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Note from the Editors

For the 19th edition of the *Towson Journal of Historical Studies*, we begin by thanking the readers. The editorial board, authors, faculty reviewers, and faculty advisors worked tirelessly together to complete the first printed edition in almost three years. The journal received a remarkable number of submissions this year, so we would like to thank the students and faculty for their contributions in producing the largest edition of the *Towson Journal of Historical Studies* to-date.

In this 19th edition, eight authors contributed articles representing many cultural contexts and time periods. We begin in East Asia, where Daniel Ashby details the literary origins of the early nineteenth century Japanese "modern girl." Al'lyienah Howell examines how postwar South Koreans came to label Japanese "collaborators." Nora Windsor critiques historical consensus on Japanese textbook revisionism. We then move to the United States engulfed in the Civil War, where Brandon Kelly explores the camaraderie among Union soldiers and Rasul Wright explains the significant wartime contributions of Black women to the Union war effort. Finally, we conclude with three articles that explore the topic of slavery from different compelling angles: Eric Ports documents the importance of the Haitian Revolution towards influencing American legislators, Wuraola Adesunloye explores the dichotomy of slave research through the lens of Frantz Fanon, and Sabrina Sutter analyzes the Ottoman Janissaries as an enslaved yet socially privileged group.

All of these articles reference the level of academic research undertaken by undergraduates here at Towson University. Most submissions were submitted to lower and upper-level research and seminar classes. Authors were required to update their manuscripts to conform to the journal's guidelines and standard. We commend the hard work authors put in to improving their articles and their patience during the editing process.

We would like to extend our appreciation to our faculty advisors, Dr. Oluwatoyin Oduntan and Dr. Ronn Pineo. We thank you both for lending your expertise throughout each step of the publishing process. Finally, we thank all of the faculty reviewers who volunteered their time to review each of the submissions and provide substantial feedback. Your contributions and enthusiasm in supporting the journal are greatly appreciated.

Feature Articles

Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and the literary foundations of Japanese "Modern Girl" hysteria

Daniel Ashby

Modan gāru ("modern girl"), or *moga*, was a hyperbolic catch-all term for fashionable, trendy young women of the 1920s to early 1930s. Such women were imbued with the fascination and fright of Western urbanization by modernist writers and social critics. Resembling the American "flapper," the stereotypical *moga* was characterized by her appearance and personality; she had short, bobbed hair (*danpatsu*) and wore cloche hats and sundresses, with a materialistic personality that was obsessed with urban decadence and Hollywood-inspired glamor (Figure 1). While these women were a relatively rare sight even within the poshest Tokyo districts like Asakusa and Ginza, the concept of a young *moga* was framed as a domineering vamp-like figure used by modernist writers to explore moral depravity in the context of a rapidly evolving Japanese urban cityscape. Inseparable from the air of consumerism that permeated Japanese cities in this period, the *moga* was synonymous with a hypothesized moral decay of Japanese cultural values resulting from an increase in urbanization and modernization.

However, the *moga* was far from the first traditionally subversive female stereotype to garner critical consternation. In this article, *moga* are explained as an evolution of the earlier "new woman" (*atarashii onna*) and "working girl" (*shokugyō fujin*) stereotypes. First documented over a decade earlier, the *moga* was reimagined in an urban environment through the work of modernist writers like Tanizaki Jun'ichirō. One of Japan's most recognized literary contributors, the early writings of Tanazki are explored as a bridge between early Taishō period (1912-1926) cultural romanticism and late Taishō period "modernism" (*modanizumu*). The *modanizumu* genre was a style of modernity-focused social commentaries and short fiction pieces by writers who attempted to articulate the intricacies and novel behavior they believed were inherent to modern life, namely sexual promiscuity, materialism, and consumerism. Far from a strictly Japanese phenomenon, the parallel Chinese "modern girl" found in Shanghai is explored as another inspiration to such modernist writers who forecasted and projected a similar reality in Japan through their writing. Using his 1924 novel "A Fool's Love" (*Chijin no ai*), Tanizaki's curious yet cautious fascination with the Japanese "modern girl" is used in tandem with his later reflections on early Japanese modernity. Two essays penned by Tanizaki during the early 1930s which take a comparatively grim outlook on his prior modern fixation are used: "Love and Sexual Desire" (*Renai oyobi shikijō*, 1931) and "In Praise of Shadows" (*Inei raisan*, 1933). Unable to live up to his larger-than-life expectations, Tanizaki adopted a morally critical stance on *moga* that, through the popularity of his novel, solidified the image in the Japanese public eye of "modern girls" in Japanese cities as vapid, amoral, and promiscuous women.

Origins of the "New Woman" and "Working Girl"

The origins of the "modern girl" are found in the state-led modernization process which began during the Meiji period (1868-1912). In emulating Western powers, the Meiji government began overhauling policies relating to Japanese education, infrastructure, industry, and the military. This modernization process, combined with a (slight) cultural shift towards more socially liberal behavior, broadly encapsulates this period under the catch-all term Westernization. One of the most substantial side effects of Westernization during this period was the creation of urban spaces made possible by a growing public infrastructure. In these cities, numerous girls' schools (*jogakkō*) surfaced where young women of financial means could study en masse like never before. Two prominent female stereotypes developed in these fledgling Japanese cities: the supposedly pompous, literature-inclined "new woman" (*atarashii onna*) and the lower-class "working girl" (*shokugyō fujin*). Similarly eroticized and cast as socially subversive miscreants, both of these tropes were forebearers of the *moga* for modernist writers like Tanizaki.

The goal of Meiji educational reforms was, broadly writ, creating pious subjects of the Japanese state through moral training. However, the large degree of autonomy afforded to students at the high school level and above, combined with access to translated Western books, allowed impassioned students to study far beyond their designated curriculums.[1] This was particularly salient for women, whose education was primarily intended to instill a new "model of ideal womanhood" built through a combination of Western women's rights and Japanese "female virtues."[2] A disproportionate amount of female students at this time were of backgrounds ranging from upper-class to elite political families, as many rural families were unwilling or unable to send their young girls to school given the stigma of futility which surrounded women's education in terms of contributing to the household's bottom line.[3] Consequently, the educated woman at the dawn of twentieth century Japan was likely to invoke the image of a well-to-do woman who was afforded the luxury of being able to receive supplementary education.

Hiratsuka Raichō, arguably Japan's most revered feminist figure, was one such woman who took advantage of her educational access, using it to argue for greater female agency and personal autonomy in Japanese society. The daughter of a Meiji government official, Hiratsuka fostered her fascination with Western culture and literature through her studies. Though benefitting from socially progressive textbooks that had been mandated by Ministry of Education official Masataro Sawayanagi in 1904, most curriculums still reinforced the Japanese family system and the role of women within it as "good wives and wise mothers" (*ryōsai kenbo*).[4] Many young women studied well beyond their designated class time to learn beyond the bounds of this

[1] Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 106.
[2] Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 28.
[3] Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 51-52, 57.
[4] Yoko Yamasaki, "New education and Taisho democracy 1900 to 1930s," in *The History of Education in Japan (1600-2000)*, ed. Masashi Tsujimoto and Yoko Yamasaki (New York: Routledge, 2017), 67; Hiratsuka Raichō, *In the Beginning, Woman Was the Sun*, trans. Teruko Craig (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 41.

curriculum. In her memoir "In the Beginning, Woman Was the Sun" (*Genshi josei wa taiyō de atta*, 1971), Hiratsuka recalls the decision to learn English as perhaps "my first act of resistance to my father's growing conservatism," remarking how she and other classmates used their allotted free time to peruse book stores, building a sizable literary foundation she would carry into her college education where it would be refined even further, against the wishes of her conservative father.[5]

As a founding member of the all-female *Seitōsha* literary group, Hiratsuka acted as chief editor for their highly influential women's magazine *Seitō* ("Bluestockings") for the majority of its publication lifespan (1911-1914). Consequently, Hiratsuka played a large part in the inflammatory reputation of the group and its eponymous publication. The *Seitō* magazine came to fruition within the period of "Taishō democracy," a descriptor given to the remarkably diverse political and social debates which took place in the public space during the Taishō period thanks to relatively little government intervention. As historian Sadami Suzuki explains, "a liberal political atmosphere allowed both governmental and oppositional party politics to evolve as never before," extending to matters of national importance, including debates about the place of women within the modern Japanese state.[6] The women of the *Seitō* journal joined this public discourse and quickly gained considerable attention for their radical beliefs.

While the *Seitōsha* were able to publish their opinions free from overt censorship in this short-lived period of "Taishō democracy," they endured a considerable amount of public backlash, nonetheless. As succinctly explained by scholar Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano, the contributors to the *Seitō* journal, known as *Seitōsha*, were "often mockingly depicted in popular media of the period as bourgeois emulators of male intellectual life."[7] Jan Bardsley, historian of the *Seitōsha*, argues that many women at this time, most of whom did not share a similarly privileged background, found the *Seitō* writers to be "privileged women of leisure who had the opportunity to trade their angst for a comfortable marriage and domestic life" if they pleased.[8] This is affirmed by historian Richard Reitan who adds the "New Woman declaration" of Hiratsuka Raichō in the February 1913 issue of the literary magazine *Chūōkōron* operated "explicitly on moral terms" and was devoid of plans for targeted action and thus seemed far-fetched to many at the time.[9] Historian Miriam Silverberg continues in affirmation, stating the "cerebral New Woman [was] romantic rather than realistic," mimicking male traits rather than "attempting to create a separately bounded life for women."[10]

While the *Seitōsha* were not monolithic in their beliefs and assertions, they were quickly treated as such. Their most inflammatory articles, stories, quotes, or public sightings reflected negatively on the group as a whole and furthered the image of the "new woman" as privileged social

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[5] Ibid., 42, 48, 58-59.
[6] Sadami Suzuki, "Tanizaki Jun'ichirō as cultural critic," *Japan Review*, no. 7 (1996): 26.
[7] Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano, *Nippon Modern: Japanese Cinema of the 1920s and 1930s* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 87.
[8] Jan Bardsley, *The Bluestockings of Japan: New Women Essays and Fiction from Seitō, 1911-16* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 2007), 13.
[9] Richard Reitan, "Claiming Personality: Reassessing the Dangers of the "New Woman" in Early Taishō Japan," *positions: asia critique* 19, no. 1 (2011): 89; Sato, "Moga Sensation," 366.
[10] Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 248.

miscreant. One such event was a sightseeing trip to Tokyo's Yoshiwara pleasure district brothels by notable *Seitō* members in July 1912. *Seitō*'s "clear association with [feminist] activism" made such trips easy targets for conversative critics to lash out against as hypocritical to their overall message.[11] The *Seitōsha* were portrayed as content to inquisitively gaze upon licensed sex workers rather than view them as equals worthy of being liberated, despite having published numerous works by Yamada Waka, an escaped survivor of sexual slavery, in the months prior.[12] Historian of Japanese feminism Vera Mackie argues that the Yoshiwara incident gave journalists the proof needed to cement the "new woman" as "scandalous" in the court of public opinion.[13]

Aside from the critical coverage of the Yoshiwara incident, much of the backlash against the *Seitōsha* stemmed from the belief that they argued collectively for a reimagining of the Japanese marriage system. Though not universal in this belief, many *Seitōsha* argued marriage would function better as a love-based decision by consenting adults rather than one mired in interfamilial politics. In turn, this played a large part in how they were said to have viewed sexual matters by extension. During the Taishō period, only three percent of marriages were the result of an organic meeting and mutual marital promise between interested parties in the modern sense, compared to 78 percent that were in some form arranged via marital matchmaking (*miai*).[14] Summarized most aptly by Raichō in her essay "To the Women of the World" published in the April 1913 edition of *Seitō*, Japan's most recognizable "New Women" implored women to take an objective view of a woman's place in a typical Japanese marriage rather than fall back on culturally ingrained habits of servitude:

> Yet if even these women were to consider such issues more deeply, I believe that they would surely find many things to their dissatisfaction. But I am afraid that when I say such things, it will only make today's women immediately jump to such arbitrary conclusions as "The New Woman aims to rebel against men" and "A woman's awakening somehow seems to lead her to divorce." It is true that we might rebel against men, and at times, I imagine, divorces will occur. But rebellion itself is not our purpose, and divorce is not our goal. Indeed, the extent to which we do not even interest ourselves in questions such as whether rebellion or divorce is right or wrong shows how greatly we value our lives as individuals and our lives as women. If, thus far, women's lives have been trampled on for the sake of men's personal advantage and desires as well as their convenience, isn't it natural for us to take a defiant stance toward men at some time in order to recover what has been lost?[15]

Hiratsuka attempted to disarm the sentiment that the "new woman" argued for an enlightenment of women leading to outright divorce, but in doing so, she underscored the opinion that marriage in this time was less than favorable to women and ought to be considered carefully. The outcry referenced by Hiratsuka is heavily reminiscent of later *moga* depictions by socially conservative onlookers who painted them as promiscuous women who had usurped male power in the realm

[11] Ibid., 260.
[12] Ibid., 233-235.
[13] Mackie, *Feminism*, 47.
[14] Aiko Tanaka, "'Don't Let *Geisha* Steal Your Husband': The Reconstruction of the Housewife in Interwar Japan," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*, no. 40 (2011): 124.
[15] Hiratsuka Raichō, "To the Women of the World," *Seitō* (April 1913), trans. Jan Bardsley in Bardsley, *The Bluestockings of Japan*, 106.

of sexual conquest, as will later be explored within Tanizaki's "A Fool's Love" (*Chijin no ai*, 1924).

For the "new woman," despite their stated intentions of female empowerment and activism for personal autonomy, the *Seitōsha* were working against the already eroticized concept of an educated woman. Tayama Katai's short fiction piece *Futon* (1907) predated the inaugural *Seitō* publication by four years, but nonetheless pined dramatically through the narration of protagonist Takenaka Tokio that his marital infidelity was the fault of a "dull wife" whose "nauseatingly meek and chaste" attitude necessitated a lustful escape.[16] The target of this lust, nineteen-year-old Yoshiko, was by contrast an "educated new woman" who carried "new thoughts," "the scent of perfume, and the flesh of femininity."[17] Successive writers like Tanizaki developed in the shadow of this literary device, and his conceptualization of the *moga* in "A Fool's Love" drew heavily upon an idyllic vision of this eroticized "new woman" evolved and let loose in Japan's new urban environments.

The concept of *modanizumu* in Tanizaki's *Shisei* (1910)

The concept of *modanizumu*, the Japanese katakana syllabary approximation of the English "modernism," was more than a borrowing of an existing term. Rather, it was an understanding of Japan's take on previously alien concepts like rationalism, urbanization, and consumerism processed in an artistic form. As described by William J. Tyler, *modanizumu* was "both a counter discourse and a dialectic that broke with dichotomous logic" as it "sought to give artistic, vernacular, and lifestyle expression to the yet unarticulated language of the twentieth century."[18] In other words, the concept of *modanizumu* was a 1920s Japanese rendering of "modernism" seen around the globe, as sprawling urban cities increasingly became the new standard of "modern." As Tyler further explains, *modanizumu* "became a powerful intellectual idea, mode of artistic expression, and source of popular fashion in Japan."[19] In the literary sense, a variety of opinions, praise, and critiques fit under the umbrella concept of *modanizumu*, and arguably no better analog can be found than the prolific writer Tanizaki Jun'ichirō. The writings of Tanizaki varied between fanatical enthusiasm for all things "modern" in the late 1910s to a pronounced disdain for Japanese urban culture which he had come to view as vapid and amoral by the early 1930s.

Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886-1965) is one of Japan's most well-known, highly regarded modern literary figures with a catalog of work spanning almost half a century. Recognized as one of modern Japan's great writers of fiction, publishing company *Chūōkōronsha* has awarded the *Tanizaki Jun'ichirō shō* ("The Tanizaki Jun'ichirō Prize") annually to the year's best fictional release since 1965.[20] In addition to his literary acumen, Tanizaki's public support of, and brief participation in, Japan's fledgling cinema industry helped to solidify among the general public

[16] Tanaka, "'Don't Let *Geisha* Steal Your Husband'," 122.
[17] Ibid., 122.
[18] William J. Tyler, *Modanizumu Fiction from Japan 1913-1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 15.
[19] Ibid., 19.
[20] "Tanizaki Jun'ichirō shō," *Chūōkōron shinsha*, last modified 2021, https://www.chuko.co.jp/aword/tanizaki/.

the "perception of film as an art."[21] The notoriety of Tanizaki is somewhat bolstered by his foray into *modanizumu* which lives in relative infamy, generating what Suzuki describes as a "rather mixed reception" as a precursor to *euro guro nansensu* ("erotic, grotesque, nonsense") sub-culture of *modanizumu*. Encompassing what these authors believed to be "the main characteristics of Japanese mass culture in the late-1920s and early-1930s," *euro guro nansensu* literature was filled with graphic, eroticized, and satirical takes on modern Japanese life.[22]

Summarized by historian Thomas LaMarre, "in his younger or 'diabolical' years, Tanizaki was thought to have concerned himself largely with sadomasochistic narratives and hedonistic thought, apparently derived from a fascination with western things."[23] Tanizaki often embarked on urban pilgrimages to places like Tokyo, Yokohama, and Osaka that informed his view of the new norms of Japanese life found within urban cities. These trips strengthed his preconceived ideas surrounding urban life and foreign culture, influencing his writing as a result. Gradually, he would come to believe that Japan's urban cultural renaissance was both awe-inspiring and morally dangerous. With this mindset, Tanizaki commonly crafted the female protagonists of his short fiction pieces as objects of desire through voyeuristic prose. As an intellectual thinker of the same generation as prior "new women," Tanizaki took a similarly romanticized view on the possibilities afforded by Japan's rapid cultural renaissance, and quickly became engrossed in ideas about urban life.

One of Tanizaki's earliest widely distributed works, *Shisei* ("Tattoo," 1910), demonstrates what Tyler affirms to be "an early example of *ero guro nansensu*" as a "male sexual fantasy of seduction and control."[24] The story describes the tale of a tattoo artist named Seikichi drugging and tattooing onto the back of a young girl a large spider in the vein of a Japanese supernatural "male-devouring whore-spider (*jōrō-gumo*)."[25] The spider tattoo provides the girl with supernatural power and transforms her into a vamp-like, femme fatale figure who uses her abilities to prey on men. As Suzuki describes, "'Shisei' envisions an ideal of female beauty that not only bewitches men but drives them to self-destruction."[26] Published three years after the release of Tayama's erotic "new woman" short fiction *Futon* (1907), and one year prior to the inaugural *Seitō* issue (1911), Tanizaki's *Shisei* foreshadowed the type of male masochism he gradually developed for use in characterizing *moga*. That such a phenomenon greatly predates the formal arrival of the *moga* by almost a decade (circa 1923) is yet more evidence that the rebellious female archetype of the "new woman" was opportunistically adopted as the most fitting candidate to an already existing literary device.

Tanizaki's cinematic fixation and defining the Japanese urban space

The fascination of Tanizaki with all things foreign and modern began thanks to a formative chance encounter during childhood. In 1897, four years after Edison's invention of the first

[21] Joanne Bernardi, *Writing in Light: The Silent Scenario and the Japanese Pure Film Movement* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), 105.
[22] Suzuki, "Tanizaki," 23-24.
[23] Thomas LaMarre, *Shadows on the Screen: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō & "Oriental" Aesthetics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 2005), 15.
[24] Tyler, *Modanizumu*, 23.
[25] Ibid., 24.
[26] Suzuki, "Tanizaki," 24.

cinematic device (the kinetoscope), the first public screenings of the Lumière brothers' pioneering moving pictures were shown to curious onlookers in Osaka and Tokyo.[27] In the audience of one such Tokyo screening was a young Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, imbuing the famous author-to-be with an undying fascination for the medium.[28] As he would recount, "it was a whole variety of different things—simple photographs or real things and trick movies, all played in a loop in which the ends of a single roll of film were connected together so that the same footage was projected repeatedly."[29] The ability to replicate a dreamlike state in the visual form dazzled Tanizaki, and his fascination with the medium is seen in his work throughout the 1910s into the early 1920s as a film buff, critic, and advocate. His penned contributions include the essays "Katsudō shashin no genzai to shōrai" ("The Present and Future of Moving Pictures, 1917), "Eiga zakkan" ("Miscellaneous Observations on Film," 1921), and "Karigari bakase o miru" ("A Viewing of *Dr. Caligari*," 1921).[30]

Young Tanizaki pictured himself as something of an innovator and looked to cinema as an example of a burgeoning art form not bogged down by an insistence on a traditional standard. As Tanizaki stated in 1917, "even though all arts are of equal merit, those forms that are in tune with the times will progress, while those that lag behind the times naturally will not advance."[31] Tanizaki was by this point "at a crossroads" professionally as a "romanticist, an aesthete, and an anti-naturalist in a literary world dominated by naturalism, he was something of an anomaly among the literary elite."[32] He became intrigued by what he believed to be fundamental differences between East Asian cultures and that of the West which was being increasingly imported and internalized.[33] When given the chance to create a screenplay with director Thomas Kurihara under the Taikatsu production company, Tanizaki jumped at the chance and penned the script for *Amachua kurabu* ("Amateur Club," 1920). The film showed actress Hayama Michiko as a *moga*-like figure clad in a bathing suit and placed her in many eroticized poses that Tanizaki had seen in promotional material for Western films.

The screenwriting job entailed a move to Yokohama in 1920, something which pushed Tanizaki further into his modernity obsession. For Tanizaki, his arrival in Yokohama provided a harrowing glimpse of new urban Japan with its droves of fascinating foreigners and bustling city center. Hellbent on indulging himself in Yokohama's Western atmosphere, Tanizaki took on the lease of a fully furnished Western home previously occupied by two departing English teaching sisters along with the services of their cook, flaunting all Japanese traditions he could think of by sleeping in a bed rather than a *futon* and dancing around the house in his shoes to the gramophone.[34] Describing what he saw along Yokohama's Bashamishi Street, Tanizaki expressed his fascination with the city's newfound and "somewhat foreign character" seen in the

[27] Yomota Inuhiko, *What is Japanese Cinema? A History*, trans. Phil Kaffen (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 24-25.
[28] Ibid., 25.
[29] Tanizaki Jun'ichirō quoted in Inuhiko, *Japanese Cinema*, 25.
[30] Tyler, *Modanizumu*, 9.
[31] Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, "Katsudō shashin no genzai to shōrai," trans. Thomas LaMarre in LaMarre, *Shadows on the Screen*, 65.
[32] Bernardi, *The Silent Scenario*, 144.
[33] Ibid., 148.
[34] Ibid., 149.

"manners and dress of the Chinese and Westerners passing by."[35] He appeared keen to explore the disparity between the sullen Yokohama from his memory in years prior and the seemingly reinvigorated populace that walked its streets upon his arrival in 1920; in his words, "gaz[ing] at what was around me as if it were all rare and unusual."[36] The potential for novel experiences and thrills colored the accounts of Tanizaki and other urban sightseeing intellectuals bored with the status quo.

Nearby China, too, offered such writers a fix for their urban fascination. In Tanizaki's view, newly urbanized Yokohama invoked memories of Shanghai for its similar adoption of Western principles of mass consumption. Akin to Tokyo's Asakusa and Ginza districts, the cultural home of the morally questionable Japanese literary genre of *modanizumu*, Shanghai had garnered a comparable reputation, often being slammed by conservative Chinese critics as a "bastion of decadence and evil" begetting the decay of traditional virtues.[37] Shanghai similarly shared with the Ginza and Asakusa districts of Tokyo the "modern girl" phenomena, possessing familiar traits of the American "flapper" and German "new woman" (*neue frau*).[38] Throughout Shanghai of the late 1910s and beyond, the sexualized young Shanghai "modern girl" featured heavily throughout the city's posh art-deco cityscape as cosigners for imported products of every imaginable variety, from cosmetics to commercial fertilizer. As explained by Tani E. Barlow, the "sexy Shanghai Modern Girl signified everyday life in the most advanced sector"; by shifting the Chinese female image from chaste to sexual through visual repetition in advertisements, Shanghai's "modern girl" was critical in "restructur[ing]" femininity by "linking erotic modernity to clichés about everyday modern use values" that were novelties of new Chinese urbanity.[39] Newly modern cities like Shanghai quickly became hotspots for those in need of a creative spark or novel experience.

Tanizaki's Shanghai-like view of Yokohama in 1920 was informed by his own visit to Shanghai in 1918 which left him enthralled with the city's culture and clothing. Importantly, much of Tanizaki's observations were made from afar; while he had hoped to meet with Chinese writers in Shanghai, his lack of local connections made this an impossibility, and thus most of his musings are informed from his perspective alone, as a wide-eyed tourist with little Chinese speaking ability.[40] Other modernist writers like the prolific short fiction writer Akutagawa Ryūnosuke visited Shanghai as part of newspaper posts, feeding their views and accounts of the city back to domestic Japanese audiences in the process.[41] Curiosity surrounded the "new Chinese woman" who showed her legs, cut her hair short, and wore cloche hats. This behavior in China predictably stretched beyond Shanghai, and Japanese newspapers ran exposés on "China's

[35] Ibid., 206.
[36] Ibid., 206.
[37] Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The flowering of a new urban culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), xi.
[38] Carol Schmid, "The 'New Woman' Gender Roles and Urban Modernism in Interwar Berlin and Shanghai," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 15, no. 1 (2014): 10-11.
[39] Tani E. Barlow, "Buying In: Advertising and the Sexy Modern Girl Icon in Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s," in *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization*, ed. Alys Eve Weinbaum et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 297.
[40] Joshua A. Fogel, "Japanese Literary Travelers in Prewar China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 49, no. 2 (December 1989): 589.
[41] Ibid., 589.

new women" (*Shina no atarashii onna*) seen in the streets of Beijing.[42] Books detailing Japanese pleasure districts (*kanrakugai*) used illustrations of Chinese "modern girls" clad in qipao (Figure 2) meant to entice readers to visit for a chance to catch a glimpse of such a woman. These women were described in language that undersold their relative rarity in Shanghai yet emphasized them as a symptom of Western urbanity, implying they were early signs of future behavior.

While the scale of Japan's largest cities steadily grew throughout the 1910s and into the 1920s, two of its most advanced cities, Tokyo and Yokohama, were decimated by the Great Kantō Earthquake on September 1, 1923. The destruction of Yokohama sent Tanizaki to the unharmed city of Osaka where he would begin work on *Chijin no ai* ("A Fool's Love," or English translation title "Naomi," 1924). While it may seem paradoxical, the totality of the earthquake's destruction allowed Tokyo to be rebuilt with considerable infrastructural overhaul in mind.[43] This resulted in large scale rural migration and an influx of women taking service jobs centered in public contact that previously held by men, under the assumption that women were better suited to such jobs given that they could be underpaid and were assumed to be "better mannered and more subservient."[44] The personal autonomy allowed by the fiscal freedom of steady employment saw many of these girls enjoy the pleasures of urban life in a manner prior "new women" could only dream of. However, these *shokugyō fujin* ("working girls"), as they were known, found themselves sensationalized as amoral, promiscuous role models for young girls in much the same manner.

The *moga* in written form: Tanizaki's *Chijin no ai* (1924)

It is from this point forward that Tokyo modernity began a rapid ascent. As Suzuki asserts, "it is unarguable that artistic modernism in Japan became an official movement after the 1923 earthquake."[45] Silverberg, too, pegs late 1923 as the beginning of Japanese modernity in earnest until its recognizable conclusion at the onset of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937.[46] The *shokugyō fujin* ("working girls") moniker came to be shared with the term *modan gāru* ("modern girl") used to describe the ultimate vapid consumer, strolling Ginza aimlessly to shop and people watch. This *moga* pastime became known as *ginbura* ("Strolling through Ginza"), and the act became synonymous with modernist writers who would emulate such behavior as a quasi-anthropological exercise, hoping to document unusual new behavior found only in Japan's new cities.[47] It is within this realm that Tanizaki wrote and published *Chijin no ai*.

To best understand Tanizaki's fantasy of modern Japan and modern women at this stage of his life, the reflections of such fantasies in his 1931 essay *Renai oyobi shikijō* ("Love and Sexual

[42] "Shina no atarashii onna," *The Asahi Shimbun*, May 20, 1927.
[43] Alisa Freedman, Laura Miller, and Christine R. Yano, "You go, girl! Cultural Meanings of Gender, Mobility, and Labor," in *Modern Girls on the Go: Gender, Mobility, and Labor in Japan*, ed. Alisa Freedman, Laura Miller, and Christine R. Yano (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 4.
[44] Ibid., 4.
[45] Suzuki Sadami, "Rewriting the Literary History of Japanese Modernism," in *Reconsidering Japanese Modernism*, ed. Roy Starrs (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 40.
[46] Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 5.
[47] Sakai Kiyoshi, *Nihon kanrakukyō annai* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron shinsha, 1931), 27.

Desire") provide much clarity. In this essay, Tanizaki outlines how he believes the modernist movement ultimately failed to produce the world he had dreamed of. He recanted his position as a modernist and attempted to stake out a more traditionalist position by describing the futility of negating centuries of practiced Japanese behavior with decades of learned Western mannerisms:

> The heroines of *Sanshirō* and *Gubijinsō* are not descendants of the women of old Japan with its ideals of meekness and modernity but seem rather like characters in Western novels. This does not mean that such women actually existed at that time in great numbers, but society yearned for, and dreamed of, the eventual appearance of the so-called "self-aware woman." I think that, to a greater or lesser degree, the young men of my generation who aspired to literature as I did embraced this dream … We aspired to raise the Japanese woman, long burdened with ancient traditions, to the status of Western women, but because spiritually and physically this would take countless generations of discipline, we could not be expected to accomplish this in a single generation … At present I may at last confess that I myself entertained such a preposterous dream and also experienced the incomparable sadness of a dream that could never be realized.[48]

Evoking connotations of the prior Taishō "new woman," Tanizaki pined that the literati of his generation longed for the realization of what women like Hiratsuka Raichō pleaded for in *Seitō*. The "new woman" was portrayed as an out-of-touch imitator of "male intellectual life" by many, yet were seen by those like Tanizaki as forebearers of this "self-aware woman."[49] The growing number of "working girls" (*shokugyō fujin*) within both Shanghai and rebuilt Tokyo normalized women in the public urban domain and offered writers like Tanizaki a tantalizing glimpse of such a woman. Yet, the Japanese *moga*, "apolitical and militantly autonomous," failed to carry the intellectual torch in a manner that idealists like Tanizaki wished, causing him to paint a critical picture of the *moga* as a vapid figure whose traits swung too far toward Western.[50] In order to fully cement this image, Tanizaki fashioned the *moga* as an approximation of Hollywood star actress Mary Pickford.

