Adoption and American Empire:
Migration, Race-making, and the Child, 1845-1988

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Dedication

To my sister, Katie Condit-Jang.

Abstract

In the United States, between 1854 and 1929, more than 150,000 working class youth were transported by "orphan trains" from their urban eastern city homes to live with families in the (primarily) rural American West. Since 1953, more than 150,000 adopted Korean children have migrated into U.S. families. Both during and in-between these orphan trains and Korean adoptions, Americans have also experimented with such child placement practices linked to nineteenth century black codes and boarding schools, twentieth century child welfare movements (at home and abroad), and postwar international adoptions. As patterns of mobility and migration have changed alongside technology and transportation modernization, imperial expansion, and the growth and consolidation of nation-states, child placement practices have also changed. Reflecting the specificity of each time and place, adoption and child placement discourse has historically been rife with tensions between sentiment and economics, exploitation and humanitarianism.

While adoption implies the permanent transfer of a child away from the biological parent(s) to another person, the reasons, motivations, social practices, as well as the legal and cultural parameters of adoption have changed dramatically and unevenly in the modern era of nation-states. My dissertation utilizes "child placement" as its central frame of analysis to more accurately document the wide array of practices in U.S history that have historically involved the separation of children from their birth parents, to live under the authority of other adults.

Adoption and American Empire examines the relationship between migration, race-making, and child placement as central and strategic components in America's consolidation as a nation-state and expansion as a global empire, between 1845 and 1988. In three parts that transverse the historical periods of U.S. Reconstruction, the Progressive Era, interwar years, and post-World War II, I document continuity and transformation between older forms of child placement undertaken for child labor needs (such as with African American children during Reconstruction) and modern forms of adoption for humanitarian or sentimental reasons (including refugee and "orphan" children from West Germany). By linking these histories, I demonstrate that child placement is always inextricably tied to United States' practices and discourses of empire and race.

Few scholars have explored the linkages between these different forms of child placement. By employing the methods of social and cultural history, as well as multiple scales of analysis (comparative, regional, national, transnational) across an expansive archive of source material (state, immigration, and U.S. military government law, regional and national newspapers, the ethnic press, government reports, the U.S. congressional record, and archival documents), I illuminate the historic continuities and structures of power embedded in these seemingly disconnected practices.

Ultimately, my dissertation contends that Americans' practices of child placement and adoption have served as powerful tools of U.S. empire, employed widely when their implementation would assist the nation's larger geopolitical and economic objectives. Always undergirded by nationalist racial logics, the children themselves would be increasingly valued as they came to encompass both the real and symbolic vision of how the United States imagined itself, or wished to be imagined, by its global peers.

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Introduction

In the spring of 1983, I arrived from South Korea to be raised by my new white American parents in a suburb of New York. As part of an undergraduate auto-ethnographic project, my adoptive mother disclosed that South Korea was the only option that she and my father had explored: "[You] hear of the Korean War and you remember a lot of [U.S.] stations in Korea… Yup. Korea because of the war. My uncle was stationed… my nephew in the marines… and they said how many beautiful children there were. That's all we knew, just how many beautiful children there were." Reflective of innumerable other adoptive parent accounts, my mother emphasized the Korean War (1950-1953) as a central impetus for her and my father's inclination toward Korea. Implicit in this war-related partiality exists the sustained narrative trope of *rescue* that continues to undergird Korean adoption practice.

Nonetheless, in 1983, wartime fighting had been over for close to three decades. Five years later, South Korea would host the 1988 summer Olympics, a global celebration of its economic revival. In line with this reality, my mother's reflection did not invoke the "orphan" narrative so-often recalled alongside adoptive parents' war-related rationales. Hers was not a story about the humanitarian saving of Korea's war orphans, but of the "beautiful" children they knew existed. By 1983, Korean children occupied a space in prospective adoptive parents' imaginary as highly desirable, as "beautiful."[1] Speaking also to Americans' privileged role as citizen-consumers in an established transnational adoption industry, the supposed knowledge of "how many… children there were" gestured to the understanding of adoptable Korean children as implicitly available. It was within this

[1] South Korea accounted for the highest number of U.S. international adoptions between 1957 and 1995, and has since remained one of the United States' top ten sending countries. "International Adoption: Statistics," Holt International, http://holtinternational.org/insstats.shtml (30 March 2015).

discourse that, in my mother's words: "When [the adoption agency] said that they dealt with Korea, we said, 'That's wonderful.'"

I have long been interested in the historical foundations of U.S.-Korean adoption, and in particular, how and why this practice both developed and was able to self-sustain, well after the nation's postwar economic recovery. However, as I investigated the various reasons that scholars emphasized to explain the existence of Korean international adoption, I discovered that what many claimed to be "distinct" elements – such as the ideological conflation of international adoption with international humanitarianism, a pronatalist American culture, and a "market" for adoptable children – emerged earlier and earlier in the historical record. The result is a dissertation that spans from the mid-nineteenth to late-twentieth century, and demonstrates just how long and far-reaching the practice of U.S. child placement and adoption is in the history of American empire and nation-building.

I foreground "adoption" in the dissertation title in order to emphasize this work as indeed a history of U.S. adoption, but utilize "child placement" as my central frame of analysis, to encompass the wide array of practices that have historically involved the separation of children from their birth parents, to live under the authority of other adults. As will be revealed, only when Americans' experimentations with child placement were in alignment with U.S. economic and political nation-building goals, always invested in racial hierarchies of white supremacy and increasingly buttressed by military technology, that large-scale practice emerged. This dissertation will thus detail how it was that my family's association to U.S. military empire in South Korea, through my mother's "uncle [stationed there]… nephew in the marines," ultimately forged the transpacific route, in both my parents' imagination and on-the-ground apparatuses, that enabled and historically linked my adoption to its earlier predecessors.

Korean adoption studies provided both the impetus and intellectual framework for my research, and I am indebted to the incredibly rich and multidisciplinary field that has emerged in recent years.[2] Providing further complexity to this scholarship, my dissertation responds to Korean adoption studies scholar Eleana J. Kim's call to "[acknowledge the] power and

[2] Research in anthropology, english, history, library and information studies, psychology, social work, and sociology, and such interdisciplinary fields as American, Asian American, critical race, and feminist studies, as well as important works in literature, film, and the arts, have created a critical body of knowledge surrounding Korean international adoption. See, for example: Tonya Bishoff and Jo Rankin, eds., *Seeds from a Silent Tree: An Anthology by Korean Adoptees* (San Diego: Pandal Press, 1997); *First Person Plural*, VHS, directed by Deann Borshay Liem (San Francisco: National Asian American Telecommunications Association (NAATA), 2000); Eleana Kim, "Korean Adoptee Auto-Ethnography: Refashioning Self, Family, and Finding Community," *Visual Anthropology Review* 16 (2000): 43-70; Dr. Sook Wilkinson and Nany Fox, eds., *After the Morning Calm: Reflections of Korean Adoptees* (Bloomfield Hills: Sunrise Ventures, 2002); David L. 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history in the making of (adoptive) family relations."[3] To this end, I employ the lens of child placement and adoption to address, in Ann Laura Stoler's words, "how intimate domains – sex, sentiment, domestic arrangement, and child rearing – figure in the making of racial categories and in the management of imperial rule."[4] My research thus focuses on U.S. child placement as an intimate site of empire and an important nexus through which the U.S. nation-state both projected onto and negotiated with the geopolitical, economic, and cultural demands of its citizenry, alongside its larger nation-building goals.

In my study, three major nation-building projects emerge as embedded in U.S. adoption and child placement history: 1) the United States' nineteenth century colonial mission to establish itself as a white settler nation-state in the global (European) imperial economy; 2) the nation's Progressive Era and interwar years' mission to perpetuate itself as a humanitarian world leader, without compromising its xenophobic, isolationist policies; 3) the nation's post-World War II imperial intents to both advance and obscure the actuality of American military-economic empire overseas, and the perpetuation of white supremacy, at home and abroad. Ultimately, I argue that Americans' practices of child placement and adoption have served as powerful tools of U.S. empire, employed widely only when their implementation would assist the nation's larger geopolitical and economic objectives. Always underpinned by white supremacist cultural investments, the children themselves would be increasingly valued as they came to encompass both the real and symbolic vision of how the United States imagined itself, or wished to be imagined, by its global peers.

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[3] Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 264.
[4] Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 23.

Terminology and Theoretical Frameworks

Child Placement and Adoption

By utilizing "child placement" as my central frame of analysis, this dissertation is able to examine a nexus of deeply connected, yet rarely studied together, placement practices that include: late nineteenth century black codes, boarding schools, and orphan trains placements; Americans' Progressive Era and interwar years' participation in child placement overseas; the post-World War II emergence of large-scale U.S. international adoption. Inspired by such expansive works as Jane Jeong Trenka, Julia Chinyere Oparah, and Sun Yung Shin's edited volume, *Outsiders Within: Writing on Transracial Adoption* (2006), Mark C. Jerng's *Claiming Others: Transracial Adoption and National Belonging* (2010), and Laura Briggs' *Somebody's Children: The Politics of Transracial and Transnational Adoption* (2012), this broad analytic perspective allows me to describe a wider network of children whose placements were inherently in conversation with U.S. nation-building and American empire.[5] My dissertation looks at child placements that can be characterized as foster or temporary care, kinship or stranger adoption (meant to be permanent), indenture, apprenticeship, contract labor, or enslavement. The circumstances surrounding these placements can be described as voluntary or involuntary, coerced, forced, or made within constrained choices. The places that these children went can be described as private, public, secular, or religious institutions, homes, or families. And the emotional discourse surrounding these placements can be described all at once, and at different times, as abstract

[5] Trenka, Oparah, and Shin, eds., *Outsiders Within*; Mark C. Jerng, *Claiming Others: Transracial Adoption and National Belonging* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Laura Briggs, *Somebody's Children: The Politics of Transracial and Transnational Adoption* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

and capitalist, as heartbreaking, enraging, painful, or as sentimentally imbued in love, care, and humanitarianism.

Examining U.S. child placement within this self-conscious breadth illuminates a longstanding American history of child circulation, a history embedded in raced power structures of U.S. nation-building that would remain otherwise hidden. In this way, the analytic framework of my research, connected through the lives of children, whose voices are so often absent within the standard archive, structurally elevates their story as central to a national narrative that, in the literal practice of child placement, seeks to subsume those children within predetermined places identified by adults, and often implicitly motivated by American empire.

This theoretical framing also contends with the false separations of analysis that too often dissuade the study of intimate connections, in favor of highlighting false dichotomies: a study of forced child removal versus a study of sentimental family-making; a study of foster care versus adoption; a study of in-racial versus transracial, domestic versus transnational, child placements. This analytic expansion also inherently collapses the ahistoric and problematic discourse of "good" versus "bad" child placements too often embodied in the modern-day argument of "international adoption" versus "child traffic," "legal" versus "illegal," with little awareness as to the historical construction of such laws and practice. These false binaries have consequently created a knowledge discourse whereby people and institutions, invested in different forms of child placement practice, can successfully deploy a rhetorical strategy of "happy" versus "angry" placed out children as a way of avoiding legitimate critique. By collapsing these false separations to put America's different modes of child placement in conversation with each other, my research becomes richer, and the history

of the United States, a nation equally embedded in structures of enslavement and humanity, more honest.

Thematic Infrastructure

Utilizing the broad theoretical framework of child placement to structure my research is also useful because it allows for a reorientation of historical terminology, words that have embodied different meanings over the course of U.S. history, but if engaged over a long period of time, raise important historical questions to consider how the transformation of language has worked to conceal continuities in service of American empire.[6] As such, besides child placement, the dissertation is also organized around several thematics that will be analyzed separately, used to map change over time, and provide connective infrastructure to undergird the ensuing chapters.

In the recent tradition of Asian American studies scholars committed to making the United States legible as an imperial project, my dissertation's engagement with U.S. nation-building is that of American empire.[7] While my analysis is mindful of temporal specificity, and I do attend to differences in U.S. nation-building goals over time, my research also maps the transformation, through the lens of U.S. child placement, of U.S. empire from its nineteenth century settler colonial project to what some historians now identify as the "new

[6] Asian Americanist Allan Punzalan Isaac speaks eloquently to "the discourse of empire that is so much a part of U.S. history but disavowed in its discursive imaginings," Isaacs, *American Tropics: Articulating Filipino America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 4.
[7] Ibid.; Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Victor Bascara, *Model-Minority Imperialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006): Jodi Kim, *Ends of Empire: Asian American Critique and the Cold War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Juliana Pegues, "Interrogating Intimacies: Asian American and Native Relations in Colonial Alaska," (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2013), 9.

form of empire: a network of overseas bases and informal spheres of influence, virtually unprecedented in scope and expense."[8]

As scholars of childhood studies have long noted, "childhood" is a socially constructed apparatus that has historically varied over time and space.[9] Here, Asian American and Indigenous studies scholar Juliana Hu Pegues' conceptualization of a "relational approach, signaled by [the] use of 'relations'… generating multiple meanings… to stress the intellectual and political necessity of understanding not ordered classifications but the messy complexities of interconnection," is particularly useful in attending to the varied and changing constructions of children, childhood, and child placement throughout the dissertation.[10]

Hu Pegues theorizes a "relational approach" from studies that "examine relationships between different racial communities whose lives and histories are bound up with one another, affected by uneven, contradictory, and constitutive processes of racialization, colonization, slavery, land dispossession, labor exploitation, segregation, and integration."[11] In part 1 of the dissertation, I explicitly attend to these constitutive relations, and how the historical construction of U.S. childhood and child placement is always bound up in relation

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[8] Sarah Kovner, *Occupying Power: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Postwar Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 6. See also, Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004); Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004).

[9] Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962); Bernard Wishy, *The Child and the Republic: The Dawn of Modern American Child Nurture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968); Lloyd De Mause, ed., *The History of Childhood* (New York: Psychohistory Press, 1974); Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (New York: Longman, 1995); Caroline Lavender and Carol Singley, eds., *The American Child: A Cultural Studies Reader,* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003); Peter N. Stearns, *Childhood in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Karen Dubinsky, *Babies without Borders: Adoption and Migration Across the Americas* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Heidi Morrison, ed. *The Global History of Childhood Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Anna Mae Duane, ed. *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies and the Humanities* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013).

[10] Pegues, "Interrogating Intimacies," 26-7.

[11] Ibid.

to intersecting politics and differentiating economies of race, labor, and U.S. citizenship ideals. As my chapters progress, at its multiple sites of child placement, "the child" (and all the relations this social construction entails) remains an important node of analysis.

Importantly, a history of U.S. nation-building is unequivocally a history of race-making. As such, at every site of analysis, I contend with my historical questions through the lens of comparative critical ethnic studies. I engage in the project of "[interrogating] the grand telos emplotted by the narrative of liberal multicultural inclusion, recognition, and equality."[12] This "grand telos [of] liberal multicultural inclusion" is indeed at the heart of several narratives of American adoption history. But as my study evidences, as I interrogate who the child is in each of my chapters, and what labor this child and the practice of child placement perform (whether material, discursive, affective, or political) on behalf of the adults and institutions involved, and within the larger regional-national-transnational framework, even at moments of geographic and historic similarity, the children of my study do not emerge as equally recognized. They do not emerge as equally protected, nor do they emerge as equally labored within the realms of their different, yet constitutive ethnic and racial economies. By attending to these important differences, my study is able to more accurately address the incredibly varied, inconsistent, and uneven flows of children in U.S. history based on the various industrial, economic, and always raced imperial market conditions distinct to their emergence.

