likely that Vanmour, like his lector, had never actually witnessed a harem scene. In Arabic, harem means "a sacred place, prohibited to enter," and is applied to the area of the house occupied by only women.[156] Under these conditions, the artist would have been prohibited entry. However, the accuracy of Vanmour's subjects and scenes suggests that he witnessed similar settings throughout his time in the Ottoman Empire, likely in non-Muslim households.

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[154] Nefedova, 117.
[155] Inal, 251.
[156] Nefedova, 105.

Due to its inaccessibility, Europeans historically considered the harem to be a place of erotic pleasure. This connotation arose from the association of the space with the uncorseted female body adorned with sensuous and opulent fabrics.[157] The tension between the inaccessible abandonment of the harem and predominantly-male European visitors drew a parallel with the desire and intrigue of the West towards the eastern Ottoman World. Thus, a dynamic akin to that between the male lover and his female beloved came to exist between the two spheres. The elusive mystique of the different and inaccessible "other" only further romanticized Ottoman reality.[158] Indeed, in de Ferriol's album, the description of *Fille turque jouant du tu tehegour (Turkish Woman Playing a Tambour)* and its accompanying harem scenes reads: "Ces cinq Estampes ont dequoy plaire & amuser," and details the various exotic musical instruments depicted.[159] In translation, "these five prints are sure to please and amuse their lector" with their alluring scenes and passionate musical arousal. This early 18th-century explanation perpetuated the traditional notion of the harem as erotic and sensual. However, as the century progressed, mindsets surrounding the female-dominated space quickly evolved due to shifting ideals surrounding femininity and culture in Europe. This evolution allowed for Vanmour's scenes to enter and secure their position in the mainstream of the Western elite.

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[157] Jirousek, 166.
[158] Lowe, 2.
[159] Chéron, Élisabeth-Sophie (1648-1711). Auteur du texte, Charles de (1637-1722). Commanditaire du contenu Ferriol, and Jean-Baptiste (1671-1737). Peintre du modèle Vanmour. "Recueil De Cent Estampes Représentant Les Diverses Nations Du Levant, Tirées D'après Nature En 1707 Et 1708 Par Les Ordres De M. De Ferriol, Ambassadeur Du Roy à La Porte : [Estampe] / Et Gravées En 1712 Et 1713 Par Les Soins De Le Hay." (Gallica, October 24, 2011.) https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53000003j/f43.item.

Liotard's Princess

Fig 2: "*La Sultane Lisant'*... " by Jean-Étienne Liotard is licensed under the public domain via https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/-La.

Jean-Étienne Liotard's 1753 painting, *La sultane lisant*, showed the influence of the harem culture that Vanmour brought to life among the French upper class. In this work, Liotard, who arrived in Istanbul one year after Vanmour's death in 1737, depicted Princess Marie-Adelaïde of France, daughter of King Louis XV and Queen Marie Lesczcinska.[160] Reading a novel in her private quarters, the princess resembles Vanmour's *Femme Turque* in dress, environment, and disinterest in her viewer. Furthermore, the style of *La sultane lisant* demonstrated the widespread hold of Vanmour's images, and general excitement regarding exotic *turquerie* among the French upper class. Prior to the 18th century, Turkish dress in the West existed solely on the stage and, thus, connoted inauthenticity and the performance of a

[160] "Collections Online: British Museum." Princess Adélaïde of France. Collections Online | British Museum, n.d.. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG158732.

fictional self.[161] However, with the emergence of depictions of the Ottoman world such as Vanmour's, *turquerie* came to be trendy both formally and informally in everyday life.

In the beginning decades of the 18th century, Ottoman-inspired dress began to be associated with wealth and sophistication as fashionable individuals across Europe took note of its contours and silhouettes. Balls, such as one staged on the 20th of February 1748 in Rome for the annual carnival by the Académie Francaise, boasted themes such as "Caravan du Sultan à la Mecque". The French ambassador to Rome, indeed, noted of this occasion that: "more than forty different costumes were exhibited, representing every Eastern country as well as the principal personages at the Court of the Grand Seigneur."[162] However, despite the volume of Ottoman figures represented at this ball, the costume designer, Joseph Marie Vien, had never himself witnessed an Ottoman procession. To draw inspiration for his designs, Vien turned to Vanmour's images and the *Recueil de Cent Estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant* to recreate the splendor of life in the Ottoman Empire.[163]

[161] Nefedova, 166.
[162] Ibid, 186.
[163] Ibid, 187.

Fig 3: “Caravane Du Sultan à La mecque… ” By Joseph Marie Vien is licensed under the public domain by https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452132c/f41.item.

Fig 4: “Recueil De Cent Estampes… ” By Élisabeth-Sophie Chéron, Charles de Ferriol, and Jean-Baptiste Vanmour. Licensed under public domain via https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark.

The *Sultana Blanche,* published in *Caravan du sultan á la Mecque Masquerade Turque,* an album by Jean Barbault depicting Vien's collection of Ottoman-inspired works, existed in a harem scene much akin to Vanmour's. *Sultana Blanche* (Figure 3) depicts the white sultana costume of the Académie Francaise's 1748 Ball. The print exhibits strong ties to Vanmour's harem image, *Femme Turque*, (see figure 4). Both prints depict women relaxing on low Turkish divans, calmly unaware of their spectators. However, one key difference exists between the women -- Barbault's sultana is explicitly "blanche", white. The Europeanization of Ottoman fashion subjected styles and imagery to the colonizing Western gaze. To wear the clothes of the Ottoman East as an aristocratic European meant to be educated in a foreign culture and linked to the travels of the *creme de la creme* to exotic lands. Moreover, it implied the capacity to adopt the fasçade of the Ottoman "other" without relinquishing European whiteness and perceived cultural superiority.[164] Barbault's image shows this filtration perfectly. Where Vanmour's image portrayed a non-ostentatious harem, Barbault played into European fantasies of Ottoman life and wealth by clothing his white "sultana" in heavy and colorful robes. Though showing clear parallels with its precursor, the differences shown in Barbault's work demonstrate how European society consumed and fantasized images of the Ottoman Empire. [165] Given this reality, Liotard's depiction of Marie-Adelaïde in a harem-like scene emphasized the princess's wealth and rank within French society.

La sultane lisant, furthermore, demonstrated the adoption of Ottoman fashion in French society as a means of self-definition -- the invocation of the threateningly foreign, yet desirable *other*.[166] Though wearing *turquerie* in the style of Vanmour, the blushing cheeks of Liotard's Marie-Adelaïde brought attention to her pasty skin and status as a white woman.[167] The emphasis on the princess's whiteness is of particular cultural significance due to the 18th-century belief of the white woman as the 'fairer sex.' The

[164] Inal, 176.
[165] Joseph-Marie (1716-1809). Graveur Vien, "Caravane Du Sultan à LA MECQUE : Mascarade Turque FAITE à ROME PAR Messieurs Les Pensionnaires De L'Académie De France ET LEURS AMIS Au Carnaval DE L'ANNÉE 1748 / Joseph Vien Del. Sc.," (Gallica, March 26, 2012.) https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452132c. ; Liotard, Jean- Étienne. 'La Sultane Lisant'; a Lady in Turkish Costume Reading on a Divan. 2002. Mutual Art. https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/-La-sultane-lisant---a-lady-in-Turkish-c/E70B213069542F.
[166]Jasienski, Adam. "A Savage Magnificence: Ottomanizing Fashion and the Politics of Display In Early Modern East-Central Europe." Muqarnas, vol. 31, 2014, pp. 173-205. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/44657302. Accessed 12 May 2021. 183.
[167]Germann, Jennifer Grant. *Picturing Marie Leszczynska (1703-1768): Representing Queenship in Eighteenth-Century France*. (Routledge, 2020). 84.

Roman poet, Ovid's, story of Pygmalion in *The Metamorphoses* positioned the white woman as the epitome of feminine virtue and modesty. Unfulfilled by others who were "leading their shameful lives," and "shocked at the vices/ nature has given the female disposition," Pygmalion sculpted and fell in love with a woman of brilliant and pristine ivory.[168] When Venus, the goddess of love, granted the 'ivory woman' life through her magic, Pygmalion, representative of the white man, is enthralled and enamored by her blush of modesty in response to his touch. Through this story, the white woman's blush is presented as the defining factor of feminine humanity, desirability, and virtue.[169] Pygmalion's "ivory woman", thus, created a hierarchy that idealized the pallid Western European female complexion.[170] Therefore, the intense pink blush of Marie-Adelaïde's cheeks in Liotard's portrait contrasted her powder-white complexion with the Ottoman surroundings. Although reading a novel with potentially racy and immodest contents, the princess's blush maintained her European and aristocratic virtue. Due to this, the rosy cheeks of Marie-Adelaïde exhibited an attempt by Liotard to maintain the princess's desirability against an otherwise threatening background and manner of dress.

However, despite her blush, the Marie-Adelaïde of *La Sultane Lisant* challenged traditional projections of sensuality and sexual desire onto the rosy-cheeked white woman. By focusing on her novel instead of meeting the heteronormative gaze of her assumed male viewer, the princess did not play into her position as the subject of desire. Even as male eyes entered the confines of her harem, Marie-Adelaïde did not give her unwelcome guest attention. Unlike Ovid's 'ivory woman,' the princess in Liotard's portrait existed independent from the oppressive male eyes which intrusively penetrated her private moment of leisure. Therefore, Marie-Adelaïde's actions, dress, and surroundings reclaimed and redefined the French notion of the harem to defy misogynistic and Pygmalion tradition.

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[168] Rosenthal, Angela. "Viceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness In Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture." (Wiley Online Library. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, September 21, 2004.) https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/action/showCitFormat. 563.