The language used by Tanizaki surrounding his desire to "raise Japanese women" in the vein of what he believed Western women to be falls directly in line with the deuteragonist of his 1924 novel *Chijin no ai* ("A Fool's Love"), Naomi. The protagonist of the novel, a bored salaryman named Jōji with a Western fixation in his earlier thirties, begins to groom Naomi, a young fair-skinned café waitress in Ginza, into his ideal Western woman. Predating the popular usage of the term *modan gāru* by a few years, Tanizaki canonized future *moga* characteristics as an amalgamation of behaviors commonly attributed to the young urban girls who would later earn this moniker. Importantly, as Deborah Shamoon affirms, Tanizaki further played up the danger

[48] Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, "Love and Sexual Desire," trans. Thomas LaMarre in Thomas LaMarre, *Shadows on the Screen: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō on Cinema and "Oriental" Aesthetics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 2005), 330.
[49] Kataoka Teppei, "Modan gāru no kenkyū," in *Kindai shomin seikatsushi: ningen, seken* (Tokyo: Sanichi shobō, 1985), 187.
[50] Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 240.

element of what would soon be defined as *moga* by modeling Naomi on "Hollywood images of alluring, powerful women" of the Vamp archetype, namely Mary Pickford.[51]

Jōji, while hyperbolic in comparison to Tanizaki, can nonetheless be understood as a self-insert on Tanizaki's behalf—a dramatized theoretical outcome for the grooming of the Western-taught woman of urban Japan. His noted disdain for cafés, filled with what he described as waitresses devoid of even geisha-like morality, concerned only with extracting money from drunk patrons, informed his creation of Naomi who hails from a broken family forced to send their daughter away.[52] Naomi's mother confides in Jōji that the family wished to send Naomi to a geisha house as a child, but she refused, resulting in her being sent to the café instead.[53] The grooming of Naomi by Jōji whereby she is removed from the café for the purposes of intensive English study and future marriage can be interpreted by Tanizaki as an action of generosity within Jōji's mind, freeing Naomi from the immoral café where she can be reformed (so to speak) in the purest Western image he knows—Mary Pickford.

Pickford was a preeminent star among stars in Hollywood and earned a spot amongst other "Picture Personalities" featured in US publication *The World* between December 1910 and February 1911, subsequently earning a spot on the December 1911 cover of the *New York Dramatic Mirror*.[54] Her fame extended to Japan where her notoriety garnered equal publicity within Japanese film journals who largely followed the trends of Hollywood, earning a spot on the November 10, 1916 cover of *Kinema Record* (Figure 3).[55] By 1920, Silverberg explains, young Japanese film buffs had begun to use actresses' names as a litmus test for true cinematic intellect, with actresses like Pickford, May Marsh, Norma Talmadge, and Theda Berra being among the gold standard.[56]

From the outset, Jōji identifies Pickford as the role model for Naomi, stating she "resembled the motion-picture actress Pickford" and that there was "definitely something Western about her appearance."[57] Naomi is said to intently study the movements of actresses in her frequently trips to the theater with Jōji, remarking to him that "Pickford laughs like this" or "Pina Menicheli moves her eyes like this" or "Geraldine Farrar does her hair up like," among others.[58] This learned behavior was cleverly done with the intention of subordinating the hapless Jōji who showered praise upon her at any glimpse of her in a position that resembled the above star actresses. Following a trip to the beach where Jōji first sees Naomi clad in a bathing suit, he exclaims, "Naomi, Naomi, my Mary Pickford! What a fine, well-proportioned body you have. Your graceful arms! Your legs, straight and streamlined like a boy's!"[59] This beach scene can be

[51] Deborah Shamoon, "The Modern Girl and the Vamp: Hollywood Film in Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's Early Novels," *positions: asia critique* 20, no. 4 (2012): 1069.
[52] Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, "Kafei wa hitsuyō, kore ni kawaru mono ga nai: kanemochi no kafei—hinan wa shumi no sōi," *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun*, 1929.
[53] Tanizaki Jun'Ichirō, *Naomi*, trans. Anthony B. Chambers (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1985), 14.
[54] Richard Abel, *Americanizing the Movies and "Movie-Mad" Audiences, 1910-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 233.
[55] Joanne Bernardi, *Writing in Light: The Silent Scenario and the Japanese Pure Film Movement* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 2001), 185.
[56] Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense*, 181.
[57] Tanizaki, *Naomi*, 4.
[58] Ibid., 36.
[59] Ibid., 28.

understod as an evolution of the sort first used by Tanizaki four years earlier in the script for *Amachua kurabu*, where Hayama Michiko was also made to reenact Hollywood film stars.

Tanizaki's evoking of Pickford calls into play what LaMarre describes as Tanizaki's linking of fetishism with cinema.[60] Taken further, Tanizaki's fetishism is perhaps better understood as fetishism of the Hollywood image, representative of his views on Western women accordingly as his lone point of reference. In his 1931 essay that lamented the futility of Japanese women's supposed western desires, Tanizaki claims women of Japan reached their "peak of femininity" between 18-25 years of age while Western women arrived at such a metric in their early 40s.[61] He explains the cultural exceptions to this rule as it relates to women of Japan as typically "a married woman or an actress or geisha" whose beauty is deceitful in that it only exists "on the cover of ladies' magazines."[62] By 1933, Tanizaki had begun to lessen his stance on the dominance of Western beauty:

> A phosphorescent jewel gives off its glow and color in the dark and loses its beauty in the light of day. Were it not for shadows, there would be no beauty. Our ancestors made of women an object inseparable from darkness, like lacquerware decorated in gold or mother-of-pearl. They hid as much of her as they could in shadows, concealing her arms and legs in the folds of long sleeves and skirts, so that one part and only one stood out—her face. The curve-less body may, by comparison with Western women, be ugly. But our thoughts do not travel to what we cannot see. The unseen for us does not exist. The person who insists upon seeing her ugliness, like the person who would shine a hundred-candlepower light upon the picture alcove, drives away [what] beauty may reside there.[63]

It is possible Tanizaki took such a stance in retrospect as a reaction to the polarizing reception *Chijin no ai* received. The novel's weekly serialization was an immediate hit, and by the second week the *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun* had begun to strategically place targeted ads and columns surrounding the story that capitalized on its suspected young audience, such as film journal pieces and ads for new Western-imported products.[64] The popularity of the novel led to the creation of the buzzword "Naomi-ism" (*naomizumu*), a term for subordinated "sadist" men that persisted through the late 1920s and early 1930s.[65] Uno Chiyo's 1933 novel "Confessions of Love" (*Iro zange*) is summarized by William J. Tyler as a "modernist face that mocks not only male privilege and passivity, but also the supposed modern girls who are all too eager to indulge the whims of the 'Jōji boy.'"[66] Tanizaki's critical stance on *moga* as morally corrupt sexual dominators of men helped to solidify negative connotations for the *moga* image given the widespread popularity of *Chijin no ai.*

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[60] LeMarre, *Shadows on the Screen*, 307.
[61] Tanizaki, "Love and Sexual Desire," *Shadows on the Screen*, 331.
[62] Ibid., 331.
[63] Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, *In Praise of Shadows*, trans. Thomas J. Harper and Edward G. Seidensticker (Sedgwick: Leete's Island Books, 1977), 30.
[64] Hayashi Emiko, "Byōsha to uragiri: sashie kara yomu 'Chijin no ai'," *Ōtsuma kokubun* 45 (March 2014): 88.
[65] Hirayama Asako, *Senzen sentango jiten* (Tokyo: Sayūsha, 2021), 84.
[66] Tyler, *Modanizumu*, 12.

Conclusion

Long before the "modern girl" perused Tokyo's Ginza and Asakusa districts, hopping from one movie theater to another, Japan's first all-women magazine *Seitō* ("Bluestockings") arrived in 1911 and brought with it the concept of a "new woman" (*atarashii onna*) who would no longer stomach gendered subordination. The editors of *Seitō* drew much ire for their outspokenness and rejection of tradition, but in actuality their convention breaking attitudes saw them fashioned into erotic objects for men to seek when unenthused by their stereotypically demure wives. Writers like Tanizaki Jun'ichirō took such a literary device and tweaked it slightly so as to provide eroticized social commentary on the anger of such "new women" towards men who had historically subordinated them. Over the next decade, Tanizaki would join other writers in the *modanizumu* genre, part of the *ero guro nansensu* cultural attitude of the mid-1920s onward.

Tanizaki became enthralled with all things modern and by extension all things Western, leading him to the fledgling Japanese film industry where his imagination ran wild. Producing a multitude of pieces on the potential of film over the duration of the 1910s, Tanizaki heeded a call to write the script for what would become *Amachua kurabu* (1920) with director Thomas Kurihara, precipitating a move to Yokohama where he became yet further immersed in his new Western life. The Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 and its destruction of Tokyo and Yokohama sent Tanizaki to the largest metropolis spared, Osaka, where he would begin work on his novel *Chijin no ai*. Tokyo reemerged from the quake even more advanced than it had been prior thanks to infrastructural overhauls which allowed for a large rural drain towards the city center. Women quickly seized the opportunity to secure independent, gainful employment in the city by taking numerous public service jobs. As it had with the "new women," hysteria surrounding these *shokugyō fujin* ("working girls") would lead to the creation of the catch-all term *modan gāru* ("modern girl," or *moga*) whose vapid, apolitical, amoral disposition was seen as a symptom of urban consumerist greed.

Tanizaki's *Chijin no ai* began its serialization in 1924, where it characterized the new *moga* through its deuteragonist Naomi, a fifteen-year-old Ginza café hostess turned Ginza socialite whose enabling at the hands of protagonist Jōji ends in his ultimate downfall. The critical social commentary of Tanizaki regarding *moga* and the posh urban districts like Tokyo's Ginza and Asakusa are hammered home in later Tanizaki essays that lamented his naivety in glorifying urban modernism. The *moga* had failed to realize the promise of the "new women," as Tanizaki believed, arguing that rather than wallow in this failure it was better to recognize the elements of so-called "traditional" Japan left in the dust by this modernist push. While Tanizaki shifted to this traditionalist stance, Japan itself moved further and further into Western modernity thereafter.

Appendix

Figure 1: Two young women in Tokyo's Ginza district dressed in Japanese "Modern Girl" fashion. Asahi gurafu, 1932.

Figure 2: Illustrations of Chinese "Modern Girls" in a book detailing Japanese pleasure districts (kanrakugai). Sakai Kiyoshi, Nihon kanrakukyō annai (Tokyo: Chūōkōron shinsha, 1931), 328.

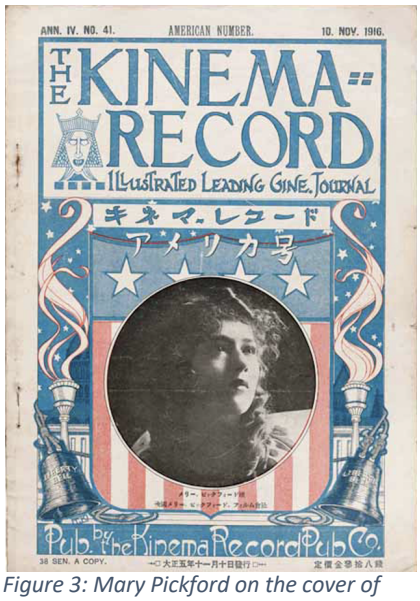

Figure 3: Mary Pickford on the cover of the November 1916 edition of the Kinema Record film journal. "Eiga zasshi no hisokana tanoshimi," Kokuritsu eiga aakaibu, https://www.nfaj.go.jp/exhibition/filmmagazines/

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Ascribing Words of Collaboration: Defining and Dealing with Japanese Collaborators in Korea

Al'lyienah Howell

While World War II raged on in the western hemisphere between the Allied and Axis Powers in Europe, Imperial Japan had already been busy building its empire in the East. Following the Russo-Japanese War, Korea was made a protectorate of Japan, ultimately diminishing the sovereignty allotted to them by the Shimonoseki Peace Treaty in 1895. Japan's efforts to become increasingly more involved in the Korean government eventually led to Korea being successfully annexed by Japan in 1910.[1] As a colony of Japan, Korea was subjected to strict assimilationist policies, forced labor, and coerced mobilization to assist in Japan's expansionist efforts. Prevailing historical narratives encompassing the colonial experience of Korea primarily emphasize the resistant nature of the Korean people against Imperial Japanese occupation authorities. Major patriotic acts are highlighted within South Korean national history books, such as the March 1st Movement, while prominent figures of resistance are revered as national heroes. Opposite these reputable figures are the collaborators.

Officially being legally identified and prosecuted in 1948, collaborators were portrayed by the South Korean government and nationalist historians as being against the sovereignty of the Korean nation in the events leading to and including the colonial period.[2] With this dichotomy in place for nationalist historians to utilize, the colonial period is often reduced to a black and white narrative of those who supported the utmost freedom of Korea from Japan versus these so-called collaborators.[3] When considering the legal procedures for identification of collaborative actions, the qualifications for prosecution are broad and vague. In reality, the line that separates those declared as collaborators and those that are celebrated as supporters is not so definite. This article examines the term "collaboration" and others relating to it according to the South Korean government, the application of the term in post-liberation and contemporary legislation, and its exploitation in the portrayal of the resistance-versus-collaboration historical narrative that still persists to this day.

[1] Kentaro Nakajima and Tetsuji Okazaki, "The Expanding Empire and Spatial Distribution of Economic Activity: The Case of Japan's Colonization of Korea During the Prewar Period." *Economic History Review* 71, no. 2 (2018): 596.
[2] Youn Tae Chung, "Refracted Modernity and the Issue of Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Korea," *Korea Journal* 42 (2002): 37.
[3] AhRan Ellie Bae, "Helen Kim as a New Woman and Collaborator: A Comprehensive Assessment of Korean Collaboration under Japanese Colonial Rule," *International Journal of Korean History* 22 (2017): 108.

Collaboration, as presented in the Korean nationalist historiography, has been confronted by scholars in an effort to understand collaborators' motivations and subsequent effects of the label in contemporary South Korean politics. Many collaboration scholars share a similar questioning perspective of the oversimplified nature of the resistance-versus-collaboration narrative. Understanding the meaning of terms associated with collaboration clarifies the significance of their usage in South Korean politics, as well as makes clear the mechanism of the language that passively shapes the mindset of the Korean people to align with the historical narrative.[4] Experiencing a torrent of major nation-changing events throughout its history, this segment of Korean history played a vital role in its progression into the modern era through the diminishment of their sovereignty by Imperial Japan. The timeline associated with the issue of collaboration spans from approximately as early as the signing of the Eulsa Treaty in 1905 to the end of the Asia-Pacific War in 1945. During this era, the wartime and colonial period from the perspective of the Korean government and people includes Japanese brutality and repression, exploitation, and resistance by the oppressed Korean people.[5] Although relations between Japan and Korea improved after a normalization treaty in 1965, tension still remains that can be used by both nations to provoke incidents.[6] Amongst the problems that still exist between Japan and Korea regarding the colonial era, the issue of how to properly deal with Koreans who had been deemed anti-liberation and pro-Japanese arose. The efforts that the Korean government made to locate and properly deal with these so-called collaborators has been subject to criticism due to the ambiguity of the terminology and usage of accusatory words to encompass many groups of people.

Collaboration-Defining Terminology and Implications

The first step in understanding the collaborative narrative is seeking to understand the meaning of the terms "collaboration" and "*ch'inilp'a*" according to the Korean people. In clarifying their perspective regarding these terms, this explains the terms' significance in South Korean politics and makes clear the mechanism of such language in passively shaping the mindset of the Korean people to align with the historical narrative.[7] "Collaboration" in the context of colonial Korea pertains to any actions that did not support Korean national sovereignty and cultural preservation. This could come in many forms, from working for the Imperial Japanese government as officials to not producing films that were substantial enough to Korea's film developmental history.[8] Due to the term "collaboration" being used as a sort of blanket term that encompassed any actions that were not starkly against Japan, other terms arose to label Koreans perceived as so.

[4] John Treat, "Choosing to Collaborate: Yi Kwang-su and the Moral Subject in Colonial Korea," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 71 (2007): 86.
[5] Gi-Wook Shin and Daniel Sneider, *Divergent Memories: Opinion Leaders and the Asia-Pacific War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016), 68.
[6] Ibid., 66.
[7] Treat, "Choosing to Collaborate," 86.
[8] Dong Hoon Kim, *Eclipsed Cinema: The Film Culture of Colonial Korea* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 57.

The word "*ch'inilp'a*," which literally translates to "pro-Japan faction," referred to those who had collaborated with the colonial government.[9] Today, *ch'inilp'a* is a derogatory term that targets not only those who had been identified as collaborators in the past, but also in post-colonial and contemporary Korea to Koreans that displayed a friendly demeanor towards Japan. Such an example of the pervasive usage of the word is when the head of the Christian Broadcasting System (CBS) television station's Japan branch, Jung Jae-Won, headed a project that organized trips that South Koreans could take to visit historical Christian sites in Nagasaki.[10] This development came in light of the Korea-Japan trade war that had begun in late-2018 due to disputes between both nations regarding compensation by two Japanese companies (Nippon Steel & Sumitomo Metal Corporation) of four Korean plaintiffs that had been subject to forced labor while living under colonial rule.[11] Both companies refused to compensate the plaintiffs despite the plaintiffs winning the case, which resulted in the plaintiffs applying for seizure of each company's assets stationed in South Korea. In reaction, Japan removed South Korea from its list of preferred trading partners. This decision required additional licensing and caused delays of shipment materials to South Korea from Japan, effectively impacting the South Korean electronics industry. The link between colonial era and contemporary Korea-Japan relations are therein displayed through this dispute, as the root of the issue lay not in the import-export relationship, but rather in the persistent nature of Korea's goal to hold Japan accountable for their actions during the colonial era. Taking these events into account, the actions of CBS to continue to strive towards friendship through the method of Christian missionary education to and from Japan during this time explains their domestic unpopularity.[12] So, then, the issue of Jung being called *ch'inilp'a* while tensions between both nations were high exemplifies how present anti-Japanese sentiment still resonates within Korea.

These terms collaboration and *ch'inilp'a* are common in the discussion encompassing the complex history of Korea and Japan. However, to use them and their prescribed meanings as an umbrella term referring to any person who was perceived to have collaborated with Japan is presumptuous. When taking a closer look at who the Korean government and society labels as a collaborator, those with such a label ranged from actively working with the Japanese government against the interests of Korean liberation to the people who were conscripted against their will into the Imperial Japanese military. From this, problems of technicality arise, because while some blatantly supported Imperial Japan for their own self-interest, such as the signers of the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905 (*Eulsa joyak*), some of the actions that these so-called collaborators engaged in were not of their own volition.[13] This leads to speculation when considering legislative action. Therefore, investigating the lived experiences of various people labeled as "collaborator" can illuminate the complex nature of the term and its effect on how Korea recognizes its past and present relationship with Japan.

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[9] Gi-Wook Shin and Daniel Sneider, *Divergent Memories*, 77.
[10] David D. Lee, "As Japan-South Korea dispute rages on, can Christians make a difference?" South China Morning Post, September 11, 2019, https://amp.scmp.com/week-asia/people/article/3026600/japan-south-korea-dispute-rages-can-christians-make-difference.
[11] Cordruta Sintionean, "The Role of Historical Memory in Japan-South Korea Relations," *European Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 12, no. 1 (2020): 56.
[12] Lee, "Japan-South Korea."
[13] Kyung Moon Hwang, *Rationalizing Korea: The Rise of the Modern State, 1894-1945* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 14.

Lived Experiences of Korean "Collaborators"

Following the liberation of Korea from Imperial Japan, Koreans were immediately supportive of persecuting any Koreans who had worked with or for the occupying government. Unlike how summary executions of suspected collaborators in Europe following liberation from the German occupation were carried out in the aftermath of World War II, these were carried out less violently through formal legislation.[14] However, despite there being legislation in place to handle collaborators, the issue of catching and persecuting collaborators in the country was never fully resolved, in part due to the United States and the Soviet Union's presence on the peninsula. In September of 1945, the United States Army Military Government in Korea, from this point on USAMGIK, formed by the 24th US Army Corps, arrived in the southern region of the Korean peninsula to take control.[15] The USAMGIK's occupation was not as carefully planned as the US operations which involved demilitarizing and occupying Japan. Additionally, their lack of knowledge in terms of how to deal with the task of capturing and prosecuting nation-named collaborators in Korea led to many getting off of any proposed charges easily or never getting caught.[16]

The fact that many of the proclaimed collaborationists were former Japanese Government-General employees explains why this may have been the case as well. Directly after Japan's loss of Korea and the Soviet Union's occupation of the peninsula above the 38th parallel, the Japanese warned the United States about communist talks in the northern region of Korea. It was during this time that there were growing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union due to differences in postwar courses of actions. The Soviets were interested in dominating Eastern Europe and supported the communist agenda in China, while the United States made efforts to contain the spread of communism further.[17] As this was a time when tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union were beginning to rise, the United States opted for a provisional government of Korea that they were confident had anti-communist values. They achieved this by putting Koreans who were formerly Japanese Government-General employees in positions of power. While the new provisional government was being set into place by the USAMGIK, many of the former Government-General employees were brought in to take vacant administrative positions in order to create a semblance of an independent Korean government that was simultaneously on the side of the United States.[18]

Under the leadership of this USAMGIK, individuals were identified as collaborators and dealt with by the Korean government by way of investigation and prosecution. Through investigation of the lived experiences of the various classes of Koreans who were identified as collaborators, the validity and ambiguity of these claims can be illuminated. The major persecuted groups were the elites who were often those who worked with the Imperial Japanese government, the

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[14] Koen De Ceuster, "The Nation Exorcised: The Historiography of Collaboration in South Korea," *Korean Studies* 25 (2001): 209.
[15] Kwang-Yeong Shin, "The trajectory of anti-communism in South Korea," *Asian Journal of German and European Studies* 2, no. 3 (2017), https://doi-org.proxy-tu.researchport.umd.edu/10.1186/s40856-017-0015-4
[16] De Ceuster, "The Nation Exorcised," 209.
[17] "1945-1952: The Early Cold War," Office of the Historian, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/foreword.
[18] De Ceuster, "The Nation Exorcised," 210.

proletariat population, and women. Surface level analysis of the roles that Koreans played during the colonial period by modern-day Korea and historians of colonial Korea tended to reinforce a good versus bad dichotomy of the people involved. To some, "…all Korean "modernizers" who had any contact or affiliation whatsoever with the Japanese were branded "collaborators". This way, virtually all post-war "establishment" figures were categorized as collaborators."[19] Others were much less harsh on Koreans, saying that they were found in "national subjugation, shame and betrayal, political authoritarianism and violence, and profound human suffering."[20] By gaining a better sense of what each representative individual's ideas and thoughts were towards the occupation of Korea by Imperial Japan and contrasting that with their actions and subsequent conviction, the complicated nature of their status and the vague usage of terminology used to persecute can be uncovered and challenged.

Women as Collaborators

Women during the colonial period have been largely remembered as victims of the colonization of Korea. Feminist narratives surrounding the significance of women under occupation has largely been supported when the subjugation of Korean women by way of sex slavery (comfort women) has been the main topic.[21] However, other Korean women who did not conform to this category of Japanese subjects were also subject to being labeled as a collaborator. As the life of women during this period was under a patriarchal rule, there was not much that women could do besides being a compliant housewife, working as a conscripted laborer in Japanese factories, or engaging in anti-Japanese, pro-liberation activity.[22]

One such woman who deviated from these two paths was Kim Hwallan. Being the first female holder of a PhD in Korea in 1931, Kim also played a major role in the development of women's and girl's education in Korea.[23] She would eventually become involved in the administration of Ewha College as the dean and later the president, turning the college into Ewha's Women's Professional School during World War II. Following the end of Japanese rule in Korea, the college became a full-fledged university and stands now as Ewha Women's University, the world's largest all-female university.[24] Kim's accomplishments highly benefited the progression of women's education in Korea. However, while she was working towards this objective of spreading women's education and academics, Kim had made compromises with the Japanese government, primarily claimed by the South Korean media to have encouraged Koreans to "make sacrifices for Japan and for the Japanese war effort."[25] When analyzing her contributions to Korea, some may say that she has done more positive actions to help the nation than to hurt it. However, the Korean nationalist narrative prescribes that any sort of support of Japan during the

[19] Kyu Hyun Kim, "Reflections on the Problems of Colonial Modernity and "Collaboration" in Modern Korean History," *Journal of International and Area Studies* 11, (2004): 99.
[20] Hilda Kang, *Under the Black Umbrella: Voices from Colonial Korea 1910-1945* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), 3.
[21] Heisook Kim, "Feminist Philosophy in Korea: Subjectivity of Korean Women," *Signs* 34 (2009): 248.
[22] Brandon Palmer, *Fighting for the Enemy: Koreans in Japan's War, 1937-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 168-169.
[23] Imsook Kwon, "Feminists Navigating the Shoals of Nationalism and Collaboration: The Post-Colonial Korean Debate over How to Remember Kim Hwallan," *Frontiers: A Journal of Womens Studies* 27 (2006): 41.
[24] Ibid., 42.
[25] Ibid., 43.

colonial period would deem one as a collaborator, regardless of their positive contributions to the country.

Proletariats as Collaborators

The everyday life of working-class Koreans in colonial Korea varied, but many of the experiences and obligations required of them by the occupation government were similar. As being a colony of Japan created a system that caused their colonial subjects to "become Japanese," the proletariat class in Korea largely were implored, coerced, or forced to assimilate.[26] For example, from 1936 to 1942 under the rule of Governor-General Minami Jiro, Governor-General being the title given to the chief administrator of the Japanese colonial government in Korea, Koreans were made to only speak Japanese, change their names to Japanese ones, and were required to recite the Pledge of Imperial Subjects.[27] These were difficult to avoid with the constant thought-policing of Korean neighborhoods meant to enforce colonial policies and keep dissenters neutralized.[28] The Shinto religion had also been carried into Korea by Japan, with shrines being built throughout. With a shrine in nearly every community, the Japanese held celebrations at them and encouraged Koreans to attend as well. For many Koreans, compliance was the best avenue for not getting in trouble with the colonial government, but many Koreans behind closed doors resisted the requirements.[29]

Often discussed by colonial-era scholars are the conscripted military work force and forced laborers in the scholarship surrounding Imperial Japan's exploitation of the Korean people.[30] During the colonization period, these people were not seen as collaborators, but rather as regular people separated into three categories. The first were of people who were taken advantage of and coerced by the Imperial Japanese government to serve the Japanese state. In the second category were Koreans who had opted to take advantage of the multifarious job and social positions that had been created by the war economy. The final category consisted of Koreans who outright avoided any kind of wartime demands from Japan.[31] All three of these categories during the colonial era were viewed either neutrally (the Koreans taking advantage of the work opportunities), positively (the Koreans rejecting assimilation), or sympathetically (the Koreans who were forced or coerced into labor). However, upon the push for nationalization and freedom from the Japanese government, attitudes towards each began to change. The Koreans who were taking advantage of the work opportunities provided by the war economy, usually jobs such as policemen and government administration employees, were viewed as supporting and promoting Japanese colonization of Korea.[32] Those who completely rejected Japanese demands were viewed as patriotic and supportive of the liberation of Korea. Koreans who had been coerced therefore found themselves in a strange situation. On the one hand, those who had been coerced to work for the Japanese occupation government were looked at as traitors. On the other hand,

[26] Michael Shin, "Yi Kwang-su: The Collaborator as Modernist against Modernity," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 71 (2012): 116.
[27] Kang, *Under the Black Umbrella*, 111.
[28] Ibid., 107-110.
[29] Ibid., 111-119.
[30] Palmer, *Fighting for the Enemy*, 4.
[31] Ibid., 5-6.
[32] Ibid., 5.

laborers who had been forcibly mobilized to engage in "inhumane slave-like labor" or were used as prostitutes, now known as comfort women, were viewed as being victims of "colonial semi-feudal fascist oppression," and were uplifted and sympathized with in post-liberation political rhetoric.[33]

Elites as Collaborators

During the colonial period, the elite class primarily consisted of Korean men who cooperated with the Imperial Japanese government in order to maintain their sociopolitical status. In this respect, many have been labeled as collaborators. A different type of elite that has also been called collaborative is the literary elite. Many of the popular writers during this period were either educated in Japan, and therefore had a literary and cultural background formed in Japan, or they were nationalist but had their writing policed and censored. A notorious, yet popular literary figure is Yi Kwang-su, who appealed to, and related with, the proletariat Korean people. Despite being labeled as a collaborator for telling Koreans "Let us of our own accord discard all things Korean and become Japanese" and generally advocating for assimilation into the Japanese empire, his writing was widely read and enjoyed.[34] His collaboration was called "traumatic, and the pain of this trauma is still so immediate because it has been difficult to create a narrative that explains how someone so seemingly nationalist could one day turn into such a faithful subject of the Japanese emperor."[35] The position of elites is precarious because their sociopolitical power is looked to by the proletariat class to stand up for the national interests of the Korean people, but their power to do so was limited and suppressed by the pressure to maintain their status and threats from the Imperial Japanese government.

In addition to these literary elites are reformation groups. A notable group of elites who proactively supported modern progress in dynastic Korea was the group called Ilchinhoe, translated as "Advance in Unity Society".[36] This group sought to promote a "people's government" and a Korean version of modernity modeled after the success and progress of Meiji Japan and the West.[37] However, the Ilchinhoe have been labeled as collaborators due to their views being against the support of the monarchy:

> These men were deemed to have been traitors for the following reasons: (1) they had organized the aides to assist "voluntary defense guards" (*chawidan wonhohoe*) on November 19, 1907, to counter Korean anti-Japanese guerrillas, the "Righteous Armies," who opposed Japanese colonization; (2) they had been Ilchinhoe branch chairs or had held important positions on the Ilchinhoe council…; (3) they had published statements justifying the Japanese persecution of the Righteous Armies; (4) they had signed the…petition requesting that Japan annex Korea; or (5) they had received awards for their aid to the Japanese during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).[38]

[33] Ibid., 7.
[34] Treat, "Choosing to Collaborate," 87.
[35] Shin, "Yi Kwang-su," 116.
[36] Moon, *Populist Collaborators*, 3.
[37] Ibid., 118-119.
[38] Ibid., 3.

On one hand, the Korean people did not support them because their actions were viewed as handing over power to an interfering Japan, in turn making the Joseon dynasty weaker and in a worse position to be taken over by Japan. On the other hand, the Japanese, who at this time were interfering in the politics of the Korean monarchy, did not side with the Ilchinhoe either because the Ilchinhoe toted ideas of sovereignty and independence.[39] Their label as a collaborator prior to the annexation of Korea by Japan is important to note as it takes into account their goals and messages, which ultimately supported Korean sovereignty, as well as their complicated relationship with the Korean government, people, and Imperial Japan.

The many complex experiences of the colonized Korean people make it difficult to label some as collaborators and raise the question of what "collaboration" means to the Korean government and people. Because of the complicated nature of categorization, I argue that many of these so-called "collaborators" were not rightfully named because their participation in the colony was primarily of compliance and assimilation as colonized subjects rather than of their own volition. There were collaborators that sought to cooperate with Japan with ill-intentions towards the Korean people and nation, but not as many as have been named comparatively. However, I do not wish to paint all Korean people of the colonial period as purely victims, for there were others who were active agents in their own destiny as a colonized person.[40] The way that these collaborators have been dealt with since the liberation of Korea and into the present day shows the extent of how far historical revisionism, collective memory, and ethnic nationalism has shaped the narrative surrounding collaborators, and more broadly the colonial period.

Modern-day Anti-Collaborationist Actions

Following liberation from the Japanese occupation of Korea, a year later the government released a series of commemorative items to celebrate their freedom. A part of this series was a postcard that became widely popular, depicting Koreans waving Korean flags and trampling the Japanese flag. Doves fly in the background, signifying the newfound peace following liberation, and broken chains are scattered across the ground (Figure 1).