Women, Gender, and Expanding the Triad

In modern adoption studies, discussions of positionality, participation, and the central stakeholders in the child placement process are often framed in terms of, what I will

[12] Nada Elia, David Hernández, Jodi Kim, Shana L. Redmond, Dylan Rodríguez, and Sarita Echavez See, eds., "Introduction: A Sightline," in *Critical Ethnic Studies: A Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

emphasize as the "women-centered" "triad": the birth mother (more recently positioned by some as first mother), adoptive mother, and adopted child.[13] Historians and adoption scholars have also long viewed the "family" as a productive site of analysis, positioned as a microcosm of the (nation-)state.[14] However, as legal and adoption studies scholar Ellen Herman has carefully highlighted, in the early twentieth century, child welfare "efforts to expand government authority, create new professional jurisdictions, and promote empirical inquiry into adoptive family life… [were] all sanctioned by the doctrine of *parens patriae,* which likened the state to a caring parent."[15]

Building on this legal doctrine, my dissertation seeks to expand the triad through the recognition of sovereignty, to include those entities, whether American Indian nations, the U.S. nation-state, or foreign political bodies, that felt they could make sovereign claims over "their" children, as equal stakeholders in the child placement process.[16] Also, as my research reveals, the United States' history of child placement practice has never been solely about making family. The ideas of family and kinship have varied and transformed over time according to changes in legal and cultural norms. Within the scope of adoption, not all children have been desired, or available, to be part of the adoptive family-making process.

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[13] This formation of the adoption triad and elevation as stakeholders was legally embedded in the 1917 Children's Code of Minnesota, which provided the nation-wide model for other state laws, and legally closed adoption records to the public, except for those individuals decidedly "directly involved in the adoption – adopted persons, adoptive parents, and birth parents." E. Wayne Carp, "Introduction: A Historical Overview of American Adoption," in *Adoption in America: Historical Perspectives,* ed. E. Wayne Carp (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 8.

[14] See, for example: Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966); John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); Carol J. Singley, "Building a Nation, Building a Family: Adoption in Nineteenth-Century American Children's Literature," in *Adoption in America,* ed. E. Wayne Carp, 51-80; ; Carol J. Singley, *Adopting America: Childhood, Kinship, and National Identity in Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[15] Ellen Herman, *Kinship by Design: A History of Adoption in the Modern United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 56.

[16] This conceptualization was encouraged by Margaret D. Jacobs' Plenary Session Keynote: "From Triangles to Star: How Indigenous Adoptions Expand the Adoption Triad" (paper presented at the sixth biennial conference of the Alliance for the Study of Adoption and Culture, Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 27-29, 2016).

Throughout my chapters, I thus ask the following historical questions related to parental rights: Who has the right to keep their child? Who has the right to parent? In the United States, these questions have always been underpinned by a nationalist, value-laden inquiry – Who does the United States want to incorporate into its body politic?

Within this history of U.S. child placement, sovereign entities, viewed as stakeholders in "their" children's future, have historically interceded to either support or resist child placement practices. Particularly as U.S. child placement practice expanded overseas, and prospective adopted children were increasingly constructed as "refugees" or "orphans," foreign states have, in the place of birth kin, occupied increasingly important roles.[17]

Beginning in the nineteenth century, unwed mothers emerge as an enduring figure to represent the constraints of "choice" when structures of economic, socio-cultural, political, and institutional prejudice question one's claims to parenthood and encourage relinquishment. Taken at the macro level, within the context of transnational and global geopolitics, by moving beyond the triad to recognize sovereign entities as equitable participants in child placement practice, the story of compromised sovereignty then emerges to take seriously the historical question of nation-state rights: What nation has the right to keep its children?

Too often, the "birth mother" is absent in the history of adoption, and this absence, often validated through the lack of "source" material, and read through the framework of the "triad" helps to perpetuate the myth of adopted children as disconnected from their place of

[17] On the politics of infantilization in critical refugee studies see, Nando Sigona, "The Politics of Refugee Voices: Representations, Narratives, and Memories," in *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, eds., Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long, and Nando Sigona (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2014), 369-82.

birth. However, to frame nation-states, not as macro-structural (foreign) entities, but within the intimate space of the triad, forces us to take seriously the question of accountability, to more seriously interrogate questions of historical and geographic specificity: At comparable moments, what types of child placements are allowed and disallowed amongst different peoples? What is at stake for those sovereign entities involved? What labor do placed out or adopted children perform via their placement – not only for their newfound families or places of "care," but within the global economy, for their home-sending and U.S.-receiving nation-states? What structures for parental "choice" are being created at the national and international scales of sovereignty?

Envisioning sovereign entities on the triad also helps to deepen the gender analysis of child placement research. On the one hand, for example, a masculinist construction of the sending nation participating in overseas adoption, in collusion with that of the receiving nation, introduces the notion that the nation's "best interests" for "its" children may not be one of protection, in that that state's interests conflict with that of the child's birth kin.[18] On the other hand, envisioning sovereign entities of sending communities alongside the figure of the birth mother, helps to broaden our analysis of choice, compromise, and agency.

Throughout the dissertation, women and children are discussed together in the longstanding tradition of linking the social welfare causes and practices concerning women and children. Within this history, by the 1950s, as documented by Laura Briggs, the image of "mother-with-child, and the imploring waif," had become "a finely honed trope," the "visual iconography of rescue." Briggs argues that the strategic and purposeful construction of these visuals, within the context of domestic U.S. race relations, helped "to produce an ideology of

[18] Thanks to Donna R. Gabaccia for repeatedly following up with me to problematize conceptualizations of sovereignty.

rescue by white people of non-white people, inside and outside the United States," that had deep and lasting effects on the politics of U.S. transnational and transracial adoption.[19] Building on Briggs' analysis, I also identify how this "tradition" of linking women and children's causes also emerges from within the patriarchal and infantilizing discourse that frames women and children as dependents. As the dissertation will evidence, this infantilizing (and sometimes feminizing) discourse was also a central, strategic rhetoric deployed against entire communities, either race or nation-state, to call into question that community's right to keep their children.

At the same time, beginning in the late nineteenth century, as U.S. maternal citizenship linked to white supremacy was increasingly consolidated alongside U.S. nation-building, white women emerged as the central benefactors of American child placement and child welfare institutions. As will be detailed in chapter 2, simultaneously constructed as mothers deserving government aid in order to keep their children, and as trained professionals in the newly forged child and social welfare profession, white women soon became the ideal proponent of and for prospective adoptive parents. In this way, U.S. child placement practice has been an incredibly empowering space for middle-class white women. However, in line with women of color feminist critique, as the child placement discourse thus stands, it has also been an historical and incredibly intimate "location… [of] race and gender… violence against women of color."[20]

International adoption is often seen by prospective adoptive parents as a way to avoid the uncomfortable racial politics and power transaction seen as imbuing domestic child

[19] Laura Briggs, "Mother, Child, Race, Nation: The Visual Iconography of Rescue and the Politics of Transnational and Transracial Adoption," *Gender & History* 15 (2003), 180-1, 179-200.
[20] Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1991), 1242.

placements.[21] However, it is my hope that if scholars and prospective adoptive parents can recognize the important role that the discourses of infantilization and feminization play in the geopolitical construction overseas adoptions, and incorporate the sovereign nation-state within the intimacy of the triad, then perhaps a different space can emerge for the construction of a more inclusive feminism, to recognize the intersectional identities of women of color, in the U.S. and abroad.

Time, Space, and Movement

My project explores change over time from the mid-nineteenth to late-twentieth century, and the material (population management, labor provisions, family-making) and discursive (constructing and maintaining racial hierarchies linked to national belonging, perpetuating and obscuring U.S. empire overseas) links between Americans' child placement practices and U.S. nation-building – and how these links manifested differently across time and space. As historian William Cronon relates, "Where one chooses to begin and end a story profoundly alters its shape and meaning."[22] Relatedly, migration studies scholar Nancy Foner identifies two temporal approaches: "then *and* now" and "then *to* now." The "then and now" approach compares two separate time periods as distinctly disconnected. The "then to now" approach retains continuity over time in order to interrogate and chart specific transformations between comparative events.

Contemporary Korean adoption studies remains too largely disconnected from its child placement predecessors pre-Korean War and in doing so, elides the continuity of American empire as a central structural precondition. In response, my study engages a

[21] Sara K. Dorow, *Transnational Adoption: A Cultural Economy of Race, Gender, and Kinship* (New York: New York University Press, 2006); Lee and Miller, "History and Psychology of Adoptees in Asian America," 344.
[22] William Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," *Journal of American History* 78 (1992), 1364.

comparative "then to now" approach in order to more accurately reveal the child placement and imperial foundations of U.S.-Korean adoption.[23]

Within this long temporal framework, my dissertation, is at its core, a national history of American empire, but grounded in individual and regional practices that gradually transformed to encompass national, international, and transnational scales of analysis. Historian Nancy L. Green asks, "Is it possible to re-integrate a structural approach that looks at individual decisions, cultural choices, *and* structural constraint?"[24] Inspired by Green's suggestion to "[examine] individual and group choices within comparative, historical frameworks," my research utilizes a comparative case study framework to illuminate how U.S. child placement practices have, influenced by anthropologists Sarah J. Mahler and Patricia R. Pessar's theorization, "[operated] simultaneously on multiple *spatial and social* scales," including "the family, the state [and] across transnational terrains."[25] Thus, in the tradition of historians' attention to scale, this approach allows me to, on the one hand, hone in on the intimate details, the profound feelings and emotions embedded in U.S. child placement practice, while on the other hand, perform comparative analysis at the level of the nation-state, and at the same time, illuminate exemplary trends.[26] While my chapters pay special attention to important geographic and temporal dissimilarities, I am also able to show how U.S. child placement practices, over the course of a long century, remained deeply entrenched in specific economies of race, citizenship, and national belonging. Through this

[23] Nancy Foner, "Then and Now or Then to Now: Immigration to New York in Contemporary and Historical Perspective." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 25 (2006), 33-47.
[24] Nancy L. Green, "The Comparative Method and Poststructural Structuralism: New Perspectives for Migration Studies," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13 (1994), 17.
[25] Sarah J. Mahler and Patricia R. Pessar, "Gendered Geographies of Power: Analyzing Gender Across Transnaitonal Spaces," *Identities* 7 (2001), 445.
[26] Richard White, "The Nationalization of Nature," *Journal of American History* 86 (1999): 976-86; Donna R. Gabaccia, "Is Everywhere Nowhere? Nomads, Nations, and the Immigrant Paradigm of United States History," *Journal of American History* 86 (1999): 1115-34.

analysis, I am able to situate such seemingly disparate practices as regional and overseas child placements, pre- and post-World War II, within a shared and cohesive national narrative.

The history of U.S. child placement, of the transfer of a child from the authority of one adult to another, is a history of mobility and migration. To use political scientist Aristide Zolberg's evocative turn-of-phrase, in the construction of U.S. immigration law, the United States has always been a "nation by design," and U.S. citizenship and national belonging has been legally linked to race, whiteness, and white supremacy since the late eighteenth century.[27] Inspired by migration historians Erika Lee and Mae M. Ngai, who have identified the U.S. immigration bureaucracy as an important apparatus of American population management, my dissertation analyzes U.S. child placement as a central node in this national design process.[28]

My research investigates the overlapping and intersecting scales through which child bodies were meant to be managed – at the level of the individual and family, the institution and state, and transversing national boundaries. Through this focus on multiples scales of movement, I can treat child placement processes that cross the Pacific, Atlantic, or remain within the continental U.S. as interconnected, rather than separate histories. Beginning in the nineteenth century, as the United States began to develop modern immigration law, naturalization policy, and administrative systems to enforce these national agendas, the managing of people's mobility and migration, internally and across national borders, became a central nation-building technology. Migration studies thus provides important analytic and

[27] Aristide R. Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006).
[28] Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

connective tissue to link these child placement histories of "domestic" mobility and internal and international migration, and for Americans' everyday practices and desires to emerge alongside the United States' imperial and nation-building investments.

Importantly, within this more expansive framing of migration studies, I also build on what migration historian Donna R. Gabaccia calls "immigrant foreign relations," defined as the "transnational linkages created 'from below' by immigrants," as a counterpoint to examining solely U.S. national policies "from above." As Gabaccia explains, "Immigrant foreign relations originate in the reality that almost all remain connected to the people and places they supposedly left behind when emigrating… [and because] they are deeply felt, immigrant foreign relations can also at times extend into the public arena as political mobilizations, whether in the United States or transnationally."[29]

Analyzing all placed out children as emigrants from their families of birth, my study illuminates the deep and indelible power of this concept. Unlike the migrants in Gabaccia's study, besides the occasional older adolescents who emerge in chapter 1, the placed out children of my study were rarely empowered by what would be considered free choice, and in modern conceptions of U.S. international adoption, can always be characterized as forced migration. Until these children enter adulthood, there is no unmediated counterpoint "from below," a speaking back to the official narratives of diplomats, foreign policy, or placing out institutions. In modern times, internationally adopted children lack the legal privilege to start "chain migrations" or apply for "family unification."[30] However, as has been poignantly evidenced in the writing back of adopted Korean American adults, even when adopted

[29] Donna R. Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 1-3.
[30] Ibid.

children's connections "to the people and places they supposedly left behind" is meant to be severed, they remain instead "deeply felt." The history of displacement is imbued unto their immigrant bodies.[31]

My dissertation illuminates this endurance of "immigrant foreign relations" as a powerful symbolic tool that is self-consciously wielded by the adults, institutions, and eventually nation-states invested in controlling the movement of children from their places of birth elsewhere. While I do not name this concept as such throughout the dissertation, in every chapter, the deeply raced and deeply felt personal and political symbolization that these children hold, to their home nations, communities, and families, and to their new places of "care" will "extend into the public arena… whether in the United States or transnationally." It is in these extensions that we see the larger politics at play in the very personal placement of children.

Methods, Sources, and Chapter Outline

My dissertation is a long, deep, and comparative study of "domestic" and international U.S. child placement and nation-building processes. Juxtaposing a variety of historical documents at the local, regional, national, and international levels, I employ the combined methods of social and cultural history, in order to describe the development of Americans' child placement practices, and to map the changing understandings of these

[31] See, for example: Bishoff and Rankin, eds., *Seeds from a Silent Tree*; *First Person Plural,* VHS, directed by Liem; Kim, "Korean Adoptee Auto-Ethnography;" Wilkinson and Fox, eds., *After the Morning Calm*; Hübinette, "Comforting an Orphaned Nation;" Trenka, *The Language of Blood*; Trenka, Oparah, and Shin, eds., *Outsiders Within*; Dobbs, *Paper Pavilion*; Herrick, *This Many Miles from Desire*; Kim, "Harlow's Monkey;" Shin, *Skirt Full of Black*; Eriksen, "What Would Harry Holt Do?;" Park Nelson, "Korean Looks, American Eyes;" Trenka, *Fugitive Visions*; *In the Matter of Cha Jung Hee,* DVD, directed by Liem; Jackson and Lee, with Kim, Park Nelson and Huie, *Here; How to Be a Korean Woman,* by Chomet; *N/A,* by Leo; Kim, *The Translation of Han*; Pate, *From Orphan to Adoptee*; *Middle Brother,* by Sharp; Docan-Morgan, "Cultural differences and perceived belonging during Korean adoptees' reunions with birth families;" Park Nelson, *Invisible Asians*.

placements at the intersections of labor and care, race and citizenship, law, culture, and politics.