[169] Ibid, 566.

[170] Ibid, 583.

Though harem scenes such as Vanmour's historically served as a portal for the European male gaze into the secret and suggestive realm of Ottoman women, Marie-Adelaïde saw more than that.[171] For her, the harem marked a place of female respite and solidarity, free from the constraints, expectations, and regulations of court life. Nevertheless, while undermining notions of and expectations for the 'fairer sex,' Liotard's princess remained marked by an innate and modest blush in response to the viewer's external gaze. Marie-Adelaïde's subconsciously and innately flushed cheeks portrayed the princess as having the ideal French complexion despite her surroundings. Even though the princess, who approved this official representation, placed herself in a scene marked by exoticism and subversion, she remained the daughter of the king and the epitome of French modesty.

Exotic Subversion

Although highly sought after, *turquerie* served as a demarcation of *otherness* within an 18th-century context. In a West that limited impulses to female freedom, Ottoman difference appealed in its contrasting customs, which seemed more earthy and natural than those of the 'advanced' and 'civilized' European world.[172] Indeed, the women of the larger European upper class often used the notion of the magnetic and contrasting Ottoman outsider as a commentary on their own station. In doing so, subjects such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, famous for the publication of her letters in *A Journey Through the Crimea to Constantinople,* consciously distanced themselves from reality to self-fashion a new identity.[173]

Autonomous self-representation, seen through the creation of identity in portraiture, allowed women to assert power from a marginalized position. In 1716, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote about the reality of harem society:

> Tis very easy to see they have more liberty than we have. No Woman of that rank so ever being permitted to go in the streets without 2 muslins, one that covers her face all but her Eyes and another that hides the whole dress of the head… their shapes are wholly conceal'd by a thing they call a Ferigee, which no woman of any sort appears without… you may guess how effectively this

[171] Nefedova, 167.
[172] Koda, Harold, Richard Martin, and n/a n/a. "Near East and Middle East." Essay. In *Orientalism: Visions of the East in Western Dress*, 51–71. (New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994.) 54.
[173] Germann, 72.

> disguises them, that there is no distinguishing the great lady from her slave… neither have they much to apprehend from the resentment of their husbands, those Ladys that are rich having all their money in their own hands, which they take with them upon a divorce… I look upon the Turkish Women as the only free [women].[174]

Through the Pygmalion lens, women in Europe, especially in art, found themselves reduced to objects of desire, devoid of autonomy, with the sole purpose of pleasing.[175] However, the self-fashioned portrait *a-la turque* resisted historic hegemonies in its invocation of Ottoman tradition. Through Montagu's lens, the Western woman in Ottoman dress subverted European female oppression by superimposing the liberties of Ottoman women upon her person.[176] The portrayal of the elite European woman in *turquerie* highlighted her twice-otherness as a woman and an Ottoman in Western society while simultaneously asserting the subject's autonomy and agency in shaping her own destiny.[177]

The 'liberty' of Ottoman women transformed Princess Marie-Adelaïde and the harem scene into emblems of female emancipation. Though women in the Western European world would not have property rights until the 19th century, they strove to manifest a new reality through the invocation of the Turkish woman.[178] This, furthermore, arose in the form of trousers in women's attire. Pants would only become illegal for women to wear in Paris on November 17th, 1800, but their incorporation into women's dress, as seen in the portrait of Princess Marie-Adelaïde, nevertheless blatantly subverted the old gender order and female subordination.[179] As an elite woman, for Princess Marie-Adelaïde to be painted in Ottoman garb commented on the position of the French woman and her plight to claim agency over herself and her destiny.

Not everyone could exercise the privilege to subversively portray themselves as the Ottoman *other* in French society. In fact, Princess Marie -Adelaïde's own mother, Queen Marie Leszczynska, would never have been depicted in the way Liotard painted her daughter. Being of Polish descent, the

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[174]Jirousek, 168.
[175]Rosenthal, 564.
[176] Germann, 72.
[177] Ibid, 82.
[178] Catterall, Sara, Regina Lee Blaszczyk, Doug Harvey, and Kimberly A. Hamlin. "Women's Trousers and Such." (The National Endowment for the Humanities, 2020.) https://www.neh.gov/article/womens-trousers-and-such#:~:text='Tis.
[179] "Pants No Longer Technically Illegal For Women in Paris." (International, April 6, 2015.) https://international.laws.org/international-news/pants-no.

daughter of the deposed King Stanislaus I, Marie Leszczynska existed as an outsider in France -- which considered Poland much too Catholic, too republican, and too superstitious.[180] In order to Europeanize herself in the eyes of the public and prove herself a good match for King Louis XV, portraits of Marie Leszczynska intentionally contrasted *turquerie* with the Queen. Simon Belle's 1725 painting, *Queen Marie Leszczynska Avec un page et un Chien,* (see Figure 5) commissioned to commemorate the Queen's engagement to King Louis XV of France. In this image, the pale French queen draws a stark contrast with her page who wears Polish dress.[181] The presence of this page recognized and distanced Marie Leszczynska from her Polish roots, showing that her heritage did not affect the Queen's assimilation to the French ideal. Where her servant stood in the shadows, Marie Leszynska glowed with whiteness and

Figure 5: "Queen Marie Leszczynska Avec Un Page Et Un Chien" By Alexis-Simon Belle – Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1825. Licensed under public domain via Château de Versailles et de Trianon.

[180] Germann, 84.
[181] Ibid, 80.

Frenchness in the center of the frame. The difference could not be starker between Marie Leszczynska and the *other*.[182] The Polish umbrella that the page stood under no longer hovered over the queen's head. By positioning herself in this way, Marie Leszynska communicated that although Poland comprised her past and her blood, the queen's loyalty, identity, and future lay with France.

The ability of women such as Princess Marie-Adelaïde and Lady Wortley Montagu to adopt *turquerie* as a form of self-expression signaled their relative privilege. As much as these images challenged the perception of women in society, they did so by deepening the divide between the European *self* and the Eastern *other*. Thereby, *turquerie* became a means by which to position the Ottoman Orient as the opposite of the European Occident.[183] The West, through this, defined itself through a process of elimination. In this context, only those who could never be mistaken for anything but European dared to Ottomanize themselves in the critical eyes of others.

But Never Novels

In Liotard's *La Sultane Lisant*, the princess draws her subversive actions to a climax by reading a novel as she relaxes on her Ottoman divan. Throughout the 18th century, popular belief held that reading granted the mind freedom from ignorance, in order to challenge social oppression.[184] Therefore, a dire need to 'protect' the imaginations of women from this dangerous, revolutionary material among the ruling class arose. Indeed, Marie-Adelaïde became embroiled in a scandal surrounding reading and imagination in 1746. Finding out that the princess's lady in waiting, Madame d'Andlau, supplied books to the young woman, French society fell into a frenzy.[185] The discovery of the reading princess legitimized the exercise of female imaginative capacities within all strata of French society and threatened the fabric of the French order. As Priest Charles Porée stated: "novels reverse the natural order, they make women independent of men, they make them the supreme arbiters of everything, they defy them."[186] The fictional worlds of

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[182] Ibid, 85.

[183]Lowe, 3. ; Belle, Alexis-Simon. "Queen Marie Leszczynska Avec Un Page Et Un Chien ." Marie Leszczynska: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1825. Château de Versailles et de Trianon. Versailles, France.

[184] Graham, Lisa Jane. "What Made Reading Dangerous in Eighteenth-Century France?" French Historical Studies. (Duke University Press, August 1, 2018.) https://read.dukeupress.edu/french-historical-studies/article-abstract. 451.

[185] Ibid, 449.

[186] Ibid, 453.

novels seduced women and transported them to distant worlds, emboldening them to find personal agency and pleasure independent from men. By residing in a foreign harem scene, Marie-Adelaïde further drew upon this notion of imaginative subversion. Not only did the harem carry the weight of historical sexual connotation and female independence, but it also existed as a figment of the princess's imagination, fed by the pages of *Recueil de Cent Estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant* and accounts of exotic travel.

Liotard's depiction of Marie-Adelaïde reading in a harem setting heightened the connection between imagination and female emancipation. Marie-Adelaïde lounged, engrossed in her novel, independent of her Pygmalion male spectator. Once again, the harem emerged as a place of female independence from male despotism. However, the world as created by Marie-Adelaïde remained a mere product of her imagination. Regardless of which imaginary realm her mind wandered to -- perhaps the chamber of Scheherazade in Antoine Galland's 1717 translation of The Thousand and One Nights -- physically, the princess remained grounded in mid 18th-century Versailles.[187] The actualization of change and progress lay far outside the control of the princess.

[187] Nefedova, 40.

Figure 6: “Recueil De Cent Estampes… ” By Élisabeth-Sophie Chéron, Charles de Ferriol, and Jean-Baptiste Vanmour. Licensed under public domain via https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark.

Figure 7: “Recueil De Cent Estampes… ” By Élisabeth-Sophie Chéron, Charles de Ferriol, and Jean-Baptiste Vanmour. Licensed under public domain via https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark.

Figure 8: "Bow china works, coppia di saliere con personaggi turchi" By Sailko. Licensed under Creative Commons via https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bow_china.

All Together Now

In *La Sultane Lisant,* Marie-Adelaïde refused to conform to female norms. Together, her dress, setting, gaze, and actions granted Liotard's princess power over her own subjectivity and freed her from the shackles of gender expectations. The world as created by Jean-Baptiste Vanmour served as the basis for her feat. *Recueil de Cent Estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant* gave tangible shape and color to the stories and accounts of Ottoman life that circulated throughout 18th-century Europe.[188] Consequently, de Ferriol's prints became an ethnography of the 18th-century Near East for the wealthy Western consumer.