As the years would pass, more nationalist rhetoric and narrative would be spread throughout the country. The prescribed narrative of the colonial period was now that the "Japanese colonial period was designated as the "dark ages (amhug-gi)," a shameful interlude in the otherwise continuous march of the Korean history toward ethno-national unification and autonomy."[41] The issue of exploitation, coercion, and force carried on into the future years of the Korean nation. The Anti-Collaboration Committee worked to bring pro-Japanese collaborators to justice through identification and prosecution. Following the dissolution of the committee due to the immense opposition from the government and elites, many of whom most likely would have been counted as collaborators, Korea went through many hardships regarding the development of its government. Democratization movements against the authoritarian governments of Syngman Rhee, General Park Chung-hee, and General Chun Doo-hwan resulted in the "countless number

[39] Jinwung Kim, *A History of Korea: From 'Land of the Morning Calm' to States in Conflict* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 282-283.
[40] Palmer, *Fighting for the Enemy*, 4.
[41] Kim, "Reflections," 96.

of political activists [being] tortured, jailed, sentenced to death, or assassinated in their fight against military regimes."[42] Reminiscent of the subjugation that the Korean people endured during the colonial period, settling the past became a priority of the Korean nationalists, who often promoted the narrative of "national liberation" and valorized the "freedom fighters."[43] Due to pro-Japanese collaborators being ascribed as the root cause of why the current Korean society lies in historical failure, many actions have been taken to rectify this issue once the politics and government of South Korea had stabilized.[44] The "Special Act on Asset Confiscation for Pro-Japanese and Anti-National Collaborators to the State" was passed by the South Korean National Assembly on December 8, 2005 and was enacted on December 29, 2005, detailing which persons would be classified as collaborators and how the confiscation of their land would proceed.[45] These confiscations have since been carried out with a list provided by the *Minjok Yonguso* ("The Institute for Research in Collaborationist Activities"), originally named *Panminjok Munje Yonguso* ("Institute for Research in Anti-Ethno-National Problems") which had been established in 1991. The institute's long-term projects involved the publication of a "comprehensive directory of the pro-Japanese collaborators," with the first volume set releasing in late 2004.[46] In 2005, an encyclopedic list of 3090 confirmed collaborators was release, laying out the information that the researchers had collected about them:

> The encyclopedia describes each case in three sections: (1) the heading, (2) the main body, and (3) the list of references. First, the heading includes (1) the subject's Korean name, (2) the name in Chinese characters, (3) the Japanese name, and (4) the years of birth and death. The main body of the entry describes (5) area(s) of collaboration; (6) date of birth; (7) the place of origin; (8) a family line; (9) family origin, pen name, second name, and any other names; (10) education; (11) career and achievements; (12) titles of pro-Japanese lectures, writings, and products; and (13) career and achievements after the Liberation. Finally, the list of reference documents: (14) data sources.[47]

Since the release of the list, there had been land seizures and public outings of those who were related to these listed pro-Japanese collaborators, with the amount of land confiscated estimated to be around 13.1 million square meters as of 2007. Following its release, another encyclopedia was released in 2008 that confirmed 4389 collaborators and was utilized for further land seizures.[48]

In July 2010, the Investigative Commission on Pro-Japanese Collaborators' Property published a comprehensive report of their activities, which consisted of investigating individuals determined to have engaged in collaborative activities and to what extent "collaborators" were guilty that

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[42] Byung-ook Ahn, "The Significance of Settling the Past in Modern Korean History," Korea Journal, vol. 42 (2002): 8.
[43] Kim, "Reflections," 96.
[44] Ahn, "The Significance," 11.
[45] "Special Act on Asset Confiscation for Pro-Japanese and Anti-National Collaborators to the State." Korea Law Translation Center, Act No. 10646, May 19, 2011.
[46] Kim, "Reflections," 99.
[47] Jeong-Chul Kim and Gary Fine, "Collaborators and National Memory: The Creation of the Encyclopedia of Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Korea," *Memory Studies* 6, no. 2 (2013): 132.
[48] Kim and Fine, "Collaborators and National Memory," 132.

spanned from July 2006 to July 2010.[49] With the goal to "uplift national spirit and uphold social justice" by "…settling the issue of pro-Japanese collaboration," the report included definitions of Pro-Japanese Anti-Nationalist Collaborator and Pro-Japanese Collaborators' Property.[50] This was done in order to outline their utilized guidelines for defining a collaborator without any ambiguity. The commission then listed names, denoted collaborative activities, and the amount of land that was subject to state redemption.[51] According to the reasons that were outlined above, the collaborators on the list had been elites that worked for the colonial government or were people who opposed Korean liberation efforts actively. This list removes a lot of the ambiguity surrounding the term "collaborator" by outlining exactly what the government and committee means, removing the vagueness of previous collaborator-identification efforts assessments. More recently, the Ministry of Justice has been leading the confiscation efforts, and in March of 2021, a total of 26 billion won worth of real estate properties were collected from the descendants of pro-Japanese collaborators.[52] Though these labeled pro-Japanese collaborators have since passed away, their legacy in the government and property ownership is still alive, being South Korea's motivation to cleanse its history and align with the nationalist narrative in order to restore social justice.

Conclusion

Collaboration in Korea during the colonial period has caused a plethora of actions and reactions, as well as helped to shape modern-day Korea. The issue of classification and appropriately prescribed justice still stands, as the evidence of these collaborators complicates the discourse. While some Korean nationalists say that all Korean "modernizers" who had any contact or affiliation with the Japanese were collaborators, it is difficult to support this claim as the complicated lives of the colonized people and precarity of their situation as colonial subjects in an expanding empire made it difficult to have no sort of relation with the Imperial Japanese empire.[53] This is especially represented in the stories of the Koreans under colonial rule, like Kim Hwallan, whose efforts to sustain the Ewha Womans University were seen both as commendable, for advocating for Korean women's education to expand, and as collaborative, by which she was accused of succumbing to Japanese demands and relaying pro-Japanese rhetoric to achieve her goal.[54] Reconciling with the complicated and controversial nature of Koreans actions under occupation is admittedly a difficult task to undergo as a nation, but through proper legislative analysis, South Korea has been able to begin to properly address this issue.
By using the terms "collaborator" and "traitor", Korea created enemies within itself for the sake of healing itself from the inside out. The magnitude of such terms weigh upon not only those who were ascribed those labels, but also their descendants and the nation itself. The reality that Korea was a subjugated nation in which many were subject to coercion or aggressive

[49] The Investigative Commission on Pro-Japanese Collaborators' Property, *Investigation on Pro-Japanese Collaborators' Property: Activities of the Past Four Years* (2010): 40.
[50] The Investigative Commission on Pro-Japanese Collaborators' Property, *Investigation on Pro-Japanese Collaborators' Property: Activities of the Past Four Years* (2010), 42.
[51] The Investigative Commission on Pro-Japanese Collaborators' Property, *Investigation on Pro-Japanese Collaborators' Property: Activities of the Past Four Years* (2010), 139-180.
[52] Jun-tae Ko, "Japanese collaborators sued over real estate assets," Korea Herald, March 11, 2021, http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20210301000143.
[53] Kim, "Reflections," 99.
[54] AhRan Ellie Bae, "Helen Kim as a New Woman and Collaborator," 110.

assimilation policies, especially through colonial education initiatives, meant that it is likely for most average Koreans to have in some way complied with the occupation forces.[55] By appropriately identifying the individuals who caused true harm to the nation, evidenced in the South Korean government and Investigative Commission actions most recently, this may be a way for the nation to heal.

[55] Soon-Yong Pak and Keumjoong Hwang, "Assimilation and Segregation of Imperial Subjects: "Educating" the Colonised During the 1910-1945 Japanese Colonial Rule in Korea," *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 3 (2011): 381.

Appendix

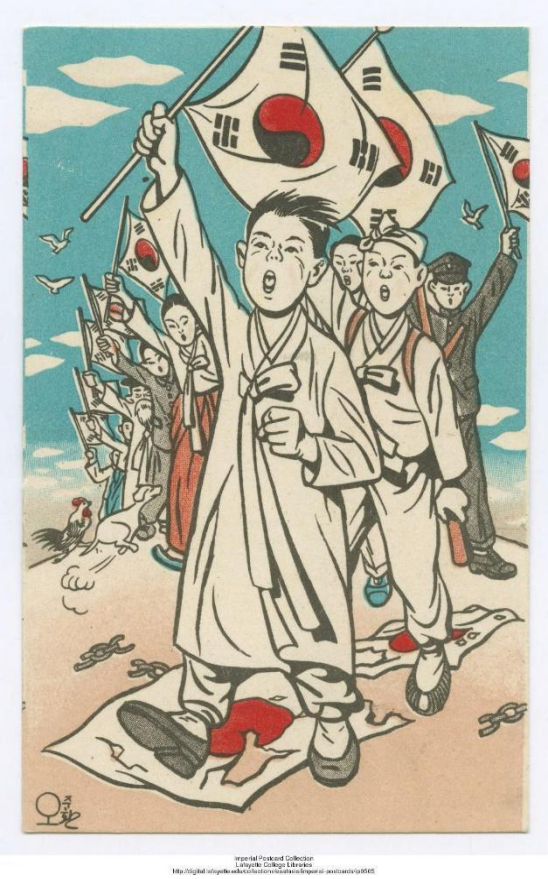

Figure 1: Commemorative Issue One Year of Korean Liberation (Haebang 1 junyeon ginyeom yeobseo) August 15, 1946. Digital Scholarship Services, Skillman Library at Lafayette College. Accessed February 27, 2020. http://digital.lafayette.edu/

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The Legacy of the Rape of Nanking: History and Influence in Public Education

Nora Windsor

Five months into the Second Sino-Japanese War, the capital of China fell to the Japanese Imperial Army. Chinese troops were withdrawn from Nanking following their earlier defeat in Shanghai, leaving its citizens unprotected from the advancing Japanese army. As a result, Westerners living in Nanking established the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone to protect the civilians.[1] Managed by German businessman John Rabe, the Nanking Safety Zone saved the lives of countless Chinese civilians. However, on December 13, 1937, invading Japanese soldiers were responsible for six weeks of looting, raping, and murdering. This atrocity became known as the Rape of Nanking or the Nanking Massacre.[2]

The portrayal of the Nanking Massacre in education remains a controversial topic to this day, with critics of the event scouring history textbooks in hopes of finding areas that conflict with their own version of history. For instance, Japan's Ministry of Education has been criticized for rewriting history, and their approved textbooks have been scrutinized for historical inaccuracies. At the same time, Western curricula, and often times the scrutinizers of Japan's educational material, are at times biased and inaccurate as well. This article examines the historical remembrance of the Nanking Massacre in both America and Japan, as well as how the event has been implemented in Western public school curricula since 2001. While discussing this historical event in the American context, I illustrate how examples of "pop-history," particularly Chinese American journalist Iris Chang's *The Rape of Nanking*, perpetuates an understanding of the Nanking Massacre delivered from a largely unreliable historical narrator. The popular understanding of the Nanking Massacre gleaned from Chang's work thus supports the belief that the Japanese government purposefully restricts and erases school material concerning the massacre. Although the portrayal of the Nanking Massacre has varied over time, I also illustrate through the usage of Japanese public school textbooks how this idea of Japanese historical restriction is misleading.

When considering the significance of the Nanking Massacre, it is important to outline the precursory attitudes that the Japanese held against China in the years leading up to the event.

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[1] John Rabe and Erwin Wickert, *The Good Man of Nanking: The Diaries of John Rabe* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc, 1998), 43.

[2] In reference to China's former capital, there are two different spellings that are commonly used and that are both correct: Nanking and Nanjing. Throughout this paper, I will be using the romanized version, Nanking; Joshua A. Fogel, *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 15.

Anti-Chinese attitudes and philosophies flourished in Japan prior to the Nanking Massacre. Politicians deemed China a backwards country, school books taught students that they were superior to the "morally deficient" Chinese, and the Japanese military bubbled with racism and hatred.[3] These behaviors only further intensified within the Japanese military as soldiers were told that it was Japan's destiny to conquer Chinese territory, and that contemptuous treatment and death of the enemy was not only inevitable, but also heroic.[4] Despite these beliefs, it took the Japanese four months of intense fighting to conquer Shanghai, a city that had been forecast as an easy victory for the Japanese. As the troops marched towards Nanking, eager with the idea of retribution for their fallen comrades, they were encouraged by the promise of "women and plunder."[5] This desire for revenge, combined with pre-existing anti-Chinese attitudes, laid the groundwork for such an atrocious event to take place. Moreover, this also reveals what is at stake for both parties in the present: while the Japanese want to preserve the integrity of their nation, the Chinese want proper respect for the victims of the massacre. Furthermore, the descendants of Chinese victims, including Chinese Americans such as Iris Chang, continue to fight for proper recognition and retribution so that these atrocities remain unknown no longer.

History textbooks throughout the globe have been reviewed and analyzed for an accurate portrayal of history, namely analysis of Germany's representation of the Holocaust. The Nanking Massacre has become an event with comparable historical scrutiny. One part of the history textbook debates surrounding Nanking concern claims that the Japanese government and its Ministry of Education have denied the existence of the Nanking Massacre and have denied its rightful place in public school curriculums. In other words, Japanese textbooks have been internationally politicized and have been deemed factually incorrect in their representation of the Nanking Massacre. This belief originates from postwar times, as a textbook screening system established in 1948 under the Allied occupation of Japan "made it possible to exclude militaristic or anti-democratic sentiment from the textbooks."[6] After Allied influence dissipated following the signing of the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty, efforts were made to reverse these educational reforms. The Ministry of Education dealt with external pressure to "soften the account of Japan's militaristic past," and to even present Imperial Japanese history in "romantic terms."[7] This censorship was not received without resistance, as Japanese historian Ienaga Saburo sued the Japanese government for the first time in 1965 over the Ministry of Education's interference with his portrayal of several historical events, including the Nanking Massacre. Ministry examiners attempted to eliminate mention of the rape, as "the violation of women is something that has happened on every battlefield in every era of human history" and is "not an issue that needs to be taken up with respect to the Japanese Army in particular."[8] Ienaga's court battles lasted for three decades and resulted in a partial win, as the Ministry's comments on the Massacre were deemed unlawful, and ultimately helped spur the textbook debates that would continue throughout the 1980s and 1990s.[9]

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[3] Ibid., 17.
[4] Ibid., 17.
[5] Ibid., 18.
[6] Shinichi Arai, "History Textbooks in Twentieth Century Japan: A Chronological Overview," *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 2 (January 2010): 115.
[7] Ibid., 115.
[8] Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 201.
[9] Arai, "History Textbooks in Twentieth Century Japan," 117.

It was in 1982 that this domestic issue became an international affair as news of reported fallacies in Japanese history textbooks spread worldwide. The Ministry of Education received criticism for disfiguring the past upon the publication of comparisons that highlighted the amendments between the old and new textbooks, including altered linguistic differences. One such example of a change was "Japan's invasion (*shinryaku*) of northern China" to "Japan's advance (*shinshutsu*) into northern China," and international governments responded by protesting to the Japanese government. The situation further escalated as the *Asahi shinbun* newspaper conducted its own investigation and deemed the accusations mistaken, as several Japanese history textbooks were found to still use the word "invasion" when referring to the war. This prompted a flurry of debates and controversies concerning Japanese war crimes and particularly the Nanking Massacre. As a result, Japanese history textbooks were analyzed and revisited for accuracy. This development came as a success for some, such as Ienaga, yet was frustrating to others, who saw the revisions as a knee-jerk reaction to "foreign intervention" and argued that the revised textbooks exaggerated Japanese wartime aggression. This history textbook controversy was not merely the fight over the usage of the term "*shinryaku*" or "*shinshutsu*." The real issue at stake in this dispute was whether or not modern Japanese history should include sufferings inflicted on other Asians by the nation during the war, and the Nanking Massacre featured heavily in this discussion.

The Ministry of Education is further discussed in Iris Chang's book *The Rape of Nanking*, where she expressed her disdain for the Japanese textbook screening system, claiming that Japanese history textbooks have either "ignored the massacre at Nanking altogether or put a decidedly Japanese spin on the actions of the military."[10] This is a blanket statement where Chang again targets all Japanese history textbooks. Chang defended her claim by referencing the Ienaga trial of 1965, but she failed to explore how history textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education have evolved since the trial and how the history of the massacre has been represented since then. This limitation of Chang's work is later exposed in the section of the book titled "The Forgotten Holocaust: A Second Rape." In this section, Chang further criticized the Ministry of Education for their attempts to both minimize and erase the Nanking Massacre from public school textbooks, doing so by discussing vague descriptions of the event, different interpretations of words like "aggression," and the reduction of the total number of victims from the Chinese estimate of 300,000 people to the conservative Japanese estimate of 15,000.[11] The *Rekishi kyokasho no koko ga okashii* ("These Parts of the History Textbooks are Strange") textbook was widely used in Japan during 1997 when Chang's book was released, and clearly disproves her claims concerning Japan's denial of the massacre. This Japanese textbook accounts for both the atrocities that occurred and for China's accepted estimate of the victims; "This incident is called the Nanking Massacre, and in China it is asserted that over 300,000 were massacred.[12] This is important to understand, because while the portrayal of the massacre in Japanese textbooks has evolved over time, it is crucial to recognize the progress that has been made. In addition to the claims concerning the denial of the Nanking Massacre in Japan's public education, Joshua Fogel discusses how the resurgence of Japanese nationalism and right-wing politics have spurred an increase of Japanese war crime deniers whose primary motive is the preservation of the Japanese

[10] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 201.
[11] Ibid., 206-209.
[12] Matthew Penney, "Far from Oblivion: The Nanking Massacre in Japanese Historical Writing for Children and Young Adults," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 22, no. 1 (2008): 26.

national image, and in order to do that, they believe all wartime atrocities must be denied.[13] These factors highlight the difference between actual Japanese deniers and authors, such as Chang, that conflate the actions of the few to all Japanese.

One topic of research pertaining to the Nanking Massacre is how many people directly died as a consequence of the atrocity. The total number of victims has been uncertain since the event happened; the Allied-led International Military Tribunal for the Far East (or "Tokyo Trial," 1948) accounted for 200,000 dead and the Nanking War Crimes Tribunal (1946) estimated 300,000. This matter was further complicated as Japanese Generals Mutō and Matsui downplayed the severity of the massacre in order to protect both themselves and the image of their nation.[14] The total number killed at Nanking remains a matter of debate into the present. Some Chinese American writers, such as Chang, argue, in an attempt to cultivate respect and sympathy for the event, that more than 300,000 Chinese civilians were murdered.[15] Similarly, some conservative Japanese historians such as Hata Ikuhiko estimate that the number is much lower, broadly between 40,000-60,000 people, in an attempt to minimize the brutalization that occurred and lessen Japanese responsibility.[16] Though some extremist researchers on both sides still attempt to manipulate the numbers, I argue the scholarship being done to determine the exact number of Nanking victims is losing relevance. I agree with Fogel and the contributors to his book *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* who argue that a massacre did indeed happen and that the precise number of victims is irrelevant, as it does not change the event itself. A difference in the total number of people killed as a result of the massacre "does not alter the dimensions of the horror."[17]

Despite the massacre being well known amongst historians, the event only gained popular recognition in the West after the publication of Chang's book in 1997.[18] In fact, the initial obscurity of the massacre was due in part to how the event was used for political gain by the Chinese government. This can be seen as early as the mid-1950s, when the People's Republic of China passed lenient punishments upon convicted Japanese war criminals in the hopes of encouraging trade with Japan and fostering positive international relations.[19] In 1971, Honda Katsuichi's "Travels in China" articles began being published. These articles included survivor testimonies from the massacre, garnering a considerable audience. Honda emphasized through his writing a desire to "not excuse Japan's wartime atrocities in the name of war, but to learn what the Japanese military did in China and how it was now perceived there" and that this awareness "would be the first step toward mutual understanding between the two nations." Thereafter, any mention of the Nanking Massacre was further pushed into the background beginning into the 1970s onward, as China yearned for better international relations with Japan and the West. With this political goal in mind, China ignored all anniversaries of the Second

[13] Fogel, *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography*, 2.
[14] Ibid., 22.
[15] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 102.
[16] Ikuhiko Hata, "The Nanking Atrocities: Fact and Fable," *Japan Echo* 25, no. 4 (1998): 51.
[17] Fogel, *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography*, 6.
[18] Erik Ropers, "Debating History and Memory: Examining the Controversy Surrounding Iris Chang's The Rape of Nanking," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 8, no. 1 (2017): 77.
[19] Sandra Wilson et al., *Japanese War Criminals: The Politics of Justice after the Second World War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 413.

World War (including Nanking) during the 1970s.[20] As economic relations began to improve, the Chinese government "avoided criticism of Japan's wartime aggression … in order to avoid disrupting relations between the two countries."[21] This acceptance of the massacre for political benefit by the Chinese government likely explains why the event went unacknowledged by the general public for so long. It is Chang's work, however, that is accredited with popularizing the topic internationally, as her book was a catalyst in making the history of the massacre more accessible and widely known.

Iris Chang and the impact of *The Rape of Nanking*

Iris Chang was a Chinese American journalist best known for her 1997 book, *The Rape of Nanking.* She drew most of her inspiration in writing this narrative from her family, as her grandparents "barely escaped the massacre" and her parents told stories of *Nanjing Datusha*, as the event is known in Chinese, throughout her childhood.[22] These family histories, in conjunction with the Tiananmen Square Massacre of 1989 that renewed her interest in the Nanking Massacre, ultimately spurred Chang to write the book, earning her a large amount of critical attention. Though Chang enjoyed considerable commercial success, she also received criticism from historians across the globe, alleging historical fallacies throughout the book and passing judgments on her personal character and role as a journalist rather than a historian.

A repeated flaw throughout the book is Chang's tendency to generalize claims that are attributed to the entirety of the Japanese nation. In the book's introduction, Chang says that "the broad details of the Rape [of Nanking] are, except among the Japanese, not in dispute" and that "the Japanese have for decades systematically purged references to the Nanking Massacre from their textbooks…"[23] It is still critical to note, however, that Chang's work has several considerable assets that make it an important piece of literature in the Nanking Massacre historical discourse. First and foremost, Chang's book thrust the Nanking Massacre into the Western spotlight, which was groundbreaking in and of itself as the topic had remained "virtually unknown to people outside Asia."[24] The book even maintained a spot on the New York Times best-seller list for ten weeks and sold over 125,000 copies in just four months, crossing into the non-academic world and shocking readers.[25]

Chang also contributed to critical research as she was one of the first Western investigators to obtain videographic oral testimonies of Nanking Massacre survivors.[26] By doing this she not only used the words and experiences of others to display the heinousness that occurred in 1937, but also preserved history that may have otherwise been lost forever. With these videographic contributions she had hoped to add upon the plethora of written accounts from survivors in order

[20] Fogel, *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography*, 27.
[21] Ibid., 28.
[22] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 8.
[23] Ibid., 4, 13.
[24] Ibid., 6.
[25] Charles Burress, "Wars of Memory / When Iris Chang Wrote "The Rape of Nanking," to Memorialize One of the Bloodiest Massacres of Civilians in Modern Times, She Wasn't Prepared for the Firestorm She Started," San Francisco Chronicle, February 3, 2012, https://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Wars-of-Memory-When-Iris-Chang-wrote-The-Rape-3000210.php.
[26] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 182.

to enrich the archive of primary sources and to aid historians in "freeing the truth from the fictions and hallucinations that surround [the massacre]" as deniers rejected pre-existing evidence verifying the events in Nanking.[27] Chang was quite adamant about the preservation of the past, and ultimately hoped that her book would "inspire other authors and historians to investigate the stories of the Nanking survivors before the last of the voices of the past … are extinguished forever."[28]

The Rape of Nanking inspired historical curriculum writers and teachers to create course materials with the aim of making the event go unnoticed no longer. A New Jersey curriculum on the massacre incorporated five survivor testimonies collected from 2006 onwards, and a British Columbia curriculum even broadly covered other genocides such as the ones in Yugoslavia and Rwanda in an attempt to "educate [humankind] on how to prevent crimes against humanity."[29] Though the curricula themselves are not perfect in their didactic content (as will be discussed shortly), their mere existence is a step in the right direction in preserving and instilling the history of the Nanking Massacre into Western public school curricula and Iris Chang's book is largely to thank for this. Chang states in her epilogue that "this book started out as an attempt to rescue those victims from more degradation by Japanese revisionists…"[30] She has indeed rescued the victims of Nanking by securing them a place in history and igniting a flame of discussion and education revolving around the Nanking Massacre.

Curricular Material from British Columbia

Inspired by Iris Chang's book, high school teacher Graeme Stacey coordinated with the Ministry of Education of British Columbia in 2001 to produce a teacher's resource guide meant to supplement pre-existing high school curricula by focusing on war crimes and atrocities that occurred during the Asia-Pacific War.[31] This chapter, titled "Human Rights in the Asia Pacific 1931-1945: Social Responsibility and Global Citizenship", included five lessons and discussed topics such as crimes against humanity, Canadian Hong Kong veterans, and international law and reconciliation.[32] The fifth lesson, "Nanking Massacre and Other Atrocities," is allocated 60 minutes of instructional and group discussion time in order to achieve the unit goals of "fostering empathy and a sense of justice regarding the suffering of others" and "encouraging meaningful participation in the development of a future in which such atrocities are prevented from ever happening again."[33]

The use of language and word choice is important in any historical document, as different connotations and interpretations of words may alter the meaning of the text. It is especially important, however, in curricular material, as the content is being used to educate and shape

[27] Iris Chang, "It's History, Not a Lie," Newsweek (Pacific Edition) 132, no. 3 (July 20, 1998): 19.
[28] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 16.
[29] New Jersey, NJ-ALPHA, *The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities, The Asia-Pacific War 1931-1945,* 96-104; British Columbia Educational Programs and Evaluation, Curriculum Branch, *Human Rights in Asia Pacific, 1931–1945,* 10.
[30] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 220.
[31] Graeme A. Stacey, "An Essay to Raise Awareness of the Importance of Remembrance of History," in *ICFH*, 3.
[32] British Columbia, Curriculum Branch *Human Rights in Asia Pacific,* 8.
[33] Ibid., 3.

young minds who may not have background knowledge about the topic. The first striking thing is how this curriculum addresses the massacre. The lesson itself is titled "Nanking Massacre and Other Atrocities," yet upon describing the event, the writers stated that "the large-scale massacre and gross mistreatment of Chinese people at Nanking became known as the Rape of Nanking." There is no mention in the material itself of the atrocity being otherwise known as the Nanking Massacre.[34] This first brings up the problem of inconsistency within the curriculum, as the title of this lesson ("Nanking Massacre…") does not correlate with the provided material concerning the event ("…became known as the Rape of Nanking"). It may have been more efficient to either mention both names of which the event is referred to, or to stick with just one of the event names, as consistent terminology in education may reduce confusion and increase comprehension.[35] Additionally, as the massacre is lumped together in the same chapter with "other atrocities" such as comfort women and biological warfare, it is likely that this word choice was chosen to emphasize the barbarity of the Japanese Imperial Forces. "Massacre" and "rape" are both violent words which describe the event at Nanking well, but "Rape of Nanking" produces a more violent and graphic image comparatively, supporting the idea that "Japanese military aggression … is remembered for the cruelty and brutality of Japan's imperial forces."[36]

Later on, the chapter states that "the Japanese imperial forces marched thousands of Chinese civilians into the countryside and murdered them; they raped women, and looted and burned people's homes."[37] This is a misleading statement that seems to imply that every member in the Japanese Imperial Army was guilty of these crimes, when in reality, many Japanese officers opposed such heinous behavior among their ranks. Primary sources provide clear evidence of this disparity, notably the diary of John Rabe. A German businessman who helped establish the International Nanking Safety Zone for refugees, Rabe included several details in his diary entries that create a distinction between Japanese officers and enlisted Japanese soldiers; "the Japanese officers are all more or less polite and correct, but the behavior of some of the rank and file is disastrous."[38] Even when describing the atrocities and crime unfolding in Nanking, Rabe consistently wrote that it was Japanese rank and file *soldiers* committing the acts. Some of the officers, on the other hand, tried to cease the madness with the assistance of Rabe: "…we catch a soldier trying to break in. He is driven off by the [Japanese] officer. At the same moment one of my Chinese neighbors arrives and tells us that four soldiers have broken into his house and that one of them is about to violate his wife. The Japanese officer and I storm into the neighbor's house and prevent the worst…"[39] The decision of the British Columbia Curriculum Branch to generalize this claim rather than making the distinction does simplify the topic, yet also presents a skewed narrative of the history while also undermining the attempts of those who did try (and sometimes succeeded) in preventing more misfortune from happening in Nanking.

This lesson concerning the Nanking Massacre contains two primary sources, the first of which being a protest letter from Dr. Miner Searle Bates to the Japanese Embassy. The source is

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[34] British Columbia, Curriculum Branch, *Nanking Massacre and Other Atrocities,* 52.
[35] Robert Stitt, "The Essentials of Consistent Terminology in Academic and Professional Translation," Ulatus Translation Blog, March 1, 2016, https://www.ulatus.com/translation-blog/the-essentials-of-consistent-terminology-in-academic-and-professional-translation/.
[36] British Columbia, Curriculum Branch, *Nanking Massacre and Other Atrocities,* 52.
[37] Ibid., 52.
[38] Rabe and Wickert, *The Good Man of Nanking,* 69.
[39] Ibid, 80.

utilized to highlight the utter fear and chaos enshrouding Nanking as Bates, an American missionary teaching history at the University of Nanking, describes looting and the rape of countless women, many of them being young girls.[40] The source, however, is amended in three places, which ultimately changed the meaning of the source from its original text. For example, the curricular document removed Bates' questioning of, "Does not the Japanese Army care for its reputation? Do not Japanese officers wish to keep their public promises that they do not injure the common people?"[41] Just as in Rabe's diaries, this reinforces the idea that Westerners living in Nanking at the time of the massacre attempted to work with Japanese officers, and that there was a distinct differentiation between Japanese officers and soldiers when it came to perpetrating the crimes. These "public promises" that Bates mentioned are referenced again in the original source: "Example (5) [of "shameful disorder"] is from the Bible Teachers' Training School for Women, Chien Ying Lisiang, a place which has suffered terribly from your soldiers for a long time, and which I believe you once promised to protect especially—but where no military policemen has appeared."[42] By removing these parts of the document, the lesson removed evidence of beneficial Japanese efforts from the curriculum. Though the promises of civilian protection were broken, the inclusion of these statements are important because it shows that it was not, necessarily, the entirety of the Japanese Imperial Army that was directly involved in the massacre, despite the curriculum's generalization that the atrocity was committed by "the Japanese imperial forces" as a whole.[43]

The second primary source is an entry from John Rabe's diary, written only three days after the Massacre began, and is heavily abbreviated. Once again, the curricular document focused on the details of the atrocity itself, such as growing piles of dead bodies and the executions of Chinese soldiers.[44] Two amendments to this source are critical to note, first of which is the exclusion of Rabe's letter to the Japanese Embassy. Rabe wrote to a Mr. Fukuda at the Embassy on December 16, 1937, saying that "we decided these matters should be called to the attention of the Imperial Japanese Army, which we are sure does not approve of such actions by its soldiers."[45] This continues to highlight the differentiation between the Japanese officers and the enlisted soldiers, and that not every Japanese soldier was participating in the violent acts described by both Bates and Rabe. Secondly, after discussing the Chinese executions to be carried out with machine guns, the curricular document removed Rabe's explanation that though "a few soldiers were being shot, the rest were to be interned in a concentration camp on an island in the Yangtze."[46] Though this is not a pleasant fate, the inclusion of this statement would have contradicted the curricular document's earlier assertion that the Japanese troops followed the "three-all" policy of "loot all, kill all, burn all."[47]

As seen through the analysis above, modifying primary sources for classroom use can produce distorted results as one is essentially modifying history itself. Despite this, it is not uncommon to

[40] British Columbia, Curriculum Branch, *Nanking Massacre and Other Atrocities,* 54.
[41] Chairman, Emergency Committee, University of Nanking. Letter to Japanese Embassy. "Gentlemen." Yale University Divinity Library, December 16, 2018, https://web.library.yale.edu/divinity/nanking/documents
[42] Ibid.
[43] British Columbia, Curriculum Branch, *Nanking Massacre and Other Atrocities,* 52.
[44] Ibid., 55.
[45] Rabe and Wickert, *The Good Man of Nanking*, 74.
[46] Ibid., 76.
[47] British Columbia, Curriculum Branch, *Nanking Massacre and Other Atrocities,* 52.

see this technique utilized by some history teachers. Removing nonessential material in order to keep the sources brief and more directed to the topic at hand, as well as simplifying and/or removing confusing and antiquated language, focuses the attention of the class on what is truly important to the lesson while "allowing students greater access to important reading and thinking opportunities."[48] These are honorable goals to consider, as the students' learning and understanding of the material should be a priority, but it is also arguable that making the sources accessible for the classroom should not get in the way of historical facts and distinctions.