Analyzing source material at these different levels enables me to chronicle connections, continuity, and change over time in new and productive ways. For example, examining the lives and work of child placement professionals, activists, and practitioners as a primary source throughout the dissertation illuminates that not only were regional leaders in the Reconstruction Era South, American Indian boarding schools, and orphan trains organizations in direct political conversation, but that the legacies of their nineteenth century institutions provided the discursive and institutional backbone of Progressive Era and interwar years transformations, so that the vanguard of U.S. postwar international adoption emerged not as exceptional individuals, but in trend with, and supported by foundations laid decades earlier. In addition, telling the story of American adoption through the lens of such individual case studies highlights how private citizen enterprises were at the beginning of *all cases* of American child placement history, but it was only when the leadership's personal motives were embodied in U.S. nation-building agendas that the founding of institutions or mass practice were conceived.

My research examines these trends over the course of the mid-nineteenth to late-twentieth century. As my chapters progress, so do my sites of analysis become increasingly global, and my juxtaposition of multivalent source material helps to tell this story. For example, analyzing U.S. migration policy at the levels of state, military, and congressional legislation connects 1865 southern state migration laws, the 1887 Dawes-General Allotment Act, 1947 U.S. Military Government Law No. 10, and 1948 Displaced Persons Act within the same archive of transnational (im)migration technologies to control, manage, and regulate the

composition of the United States' internal body politic – and create the legal and policy discourse surrounding Americans' practices of child placement.

If I had read U.S. immigration policy narrowly, so as to be in agreement with current scholarship that names the 1948 Displaced Persons Act as the legislative beginning of U.S. international adoption tied to refugee policy, I would have missed the fact that the first mass movement of overseas adopted children to the U.S. was explicitly linked to U.S. military occupation government. By employing a social history approach to read U.S. immigration and naturalization statistics and refugee legislation alongside military government laws and special acts of Congress, *and against* the explicitly humanitarian source materials of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), I am able to redefine the legal and cultural migration origins of U.S. international adoption rooted in American empire.

Importantly, using the tools of cultural history, my dissertation analyzes national and regional newspapers, popular periodicals, government reports, the U.S. congressional record, and correspondence in the International Social Service, American Branch (ISS-America) archives to explore how cultural meanings of race, the child, and nationalism shaped the emergence of child placement practice, adoption markets, and the labor that placed out children performed for the U.S. nation-state. I read, for example, writing in prominent African American presses surrounding the postwar emergence of German-American "brown babies" that discussed the hypocrisy of the United States' purported postwar mission of overseas humanitarianism, the existence of U.S. segregated military and domestic culture, and framed the adoption of these "brown babies" by African American parents as black nationalist acts of anti-racist activism, all to a known domestic and global Cold War audience.

Through this combination of social and cultural research, I explore the ways in which nation-, race-, and migration-specific differences generated distinct opportunities and limitations for child removal and child placement, from 1845-1988. At these intersections, glimpses of child agency, and adult, institution, and nation-state push, pull, and power struggle emerge. In each of my chapters, it is through a close reading across a breadth of source material that enables me to reconstruct the historical and geographical specific character of the child migration flows that emerged at each of these intersections. As will be detailed, over time and across space, a varied and increasing number of participants will enter the realm of U.S. child placement practice, including relinquishing adults and institutions, and prospective adoptive parents, overseas U.S. military occupation and foreign national governments, transnational child welfare and businesspeople, and the placed out children themselves, who each played important roles in shaping the transnational relations, institutional structures, and industry networks in which cultures of adoptable child production (and consumption) were ultimately embedded.

Outline

My dissertation is composed of seven chapters and three parts, which proceed roughly chronologically. Part 1 emphasizes the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the United States' physical borders were still moving and unstable. Chapter 1 tells the story of how the first widescale practices of American child placement emerged as regionally, racially, and economically motivated solutions to various national ills: ethnic white orphan trains children placed West by religiously affiliated private organizations; African American black codes children kept South by a secular movement of private citizens; American Indian boarding schools children placed out by the U.S. federal government, but with clear Christian undertones. Chapter 2 explores the international dimensions of this time

period, as the nation experimented in overseas imperial ventures, secular and religious child welfare missions in Asia, and gained policy and humanitarian experience aiding refugee children in Europe. Ultimately, this first part of the dissertation will trace the early influences and interactions, institutional roots and transnational networks that provided the always-raced structural and discursive beginnings of what is now modern U.S. adoption.

The second part explores the interwar period between 1919 and 1939, when U.S. immigration policy was best characterized by its high nativism, and Asia and Europe had erupted in largescale political conflicts over communism and fascism, that reverberated in worldwide refugee crises. Chapter 3 tells the story of American individuals and institutions' participation in these crises of refugee children, as a strategic way for the U.S. to reconcile its isolationist foreign policy with its aspirations to be perceived as a humanitarian world leader. In this chapter and the next, I document the United States' first national campaigns for U.S. international adoption. It was during this time, prior to the 1951 formation of the United Nations (UN) definition and system of refugee protectionism that we see the intersecting precursors of what would later emerge as postwar U.S. international adoption and refugee history. As chapters 3 and 4 document, it is during this unsystematized time that the prospect of overseas child placement forced a re-examination, at the level of Congress and in American public, to re-conceptualize the meaning of these children within available migration categories, and accompanied by such newfound rhetoric as the needy "war orphan." Ultimately, part 2 of the dissertation argues that the interwar years solidified the transnational networks, knowledge, and precedent necessary for the United States' postwar participation in overseas child refugee crises and adoption. However, within the politics of interwar child placement and relinquishment, embodied by transnational constructs of white supremacy, restrictionist U.S. nation-building policy, and overseas parents' (and nations')

claims to their children, the first largescale attempts for U.S. international adoption were defeated.

Finally, the last part turns to the post-World War II solidification of the United States as a world power and the simultaneous emergence of U.S. international adoption, which worked in tandem toward the nation's Cold War ambitions of global economic and (multicultural) white supremacy. Chapter 5 uncovers the military, economic, and foreign policy roots that established postwar U.S. military occupied nations as the first sites worthy of U.S. international adoption. In this way, part 3 of the dissertation is less a story about "global families" or the "pioneers of global family making," as described by historian Catherine Ceniza Choy, and more about the practice of overseas U.S. child placement and making family as part of the ongoing American narrative of empire-building. While postwar U.S. child placement practice did indeed "go global," largescale international adoption was not a global phenomenon, but highly selective and hinged on empire. In this way, German, Japanese, and Korean international adoption, where chapters 6 and 7 take us, emerge not as alternate paths to family making that emerged postwar, but as deeply entrenched parts of America's imperial social fabric, tied to child placement.[32]

Importantly, chapters 6 and 7 illuminate the parallel emergence of international military brides marriages alongside U.S. international adoption practice. These chapters show how these intimately linked, overseas family formations were essential to the nation's Cold War imperial project of both establishing and concealing U.S. capitalist empire abroad. Chapter 6 illustrates how these policies and practices emerged amidst changing, unequal, and

[32] Choy chooses to emphasize rescue as her primary frame of analysis in her history of early Asian international adoption. Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Global Families: A History of Asian International Adoption in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 9-10, 15-17, 79.

uneven racial discourses in West Germany and Japan. Chapter 7 investigates the unique postwar U.S.-Korea geopolitical relations to expose the underlying capitalist and child welfare structures, motivations, and contested goals of the various stakeholders and participants of Korean international adoption. As Arissa H. Oh tells us in her excellent history on Korean adoption, "After World War II, Americans adopted children from various European countries and Japan, but it was not until after the Korean War (1950-1953) that international adoption became a significant phenomenon in the United States." Building on Oh's work, my research shows how Korea's emergence as "the place where organized, systematic international adoption began" was part of a much longer narrative in the origins of international adoption – and history of U.S. child placement – in service of American empire.[33]

Lastly, while a central goal of this dissertation is to reveal how Americans' practices of child placement and adoption have served as central tools in U.S. nation-building since the mid-nineteenth century, it also evidences how these placements, tied to American imperial projects, were always contested and always incomplete. However, by examining the historical roles of children, adults, institutions, and nation-states in a wide array of U.S. child placement practices across time and space, to both justify and contest American empire, I hope that this dissertation can speak to contemporary concerns regarding (im)migration, human rights, and the politics of race, citizenship, and ethical practice that continue to inform current practices of transracial and transnational child placement and adoption today.

[33] Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 2.

PART ONE:
NINETEENTH CENTURY FOUNDATIONS

Chapter 1
Placing Children, Constructing Racial Hierarchy, and Securing Labor in the Modern American Bid for Empire, 1845-1929

> *Falmouth, Virginia*
> *Nov. 1, 1910*
>
> *Dear Mrs. Squires*
>
> *I would like for you to find me another place as I don't like this one. I want to be in the country where there is a man. I don't want to stay here no longer. If you can find a place let me know, If you can't find one, then I will want to go live with my dady. Write as soon as you can as I want to know. I rather be home if you can't find another good country place. Miss Lizzie and Mrs. Barber says I will have to go away that she don't want me to stay here. Because I don't want to do what they want me to do. And can't talk polite to them. I would like to be with a man that is a carpenter. I am a good hand in carpenter.*
>
> *Yours very truly,*
>
> *Earnest Fowler*
>
> – Letter from ten-year old indenture Earnest Fowler to Mrs. Squires, Washington City Orphan Asylum, November 1, 1910.[34]

On November 1, 1910, young Earnest Fowler had been living as an indentured child with Miss Lizzie and Mrs. Barber for just over six months of his more than five-year contract. Like most children living in the United States in the early twentieth century, Earnest Fowler's child-status necessitated that he live under the auspices and basic authority of grown-ups. However, as a ten-year old male child, Fowler was also deemed capable for contract labor, whether as an indentured household servant or, as he hoped, as an apprentice carpenter. Earnest Fowler was but one amongst tens of thousands of children in the United States "placed out" between 1845 and 1929. This formative time period witnessed the still-new nation immersed in the process of deciding *who exactly* counted as part of the national body politic. In defining U.S. national belonging, the rules, regulations, and practices surrounding

[34] "Earnest Fowler to Mrs. Squires, Washington City Orphan Asylum, November 1, 1910," in The Adoption History Project Digital Archive (AHPDA), http://pages.uoregon.edu/adoption/archive/FowlerSquiresltr.htm: Hillcrest Children's Center Papers, "Indentures, Adoptions, Court Orders 1870-1923, 1941," Library of Congress, Manuscript Division (24 February 2012).

child placement and adoption were amongst the nation-state's most intimate and important negotiations. Children, as potential future citizen-subjects, represented both the hopes and anxieties of the new American nation.

In 1910, Earnest Fowler lived under the care of Miss Lizzie and Mrs. Barber in Falmouth, Virginia, approximately 50 miles southwest of Earnest's Washington, D.C. origins. Did Earnest travel by railroad? Did he travel alone, with an adult chaperone, or with other "orphans" from the Washington City Orphan Asylum? How exactly did he come to be affiliated with this child placing institution? While the narrative silences of Earnest's letter highlight many unknowns, his writing still offers a rich and unexpected documentation of one child's perceived experience, entrenched in the placing out practices of the early twentieth century. While neither Earnest's ethnic nor religious background are explicitly indicated in this letter, from documented northeast orphan asylum history, it can be inferred that Earnest was a white Protestant child. As indicated by Fowler's reference to his "dady," like most children gathered and placed out from these orphan asylums, Fowler had at least one living parent. In Virginia, Earnest lived under the authority of two women; in trend with other early nineteenth century female established asylums, the Washington City Orphan Asylum provided an empowering space through which women accessed newfound social, political, and professional legitimacy. However, as Earnest's change of placement request indicates – his entitled writing of the letter, his gendered preference "to be in the country where there is a man" or to be placed back with his father, as well as the visibility of Earnest's child voice in the archive, speaks to Earnest's particularly privileged positionality as a literate, white Protestant male child during this time.[35]

[35] The Washington City Orphan Asylum (WCOA), originally established as the Washington Female Orphan Asylum (1815) and now known as the Hillcrest Children and Family Center, was an historically Protestant Orphan Asylum,

As the brief window into Earnest Fowler's experience illuminates, not all children during this time were powerless in regards to their placement. However, too great an emphasis on children's agency elides the larger, national-structural conditions that ultimately compelled their movement. Earnest's situation differs from the standard "orphan trains" narrative when, between 1854 and 1929, more than 150,000 lower class, first generation child immigrants were transported via railroad from primarily eastern city homes to western rural communities. Most children gathered and placed out during this time were children of poor, recently immigrated, Catholic European parents. Earnest's experience also sits well outside of the two coexistent movements to place and raise children away from their families: the thousands of newly freed black children in the South, "black codes" children placed under white authority between 1864 and 1917, as well as the thousands of indigenous children placed out in the immediate decades following the 1879 institutionalization of American Indian boarding schools. These three child placement movements organize this chapter and represent the earliest wide-scale practices of removing children from their

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established to aid needy white orphans and half-orphans. "Half-orphan" was the language used to describe children who had one living parent, but due to poverty or illness, were not able to care for their child. WCOA began to admit male children in 1828. Separate orphan asylums for Catholic boys and girls, such as St. Vincent's Asylum for Girls (1825) and St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum (1855), were also established in Washington, D.C. during this time. Page Putnam Miller, *A Claim to New Roles* (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1985), 100; Susan L. Porter, "A Good Home: Indenture and Adoption in Nineteenth-Century Orphanages," in *Adoption in America: Historical Perspectives,* ed. E. Wayne Carp (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 30; "Building of the Department of State: Washington City Orphan Asylum, November 1866-July 1875," Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/buildings/section26 (20 February 2013); "History," Hillcrest Children and Family Center, http://www.hillcrest-dc.org/history.html (20 February 2013); "An inventory of Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Washington, DC," The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 20064, http://archives.lib.cua.edu/findingaid/ccdc.cfm (20 February 2013); Carol K. Coburn and Martha Smith, *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 106, 297.

Analyzing data collected by the 1890 and 1933 U.S. Census Bureau, political scientist Matthew A. Crenson estimates that between ten and twenty percent of these children were full orphans, with no living parent. Matthew A. Crenson, *Building the Invisible Orphanage* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 17, 335. For further discussion of late nineteenth and early twentieth century orphan asylum statistics, see Rachel B. Marks, "Institutions of Dependent and Delinquent Children: History, Nineteenth-Century Statistics, and Recurrent Goals," in *Child Caring: Social Policy and the Institution,* eds. Donnel M. Pappenfort, et. al. (Chicago: Aldine, 1973), 9-67.

Women's roles will be further discussed later in the chapter. Miller, *A Claim to New Roles,* 99-101; Porter, "A Good Home," 29-30.

personal networks of kin, to be raised by "strangers."[36] Ultimately, during the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century, the intimate practices of child removal and placement propelled and supported the United States' central nation-building goals of the time: to sustain the United States as a modern industrial nation and to consolidate its national identity around defined boundaries of whiteness. Correspondingly, these placements reflected the nation's central strategies for drawing boundaries within its populations: benevolent assimilation, racial oppression, and control over individuals' migration and mobility.