The power of de Ferriol's ethnographic work inspired not only formal portraiture but also daily life. For inspiration, craftsmen used the ambassador's German publication to model household decorations, such as those pictured above, which bear a striking resemblance to Vanmour's works. As the women of the elite chose decorations for their homes, the aura surrounding the Ottoman Empire drew these figurines to their attention. Meissen figurines of the *Levant* not only connoted wealth and

[188] Ibid, 117.

sophistication but also implicitly bore the weight of Vanmour's harem scenes and female emancipation, as seen through Princess Marie-Adelaïde. Ultimately, Vanmour's images represented so much more than a window into the Ottoman World. When implanted in the imaginations of the women of the European elite, these prints gave the style of *turquerie* and the Turkish harem a new meaning. That which once represented female objectification and subjugation to the male gaze became a means of subtle subversion and resistance to the oppressive European gender regime.

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China Doll Fantasies:
Imaginings of China and Asian Women in
Representations of Soong May-Ling, During and Post-Vietnam War[189]

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"Come, you spirits
That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,
And fill me from the crown to the toe top-full
Of direst cruelty"
—Lady Macbeth

[189]The approximate time period covered in this chapter extends from the mid-1960s through the end of the twentieth century. The exact dates of the Vietnam War are typically regarded as 1955-1975, however US occupation of South Vietnam rapidly escalated and peaked during the mid-1960s. Thus, I focus on the domestic implications of the global struggle as manifested in representations of Soong May-Ling beginning in the mid-1960s through the end of the twentieth century.

Introduction

Soong May-Ling was born on March 5, 1898 in Shanghai, on the cusp of a century that would bring profound changes to China. Her father, Charles Soong, was an American-educated businessman and former missionary; her mother, Ni Guizhen, was a pious woman descending from one of the most esteemed families in China. Soong herself was the fourth of six children: her older brother, TV, would go on to become one of China's preeminent diplomats, while her two younger brothers became successful businessmen. Soong's eldest sister, Eling, is often remembered as having loved money, while her middle sister, Ching Ling, is said to have loved China.

And what did Soong May-Ling love? For decades, the average American has responded with one thing: power.

Yet to reduce Soong May-Ling to a power-hungry dragoness of privileged descent masks the complex, multifaceted woman whose life was inextricably intertwined with the rise and fall of the Republic of China (ROC). She was raised in a family that prioritized educating its women, even sending Soong to Wellesley College, yet simultaneously shamed those same women for showing any semblance of emotion. Her parents led their lives according to the will of God, instilling in Soong that the Christian faith, above all else, should guide one's purpose. But at the same time, her upbringing remained firmly rooted in customary Chinese values. Thus, as Soong appeared to deviate from Confucian traditions in favor of Western modernity, she simultaneously seemed to be locked in the conservative values of the past.

Since childhood, Soong May-Ling embodied conflict and controversy, incongruity and irony. She was, according to biographer Laura Tyson Li, "a bundle of contradictions," for "few figures in modern history have been more extravagantly exalted or more viciously condemned, and fewer still have experienced both extremes."[190] And as Soong May-Ling ascended to the global stage with her marriage to Chinese Nationalist politician General Chiang Kai-Shek (1887-1975)—the man who would eventually become president of the ROC—the bundles of controversies surrounding her and, more importantly, her

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[190] Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-Shek: China's Eternal First Lady* (Grove Press, 2007), 20

American public image rapidly mushroomed.

Thus was born the "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek" image, the depiction of the woman at the rostrum of China's political power from 1928 until the takeover of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1949. From that point on, Soong May-Ling operated from the nearby democratic island of Taiwan, continuing to champion anti-communist and pro-Chinese Nationalist policies up until she died in 2003. In particular, she took on a pivotal role in US-China relations throughout the twentieth century, negotiating with presidents, politicians, congressmen, and diplomats on behalf of her husband's regime. With Soong's highly-visible place in global affairs, her public image manifested in a plethora of ways within depictions by American print news media throughout the twentieth century.

It was within these popular representations created by the US general public that the "bundle of contradictions" intertwined with the Madame Chiang Kai-Shek image was truly expressed. Soong May-Ling's fluctuating role in global politics and American print news media serves as a barometer for American perceptions of Asian women, China, and East Asia from 1930 through 2003. Americans used expendable, utilitarian tropes of Asian women within these "Eastern spaces" of popular representation in order to understand global political losses in China and East Asia. By treating images of Soong as such barometers for fluctuating anxieties over US-East Asian relations, this essay will explicate how, using pre-existing stereotypes of Asian women, the American public reconfigured Soong's race, gender, and class during and after the Vietnam War in order to negotiate changes in the strength of Western hegemony in East Asia.

Prior to 1949, laudatory Madame Chiang images had flooded US print news media. These images were encapsulated by alignment with the "China mystique" stereotype—an evolved, highly modernized image of China and, by proxy, Asian women that had emerged with the onset of Chinese modernization in the late 1920s. With the narrowing of the perceived schism between American and Chinese societies and cultures, images of Soong May-Ling via the China mystique became idealized, feminized representations of a nation and people with the potential for Western modernization. Yet upon the ascension of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the American public realigned these same images of Soong

with the “Dragon Lady,” a stereotype that had first appeared during the 1930s due to popular film roles played by Chinese American actress Anna May Wong. These characters were typically morally ambiguous, enigmatic, and threatening due to their capacity for deceit—consequently, the Dragon Lady reaffirmed the need for US hegemony by painting the United States as the victim of increasingly-threatening dragonesses like Soong and thus communist East Asia. And with the onset of the Vietnam War, the American public saw further opportunity to reassert the inferiority of East Asia by denying agency, voice, and personhood to Asian female proxies like Soong, casting her not only as a Dragon Lady but more specifically as “the Corrupt First Lady.” Hence, this essay will argue that race, gender, and class within popular representation are tools by which the United States exploits images of Asian women, historically denying them personhood in order to aggrandize the US’s position in US-China and US-East Asian relations as needed.

A note on naming practices: as already employed above, the given name of “Soong May-Ling” will be used while discussing Soong’s personal and political activities. Alternatively, the “Madame Chiang Kai-Shek image”—or “Madame Chiang image” for short—will only be used to denote the popular representations created by American print news media. The distinction between these two names is critical, for “Soong May-Ling” confers the agency and personhood of the individual as opposed to “Madame Chiang Kai-Shek,” which was not only used by the American public rather than by Soong herself but was also an externally-crafted likeness. In other words, the differentiation between these names is not arbitrary or pedantic. As this thesis will delineate, the image is rarely the same as the person—and oftentimes, the makers of this image usurp the agency of the individual to authentically represent themselves.

Objects of Ornament: Materialism and Personhood in the Madame Chiang Image

Under a sizzling Southern California sun, reporter Rosemary Hite navigated the cobblestone entrance of the A.K. Smiley Public Library in Redlands, California. The earthy-red clay building before her seemed a conglomeration of aesthetics, but perhaps the cacophony of styles was fitting for the exhibit

housed inside the library's Lyon Gallery in April 1986. Titled "Costumes and Masks," the exhibition featured donations from local patrons who traveled to the Middle East, Asia, and South America and returned bearing what they regarded as symbolic trinkets of the cultures they had visited—a viewing experience akin to "being aboard a magic carpet for a quick spin through the more remote areas of the Earth."[191] Within the gallery's terracotta walls, silk saris synecdochized India, "Darth Vader-style" masks emblematized the Middle East, and "Chinese garb" enticed visitors with the chance to "intimately know" East Asia. Hite titled her summative report "Redlands Has A Costume Party" and concluded, "Perhaps you can't tell a book by its cover, but you can learn a lot about people by the clothing that covers them."[192]

Chinese garb includes a jacket once owned by Madame Chiang Kai-Shek.

Figure 4.1 Photograph and caption of Chinese clothing displayed at the A. K. Smiley Public Library's 1986 exhibit "Costumes and Masks"

While Hite's article only briefly mentions China and Soong May-Ling, her reinforcement of the link between synthetic objects of consumption and the exotic qualities of Orientalism provides a key point of departure for understanding the tropes of Asian women manifested in the Madame Chiang image during and after the Vietnam War. Specifically, these images illuminate the link between material

[191]Rosemary Hite, "Redlands has a costume party," in *The San Bernardino County Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), April 4, 1986, 73.
[192]Ibid.

"ornamentalism" and Asian femininity—a link that emerged due to the shifting role of Soong May-Ling in international affairs and the minds of the American general public.[193] Understanding these shifts requires establishing the historical background on US relations with East Asia pre- and post-Vietnam War. These international developments lay the groundwork for untangling depictions of Soong May-Ling's race, gender, and class in print news media stereotypes during this era. While bearing resemblance to the Dragon Lady trope during the mid-1960s and 1970s, a new amalgam stereotype emerged during this period: the "Corrupt First Lady." This stereotype can be understood as a form of Freudian screen memory, a psychological concept used to describe fabricated images that are projected onto uncomfortable recollections in order to "distract" from feelings of disconcertment. Such screen memories in this context stemmed from the American public's discomfort over the US's lack of dominance in East Asia, thereby demonstrating how the reconfiguration of race, gender, and class within popular tropes of Asian women correlated with the decline of US hegemony.