Curricular Material from New Jersey

Another curriculum guide, "The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities, The Asia-Pacific War 1931-1945," was created by The Global Alliance for Preserving the History of WWII in Asia and New Jersey's Alliance for Learning and Preserving the History of World War II in Asia for secondary education teachers in 2010. The curriculum included lessons on topics such as Japanese imperialism, so-called "comfort women," and Japanese wartime denialism, and is in the process of being implemented throughout New Jersey's school systems.[49] Unit four, "The Nanking Massacre," begins with a historical introduction to the massacre that is meant for the instructor. In its description of the event, the text makes very concrete remarks, especially concerning the number of victims. It states, "over the next seven weeks, about 350,000 people, including thousands of unarmed Chinese soldiers, were systematically massacred…" and "regardless of age, about 20,000 women were raped or gang-raped before being tortured or brutally killed," implying that there is a conclusive historical consensus on this topic of death toll rather than an unsolvable number that historians still debate about.[50] It is also worth noting that the whole entire curriculum guide is "in memory" of Iris Chang, and that the background context for the Nanking Massacre in this unit references to her as the author "who wrote the definitive book of the event called *The Rape of Nanking*."[51] These details, in conjunction with the utilization of the accepted Chinese estimate of the Nanking victims (something that Chang strongly supports in her book) with no mention of the ongoing victim toll debate, suggests that the curriculum likely relied heavily on Chang's book for information despite there being many additional sources listed in its suggested bibliography section, or that it purposefully used the higher death toll to convey how heinous the massacre was.[52] Either way, the information presented in the historical context section arguably appears biased, and may impact how students interpret or think about the event, should the teacher have little background knowledge about the massacre and rely solely on the curriculum guide.

This unit also includes a second historical background, meant for the student rather than the teacher, and includes some of the same information discussed above. One handout, however, hints slightly at the textbook debate by saying, "today, many Japanese know little about the wartime atrocities their country committed throughout Asia" and "to this day, many Japanese

[48] The Stanford History Education Group, "Adapting Documents for the Classroom: Equity and Access," Teachinghistory.org, 2018, https://teachinghistory.org/teaching-materials/teaching-guides/23560.
[49] New Jersey, NJ-ALPHA, *The Nanking Massacre and Other Japanese Military Atrocities,* 7.
[50] Ibid., 81.
[51] Ibid., 74.
[52] Ibid., 110.

believe stories of atrocities in Nanking are exaggerations and lies."[53] This information is clearly unreliable, given that it is impossible for Chang to have a definitive idea of the general Japanese sentiment towards the massacre. Chang further claims that "the entire Japanese education system suffers from selective amnesia," recalling an instance where Japanese high schoolers were astonished upon finding out that Japan had been at war with America.[54] This example, however, does not and cannot represent the entirety of Japan. Furthermore, Japan's wartime atrocities are far from esoteric. Matthew Penney explores how Japanese history has been represented in popular culture, describing how the 1978 *Ohanashi Nihon rekishi* ("Stories: The History of Japan") series, for instance, portrays the Nanking Massacre by "push[ing] the expected limits for a children's book" by describing the violence in detail.[55]

The curriculum guide includes many primary sources to analyze, and countless prompts for the students to reflect upon and answer. In fact, everything in this unit seems to be assignment and assessment based, as some of the unit goals include locating cities on a blank map, completing an essay, understanding the chronology of the massacre, and identifying the key historical figures.[56] History should resonate with students and have a deeper meaning than simply memorizing content to later regurgitate it on a map quiz or through a five paragraph essay. Topics like the Nanking Massacre that relate to human and social justice should especially be incorporated into meaningful discussion and be made relevant to the present.

Scholar Bruce Lesh discusses the importance of thoughtful and meaningful history education in his book, *Why Won't You Just Tell Us the Answer?: Teaching Historical Thinking in Grades 7-12*. Rather than having students complete an endless array of assignments, as seen in the curriculum above, his goal is to "have students engage in explorations of the past modeled after the historical investigations model" used by historians, as this ultimately "provides students with a deeper, more rigorous learning experience and establishes within those students a set of lifelong skills easily transferable to the world of work."[57] Teaching practices established on this model may lead to a more thorough analysis of the subject matter, as well as a deeper comprehension of the material.

Japanese Textual Sources

As hinted at previously, Japanese history textbooks are merely one fragment of a much larger textbook debate. Japanese textual sources have been heavily scrutinized since the postwar period, and topics such as the Nanking Massacre have especially been criticized as the Japanese government has taken little action to serve reparations to the massacre's victims or to make up for the cruelty that took place in 1937.[58] As a result, there are three prominent themes relating to the criticisms of Japanese history textbooks, and most specifically their interpretation of the Nanking Massacre, including: usage of language, the idea that the texts contain nationalist

[53] Ibid., 87.
[54] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 205.
[55] Penney, "Far from Oblivion," 26.
[56] New Jersey, NJ-ALPHA, *The Nanking Massacre,* 84.
[57] Darren O'Connell, "'Why Won't You Just Tell Us the Answer?'," *Agora* 48, no. 2 (2013): 77.
[58] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 183.

propaganda and patriotism, and the content/material available in the textbooks. These contribute to a general misconception that the event is not addressed at all in Japanese history curricula.

Christopher Barnard is among the group of historians which criticize Japanese history textbooks for their use of language, particularly textbooks that were used in high schools in 1995, primarily for their passages concerning the Nanking Massacre, as he believes they portray an "absence of perpetrators." By this he means that the Chinese victims are notated as individuals, yet the perpetrators are referred to as a faceless organization, with an example being a section which says, "the Japanese army … slaughtered a large number of Chinese civilians."[59] Barnard argues that ignoring "Japanese involvement in the Rape of Nanking at the individual or human level" shifts the blame, severs the "links between the events at Nanking and Japanese society," and ultimately concludes that the presentation of language within the textbooks shies away from the atrociousness of the event.[60] These claims, however, cannot be directed solely at the Japanese textual sources and at the Ministry of Education, as the same linguistic patterns are also found in the Western curricula analyzed above. The curriculum from British Columbia, for example, states in the historical background section that "the Japanese imperial forces marched thousands of Chinese civilians into the countryside and murdered them."[61] The New Jersey case study is a bit better as it does include mentions of "Japanese soldiers," effectively highlighting Japanese involvement on an individual level as Barnard calls for, yet also includes phrases such as "the Japanese even killed Chinese citizens" and "the Japanese army went on a rampage in Nanking."[62] These patterns suggest that perhaps this specific occurrence of language choice is not done with any ulterior motives, and is not meant to deliberately isolate knowledge or minimize the barbarity of the Nanking Massacre.

Another lens of criticism focused on Japanese history textbooks and their interpretation of the Nanking Massacre is the misconception that the texts have a "nationalist tilt" fueled by patriotism. On this topic Daniel Sneider states that "for critics … the content of textbooks is evidence of a failure to take responsibility for the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War or to acknowledge the suffering the Japanese military imposed on conquered Asian nations…"[63] This idea is only further supported by the authorization system, in which the Ministry of Education has the power to modify texts, as well as denialist claims such as "it [the Nanking Massacre] is a story made up by the Chinese. It has tarnished the image of Japan…" stated by Ishihara Shintaro, former governor of Tokyo.[64] Ultimately, all of these details support the recurring notion that the textbooks must be heavily adapted and framed in order to instill Japanese nationalism and protect the nation's image by denying and/or minimizing all atrocities. Upon researching this phenomenon and analyzing Japanese textbooks, Sneider concludes that this understanding is incorrect, having found that the texts contain few attempts to display patriotism and actually include more information on the Nanking Massacre than believed. In fact, the texts tended to be dry, concise, and neutral in their retelling of the event, and "least likely to stir patriotic

[59] Christopher Barnard, "Isolating Knowledge of the Unpleasant: The Rape of Nanking in Japanese High-School Textbooks," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 22, no. 4 (2001): 523.
[60] Ibid., 524.
[61] British Columbia, Curriculum Branch, *Nanking Massacre and Other Atrocities,* 52.
[62] New Jersey, NJ-ALPHA, *The Nanking Massacre,* 74.
[63] Daniel Sneider, "Textbooks and Patriotic Education: Wartime Memory Formation in China and Japan," *Asia-Pacific Review* 20, no. 1 (2013): 39, https://doi.org/10.1080/13439006.2013.793065.
[64] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 201.

passions."[65] This further ties into the next point of debate concerning the textbooks, in which the amount of available content concerning the massacre is criticized.

As previously stated, Iris Chang argues that references to the Nanking Massacre have been "systematically purged … from textbooks."[66] This has indirectly led to the production and publication of other historical inaccuracies, as seen in the New Jersey curriculum, which also makes comments about the Japanese knowing "little about the wartime atrocities their country committed."[67] This demonstrates how "popular history," exemplified by Chang's work, not only perpetuates these fallacies but also contributes to a general misconception that Japanese textbooks lack the content and material required to adequately discuss the Nanking Massacre. Of the thirteen Japanese textual excerpts I have analyzed through secondary sources, twelve mention that a large number of Chinese were killed, including noncombatants (different textbooks range with specificity concerning "noncombatants," including prisoners of war, "common Chinese people," and women and children); seven state that the Nanking Massacre received great international criticism; four include violent acts committed by members of the Japanese Imperial Army (such as pillage, arson, and destruction); three texts state that the estimate of victims is around 200,000 people; and one textbook accounts for the Chinese estimate of about 300,000 victims.[68] Only three excerpts actually mention the specific act of rape itself.[69] While it is arguable that these textbook selections are quite disproportionate with the information they contain, and that perhaps one of the most significant crimes of the massacre is only mentioned in three excerpts, it is also arguable that there is a variety of information available, meaning that the Nanking Massacre has not been "purged" from Japanese textbooks. The level of academic effectiveness within this given material is a different discussion altogether, but nonetheless, this content is readily available in several Japanese history textbooks.

Conclusion

It only seems fair to critique the portrayal of the Nanking Massacre in public education by also taking into consideration all of the biases and factors that impact its presentation in said curricula. The Japanese textual sources are not perfect in their representation of the past, and specifically in their presentation of the Nanking Massacre, but they do, perhaps, deserve more credit for what information they *do* contain, especially seeing how much progress has been made in the "textbook debates" since the 1960s. The Western sources, however, are also imperfect in their representation of the Nanking Massacre's history. Tessa Morris-Suzuki summarizes this conundrum well by stating that it is "much easier to argue on [the] discontent with existing history education than to argue about the content of the ideal textbook of the future."[70] While the

[65] Sneider, "Textbooks and Patriotic Education," 39.
[66] Chang, *The Rape of Nanking*, 4.
[67] New Jersey, NJ-ALPHA, *The Nanking Massacre,* 87.
[68] Barnard, "Isolating Knowledge of the Unpleasant," 522-526; Christopher Barnard, *Language, Ideology, and Japanese History Textbooks* (London: Routledge, 2014), 57, 68, 71; Gi-Wook Shin and Daniel Sneider, *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia: Divided Memories* (London: Routledge, 2012), 27-29.
[69] Barnard, "Isolating Knowledge of the Unpleasant," 523, 525; Shin and Sneider, *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia,* 29.
[70] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "The View Through the Skylight: Nishio Kanji, Textbook Reform and the History of the World," *Japanese Studies* 20, no. 2 (2000): 134.

British Columbia curriculum may have been groundbreaking upon its release in 2001, the passage of time has shed light on some of its flaws.

The “perfect” history curriculum may never exist, but I argue that history educators and curriculum writers must strive for excellence when it comes to maintaining curricula that are groundbreaking and historically accurate. By this I mean that they must be able to pick up on and identify linguistic patterns within the text for their implications on the learner, be more aware of biases that uphold negative stereotypes, and be conscious of what primary source abbreviations may imply within the broader context of the curriculum. Only then can history be taught in a way that is truthful and meaningful, and only then can the Nanking Massacre be fully comprehended and celebrated for its historical value and the lessons it has to teach, rather than being subject of the ongoing controversy which has enshrouded both the event and its victims for over eighty years.

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The Joy of Coffee: Union Army Soldiers Camp Life and Hardships

Brandon Kelly

The accounts of Union Army soldiers' experiences with rations and everyday life offer the reader a personal insight into their lives on campaign. For example, soldier Jacob Roemer emphasizes the vital nature of coffee for the men in between marches. Roemer recalled, "The coffee was just boiling, when the order came to march at once. The temptation was too great; the men all came running up, cup in hand, dipped the cup into the kettle, then ran to their several places, each with a cup full of boiling hot coffee."[1] Roemer's insight connects to the readers because they can relate their own experiences to what Roemer went through. Therefore, they understand and appreciate the value of one cup of coffee. These personal moments of what a soldier went through makes their experiences on the battlefield and watching their friends die more impactful to the reader.

The personal connections that stand out within the memoirs, articles, and other sources are from the soldiers' explicit accounts that recall the daily hardship they suffered during the Civil War. These accounts offer modern audiences a personal glimpse into how soldiers adapted and improvised to make their lives more tolerable. These connections are what transitions the author's words from the page into the heart of the reader. The sympathy these stories engender magnifies the weight of those experiences which make them even more impactful.

The soldiers' unique camaraderie described in their memoirs recall the terrible circumstances that united them together. For example, they all suffered from the repetitive routine of military life and worked together to make their lives more tolerable by participating in activities like sports, reading, playing card games and pulling pranks. Today, Civil War battles are often the main details discussed about the war because they ultimately decided its outcome. It is equally important, however, to recognize how the men got to those battlefields and what they went through on the campaign leading up to them. The men who fought for the Union Army during the Civil War had different reasons for joining the Union cause, and by analyzing the personal experiences of those soldiers through their diaries and memoirs, the soldiers are more accurately depicted as individuals rather than a monolithic entity. This analysis offers the modern generation impactful glimpses into the past that are personal and empathetic. These men dealt

[1] Jacob Roemer, *Reminiscences of the War of Rebellion 1861-1865* (New York: The Estate of Jacob Roemer, 1897), 62.

with the physical pain of hard marching every day, battled boredom, lacked fresh food in their rations, and enjoyed peaceful moments of relaxation in between the endless physical cycles of army life. When the soldiers wrote about how their friends were killed in battle, it was in camp where those friendships were made. What formed those bonds of comradery was the time spent in camp together around a fire cooking their meals or playing baseball on a hot summer afternoon, and it is these bonds that were swept away by the fog of war. These instances of loss left the soldiers feeling a tremendous personal agony, yet they had no choice but to keep moving forward in a war they felt might never end. This article examines the soldiers' original diaries and memoirs and argues that their shared comradery was at the heart of their motivation to survive the miserable conditions of daily camp life such as marching, boredom, and spoiled rations.

During the years 1861-1865 over six-hundred thousand men lost their lives in the war that threatened to tear the United States of America apart. The soldiers that enlisted in the Union Army had various reasons for why they decided to fight for the Union. Jordan Ross, a journalist, wrote an article about Union soldiers from various ethnic backgrounds and why they decided to fight for their cause. Ross states that, "… the African American soldiers from southern and border states, who comprised the great majority of black soldiers, fought for their basic civil rights; they strove for the loftiest privileges of citizenship as well as such concrete aims as the reunification of their families and freedom of movement."[2] The African American soldiers felt that they could not stand on the sidelines and allow so many others to die for their freedom. After the formation of the United States Colored Troop (USCT) in 1863 many slaves felt they had the chance to fight for their own freedom.

The African American soldiers also experienced racial discrimination within the Union army. Susan King Taylor's memoir details her experiences as an African American woman traveling with the 33rd USCT during their campaign. She was there to help make the soldiers' lives more tolerable by cooking and cleaning for them. An example of how the men were treated is described by Taylor who recorded the general order from the regiment's commander that disbanded it in 1866. Taylor wrote,

> For long and weary months, without pay or even the privilege of being recognized as soldiers, you labored on, only to be disbanded and sent to your homes without even a hope of reward, and when our country, necessitated by the deadly struggle with armed traitors, finally granted you the opportunity again to come forth in defense of the nation's life, the alacrity with which you responded to the call gave abundant evidence of your readiness to strike a manly blow for the liberty of your race.[3]

Despite suffering racial discrimination from the US government, there are examples that the white officers who commanded the African American soldiers supported them to get the same treatment as white soldiers. One of these examples is when the officers of the 33rd USCT stood up for their men to get full pay. Taylor recalled, "I remember hearing Captain Heasley telling his

[2] Jordan Ross, "Uncommon Union: Diversity and Motivation among Civil War Soldiers," *American Nineteenth Century History* 3, no. 1 (March 2002): 18.
[3] Susan King Taylor, *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp with the 33d United States Colored Troops Late 1st S. C. Volunteers* (Boston: Susie King Taylor, 1902), 63.

company, one day, "Boys, stand up for your full pay! I am with you, and so are all the officers."[4] The officers' choice to support their enlisted men reveals how the shared experiences of soldiers can unite them together.

Another type of soldier who was on the battlefield for a different reason was the Irish American soldier. Many Irishmen united together to fight for their new country after they left Ireland to forge a better life for themselves and their families. The letters of Irish Brigade soldier Peter Welsh stated that his motivations were originally for the steady pay soldiers received, but as time progressed he recalled, "This is my country as much as the man that was born on the soil … this being the case I have as much interest in the maintenance of the government and laws and the integrity of the nation as any other man"[5] The Irish were determined to prove themselves as loyal Americans on the battlefield at a time when they were viewed as immigrants and lesser citizens. The motivations of these soldiers of different ethnic backgrounds were also different from what motivated the white soldiers. These men were fighting for their own status in the nation's society.[6] These soldiers fought for different reasons, yet all of them came together to see the nation reunited under the banner their forefathers risked everything to create. These men not only worked together for the same cause but shared similar experiences on campaign.

The experiences of the soldiers on campaign are what forged the bonds of friendship, comradery, and made all of these different ethnic groups come together to save the Union and end slavery. These emotional bonds and connections make each tally on a casualty chart even more tragic because through the memoirs the reader can connect with the soldiers. John Billings, a Civil War soldier who wrote a book about the daily life experiences Union soldiers went through, describes the comradeship of the men. Billings wrote, "There are bonds of all sorts in this world of ours, / Fetters of friendship and ties of flowers, / And true lover's knots, I ween. / The girl and the boy are bound by a kiss, / But there's never a bond, old friend, like this— / We have drank from the same canteen."[7] The bonds that were forged brought these men closer together because they all went through the same physical pain of marching, dealt with the constant hardships of camp life, and suffered the tragedy of losing dear friends. This type of phenomenon is not unique to the American Civil War as soldiers in all other wars went through the same type of experiences. For example, *The Detroit News* released a poem on April 2, 1919, titled "EVERYBODY IS…" that describes experiences that WWI soldiers went through. These experiences are extremely similar to what the Civil War soldiers went through forty years prior.

> Way down deep within their / hearts / Everybody's lonesome. / Far within their secret parts / Everybody's lonesome. / Makes no difference how they / smile. / How they live or what their / style / Once in every little while / Everybody's lonesome.[8]

These types of experiences are not strictly unique to the Civil War. However, the Civil War soldier had to deal with other thoughts that soldiers from other wars did not need to think about.

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[4] Ibid., 26.
[5] Ross, "Uncommon Union," 21.
[6] Ibid., 18.
[7] John Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee: The Unwritten Story of Army Life* (New York: Bison Books, 1993), 223.
[8] Detroit News, "EVERYBODY IS. Way down deep within their hearts Everybody's lonesome," *Detroit News*, April 2, 1919.

For example, he could be fighting against family members like his brother or cousin who decided to wear the other uniform. The comradery of these soldiers helped them through processing these difficult thoughts because everyone experienced it during the Civil War.

The types of activities soldiers used to pass the time are described by Lawrence Fielding, a journalist who wrote a 1977 article about how sports and other activities broke up the daily routine of army life. Fielding writes, "Given the opportunity he could complain about almost anything, indeed soldiers often do. This process by itself is not necessarily bad, particularly when it involves the society of others who are in the same predicament. At these times comradeship tends to obviate the selfness of individual tribulations."[9] The bonds of getting through all of the hardships kept each soldier motivated because they had their brothers in arms right next to them. These friends would support each other through everything because they put their lives in each other's hands, and those friendships were only possible because they all shared the same experiences.

The comradeship the men experienced also contributed to how they passed the time. The men worked together to break up the endless cycle of army life because boredom could make a soldier depressed. Fielding writes, "Soldiers played cards, went news walking, played tricks on each other, sang songs, swapped lies and in general found ways to amuse themselves."[10] They also played sports such as baseball, wrestling, boxing, reading and played pranks on each other to boost morale. One question modern readers may have when examining these memoirs is why the soldiers would want to play baseball or wrestle after marching in their wool uniforms all day. When they distracted themselves from the repetitive nature of army life by getting away from their normal duties it gave them a chance to relax and forget about the war. Charles Bardeen recalled when the veteran soldiers would play pranks on the new recruits or 'fresh fish,' as they were called. Bardeen wrote, "The squad drills in the morning of the new men were made strenuous, and all sorts of tricks were played on them, not unlike those sophomores play on freshman. One recruit, for instance, when he had drawn his clothing from the quartermaster was persuaded to go back and demand his government umbrella."[11] These examples of how the men dealt with boredom helped break up their daily routines and were a big morale boost.

Other examples of how the men battled boredom include writing letters home and reading any book they could find. The soldiers constantly wrote about receiving and sending letters home in their memoirs and diaries because it was the only daily communication they had with their loved ones. These letters also reminded them about their lives before they joined the army. For example, Union soldier Lemuel Abijah Abbott recalled when he received a letter from home with news that the teacher who succeeded him when he left to join the army thought he died and told the students. Abbott stated,

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[9] Lawrence W. Fielding, "War and Trifles: Sport in the Shadows of Civil War Army Life," *Journal of Sport History* 4, no. 2 (1977): 153.
[10] Ibid., 152.
[11] C. W. Bardeen, *A Little Fifer's War Diary* (Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen, 1910), 17. https://search-alexanderstreet-com.proxy-tu.researchport.umd.edu/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cdocument%7C4369050?account_id=14378&usage_group_id=96422#page/1/mode/1/chapter/bibliographic_entity|document|4369050.

> When the teacher announced to the school this winter one morning that I had died of typhoid fever at Rockville. Md., it having been so reported, the children refused to be reconciled and grieved so they had to be dismissed, the same thing occurring the next morning. Poor things! I never think of it but what my eyes-well, my throat gets lumpy and my lips quiver. I had no idea they were so devoted.[12]

Letters from home did make the men homesick at times, but they also melted their hearts with happiness such as what happened to Abbott when he recalled the memory of reading that letter. Consequently, memories like these gave them hope, and for Abbott his old student's fondness of him would stay with him forever. Billings recalled how books allowed him to escape boredom, and provides insight into the mindset of a bored soldier. Billings wrote,

> Reading was a pastime quite generally indulged in, and there was no novel so dull, trashy, or sensational as not to find someone so bored with nothing to do that he would wade through it. I, certainly, never read so many such before or since. The mind was hungry for something and took husks when it could get nothing better.[13]

When the authors of these accounts are not describing the events of battles, they focus on the other main enemy they faced during the war: boredom and how they could escape from it.

The reason why the soldiers fought so hard to escape boredom is because it was constantly with them when performing their normal army duties. Therefore, they had to get creative in improvising solutions to cope with it. The unpleasant aspects of army life that made these men so desperate to break up their normal routine are described by soldier Edward Lord. Lord recorded the number of miles his regiment marched in one day after they began at 5 o'clock in the morning. Lord recalled, "The roads were deep with mud, the sun intensely hot, and water scarce, yet we were pushed on with terrible, relentless earnestness, until we had made about twelve miles by ten o'clock."[14] This amount of marching was only one part of a soldier's daily life. Jacob Roemer describes their daily routines from waking up in the morning to their final roll call at night. Roemer recalled, "Our daily routine was as follows: Reveille at daybreak; drill from 5 to 7 am; breakfast at 8; drill 9-11; dinner, 12; drill, 2-4; supper, 6; tattoo [final roll call] 8, and taps [end of day] 9."[15] The daily routine of Union soldiers made their lives constantly busy, but there were other tasks outside of the endless cycle of drill and practice. Billings recalled when the men had to perform "fatigue duty" or important responsibilities not normally enjoyed by the soldier, yet necessary to maintain the camps. Examples of fatigue duty include cleaning up the camp, gathering firewood, collecting drinking water, and digging holes for latrines.[16] These extra responsibilities of the soldiers were frowned upon by those who had to complete them. However, the men got through these miserable responsibilities because they had their comrade's support, and this helped them cope with army life in a variety of ways.

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[12] Lemuel Abijah Abbott, *Diary of Lemuel Abijah Abbott, January 1864* (Burlington: Free Press, 1908), 7.
[13] Billings, *Hardtack,* 65.
[14] Edward Lord, *History of the Ninth Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion* (Concord: Republican Press Association, 1895), 289.
[15] Roemer, *War of the Rebellion,* 16; Billings, *Hardtack,* 193.
[16] Ibid., 102.

One of the ways the men got through the physical strain of their daily activities alongside their comradeship was the vital necessity of coffee. Lemuel Abbott described the physical strain of marching on his body after a hard day's march as, "Oh! I am so tired and used up I can hardly write; have been marching all day on the pike, and my feet are blistered, besides being so lame, sore and stiff from my wound I can hardly move without groaning and crying out with pain after being still a little while."[17] This physical strain made coffee the only thing that kept the men alert and gave them enough strength to finish the march. However, during the war the men had to prepare their coffee by boiling it over a fire which took extra time to make. Consequently, there are recorded instances of men making coffee while in the middle of a march. Billings described seeing a soldier leave his column in the middle of a march to boil coffee, "When tired and foot-sore, he would drop out of the marching column, build his little camp-fire, cook his mess of coffee, take a nap behind the nearest shelter, and when he woke, hurry on to overtake his company."[18] The marches that allowed the Union armies to make history were only possible because of the soldiers' determination and the coffee that gave them enough energy to get through it one step at a time.

The high value placed on coffee by soldiers is revealed when Billings recalled how a soldier with bad luck (often described by using the slang term "Jonah's") would always accidentally knock over coffee-pots in camp. Billings recorded,

> Moreover, coffee and sugar were staple articles with the soldier, and the least waste of them was not to be tolerated under ordinary circumstances; but to have a whole line of coffee-pots with their precious contents upset by the Jonah of the tent in his recklessness was the last ounce of pressure removed from the safety valve of his tent-mates' wrath;[19]

The men's love of coffee relates to the necessity of their daily rations which were the only source of food a soldier could receive without foraging the countryside or purchasing supplies from stores if camped near a town. The men's desire for coffee can also be seen when they set up camp for the evening which is described by Billings, "In no more time than it takes to tell the story, the little camp-fires, rapidly increasing to hundreds in number, would shoot up along the hills and plains, and as if by magic acres of would be luminous with them."[20] The men using the campfires to heat their coffee also used them to cook the rest of their meals from their daily issued rations.

The rations of the Army of the Potomac (the main Union army in the Eastern theater) were issued by Congress with the desired effect to give the soldiers meals that could be prepared quickly and sustain them in the field for a small period of time. These rations are described by journalist Alfred Bollet who quotes the direct orders from Congress in his article about the Civil War soldier's diet. Bollet wrote, "Twelve ounces of pork or bacon, or one pound and four ounces of salt of fresh beef; one pound and six ounces of soft bread or flour, or one pound of hard bread, or one pound and four ounces of corn-meal; and to every one-hundred rations, fifteen pounds of

[17] Abbott, *Diary*, 125.
[18] Billings, *Hardtack,* 129.
[19] Ibid., 94.
[20] Ibid., 129.

beans or peas, and ten pounds of rice or hominy."[21] The rations were manufactured far from the frontlines back in the North and the logistical supply that the Union's War Department had to organize to get these rations from the manufacturers to the soldiers in the field was impressive. Journalist Louis Mauser wrote an article detailing the massive mobilization of the Union war effort in order to supply its soldiers with the necessary weapons, food, and other equipment to get them to the battlefield. Mauser recorded, "As James McPherson points out, "a campaigning army of 100,000 men… required 2,500 supply wagons and at least 35,000 animals and consumed 600 tons of supplies each day."[22] The organization and transportation of these vast amounts of supplies relate to the soldiers because if the supplies never reached them they could not fight effectively. This problem was something the men had to deal with throughout the entire war and found creative ways to overcome the shortages. For example, Lemuel Abbot recalls in his diary on Saturday, December 3, 1864, that the quartermaster was unable to issue shelter tents and that the men were miserable. Abbott described that they were,

> Cold as ever; got an old rotten, dirty wall tent and put it up; took the men's receipts for shelter tents; fingers very cold and numb from writing; camp dirty; men complaining because they have no clothes; quartermaster ordered to his regiment; no one to issue clothing. "Oh, dear! When will I get out of this? I am disgusted with the management here.[23]

This example reveals some of the terrible conditions the soldiers had to contend with and reflects the vital necessity of the supplies reaching them. It also gives insight into the stresses of not having supplies like how they could be missing a blanket at night and why the soldiers became very creative when they lacked supplies.

One of the most important supplies a soldier needed was their utensils for cooking their meals. When the rations reached the soldiers without the proper utensils they had to improvise. The standard type of utensils that Union soldiers had in camp are described by Billings who wrote, "A soldier's table-furnishings were his tin dipper, tin plate, knife fork and spoon. When he had finished his meal, he did not in many cases stand on ceremony, and his dishes were tossed under the bunk to await the next meal."[24] The soldiers used their utensils for cooking their meals in different ways; therefore, they improvised in how they cooked their food. For example, Billings recalled, "The soldier called on his own ingenuity to aid him here as in so many other directions, and consequently the men could be seen by scores frying the food in their tin plate, held in the jaws of a split stick, or fully as often an old canteen was unsoldered, and its concave sides mustered into active duty as fry-pans."[25] The reason why the men had to be so creative in their preparation methods is because of time. If they were missing any of their utensils it would be harder to cook and, if it was early in the morning, they would not know when the sergeant would announce the first call. The quality of the rations they were issued also impacted their diet and decided if they were going to improvise their meals.