In the mid-to-late nineteenth century, as the United States sought to expand and industrialize westward via white settler colonialism and reconsolidate as a unified nation post-Civil War (1861-1865), keen nation-building anxieties accrued centered on race and labor. Cracks emerged in the United States' imagined white-citizen-nation visage as American Indians resisted genocide, maintained sovereignty, and the American West remained largely brown-populated; as enslaved African Americans were emancipated post-Civil War; as recent poor, southern and eastern European immigrants saturated the nation's northeastern cities and failed to properly assimilate into white American citizenship ideals, still culturally defined as Protestant and west European. During this time, the United States also sought to legitimize itself on the world's stage as a modern industrial entity. Its racial-national anxieties were thus compounded as the nation suffered related regional crises in

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[36] In colonial America, as in much of Europe, the placing out of children was a routine part of their education, e.g., through "apprenticeship" systems. This chapter's case studies are the earliest widespread and systematic removal practices in the independent U.S. Thanks to Donna R. Gabaccia for this qualifying statement.
Analyzing data collected by the 1890 and 1933 U.S. Census Bureau, political scientist Matthew A. Crenson estimates that between ten and twenty percent of these children were full orphans, with no living parent. Matthew A. Crenson, *Building the Invisible Orphanage* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 17, 335. For further discussion of late nineteenth and early twentieth century orphan asylum statistics, see Rachel B. Marks, "Institutions of Dependent and Delinquent Children: History, Nineteenth-Century Statistics, and Recurrent Goals," in *Child Caring: Social Policy and the Institution*, eds. Donnel M. Pappenfort, et. al. (Chicago: Aldine, 1973), 9-67.
Women's roles will be further discussed later in the chapter. Miller, *A Claim to New Roles*, 99-101; Porter, "A Good Home," 29-30.

labor. Western and rural America endured labor shortages; America's northeast urban centers were overpopulated and ill-equipped to sustain its impoverished masses, particularly recently arrived Irish Catholic immigrants; the foundations of America's southern economy, enslaved African Americans, were suddenly "free." Viewed holistically, this chapter thus argues that the simultaneously occurring movements to place poor white ethnic children West, American Indian children onto federal boarding schools in rural America, and freed black children under the authority of their former plantation owners, emerged at the crux of these national anxieties, as intersecting technologies of population management to both secure labor and maintain a very specific white supremacy.

The ensuing sections will explain how orphan trains, post-Civil War black codes, and American Indian boarding schools child placements each emerged as piecemeal solutions to specific regional anxieties. But as anxieties of national significance, they together contributed to the country's overarching nation-building efforts towards an industrialized, white dominant, imperial economy. Thus, while the orphan trains are documented as the United States' first large-scale practice of modern adoption, putting these three child placement movements into conversation with one another reveal them as similar early social experiments in the making of the nation during a foundational time in early American history. Importantly, through these movements, this chapter will illustrate how these children operated within different racial economies, economies which allowed and disallowed different systems of child placement to emerge. As will be illuminated, the nineteenth century racialized discourses of childhood emblematized in the orphan trains, black codes, and first-wave boarding schools provided the foundations for the nation's future shifts toward domestic and overseas adoptions.

Orphan Trains and the Establishment of Manifest Destiny

> *[T]he cheapest and most efficacious way of dealing with the 'Dangerous Classes' of large cities, is not to punish them, but to prevent their growth… The founders of the Children's Aid Society early saw that the best of all Asylums for the outcast child, is the farmer's home.*
>
> *The United States have the enormous advantage over all other countries… that they possess a practically unlimited area of arable land. The demand for labor on this land is beyond any present supply. Moreover, the cultivators of the soil are in America our most solid and intelligent class.*
>
> *The demand here for children's labor is practically unlimited… When placed in a farmer's family, he grows up as one of their number… his self-respect is raised, and the chances of success held out to a laborer in this country… soon raise him far above the class from which he sprang.*
>
> – Reverend Charles Loring Brace, central founder of the orphan trains movement, quoted in the second half of the nineteenth century[37]

Orphan train children were situated at the center of nineteenth and early twentieth century U.S. racial, imperial, and nation-building projects, as "white" children who could physically displace indigenous populations in the West, provide necessary labor to the United States' newfound settler economies, and through assimilation, culturally uplift their own working class ethnic communities in the East. Between 1854 and 1929, more than 150,000 working class youth, also known as "street children," were transported by "orphan trains" from their urban eastern city homes, mainly to the rural American West.[38] These youth ranged in age from infancy through their more mature teenage years. Most "orphan" children who were placed out during this time did indeed have living parents, but through the

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[37] Charles Loring Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them* (New York: Wynkoop & Hallenbeck, 1872), i-ii, 225; Charles L. Brace, "What Is the Best Method for the Care of Poor and Vicious Children?" in *Journal of Social Science*, ed. D. C. Gilman, et. al., (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1880), 94.

[38] Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them*. While "orphan trains" is the common terminology used to describe this movement, this language did not gain resonance until the late 1970s, largely through widely viewed programming televised by CBS. It should also be noted that 150,000 is a conservative figure. Some scholars estimate upwards of 400,000 children placed out via orphan trains. Marilyn Irving Holt, *The Orphan Trains: Placing Out in America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 1-2; Michael D. Patrick, *Orphan Trains to Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997); Stephen O'Connor, *The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), xix; "Orphan Trains," in the AHPDA, http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~adoption/topics/orphan.html (24 February 2012).

pressures of poverty and public discourse, were removed and placed out hundreds of miles west. Their parents were impoverished first generation immigrants, primarily Irish Catholic. Looking even closer, those removed in largest numbers came directly from the arms of young, unwed mothers, poor women who lacked the financial means to retain possession of their children.[39] Similar to present-day discourses, one could argue that the removal and placement for adoption of the children of poor single mothers, in the nineteenth century from Irish Catholic women, and in the twenty-first century, from poor women around the globe, are both voluntary and coerced institutions and practices.

By the mid-nineteenth century, in the midst of Ireland's great famine, approximately three-fourths of the millions of Irish Catholic emigrants found their way to the United States. By 1890, when more than three-fourths of resident New Yorkers were the progeny of recent immigrants, Irish Catholics constituted one-third and, akin to their parents, continued to live in working class poverty.[40] It was in New York City, and during this era, that Protestants and northern and western Europeans were idealized as the consummate American citizen-subjects, and the orphan trains program was born.[41] Placed primarily into the "respectable"

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[39] Included in lesser numbers were other ethnic European children, including Italians, Germans and Jews. Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 6; Holt, *The Orphan Trains*, 6-7, 69-70, 109; O'Connor, *The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed*, 86-7, 168, 174; Ellen Herman, *Kinship by Design: A History of Adoption in Modern United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 24; David M. Emmons, *Beyond the American Pale: The Irish in the West, 1845-1910* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 185-9; Gary Edward Polster, *Inside Looking Out: The Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum, 1868-1924* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1990), 10, 15, 27, 99; Clay Gish, "Rescuing the 'Waifs and Strays' of the City: The Western Emigration of the Children's Aid Society," *Journal of Social History* 33 (1999): 126.

[40] David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1991), 139; Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*, 13.

[41] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns in American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955); David B. Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (1960): 205-24; David W. Noble, "Revocation of the Anglo-Protestant Monopoly," *Surroundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 79 (1996): 154-7; David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 5-6, 17, 52, 139; Donna R. Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 10, 91-3, 99-100, 154; Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999); Matthew F. Jacobsen, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998); Justin Nordstrom, *Danger on the Doorstep: Anti-Catholicism and American Print Culture in the Progressive Era* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 24-5.

homes of Anglo-Protestant farming families via foster care, indentured servitude, or adoption, the orphan trains are widely cited as the United States' first large-scale practice of (transethnic) adoption.[42] Conditions of indenture and potential kinship relations originating from a child's placement were not always clear. As an Indiana farmer told a group of waiting children, "I want to take a boy West whom I will educate and treat as my son, and if he turns out to be a good boy and true man he shall have my farm when I am dead and gone."[43] Such lines between possible kinship and indenture were similarly blurred for William Brown, placed out by the New York Foundling Hospital at four years old, in 1925. At fifty-eight years old, he noted, "At this point in time I do not know if my parents ever adopted me or if I remained Indentured to them only."[44] Indeed, even for straightforward indentureship, the New York Children's Aid Society required "foster parents" to sign a contract indicating that they would "care for [the child] in sickness and in health… send him to school… have him attend Church… [and] retain him as a member of [the] family."[45] The New York Foundling Hospital similarly included an indenture contract clause that read: "[T]he child shall be maintained, clothed, educated and treated with like care and tenderness as if she were in fact the child of the parties… [who] will provide for said child, financially and in every other way, as if the said child were adopted by the said parties."[46] Thus, whether officially adopted or not, this watershed wave of child placement migration oftentimes gave poor children homes, Midwestern farmers labor, and all a new semblance of family. Tied also to the nation's broader anxieties concerning American Indians in the West and the potential non-

[42] Infant-age children are documented as most likely to be officially adopted. Patricia J. Young and Frances E. Marks, eds. *Tears on Paper: The History and Life Stories of the Orphan Trains Riders* (Privately pub., 1990), 28, 100.
[43] "Boys Going West," *New York Times*, September 30, 1874, 8.
[44] William Brown – William Paul Landkamer, "Autobiography," in Young and Marks, eds., *Tears on Paper*, 193.
[45] Children's Aid Society Indenture Contract, May 7, 1912; reprinted in Ibid., 168, 345.
[46] New York Foundling Hospital Indenture Contract, January 14, 1922; reprinted in Ibid., 168, 345.

assimilability of some "dangerous classes" of first generation ethnic Europeans in the East, this section argues that the orphan trains emerged as a timely regional-national solution whereby through controlled, regulated, and sometimes forced westward migration and child placement, the children of potentially unassimilable immigrants were able to provide both the physical and discursive labor necessitated by a nineteenth century imperial America seeking to both populate its "frontier," and define itself amongst its global peers as a white, industrial settler nation.[47] This section will continue by expanding on the story of Reverend Charles Loring Brace, the founder and most influential leader of the orphan trains movement.

Case Study

Reverend Charles Loring Brace founded the New York Children's Aid Society (CAS) in 1853. Under Brace's leadership, by 1864, his Emigration Department was placing out an average of more than 1,000 children per year. By 1874, this number had risen to more than 4,000, and by the time CAS sent its last train to Missouri in 1929, the Society had placed out more than 150,000 children.[48] Following the institutionalization of CAS, a number of child placement organizations in primarily eastern urban centers such as Boston and Philadelphia institutionalized their own "orphan trains" mechanisms, both modeled after and in response to Brace's emigration system.[49]

Migration, Nation-building, and Strategies of Empire

[47] Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them*; Charles Loring Brace, "The Little Laborers of New York City," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 47 (August 1873): 321-32. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893* (Washington, D.C., 1894), 199-227.
[48] Young and Marks, eds., *Tears on Paper*, 41; Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*, 69.
[49] For example, see the New England Home for Little Wanderers, Boston Children's Mission, the New York Foundling Hospital, and the Philadelphia Women's Industrial Aid Association. Benjamin L. Hartley, *Evangelicals at a Crossroads: Revivalism and Social Reform, 1860-1910* (Lebanon: University Press of New England, 2011), 45; Holt, *The Orphan Trains*, 4; John E. B. Myers, *Child Protection in America: Past, Present, Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 26.

Encompassed in the eventual sheer number and magnitude of the orphan trains resettlement program, the children were literal tools of and grew to embody the success of the U.S. as a modern industrial nation and white settler country. As was heavily emphasized by Brace, a central impetus regarding his creation of a westbound child relocation program was the very real need for child labor, to meet "[t]he immense, practically unlimited demand by Western communities for the services of these children."[50] Additionally, as opposed to other forms of social or child welfare that encouraged or supported immigrant family preservation, Brace saw the orphan trains as "the cheapest and most efficacious way" of addressing what he deemed "the peculiar economic condition of this country in treating questions of pauperism."[51] In the mid-nineteenth century, the American welfare system had yet to be established and leaders such as Brace and privately sponsored associations addressed this institutional lack.[52] Economically, the orphan trains were viewed as a particularly viable solution to relieve both fiscal and labor anxieties in the U.S. regional west and east, and thus support the strength and development of the overall nation-state.

The children initially traveled to states such as Minnesota, Michigan and Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, which were then considered to be the American West.[53] As the United States' transcontinental railroads ventured further westward, so did the orphan train children further penetrate the frontier, as east coast cultural and political ambassadors, cheap labor, and in their bright youth, representing the United States' ultimate imperial and

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[50] Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them*, 242.
[51] Brace, "The Little Laborers of New York City," 330.
[52] Crenson, *Building the Invisible Orphanage*.
[53] Young and Marks, eds., *Tears on Paper*, 23; E. Wayne Carp, "Introduction: A Historical Overview of American Adoption," in *Adoption in America: Historical Perspectives*, ed. E. Wayne Carp (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 5; Holt, *The Orphan Trains*; Janet Liebl, *Ties that Bind: The Orphan Train Story in Minnesota* (Marshall: Southwest State University, 1994); Patrick, *Orphan Trains to Missouri*; O'Connor, *The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed*.

industrial success and future. In explaining the New England Home for Little Wanderers' placing out program, Reverend S. S. Cummings notes,

> It is surprising to some that we will start off with a company of thirty or forty children, not knowing where we shall find a home for them. The process is simple. We look over the map of the country, and line of railroads, and decide on some town to make our first point, and then write to the pastors of the churches that we will be there at a given time, generally arriving on Saturday... We seldom fail of doing a good day's work in the line of adoption, after thus spending a Sabbath with the people.[54]

During the mid-nineteenth century, in order to both facilitate industrial-settler expansion and regional-national consolidation, the federal government generously funded the development of its transcontinental railway system.[55] During this time, the regional unpredictability that characterized the American West, the nation-state's precarious hold on the region, made the orphan trains venture remarkably bold. By 1876, the United States consisted of only 37 states, only one railway operated west of Missouri, and American Indians remained steadfast resistors of American empire.[56] As the orphan trains project emerged and expanded alongside the nation's technological and transportation advancements, orphan train children sat at the vanguard of U.S. white settler colonialism that displaced indigenous populations, and at the foundations of the American West's growing industrial economy. Besides providing physical labor and representing the transfer of capital from their more established east coast origins, these children acted as little bridges for the nation, both physically and discursively representing the union between the developing eastern and western parts of the country.

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[54] "Reverend S. S. Cummings, New England Home for Little Wanderers' Orphan Train," in the AHPDA, http://pages.uoregon.edu/adoption/archive/CummingsOT.htm (24 February 2012); "A Brief History of the Children's Aid Association of Boston and the New England Home for Little Wanderers," in Edith M. H. Baylor, et. al., *The Rehabilitation of Children: The Theory and Practice of Child Placement* (NY: Harper & Brothers, 1939), 524.
[55] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 21.
[56] Young and Marks, eds., *Tears on Paper*, 25.