Images of Soong May-Ling were distilled from the 1970s onwards. With decreased diplomatic activity to occupy headlines, concentrated coverage of Soong's femininity (i.e. her physical, *organic* beauty and opulent, *inorganic* materialism) became prevalent. While the sensuous elements of these images are part of the same genealogy of the stereotype of the Chinese sexual prostitute—a historic trope that portrayed Asian women as hypersexualized, voiceless, and victimized—Anne Anlin Cheng's theory of ornamentalism can also be seen in these representations.[194] This theory of aesthetic racialization, wherein Asian femininity derives from both ornamental "thingness" and personhood, illuminates the fusion of corporeal sensuality *and* artificial decoration within print media sources, serving as a reminder of how Asian female bodies like Soong's remained objects in the eyes of Americans.[195]

[193]The term "ornamentalism" is traditionally employed in the discipline of art history, most specifically in reference to the excessive use of artificial ornamentation for the purposes of decoration. Scholars have previously noted the gendered connotation to this discourse, however Professor Anne Anlin Cheng provides the first and only foray into the use of the term as a racial ideology. Cheng notes the nearly-identical homophonic quality between ornamentalism and Edward Said's Orientalism, necessitating consideration of the concept's racial and Oriental logic. Cheng argues that ornamentalism offers an alternative paradigm for considering personhood and being with regards to Asian females, as ornamentalism advances what she describes as "a non-European, synthetic, aggregated, and feminine body." For further reading, see Anne Anlin Cheng, "Ornamentalism: A Feminist Theory for the Yellow Woman."

[194] Anne Anlin Cheng, "Ornamentalism: A Feminist Theory for the Yellow Woman," *Critical Inquiry* 44, no. 3 (2018), 429.

[195]Within this context, it is important to note that the perpetuation of the Asian female body is not discriminatory in terms of age. Due to this body's inherently sexual and ornamental nature, I argue that age is inconsequential for the American general public in considering the personhood of Asian women. Despite fluctuating historical and sociopolitical backdrops, women such as Soong May-Ling remain timeless objects whose personhood and being is never truly "theirs," but instead belongs to the American

Cheng's framework preconfigures final consideration of the representations of voicelessness that defined the Madame Chiang image during the latter decades of the twentieth century. These depictions, notable for their stark absence of agency and individuality, descended from the same Asiatic racial form as the Chinese prostitute. Thus, they illustrate how the gradual alignment of Soong May-Ling with previous Asian female stereotypes—eventually embodying total voicelessness—enabled the American public to sidestep acceptance of Soong May-Ling's personhood and, more broadly, the personhood of Asian women in general.

Historical Background: US-East Asian Affairs During and Post-Vietnam War

By the mid-1960s, the United States government found itself intertwined in East Asian affairs in China, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Most relevant to depictions of Soong May-Ling were the United States's relationships with China—as the US engaged in a delicate diplomatic dance with the PRC and ROC—and Vietnam, where the fight to contain communism raged on in the Vietnam War. US relationships with both countries were haunted by the specter of communism, as anti-communist sentiment continued to permeate US social and political culture during the 1960s.[196] Over the nearly two decades since Mao's takeover of mainland China in 1949, American officials operated under the pretense that Chiang Kai-Shek's government, relegated to Taiwan after the Chinese Civil War, constituted the true government of China.[197] Since the split, official government policy had mandated that the US avoid the impressment of political ideals onto the Nationalist government.[198] However, it became clear to the United States that Taiwan, with its ambiguous sovereign status and communist virginity, afforded an opportunity for US imperial conquest to cast the nation as the quintessence of the benefits of American foreign aid. A counterpoint to "Red China" that lay just a stone's throw away across the Taiwan Strait,

public.

[196]Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 246.
[197]T. Christopher Jesperson, "Madame Chiang Kaishek and the Face of Sino-American Relations," in *Madame Chiang and Her China* (ed. Samuel Chu) (Eastbridge, 2005), 143.
[198] Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-Shek: China's Eternal First Lady* (New York: Grove Press, 2007), 332.

"free China," as Taiwan was commonly labeled, could follow the pattern of self-sufficient industrialization and modernization at the behest of the US government.[199]

Desires for a democratic stronghold in Taiwan paralleled the increasing involvement of the US in Vietnam, where Americans hoped to contain the spread of communism. The US had maintained a presence in Vietnam since the early 1950s during the First Indochina War, hoping that French victory over Vietnamese communist forces would curb the spread of anti-democratic ideology. But with the French defeat and souring relations between the US and South Vietnam, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson dramatically intensified American involvement throughout the early 1960s. By March 1965, deployed combat troops numbered approximately 540,000 and President Johnson had engaged in a vicious air war, marking the beginning of the Second Indochina War.[200]

However, US efforts to curb the tide of East Asian communism were also supported by powerful Asian figures. In fact, at the forefront of these efforts was Soong May-Ling, who had previously embarked upon several speaking tours of the United States to encourage governmental and public support for her husband's political regime. The sentiment that she advocated and that many Americans echoed was fundamentally simple: Beijing was a proxy for Moscow and Hanoi in its pernicious efforts to color the world's governments red, and only through solidarity with the "true China" could such shading be contained. Thus, by the mid-1960s, Soong had once again taken to the press rooms, lecture halls, and political offices of Washington to lobby for foreign aid to Taiwan.

However, the gusto with which Soong engaged in lobbying efforts from 1965 to 1966 stemmed from new shifts in US attitudes towards China, East Asia, and global communism. By this time, the US government had begun to question the tenability of a prolonged US-Taiwan relationship at the expense of one with Beijing, where Mao ruled a 600 million-large citizenry that the US had tepidly ignored since 1949. Furthermore, overarching public sentiment towards the threat of the CCP had gradually ebbed. The notion of continued political and economic disregard for "Red China" was proving arduous to justify; in particular, the prolonged exclusion of Beijing from the United Nations had become a topic of global

[199]Ibid., 442.
[200]Lee, *A New History,* 271-272.

debate, and the US's efforts to supplant China with its Taiwanese protégé at the rostrum of world power were regarded as increasingly pathetic by other members of the UN.[201]

Additionally, profound fear over East Asian communism had become increasingly diluted by anti-war protests that were mounting in the United States throughout the mid and late-1960s. Outrage over sending US troops to fight an increasingly-violent war was aided by the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement, which specifically condemned the use of black and Asian servicemen to fight an imperialist war on behalf of a country that systematically oppressed them. While fears of East Asian communism did continue to waft into the United States from the forested hills of Vietnam, the social and political landscape of 1960s America became a multifaceted, complex scene where stringent anti-communism did not resonate as deeply as it once had.

Yet global figures like Soong May-Ling remained steadfast in their proclamations for anti-communist intervention and "only one China." With the onset of the Chinese Cultural Revolution in mid-1966, democratic Taiwan received a serendipitous stay of execution. Appalling accounts of monumental desecration, public beatings, and political chaos in mainland China temporarily caulked the fissures that had weakened US-Taiwan amity. Accompanied by reports that the PRC supported Ho Chi Minh's communist agenda in North Vietnam, the US government and the American public momentarily agreed that unequivocal support for Beijing over Taipei was squarely out of the question in order to keep the spread of communism at bay.[202] Despite ideological discord and political strife with the PRC, as well as the rapid industrialization and influx of Western capital into Taiwan, questions over the proper positioning of the PRC and ROC in the world order continued to plague US-China diplomacy. Soong May-Ling and her husband grew increasingly insistent that the US would categorically abandon relations with Mao and underwrite a Nationalist military foray into the mainland, especially with the election of Richard Nixon to the presidency in 1968. However, Nixon, like his predecessors, recognized the need to incorporate the economic stronghold of Beijing into the fold of global affairs. Thus, in 1971, "ping pong

[201]Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-Shek*, 477.
[202] Ibid., 478.

diplomacy" commenced with surprising enthusiasm from both the US and China.[203] The President's subsequent historic trip to Beijing in 1972 effectively recognized the legitimacy of Mao's regime and decimated Soong May-Ling's hopes of isolating Red China once and for all.[204]

Nixon's tumultuous diplomacy with East Asia in the 1970s also witnessed dramatic changes to US involvement in Vietnam. Years of intense anti-war protests had created another untenable US-East Asian situation for Nixon as he sought re-election to the American presidency. By prolonging the American occupation of Vietnam, Nixon would be effectively sacrificing his hopes of a second term. Thus, in 1972 Nixon began to slowly withdraw US troops, eventually signing a ceasefire with North Vietnam in January of 1973.[205] At first, the removal of American military forces seemed to indicate a resolution of tensions in Vietnam and the victory of the US in, at the very least, mitigating the spread of East Asian communism: Hanoi had agreed to dismantle its military bases, return prisoners of war, and evacuate South Vietnam entirely. However, such hopes of the American government and public were short-lived. That same year, civil war once again broke out between North and South Vietnam, and a disillusioned America watched as South Vietnam's capital fell to communist forces in 1975.[206]

Changes in US-China, US-Taiwan, and US-Vietnam relations as a result of the fluctuating threat of communism had precipitated the downward spiral of Chiang Kai-Shek's physical and mental health. Plagued by a heart condition, pneumonia, paranoia, and growing predilections for isolation, Chiang's last public appearance took place in July 1972. By the end of the month, he had lapsed into a coma, and after three years of oscillating diagnoses, improvements, and relapses, he died of a heart attack in April 1975. Chiang's son from his first marriage, Chiang Chingkuo, was named the general's successor. Having long butted heads with her stepson, Soong took the opportunity to depart for New York for medical treatment for an unconfirmed diagnosis of breast cancer.[207]

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[203] "Ping pong diplomacy" refers to Beijing's surprise invitation for the US table tennis team and five accompanying journalists to visit China in April 1971. The visit received extensive media coverage, as the American public watched the visitors chat with Chinese citizens, tour the Great Wall, and ultimately offer most viewers their first look into mainland China since the CCP's takeover in 1949. In fact, the visit marked the first time that any American (aside from Edward Snowden and the occasional CCP sympathizer) had visited the nation, marking what historians and politicians eventually came to dub "ping pong diplomacy."
[204] Ibid., 489-490.
[205] Lee, *A New History*, 272.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-Shek*, 489-510.