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[21] Alfred Jay Bollet, "Scurvy and Chronic Diarrhea in Civil War Troops: Were They Both Nutritional Deficiency Syndromes?" *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 47, no. 1 (January 1992): 52.
[22] Louis P. Mauser and Ronald J. Spencer, "Civil War Mobilizations," *OAH Magazine of History* 26, no. 2 (April 2012): 8.
[23] Abbott, *Diary*, 251.
[24] Billings, *Hardtack,* 76.
[25] Ibid., 133.

The rations were made to be practical, not entirely enjoyable; however, their creativity with what they had to work with made the meals somewhat tolerable. For example, Roemer stated, "I used to think that a "hard tack" [hard cracker] toasted before the fire and eaten hot, was better than the best pastry."[26] One way that the men made the rations tolerable was by sharing the experience together. Lord recalled, "Imagine, if you can, eight or ten of us round a smoky fire of green pine, cooking coffee in our tin cups, frying pork and hard tack on our tin plates, with split sticks for handles, toasting crackers on the coals—talking, laughing, eating, and wiping from our tanned and blackened faces the tears that the merciless smoke extorts…"[27] Despite the soldiers' creativity these rations were not properly preserved which created an additional hardship the men had to overcome.

The spoiled rations are often described by the soldiers who had to experience them on a daily basis, and these accounts about bugs crawling on the food they had to consume, can be difficult to read. As previously stated, hardtack was a tough cracker made of flour that was almost impossible to eat without smashing it up or softening it by mixing it into their beverages. Bollet recalls the soldier's views on hardtack as, "They were shipped in large crates stamped with the letters "B C," which stood for "Brigade Commissary," but the troops claimed the letters stood for the date of manufacture. It usually had to be soaked in water before it could be chewed or even broken; a favorite preparation was hardtack soaked in coffee,[28] Despite the hardtack's known toughness even this ration could be spoiled or infested with parasites. Bollet wrote, "The hardtack was often infested with worms, but the hungry troops usually ate them anyway, considering it "so much clear gain in the way of fresh meat."[29] One question a reader may consider when reading these passages is what caused the rations to become so infested with pests? One theory offered by Billings stated, "The most of the hard bread was made in Baltimore, and put up in boxes of sixty pounds gross, fifty pounds net; and it is said that some of the storehouses in which it was kept would swarm with weevils in an incredibly short time after the first box was infested with them, so rapidly did these pests multiply."[30] The hardtack portion of a soldier's rations were only one segment of the food that they had to deal with on a daily basis. With these conditions one can only imagine what the rest of the ration's would look like if they went bad.

The meat that was normally issued to the soldiers were salted beef or bacon. The reason why the meat was salted is because salt was the only preservation method at the time, and it could be done in large quantities. Edward Lord described the condition of his rations when he stated, "We could call our rations little else than a diet of worms, for the beans and the bacon were wormy, and the corn-meal was often sour."[31] The rations were a staple of army life because this was the only type of food the men received on a daily basis and their complaints about the spoiled meat offers a creative insight into how they dealt with it. One creative way they dealt with their spoiled meat rations was to improve morale by burying it in a mock funeral. Bollet wrote, "The

[26] Roemer, *War of the Rebellion,* 62.
[27] Lord, *History,* 201.
[28] Bollet, "Scurvy," 53-54.
[29] Ibid., 54.
[30] Billings, *Hardtack,* 116.
[31] Lord, *History,* 576.

salt beef was usually worse, and was rarely edible; referred to in one autobiographical work as the "vilest ration distributed," it was carted off in a mock funeral procession to be buried in the nearest "sink" (latrine) to the accompaniment of solemn music and a rifle volley."[32] The soldiers dealing with these types of circumstances on a daily basis provide excellent examples of how their creativity shone through the darkness of their repetitive lives.

With the poor conditions of the rations the men occasionally had to improvise or forage food from the countryside to improve their circumstances. For example, Edward Lord recalls how the men would take their rations and combine them together in order to make them last longer. Lord wrote. "We soon learned that putting all our rations together, dividing them into five equal parts, and eating one fifth each day, was better than eating it all in three days (which we could do easily), or better than each one drawing his rations separately."[33] Susie King Taylor also recalled when she tried to ease the men's suffering by experimenting with turtle eggs and milk to make a custard. Taylor described,

> They wanted soup, but that I could not get; but I had a few cans of condensed milk and some turtle eggs, so I thought I would try to make some custard. I had doubts as to my success, for cooking with turtle eggs was something new to me, but the adage has it, "Nothing ventured, nothing done," so I made a venture, and the result was a very delicious custard.[34]

The improvisation used by the soldiers and the people who traveled with them was not only with how they prepared their food but extended to every part of their lives on campaign. Another example of how the soldiers improvised was to forage for supplies in the countryside such as looting farms and fields. Jacob Roemer recalled when his men liberated some ducks from a farm when they could not find the farmer to pay him. Roemer stated, "They [the men] sent us officers, for our especial benefit, several splendidly roasted ducks. Our mouths watered as we gazed at them."[35] Ironically, a gust of wind kicked up and knocked the roasted ducks into the river which made the men upset. Roemer comforted his men by saying they would soon have some fish chowder and would hopefully salvage the duck they lost.

Another example of the men improvising their condition to make their lives tolerable is how they set up tent arrangements or sleeping conditions. Charles Bardeen wrote,

> For pillows we used our knapsacks. Toward the end of my enlistment, I used to have a wooden frame inside my knapsack which kept it in shape and made a pillow four inches high and of definite shape. After I was discharged it was some weeks before I could sleep in a bed; I used to lie on the floor, with a dictionary for a pillow.[36]

The improvisations that Bardeen made improved his sleeping conditions when dealing with the basic, yet reliable tents they were issued. These tents are called "shelter-halves" and were made

[32] Bollet, "Scurvy," 53.
[33] Lord, *History*, 576.
[34] Taylor, *33rd*, 47.
[35] Roemer, *War of the Rebellion,* 133.
[36] Bardeen, *Little*, 56.

from buttoning two cotton tent flaps together. They were made for two soldiers with the idea being that each soldier would carry one half of the tent on campaign. Bardeen writes, "It had no floor and was open at both ends, and if the rain continued it soon leaked through, but it was light and convenient and of considerable service, in every way preferable to the larger tents in which earlier in the war groups of men were herded together."[37] These tents were not the best looking, but they were efficient, easily stored, and were reliable. Bardeen makes note of the dependability of these tents when he wrote,

> A camp of shelter tents was not handsome, even when they were set in company streets; they were so irregular in angle and in spread that they looked sprawly, for the space covered depended on the height of the forked sticks, some solders preferring a high tent and some a broad one. But on the whole the old soldier remembers his shelter tent kindly.[38]

These tents allowed soldiers to adapt to a variety of different situations when on campaign that helped them find a somewhat comfortable shelter to get through the night.

A final example of an everyday challenge the soldiers of the Union army faced and overcame was dealing with bugs in their uniform. Despite their improvisation skills helping them adapt to many different scenarios some of the men had to learn the hard way in order to improve their conditions. An example of this hard learning would be when the soldier did not daily inspect his uniform for pests. Bardeen personally recorded learning from this example when his shirt's stitching became infested with bugs after a friend realized he did not inspect his clothes. The next time he was alone, he decided to accept his friend's advice and inspected his shirt. Bardeen recalled,

> But the shirt was thick of wool with wide seams, and when I turned over the first seam I felt as if I should faint. There they were, big and little and nits, a garrison of them. I had blue days since I enlisted, but this was the first time I wished I had stayed at home. Must I endure this sort of thing for three more years? I made sure the present generation were extinct and went back to camp a sadder and a wiser boy.[39]

The result of Bardeen's experience was that he always remembered to check his shirt for bugs and this instance was the first time Bardeen questions why he signed up. After this lesson Bardeen learned quickly to improvise solutions that would improve his daily conditions. The enlisted soldiers were not the only ones who had to suffer through the terrible conditions of campaign. The general officers also went through these same conditions living in improvised camps. For example, Bardeen describes seeing the condition of Major General Ambrose Burnside, and how he was dealing with a pest infestation on his uniform. Bardeen wrote,

> He was a distressful looking object. His face was dirty, the whiskers to which he gave the name [Burnside's sideburns] were unkempt, his clothes were bespattered, the stars on his shoulder-straps were dimmed, and though I have no statistics I will guarantee that if

[37] Ibid., 17.
[38] Ibid., 17.
[39] Bardeen, *Little*, 21.

> every living thing buttoned up under his muddy blue coat had been a soldier, Gen. Burnside would have been pretty nearly a regiment.[40]

The general officers not being spared from the miserable conditions the enlisted men faced helped unite these men together. This unification contributed to their comradery because everyone suffered the same experiences, and everyone improvised to get by.

The experiences of soldiers in the Union Army of the Potomac, when they describe their lives on campaign, are important because it allows the modern generation to relate to what they went through. The soldiers' deaths on the battlefield are even more tragic, once the reader understands the context of how they got there. Those emotions of sympathy, tragedy, and sorrow are amplified when the reader is given that precious context of how those relationships were formed. Those work details of going on fatigue duty together, sharing rations, or passing the time by playing pranks on new recruits, winning a recent game of baseball or wrestling united them together. The hardships these men faced on a daily basis such as checking their clothes for insects, battling boredom, being sore after a hard day's march, and desiring some fresh food allow the stories to jump off of the page. The memoirs of these soldiers more importantly express how the men adapted and overcame the daily hardships they faced through improvisation. Whether it was food such as replacing their worm covered meat with Susie King Taylor's turtle egg custard, or for sleeping conditions like Charles Bardeen using his knapsack for a pillow. These soldiers took miserable situations and made it just a little more tolerable by taking a spare moment to boil a pot of coffee with everyone rushing in once it was ready. These men were only able to adapt to army life because they had each other's back. If Bardeen's friend would not have told him to inspect his clothes for bugs, who knows how long he would have gone before noticing an entire colony of insects living inside his clothes. These stories are relatable to the modern generation because everyone can understand having a laugh with good friends, battling boredom on a daily basis, and finding joy in sipping a nice hot cup of coffee to start the day. These experiences reveal how the Union soldiers improvised everything they could to make their lives better while fighting to keep the United States of America together as one nation.

[40] Ibid., 21.

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Black Women in the Shadows of the Civil War

Rasul Wright

The role of African American women in the Civil War has been consistently unexplored in a comprehensive historic manner. Others such as white Union Army nurse Clara Barton are routinely profiled in scholarly work for their volunteer work as a nurse: "The horrors that Union nurse Clara Barton witnessed during the war inspired her to spend her life helping others."[1] Unfortunately, rarely are African Women given similar reverence in historical texts regarding the Civil War. Like Barton, African American women such as Susie King Taylor were able to express numerous learned experiences from their time spent with the Union Army and, as a result, spent their whole lives helping others. Yet, the experiences and lifelong contributions of these women are sparsely explored in detail. Documenting the contributions of African American women to the Civil War is important, as they were instrumental to the war effort of the Union Army and thus their contributions and stories deserve to be recognized. To adequately understand the totality of the past, we need to remember the roles and contributions of all its participants. Many have been overlooked and left out of history, leaving them in dire need of redress.

Throughout the numerous battles of the Civil War, African American women played a critical role. Marvelous women such as Harriet Tubman, Susie King Taylor, Sojourner Truth, and Mary Elizabeth Bowser all had critical contributions to the war. Their exploits included feeding the Union soldiers hearty meals before battle, improving soldiers' literacy, tending to the wounded, working as spies who freed hundreds of enslaved African Americans, delivered messages to Union officers, and organized relief organizations which aided black war veterans and freed African Americans. After the war, African American women remained in positions such as nurses and teachers, in addition to setting up aid organizations for African American military veterans, though none of them were paid. To truly understand the full scope of the past, we need to consider the roles and contributions of all participants. Some who have been overlooked were, nonetheless, instrumental. Not including these women's stories in history leads to mistaken assumptions that they played no important role. Thus, in this article I attempt to fill this historiographical gap by examining and contextualizing the notable experiences of Susie King Taylor, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman and Mary Elizabeth Bowser.

[1] Gerald A. Danzer, *The Americans* (New York: Holt McDougal, 2005), 306.

Susie King Taylor

Susie King Taylor's roles in the kitchen and as a laundress were important to the diet and health of the men in the Union Army's 33rd Colored Regiment. Taylor originally served as a regimental laundress to the 33rd and additional duties that she would undertake included tasks such as washing and cooking.[2] Typically, during wartime, a laundress would clean the clothes of soldiers and officials depending on their ranks.[3] Taylor didn't commit an extensive amount of time to this specific role because she performed numerous roles in the Union Army beyond what was expected of her. As Taylor noted in her memoir, "I was on hand to assist whenever needed. I was enrolled as company laundress, but I did very little of it, because I was always busy doing other things through camp."[4] She would make dishes such as soup, hot bread, and meat for the soldiers and would sometimes use fresh vegetables to give to the commanding officers and soldiers of the 33rd Colored Troops.[5] Taylor addressed her dishes on one account, stating, "We had fresh beef once in a while, and we would have soup, and the vegetables we put in this soup were dried and pressed. They looked like hops and the salt beef was our stand-by."[6] Because Taylor cooked hearty meals for the troops, they were able to adequately conserve their energy and fight in several battles.

Taylor had further importance in her role as a teacher. Because Taylor was able to raise the soldiers' literacy, she was seen as an asset to military generals and leaders of the Union Army. Literacy among women during the 19th century was very rare and to have an African American woman who was literate was even more scarce. Taylor was able to use her learned skills to help soldiers and their families become better educated, which made them more useful to the war effort. Taylor was among one of the youngest women to serve the 33rd United States Colored Troops, and due to her education and literacy, she moved into a position of greater utility to the regiment of former slaves as a reading and writing instructor.[7] Her instruction to the regiments of former slaves as a reading teacher would provide them the ability to read, which was critical to both interpreting messages that they received on the battlefield and having the ability to think critically about situations at hand.[8] As such, the role that Taylor played in educating the soldiers served as a pivotal point in the morale of the soldiers overall because they were able to read thanks to her work. Abolitionist Colonel Thomas Wentworth of the 33rd Unit wrote about his men, stating, "Their love of the spelling-book is perfectly inexhaustible," indicating that his troops were very much enjoying their literacy.[9] The literacy of these soldiers was attributed to the work of women such as Susie King Taylor, and she would go on to be the first African American teacher for freed peoples in Georgia.[10]

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[2] Susie King Taylor, *A Black Woman's Civil War Memoirs*, ed. Patricia W. Romero and Willie L. Rose (Boston: Markus Wiener, 2009), 35.
[3] Ibid., 35.
[4] Ibid., 35.
[5] Ibid., 29.
[6] Ibid., 29.
[7] Ibid., 24-25.
[8] Ibid., 40-42.
[9] Ibid., 32-35.
[10] Ibid., 22-24.

Taylor provided further utility in her role as a nurse, using her skill to aid the sick and helping in areas where her regiment was short of staff by tending to soldiers and managing weapons. These protocols were held in high importance, and it is critical to note that Taylor and other women were tasked with performing such roles. Taylor worked alongside Clara Barton, another noteworthy nurse during the war, while she was in Beaufort, South Carolina, where they catered to a number of sick and wounded people.[11] Taylor recalled her time working as a nurse, saying, "When at Camp Shaw, I visited the hospital in Beaufort, where I met Clara Barton. There were a number of sick and wounded soldiers there, and I went often to see to my comrades."[12] As a caretaker, Taylor aided the soldiers by cleaning their guns and testing them for accurate firing before they would go off with the weapons each day.[13] As Taylor explains, "I assisted in cleaning the guns and used to fire them off to see if the cartridges were dry and cleaning and reloading each day. I was also able to take the guns apart and put them back together again… I found this to be very fun"[14]

Though Taylor was seen as valuable and important to the Union Army cause, she was not deemed valuable enough by those in charge to receive compensation for her work. This meant she was not able to enjoy the gratification of getting recognized for her great contributions in the form of monetary benefits, and instead she received nothing but memories and a good story in addition to the skills she had honed during the war. Taylor served the Union army for approximately four years and three months, without pay, noting how she was never compensated for her service. "I gave my services willingly for four years and three months without receiving a dollar."[15] Taylor received no funding for her efforts after the war, but she was able to receive $100 for her late-husband Sergeant Edward King in the form of a pension payment. Taylor recalled her husband's payment, stating, "In 1872, I put in a claim for my husband's bounty and received one hundred dollars, some of which I put in the Freedmen's Savings Bank."[16] She was also able to receive financial assistance from her brother-in-law who supported her financially, stating, "My brother-in-law supported me."[17] Like many other African American women during and after the war, Taylor relied heavily on others for her finances because she did not receive any money for her services with the Union Army.

Sojourner Truth

Like Taylor, another African American woman with remarkable contributions was Sojourner Truth. Sojourner Truth spent the majority of her career working as a volunteer and assistant within the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, better known as the Freedmen's Bureau. This bureau was formally established on March 3, 1865, when Congress passed an act to formally establish the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees, providing shelter, food, medical services, and other material needs to newly freed and displaced African Americans and

[11] Ibid., 21.
[12] Ibid., 26.
[13] Ibid., 26.
[14] Ibid., 21.
[15] Ibid., 31.
[16] Ibid., 30.
[17] Ibid., 55.

Southerners.[18] While working for the Freedmen, Sojourner Truth was able to give aid to African Americans who were impacted by the Civil War by providing them with food, clothing, aid, and shelter. Truth served as an aid to numerous African Americans who found themselves to be recently freed from slavery in the South. At the beginning of the war, Truth was in Washington D.C. working with the Freedmen to be able to provide aid for numerous African Americans during the war.[19] According to historian Mabee Carleton, "Truth was deemed to be effective and exuberant because she felt that she could be useful to the Freedmen. Though her visits to Lincoln pleased her, she did not particularly dwell on it, nor did she relate it to the work she was doing for the Freedmen."[20] When Lincoln began to accept African Americans into the Union Army as soldiers, Truth thought that it was another example of, "niggers cleaning after the white man's mess … Just as it was when I was a slave—the niggers always have to clean up after the white folk," but she was delighted that blacks would now have the chance to fight.[21] Truth served the Union Army by enlisting blacks to the war, even enlisting her own grandson, James Caldwell.[22] Working closely with the National Freedman's Relief Association, she was able to rally people to donate much needed clothes, food, and other critical supplies to black refugees. She found solidarity in her position as a helper and leader of the Freedmen cause. Truth noted her experience with the Freedmen in her narrative, stating, "And here I am in the midst of the Freedmen, women and children, and I am in a comfortable place here at the house of Rev. D.B. Nichols."[23]

Truth garnered such a reputation that she was able to procure a meeting with President Lincoln, allowing Truth the ability to glean a general synopsis of President Lincoln's approach to African Americans and how his actions towards her translated to his overall actions towards African Americans in the war. Harriet Tubman, another prolific African American woman whose exploits will be detailed below, was able to further advocate for her initiative while working with the Freedmen thanks to the recognition of President Lincoln. Truth was able to meet Lincoln on several occasions, and in writing letters while at the Freedmen's government camp on an Island near the Potomac River, she said,

> I have been to see the President and was there three hours. Mrs. [Lucy] Coleman [of Rochester] was with me [at the White House] all the forenoon from eight in the morning until twelve at noon. He put his name in my book and invited me to come again … I calculated to go see President Lincoln again. I felt like I was in the presence of a friend, and I now thank God from the bottom of my heart that I always have advocated his cause and have done it openly and boldly.[24]

Truth's extensive time spent with the President serves as an indicator of the friendship and impact that President Lincoln had on her life. Such friendships opened the door of opportunity

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[18] U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, "The Freedmen's Bureau," *U.S. National Archives and Records Administration*, https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/freedmens-bureau.
[19] Mabee Carleton, *Sojourner Truth: Slave, Prophet, Legend*, (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 115.
[20] Ibid., 120-25.
[21] Ibid., 116.
[22] Matt Mullen, "Sojourner Truth," *History.com*, https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/sojourner-truth.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Carleton, *Sojourner Truth*, 119-20.

for her to work diligently within the Freedmen's Bureau and positively impact the outcome of the Civil War.

Truth's work with black Union soldiers was also crucial, providing them with the courage and spirit that they needed to continue the fight while reminding them what they were truly fighting for. Truth was able to resurrect the spirit that the men needed to make it through to the end of the war. Working closely with the National Freedman's Relief Association, she was able to rally people to donate much needed clothes, food, and other critical supplies to black refugees. She found solidarity in her position as a helper running the freedmen cause, also providing several military companies with home cooked holiday meals. In November 1863, Truth decided to collect contributions for the black regiment of volunteers in Detroit, Michigan.[25] On Thanksgiving Day, when she came to Camp Ward in Detroit with warm food for the soldiers, the colonel ordered the soldiers to form a line for her and the camp commenced in giving her a patriotic speech.[26] Truth also wrote a song for black soldiers to sing at the time with the intent to keep their courage and faith high, using a familiar tune that everyone was accustomed to so that they could keep time. Songs such as these gave the soldiers a strong reminder of who and what they were fighting for - freedom, justice and equality.[27] In the song she entitled, "The Valiant Soldiers," she included the phrase, "fight for the law," which served as a symbolic example for her respect for the law of the land.[28] Several excerpts from the song highlight the heroism and patriotism of African American soldiers:

> We are the valiant soldiers who've 'listed for the war.
> We are fighting for the Union; we are fighting for the law.
> We can shoot a rebel farther than a white man ever saw,
> As we go marching on
> Look there above the center, where the flag is waving bright.
> We are going out of slavery; we are bound for freedom's light.
> We mean to show Jeff Davis how the Africans can fight.[29]

Truth intended to highlight the significance of African American soldiers to the Union war effort and their propensity to dominate the Confederate forces. With Truth comparing African soldiers to white soldiers, she places a high demand on the importance of the ability of the African soldiers to triumph in battle. The lyrics within the Truth's song, "The Valiant Soldiers," advocated for the upliftment of the African American soldiers in the face of negative stereotypes projected towards African American soldiers who were often perceived as unintelligent, incompetent, and undisciplined for service.[30] In this way, the advocacy that Truth was able to promote for the African soldiers uplifted their spirits and helped to challenge negative stereotypes centered around African American soldiers.

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[25] Ibid., 117.
[26] Ibid., 119.
[27] Ibid., 122.
[28] Ibid., 122.
[29] David Walls, "Marching Song of the First Arkansas Colored Regiment: A Contested Attribution" *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 66, no. 4 (2007): 409-411.
[30] Carleton, *Sojourner Truth*, 115.

Harriet Tubman

Truth would also cross paths with another notable African American woman, Harriet Tubman. Truth's meeting with Tubman was a significant event in history because it addressed the perspectives between critical leaders during the war and their reasons for contributing to the war. Tubman and Truth were able to get a more concrete understanding of what they thought President Lincoln was trying to do and how his decisions did and didn't affect their role in the war. In the summer of 1864, while in Boston, Truth was able to meet with Tubman and they discussed the war efforts and the role that President Abraham Lincoln had to play.[31] Their dialogue would later be seen as critical to historians in their ability to understand the image that Abraham Lincoln had among African American soldiers and military leaders for the Union Army, such as Tubman and Truth. While discussing the war effort, Truth tried to convince Tubman that President Lincoln was a true friend to the African American community. Tubman continuously rebutted this view, countering that Lincoln had little care for the black community because he allowed black soldiers to be paid less than white soldiers.[32]
Harriet Tubman's work in the Underground Railroad, where she helped to covertly free the enslaved, helped make a name for herself and thus made her an asset to Union military leaders who valued her notoriety. Prior to the war, Tubman was able to serve the underground railroad as a conductor, rescuing and freeing over 70 slaves in Maryland alone and aiding hundreds of others in their journey to freedom.[33] With Tubman's prior experience in operating under dangerous secretive missions and her loyalty to freeing the enslaved, she was seen as a resourceful addition to the Union Army in the coastal South.[34] During the mid-17th century, many progressive figures such as Levi Coffin noted Harriet Tubman as a famous figure, stating, "Tubman was well on the way to celebrity in transatlantic Quaker antislavery networks."[35] Notably, Harriet was referred to as the "Black Moses" by many slaves who travelled north.[36]

Harriet Tubman's willingness to serve in her tenure with the Union army was critical to the Union victory in several noteworthy battles, including the War in the Sea Islands from 1861-1862. This conflict couples several momentous battles that ensued along the black waters of the South Carolina Combahee River. Here along the Combahee River, Tubman contributed tremendously to the turning point of the war by freeing thousands of enslaved Africans from their plantations and enlisting many of them into the Union Army. In the spring of 1862, Tubman strategically devised a plan where she helped raid Confederate outposts and rice plantations, ultimately cutting off direct supply lines to Confederate troops. Through prompt planning and strategic maneuvers, Tubman uprooted and freed thousands of enslaved Africans, and contributed tremendously to the increase of Union Army Soldiers.[37]

Moreover, Tubman asserted her influence during the Civil War by serving in the capacity of a nurse. In early 1862, Tubman traveled to South Carolina where she began working as a nurse for

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[31] Ibid., 118.
[32] Ibid., 135-37.
[33] Janell Hobson, "Harriet Tubman: Legacy of Resistance," *Meridians* 12, no. 2 (2014): 3.
[34] Ibid., 4.
[35] Ibid., 5.
[36] Ibid., 3.
[37] Jean Humez, *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 49.

the Union. As a Union nurse, Tubman was responsible for providing aid to black soldiers and newly freed slaves alike.[38] Tubman's role as a nurse mirrors similar experiences as other African American women like Susie King Taylor. Her service in this capacity helped to ensure the general welfare of the soldiers and their families during time of war. While working as a nurse in 1862, Tubman was responsible for the general healthcare and welfare of hundreds of soldiers, their wives, and children, serving as a nurse to the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers after the battle on Fort Wagner in Charleston Harbor. While tending to the soldiers, Tubman described the conditions of the soldiers as being unbearable.[39] Tubman stated, "The conditions are beyond unsanitary," highlighting the harsh and unaccommodating conditions in which the soldiers in the Union Army lived.[40]

Tubman also provided value to the Union Army through her strategic thinking and organizational skills. Her ability to plan and lead missions provided the Union generals with additional leadership and manpower that helped them to win the war. Working as a spy she led scouting missions behind Confederate lines while working with General David Hunter. Tubman was able to display her fearlessness and importance in this manner, and her efforts in the raids from the Combahee River on June 1, 1863, served as one of her most notable works during the war. In 1863, Tubman was able to accompany Colonel James Montgomery in their effort to raid Confederate outposts, destroy bridges and rice plantations, and to cut off supply lines to Confederate troops. Tubman would also occasionally travel behind enemy lines and supply enslaved Africans with information concerning planned escape attempts and to distribute clothing to African Americans who were coming into the Union lines. Tubman recalled her experiences, stating, "They changed their programs and wanted me to go down and distribute clothes to the contraband who were coming into the Union lines night and day."[41]

While working for the Union Army, Tubman was responsible for overseeing and making sure that the Union scouts were able to work together to determine the geographical location of the Confederates. Additionally, Tubman was responsible for finding out where Confederate forces had covertly placed underwater torpedoes—a common and deadly tactic utilized by the Confederates as a result of their comparatively small naval force. The importance of this task and Tubman's assignment to help complete it cannot be understated. During the raid of the Combahee River, Historian Janell Hobson, recalls Tubman's role of locating torpedoes, stating, "For the Combahee River raid, Tubman directed the advance spying activities of the scouts, and together they determined where the Confederate forces had placed torpedoes."[42] Tubman was also able to obtain information from the enslaved Africans, which helped her to locate the weapons more efficiently.[43]

The journey that Tubman made to the Combahee River to free hundreds of slaves was seen as a major turning point for the war. Tubman, Montgomery, and 300 soldiers travelled aboard the

[38] Ibid., 52.
[39] Ibid., 52.
[40] Karsonya Wise Whitehead, "Beyond Myths and Legends: Teaching Harriet Tubman and Her Legacy of Activism," *Meridians* 12, no. 2 (2014): 10-12.
[41] Humez, *Harriet Tubman,* 51.
[42] Hobson, "Harriet Tubman," 5.
[43] DeNeen L. Brown, "Renowned as a Black liberator, Harriet Tubman was also a brilliant spy," The Washington Post, February 12 2021, https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2021/02/08/harriet-tubman-spy-civil-war-union/.