Providing both this material and discursive labor, orphan train children thus existed at the center of U.S. nineteenth century imperial missions. Initially placed out via child placement institution's Emigration Departments, by utilizing the language of "emigration," institutions elided their role in the process of removing and relocating the children, instead conflating orphan train children's journeys with the positively appraised westbound migrations of other U.S. citizens. These citizens chose to emigrate under the nationalist auspices encompassed in journalist John Louis O'Sullivan's 1845 coinage of *manifest destiny*: "[T]hat claim is by the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent… for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us… that pervading tendency westward, westward… a population destined to establish… a noble young empire of the Pacific."[57] Corresponding with Brace's vision of the United States' alleged advantageous possession of "a practically unlimited area of arable land," the orphan trains emerged amidst an American society that thoroughly embraced westward expansion as a natural and anointed extension of American progress and civilization. The successful institutionalization of the orphan trains as a westbound child relocation program reflected the larger national discourse that imagined the frontier as an open space ripe for American settlement.

In contrast to this discourse, when Brace founded his Children's Aid Society in 1853, the United States remained officially at war with those Indian nations who continued to reside in the "unlimited area of arable land" for close to four more decades.[58] Following the United States' official late eighteenth century shift from diplomacy to extermination, the U.S.

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[57] John Louis O'Sullivan, "Editorial: The True Title," *The New York Morning News*, December 27, 1845, 2; See also, Julius W. Pratt, "The Origin of 'Manifest Destiny,'" *American Historical Review* 32 (1927): 795-8.
[58] Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 15-51.

federal courts and policies continued to legally sanction and reify violence and genocide against American Indians. Official federal policy towards Indian nations was extinction.[59] The naturalization of this federal policy sits at the heart of the orphan trains project's imagining of a West that was open, welcoming, and needful of east coast white children's bodies and labor.

The timing of Brace's orphan trains program was equally relevant. It was initiated just five years following the U.S.-Mexico War. Speaking to the national desire to populate the American West with able white bodies, as was widely documented at the time, it was in large part due to white supremacist anxieties that the United States decided against pursuing full conquest. As an 1847 *Democratic Review* article expressed, "The annexation of [Mexico] to the United States would be a calamity. 5,000,000 ignorant and indolent half-civilized Indians, with 1,500,000 free negroes and mulattoes, the remnants of the British slave trade, would scarcely be a desirable incumbrance, even with the great natural wealth of Mexico."[60] *New York Herald* founder James Harold Bennett similarly reflected this population concern:

> [O]ut of a [Mexican] population of some eight or nine millions the white population scarcely exceeds one million. The remainder is… a confused jumble of every color and character… Sluggish inertness and intellectual imbecility are the unhappy characteristics of the race.

However, as Bennett went on to clarify, given the "manifest destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race to people this vast continent," the incorporation of a manageable number of Mexican people

[59] Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Like a Loaded Weapon: The Rehnquist Court, Indian Rights, and the Legal History of Racism in America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 42: *Documents* 1-2. For a historicization of the early American construction of the "vanishing Indian," whose population was in natural decline in the face of Euro-colonial civilization, i.e. "Indian extinction," see Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See also David R. Roediger's discussion concerning the ways in which American nineteenth century national "civility" continued to "invent savagery in order to define itself." Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 22.

[60] "Mexico – The Church, and Peace," *The United States Magazine, and Democratic Review* 21 (1847): 101, 93-101.

would be reasonable, as this population would "sure[ly] melt away at the approach of Anglo-Saxon energy and enterprise… similar to that of the Indians of this country – the race, before a century rolls over us, will be extinct."[61] In the United States' mission of empire, expansion, and racial genocide, the mid-century initiated orphan trains were literally doing the imperial work of bringing fresh "white" bodies to populate the grounds of its newly acquired (and ready to be colonized) territories. It is important to note, however, that different from their fellow white settler compatriots, orphan train children's child-status imbued them with a vulnerability that allowed them to do different and important discursive work.

While the violent imperial processes of Indian conquest, displacement, and genocide provide the backdrop for the orphan trains movement, these processes are obscured by the innocent and seemingly peaceable image of the migrating white child. In this way, orphan train children performed similar discursive work as John Gast's principle figure in his 1872 *American Progress,* an evocative visual representation of nineteenth century westward expansion and manifest destiny, as shown in Figure 1-1.

[61] "Mexico – Its Castes," *The New York Herald,* June 5, 1846, 2.

Figure 1-1 John Gast, American Progress, 1872. Commissioned as the title lithograph for prolific writer, George A. Crofutt's Trans-Continental Tourist (1874), Crofutt describes this iconic imagery as representing the United States "from the Atlantic to the Pacific… illustrating at a glance the grand drama of Progress in the civilization, settlement and history of this country." The principal figure in this narrative, as described by Crofutt, is a "beautiful and charming female... floating westward through the air, bearing on her forehead the 'Star of Empire.' She has left the cities of the East far behind, crossed the Alleghanies… and still her march is westward."[62]

In this image, it is American progress symbolized as white womanhood, gently and peaceably floating westward, who embodies the similarly benevolent tropes of the orphan trains narrative. Providing the image's background, on the Atlantic side are symbols of modern American industrialization, steamships and manufactories "over which beams of light are streaming… indicative of civilization." Migrating from the East are "the three great continental lines of railway," covered wagons, farmers, frontiersmen, and symbolic images of "the pioneer emigrant." To the West and enshrouded in darkness, wild animals and native peoples naturally "[f]lee from 'Progress,'…the presence of the wondrous vision. The 'Star' is *too much for them.*" Looking at this image, one can easily envision orphan trains migrants

[62] George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt's Trans-Continental Tourist, Vol. VI* (New York: Geo. A. Crofutt, Publisher, 1874), 157-8.

traveling inside the "three great continental lines of railway," whereas they are the nation's children and the benevolent flying woman their mother, both bringing care, uplift, and modernity to the West. American Indians must inevitably disappear in their wake, as the light of their civilization is simply *too much*. It is in this vision of naturalized American "progress" and peaceable expansion, similar to Gast and Crofutt's imagining, that the orphan trains child both elides and sanitizes the ways in which nineteenth century imperial projects structured their placement's design.[63]

Importantly, utilizing a critical ethnic studies lens through which to view this westbound migration illuminates the ways in which the same cultural parameters that reified orphan train children as "white" settler-subjects, and enacted material and discursive violence in the West, worked hand-in-hand with the nation's disciplining measures in the East. As the U.S. attempted to make sense of its eastern population problem, poor urban immigrants who

consisted of orphan trains' children's parents and ethnic communities, Charles Loring Brace warned,

> The class increases. Immigration is pouring in its multitude of poor foreigners, who leave these young outcasts everywhere in our midst… These boys and girls… will soon form the great lower classes of our city… influence elections… if unreclaimed, poison the city all around them.[64]

Brace's orphan trains solution, in line with scientific racist understanding of the time, was but "a means of draining the city of these children." He strategized that, rather than waste private or state funding "punishing" the "dangerous classes" of adult ethnic European immigrants

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[63] Ibid., 157-8. See also, Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American Land as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), 81-111; Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1973); Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism & Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985); Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[64] Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them*, 91-2.

whom the public feared could not properly assimilate, the orphan trains could remove the children from under their parents' authority and negative influence, benevolently assimilate them into Anglo-Protestant farming families in the West, and thus "prevent their growth" of new generations who could be characterized by their parents' undesirable ethnic-class attributes.[65] The remainder of this section positions orphan train children at the center of national debates concerning the racialized consolidation of American citizenship and belonging.

From the East

In the mid-nineteenth century, U.S. citizenship was the privilege of white Americans, but who exactly qualified as "white" remained open to legal debate through the 1920s, the final decade the orphan trains continued to function. A construction of "whiteness" as ideal, desirable, and normalized within the discourses of U.S. citizenship and law had been building since the colonial era. By the late eighteenth century, so incorporated were these associations that the 1790 congressional decision to restrict naturalized citizenship to "free white persons" passed without contention.[66] However, over a century later, the legal definition of "free white persons" and naturalized citizenship's racial requirements continued to be contested. It was not until, following more than twenty other federal court cases, that Supreme Court rulings *Takao Ozawa v. U.S.* (1922) and *U.S. v. Bhagat Singh Thind* (1923) clearly defined

[65] Ibid. See also, Dale T. Knobel, *Paddy and the Republic: Ethnicity and Nationality in Antebellum America* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1986).
[66] Jacobsen, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 22. See also, W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in the United States, 1860-1880* (New York: The Free Press, 1935); Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1975); Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*. All authors note the relationship of whiteness to citizenship as contingent with the racialization of African Americans and American Indians as unassimilable within American republican ideology.

and solidified the legal parameters between white citizens and non-white members of the body politic.[67]

That said, these solidified racial parameters of white citizenship did not erase the century-long religious and ethnic prejudices that existed within the European American community.[68] As historian Donna R. Gabaccia notes, "In the aftermath of the 1848 U.S. war with Mexico… xenophobic voters in many parts of the country began to elect officials from the secretive American Party," also known as the "Know-Nothings," who "promised to pass laws to limit access to naturalization, citizenship, and public office by Catholics and aliens."[69] Reflecting such longstanding prejudices, in 1924, Congress established the National Origins Act, which made permanent the 1921 quota policy intended to "to confine immigration as much as possible to western and northern European stock."[70] It was thus amidst this racial uncertainty and ethnic prejudice that the orphan trains emerged in 1854 and proceeded to function through 1929. Within this racialized context, the orphan trains functioned as a site of both racial uplift and ethnic discipline, initially as a top down operation of idealized-citizenship reformation, but eventually as an expanded system of religious and ethnic resistance whereas negatively racialized whites claimed full national belonging.

Charles Loring Brace's nineteenth century romanticization of the American West, his identification of "the *farmer's home*... the cultivators of the soil... in America our most solid and intelligent class," as the ideal asylum for immigrant children's benevolent assimilation

[67] Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 38. See also, Ian Haney-López, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).
[68] Knobel, *Paddy and the Republic*.
[69] Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations*, 126.
[70] Haney-López, *White by Law*, 27.

and successful moral and racial uplift, corresponded nicely with the orphan trains' western labor and imperial designs. Reflecting on western agricultural labor, Brace noted,

> When placed in a farmer's family, he grows up as one of their number... his self-respect is raised, and the chances of success held out to a laborer in this country... soon raise him far above the class from which he sprang.

In contrast, Brace identified child city factory workers as "little slaves of capital." In his 1873 *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* feature, Brace identifies CAS as a "benevolent organization… which has been especially the friend of the working children." An accompanying illustration, entitled "Work of the Children's Aid Society," provides a visual, captioned narrative, as shown in Figure 1-2.

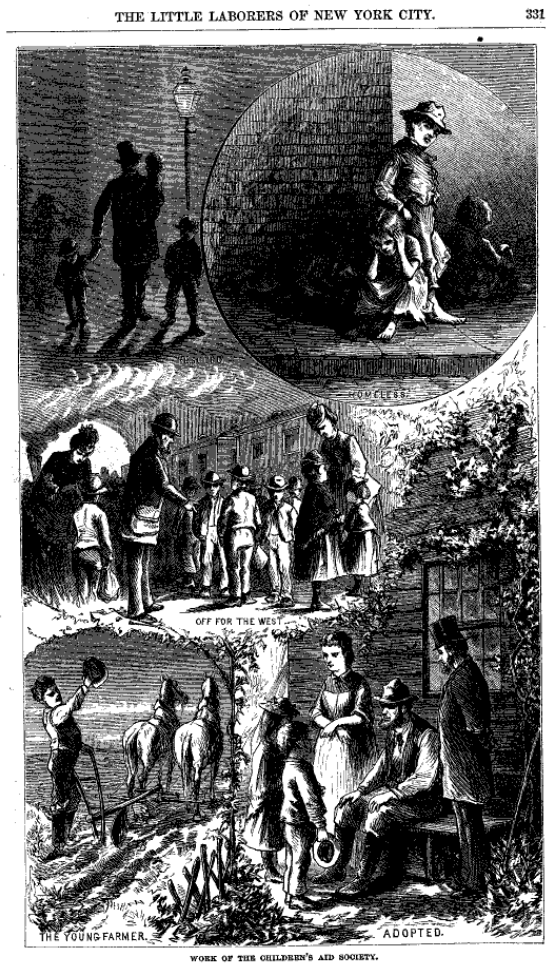

Figure 1-2. Work of the Children's Aid Society, 1873. The illustration begins with "Homeless" child vagrants – barefoot, dirty, occupying the miserable shadows of a street corner – then "Rescued." Similar to Gast's American Progress, published but a year prior, the children's city life is illustrated as dark and shadowed, gradually giving way to light as the children are civilized through their migration west. Their class and race uplift (indeed, the children are literally lightened (or whitened) as their journey progresses) is through their migration away from the contaminating influence of their east coast homes, and since we know that most orphan train children had at least one living parent, away from their only known kin. "Off For The West" illustrates a large group of well-dressed boys and girls, holding their belonging in small sacks, and being kindly chaperoned onto a waiting train. A young boy, waving his hat in the air and joyously riding a horse-drawn hoe is titled "The Young Farmer." The final image, captioned "Adopted," shows a young girl and boy fully assimilated, their uplift made official and permanent by their adoption and acceptance into their newfound family.[71]

[71] Brace, "The Little Laborers of New York City," 327, 330-1.

Brace's romantic account of the transformative power of American farm life is reminiscent of the previous decades' Jeffersonian democracy impulses, and the performative aspect of American citizenship. While the height of Jeffersonian democracy was decades past, its nostalgic tenets retained keen cultural resonance as primordial American characteristics. The retained cultural currency of pastoral Americanization both supported the United States' westbound imperial settlement missions, as well as offered immigrants a model for upward mobility and potential assimilation.[72] For orphan train children, whose ethnic Europeanness already granted them citizenship rights, their performance of rural labor was characterized as educational, to train them in the proper standards of American living, and ultimately garner them the full privileges of white racialized national belonging.

This material and ideological blending of labor and race uplift made perfect sense during the time, as labor and education were explicitly tied to immigrants' abilities to racially and morally assimilate as proper Americans. As illustrated in Gast's feminine rendition of *American Progress*: "with left hand she unfolds and stretches the slender wires of the telegraph," to embody U.S. modernity and industrialization; in her right, "she carries a book… the emblem of education and the testimonial of our national enlightenment."[73] While Brace sympathized with the importance of poor children's labor to their parents, in that "the father of the poor child… is compelled to harness the little one very early to the car of labor… The child's wages seem to him important," he was overall highly critical of child factory work. As Brace argued, not only were these "children who ought to be in school," but speaking to the overpopulation of city life, their work in turn "[deprived] older laborers of

[72] Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005).
[73] Crofutt, *Crofutt's Trans-Continental Tourist*, 157.

their employment and remuneration." For those children not immediately placed out to the West, CAS had thus "established in various parts of the city 'industrial schools,' where children of the working classes [were] taught habits of industry, order, and cleanliness, together with common-school lessons and some industrial branch, and are then forwarded to places in the country."[74] In these schools, the children's education was composed of common schooling alongside industrial training. In trend with global imperial discourse, it was assumed that the children of poorer classes needed to be taught *how to work.* They needed to learn "habits of industry, order." They needed to be taught *how to be clean*. Within this racialized context, for working class children, learning to labor was central to their education, and as long as they were taught to work in specific industries and in the proper places, thus "forwarded to [labor-needing] places in the country," this child labor could retain its positive framing.[75]

Analyzing the success of this westbound relocation program, orphan train children's child-status again rises to the fore, regarding the children's potential assimilability. Describing the familial-labor culture of the American West, Brace explains, "The housekeeping life of a Western farmer is somewhat peculiar. The servants of the household must be members of the family, and be treated more or less as equals. It is not agreeable for a Western matron to have a rude European peasant at the same table and in the same room with the family. She prefers a child whom she can train up in her own way."[76] Thus, while adult immigrants were deemed too old to properly assimilate, in fact too disagreeable to share

[74] Brace, "The Little Laborers of New York City," 321, 326-7.
[75] This racialized linking of education and empire paralleled European imperial practices and discourse. Particularly, the racialized construction of "soap" and "cleanliness" emerged as a prominent theme in late nineteenth and early twentieth century. See for example, David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).
[76] Brace, "The Little Laborers of New York City," 330.

even a dining table with, white immigrant children, deemed malleable and thus save-able in their childhood youth, were redeemable.