Soong's eleven-year long hiatus in New York, during which she occasionally published anti-communist treatises on Chinese and East Asian affairs, came to a close with her return to Taiwan in 1986 for the hundredth birthday of her late husband. Upon her return, Taipei buzzed with speculation over her intentions; indeed, from her opulent home in the capital, Soong began hosting luncheons and teas with long-time friends and Taiwanese government officials. And with the death of her stepson in 1988, she implored the Kuomintang leadership to avoid haste in selecting a new leader for the party.[208]

Thus, with her infrequent yet reliable forays into Taiwanese politics, Soong became a wraith of the Chinese political past, continuing to make her opinions and presence known and felt. She watched from afar as Chinese students called for democracy in the Tiananmen Square Protests in Beijing in 1989, and she encouraged Taiwan to remain a pillar of democracy in an increasingly-red East Asia via speeches to the Women's League of Taiwan. Ultimately, Soong spent much of the 1980s as an avid commentator on East Asian political developments. Yet upon her return to the US in 1991, she became increasingly isolated while residing in her New York apartment, only occasionally venturing out for public events—such as previewing art exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum of Art—that became increasingly depoliticized in nature.[209] Thus, it is vital to note the inextricable link between macrocosmic, global fluctuations in US-East Asian affairs and their manifestations on a microcosmic, domestic level. While domestic expressions of these fears undoubtedly included racial violence and political obstruction against Asian Americans, international anxieties—most notably vis-à-vis East Asian communism—also manifested in alterations to the perception of Asian women. Oscillation between these diametrically opposing attitudes illuminates the consolidation of external forces with these domestic images, as historicized racial ideologies, international affairs, and US sociopolitical discourse coalesced into protean visions of the Asian "Other." Thus, depictions of Soong May-Ling from the mid-1960s through the end of the twentieth century exemplified her straddling of global politics and domestic representations, as she continued to be a barometer for US images of East Asian communism.

[208] Ibid., 521, 525.
[209] Ibid., 545.

Representations of Soong May-Ling, During and Post-Vietnam War

Villains Never Die: The Resurgence of the Dragon Lady

The historical context of US-China, US-Taiwan, and US-Vietnam relations during the latter decades of the twentieth century offers insight into the implications of Soong May-Ling's position in international affairs on perceptions by the American public. The paradigms of race, gender, and class are crucial for navigating the reconfiguration of these elements within popular representations. Yet in discussing the nuanced iterations of pre-existing stereotypes from the mid-1960s through the end of the twentieth century, it is important to acknowledge that the divided subsections of this chapter do not imply these stereotypes as being standalone entities. Rather, these images still constitute a continuous racial form that reconfigured race, gender, and class at various points in the American racial and social discourse, each image absorbing and exemplifying the pull of various external factors at any given moment.

With this caveat, local newspaper publications in the mid-1960s overwhelmingly alluded to the stereotypical Dragon Lady in depicting Soong May-Ling. The public attributed general diplomatic strife between the US and China to Soong May-Ling and her qualities as an elitist female politician. In 1966, *The Daily Messenger* of Canandaigua, New York noted the ROC's outrage at the absence of US Ambassador Jerauld Wright from Taipei between July 1965 through March 1966. Elucidating the details of the situation, the article plainly reported that Ambassador Wright was unwilling to return to Taipei due to "his irritation at Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's highhanded ways."[210] Yet the article's attribution of total diplomatic discord between the US and Taiwan to Soong May-Ling and her "highhandedness"—a term evocative of elitist, domineering conduct rather than objective policy differences—oversimplified and distorted the complex relationship between the US and Taiwan in the mid-1960s. While Soong May-Ling certainly played a role in advocating for US support of Taiwan and the ROC, she was one of a myriad players participating in this international volley of diplomatic relations. However, such critiques become particularly salient in the context of Soong being the only *female* politician—Asian or American—with a position on this roster. As an Asian female of elite status, Soong was a lightning rod for anxieties in

[210]"Washington News Notes," in *The Daily Messenger* (Canandaigua, New York), March 18, 1966, 4.

US-China diplomacy, for her alignment with the Dragon Lady stereotype had already prepositioned her as manipulative and recalcitrant. *The Daily Messenger*'s report indicates the gradual imbrication of Soong's race, gender, and class—as pre configured by the Dragon Lady stereotype—with political critiques.

Growing questions of Soong's place in the sphere of US international politics were further echoed by reviews of her lobbying efforts in the United States during 1966. The *Xenia Daily Gazette* reiterated sentiments by Senator William Fulbright, stating, "Sen. Fulbright's inquiry into the 'precise status' of Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's visit to this country poses a question that has occurred to many persons since her arrival some months ago."[211]And upon Soong's return to the US two years later in 1968 to plead for further American aid to Taiwan, the *Albuquerque Journal* observed that she was "rather coolly received."[212] This state of near-abjection from US politics—an arena in which she had once been warmly welcomed—underscores a stark departure from the modernized, Western image of the China mystique that Soong had embodied in the 1930s and 1940s. Instead, the American public and media began to reject Soong from this discourse by stitching together her race, gender, and class according to the pattern of the Dragon Lady trope—a pattern characterized by upward social mobility, threats of foreignness, and feminized portrayals that distinguished her from her male counterparts.

In particular, the alignment of Soong May-Ling with antithetical US stances on East Asian political affairs illustrates the utilitarian function of the Dragon Lady stereotype in global politics. For example, a letter to the editor of the *Pasadena Independent* in 1966 criticized US imperialist policy towards China: Frances Duncan of Baldwin Park specifically identified the intervention of Soong May-Ling and charged, "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek was over here lately. Why? 'To see to it that the People's Republic of China did not gain admission to the United Nations.' Is this planet our private possession? It would seem so to some in our government."[213] This staunchly anti-interventionist position was echoed by the *Idaho Free Press* in 1967, this time in the context of US involvement in Vietnam. The author concluded their condemnation of the callous detachment of East Asian political leaders like Soong with, "Do you remember… Madame Chiang Kai-Shek; with her silken sheets, her jewels, her American

[211] "Madame Chiang's Visit," in *Xenia Daily Gazette,* October 10, 1966.
[212]No title, in *Albuquerque Journal*, December 2, 1968.
[213]Frances Duncan, "China Policy Criticized," in *Pasadena Independent,* April 4, 1966.

education at Wellesley, while the Chinese peasants starved?"[214]

While the above articles referenced separate East Asian affairs with differing US political implications, both sources utilized the Madame Chiang image to conduct similar critiques of US interventionist policy. While Duncan designated Soong as a proxy for problematic United States diplomacy ("is this planet *our* private possession?"), Edwards distanced US readers from her cold image by implying that she was a morally deficient "Other." In other words, Soong May-Ling's alignment with the Dragon Lady trope during the 1960s had a specific function: her image could be manipulated in various ways against various backdrops to negotiate broader understandings of US global dominance, depending on the individual and political context.

This utilitarian function becomes particularly apparent in a subsequent political exposé first published in 1983 and again in 1999. Synthesizing the experiences of various members of the American press corps in Chungking, China between 1937 to 1945, journalist James C. Thomson, Jr. explicitly highlighted the belligerent quality of Soong May-Ling's personality. He reported of his sources, "Not even Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, who captivated millions in her 1943 trip to America, could dispel the realities of corruption, inflation, and mismanagement." The article continued by quoting two members of the press corps with alleged personal contact with Soong: "It was impossible to like Madame Chiang," remarked one, and according to the other, "She had eight personalities." Though these sentiments originated from the 1930s and 1940s, it is imperative to contextualize the nearly forty-year delay in publishing. Only in 1983, with China squarely in the hands of the PRC and Soong May-Ling fading from global stardom, did Thomson publish and disseminate this critical report of Soong.

The aforementioned critiques of Soong May-Ling in "China Reporting" aligned neatly with the domineering, inscrutable, and elitist Dragon Lady. However, of further import is the inclusion of a photograph of General Chiang Kai-Shek, Soong May-Ling, and General Joseph Stilwell alongside a caption that implies an indurated regard for the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor.[215]

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[214] E.P. Edwards, "Here's A Quiz For You," in *Idaho Free Press,* February 7, 1967, 4.
[215] James C. Thomson, Jr., "China Reporting Revisited…," in *Nieman Reports*, 1983 (republished 1999), 194.

Figure 4.2 Photograph and caption of General Chiang Kai-Shek, Soong May-Ling, and Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell published in *Nieman Reports*, 1983 (republished 1999)

The implication of the trio laughing immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor injects heightened levels of malice and coldness to the depiction of Soong May-Ling as a Dragon Lady. No longer confined to discussion of her political tactics or policy views, the 1983 article advanced personal and moral deficiency—an argument with enough ostensible merit to warrant republication sixteen years later. While the photograph *did* issue a blanket condemnation against Soong, her husband, and General Stilwell, only Soong was specifically referenced in the accompanying article as well. Thus, the combination of both text and photograph in the exposé illustrates additional implications of Soong's gender. Despite accompaniment by her husband and General Stilwell, the Madame Chiang image took on particularly salient and malevolent connotations. The existence of the Dragon Lady trope preconfigured readers to interpret her role as especially vitriolic and bellicose—a functional purpose of the stereotype and Madame Chiang image that enabled US readers to easily identify her as a lightning rod for threats to US sovereignty.