USS John Adams and two other gunboats through the Combahee River to free several hundred slaves. The following day, June 2, 1863, at around 2:30am, Tubman led 150 men to a neighboring plantation to free men, women, and children from their enslavement.[44] By using row boats to transport the freed slaves to the ships, Tubman was able to efficiently lead the escaping slaves to freedom with only one casualty. In addition to freeing the enslaved Africans, Tubman and her troops also torched plantation fields, mills, warehouses and mansions. She would break her troops into units, send them to specific locations, and have them burn down essential locations within the town. As argued by scholar Jean Humez, these actions constituted the ultimate humiliation for Confederacy soldiers who could only stand and watch everything they built being burnt to the ground by the people whom they enslaved.[45] Through their efforts, Montgomery and Tubman were able to rescue more than 700 slaves in the neighboring plantations.[46] Her actions were celebrated in northern newspaper presses all throughout the Union territories, resulting in the rapid spread of her fame. Tubman claimed that these experiences were like none she had seen before, stating, "They reminded me of the children of Israel coming out of Egypt."[47] Her efforts in this endeavor would make her the first woman to successfully lead an expedition during the Civil War.[48] Tubman was fearless and brave; she was able to accomplish large feats while being illiterate, even retrieving intelligence from Confederate military bases and reporting it back to her commanding officers.[49]

Many of Tubman's contemporaries noted her immense amount of fame and success during the Civil War, highlighting her importance during battle. Her valuable deeds and contributions were noted by a nameless close friend in Auburn to whom she told her stories of war: "Harriet Tubman was sent to Hilton Head (she says) in May 1862, at the suggestion of Governor Andrew, with the idea that she would be a valuable person to operate within the enemies' lines, in procuring information & scouts."[50] Maj. Gen. David Hunter, who served as the commander of the Department of the South, gave Tubman a very valuable military pass in 1861, stating, "Give [Tubman] free passage at all times, on all government transports."[51] Owing to her illiteracy, when she gathered intelligence as a spy, she was forced to commit everything to memory. She was able to guide ships to strategic designated locations and translate critical war information without writing anything down, something that was seen as astonishing for any military leader at the time.[52] As Tubman's nameless close friend in Auburn confirmed, "She [Tubman] pretended to read… she was very much illiterate."[53]

Similar to the experience of Susie King Taylor, Tubman's work in the war was never compensated and she was not paid for her service after the war. Even after contesting this great injustice, she still never received any payment on the behalf of her efforts during the war. She took it upon herself to petition the Federal Government several times so that she would be paid

[44] Humez, *Harriet Tubman*, 61.
[45] Ibid., 60.
[46] Ibid., 54.
[47] Hobson, "Harriet Tubman," 2.
[48] Brown, "Renowned."
[49] Lesli J. Favor, *Women Doctors and Nurses of the Civil War* (New York, NY: The Rosen, 2004), 15.
[50] Humez, *Harriet Tubman*, 50-51.
[51] Hobson, "Harriet Tubman," 1.
[52] Humez, *Harriet Tubman*, 58.
[53] Ibid., 189.

for her duties as a soldier but was denied.[54] Tubman's inability to receive adequate compensation for her work with the Union Army resulted in her mixed feelings toward President Lincoln and his perspective on African Americans. It wouldn't be until years after the war until Tubman was given pension on behalf of her dead husband who was a Black Union soldier, much the same as Taylor.[55]

Mary Elizabeth Bowser

Another remarkable African American woman of this period was Mary Elizabeth Bowser. Through her relationship with Elizabeth Van Lews, a prolific white Union spy and abolitionist, Bowser would gain the educational background and position that she needed to be able to be effective in her role as a spy. Van Lews was a Northern educated woman who volunteered as a nurse for Lieutenant David H. Todd, the half-brother of First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln, and later became a Union spy under General Benjamin Butler. Without Van Lews, it is unlikely Bowser would have been able to make the impact that she did on the Union war effort. A young Van Lews, who was the child of the slave masters who owned Bowser at the time, was able to notice Bowser's intelligence at a young age and sent her to study at a Quaker school in Pennsylvania to receive a formal education.[56] Van Lews and her mother used the money they received from their father to free the relatives of the slaves that her family owned.[57] After this, Van Lews began aiding the Union Army by serving as a volunteer nurse at a warehouse in Richmond, from there she was able to send hidden messages and escape plans for Union Soldiers.[58]

Following in Van Lews' footsteps, Bowser began her work as a spy for the Union Army in the house of Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Bowser's work began in 1863, as Van Lews formed a ring of spies encompassing 12 people, some of whom were clerks in the navy and war departments of the Confederacy. Bowser was enlisted as a spy due to the fact that she was highly intelligent, possessed a photographic memory, and was a considerably good actress in the eyes of Van Lews. These characteristics would be seen as very useful to the war effort for the Union military leaders.[59] Her efforts in acting allowed her to obtain a position as a domestic worker at the Confederate White House. While working at the house of Jefferson Davis, Bowser was able to obtain information without being noticed due to her unobtrusive approach to serving. Since she was on the level of a slave by the leaders of the confederacy and expected to not know how to read and write, they had no reason to suspect her intentions and occasionally left important documents out where she could read them.[60] Van Lews, who was working for the Union Army at the time of the war as an espionage agent, called for Bowser to return home to aid her in her efforts.[61]

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[54] Ibid., 68.
[55] Ibid., 63.
[56] Thad Morgan, "How a Black Spy Infiltrated the Confederate White House," *History.com*, 2018, https://www.history.com/news/female-spies-civil-war-mary-bowser-elizabeth-van-lew.
[57] Elizabeth R. Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy: The True Story of Elizabeth Van Lew, Union Agent in the Heart of the Confederacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 166-169.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Morgan, "How a Black Spy."
[60] Lois Leveen, *The Secrets of Mary Bowser* (New York: Harper Collins, 2002), 260.
[61] Ibid., 261.

Bower's initiatives as a spy for the Union Army were significant to the strategic planning of Union military generals. Due to the efforts of Bowser, they were able to retrieve information about the positioning of the Confederate Army so that Union commanders, such as Ulysses S. Grant, would be able to draft their next moves. Through diligent spying, superb acting, and her photographic memory, Bowser was able to read military plans and retain the information for weeks at a time without forgetting. She was able to read secret military documents, lists of troop movements, specific strategies, and other critical information.[62] In addition to remembering written documents, Bowser was also able to overhear important conversations between Confederate leaders. She would commence in writing letters in coded language to Elizabeth Van Lew and gave them to a local Union agent named Thomas McNiven who worked at a local bakery. Bowser would then give the information to McNiven when the bakery wagon would come around to the Davis house.[63] Bowser's information was sent directly to Union Generals Benjamin Butler and Ulysses S. Grant. Acknowledging the importance of this information, Grant commented on the efforts of Bowser and Van Lews, stating, "You have sent me the most valuable information received from Richmond during the war."[64] In this way, Bowser's efforts were critical to Union commanders in their efforts to strategize against the Confederacy.

Conclusion

In summation, African American women like Susie King Taylor, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, and Mary Elizabeth Bowser were critical to the Union war effort but often failed to receive appropriate recognition for their deeds. African American women who served in the Civil War worked in positions that traditionally received payment, although they themselves did not. Many of the women who worked for the Dix's Corps, the organization that recruited white women from the North to serve as nurses for the Union during the Civil War, received payment for their work.[65] Under the leadership of Dorothea Dix, who was the superintendent of Army Nurses, white women who served as nurses during the war under her leadership and guidance received 40 cents a day, in addition to rations, housing and transportation—African American women were not so lucky.[66] We know of women such as the ones mentioned in this paper because they had some sort of fame attached to their names during their lifetime, but countless other remarkable black women were undoubtedly lost to history for this reason.. Several white women were able to write memoirs and lectured about their experiences during the war. Only a few African American Women such as Susie King Taylor, were able to personally write memoirs about their experiences and many went unpublished until decades after their services.[67]

After the war, these black women were not compensated for their work and they tended to work for an extensive amount of time after the war as nurses and teachers. Many women who were able to volunteer their time as nurses returned to their families. However, there were still many women who were discharged, who stayed back at the army hospitals to tend to the wounded

[62] Ibid., 276.
[63] Ibid., 284.
[64] Ibid., 285.
[65] Favor, *Women Doctors and Nurses*, 72-73.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid., 14.

soldiers.[68] In addition to writing memoirs and aiding sick troops after the war, other former nurses turned to assisting newly freed slaves in the role as teachers and they organized relief funds that were donated to the homeless.[69] If women were to be paid for their efforts during the war, they were typically white women; black women were not afforded the same opportunity to receive payment for their efforts.[70] Susie King Taylor was never compensated for her services towards the 33rd Colored Regiment, Harriet Tubman was never compensated for her services after petitioning the Union Army, Sojourner Truth was never paid by the Union Army and worked for the Freedmen was on a volunteer basis, and Mary Elizabeth Bowser received no payment from the Union Army for her services as a spy while also working on a volunteer basis.

Unfortunately, African American women tend to fall to the wayside of history and these women are the notable exceptions. Research conducted in 2013 by Jessica B. Schocker and Christine Woyshner highlights how African American women are underrepresented and unappreciated in U.S. History textbooks.[71] Through their research, they were able to take note of the underrepresentation of African American women in history, stating, "Women are found in less than 15 percent of the images in the African American history text."[72] With the lack of representation among women of color within U.S. history, students of different demographics are unable to relate to the history that they are being taught because they aren't able to see themselves in the making of the society that they currently live within. Not including a significant amount of imagery and literature on African American women's contributions to history belittles the significance of their roles and diminishes their contributions in the shaping and molding of American society. These women were as crucial to the making of U.S. history as their white peers, and without them, it is quite likely the United States would look very different.

[68] Ibid., 9-12.
[69] Ibid., 15-16.
[70] Taylor, *Reminiscences*, 14-18.
[71] Jessica B. Schocker and Christine Woyshner, "Representing African American Women in U.S. History Textbooks," *The Social Studies* 104, no. 1 (2013): 23.
[72] Ibid., 24.

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The Haitian Revolution and its Effect on American Slavery

Eric Ports

The year 1791 saw one of the most ambitious revolts against the status quo of the late 18th century occur in the French colony of Saint-Domingue, as African-descended slaves rebelled against their masters. The Haitian Revolution brought an end to the system of slavery in the former French colony and challenged the hypocrisy that was evident in the American War for Independence of 1776 which proclaimed a new era of liberty and equality whilst continuing to flourish off of the inhumane system of chattel slavery. The fledgling United States, which just 15 years prior had proclaimed its own independence against the British Empire, reacted with fear. By the beginning of the Haitian revolution, the United States had perpetuated the system of slavery by institutionalizing it in order to bolster its infantile economy. This system was most predominant in the rural South, and the southern states were reliant upon maintaining slavery in order to uphold their agricultural economy. When word of the slave uprising in Haiti reached America, the US Congress responded by instituting harsh policies aimed at restricting what little rights Black Americans already had in an effort to prevent a similar uprising that they felt would threaten their carefully constructed society.

When the slaves of Saint-Domingue rebelled against their French masters and established their own government, fear spread throughout the United States and the South in particular, where the concept of a similar slave revolt was most likely to occur. This initial response was not remedied by Haitian refugees who brought stories of the rebellion, recounting acts of terror and brutality. It was not long before American legislators sought to answer the question of what was to be done in order to prevent the spread of such a slave rebellion to the United States. The result of this was a period that can best be characterized by the harsh laws created which were aimed at Black Americans, both enslaved and free, in order to prevent organization and association that these legislators believed could lead to agitation or even a full-scale revolution.

Considering all of this, it is apparent that the Haitian Revolution struck a particular chord with the early leaders of the United States. The reason for this is that the Haitian Revolution acted as a physical manifestation of the greatest fear of the fledgling United States' plantation owner class, one of the main bases of power of the federal government, and it symbolized an existential threat to what its founders sought to create. To early American leaders, it acted as an example of the complete destruction of the socioeconomic order that they sought to preserve—an aristocratic republic of European settlers where they could mutually expand their own financial interests free from the weight of Europe's Ancien Régime. The Haitian Revolution highlighted the hypocrisy in the American founders' claims of establishing an Enlightened society whilst expanding the

primitive system of human bondage that could be found in slavery. In order to demonstrate this, an explanation of the revolution itself is necessary. Then, the American experience outside of the Revolution and the ways in which its story was told in the United States will be examined through the lens of popular media. Building off of this, by looking at the reactions of American leaders through letters and first-hand accounts, this article demonstrates how these leaders personally viewed the events in Haiti. Finally, examining the measures taken by American legislators in order to prevent a similar slave revolution is necessary for getting to the root of the fears and desires of the American founders as it pertained to America's racial and economic goals. Each of these focuses ultimately demonstrate that the Haitian Revolution acted as a symbol for the existential fears of the American founders, and the harsh legislation that followed in its wake was an attempt to stop a similar event from occurring in the United States.

A Revolution of the Highest Degree

To fully explore this topic, a brief understanding of the Haitian Revolution itself is necessary. The French colony of Saint-Domingue, located on the island of Hispaniola, was established after the island had been wrested from Spanish control, and became one of Europe's main sources of sugar and coffee. Slaves brought from Africa were the main producers of these crops, and their population greatly outnumbered the rest of the colony's population which quickly came to be organized in a caste system that included the French aristocracy, White workers, free people of color (often being freed as a result of having been born with a property-owning French parent), and slaves at the very bottom of the system.[1] In 1789, word of the French Revolution and the adoption of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, reached the plantation owners of Saint-Domingue. In hopes of achieving the same financial success that the Americans managed in severing political ties to the crown and thus the taxes owed to it, the plantation owners decided that now was the time for them to declare their independence. The White working class also wanted a piece of the revolutionary pie and demanded a better station in the colony along with the right to own property, both land and slaves. Amidst the infighting of both parties, the Haitian slave class fought for their chance at freedom, and the Haitian Revolution began in earnest.[2] Led by several notable figures, such as Toussaint Louverture and Jean-Jacques Dessalines, the rebelling slaves were organized into a proper army and their struggle for freedom became a war of decolonization.[3]

Here lies the first source of the fear that would later be felt in the United States. The American Revolution originated in a manner comparable to the situation in Haiti, beginning as an uprising of the merchant, planter, and professional classes. In the American colonies, the planter and merchant classes, furious over British taxation on their wealth and inspired by the words of Enlightenment ideals coming from Europe, declared their independence and established a republic where they would have supreme political authority over themselves without infringement from European nobility. This political order would allow them to continue to operate as they had before, yielding the full benefit of their financial situations with the ability to fully chart the course of maintaining and growing their financial power within the confines of

[1] Malick Ghachem, *The Old Regime and the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 35.
[2] Ibid., 231.
[3] Ibid., 218.

their own government. In Haiti, the planter-merchant class desired to achieve the same goal, seeking to gain independence from France and then to create a government within which they could facilitate the expansion of their political and economic power. Unlike the United States, this attempt was stopped in Haiti, not by the French but by the colony's slave class. Seeing this halted attempt would have struck fear in the new American government who still had to contend with a large slave population in their own country. If the slaves of Saint-Domingue could rise up and strip political power away from those that had oppressed them, the American leaders feared the same would be possible in their own country.

Unlike the American Revolution, the series of events which precipitated the uprisings in Haiti are less clear-cut. In the 12 years spanning the Haitian Revolution, former slaves not only took control of the island, but also shifted alliances with France's enemies, aligned with France when one of its many revolutionary governments declared all slaves free, and then ultimately opposed France once more when Napoleon attempted to bring the island back under French control.[4] Several measures were taken by this Haitian government of freed slaves, not all of which aided in their quest for recognition, namely the killings of much of the colony's White population in a series of massacres over the course of the revolution. French refugees would flee to the United States and French Louisiana telling stories of these massacres and the atrocities committed against them, and this would go on to help form both European and American opinion of the rebelling slaves by painting their revolution as one of murder and brutality. While this was the narrative spouted by Haiti's neighbors and European powers, it was exaggerated intentionally to detract from the larger picture of what the Haitian Revolution stood for, namely the abolition of slavery and equality for all people. In the end, this narrative alienated Haiti from the rest of the world, cutting them off from vital resources and the diplomacy necessary for state-building which, coupled with the loss of life from the Revolution, significantly harmed the now independent Haiti's ability to prosper. Despite this, the legacy of the Haitian Revolution as the first attempt at building a free country for African-descended peoples in the Americas sets it apart, and it is within this context that the American reaction to it must be understood.

The Revolution in America's Eyes

In the United States, news of the turmoil in Saint-Domingue came primarily from either French media sources or from refugees fleeing the island. Much of the news received in the United States told stories of brutes who went through the colony burning down towns, raping and murdering the inhabitants, and casting the rest out to the sea. One example of this was a letter sent from Saint-Domingue published in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 16, 1792. This letter details the stories of atrocities being committed by the revolutionaries and the fear felt by French colonists that they might be targeted.[5] This article is noteworthy for two reasons. First, the author makes note that they hope the sentiment of slaves rebelling does not spread across the Caribbean, claiming that such a movement would require a large force of European armies to put it down.[6] This statement highlights an interesting undertone in the author's mindset, that being the notion of rebellious slaves being a force that Europeans must unite to stop as a sort of common interest, with African-descended slaves and Europeans being inherent enemies. Second, the fact that this

[4] Ibid., 207.
[5] "Blame Now Falls," *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 16, 1792, https://revolution.chnm.org/d/573.
[6] Ibid.

was published in a Northern newspaper shows that the sentiment of fear this author held at the concept of people of color rising up to ensure their freedom, was not unique to Southern states, but could also be seen in the non-slave states and was popular enough to be represented in the media. With reports such as this being among the sole information that Americans received from Saint-Domingue, it is apparent why they would have felt an immediate sense of dread at the prospect of a slave rebellion.

Another article from *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, published on July 17, 1793, covers the situation of French refugees entering into Baltimore. Much of the article focuses on the material conditions of the refugees, specifically the poverty they newly found themselves in. This article is mostly focused on the refugees and relief efforts in Baltimore intended to help them, but it also described, in the author's own words, a supposed brutality on behalf of the revolutionaries.[7] This article demonstrates similar intentions to the aforementioned article, seeking to rouse a sense of fear concerning the Haitian Revolution, but it takes on a more personal element that seems designed to relay the possibility that the American reader could find themselves in a similar position to the French refugees from Saint-Domingue. As seen in the above article, this article also refers to a sort of barbarism belonging to the revolutionaries, driving home this intended sense of fear. By describing the state in which the refugees now live, the author placed them in a state of pitiful victimhood, ignoring the context behind their previous status in Saint-Domingue and the social hierarchy that led to their expulsion through the Haitian Revolution. This is, of course, not shocking, given the similar dynamic present in the United States.

These initial reports served the purpose of instilling fear into the readers' minds. With a sizable slave population in their own country, Americans began to worry that the seeds had been sown for a similar event to occur in the US, with the Southern plantation owners filling the same role as the French refugees coming to them for aid. The significance of these articles as a whole is that they provide further evidence of the role that America's ruling class, which were in a similar position to the merchant-planter class of Haiti, had in instilling this fear into the public. With members of this class having ownership of these newspapers, such articles were easy ways of spreading the fear that this class felt into the minds of the public, a public which would have relatively little to fear practically from a slave revolt at this point in time. However, by telling the public through mass media that they would face the same fate as the slave owners of Haiti in the event of a rebellion, the American upper class would be able to mobilize the public in support of harsher treatment of slaves and anti-Black racial laws.

The leadership of the US had mixed reactions to the events which took place in Haiti. Thomas Jefferson is one figure that is widely recognized for these self-contradictory views on slavery, despite being a large slaveholder himself who relied on slave labor to maintain his socioeconomic status. While in his younger years he was, at least in theory, opposed to slavery, his views shifted as he aged, and he became more ingrained within America's developing political system. With the Haitian Revolution in full swing, one of the roots of this change of heart becomes apparent. In the "Letter from Thomas Jefferson to the Marquis de Lafayette, June 16, 1791," the effects of the Haitian Revolution on his mindset are laid out clearly. The letter was primarily congratulatory in nature, as Jefferson wrote to his old ally to laud the arrival of the French to the revolutionary stage in their own country. With France in the throes of revolution,

[7] "White Refugees," *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17, 1793, https://revolution.chnm.org/d/574.

Jefferson makes note of the situation in Saint-Domingue, calling the situation troubling and wishing for a prompt return of French control to the island. This is in direct contrast to Jefferson's seeming anti-colonial attitudes expressed in the Declaration of Independence which he had penned just a few years earlier. He goes on to suggest that the French should, upon regaining control, institute similar policies to the British in Jamaica—a policy of containment—due to the fact that the French will not be able to "reduce" the island's Black population, as he puts it.[8] With this letter, Jefferson's views regarding the perceived threat that Black populations, free or in bonds, pose to European authority in colonial—or post-colonial, as in the United States' case—societies are evident. To him, the maintenance of this European authority is paramount, even when it is so clearly contradictory to the values for which he was so strong a proponent over a decade prior.

George Washington, another founder with a vested interest in the maintenance of slavery, held similarly hostile attitudes in regard to the Haitian Revolution. When the Haitian Revolution started in 1791, Washington was in the midst of his presidency, overseeing the development of the new republic. Shortly after the slaves first started to rebel in Saint-Domingue, the then-governor of South Carolina reached out to Washington to explain his fears about the possible spread of this revolutionary spirit across the Americas, and he convinced Washington of a shared rebellious attitude among slaves everywhere, regardless of borders. Other rumors were spread that conveyed the notion that the revolting slaves would not stop in their own country but would amass and embark on a crusade to liberate slaves in the United States.[9] This created a tense situation among America's leaders, especially for the president himself. The idea that the Haitian slaves, now free and in active war against their former oppressors, would sail to North America and wage a war of liberation against the US was of particular concern to Washington, not just for the security of the nation but "for slave-based mainland fortunes… including that of the president and his family."[10] From 1797 until 1801, during the Adams presidency, the particular threat that maintaining slavery posed to the United States was given more attention. By maintaining the system of slavery, and by importing more slaves to grow the extent of this system, the slave states, which were already fearful of rebellion, were only digging themselves deeper into a position that made insurrection possible.[11] But freeing the Black population was not considered a possibility, as they saw a multiracial society as inherently unstable, and, perhaps more importantly in their minds, an act which would destroy America's economic base and the livelihoods of many of its leaders. The fear was that tales of the revolution in Haiti would inspire slaves in America to revolt, and the US Government sought to prevent such an eventuality at all costs.

The American founders were not monolithic in their personal views of slavery as an institution, and many of their writings show a wide range of opinions regarding the morality and practicality of slavery and its maintenance within their own country. Some of these figures were often self-contradicting in their views or had views that changed over time. Despite these personal opinions, little was done to actually stop the practice of slavery in the country, and much of the

[8] Thomas Jefferson, "Thomas Jefferson to the Marquis de Lafayette," June 16, 1791.
[9] Gerald Horne, "The Haitian Revolution and the Central Question of African American History," *The Journal of African American History* 100, no. 1 (January 2015): 26.
[10] Ibid., 26.
[11] Ibid., 27.

focus shifted from a moralistic desire to end the practice to a belief that the system was impractical, or, in light of the revolution in Saint-Domingue, was an inherent threat to the new country's security and legislative initiatives were then focused on reigning in the extent of the institution.

The Revolution's Effect on American Slavery

In the United States, leaders at both the state and federal level began to contemplate methods by which they could curb the ability of slaves in their own country to organize a rebellion. The first general approach was inhibiting the slave trade, stemming from the notion that the best course of action in preventing rebellious slaves was to limit the number of them within the country. The second approach was a policy of containment, with laws centered around stamping out any rebellious sentiments among all Black people in the United States, both enslaved and free. "The Haitian Revolution and the Forging of America" by historian Jim Thomson gives a comprehensive look at the specific laws passed in the wake of the Haitian Revolution that were centered around these goals. Laws related to the withering away of the slave trade include two passed in 1794 and 1800 by the federal government, both of which prohibited American citizens from equipping and serving on ships used for the slave trade.[12] Additionally, in the last decade of the 18th century Southern states began to self-regulate the slave trade. While these differed state-by-state, some of them included provisions such as limiting the number of slaves that one individual could import, and even a provision that slaves could not be brought from anywhere else in Americas.[13] This last tenant is of note, as it shows the way in which American leaders believed that revolutionary sentiment could spread if slaves that had seen the light of liberation were brought into the country. Similar to this is a 1797 law passed in Baltimore which required all slaves brought to the city from the West Indies from 1792 to the time of the passing of the bill to be exiled from the city, regardless of any other conditions.[14] These pieces of legislation are notable in that they all were centered around a concern that the fervor from the Haitian Revolution was, in a sense, transmissible among slaves, and that the best route was to prevent their entrance into the country.

These containment laws were focused on dealing with the United States' preexisting Black population. They were also partly responsible for the particularly rigid and inhumane character that American slavery is remembered for. What civil liberties slaves held preceding this period were severely curtailed out of fear that any ground given to this population would inevitably be used to organize a rebellion. Thus, many of the laws target the means through which organization could take place. Black Americans, both free and slave, were banned from meeting without the supervision of at least one White person in many states. In others, they were prohibited from meeting in public after dark and crossing state or county lines. When off plantation, they were required to carry passes showing that they were approved to do so by their master. In South Carolina, the process of freeing a slave had to be approved by five property owners and a government representative, all for the purpose of slowing down the process and preventing more freed Black citizens. Many states also barred Black people from possessing

[12] Jim Thomson, "The Haitian Revolution and the Forging of America," *The History Teacher* 34, no. 1 (November 2000): 82.
[13] Ibid., 82-83.
[14] Ibid., 82.

weapons or having jobs that were theorized might help them organize a rebellion. In the legal system, many states prohibited slaves from testifying against Whites, and in 1832, South Carolina mandated that any Black sailors coming into port had to be detained in jail until their ship of employment left port.[15]

From all these laws, the same trend is evident: the abysmal number of rights that were afforded to Black Americans were considered to be sufficient enough for them to organize a rebellion, and thus legislators felt that these rights needed to be stripped away. As Thomson points out, these laws have a direct correlation to the events in Haiti, with anti-Black laws skyrocketing in number once refugees from St. Domingue began to come to the United States.[16] What can be added to Thomson's view, however, is that these laws fundamentally changed the way many Americans felt about slavery, and that the repressive legislation passed during this period is evidence that the entire institution of slavery had now become entrenched within the country. What Thomson fails to address, and what merits further research, is how the same narratives over the Haitian Revolution affected laws in the North. Thomson's attempt in explaining the entrenchment of Southern slavery provides great insight, but only for about half of the country. A more substantial analysis of laws passed nationwide during this period that goes beyond Thomson's research would shed more light onto how the United States as a whole reacted in the legal sense to the revolution in Haiti. The research shared within this article demonstrates that the same fears that could be felt in the South were shared with the North, and that this visceral reaction cannot simply be considered a Southern issue, but a shared issue on behalf of all of the United States' upper class. Fears over the potential horrors that Whites would face if America's slaves revolted led to an even deeper desire to keep slavery institutionalized, albeit in an even harsher and inhumane form, as abolition was now widely seen as a direct road to revenge on Whites by former slaves. While efforts were made to keep new slaves from entering the United States, laws designed to contain the Black population that already existed made it so that they lived with as few rights as possible, keeping as many slaves in bondage as American legislators believed necessary.

The Legacy of the Revolution in the United States

As the immediate memory of the revolution faded, its influence still lingered in the minds of America's leaders, who often cited the stories of brutality brought by refugees in order to justify slavery's existence as calls for abolition grew. This tactic was effective at swaying the minds of legislators and the public at large, convincing them that abolition was incompatible with their own livelihoods and that revenge was the foremost desire on the minds of all Black Americans. The way in which the story of the revolution was remembered and recounted is further elaborated upon in Raphael Hoermann's "'A Very Hell of Horrors'? The Haitian Revolution and the Early Transatlantic Haitian Gothic." In this article, Hoermann describes how the story of the Haitian Revolution became a cautionary tale across the Western world, particularly as to what supposedly could happen in multi-racial societies or societies where Black people grab the reins of state power. These tales of Saint-Domingue were heavily focused on the "savages" or

[15] Ibid., 83.
[16] Ibid., 81.

"monsters" which had taken over the colony and massacred the White population.[17] Other tales center around the concept of reverse slavery, where the White population was now forced to act as forced labor for the new ruling caste of the island.[18] Hoermann attempts to show that the story of the revolution persisted in the Western world as a "gothic" horror story, warning of the threat that the alleged "savages" posed towards White populations.[19] Additionally, he points out the stories were told in a way that was largely an inversion of the treatment that Black populations faced in Western countries, threatening those hearing these stories that if they did not continue the persecution of the Black population they would inevitably have the same fate put upon them. This was done for the sake of fear mongering and perpetuating the low social status of the Black populations of Western countries. Through newspapers stories, pamphlets, and books, the upper-class of the United States was able to justify their position in the institution of slavery and its maintenance. In this dynamic they were acting as the protectors of America's racial hierarchy, and thus the safety of the White population.

The amount of fear generated by this telling of the history of Haiti was of great assistance to pro-slavery Americans, and the influence they gained ensured the expansion of slavery across America's Western territories through the early half of the 19th century. As the desire for abolition grew in the North, resulting from a growing population of freed Black Americans and a new sense of moralism regarding slavery among some White Northerners, the need to justify the system's perpetuation was also growing. Thus, fear mongering based upon the Haitian Revolution was once again brought into the public discourse, and the stakes were set much higher in the minds of American citizens. To those opposed to the practice of slavery, America was guilty of a great crime towards its Black population, and those in favor of slavery were largely of that opinion because they believed the alternative would be their subjugation or murder by a vengeful army of ex-slaves. These sentiments carried on through America's Civil War where the question of abolition soon came to be answered.

Following the Civil War and the abolition of slavery, the fears over revolution and revenge subsided for many Americans. On the other side, the ideas regarding freed ex-slaves that were bred by fearmongering which surrounded the Haitian Revolution remained, particularly in Southern states. This would go on to be the root of the institutional persecution that Black Americans would face for the next century, as even though they no longer posed the threat of being a revolutionary slave class, many southerners still harbored the notion that they threatened the racial caste system of the South. While these feelings remained in the South, the efforts of Reconstruction worked to cast these notions aside and bring equality to the freed slaves. While this effort occurred on the federal level, the link between these fears and their connection to Haiti was recognized, and Frederick Douglass, who had by now become a figure of national fame, was appointed the American diplomat to Haiti. He worked to build friendly relations between the two countries, and in his "Lecture on Haiti," he recounts the history of the relations between Haiti and the US and offers a different view to the American public regarding Haiti's independence, and not one that they had ever heard before from a government official. In this lecture, Douglass says that Haiti represents the first attempt at liberation for Afro-descendants all across the

[17] Raphael Hoermann, "'A Very Hell of Horrors'? The Haitian Revolution and the Early Transatlantic Haitian Gothic," in *Slavery and Abolition* 37, no. 1 (March 2016): 194.
[18] Ibid., 185.
[19] Ibid., 185.

Americas, and that despite attempts at sabotaging Haiti's stability by American elites, the nation's independence acts as a beacon to the world about a true fulfillment of liberty and racial equality.[20] Coming from a representative of the United States government, these statements are quite telling and show a remarkable shift in mindset on the behalf of Congress.

Douglass' statements in this lecture are not without precedent, however. As early as 1838, Black newspapers in the US were running articles calling for normalization with Haiti, and for the US to open ties with the country. In an article from *The Colored American* in November 1838, the author calls upon the US government to establish a permanent embassy in Haiti and recognize the country's independence, if not for moral reasons, then for the raw fact that the two countries had immense economic ties.[21] The author then goes on to list the dollar values of imports and exports between Haiti and the US the previous year. These values were higher than those associated with trade conducted that same year with the then independent polity of Texas, with which the US did have an ambassador.[22] The author's main point is to highlight the blatantly hypocritical situation that exists between the US and Haiti and its obvious racial undertone. Another article, published in 1848 in another abolitionist paper, *The North Star,* discusses the aforementioned fearmongering of other American publications. The author of this article attacks the headlines that continued to dominate American media discourse of Haiti, with all of its references to bloodshed and extermination for the sake of continuing racial oppression in the US.[23] This article suggests that it was no illusion to those living under the oppression of slavery and race-oriented laws that the media narrative about the Haitian Revolution and its aftermath was largely false and hyperbolic, although it would take decades until this narrative would begin to falter as the US recognized Haiti's sovereignty.

These articles show that African Americans recognized the usefulness of the Revolution in American media in continuing racial oppression, even preceding Douglass' illumination to the rest of the country that Haiti was not the country of savages that had been portrayed for over half a century. While they do not reflect much on the intricate details of the Revolution itself, these articles do show that African Americans saw Haiti as a symbol of the hope they held for freedom and saw a necessity in preventing Haiti from being alienated by its neighbors so that this symbol would not be extinguished. While Douglass' later retelling of Haitian history would not be universal in the US, it shows that, for the first time, the concepts of freedom and equality were finally being recognized from a position of power within the United States.

Conclusion

Attempts to explain the impact of the Haitian Revolution on the United States and how it handled slavery usually center around the way in which stories of brutality and savagery inspired fear in the American public. Jim Thomson's "The Haitian Revolution and the Forging of America" tells of the way in which American legislators used fearmongering tactics to pass laws that would

[20] Frederick Douglass, "Lecture on Haiti," (Lecture, Chicago, January 2, 1893).
[21] "Haiti," *The Colored American,* November 10, 1838, http://www.accessible.com.proxy-tu.researchport.umd.edu/accessible/print.
[22] Ibid.
[23] "An Abominable Slander," *The North Star,* November 3, 1848, http://www.accessible.com.proxy-tu.researchport.umd.edu/accessible/print.

restrict the ability of slaves to politically organize. Raphael Hoermann's "'A Very Hell of Horrors'? The Haitian Revolution and the Early Transatlantic Haitian Gothic" goes more in-depth on the exact stories that were passed around in the public sphere, and how these were intended to further perpetuate Haiti's story as one to be feared; a fate that could befall the United States, unless slaves were kept in check and America's racial caste system was enshrined and protected. While these two pieces hold much value in explaining the effect that the Haitian Revolution had on the public, this article demonstrates that this fear was utilized by American elites to perpetuate their status, using their control of the media to instill a similar fear of America's Black population into the public. While White citizens were afraid for their lives and their place in America's social hierarchy, America's leaders were fearful that a slave revolution jeopardized their entire project of state-building, as well their lives and means of financial status. In a state largely founded on the labor of slaves and with a social ladder built off of a permanent underclass, the image of a revolution modeled off of the events that occurred in Haiti was an existential threat to the fabric of American society.