Constructions of Childhood, Discipline and Resistance

Notably, besides the immigrant children themselves, the concept of childhood was employed as an important discursive trope that characterized the separation of Irish Catholic children from their parents positively, thus making these families more susceptible to kinship disruptions. Religiously infantilized by Anglo Protestants as being in a permanent condition of "moral childhood," Irish Catholic parents' capacity and thus right to parent their own children was called into question.[77] Irish Catholic children need not wait for orphan trains before attempts to remove the stains of their parentage were attempted, as their urban Protestant employers enacted harsh disciplinary measures that sought not only their reform, but when witnessed by their parents, disciplined and disrespected the whole of the Irish immigrant community's right to raise their own children. Brace's model simply took this disciplining process further, as its premise was that the immigrant child was better off not being raised by their own parents. Similar to the program's elision of American empire and Indian genocide through the institutionalized language of "emigration," the language of "orphan" produced a public iconography of childhood need and accessibility that naturalized the children's westbound relocation by minimizing their family ties and eliding the social structures that enabled their procurement and placement so far away from their original kinship networks. This sanitized socio-cultural violence and community infantilization was particularly gendered, as the children were taken primarily from their mothers. Single (as

[77] Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 138. This religious infantilization corresponded nicely with Irish immigrants' overall negative racialization as innately "unfit for self-governance." Jacobsen, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 48-9, 70. For the threat of Catholicism to the American family, see also, Jon Gjerde, *Catholicism and the Shaping of Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 184-205.

well as married) working women were particularly vulnerable to society's scrutiny as respectable American womanhood was increasingly defined against wage labor, further stigmatizing Irish immigrant motherhood.[78]

Historian Linda Gordon's study of a 1904 case illuminates this vulnerability of poor, Irish immigrant mothers, but also the rise in Catholic American resistance, as well as the ultimate white racial privilege afforded to orphan train children. The forty (primarily Irish) "orphans" in this case were in large part chosen due to their likelihood to remain unclaimed. Their primarily poor, unwed, Irish Catholic mothers were required to legally relinquish custody.[79] They were placed out via the New York Foundling Hospital (NYFH), a private Catholic institution founded in 1869, in opposition to Brace's CAS. From CAS's inception, Catholic communities actively resisted Brace's Protestant mission.[80] Private organizations, such as the Society for the Protection of Destitute Roman Catholic Children of the City of New York (1863) and the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania (1882), were established in order to keep families intact, but when not possible, to ethically place the children within their own religious communities.[81]

In case documented in *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction,* the children were placed into homes of Arizona residents, Mexican Catholic adoptive parents. Religiously

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[78] Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 152-3.
[79] Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*, 5-6.
[80] Catholic American communities and leadership had strongly protested Protestants' anti-Catholic sentiments since before the Civil War and specifically regarding the care of Irish "orphans" and the adoption of Catholic children by Protestant families, since prior to the institutionalization of Brace's orphan trains system. Gjerde, *Catholicism and the Shaping of Nineteenth-Century America*, 205-18.
[81] William Henry Slingerland, *Child Welfare Work in Pennsylvania* (New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1915), 123-4; Cynthia R. Mabry, Lisa Kelly, *Adoption Law: Theory, Policy and Practice* (Buffalo: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 2006), 5; Herman, *Kinship by Design*, 126; Emmons, *Beyond the American Pale*, 189-90. Jewish institutions similarly emerged in opposition to Brace's orphan trains. Reena Sigman Friedman, *These Are Our Children: Jewish Orphanages in the United States, 1880-1925* (Hanover: Brandeis University Press, 1994), 4-5; See also Kristine E. Nelson, "The Best Asylum: Charles Loring Brace and Foster Family Care," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1980), 233-8; Paula F. Pfeffer, "A Historical Comparison of Catholic and Jewish Adoption Practices, 1833-1933," in *Adoption in America: Historical Perspectives,* ed. E. Wayne Carp (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 101-23.

matched, in the context of uneven citizenship and Mexico-U.S. relations, it made sense that both these parents and NYFH believed these acceptable placements. The parents' homes occupied originally Mexican soil and in the early twentieth century, these Arizona-U.S. residents had not yet been made to feel entirely foreign in their own land. Also due to the recent nature of American conquest via the U.S.-Mexico War, and the imperial necessity to bring those Mexican residents of the newly acquired Arizona-U.S. territories under national jurisdiction, these residents were granted American citizenship. Interestingly, in 1904, Mexicans were the only non-African American persons of color who were uncontested in their ability to retain their U.S. citizenship, and they did so by being legally defined as "white."[82] However, Mexican Americans' white status was not socially accepted. Instead, the children's more viable racialization, their overarching white privilege, trumped their religious affiliation. Consequently, scandalized Anglo Protestant parents were able to legally kidnap the orphan train children from their Mexican families' homes.[83]

In practice, to a large extent, particularly in comparison to the second and third case studies of this chapter, this racial privilege extended to orphan trains birth parents and provided many of the children with more empowering experiences than reflected in the standard narrative. As compared to black codes and first-wave boarding schools children, orphan trains child placements existed within the most positive racial economy of whiteness.

While infants were sent West, they were most likely to be officially adopted for their family-making, sentimental value. Also, consider this example: Representing a reciprocal

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[82] Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*; See also, Haney-López, Ian. *White by Law*.

[83] Outside the scope of this chapter, it is important to note that while Chicano children were not "placed out," post-conquest Mexican children's education in the American Southwest could make a comparable case study. Most directly paralleling American Indian boarding schools, ethnically Mexican children were similarly required to attend, via compulsory education laws, segregated Mexican schools and trained to enter the low-wage, unskilled labor market through the 1940s. Gilbert G. Gonzalez, "Segregation of Mexican Children in a Southern California City: The Legacy of Expansionism and the American Southwest," *Western Historical Quarterly* 16 (1985): 55-76.

cycle of empowerment, as one potential adoptive father/employer expressed to a group of potential orphan train children,

> Boys: Thirteen years ago I was sitting where you are now – a poor, ragged, friendless orphan, waiting to be placed in a home in the West. I got a good home in Indiana, and now I possess a splendid home of my own, consisting of a well-stocked farm of 280 acres. I have come to thank the Children's Aid Society for what it has done for me… I want to [now] take a boy West."[84]

Alluded to in this quote, intersecting with some of these children's racial privilege, was also that of age and gender. Thus, while a large and significant number were indeed very young, in line with orphan trains' labor-focused discourse, nearly half of the "children" were male youths aged fourteen through seventeen, and eight percent aged eighteen through twenty-one. Brace identified these adolescents and young adults as "large boys," and while these "boys" were placed out under the care of foster parents, most chose to honor these relations as that of employer-employee as opposed to adoptive family. Also, the higher placement rates of boys over girls represented the more protective discourse surrounding white female children, as well as the gendered investment to maintain their household labor in their east coast homes.[85]

The character of one's mobility and movement is a measure of one's freedom, and while the orphan trains' migratory dispersion strategy was compelled by empire, within the positive (aged and gendered) racial economy of whiteness, CAS's "large boys" emigrated mostly of their own or their parents' accord. Similarly noted, orphan train placements existed in an economy that truly was founded on the ideals of non-exploitative (white) child care and labor. By the early 1870s, Brace aggressively and publicly criticized states' inadequate factory labor laws and "the evils of children's overwork," which he characterized as youthful, white enslavement.[86] In practice, many orphan train children were empowered to leave

[84] "Boys Going West," 8.
[85] Gish, "Rescuing the 'Waifs and Strays' of the City," 124-8, 130-1, 134.
[86] Brace, "The Little Laborers of New York City," 322-4.

unsavory situations. The children themselves initiated nearly eighty percent of CAS's official placement changes, the majority of which occurred within the first year and were prompted by better employment opportunities.[87] For example, in 1885, seventeen year-old Thomas Tobin was placed into the Nebraskan farming home of Mr. C. Reed. Thomas lived with Mr. Reed for less than two months before moving on to better, wage-paying employment at a different farm. Rather than protest Thomas's departure, Mr. Reed respected Thomas's independence, instead referencing Thomas as "a nice young man" in his report to CAS, and keeping in touch with him over the years.[88] Thus, many of the youth – such as Thomas Tobin and Earnest Fowler – entered the orphan trains system not for the goal of a foster or adoptive home, but as an entry point into the American labor force, and existed within a relatively safe space of respectability.

Orphan train children's parents were also incredibly resilient and savvy. They resisted the loss of their children by utilizing the orphan trains system similar to how other working class parents utilized the emerging orphanage system, as a form of temporary child care. It is true that for some parents, such as those whose children were placed via NYFH, were rarely able to reclaim their children, even while leaving such notes as: "Please do not give him up as I shall claim him some day with the help of God. If I call for it and pay for it, surely you will give it to me," and financial necessity and negative racialization did funnel Irish Catholic children into the orphan trains system.[89] However, Brace's CAS ultimately failed in its mission to permanently cut the kinship ties between parent and child. In the earliest years of the orphan trains system, a majority of CAS's children re-migrated back to

[87] Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them*, 241-2; Gish, "Rescuing the 'Waifs and Strays' of the City," 128, 132-3.
[88] Gish, "Rescuing the 'Waifs and Strays' of the City," 132-3.
[89] Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*, 7.

New York following a few years' labor experience in the West, and CAS's records reveal that a reunion motivated by either the orphan trains child or birth parent was rarely unsuccessful.[90] Statistically, between 1853 and 1890, CAS's first four decades under Brace's tutelage, of the children successfully placed into private homes, while approximately 21.3 percent were permanently placed, 17.1 percent of the children remained placed only for temporary relief during a time of family crisis. More than 50 percent of the children, sometimes accompanied by parents, strategically entered the orphan trains system as a means to transition into the workforce. 30 percent of these children, whether placed permanently or temporarily, remained in contact with their birth parents. If the children were indeed true, parentless orphans, to CAS's dismay, siblings placed out in different homes often managed to eventually reunite.[91] However, despite the children and their parents' agency, the racialized motives that undergirded the orphan trains system, and the ultimate fact that, between 1853 and 1890, approximately 65 percent of orphan trains "emigrants" did indeed stay in the West, speaks to the discursive "success" of the orphan trains as a tool of empire and population control.[92]

The orphan trains officially functioned from 1854 through 1929. During this time, the U.S. nation-state solidified its sovereignty and jurisdiction over its newly acquired Mexican territories and what is now known as the continental United States. Manifest destiny was fulfilled. The more than 150,000 urban, east coast working class children pushed, pulled, and carried West for family, care, and work, acted as important social,

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[90] Gish, "Rescuing the 'Waifs and Strays' of the City," 123-37; O'Connor, *The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed*, 99, 152-4; Herman, *Kinship by Design*, 24; Jessie B. Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White: Working Parents and the History of Orphanages* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012); See also Bruce Bellingham, "Little Wanderers," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1984).
[91] Gish, "Rescuing the 'Waifs and Strays' of the City," 124-5.
[92] Ibid., 135.

cultural, and political links between the developing East-West and urban-rural regions of the nation. They relieved east coast ethnic and religious immigration and economic tensions, provided necessary labor in the expanding lesser-populated western regions of the nation, and through their benevolent assimilation into Anglo-whiteness, acted to displace the ultimately most "dangerous classes" of non-white American indigenous and Mexican persons who resided in the West, thus binding the diverse eastern and western cultures of the developing nation under the rubric of a solidified nationalism bound under the auspices of white labor, citizenship, and supremacy.[93]

In the midst of this East-West-focused national transformation and consolidation, the U.S. also experienced tension and ultimately crisis between its divergently developing northern and southern regions, culminating in the Civil War (1861-1865). The chapter's next section will shift our focus to this South-North perspective, where newly freed African American children, black codes children, sat at the center of the United States' simultaneously occurring regional-national anxieties. Similar to the orphan train placements tied to regional labor anxieties, black codes child placements emerged amidst modern economic concerns that southern industry would collapse post-emancipation. For centuries, the North American economy was largely built on the backs of forced migration and enslaved labor, and Americans feared that the planter industrial complex of the American South would not survive without this forced labor. However, as opposed to the racial optimism encompassed in the orphan trains, African American adults and their children represented only anxiety, and oftentimes despair, when thought of as potential citizen-subjects within the national body politic.

[93] In 1890, the U.S. Census Bureau declared the American West, the "frontier," officially closed. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," 199, 205, 215.

Black Codes, White Supremacy, and Maintaining the Union[94]

Child placement practice concerning black youth in the immediate aftermath of emancipation was an early and central strategy to maintain the racial, social, cultural, and economic status quo of the South, and unify poor and wealthy white southerners' allegiances via a regional-national bond of white supremacy. Between 1864 and 1917, thousands of formerly enslaved black minors were removed from their families, "placed out" and forcibly retained on white property in the South via newly implemented or pre-Civil War legal codes – black codes – that allowed for the forced apprenticeship of free minors, including infants.[95] These youth ranged in age from infancy through their more mature teenage years and early twenties. Their parents and relatives were African American southern residents, newly freed per consequence of the U.S. Civil War (1861-1865). Looking even closer, in a reinscription of slavery, those removed in largest numbers were placed into the homes and legal custody of their former white masters.[96]

Since the early colonial era, African Americans were racialized in opposition to the nation-state's ideal of Anglo-American citizenship. In 1856, just a few years following

[94] Thanks to Richard M. Lee, who first introduced me to the link between the Black Codes and transracial adoption.
[95] Placing out via white indentureship, a description that could be used to describe the previous orphan trains study, was also referred to as "binding out." Black codes child placements are more often described via this "binding out" language, but in order to emphasize the connections between orphan trains and black codes child placement practices, I choose to utilize the language of "placing out." Herman, *Kinship by Design*, 26.
[96] Theodore Brantner Wilson, *The Black Codes of the South* (Alabama: University of Alabama, 1965); Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York: Basic Books, 1976); Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Richard Paul Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor: The Family under Pressure in Post-Emancipation Maryland," *Agricultural History* 62 (1988): 57-74; Foner, *Reconstruction*; Richard Paul Fuke, *Imperfect Equality: African Americans and the Confines of White Racial Attitudes in Post-Emancipation Maryland* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999); Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1860* (Burlington: University of Vermont Press, 2006); Jennifer Hull Dorsey, *Hirelings: African American Workers and Free Labor in Early Maryland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

orphan trains' institutionalization, Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Taney legally clarified African Americans' status as outside the national body politic in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. He noted all African Americans as:

> a subordinate and inferior class of beings… subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not… remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the Government might choose to grant them.[97]

However, the confederate states' Civil War capitulation overturned *Dred Scott* and suddenly, similar to the United States' conquest of Mexican territory, the nation-state was forced to deal with a population of free, non-white bodies suddenly under federal jurisdiction and, and if not yet clearly defined, part of American civil society.