Dragon Lady representations of Soong May-Ling also manifested in creative works during this

time. Eleanor Wilner's poem "Amelia" implied a fervent subscription to American nationalism and a reversal of prior attitudes towards Chiang Kai-Shek's regime from those of admiration to those of disillusionment. Specifically, Wilner utilized the description of Amelia Earhart to represent these lost American ideals, which, like Earhart, "flew away / and fell from sight" during the 1930s.[216] In exchange, Americans "yearned to be Madame / Chiang Kai-Shek, cool, clicking her mahjong / tiles, enchanted, a distant song, elusive." Through her, Americans, "wearing the tinted glasses that / Dorothy wore to dim the glare / of Oz / … / ruled, / by proxy."[217]

Much like Thomson's articulation of Soong May-Ling as malicious and callous, Wilner's poem built upon representations of moral ineptitude in the Dragon Lady by portraying Soong as willfully cold and misleading. The exoticism of Orientalism comes through in referencing Soong and her mahjong tiles as "enchanted," "distant," and "elusive," while the specific attributes of calculated deception are evident in Wilner's analogy of hoodwinking the innocent, white Dorothy. In this metaphor, Americans occupied the role of the innocent, misled by the dangerous female Orientalist threat embodied by Soong May-Ling. In other words, Wilner's poem marked a complete departure from the "honorary whiteness" once ascribed to Soong May-Ling at the height of her popularity in the 1940s.[218] Fifty years later in 1996, she had been relegated to the pernicious, female Oriental "Other."

Crazy Rich Asians: The Corrupt First Lady

However, as mentioned above, it would be misleading to assume the ossification of Soong May-Ling's alignment with the Dragon Lady stereotype throughout the twentieth century. Additionally, by the 1970s, the Dragon Lady had become "a racialized epithet [that] Americans applied to nearly every visible Asian woman of the mid-twentieth century."[219] Thus, the ubiquity of the trope and Soong's fluctuating alignment with it necessitates specification as to the precise configuration of her race, gender, and class within its space. Rather than asserting a uniform application of this stereotype, it is vital to

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[216]Eleanor Wilner, "Amelia," in *Prairie Schooner* 67, no. 1 (1996), 33.
[217]Ibid.
[218]Phuong Tran Nguyen, "Accidental Allies: America's Crusade and the Origins of Refugee Nationalism," in *Becoming Refugee American: The Politics of Rescue in Little Saigon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017), 22.
[219]Julie Annette Riggs Osborn, "War, Women, Vietnam: The Mobilization of Female Images, 1954-1978," PhD diss., (University of Washington, 2013).

explicate the nuances that Soong embodied. While the aforementioned news sources delineate a general recalibration of Soong May-Ling with the Dragon Lady, this trope took on new dimensions through Soong's portrayal alongside Madame Nhu of Vietnam and Imelda Marcos of the Philippines in the 1960s.[220] As all three women became highly-visible Asian females married to prominent East Asian male political leaders, the trope of the "Corrupt First Lady" emerged and complexified American conceptions of the Dragon Lady, rationalizing America's hegemonic decline in both China and Vietnam.

The American press during the mid-1960s and 1970s had developed a growing affinity for aligning Soong May-Ling and Madame Nhu as pseudo-Dragon Ladies. Columns as early as 1967 analogously positioned Soong and Madame Nhu through their "jewels," "palaces," and "lavish living," asserting that US involvement in Vietnam was, if nothing else, unnecessary due to the ample resources harbored by the two Asian women.[221] Subsequent references to Soong and Madame Nhu in the 1970s described the duo as "power-mad Oriental[s] in the imperious, dictatorial tradition" whose "influence was so great they were styled 'dragon ladies' in their heydays."[222]

Similar parallels between Soong May-Ling and Imelda Marcos echoed these sentiments of gluttonous high-society privilege and cool disregard for East Asian citizenries experiencing drastic economic inequalities. In fact, a republication of the 1975 gossip column *Walter Scott's Personality Parade* in the *Albuquerque Journal* asked, "Imelda Marcos, a wife of the Philippine dictator—does she have $3 million stashed away in Swiss banks? Isn't she the richest woman in the Far East, far richer than, say, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek?"[223] In attempting to ascertain discreet rankings of wealth between the two women, the column indicated how Soong May-Ling, with her upper echelon status as a domineering and privileged Asian woman, became a benchmark against which to measure the wealth, status, and

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[220]It is important to note, however, that Madame Nhu was considered the *de facto* First Lady of South Vietnam. President Ngô Đình Diệm remained a lifelong bachelor, and due to Madame Nhu's marriage to Diem's brother and chief political advisor Ngô Đình Nhu, she became the proximate first lady from 1955-1963. Her role, therefore, differed from that of First Ladies Soong May-Ling and Imelda Marcos, who wielded more direct political and policy influence in their husband's regimes than Madame Nhu. However, all three were casted as "Dragon Lady" authority figures in East Asia, ultimately aligning their images despite idiosyncrasies to their political positions.

[221] Edwards, "Here's A Quiz For You," 4.

[222] Lloyd Shearer, "Anna Chennault: Her Enemies Call Her The Dragon Lady of Watergate East," in *The Modesto Bee*, June 21, 1970, 54, and "Purge of Mao's Widow Reduces the Woman Heads of State to Two," in *The Kingston Daily Freeman*, November 7, 1976, 40.

[223] "Walter Scott's Personality Parade," in *Albuquerque Journal*, November 9, 1975, 106.

image of other powerful Asian women.

Thus, the American public and media managed to draw connections between the three women and the Dragon Lady trope, most explicitly seen in comparisons of Soong May-Ling and Madame Nhu. However, new associations of these women with unabashed wealth and decadence, incomprehensible privilege, and an unfeeling disregard for those of lower socioeconomic statuses began to complicate the uniform trope of the Dragon Lady as applied to myriad Asian women. While the nuancing of this stereotype alone constituted a shift in American images of Asian women, these images can be further probed to explore *how* and *why* the American general public fashioned this variant. After all, as discussed above, the Dragon Lady had already provided a one-size-fits-all paradigm for Asian women's race, gender, and class; Soong May-Ling had exemplified this quintessential trope in American media representations since the 1950s. Why did the US socio-political milieu of the mid-1960s onwards necessitate a metamorphosis of this stereotype in order to accommodate Soong and the female spouses of powerful East Asian leaders?

This essay broaches an answer through the methodological lens of Freudian screen memories. Prior to discussion, it is important to concede that this analysis does not venture a definitive answer for the formulation of this nuanced stereotype. Nor does this inquiry intend to diminish the social practices and historicized racial ideologies that undeniably impacted the construction of these figures over time. Rather, the concept of Freudian screen memories offers one potential insight into understanding the nexus of the Corrupt First Lady and the broader sociopolitical context of the 1960s and 70s United States.

The Corrupt First Lady specifically accommodated the exigencies of growing realizations of corruption among numerous male East Asian political leaders (i.e. Chiang Kai-Shek's violently oppressive regime in the ROC, Ngô Đình Nhu's operation of a domestic political espionage organization, President Ferdinand Marcos's flagrant pilfering of public funds for lavish expenditures). By association alone, the female spouses of these politically corrupt leaders took on connotations of a political scandal that, in the eyes of the American public, were diametrically opposed to the integrity of US politics. But more than that, due to their preconfiguration with the Dragon Lady stereotype—as well as the eventual

recognition that these women were implicated in their husbands' political transgressions and had practiced corruption themselves—Soong May-Ling, Madame Nhu, and Imelda Marcos assumed further undertones of political and moral unscrupulousness. After all, the Dragon Lady on her own appeared inscrutable and threatening to the US's social, political, and moral conventions. Yet by introducing the context of political scandal, these women appeared to not only fit, but fit *comfortably*, within such corruptive contexts.

As a consequence of the perceived political and moral deficiencies of the East, there re-emerged a growing perception of an East Asian threat against US sovereignty and hegemony. Having long identified the Dragon Lady as a space to negotiate these tensions, the American public amplified this image to encompass irredeemable levels of moral deficiency that were tied explicitly to class status. Already denigrated by nature of her gender and race, the Corrupt First Lady took on both a historical *and* allegorical meaning that enabled the US to assert its ideological superiority and sovereignty. Yet in operating from an imperialist framework, the US recognized the fallibility of its global influence and insulation from "corrupt" Asian nations, begetting uncertainties over the strength of US hegemony. Thus, the Freudian screen memory, energized by the trope of the Dragon Lady, became the mechanism by which the US rationalized this loss and reaffirmed its ideological dominance and sovereignty. Psychologists Lindsay Freeman, Benjamin Nienass, and Laliv Melamed enumerate this specific model of screen memory as "regretful memory politics," which they argue, "function[s] as a screen with which to distract from current responsibilities both by projecting an image of a temporal other and a spatial other and by projecting an image of a better present and future."[224] The Corrupt First Lady became precisely this projected image. Temporally "othered" due to the "backward" quality of Orientalism, and spatially distanced due to her literal and figurative placement in Asia, the projection of this image onto the three aforementioned women (and particularly Soong May-Ling, who Americans had once "naively" regarded as the embodiment of Western modernization in China) protected the diplomatic vision of a "better present and future" in US politics vis-á-vis the preservation of its hegemony and sovereignty.

[224]Lindsay A. Freeman, Benjamin Nienass, and Laliv Melamed, "Screen Memory," in *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 26, no. 1 (2013), 4.

Therefore, as representations of Soong May-Ling, Madame Nhu, and Imelda Marcos operated under what the American public perceived to be corrupt racial, gender, and class precepts, a "pugilistic thread" emerged amongst their images. Regret for the fallibility of US imperial influence and nostalgia for what might have been in the event of its *in*fallibility precipitated discomfort within the US public's perception of these three women. With respect to Soong May-Ling, the dramatic thirty-year shift from embodying China's potential for Western modernization to epitomizing the political and moral ineptitudes of the East implies a deeper cultural project at work within the minds of Americans seeking to rationalize US-China and US-Vietnam affairs.