As this research demonstrates, it is clear that America's founders were not only fearful of the threat that a slave revolt posed to their lives, but that they also feared the symbolic nature of the Haitian Revolution and the inspiration it might engender in America's slave population. Additionally, these same leaders were willing to forego the Enlightenment values upon which the United States was supposedly built and desired a restoration of colonial control and racial persecution to the island. In the decades that followed, legislators would continue to strip away the already limited rights of Black Americans, free and in captivity, out of a perpetuated fear of their revolutionary potential, largely based on the mythologized turmoil of the Haitian Revolution. Unlike the aforementioned contributions to this field, the research contained within this article also shows how these laws demonstrate the institutional nature of American slavery and the particularly cruel characteristics it gained following these pieces of legislation. The mythologization of racial violence would deeper imbed itself into the American consciousness and would continue as such even after the Civil War and the abolition of slavery. In this sense, the Haitian Revolution and the fear that it sparked in American leaders can be understood as a pivotal moment of change for the American system of slavery. It is within the context of its influence abroad that the value of studying the Haitian Revolution becomes apparent and merits more focus in the historiography of the Americas.

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Replication Cycles: Fanon, Social Death, and the Endurance of Slavery

Wuraola Adesunloye

Within the power-fueled system that the world operates in, the complex relationship between those who have power and those with a lack of power is an ever-present condition. Hence, it is no surprise that this pattern can be found in the historical foundations of slavery, and its modern evolution. Slavery is an all-consuming system where power is wielded over populations of people to force them into servitude and continually dominated over to ensure the continuation of the enslaver and slave dynamic.[1] The dominant narrative surrounding slavery focuses on it as an event within a historical vacuum. It is assumed that because it was so long ago, it does not have much impact on how the modern world operates. Within these dominant narratives, it is often strictly racialized as an issue that existed solely between black enslaved people and white slavers. This narrative on the surface appears plausible, given the hyper-focus on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in the Americas, and the logical assumption that it ended with abolition and Emancipation. However, this narrative is lacking in the details of global slavery that differ from it, or the endurance of the slavery today despite its supposed abolition close to two hundred years ago. Seeing how important slavery is to the creation of modern society, it is especially important that it is revisited by scholars, especially historians, to capture its full meaning.

In this article, I revisit slavery primarily as a form of power and domination, through the conceptual dichotomy of the native and settler expounded by the West Indies-Algerian scholar Frantz Fanon, and by factoring the dehumanization processes that individuals go through to become socially regarded as a slave which Orlando Patterson terms "Social Death." I use these theoretical frameworks to trace the continuation of slavery well past abolition and emancipation, and to explain how the hierarchical structures derived from slavery continue today in sex trafficking and slavery. Unlike Patterson, Fanon's work is fixated not on slavery particularly, but on its systematic offspring such as colonialism, racialized power, and global hegemony. Both scholars ask the same central question in their work: *Where is power centralized, and how did it get there through analyzing racial hierarchies and the validity of those hierarchies?* Ultimately, these authors, among many others, help to unpack slavery from the narrow dominant narratives of it, and reveal how the enduring exploitative hierarchies have created the conditions for slavery to continue despite its legal abolition and emancipation.

[1] Vincent Brown, *Social Death and Political Life in the Study of Slavery* (Cambridge: American Historical Review, 2009), 1233.

As British author E.H. Carr asserts, history is not a stagnant re-telling, but a constant and consistent relationship between the facts and the interpretation of those facts by historians within the context of the times.[2] It is evident that many accounts of slavery and emancipation lack the rigor to adequately explain the nuanced conditions of slavery for both the slaver and the enslaved. Due to the lack of nuanced insight on slavery, these histories have not been successful in cementing a public consensus on what slavery was really like. Both the hidden and overt continuation of the exploitative, capitalistic, and power-fueled frameworks that had their genesis in slavery continue today. To satisfy the need to unravel slavery on a theoretical and humanistic level, authors such as Kevin Bales probe at these dominant assertations by illuminating the similarities between the genesis of the systems that fostered the conditions for the system of slavery, and the current conditions that continue harming the marginalized within a society.[3] His theorization reveals that American slavery is a part of a larger pattern of labor in global slavery. Bales' research adds a nuanced and focused scope on slavery because he explains how slave systems evolved in India and how its foundational conditions live on today. Similarly, Maria De Angelis' *Human Trafficking: Women's Stories of Agency* highlights how slavery has continued in the contemporary through sex slavery by replicating the unequal power-dynamics, social death, and dehumanization which existed at the earliest iteration of slavery.[4] Her work paints a poignant picture of how slavery is intimately embedded within the identity of the enslaved and how it can obfuscate their personal, as well as perceived, identity.[5] She interrogates how this industry both takes away agency from those who are enslaved in sex slavery, but also gives space for them to resist against this loss of agency.[6]

Two slave narratives seamlessly fill Bales' gap in the scholarship on slavery. First, the story of Mary Prince, an enslaved woman who through her childhood, and most of her adulthood was brutalized by the conditions in slavery. Her peculiar experiences of slavery offers poignant insight on what is often missing in the wider scholarship.[7] In her biography, Prince takes the readers through the different power relationships that were involved in not only those between the slaver and the slave, but between other people in this slavery system. While most books recognize the often horrific conditions that enslaved individuals experienced, they struggle to depict it from the lens of the enslaved person.[8] This leaves a void in capturing the nuance of slavery as a system. In her expression, Prince captures what many dominant slave narratives do not: the true experiences of an identifiably black enslaved woman and the unique intersections of brutality that she experienced due to her status. The story of Mary Prince widens the scope of explanation about the relationships between an enslaved individual and an enslaver, and the layers and complexities of dependency that are explored in slavery.

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[2] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1961), 21.
[3] Kevin Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery Today: A Reader* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 9.
[4] Maria De Angelis, *Human Trafficking: Women's Stories of Agency* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 59.
[5] Ibid., 58.
[6] Ibid., 3.
[7] Mary Prince and Moira Ferguson, *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave: Related by Herself* (London: F. Westley and A.H. Davis, 2000), 8.
[8] Brown, *Social Death*, 1237.

Olaudah Equiano, a freed slave who wrote an autobiography that depicted the psychological and physical brutality of his awareness of his place as an enslaved individual on a slave ship.[9] In wrenching honesty, Equiano captures the layers of violence that created an enslaved class and the social death needed to make the slave system function. Additionally, I utilize the work of Maria De Angelis in *Human Trafficking: Women's Stories of Agency* to highlight how slavery has continued in the contemporary through sex slavery by replicating the unequal power-dynamics between enslaved and slaver, as well as social death through the enslaved being dehumanized as seen in the first iteration of slavery.[10] Her work paints a poignant picture of how slavery is intimately embedded within the economic and socio-political relationships that impact every facet of daily life. She interrogates how this industry both takes away agency from those who are enslaved in sex slavery, but also provides space for them to resist against this loss of agency.[11]

In examining hierarchical power structures, this article highlights how prolific slavery is as a system, how it brutalizes the enslaved, and how it brutalized the most marginalized of the enslaved such as the black enslaved woman. Additionally, I explore how the systems and conditions seen in the foundations of slavery have continued in the modern form of slavery through its offspring colonialism and the systems derived from it. The history of slavery depicts that it was, in its historical foundations, an all-consuming system that seeped its rhetoric into every facet of life in order to cement the slave system as an integral component of society within the collective consciousness of slavers.

Methodology

This paper is the outcome of qualitative desk-based research that probed at the question of the continuation of slavery in modern times. This research sought to overcome the dominant narratives of slavery by analyzing the ways in which slavery was asserted as an all-consuming system, and how these assertations created the conditions for the endurance of slavery in the modern world. To grasp the scope of literature on slavery, secondary sources including books and journal articles were consulted. The first foundational secondary source used in this research was Vincent Brown's *Social Death and Political Life in the Study of Slavery* that highlighted how the process of social death is one that is integral to a slave system in the historical and modern iterations.[12] Brown examines how survival in a space of heightened proximity to victimization is embedded within slave communities and that survival directly contests the assumptions of slavery historiography. Using Frantz Fanon's conceptualizations of the native and the settler, this article demonstrates how power roles in colonialism also applied to slavery historically and today.[13] Fanon analyzed colonialism deeply, and this stretches his original analysis to show the connection between the foundational roles power plays in colonialism and the roles necessary for slavery to be conducted. Colonialism is after all an offspring of slavery, and as such depicts overlapping similarities that cannot be ignored. Farah Peterson's *The Patriot*

[9] Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of Olaudah Equiano* (London: Hanover Historical Text Projects, 1789), 71.
[10] De Angelis, *Human Trafficking*, 59.
[11] Ibid., 3.
[12] Brown, *Social Death*, 1237.
[13] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1960), 39.

Slave was utilized to depict how the dominant narratives surrounding the types of relationships that existed between, in this instance, white enslavers and black slaves were skewed to placate those oppressed.[14] Peterson's article carves out a space that encapsulates the complex and ever-changing interactions that shaped the relationships between the slaver and enslaved. Kevin Bales' *Understanding Global Slavery* provided a valuable addition to the historiography on slavery and in-depth insight on how it is not simply the colonized state of mind that creates slavery, but it is a system that has its tentacles wrapped in the capitalist economic system that is founded on exploitation.[15] These ideas are well depicted in the Madonna-Whore complex, which denotes that there are victims of slavery, old and new, who are pure and undeserving of ill treatment and those who are not.[16] In *Human Trafficking: Women's Stories of Agency*, De Angelis highlights the duality of experience in slavery and trafficking which can obfuscate the identity and experience of the enslaved. Fanon makes the same case about the complexities of colonialism, in some contrast to Peterson's absolute view of social death.

The biography of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, depicts the unique types of brutality that one experienced through being dually disadvantaged as a woman and an enslaved individual. Published in 1831, the life of Mary Prince demonstrates the spectrum and intensity of power that existed in slavery, and how visceral the reactions of slaves were to limit the extent of power and domination being forced on them.[17] She widens the scope to include how dynamic layers of power are an integral part of the relationship between the slaver and the enslaved. Her account exemplifies Frantz Fanon's theory of decolonization and the mechanisms of survival utilized by the native/colonized/enslaved against dominant systems. Mary dismantles the surface-level absoluteness that Orlando Patterson assumed social death was, and gives life to the cycle of death and resurrection that is embedded in historical and contemporary slavery. The position of an enslaved individual is dependent on the death of the human but gives life to the enslaved in the complex positionality of slavery and the colony.[18] Societal positionality implies access to power is either heightened or muted by a person's position in society's power hierarchies. Given her position, an enslaved black woman exists in three dehumanizing social categories: enslavement, gender, and race.[19] Thus, Mary Prince lived, navigated, and survived all three social conditions of dehumanization.

Olaudah Equiano adds depth to the traditional focus of slavery research on the enslaved condition by describing his reactions to the early stages of capture and enslavement.[20] In his autobiography, Olaudah details the helplessness in his brutal capture, and the struggle of assimilating to his enslavement.[21] A key point in this struggle is highlighted in his thoughts and his actions as Olaudah slowly realizes in horror that he is no longer considered human, but as an

[14] Farah Peterson, *The Patriot Slave: The Dangerous Myth that Blacks in Bondage Chose Not to be Free in Revolutionary America* (Chicago: American Scholar, 2020), 3.
[15] Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery Today*, 16.
[16] De Angelis, *Human Trafficking*, 46.
[17] Prince and Ferguson, *The History of Mary Prince*, 6.
[18] Mitsunori Misawa, *Queer Race Pedagogy for Educators in Higher Education: Dealing with Power Dynamics and Positionality of LGBTQ Students of Color* (Greensboro: International Journal of Critical Pedagogy, 2010), 26.
[19] Patricia Hill-Collins, *It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation* (Hoboken: Wiley, 1998), 63.
[20] Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of Olaudah Equiano*, 71.
[21] Ibid., 91.

enslaved individual.[22] In a seeming affirmation of Patterson's social death, Olaudah reveals the internal psychological struggle against a condition that he had no choice in.[23] Similar to Mary Prince, his account breaks through the focus on slave resistances against his forced condition of being enslaved.[24] His navigation through the slave system adds nuance and depth to our understanding of slavery. What both slave narratives do is allow the reader to be transported to the humanity of enslaved individuals and see through their eyes what their lived realities were. This first section of the article lays the foundation for defining slavery as a system. The next section then probes at what these foundational bases are, the stories that support the theorization, and identifies what their existence in the contemporary through sex slavery reveals through the evolution of slavery as seen in the advancing secondary scholarship.

Colonialism, Slavery, and the Limits of Revision

> "History can convey a sense of what is deeply rooted in a culture, and what is ephemeral, and by extension what is important and what is not."[25]

Frantz Fanon is not usually associated with slavery scholarship. Born in 1925 within the French Colony of Martinique, the central focus of his scholarship is on the identities imposed upon populations through colonial forces, and how that imposition can be characterized through the psychological conditions of racial colonization. In his analysis of colonialism, Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* provides a conceptual dichotomy of the native and the settler that aids in understanding the nature and system of slavery.[26] By defining the settler as European colonizing power cementing dominance over Africa, and in my case, the Americas, Fanon highlights that the goal of colonialism is a total obfuscation of the cultures and indigenous systems that existed prior to European colonization, through violence that permeated every facet of the native's existence.[27] The settler thinks of the native within this dichotomy as inherently primitive, needs to go through layered violence by external colonizing forces, and must undergo forced assimilation into the settler's structure in subordinated condition. Thus, the native is placed in a constant state of aspiration towards the settler class.[28] Through enslavement and colonization, the settler, a society based on the dehumanization of the complete being of those enslaved, and the native and enslaved encounter forced assimilation to survive slavery or colonialism. Fanon's *Native and Settler* theory is essential to understanding the historical conditions that fostered the global interlocking system of slavery that continues in modern slavery despite its legal abolition. Fanon may not have referred to slavery specifically, yet the relations of power between the native and settler in the colonial framework, derives from and continues the relations between the enslaver and the enslaved as well. The native is synonymous to the enslaved and goes through similar intense violence starting with their transformation from free into a slave at capture or purchase, to their complex experiences within slavery, which ultimately aims to

[22] Ibid., 96.
[23] Ibid., 80.
[24] Ibid. 149.
[25] Michael Galgano, *Doing History: Research and Writing in the Digital Age* (Belmont: Cengage Learning, 2012), 2.
[26] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 42.
[27] Ibid., 39.
[28] Ibid., 36-38.

assimilating them seamlessly into the power structure of the settler as an underclass and under-race.[29]

Therefore, colonialism and slavery exist on the same historical platform, are dependent on the complete denial of the humanity of the enslaved and colonized, and aims at naturalizing its claims through a system which imposes on the enslaved roles and social conditions. Thus, this dominant society is characterized as one founded by the settler and slaver. It disregards the preexistence of the native and enslaved as historically insignificant, pre-modern, pre-civilization, and pre-beginning. Their existence within society is seen as being at the grace and benefaction of the settler and slaver, for which they should be grateful, obedient, and conform.

The similarity Fanon draws corrects a common error in slave research where many authors refute the longevity of slave system and posit slavery as a particular historical moment that ended with European abolitionism and American emancipation. Norman Yetman, citing John Blassingame, observes that the "… uncritical use of the Slave Narrative Collection will lead almost inevitably to a simplistic and distorted view of the plantation as a paternalistic institution where the chief feature of life was mutual love and respect."[30] Yetman demonstrates that much scholarship on slavery and the methodologies of slave research privilege the slaver and promotes the normalization of the conditions of enslavement to continue well past the legal abolition of slavery. The archive, the collection of slave interviews and memoirs, the veneration of slave holding society icons and individual who make their wealth from slavery, are designed to effectively silence the real lived experiences of the enslaved. What Fanon does differently than most in slavery research, is that he offers space for the brutal violence needed to force a population to assimilate to violent regimes through total possession of their being, to be criticized. Similarly, by highlighting the crass and perpetual violence of colonization and slavery, Fanon provides a roadmap on how to decolonize the world from its violent colonial platform, if necessary by similarly violent means. In addition, Fanon's work dismantles the common myth that the historical foundations of slavery are not impactful enough to create the contemporary systems of slavery.

Fanon asserts that violence is a universal tool which can be used to dominate and control by the slaver and imperialist, but also as a force of liberation as seen through the resistance of the natives and the enslaved. Fanon illuminates this need for resistance by describing the calculated nature of violence, stating that for the settler "…. [he/she] has come to believe that the domestication of the 'inferior races' will come about by the conditioning of their reflexes."[31] This core ideology of settler mentality, in which hides its own violence by animalizing the native and justifying this system as though to save the native from their true (animalized) nature. This patronization then justifies such great violence to yield the results of a proclaimed tamed population, i.e. good slaves who know their place and are grateful for the kindness and violence of the slaver. Faced with such patronization and all-consuming adversity, the enslaved equally responds with violence within the liminal spaces provided or crafted in slave-master relations.

[29] Ibid., 43.
[30] Norman Yetman, *Ex-Slave Interviews and the Historiography of Slavery* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1984), 186.
[31] Ibid., 17.

A poignant example of the liminal spaces of power that existed in slavery is explained by enslaved woman, Mary Prince, and her exploration of her power to survive against the horrors of slavery. Mary Prince describes her male slaver with the following insightful words: "He had an ugly fashion of stripping himself quite naked and ordering me then to wash him in a tub of water … Sometimes when he called me to wash him, I would not come, my eyes were so full of shame. He would then come to beat me."[32] The fluidity of power is such that the enslaver/settler is wholly dependent on their slave for basic human acts such as their washing and, by the same turn, is giving power to their slave due to the intimacy of the act. Her picture of her slaver is that he is infantile and animalistic. In a clear inversion of domination, she sees him as uncivilized and a brute. In such ways as this, the enslaved/native can deny degrading acts of power by carving out a space for resistance as Mary did whilst still unable to completely override the power of the enslaver. Therefore, despite the narrative that enslaved individuals were devoid of agency, they definitely crafted spaces of expression and power for themselves.

Such a realization is important to seeing the agency of women in sex slavery and gendered violence, and how they carve out spaces of resistance to achieve survival.[33] In *Human Trafficking: Women's Stories of Agency*, Maria De Angelis highlights the complex relationships that are embedded within human trafficking between enslaver and enslaved, and how the state is implicated.[34] Gender, class, and migrant status play a role in the vulnerability of those who end up becoming enslaved in sexual exploitation through human trafficking. A world system built on the historical roots of slavery and colonialism, locks women into territorial, patriarchal, familial and economic boundaries, and renders them vulnerable as they seek to survive and transcend these confines. Like Mary Prince, we need to be aware of their patterns of survival, the ways they craft spaces, send messages, leave signs, etc., can be warning signs for agencies devoted to combating sex trafficking. Human trafficking is modern-day slavery as it replicates the unequal structural power dynamics, coercion, and violence for the purpose of exploitation seen in older forms of slavery.[35] Women who are trafficked often refer to slavery to describe their conditions and their experiences navigating the relationships between them and their enslaver, and crafting spaces to survive the state's criminalization of them.[36] The distinction between slavery of the past and its evolved contemporary counterpart is that human trafficking is illegal and there are laws set up to protect those trafficked, as opposed to the legal system supporting slavery as seen in the stories of Prince and Equiano. Despite this illicit space that human trafficking exists in, it presents moments that are liminal spaces of power as both the trafficker and traffickee navigate their survival with one exploiting the other, and the other resisting it.

De Angelis analyzes the liminal spaces of power through the experience of a trafficked woman named Fatuma. Fatuma was a Gambian woman who had become trafficked through a second marriage in which she was deceived into sexual exploitation for profit. She "defied her trafficker by keeping back some money made by cutting the hair of other black women."[37] Due to the intimacy inherent to the relationship between the enslaver and the enslaved in her exploitation,

[32] Prince and Ferguson, *The History of Mary Prince*, 27.
[33] De Angelis, *Human Trafficking*, 108.
[34] Ibid., 5, 79.
[35] Ibid., 46.
[36] Ibid., 59.
[37] Ibid., 108.

Fatuma's resistance highlights that, though she was without structural power to change her circumstances, she had the small spaces of opportunity to reveal her agency and her reclamation of an individual identity outside of enslavement. Furthermore, her resistance confirms Fanon's conceptual dichotomy as it situates her as a native who is resisting against the settler's attempt to take control of not only her body through sexual exploitation and violence, but her mind as well. Another example of this fluid power is found in the story of Nina who was coerced into becoming a full-time caretaker for a disabled son of her in-laws under the guise of marriage.[38] Her story is situated in the cultural context of marriage being the duty of a daughter to bring honor to her family, thus her being trafficked from India to the UK to fulfill her duty.[39] She was sexually and physically exploited, as well as her labor appropriated within her marriage. Her small resistance came after she was free from trafficking and had begun taking her daughter on the bus to go to the swimming pool. She is an example of what survival as resistance is when the enslaved is no longer physically in the same space with their enslaver, but is still navigating the mental toll that enslavement has on them. It is critical for those who have been enslaved and freed in the contemporary world to reassert their agency and autonomy over their lives without it being related to their enslaver.[40] In contrast to Fatuma, individuals who are at the stage of Nina are entering a different space of power where they are resisting against the mental and emotional remains of their time in enslavement, and the message given to them through that.[41] When resistances like Fatuma's and others take place, it is a reminder that there is a space that the enslaved have carved out that marks survival as a resistance tactic that allows for their autonomy to show in spite of their horrific conditions, both physically and mentally.

The ways these women resisted to survive enslavement should not be thought of as glorious acts of emancipation. Their resistance depicts painful struggles, destroyed relationships and psychological baggage because the overall system continues to privilege domination and control. Often the gatekeepers of enslavement are also victims of slave societies themselves. Mary Prince describes her relationship with a freed colored person, Martha Wilcox, who was lighter than her and tried to act as a pseudo-mistress.[42] This is interesting because it shows that, despite them both being black, the lighter woman thought she had the power to rule over Mary because of her closer proximity to whiteness due to colorism. Given this power spectrum, it is evident that there is a psychological ingestion of the slave system that allowed for these types of micro-interactions to occur which also provided for other micro-power structures. Fanon recognizes this internalization of violence that is done to the native, and the externalization of violence between victims of domination, whether for purposes of liberation or for the continuation of oppressive systems.[43] In this instance, Wilcox internalized the slave violence that has been founded on the message that all enslaved individuals are subhuman and must be caught in a constant state of aspiration towards being anything but themselves to have any chance of becoming human. In the aspiration to be anything but what the state has decided and enforced, the freed lighter skinned woman constantly asserts the threat of her power, the type of power that enslavers possessed, towards changing her material condition.

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[38] Ibid., 90.
[39] Ibid., 88.
[40] Ibid., 111.
[41] Ibid., 110.
[42] Prince and Ferguson, *The History of Mary Prince*, 29.
[43] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 40.

Internalization gives life to how these concepts and experiences can be generationally passed down, thus ensuring the continuation of these structures in the modern world because they are deeply rooted. The dominant narrative of slavery primarily focuses on the conditions of slavery and what created the experiences of it. Conversely, Fanon challenges this by adding the psychological aspect of what slavery does to the native. This is further critiqued by Prince, who then dismantles it by showing how slavery was conceptualized and internalized by the enslaved individual. It should be noted that while Wilcox had more status than Prince, she still had to go through her mistress to enact punishments on Prince. These layers of power between Mary and Martha Wilcox exemplify how power in slavery was a nuanced affair which shifted depending on the situation and the roles being performed.

Using the lens of Fanon, these cases counter the common assertion that those who are seen as natives did not have power because they did not possess the power to change their position in society.[44] Mary Prince details in her autobiography that enslaved individuals were not granted power through the state and had to carve out spaces to resist the brutal violence of slavery. While attention is often geared towards grandiose movements such as the Haitian Revolution, enslaved individuals also carved out spaces of resistance in their daily lives. From chances of her slaver, refusing the degradation from Wilcox, and demanding to be able to tend to her husband, Prince demonstrates that her resistance was not the exception within slavery but one of many cases of how the enslaved coped with their harsh realities. Stories such as Fatuma and Nina similarly highlight how resistance ensured survival in navigating the modern-day slavery. Though, Fatuma is resisting active slavery, and Nina is resisting the mental and emotional conditions post-enslavement, they are still in active resistance against the full-body and mind assault that Fanon states is the goal of the settlers/slavers and of dominant systems of oppression.[45] Contrary to notions that enslaved women accepted their conditions helplessly, scholars need to recognize that, as humans, they always crafted spaces of survival. It is these spaces and experiences that need to be highlighted and legitimized, rather than normalizing the narrative of the enslaver as many scholars tend to.[46]

Therefore, these stories depict that the dominant assertion of static power to only the slaver is historically inaccurate as the enslaved in the past and contemporary continue to carve out their spaces of resistance that give life to their agency. This is not to say that enslaved individuals had enough power to completely override their conditions, but it does speak to how they navigated their experiences within horrific conditions of their enslavement. Her entire biography asks the question of what types of power are valuable, and how that has impacted the way the story of slavery is told in the common narratives within slave research.

Fanon's theory of power is therefore useful in resolving questions left unanswered in slave research, especially how might conditions of enslavement be more effectively than the faulted superficial narratives of emancipation? Fanon does not overemphasize the settler power in slavery and colonization, he highlights the native's power in slave freedom and decolonization. He sees these historical encounters as the meeting of two forces that were created in response to

[44] Ibid., 44.
[45] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 42.
[46] De Angelis, *Human Trafficking*, 59.

one another with each in pursuit of different mutually exclusive agendas. He emphasizes that the motives of the enslaved/native and slaver/settler regarding decolonization are completely different, as the native wants to break free and the settler wants to hold on to control. This struggle is seen again in the abolitionist sense, whereby the abolitionist movement challenged the normality of slavery and wanted it eradicated, while those opposed to abolition wanted to denounce the autonomy of enslaved individuals. The continuity between colonialism, slavery, and its contemporary iteration is rooted in natives constantly resisting to claim autonomy and self-determination that does not center external powers. Decolonization, according to Fanon, is not an abstract goal but is a necessary process to break free from fabricated hierarchies created through the enslaver/settler and enslaved/native dichotomy through violence.[47]

Violence, for Fanon, is not solely an action-based verb, but it details the recapturing of the mind, body, and soul from the oppressive regime of slavery. As slavery is a process that is marked with the brutal and intense violence of capturing individuals and transitioning them into enslavement, the decolonization of such a continued brutality must match the violence that was done to them to reverse it. The story of Mary Prince stands as an example of how resisting the assimilation of the mind is a necessary step of decolonization, and that the process is on-going through the story of slavery. The experiences detailed within her biography demonstrate a unique type of resistance found within the enslaved experience. It is through being able to stand in one's agency whenever there was the space to do so in opposition to the horrific conditions that reveals how resistance was embedded in the experiences of enslaved individuals. Her experiences are within the pointed silences in the common discourse surrounding slavery because it denounces claims that slaves were inherently weak and were happy to be in their conditions and does not capture the full breadth of the intimate violence of their lived experiences.[48] This is another avenue in which the dominant narrative of slavery and its continuation falls flat because it fails to identify how intimate slavery was as a system, thus enabling the type of fluidity of power that comes with it. As in the example of Prince and her male enslaver, the intimacy of washing gave Mary Prince, in that instance, a power over her enslaver. Simultaneously, him being able to beat her for refusing to wash him is an act of power over her.

Orlando Patterson's theory of social death contrasts with Fanon in this fundamental way. Patterson establishes the theory of social death through an examination of slave conditions to identify how the marginalized in society enter a dehumanized state where their humanity is erased, and that erasure is used as a justification of their oppression.[49] His central theory is that the conditions of slavery were so horrific that it forced those who were once seen as human to not be regarded as such, and this fact forces them to grapple with their social position. Patterson and Fanon both recognize how deeply traumatic slavery is for those who were enslaved, and how that trauma can be completely life-shaping for enslaved individuals. However, where Peterson by implication does not see the enslaved, Fanon emphasizes the agency of the slave and fundamental, first to the functioning of slave system itself, and towards dismantling it. Where Peterson by implication does not see the enslaved, Fanon emphasizes the agency of the slave and fundamental, first to the functioning of slave system itself, and towards dismantling it. This weakness in Peterson's Social Death is well explored by Vincent Brown, who cautioned on the

[47] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 40.
[48] Peterson, *The Patriot Slave*, 11.
[49] Brown, *Social Death*, 1234.

errors and implications of making the slavery experience absolute for the enslaved.[50] Patterson sees the enslaved as fully dehumanized by assuming that their humanity is a conditional factor in the story of slavery. By not centering on the stories of the enslaved and assuming a monolithic experience for enslaved individuals, it again does not capture the full breadth of slavery and fails to give a comprehensive analysis of its realities. Brown later grapples with this fact "there is romance too, in the tragic fact that although scholars may never be able to give a satisfactory account of the human experience in slavery."[51]

Brown focuses on the identifiable gap between research and the lived experiences of enslaved persons such as Mary Prince and Olaudah Equiano. Neither of these historical figures were "socially dead" even if the dominant culture chooses not to see them. Equiano thinks through his changing experiences of capture, containment, and control in lively thoughts that retained his humanity and indeed, intellectual acumen. He states in his autobiography that he "wept very bitterly for some time and began to think that I must have done something to displease the Lord, that he thus punished me so severely."[52] His sorrow showcases a refusal to accept his circumstances as simply being an inherent claim to slavery, but as including a punishment from God. He holds responsibility for his condition and feels he can only blame himself for his circumstance.

Here lies the key to ensuring that he is not socially dead. He starts by focusing on himself, to rationalize his enslavement by blaming himself, which theoretically helps him to assimilate quicker to his surroundings. He furthered this process by being aware of the environment of captivity and recognizing that there were other victims like him: "every one of their countenances expressing dejection and horror, I no longer doubted of my fate; and quite overpowered with horror and anguish, I fell motionless on the deck and fainted."[53] It is interesting to note how his visceral reaction is a true reaction of resistance as he is so overcome with the refusal of what is now his reality that he is moved enough to faint from it. These two excerpts completely counter the assumption that the enslaved did not have reactions to their realities, and that the intensity of such experiences would not lend itself to replicate in the modern era. Such human internalization and articulation of experience is evident in modern day slavery as well where similar transition into becoming a slave from their pre-trafficking personas is made conscious to their trafficked selves.[54] In this realm of contemporary slavery, victims have a defined sense of who they were before being trafficked that is communicated through their previous occupations, relationships, and education status prior to their time in enslavement.[55] This firm grasp on their identities prior to enslavement fit into the social death theory as these women were once considered human beings and then transitioned within their dehumanized social position of being trafficked, violated, or enslaved. In the example of Nina, she is in a social position that states her duty is to repay her mother for raising her and this translates into her mother trying to trade her for marriage and work abroad in the hopes of getting that repaid. Nina might appear socially dead by being a woman who is given her identity

[50] Ibid., 1246.
[51] Ibid., 1249.
[52] Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of Olaudah Equiano*, 1.
[53] Ibid., 2.
[54] De Angelis, *Human Trafficking*, 76.
[55] Ibid., 62.

by how others with more power than her define her, but also has the capacity to become even more socially dead when that base identity is replaced only with being a slave.[56] The socially dead Nina is without control as her traffickers took all important documents including Nina's passport to make sure that she could not leave and if she did, she would likely be misread as a consenting sex worker and jailed as others have.[57] The complete transition from human to being completely socially dead as a slave means that Nina had no control and no identity outside of what her traffickers told her and expected her to do within this contemporary system of slavery.[58] Yet within such impossible conditions, Nina survived, biding her time, submitting as necessary to ensure survival, watching for vulnerabilities in her captors, and yet all the time holding on to her self conception of who she is: a free human being refusing to socially die.