It was within this racialized labor context that southern white planters reacted, in the sudden realization that they no longer had full legal control over the adult black population. And while orphan trains were similarly embedded in white supremacist discourses of childhood and paternalism, in opposition to the assimilative-race and dispersive-migration strategies employed amongst its population, southern white planters took advantage of black children's heightened vulnerability in order to isolate and exploit their labor and to restrict the mobility of their parents and adult communities. In this way, newly freed black children were situated at the center of nineteenth century U.S. South-North anxieties, as the Civil War torn country sought to reconcile, rebuild, and reimagine itself as a regionally stable, economically viable, and white-racially unified nation, all while coping with the sudden inclusion of a permanent black citizenry that could be neither assimilated nor removed. This section will open in Maryland, the state that served as the earliest site for this form of

[97] Judgment in the U.S. Supreme Court Case *Dred Scott* v. *John F.A. Sandford*, March 6, 1857; Case Files 1792-1995; Record Group 267; Records of the Supreme Court of the United States; National Archives.

Reconstruction era child removal and placement practice. During the antebellum period, Maryland also occupied a critical space as a border state that allowed both slavery and manumissions.

Case Study

On November 1, 1864, Maryland's enslaved population was emancipated. *Immediately,* former slave owners moved to seize and forcibly bind newly freed black children to their estates via Maryland's unrepealed black codes. In the first weeks of emancipation upwards of 4,000 black children were removed from their families. And similar to the orphan trains system of child placement tied to physical labor, Maryland's recently emancipated black children were able to be placed out through the state's 1860 Code of Public General Laws that linked black "orphans," as decided by Maryland's county "orphans courts," to apprenticeship. Some particularly savvy planters convinced still-enslaved parents to apprentice their children just a day prior to emancipation. Just a day following, as U.S. provost marshal Andrew Stafford reported, "[Planters are] compelling the slaves to bind their children to them." As stated by freedwoman Mrs. Harriet A. Connaway of Baltimore, Maryland, her two children were placed out to two different masters on "the second day after the passage of the Free State Constitution… [She would have prevented] their being bound, but was afraid of consequences to herself."[98] White witnesses across the state made such common observations as:

> [T]he persons who want children bound to them tell the parents… that the law compels them… and they know no better.

[98] Statement in "General Orders, No. 112," *Head Quarters Middle Department, Eight Army Corps* (Baltimore, MD, November 9, 1864) in The House of Delegates, *Communication from Major General Lew Wallace in Relation to the Freedman's Bureau, to the General Assembly of Maryland* (Annapolis: Richard P. Bayly, Printer, January 31, 1865), 13-14. This Document J in the Maryland State Reports accompanied Wallace's report to the Maryland General Assembly and was read and referred to the Committee on Colored Population and ordered to be printed.

> The little Ethiopians were carried by the dearborn and wagonload… for they were told they had to have their children bound out – it was the law.[99]

As a traveler through Maryland's eastern counties testified in an 1865 state investigation, in some regions "the whites, the ex-masters of the slaves, had the children probably of about two-thirds of the families of the freedmen."[100]

Pre-Civil War, Maryland's small planter elite retained political and economic supremacy. The black population, beyond those bound under chattel slavery, included bound apprentices, those persons born free, manumitted free persons, persons who labored under the process of delayed manumissions, as well as enslaved persons allowed limited mobility to hire themselves out for pay. The poor white population, while never enslaved nor exploited through explicitly racist legal doctrine, were oftentimes negatively racialized, similar to their Irish Catholic kin in the Northeast, and forced to labor alongside their free black counterparts. This all changed on November 1, 1864. Emancipation collapsed Maryland's century long balancing act of labor and racial ambiguity – free and un-free, white and non-white – with the sudden admittance of free black citizens into wage earning society. Evoking colonial American strategies of race-based labor division, as elite planters sought to preserve social and economic dominance, they quickly allied with their working class counterparts through the establishment of a more inclusive nationalist identity defined by white solidarity. Through these hardened racial lines, white Marylanders united to reestablish pre-war hierarchies of white supremacy and labor control.[101]

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[99] Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor," 58, 63-5.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Historians have long chronicled similar hardening of race lines in colonial and early American history: racialized splits in labor and disciplinary norms for free blacks and European immigrants, white solidarity that emerged due to fears of mixed race labor coalitions amongst poor whites and blacks (and American Indians). See, for example, Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 154-7, 316-7; Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 25-6.

The regional in-betweenness that characterizes Maryland's pre-Civil War race and labor relations, as well as its place at the vanguard of experimental race and labor-related strategies employed by both the postwar South and North, renders Maryland an illuminating case study for the U.S. nation-state's on-the-ground postwar reconsolidation efforts. Maryland's unique legal, social, and political culture reflected important aspects of both northern and southern states, which makes what happened there particularly representative of the postwar Union, as the South's black codes emerged as a combination of its antebellum slave laws and northern region's black codes, as applied to free blacks, which represented the legal landscape in pre and postwar Maryland. In varying degrees, black codes across the former confederate states included statutes specifically focused on apprenticeship, vagrancy, and mobility that directly corresponded with the language of Maryland's 1860 Code, and allowed for the easy removal of black children from their families, transfer of custody, and restriction of physical movement. The localized situation in Maryland provides a gripping preview of what was to come. As a frightening battle emerged between the southern elite and working class white people against former slaves, freed people's children served as the ultimate bartering chip in establishing postwar hierarchies of white dominion over race and labor.

Migration, Nation-building, and Strategies of Empire

Unlike the dispersive migration strategy employed by orphan trains, Maryland's child placement system sought to contain black children and in doing so, control not only their labor, but that of their parents. Unlike the orphan train children, whose parents (theoretically) became irrelevant post-placement, a central goal of the black codes, by regulating the mobility of the children, was to hold their parents similarly hostage, and thus maintain the racial hierarchies of labor and social status quo.

In the days following emancipation, the excessive rush and flagrant abuses that accompanied former masters' claims to freedmen's children were such that, on November 9, 1864, Major General Lew Wallace, then Eighth Army Corps and Maryland's commanding military officer, enacted special military charge General Orders, No. 112, to establish an interim state bureau that placed all freedmen "under special military protection." In response to the cruel and illegal actions of in-office law officials and the hostile, anti-black court system, Wallace explicitly directed Provost Marshals "to hear all [freedmen's] complaints made to them" and report to Major Este, whom Wallace charged with the successful execution of the order.[102] As Maryland's Talbot County *Easton Gazette* observed, "It must be plain to the dullest… that in proportion as the laboring population are happy in their homes and families… in that proportion will their desire to remain be permanent and their labor cheerful."[103] As is clear in the *Gazette*'s assessment and Major General Wallace's dramatic enactment of special order 112, there was no confusion that freed people wanted to keep their families intact. The white planters knew that black parents would not leave without their children, and while they stayed, they needed to labor. Thus, if the white planters could prevent the parents from moving to find better options, they could continue to control and exploit their work conditions.

Maryland's post-emancipation placement strategies mirrored individual states' pre- and post-Civil War northern and southern migration strategies to control and limit the mobility of black bodies throughout the nation, if not by enslavement, then through restrictive legislation. In 1803, Ohio entered the Union as a free state and led the charge of legislative black exclusion. By 1804, Ohio had enacted, and expanded in 1807, state

[102] "General Orders, No. 112."
[103] Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor," 62-3.

immigration and residency laws, "Black Laws," or black codes to discourage free blacks from entering or settling, regulate those who did, and compel emigration. Illinois introduced similar legislation in 1813.[104] Postwar, former confederate states such as South Carolina adopted or adapted these northern migration and residency statutes for their own purposes. For example, South Carolina's 1865 black codes included the statute:

> Migration into this State. XXII. No person of color shall migrate into and reside in this State, unless, within twenty days after his arrival… he shall enter into a bond with two freeholders as sureties, to be approved by the Judge of the District Court… in a penalty of one thousand dollars, conditioned for his good behavior…

Then, if the freedperson was unable to bind himself out via contract labor, pay the enormous fee, or fail to perform "good behavior," he would then be legally compelled to leave via the threat of forced deportation, corporal punishment, or incarceration.[105] These racialized laws meant that there could be no orphan trains solution for black children in the South.

Besides limiting the children's mobility to retain both their and their parents' labor, there were no states, southern or northern, for whom free black people were seen as desirable residents. In congruence with the undesirability of black inclusion, as opposed to ethnic European youth, African American children were *not seen as* malleable or potentially assimilable if separated from their parents. Thus, within the nation-states' white supremacist discourses of childhood and paternalism, black youth's child-status failed to make them redeemable and black adults were meant to be permanently infantilized.[106]

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[104] "Chap. XXVIII – An act to regulate black and mulatto persons," Passed, January 5, 1804, *Laws of Ohio*; "Chap. CXXXIX – An act to amend the act, entitled, 'An act regulating black and mulatto persons," Passed January 25, 1807, *Laws of Ohio,* in Salmon P. Chase, ed., *The Statutes of Ohio and of the Northwestern Territory, Adopted or Enacted from 1788 to 1833 Inclusive* (Cincinnati: Corey & Fairbank, 1833), 393-4, 555-6; "An act to prevent the migration of free Negroes and mulattoes into this Territory and for other purposes," Approved December 8, 1813, *Laws of Illinois*, in S. Middleton, *The Black Laws in the Old Northwest* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993), 291-2.

[105] *Act of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, Passed at the Sessions of 1864*-65 (Columbia, S. C.: Julian A. Selby, Printer to the State, 1866), 276.

[106] Given the hostility expressed toward black residents, historic examples of large numbers of African Americans embracing the freedom to emigrate (and relocate) elsewhere (although sometimes accompanied by forced removal) were the Exodus (of 1879), Great Migrations (beginning 1910s) and the Back to Africa (19th c., 1920s) movements. See, for example, Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred

Constructions of Childhood, Discipline and Resistance

Maryland's 1860 Code of Public General laws vested the "Orphans' Courts" legal power to "summon before them the child of any free negro, and if it [should] appear… that it would be better for the habits and comfort of such child that [child] should be bound as an apprentice to some white person to learn to labor." Under this law, any child of African descent, with parents living or deceased, was vulnerable to summons by Orphans' Courts, whereas white officials maintained "jurisdiction in all matters" to arbitrarily decide whether or not it was better for the said child to be taken away from their birth kin, and placed under the legal auspices of a white employer.[107] The 1860 Maryland Code of Public General Laws strategically recalled the ideology of orphan trains patronage, in that the child would only be taken if "it would be better for the habits and comfort of such child," utilized the evasively impartial language of the "orphan," and while, similar to the orphan trains, it was implied that the black children needed to "learn to labor" from their white counterparts, there was no ultimate payoff of full citizenship or race uplift at the end. Legally and explicitly tying unfit parentage to the black race, black child placement to labor, and ultimate authority to white courts, the 1860 Maryland Code took the infantilizing rhetoric employed against orphan train children and parents to a new height.

A. Knopf, 1977); Judith Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986); James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Kenneth C. Barnes, *Journey of Hope: The Back-To-Africa Movement in Arkansas in the Late 1800s* (Chapel Hill: University North Carolina Press, 2004); James N. Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Bryan M. Jack, *The St. Louis African American Community and the Exodusters* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007). Regarding Brace's northern orphan trains system, due to Brace and CAS's racial prejudices, black children's experiences in the West, CAS fundraising concerns, CAS's lack of networks with black communities, and the existence of institutions such as the Colored Orphan Asylum (until its destruction in the 1863 NY Draft Riots, and who set up their own orphan trains system), never more than a handful of northern African American children were sent West, particularly during Brace's lifetime. O'Connor, *The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed*, 166-7, 209-15. Ostracism of black children in the development of the orphanage system provides similar parallels. Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White*.

[107] Article VI, "Apprentices," Sec. 1, 31 in Otho Scott, Hiram M'Cullough, compilers, *The Maryland Code: Public General Laws* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1860), 31, 38. Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives.

Thus, as opposed to the racial optimism that encompassed orphan trains, black codes child placements existed within the negatively racialized economy of blackness. For black youth, this discourse actively denied them the comforts considered the due right of a legitimate childhood, namely the care, education, and uplift afforded orphan train children, as well as their white indentured counterparts. Maryland explicitly differentiated between "negro" and "white" child apprentices in that it was "not… necessary in any such indenture… to require that any education… be given to [a] negro apprentice." On the other hand, for white children, "in all cases," it was a mandatory "part of the contract… that [the apprentice be given] reasonable education in reading, writing and arithmetic… [as well as] some useful art or trade."[108] Maryland's planters took full advantage of this legal discrepancy to ensure that postwar apprenticeships of free black children under white employers served only to reinforce pre-emancipation ideologies of white supremacist race and labor hierarchies. Within these placement practices, whether infant-baby or twenty-one year-old young adult (in some recorded cases, even older), black youths were forcibly placed out solely in order to control, manage, and discipline.[109]

Thus, in contrast to the agency and age privilege afforded to orphan trains' "large boys," older black youth were offered no such respect to make their own way in the labor market. To this end, J. M. McCarter, Department Provost Marshal of Maryland's Caroline County, saw fit to detail two specific cases that emphasized the older age of black "children" placed out. The first detailed the case of white planter Covey who, on November 1, 1864, released a freedwoman-mother from slavery as she had "[grown] aged," but forcibly bound

[108] Ibid., 34, 39.
[109] Orphans' Courts could summon male "children" upwards of twenty-one and females upwards of eighteen years of age. Ibid., 38.

out her two children, one of whom was *twenty-three* years old. The second case detailed the forced placing out of a freedcouple's several children on November 2, 1864, some of whom were upwards of sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen years old. As expressed by McCarter, "The father of these children… needs the help of the larger children for the purposes of farming, and to help by their labor to support the younger." E.T. Hall, a white Somerset County resident, similarly emphasized:

> [The planters] have bound to them all the oldest and largest of the children… leaving the mothers alone with the young and helpless ones… if they had their large children they could make a good living…. Some of these children would bring in to their mothers' from 15 to 20 dollars per month.[110]

Mirroring these sentiments, the *Baltimore American* noted that not only were many of these forced apprentices "over eighteen years of age," but that they were:

> actually hired out by their new masters, before they left the court room, for as much as eighty dollars a year. These youths, who were able and eager to help to support their younger brothers and sisters, and aged parents, were ruthlessly taken from them, and [their families] were left to face the winter as best they could.[111]

In these instances, whereas older youth, the most eligible laborers, were targeted and placed out while their younger and less able siblings were left with their parents to fend for themselves, similar to Brace's recognition of poor children's labor to their parents, legal guardianship of black children was explicitly tied to the economic well-being of their families. Beyond profit, both black and white Marylanders understood that in most cases black parents had the definitive means to support their own children, even though this often meant relying on the children's economic contributions. In many instances, these children needed not be of "older" age. For example, Perry Riley, freedman and father of "two boys, one aged nine years, and one aged seven," wrote on January 4, 1865, "I can bring proof that I

[110] Letter in "General Orders, No. 112," 35-37, 60-61.
[111] "Colored Apprentices in Maryland," *Baltimore American*, December 10, 1864.

am able to support them. I can hire them out, one I can get twenty dollars for, and the other I can get his victuals and clothes this year. Please attend to it for me and oblige a poor colored man." Likewise, freedwoman Emeline Woolford wrote of her "four children, the oldest of which [was] eleven years old… I can by their assistance maintain them."[112] In these parents' appeals, the parents are speaking not only to the vitality of their children's labor, but their labor as a necessity to sustain their families' cohesion, economic independence and survival in their newly freed state.