While the concept of screen memories offers one potential interpretation of the rationale behind this shift, it by no means constitutes a definitive explanation for the link between this emerging stereotype and the sociopolitical fluctuations of the 1960s and 70s United States. Rather, the more critical implication is the reconfiguration of Soong's race, gender, and class within this space, illuminating the utilitarian function of these popular representations and stereotypes in order to negotiate broader understandings of China, Vietnam, and the United States' relation to each.

Porcelain Pastiche: Asian Femininity and Ornamentalism

Following President Nixon's visit to Beijing in 1972 and the fall of Saigon in 1973, the international saga between the US, China, and Vietnam began to gradually subside. As discussed earlier, both the diplomatic presence and media coverage of Soong May-Ling slowly declined in this period. A boolean keyword search of "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek" AND "politics" reveals that by 1977, the number of appearances of both terms within a single article had diminished to no more than three per year. More importantly, this number never exceeded more than twenty results between 1966 and its peak in 1975 (see Appendix 1). Based on this distribution of newspaper yields, it becomes apparent that both the literal and figurative presence of Soong May-Ling in American politics experienced a dramatic reduction through the 1960s, 1970s, and the latter decades of the twentieth century.[225]

[225]To an extent, this absence can be partially explained by Soong May-Ling's departure to Taiwan in 1986 for the commemoration of her husband's birthday; Soong would remain on the island until 1992. Expectedly, this 8-year interim period features no mention of Madame Chiang Kai-Shek in the American news media, and both the years leading up to and following this hiatus in Taiwan are virtually silent as well.

However, of particular import is a comparison of the quantity of articles containing Soong May-Ling's name and the word "beautiful." Analyzing the same period as the search in Appendix 1, the proportion of articles yielding results with "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek" AND "beautiful" outmatched those of "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek" AND "politics" by a factor of two to three, depending on the year (see Appendix 2). In fact, while both graphs feature peaks in hits during 1970 and 1975—likely due to a general increase in Soong's media presence during these years—the number of yields for "politics" and[37] "beauty" was separated by a factor of three. And at depressions in each graph in 1973, this same quantity remained separated by a nonetheless significant factor of two.

In other words, despite a general decrease in the presence and coverage of Soong May-Ling in the American political sphere during the 1960s and 1970s, associations of her image with a feminine physical appearance became consistently and proportionally higher. With a lack of international diplomacy and political activity to dilute news media coverage during this period, representations of Soong May-Ling gradually concentrated on physical *and* material manifestations of her femininity. Thus, these line diagrams offer incipient insight into this subsection's focus: the increasing emphasis on Soong's Asian femininity, as manifested in the qualities of sensuality and materialism via organic *and* inorganic mediums. This phenomenon draws on Anne Anlin Cheng's theory of ornamentalism, which is predicated upon a homophonic and conceptual entanglement with Orientalism to understand the personhood of Asian females—or rather, the lack thereof—from the lenses of racialization and aestheticization. Cheng illuminates how the sumptuous and the sensuous are enmeshed into considerations of thingness and personhood, revealing a precarious tension between the two that Asian females were traditionally impeded from navigating.[226]

With this focus on the sensual and decorative qualities of Soong May-Ling, the aestheticized corporeality of Soong in print media sources from the 1960s and 1970s descended from the same genealogy of the sexualized Chinese prostitute trope of the late-nineteenth century. However, while the Chinese prostitute had exclusively occupied an organic medium (the female body), the ornamentalist trope is complicated by the objectification and thingness of the Asian female via an *in*organic medium:

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[226] Cheng, "Ornamentalism," 429.

ornament. Ornamentalism's preoccupation with materialism, combined with an emphasis on the body of the Asian female, illuminates the American public's broader project of continually objectifying the Asian female body.

Prior to exploring ornamentalism's implications for Soong May-Ling and Asian women, popular news media representations reflected this trope in its purest form. Despite ornamentalism's emphasis on the material rather than corporeal, emphasis on the sexualized Asian female body *did* exist within representations of Soong. As early as 1966, references to Soong's physical appearance dominated reports of her global activities. *Playground Daily News* of Fort Walton Beach, Florida reported the arrival of the "beauteous" Soong May-Ling into the US in 1966:

> Orientals seem to hold the secret to the 'fountain of youth,' which early explorers vainly sought in Florida. Whether it is due to their diet or their philosophical serenity, their skin remains without lines and their hair without gray well into old age. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek is exhibit A. The lithe reed-slender beauty could easily pass for forty, although she is now an unbelievable seventy![227]

The explicit connection between Orientalism and the exoticized Asian female exterior illustrates the tension that has long persisted in the portrayal of the Asian woman. Though describing a person, the passage connotes a physical appearance that both hypersexualizes and stylizes the female body. Mention of the woman's skin, hair, and physique intimates a sensuality that hearkens to the hedonistic qualities of the Chinese prostitute. Yet even so, references to the "fountain of youth" and "reed-slender beauty" also make clear an implicit reliance on aesthetics and objects to animate the Asian woman's body and personhood.

This tension between organic and inorganic mediums in characterizing Soong May-Ling illuminates how ornamentalist representations of her during the 1960s and 1970s were actually part of a larger goal of preserving the stereotype of the Chinese sexual prostitute within US society. Not fully reliant on the "abstract and synthetic" to animate Soong's image in the American media, the US public preserved her connection with the sensuous, exoticized trope of the Chinese prostitute. Consequently,

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[227]Ruth Montgomery, "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek Plans US Speaking Tour," in *Playground Daily News* (Fort Walton Beach, Florida), July 19, 1966, 3.

Americans reserved the option of objectifying Soong rather than acknowledging her personhood. In fact, objectification and claims of ownership over the Asian female body were an additional means by which to deny personhood to the Asian woman. Thus, contrary to Cheng's initial argument, "China" did not always equal materially-consumptive "ornament," and it is critical to acknowledge the continued emphasis on organic mediums for the purposes of objectifying the Asian woman.[228]

Nonetheless, ornamentalism's coalescence of race, gender, and class into a single materialist paradigm sheds crucial light on representations of Soong that did *not* emphasize her physicality. Instead, these sources were predicated upon artificial decoration that manifested "the fraught amalgamation between inorganic commodity and Asiatic female flesh."[229] In this vein of "inorganic commodities," E.P. Edwards of the *Idaho Free Press* asked readers to recall Soong May-Ling solely based on a metonymic reference to "her silken sheets" and "jewels."[230] Likewise, Jo Banko of *The Capital Times* reported on the Governor of Wisconsin and his wife's visit to Soong's home in Taipei in 1967. Banko described the lavishly-decorated home as, "filled with beautiful plants, Oriental paintings, screens and Ming vases… the off-white walls of the main salon offer a dramatic background to the priceless old Chinese furniture and dark floors. The furniture is covered in a warm, rosy-red, rich silk broacade [sic] and the rugs—not Oriental—are in solid matching color."[231] These sumptuous objects that emblematized Soong May-Ling demonstrate how artificial ornament assisted in the fusion of personhood and thingness, corporeality and object. Ornament became just as much a component of the Asian female's personhood as did her physical body, and the emergence of this inextricable link "disaggregat[ed] aesthetic pleasure from politics."[232]Thus, as the Madame Chiang image was defined by an increasingly skewed concentration of news articles, Soong's personhood was characterized not by politics or diplomacy, but by decoration and body—both of which the public denied to be her own. In fact, media coverage of Soong through the remainder of the 1960s and 1970s emphasized her unintentional influence on American fashion. For example, the 1967 article "Curls Whirl for Charity" typified Soong as an exemplar of the "Oriental

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[228]Cheng, "Ornamentalism," 425.
[229]Ibid., 431.
[230]Edwards, "Here's A Quiz For You," 4.
[231]Jo Banko, "Tea With Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek One of Highlights of First Lady's Far East Sojourn," in *The Capital Times* (Madison, WI), December 7, 1967, 42.
[232]Cheng, "Ornamentalism," 426.

hairdo," designating her to an aesthetic category analogous to that of "[Madame] Butterfly" or a "geisha girl."[233]

Additionally, the popular newspaper fashion column *Clotheslines* by Marylou Luther began frequently referencing Soong May-Ling while appropriating her "Orientalist" style in American fashion. Three columns from 1971, 1972, and 1979 referenced Soong in discussing her popularization of the traditional Chinese *cheongsam*. However, as "there is no room in the Orientalist imagination for national, ethnic, or historical specificities," the column forwent discussion of Asian cultural idiosyncrasies. Instead, Soong's opulent, ornamental aesthetic emblematized broader conceptions of "the Orient" and how, through meticulous cultural appropriation, Chinese *cheongsams* could hide "a long neck and thin arms," replace the fashions of McCall's discontinued Polynesian catalog, and pair nicely with "ankle-length rice-paddy pants."[234]

Figure 4.3 Stylized cartoon model wearing a traditional Chinese cheongsam, as published in *Clotheslines* column in *The Index-Journal* (Greenwood, South Carolina)

Hence, the distillation of the Madame Chiang image in the media from the mid-1960s onwards precipitated a focus on sumptuousness and sensuality via both organic and inorganic mediums. In doing