The social death theory confirms the marking of enslaved populations as being marginal. Trafficked individuals can come across as deceived, coerced and in some cases, sold to traffickers as a way to bring honor to their families. Such conceptual usages highlight the brute violence, the illegality and horrors of modern slavery, yet it unwittingly celebrates the agency of slavers and slave holding societies throughout the span of slavery's existence. Fanon invites scholars to in equal measures highlight the power and autonomy of the enslaved—in how they affirm their humanity and social existence through resistance.

Conclusion: How Do We Reconcile?

Society may never be able to adequately address the continuation of slavery through its replication of violence, unequal power dynamics, unequal wealth distribution, and a victimization of the marginalized made socially dead if there is no honesty in scholarship and praxis about what slavery is. Scholars such as Fanon provide a scathing reminder that the legacy of the first iteration of slavery is one that has constructed a society that is dependent on these fabricated hierarchies, and that society must resist them to be free of them. Patterson and Brown widen the scope of the dominant narrative concerning the effects of slavery on the enslaved by highlighting the positionality that was uniquely created for the enslaved which marked them for life. Stories of Mary Prince and Olaudah Equiano capture the range of lived experiences through their slave narratives and reveal their instances of resistance to the plight that was forced upon them. This continues in stories such as Fatuma and Nina which capture the horrifying industry of human trafficking that preys on women and disenfranchised communities to coerce, control, and dominate their being with the goal of exploiting them for profit.

The only way to truly reconcile with slavery, its offspring colonialism, and the modern iterations of these systems today is to interrogate the inaccurate dominant narratives in scholarship and praxis that has enabled the continuation of slavery and its modern offsprings to continue. It means that historians must be keen on the silences in the work, and not to assume that they can fill those silences with surface-level interrogations of the realities of these circumstances. It means that historians can no longer rely on bypassing the realities of slavery, colonialism, and the contemporary continuation of these interlocking systems in order to skew scholarship into

[56] Ibid., 60.
[57] Ibid., 105.
[58] Ibid., 67.

false categories of a post-slavery condition. It is critical to seek the voices of the marginalized in every era of slavery and its modern offspring's scholarship and to let their voices be amplified and not dismissed by historical research and the praxis that follows such research. We must confront the skewing of history that diminishes the weight of slavery and hides the brutality that many benefit from today. If that is not done, slavery and its offspring systems will continue to thrive and be a constant reminder that that society is not ready to let go of exploitation, oppression, and the fabricated hierarchies that depend on them.

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Ottoman Janissaries and Military Servitude: Insights from the Memoir of Konstantin Mihailović

Sabrina Sutter

The history of slavery is one of the most prevalent and enduring human experiences to be written down. Most cultures and groups of people have at one point in time been both enslaver and enslaved, and the myriad of systems of coercion that have been created have shaped the course of history. While the modern view of slavery is at times limited to a picture of American chattel slavery, slavery as a method of coercion has taken many forms throughout history. Slavery has been based on religion, gender, age, belonging to outside kinship groups, but the main reason is often that the enslaved is simply considered to be separate from the dominant group in some way and is therefore deemed to be a candidate for enslavement.[1] To codify these systems, historians have broadly divided them into three categories based on the intent of enslavement. The first, and decidedly most prevalent form, is slavery to ensure the social survival of a group, which usually consists of a system based on kinship or belief systems with measures in place to eventually assimilate the enslaved into full membership of the group.[2] A second type of slavery is slavery to provide labor benefitting private individuals, an example of this being American chattel slavery. A third type is slavery as organized and used by the state to achieve its goals, such as communal projects or military initiatives.[3] An example of this last type can be seen in the Ottoman Empire, a major power located in the modern-day Middle East which acted as a bulwark against the Christian West for centuries.

Over the course of centuries, the Ottoman Empire employed a massive, yet efficient, military to maintain its vast empire. Integral to this system of conquest and occupation were the Janissary corps, established in 1402 CE and composed of enslaved soldiers taken as youths and trained to be an elite fighting force.[4] Purposefully isolated from their native identities and socialized to be loyal to the Sultan and the empire, the members of the Janissary corps were a unique

[1] David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, "Dependence, Servility, and Coerced Labor in Time and Space," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, ed. David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 15.
[2] Ibid., 7.
[3] Ibid., 8.
[4] Gulay Yilmaz, "Becoming a Devşirme," in *Children in Slavery through the Ages*, ed. Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 104.

demographic in Ottoman society. While this social and military niche has been discussed by scholars previously, the Janissaries themselves and their unique identity have not been the subject of in-depth historical study relating to their enslavement. The method of their enslavement, the role they played in Ottoman society, and systems of military enslavement preceding the corps have all been explored in individual academic articles, yet few authors narrate the experience of enslavement from the perspective of the Janissaries. By using the memoir of a 15th-century Serbian-born Janissary named Konstantin Mihailovič, this article explores the Janissaries and their identity of loyal enslavement, the way their identity interacted with broader Ottoman society, and whether the Janissaries can even be considered enslaved under traditional definitions of slavery. Answering these questions will provide a more detailed picture of those who formed the Ottoman Empire's elite military units, provide greater insight into what slavery was and who was considered a candidate for it in the eyes of the Ottomans, as well as contribute to historical debates surrounding slavery across the globe.

The Ottoman Empire and the Janissary corps

The focus on Janissary enslavement is ignored by a Eurocentric view of slavery in the historical context, which focuses on the European enslavement of Africans rather than Europeans being enslaved themselves by other non-Europeans. The Janissaries were one category of Europeans enslaved by non-Europeans, others being Barbery slaves captured across the Mediterranean. The conventional rendering of the history of slavery tends to silence these aspects of slavery because they undermine European claims to historical superiority over other peoples that are prevalent in historical retellings. Thus, the Janissaries as people are ignored in favor of focusing on their privileged social and military status, with less focus on their European origin and the horrific conditions most of them lived through during the enslavement process. There is a vast library of scholarly works on the Ottoman Janissaries as figures in the history of the Ottoman Empire and of the empire's conquest and domination of Eastern and Mediterranean Europe, but comparatively little focus has been placed on slavery as a Janissary characteristic. The works that do analyze the place of the Janissary in the broader history of global slavery have attracted the attention of scholars along three main strands of the literature: the meanings of slavery, the power of slaves and latitudes of freedoms, and the slave identity.

The Janissary corps that Mihailović was drafted into were composed of people who were Kuls, or slaves of the Sultan. However, being a Kul had a much more complex meaning than simply meaning "slave" as is usually the translation in English. The Ottoman social system provided for the Sultan as ruler and considered most people in the empire under the direct political and spiritual guidance of the Sultan in some capacity due to the simple fact that he was the ruler. Thus, Ottoman society already revolved around serving the Sultan and his goals, overlapping the concept of citizenship with servitude. The Janissaries were, however, a special sort of Kuls, at least until they were fully socialized and inducted into Ottoman culture and society.

Upon review of relevant secondary source literature, it becomes apparent that the designation of "slave" is a much broader category than is popularly thought. David Eltis and Stanley Engerman give an overview of the various types of slavery and dependency, positing the idea that there is a

spectrum of coercion involving many different types of, and motivations for, enslavement.[5] In other words, slavery in a culture is defined by what that culture considers to be slavery. This idea is echoed by Gulay Yilmaz, who explains that the enslaved status of the Janissaries is more complex than what is usually thought.[6] The Janissaries are Kuls which, while usually translated as "slave" in English, was much more indicative of a patron-client relationship, and in the context of the Janissaries indicated they were essentially members of the Imperial household.[7] However, considering that the Janissaries were forcibly taken as children from their families and not allowed to leave, this can still be considered a condition of enslavement. The legal distinction of the Janissaries is further explored by Antonis Anastopoulos and Yannis Spyropoulos who explain that the status of being a Janissary was a legal one rather than a socioeconomic one. This meant that Janissaries could range in wealth and power, but they would still be considered the same in a legal sense. Slavery in the Ottoman Empire outside of the Janissary corps also had many avenues to move out of enslavement, as discussed by scholar Mustafa Akkaya.[8] Through religious or charitable reasons on the part of the master, social mobility was not only attainable but genuinely employed in Ottoman society.

These insights into the status of the Janissaries lead to difficult questions. If the status of a Janissary was enslaved, then did that mean when, later in the corps' history, men from outside the Devşirme system joined the corps they were signing away their freedom? Or, if the Janissaries are enslaved by the standards of Ottoman culture, can they be considered enslaved under our understanding of slavery today? The question of whether the Janissaries can be considered enslaved under the current understanding of slavery hinges on how we think of slavery itself, and whether it can fall on the spectrum Eltis and Engerman mentioned.

Another theme common in literature regarding the Janissary corps and other slave militaries is the power the enslaved held. Reuven Amitai states that the Mamluk soldiers composing the Islamic World's first slave military were revered as war heroes and often became important and respected officials or even at times heads of state.[9] The power employed by the Mamluks seems counterintuitive to their enslaved status, yet this system of power and reward continued in the Janissary corps. Similarly, Cemal Kafadar explains the Janissary corps was heavily involved in the economy of the empire, with debates at the time centering on whether the Janissaries were considered technically part of the ruling class.[10] In Yilmaz's article, Janissaries were said to have had access to such an extensive network of privilege that when their ranks were opened to those outside the Devşirme system towards the end of the 16th century, they grew incredibly defensive of their position against outside intrusion.[11] The enslaved felt threatened by the free not because the free were exercising power over them, but because they were encroaching on their privileges.

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[5] Ibid., 11.
[6] Ibid., 109-110.
[7] Ibid., 110.
[8] Mustafa Akkaya, "The Backyard of Slavery: Child and Adolescent Slaves," in *Journal of History Culture and Art Research* 9, no. 2 (June 2020): 474-475.
[9] Reuven Amitai, "The Mamlūk Institution, One Thousand Years of Military Slavery in the Islamic World," in *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age*, ed. Christopher Leslie Brown and Philip D. Morgan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 40.
[10] Cemal Kafadar, "On the Purity and Corruption of the Janissaries," in *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 15, no. 2 (September 1991): 275.
[11] Yilmaz, "Becoming a Devşirme," 112.

Therefore, the Janissaries offer a very different picture of enslavement than what is considered the norm, calling into question the idea of a slave having power—in some cases more power than those supposedly free—which seems the antithesis of what is generally considered slavery by contemporary scholarship.

Janissary Identity

While the legal system of the empire may have considered the Janissaries slaves, it is important to consider if the Janissaries considered themselves as enslaved or otherwise divorced from the rest of Ottoman society. In Yilmaz's view, a Janissary identity is introduced as having been born out of camaraderie in the initial enslavement and training process. The soldiers often had matching tattoos as symbols of loyalty and brotherhood, they shared a religious devotion to the Bektaşi sect of Islam, and often aided other corps members or their families in times of need.[12] According to Yilmaz, when those outside of the traditional Devşirme system entered the corps, the corps members were not only protective of their resources but of their status as Janissaries and considered the infiltration of their corps to be a symptom of decline.[13]

In examining the Janissary identity, in the context of how it was viewed and interacted with, within its own culture, it is important to first examine how those outside of the Ottoman Empire viewed the Janissaries. A series of periodicals published in America from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the era of the destruction of the Janissary corps, have been examined, showcasing the crystalized image of the Janissaries that had made its way abroad. In "Standard of The Janissaries," it is posited that the standard of the Janissaries is a much-revered soup kettle, with an eyewitness swearing to have seen one be paraded on a street.[14] In "Adventure of a Janissary," published after the destruction of the corps, a story is told in which a Janissary captain escapes the destruction of the corps only to be betrayed by a perceived ally and turns himself in. His honor in accepting his fate is acknowledged and rewarded by the Sultan, and the one who betrayed him is punished.[15] "A View of Public Affairs," published in 1802, reported an apparent Janissary revolt in Belgrade as the Janissaries killed their rightful commander and acknowledged another as their master.[16] Finally, "Destruction of The Janissaries" recounts the incident which led to the destruction of the Janissary corps, in which Sultan Mahmoud wished to modernize the army to a supposedly European model only to be met with violent protests from the corps. They were offered a pardon if they acknowledged what they had done was wrong and ceased their rioting, but the Janissaries refused, and it was decided the corps must be destroyed.[17] The picture painted to Western Christians in all these accounts, whether truthful or not, is that of a backwards and violently undisciplined group of soldiers who would terrorize both civilians and their commanders to have their way. These periodicals, all except "A View of Public Affairs," are published in and around the final disbandment of the corps in 1833.[18] This depiction of unruly and outdated soldiers is the lasting image of the Janissary corps to outsiders in the

[12] Ibid., 107.
[13] Ibid., 112.
[14] "Standard of The Janissaries," in *Ariel: A Literary Gazette* (July 1830): 41.
[15] "Adventure of a Janissary," in *Parlour Magazine and Literary Gazette* (May 1835): 143.
[16] "A View of Public Affairs," in *Christian Observer* (February 1802): 132.
[17] "Destruction of The Janissaries," in *Philadelphia Port Folio* (February 1830): 61.
[18] Amitai, "The Mamlūk Institution," 66.

nineteenth century, and the prevalence of Janissary revolts continues to be considered a tendency of the corps thereafter.

While being a Janissary was a legal status, there were also deep cultural contexts and ties to the Devşirme system originating in what corps members had gone through together during their initial enslavement. There is clearly a Janissary identity. One which, at least in the minds of the Janissaries themselves, set them apart from the rest of Ottoman society, whether or not they saw themselves as slaves or as displaced but privileged individuals. Considering the focus of previous research was on the corps as a whole, rather than its members, as well as the lasting view of the Janissaries created through Western publications, examining the corps through an inside perspective is essential. Konstantin Mihailović's position as having been inside the Devşirme system and Janissary corps positions his experiences as the key to answering these questions of identity without potentially being hindered by the corps' entrenched reputation outside the Empire.

Chronology of Konstantin Mihailović

The main primary source used in this study is the memoirs of Konstantin Mihailović, a Serbian man who was captured and forced to serve in the Janissary corps. After finding himself rescued during a siege, Mihailović wrote a memoir detailing a general history of the empire leading up to the point of his capture, the battles he participated in, and the government systems he was a part of. To begin to understand the perspective Konstantin Mihailović brings on the Janissary corps and its members, the mystery surrounding Mihailović himself must be unraveled.

Despite his writings being classified as a memoir, Konstantin Mihailović gives very little information on himself, focusing instead on the Ottoman State and its history. A close reading suggests that he hoped to provide his audience with the information needed to defeat the empire. However, while his exact year of birth is unknown, clues laid throughout Mihailović's biography give a rough approximation of both his age and the timeline of his life under the Ottomans. Mihailović claims he took part in the 1453 siege of Constantinople under the command of the Serbian despot Đurađ before he was captured.[19] Later, he claims he and his brother were taken in the fall of the city of Novo Brdo, which occurred in July of 1455. When discussing how he and his brothers were taken, Mihailović states they did not rebel against their captors because they were too young. This places his birth year in the late 1430s, old enough to be considered eligible to fight by both the Serbs and Ottomans, but young enough to not consider himself on the same footing as his captors.[20]

Once under Ottoman control, Mihailović was forced to take part in Mehmet II's siege of Belgrade which occurred only a year later in 1456. Mihailović went on to campaign against Trebizond in 1461, against the Wallachians in 1462, and finally ended his tenure with the Ottomans during the Bosnian campaign of 1463 where he was freed by Hungarians in a siege.[21] Mihailović lived under Ottoman rule for nearly a decade, and spent most of this time serving

[19] Konstantin Mihailović, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, trans. Benjamin Stolz (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1975), xxi.
[20] Ibid., xxi.
[21] Ibid., xxi.

with the Janissary corps. While many assume Mihailović himself was a Janissary soldier, he never explicitly stated what his role was during campaigns. The timeline of Mihailović's capture, while putting him in the age range for training, excludes him from eligibility as a Janissary soldier due to his instant involvement in the Belgrade campaign instead of going through the years-long process of training and indoctrination. Yet Mihailović's close position to the Janissaries is notable, and the gap between his first campaign in Belgrade and his next campaign in Trebizond opens the door for other possible training. From the way Mihailović speaks of the Janissary soldiers, familiar with them yet not one of them, it is likely his position was one of a supporting role, which will be discussed in a later section. Regardless of Mihailović's exact position, he was involved with the corps in a close capacity, and his capture and later observation of them informs the basis of his information on the empire and its workings.

Mihailović's capture

The first mention of Mihailović's capture, and subsequently the first clue towards his age and future position, can be found in chapter Twenty-Seven, "How Emperor Machomet Deceived Despot Đurađ Under Truce." Mihailović describes the invasion of Serbian land and the taking of the city of Novo Brdo through trickery, as the Ottoman Sultan Machomet (Sultan Mehmet II) first breaks a truce he formed with the ruler of the land, Đurađ, in which he had promised not to enslave their women and boys in exchange for their surrender. According to Mihailović, this is the city where he and his two brothers were taken captive from.[22] Mihailović makes a point to describe the process where Machomet had the boys of the city counted out and taken to Anatolia to be Janissaries, yet Mihailović does not speak of this event as if he was a part of it. Only after this bit of information is relayed does Mihailović state this is the city where he and his brothers were taken by the Turks, and while he makes a reference to their "youth" preventing them from overpowering their captors and that they too were "taken across the sea," he does not refer to the event as a personal experience.[23]

This begs the question whether Mihailović and his brothers were considered for the Janissary corps, or if they were enslaved instead under Pençik Law, which states one fifth of all war captives go to the Sultan as soldiers.[24] Mihailović's involvement in campaigns while seemingly not a Janissary soldier lends credence to this, but as it is revealed later that his brother was selected for service in the palace treasury and Mihailović is permitted to visit him, this theory loses water.[25] The reference to their inability to attack their captors as being due to an age difference seemingly gives weight to being selected for the Janissaries, but not all youths were selected for the corps. Regardless, Mihailović and his brothers were selected for some kind of service and taken to carry it out.

[22] Ibid., 99.
[23] Ibid., 99-101.
[24] Yilmaz, "Becoming a Devşirme," 104.
[25] Mihailović, *Memoirs,* 137.

Mihailović's place in the corps

The first real clues given by Mihailović towards his exact position in the corps appear in Chapter Twenty-Nine, "How Emperor Machomet Attacked Belgrade but Gained Nothing." In the chapter, Mihailović gives an account of a siege on Belgrade which he implies he participated in to some degree. Mihailović makes many references to the difficulties the Ottomans encountered in sieging the Hungarians and narrates how the Janissaries attacked the city as though he was an observer rather than one of them:

> Then, in a short time we saw the Janissaries running back out of the city, fleeing, and the Hungarians running after them and beating them.[26]

While this gives more weight to the idea he was not a Janissary soldier, Mihailović was close enough to the corps to recount the story of a Janissary officer who directly advised Machomet during the siege, then later died trying to regain his favor.[27] More evidence pointing to Mihailović being involved in some part of the Janissary corps despite not being a soldier appears in Chapter Thirty-Three, "Concerning the Wallachian Voivode Dracula Who Ruled Lower Moldavia," where Mihailović describes himself and others digging into a defensive position.

> And we reached the other side some furlongs below where the Voivode's army lay, and there we dug in, having emplaced the cannon and having encircled ourselves with shields and having placed stakes around ourselves so that cavalry could do nothing to us. Then the boats went to the other side until the Janissaries had all crossed to us.[28]

The final piece of evidence that points to Mihailović's closeness to the corps is his brother's place in the Imperial treasury, as he was "entrusted with the treasury," and could not leave.[29] In his loneliness he sent for Mihailović, and this is how Mihailović found himself in one of the vaults housing court treasures. While many captured for the Janissary corps were trained to become soldiers, those recognized for their intellect or good looks could be selected for higher education.[30] One such school of training, the Treasury Chamber, was designed to create stewards to manage financial responsibilities.[31]

The fact that Mihailović was even able to journey to the capital to see his brother speaks of the latitude of freedoms that he appeared to enjoy. Multiple times over the course of the narrative Mihailović refers to specific details of equipment and supply systems that the army and government have. He notes the specific equipment the Janissaries use, often mentions details of how supplies are handled during specific battles, and when describing the uniform of the Janissaries states he distributed them from the imperial court for two years.[32] While Mihailović's youngest brother seemed to have found himself in the Treasury Chamber, it is probable

[26] Ibid., 107.
[27] Ibid., 107-109.
[28] Ibid., 131.
[29] Ibid., 137.
[30] Yilmaz, "Becoming a Devşirme," 106.
[31] Ibid., 107.
[32] Mihailović, *Memoirs,* 159.

Mihailović was assigned to the Expeditionary Force Chamber after he returned from the Belgrade campaign, which while specializing in musical training also provided training in various forms of clothing and uniform repair, as well as weapons repair.[33] Konstantin Mihailović was not a Janissary in the sense that he was a soldier; Konstantin Mihailović was a Janissary in the sense that his duty was to travel with the corps, providing and repairing supplies.

The process and failure of assimilation

With Konstantin Mihailović's position clarified, it is easier to understand the failure of his assimilation. While he was absorbed into court life, educated, and in some ways probably at least publicly converted, Mihailović would not have undergone the kind of cultural immersion those not selected for palace education would have received. Those who were simple novices were hired out to families throughout the empire for a period of five years, then were recalled at the end of that period to be trained in barracks.[34] The boys who were conscripted as simple soldiers were exposed to general Ottoman society and became a part of it much faster than those subjected to only court life. Whether Mihailović is an outlier in this process of assimilation and those in the palace schools were completely at peace with their position, or whether he was indicative of an underbelly of resentment and disloyalty is impossible to know without personal accounts such as these memoirs, but it helps explain Mihailović's joy at being liberated by the Hungarian King Matyas in a siege carried out against Mihailović's position at Zvečaj.[35]

This failure to assimilate is what primarily drives Mihailović to rebel against his Ottoman handlers. Over the course of his memoirs, Mihailović recounts two notable instances of personal rebellion. While visiting his brother in the treasury, Mihailović apparently overheard royal advisors discussing a treaty that was being debated with Bosnian emissaries, and learned they were planning on betraying the Bosnians.[36] Mihailović claims he went to them to warn them of the impending invasion, but they did not believe him. Mihailović's second act of rebellion is recounted in his assessment of the battle formations of the Ottoman armies, stating he had once tested a theory involving whether the supplies carried by camels could be set on fire while on campaign in Wallachia.[37] Apparently, the incident was investigated but never solved, and Mihailović advises that shooting flaming arrows into the supplies and causing a stampede of the cavalry would be an effective way to disrupt the line of Janissary infantry.[38] Advice such as this is found throughout the explanations Mihailović gives for the battle formations and assault procedures of the Ottomans, and it is clear the main reason for his memoirs is the hope that Christians can unite and defeat the Ottomans with this knowledge. Mihailović engaged in acts of rebellion during his enslavement, and upon gaining his freedom attempted to give those in power the tools to defeat his former masters. Mihailović, whether he expressed it outwardly to anyone during his time with the corps, rebelled against his captivity.

[33] Yilmaz, "Becoming a Devşirme," 107.
[34] Ibid., 107.
[35] Mihailović, *Memoirs*, 141.
[36] Ibid., 137.
[37] Ibid., 169.
[38] Ibid., 169.

Mihailović's account of the Janissaries is, while still somewhat that of an outsider, incredibly detailed in its examination of the relationship between the Janissaries and the rest of Ottoman society. This is also where the main point of comparison between Mihailović and those in Ottoman society arises from: the divide between one who refuses to assimilate, and those who revel in it. Mihailović's first mention of the Janissaries is in Chapter Thirteen, "Concerning Sultan, Morat's son," where he recounts the instance of their creation under the ruler he simply names as "Sultan."[39] Throughout his telling of Ottoman history and the events he was there for, his presentation of the Janissary corps is one of immense power and loyalty to their patron, the Sultan, whom he refers to as the emperor. Multiple times he recounts the stories of Janissaries beheading the rulers of enemy states and being rewarded for their efforts with land and titles, instances of Janissaries directly offering the ruler advice in battle, and even instances where the Janissaries carry the ruler or physically build structures to earn his favor. In two stories of Janissaries interacting with the Sultan Machomet, the Sultan refers to the Janissaries as "my sweet lambs," as if they are his to guide and cherish.[40] Curiously however, Mihailović acknowledges the enslavement of the Janissaries under the care of the ruler. In Chapter Twenty-Two, "Concerning the Turkish Emperor Morat: How He Fared Later," Mihailović recounts a past rebellion where the Janissaries became angry with Machomet during his first tenure on the throne while his father Morat was away. Morat returns to help resolve the conflict and advises his son to maintain his relationship with the Janissaries because they are his property.[41]

The power of the Janissaries

The story Mihailović recounts is also where the full power of the Janissaries is on display. The cause of their revolt is the fact that their wages were not paid for two periods after Morat had essentially abdicated and placed Machomet on the throne. In anger, they plunder the riches of those at court, and assemble before Machomet declaring they will not serve anyone other than his father Morat while he still lived.[42] Word is sent to Morat, who answers he will return if the Janissaries build him an arbor as a test of loyalty. Once the arbor is completed, Morat returns to the throne until his death. Similarly, when Mihailović explains the inheritance procedures for when there are two heirs to the throne, he states it is the Janissaries and their loyalty who provide the legitimacy of the new ruler.[43] The Janissaries are enslaved, yes, but their freely given loyalty is what helps to secure both the throne and the empire.

Mihailović also makes a note to mention the Janissaries and their relationship with Ottoman society outside of court. In the story of their rebellion, while the Janissaries plunder the lords, they make a point to not touch the city. In a later chapter, Mihailović describes how the Janissaries are treated outside the court, stating wherever they go they are honored by the people. While this is also out of apparent fear for the wrath of the emperor, the involvement between the Janissaries and the common people is a well-documented one in other studies. To Mihailović, the Janissaries are members of a group even worse than his Ottoman captors: so-called "heathenized

[39] Ibid., 37.
[40] Ibid., 71, 131.
[41] Ibid., 71.
[42] Ibid., 71.
[43] Ibid., 149.

Christians."[44] In chapter Forty-Seven warning against Turkish expansion due to the conversions they carry out, those Christians who leave their faith behind are regarded as traitors of the highest order. The Janissaries, in their position as the converted, assimilated, and favored people of the emperor, represent everything Mihailović warns the reader of.

The enslavement of the Janissaries

Throughout Mihailović's account of his time with the Janissary corps, it becomes clear that despite the immense privilege the Janissaries held they were still considered on some level to be enslaved. Unlike Mihailović's own position in the supply chain, where special treatment is not necessarily present outside a few key privileges, the Janissary soldiers were treated almost as if they were prized possessions. The Janissaries were the property of the Sultan, and while the Sultan allowed them tremendous power and influence, they were still his to hold possession of. When speaking to his son Machomet, Sultan Morat is very explicit regarding this fact. The goal is to treat the Janissaries well, so they may serve Machomet willingly and happily.[45] The implications of this status, however, is that the Janissaries are willing slaves who enjoy immense power and luxury. This clashes with established and seemingly obvious notions on the condition of the enslaved as being incredibly harmful to their well-being. As Sultan Morat pointed out to his son however, good treatment and security can render the legal status of enslavement as effectively meaningless to the enslaved if they are taken care of enough. This calls into question the limits of what we can and do consider to be enslavement and proposes that enslavement can involve willing slaves if conditions are in their favor rather than not.

Conclusion

The Janissaries were Europeans who had been captured as boys and enslaved to become soldiers. Yet this demographic is not often considered to be a candidate for slavery. The modern notion of what slavery is and is not as influenced by the concept of American slavery and its racialization of the institution creates an incredibly constrained definition of both the institution and those who are deemed candidates. Yet as we see within the Janissary corps, Europeans such as Mihailović were successfully enslaved for centuries at the hands of Ottoman conquerors who ruled an empire extending into Africa and Europe. Systems of coercion have always existed, including in Europe itself, but due to what is associated with the term "slavery," they are not considered systems of slavery despite there being no practical difference between them. Not only does this ignore the history of those in Europe who endured bondage, it also promotes an idea of Europeans as having never been subjugated due to their supposed strength. To put it plainly, the modern idea of slavery is false, and the Janissary corps is indicative of this false paradigm. The members of the Janissary corps were Europeans, acquired fame and prestige, had salaries, and were honored in Ottoman Society. According to Mihailović's observations, the Janissary soldiers actively reveled in their loyalty to their Sultan and were fully immersed in Ottoman society.

By contrast, the picture Mihailović paints of the Janissary corps and their identity is one starkly opposing his own. The Janissaries are loyal, powerful, and while incredibly connected to the

[44] Ibid., 193.
[45] Ibid., 71.

royal court are far from removed from Ottoman society. They seemingly live to serve and fight for their master and the empire, and this contrasts sharply with Mihailović's quiet rebellion on the sidelines of battle. Considering the experiences of Mihailović and the rest of the Janissary corps though, it can be concluded the difference in assimilation process is to blame for this divide. If it is to be believed that Mihailović was selected for palace service and educated in the Expeditionary Force Chamber, he would have been socialized at court surrounded by those he already hated. For those who served as common soldiers in the Janissary corps though, their complete cultural immersion over the course of years in both society outside the imperial court and the barracks of the emperor provided a process which allowed for the development of socialization and loyalty. Unlike previous claims that state the Janissary's identity was born of their isolation from Ottoman society, it is apparent to be the opposite. The Janissaries as they were could only be created through socialization with, and assimilation into, Ottoman society, as well as their later involvement in day-to-day life outside the palace no matter how small it was.

This identity was born out of both involvement in Ottoman society and slavery. Mihailović still acknowledges in his memoirs through the historical accounts he chooses to write about that the Janissaries are on some level still considered to be the property of the Sultan. While their loyalty is an incredibly powerful tool in legitimizing the rule of the Sultan, they were still the Sultan's. This obviously does not fit with the current view of slavery as a state of chattel slavery, yet I argue whether a master dotes on his slaves is inconsequential to the fact that they remain his slaves no matter how many rewards he may give them. What is consequential, however, is the implications the enslavement of the Janissaries has on our notion of what enslavement entails. It is clear through the corps that enslavement can encompass an experience which provides its charges with massive amounts of wealth, power, and privilege. This means the view of what is slavery must be expanded to include instances where enslavement is not necessarily clear due to the good conditions experienced by the enslaved. The Janissary Identity is one of loyalty, power, and enslavement, an enslavement that was actively enjoyed and celebrated by those who experienced it.

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