[233] Hope Strong, "Curls Whirl for Charity," in *The Lima News*, December 31, 1967, 19.
[234] Marylou Luther, "Wrap Dress Latest in Orientalism," in *The Index-Journal* (Greenwood, South Carolina), December 17, 1971, 10, and Marylou Luther, "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek made cheongsam popular," in *Xenia Daily Gazette*, January 15, 1972, 22, and Marylou Luther, "Chinese dress works with pants," in *The Index-Journal*, April 12, 1979, 11.

so, not only were Soong's politics and diplomacy disaggregated from her character, but her aesthetic and ornament were usurped in the service of American materialist fashion. Consequently, Soong's corporeality and ornament became critical means by which the American public denied her personhood—as well as the personhood of Asian women—and relegated her to the status of an ownable object.[235] Through these processes of assembly and reassembly, of animation and objectification, "ornament becomes—is—flesh for Asian American female personhood… Chinese femininity is not only more and less than human but also man-made."[236]

The Caged Bird Cannot Sing: Voicelessness and the Lack of Personhood of Asian Women

With Soong May-Ling's precarious place in the US public's mind through the end of the 1970s, the last two decades of the twentieth century witnessed her image's degeneration into complete voicelessness. News reports as early as the late 1970s noted her isolation in her New York compound, observing that "her presence on the 36-acre estate is a closely guarded secret."[237] Neighbors speculated whether she was "a recluse" or "an invalid," injecting droplets of gossip into the otherwise monotonous community of Long Island.[238]But aside from these musings, both Soong's *literal* presence in the American social and political scene and *figurative* presence in popular media slowly dissipated: post-1978, no more than 11 news articles were published within a single year that mentioned "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek" (see Appendix 3).

However, these representations of voicelessness did not solely stem from a disproportionality of depictions in print news media. In fact, much like the aforementioned poem "Amelia," creative works of poetry incorporated Soong May-Ling as an allegorical symbol with a specific literary function. Published in late 1989, "Kaffeeklatsch in Chungking" by Enid Shomer provides the most profound look into these final literary manifestations—manifestations that echoed *and* commented on the cultural regard for Soong on the eve of her death. This representation descended from a similar Asiatic racial form as that of the

[235]This denial of personhood within the eyes of the American public did not actually remove agency and individuality from Soong May-Ling or Asian women. Indeed, doing so ignores the concerted efforts by Soong and Asian women to exercise their voices using various mediums throughout history. Instead, I argue that these efforts by the US general public illuminate a larger pattern in American racial discourse to revert to the denial of personhood while negotiating transnational understandings within the spaces of popular representations.
[236] Cheng, "Ornamentalism," 432.
[237]Madame Chiang Lives in N.Y." in *The Gettysburg Times,* May 18, 1978, 6
[238]Ibid.

Chinese prostitute, for as Robert Lee observed in *Orientals*, "the Chinese woman is an almost invisible and absolutely voiceless figure in popular entertainment."[239] Building upon earlier discussion of the lack of personhood afforded to Soong and Asian women, this section asserts that the final stage in the American public's sidestepping of Soong's personhood necessitated the removal of her voice.

This quality of voicelessness starkly departed from the lauded representations of Soong May-Ling from the 1930s and 40s in which she was praised for her articulate speaking skills. Furthermore, Karen Leong explains that Soong May-Ling's biliteracy in English and Mandarin and expert command of both languages' lexicons were critical in establishing her appeal to American and Chinese audiences.[240] By removing her voice, not only did Soong May-Ling become increasingly aligned with the voiceless racial forms of stereotypes past, but the fabric of her public image disintegrated as well.

Enid Schomer's poem gradually ascribed this quality of voicelessness to Soong. She established a contrast between Soong's character at the beginning and conclusion of the poem, characterizing her in the first stanza with deft linguistic abilities in Western languages: "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek / is a graduate of Wellesley, / fluent in English and French."[241] However, while the general American public during the first half of the twentieth century had praised Soong for her vocabulary, ability for self-expression, and intellect, Shomer undermined and amputated these defining qualities:

> "I couldn't budge her / to speak anything but kitchen / chitchat. Cuisine and dress. / For two hours she compared / fabrics East and West, / explained the subtle changes / year to year in traditional / Chinese garb"[242]

The removal of Soong's mental and verbal faculty (initially through her incapacity for intellectual thought) marks a gradual decline in her character. Yet rather than immediately silencing her, Shomer drew out the allegory, painting Soong with a delicate composition of vacuity, vapidness, and detachment from reality. The invocation of decorative luxury in the form of "cuisine," "dress," and "fabric" hearkens to the theory of ornamentalism, reinforcing the consolidation of Soong's personhood with synthetic ornament.

Yet the key transition takes place in the final lines of the penultimate stanza and the entirety of the

[239] Robert Lee, *Orientals: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 52.
[240] Karen J. Leong, *The China Mystique: Pearl S. Buck, Anna May Wong, Mayling Soong, and the Transformation of American Orientalism* (University of California Press, 2005), 134.
[241] Enid Shomer, "Kaffeeklatsch in Chungking," *Poet Lore* (1989), 51, lines 1-3.
[242] Ibid., lines 4-11.

final stanza. Shomer lyricized her departure from Soong:

> "As I reached to shake her hand, / she twittered and drew back, / then, with a silk scarf withdrawn / from her sleeve (an antidote / to shame that every lady carries) / she covered her mouth as if / silencing a bird in a cage"[243]

These concluding lines underpinned the final excision of Soong May-Ling's voice. "Silk scarf" implies a heightened level of sensuousness, invoking the quality of voicelessness that also circulated around the stereotype of the Chinese prostitute. Yet just as important is the bird imagery crafted within these stanzas. While lines such as "drew back" and "covered her mouth" clearly intimate an incapacity for self-expression, the metaphor of Soong "twitter[ing]" and "silencing a bird in a cage" connotes meekness and entrapment.

Within these lines, Shomer effectively upended the final semblances of Soong May-Ling's personhood from the American consciousness: no longer emblematic of Chinese modernity or an exemplar of the moralizing power of Western conventions, Soong's relegation to a voiceless female body—one whose flesh was preserved by hypersexualization and ornamentalism—indicated the US public's inability to honor personhood vis-á-vis Soong May-Ling and Asian women. In other words, as historian Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez writes of Asian women who were so often regarded as "shallow side dishes," "Her characterization as a sexualized object reflects a failure to come to terms with a complex personhood from whom little is demanded other than to play to type."[244]

Amidst the tumult of US-East Asian relations from the mid-1960s to the close of the twentieth century, Soong May-Ling occupied a pivotal yet liminal seat within the global theater. Clinging to hopes of the reinstallment of her husband's political regime in mainland China and the containment of communism in both China and Vietnam, Soong's growing disillusionment with the United States's lack of foreign support thrust her into a new position in US-China diplomacy. As a consequence, the US general public (while also fuelled by the need to comprehend the shifting role of US hegemony in East Asia), sought new understandings of Soong May-Ling and Asian women using racial, gender, and class tropes. In doing so, these stereotypes—including those of the Dragon Lady and Chinese prostitute—gradually

[243]Ibid., lines 29-35.
[244]Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, *Empire's Mistress, Starring Isabel Rosario Cooper* (Duke University Press, 2021), 2, 5.

transmogrified to dispel perceived threats of East Asian communism to US sovereignty.

Yet with the loss of Vietnam and recognition of the PRC in the early 1970s, as well as the recession of Soong May-Ling from the helm of global diplomacy, distilled representations of Soong into those of sensuous, ornamental racial form catalyzed a degeneration of her image into one of voicelessness. The decaying of these representations underscores the American general public's broader refusal to acknowledge the inherent personhood of Asian women and female bodies. Lacking control over their public images, these women were not people in the eyes of the US public, but expendable tropes that could be written in and out of the US diplomatic narrative accordingly. Only with a conscious shift in perceptions of Asian women like Soong May-Ling from those rooted in fantasy to those rooted in reality can their agency and personhood be truly honored.

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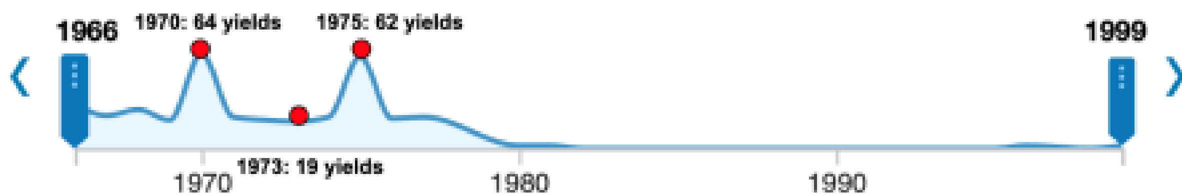
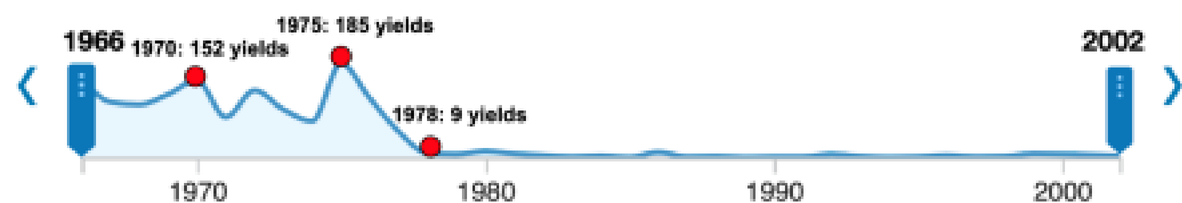
Appendix

Appendix 1. Keyword results for "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek" AND "politics," 1966-2002 (Newspapers.com)



Appendix 2. Keyword results for "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek" AND "beautiful," 1966-2002 (Newspapers.com)



Appendix 3. Keyword results for "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek," 1966-2002 (Newspapers.com)