Within this common knowledge of the importance of black children's labor to their families, in the legacy of slavery, the postwar control and removal of black children from their parents was explicitly meant to demoralize and subvert black success, to actively deny freedpeople the means to support themselves and live independently. Within these racialized discourses of labor and childhood, it was thus not only black children's lives at stake. Rather, similar to how Irish Catholic parents were religiously infantilized as occupying a permanent state of "moral childhood," so were black parents infantilized during and post-slavery as a means to disallow African Americans full personhood, to disallow them the right to raise their own children, the right to maintain or claim kinship.[113] But while orphan trains removals were oftentimes steeped in the rhetoric of benevolence or, against Brace's ideal, their placement a conscientious parent-child strategy to benefit the entire family's economics, white planters' more explicit sabotage of the intimate connection between African Americans' child labor, kinship survival, and economic sustenance revealed itself in more explicit acts of discipline and control of black bodies and families after slavery's end.

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[112] Letter in "General Orders, No. 112," 73-4, 78.
[113] Mark C. Jerng, *Claiming Others: Transracial Adoption and National Belonging* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 55.

Fearsome disciplinary measures against newly freed black parents were detailed in the hundreds of letters garnered by General Lew Wallace's special military order, in the less than three months period that Wallace retained authority. Typical of such letters were those of two recently freed mothers, respectively Hester Anthony and Lavina Brooks:

> I went to my master after my children and he ordered me away; he told me if I did not go he was going to shoot me; he says before I shall have my children he will blow their brains out; he says I must not step my foot on his farm again. There is three boys with my sister's child; my two boys and my sister's child, Perry, Henry, Tom. Mr. Jimmy Gailes is my master, Eastern Shore.
>
> Last April, my child was taken from me and sold to Mr. Olville McGill, living about thirteen miles on the Washington Road… I had not been on the above place five minutes, not even seeing my child, when I was ordered off with a threat that if I ever set foot on his place again he would shoot me… The girl's name is Susan Brooks, about 10 years of age.[114]

"Masters" Gailes and McGill no doubt felt empowered by the law and courts, which supported the violence and terror white planters enacted on black families. The 1860 Maryland Code of Public General Laws gave "master or mistress" the right to retain "possession" of their apprentice "as the owner of a personal chattel."[115] It is thus no surprise when Samuel Elbert went to retrieve his little girl, that former master Mr. Newman informed Elbert that the child "was his property" and upon Elbert's visitation, "went into the house and got his gun and sword and pursued… until [Elbert] got off of his farm."[116] White planters did not care about the presence of witnesses. Their threats and actions were carefully documented and sometimes promoted, within official courts of law. In the case of Basil Croudy and his wife, as was documented at the Calvert County Court's official summons, Mrs. Croudy "steadfastly refused to consent to the binding [of her three children]. The

[114] Letter in "General Orders, No. 112," 9-10.
[115] Article VI, "Apprentices," 33.
[116] Letter in "General Orders, No. 112," 52.

constable… finding the mother obstinate, and deaf to reason… struck her in the face in the presence of the Judges."[117] It was this institutionalized, brutal, and heartbreaking violence that freedpeople consistently faced in trying to retain their children.

In Lavina Brooks's letter, she detailed, "At the time [when I had my daughter,] she had good under and outside clothing, but since, as I am informed, has become almost naked and shoeless and thereby caused me many sleepless hours and uneaseness of mind." John Dennis of Worcester County wrote more than one letter pleading to General Wallace for his children: "[B]ut my children are naked, and I am able to clothe them as soon as I can get them. Hon. Sir, will you give me some satisfaction if you please." It is clear that many freedparents, disregarding labor, wished to only look after and care for their children. Regarding an older daughter who remained forcibly placed out, freedwoman Lucy Lee lamented,

> We were delighted when we heard that the Constitution set us all free, but God help us, our condition is bettered but little; free ourselves, but deprived of our children, almost the only thing that would make us feel free and happy. It was on their account we desired to be free.

White planters were sadistically aware of the heartache they caused their former slaves by keeping their children. As white witness J. A. Peck of Ellicotts Mills testified, "[The] former owners… will not hesitate to hold her child in jail to gratify their hellish purposes towards the colored people." It is with this clear understanding of the parents' emotional vulnerability and loyalty to their children, that planters utilized the practice of forced child placement to control and discipline not only the black parents' physical labor, but their mental well-being as well.[118]

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[117] Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor," 66.
[118] Letters in "General Orders, No. 112," 9-10, 25-27, 68-9.

Maryland's black parents and children, and the African American community as a whole were incredibly tenacious, resilient, and unwavering in their fight to reclaim their families. However, lacking the undergirding white privilege that gave orphan train children and their birth families agency, their ultimate recourse was to have white people speak for them, white military authorities outside of their own state's legal system. And while Maryland's black codes were officially repealed in 1866, and the system of child removal ultimately failed in its goal to disempower and destroy the black community, it is well documented that black children were being held against their and their families' will up through 1917.

As northern victories and emancipation spread, social practices varied from region to region, county to county, and state to state. Despite these differences, legal clauses similar to Maryland's 1860 Code that allowed for the removal of thousands of free black children from their families, were implemented throughout the South. These black codes similarly utilized forced child placement and apprenticeship as central strategies to subjugate the newly freed black population. First passed in November 1865, Mississippi's apprenticeship laws held that it:

> be the duty of all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other civil officers [to semiannually report] all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, under the age of eighteen… who are orphans, or whose parent or parents have not the means, or who refuse to provide for and support said minors. [A court official shall then] apprentice said minors to some competent and suitable person [whereas] the former owner of said minors shall have the preference [and in] the management and control of said apprentice, said master or mistress shall have the power to inflict such moderate corporal chastisement as a father or guardian to inflict on his or her child.[119]

Under this law, all black youth under the age of eighteen were vulnerable. The ambiguity of the language regarding parents who "have not the means," the exclusive power granted to the

[119] Cited from Kevin J. Fernlund, James A. Henretta, Rebecca Edwards, and Robert O. Self, *Documents for America's History: Volume 2: Since 1865* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), 7-8.

courts to interpret and decide on the child and parents' alleged welfare, and the transfer of legal guardianship powers directly corresponded with the language of Maryland's 1860 Code and further institutionalized legal precedent for the former confederate states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, all of which instituted similar statutes to enforced the compulsive removal of black children from their families, to be raised, labored, and disciplined on their former plantations.

In the process of politically reconsolidating the North and South under a binding rubric of white supremacy, while African Americans were granted legal citizenship, similar to Mexican Americans, they were denied full social and cultural belonging. Control over freed black children and forced child placement played an early and central role in Maryland's law, before expanding beyond the state to encompass the entire South, bolstered by complementary laws in the North. Ultimately, African American's dispossession of their children succeeded by providing a crucial interim period of subjugation to allow for the North and South, similar to the poor and elite white residents of Maryland, to come together under a consolidation of a more "democratic" white supremacist polity, which allowed an important foothold for Radical Reconstruction to fail, Jim Crow to be introduced and implemented, and unofficially, provided white southerners with concrete evidence of how much inhumane violence and cruelty they could get away with, legally sanctioned or not, in the years to come.[120]

[120] C. Van Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955); Hietala, *Manifest Design*; Foner, *Reconstruction*; Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Charlotte: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the 19th-Century South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Jennifer Ritterhouse, *Growing Up Jim Crow: How Black and White Southern Children Learned Race* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

Beginning in 1879 and in the midst of both orphan trains and (illegal) black codes child placements, in the midst of U.S. westward expansion, Reconstruction's failure, and national drives toward east-west-south-north white supremacist regional consolidation, so did thousands of indigenous children begin to be placed out from their families into federally sanctioned boarding schools. These boarding schools children, uniquely situated at the center of U.S. intra-international imperial negotiations with American Indian communities, straddled nationalist anxieties represented in both orphan trains and black codes child placements. Indicative of the complicated and oft inconsistent relations between Indians and the United States, government boarding school child placement practices were sometimes reflective of, sometimes contradictory to, and sometimes provided an ambiguous foil between the experiences of ethnic European and African American children. Boarding schools children were the indigenous peoples that the orphan train children were meant to replace. They heralded from the nations that the U.S. continued to wage war against, sought to make peace with, and grudgingly respected. They were the non-white, "original Americans" that the federal and state governments could not "disappear" or enslave, but whom could not fully assimilate into white U.S. citizenship. In line with these contradictory positionalities, U.S. diplomacy towards American Indians gradually shifted to encompass policies that can be best described as benevolent genocide, and as when dealing with the dangerous classes of the East and the unwanted classes of the South, the United States strategically targeted American Indians' most vulnerable population, their children.

Boarding Schools, Transnational Sovereignty, and Domestic Dependent Nations

By the late nineteenth century, it was clear that the United States' aggressive federal and local designs to annihilate American Indian people and their sovereignty were failing.

However, the more than century of warfare, imperialism, and everyday lived disruptions succeeded in severe ramifications on indigenous people's way of life. These consequences were most visible in Indian communities' physical displacement, high rates of disease, poverty, and mortality, and as a result, disrupted kinship networks. The American Indian boarding schools era is often referenced as a single time bloc and to some extent remembered as a singular event long past. However, as a more than one-hundred-thirty-year-old institution that remains in practice in the present-day, federally funded off-reservation boarding schools have undoubtedly transformed over time, in both purpose and meaning for Indian communities and the U.S. nation-state.[121] This section will focus on those children whom I identify as the first-wave generation, placed out during the first half-century of boarding school institutionalization, between 1879 and 1928. During this time, thousands of indigenous children were placed into boarding schools. These youth ranged in age from as young as five years old to teenagers and even young adults in their early twenties. The circumstances of their placement ranged from forced removal through enthusiastic volunteerism. This in-betweenness of experience characterizes this section. American Indian child placement in U.S. federal boarding schools simultaneously represented the social and economic vulnerability of Indian families, American Indians' choice and survival, and the continued negotiations between indigenous peoples and the U.S. nation-state – as all sought

[121] For example, the Sherman Indian High School in Riverside, California, is still categorized as a federally budgeted off-reservation boarding school and acts as a resource for American Indian students who feel that their personal and educational needs are better met at an Indian institution. Some Indian communities fight to maintain contemporary federal funding. Charla Bear, "American Indian Schools Haunt Many," *National Public Radio*, May 12, 2008. Similarly, the Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma was one of the earliest established boarding schools (1884) and remained open and functioning through 1980. K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Kim Brumley, *Chilocco: Memories of a Native American Boarding School* (Fairfax: Guardian Publishing House, 2010).

to ascertain the role and place of the next generation of non-white, non-citizen, Indian domestic dependent residents of the United States.[122]

By 1879, similar to African Americans, American Indians had for centuries been racialized as outside the Euro American body politic, with white American citizenship and cultural belonging defined in opposition to supposed indigenous savagery. American Indians were not granted full American citizenship until 1924. However, unlike African Americans, besides engaging with American Indians as a sovereign people with legal and human rights, in order to highlight the innate excellence of America, American Indians were occasionally imbued with positive attributes. In 1831, Chief Justice Marshall described the Cherokee Nation as such:

> A people once numerous, powerful, and truly independent, found by our ancestors in the quiet and uncontrolled possession of an ample domain, gradually sinking beneath our superior policy, our arts and our arms, have yielded their lands by successive treaties, each of which contains a solemn guarantee of the residue, until they retain no more of their formerly extensive territory than is deemed necessary to their comfortable subsistence.[123]

However, these positive attributes were always couched in the past tense, conditional on Indians' eventual extinction, "until they retain no more of their formerly extensive territory." In line with these dual sentiments, in 1879, federal boarding schools emerged as a central cog in the United States' new strategy of "benevolent disappearance." By the second half of the nineteenth century, as it became clear that Indian extermination via straightforward war,

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[122] Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993); Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*; David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds. *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000* (Santa Fe: Heard Museum, 2000); Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark and Kekek Jason Todd Stark, "Flying the Coop: ICWA and the Welfare of Indian Children," in *Outsiders Within: Writing on Transracial Adoption*, ed. Jane Jeong Trenka, Julia Chinyere Oparah and Sun Yung Shin (Cambridge: South End Press, 2006), 124-38; Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller and Lorene Sisquoc, eds. *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

[123] *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 U.S. 1 (1831). COURT OPINION. 5 pp. Term Year: 1831. See also, for example, Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (London: Burlington-House, Piccadilly, 1787).

conquest, and removal was failed national policy, the government institutionalized alternative, less overtly militaristic measures to ensure U.S. dominance over Indian nations, solidify a white racial dictatorship in these relations, and implement the long-term goal of Indian disappearance over time.[124] First-wave boarding schools child placement policies were thus situated at the intersections of black codes and orphan train placements. Benevolently placed out under the assimilative doctrine: "kill the Indian and save the man," the goal of Indian children's care, education and cultural assimilation was not the privilege of full citizenship rights but, remaining outside the body politic, was to extinguish the generational continuity of Indian people.

Case Study

Beginning in 1879, just as Charles Loring Brace and CAS acted as impetus, model, and foil for subsequent orphan trains initiatives, so did Lieutenant Henry Pratt and his Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania (1879-1917) provide the founding leadership and basic scaffolding for ensuing off-reservation institutions. The establishment of Carlisle, erected by military personnel, modeled after Pratt's earlier social experimentation with Indian war captives, and whose physical infrastructure was built atop former military quarters, is easily tied to nineteenth century U.S. military empire. Carlisle's first students were Chiricahua Apache children forcibly removed from their parents who were among the hundreds of southwestern Indians imprisoned as war criminals in Alabama and Florida. Boarding schools initially targeted the most threatening Indian nations to remove children of powerful leaders from their kin. These actions corresponded with the United States' wartime policies against American Indians, as well as white southern planters' black codes motives.

[124] Williams, Jr., *Like a Loaded Weapon.*

In this active effort to destabilize hostile Indian communities, Pratt's recruitment practices soon extended beyond the incarcerated Apaches and enemy identified nations. Following two decades of operation, Pratt's influence had expanded across the continental U.S. so that more than twenty thousand Indian children could be found attending one of twenty-five off-reservation government boarding schools. By 1917, in Carlisle alone, more than fifty tribal nations were represented amongst its student body.

The enormous breadth of federal boarding schools consequently touched all American Indian families and provides an intimate spotlight on regional-national endeavors to reconcile the United States as a successfully consolidated, white settler empire, but with sovereign bodies still-existent within its bounds. Ultimately, boarding schools children's resettlement provided a mass depopulation of the regions the nation-state was actively trying to conquer, and their placements into explicitly policed, federal spaces provided great comfort as a highly visible solution to the United States' racial, regional, and national anxieties concerning American Indian populations. As a supplementary bonus, boarding schools children also provided subservient, non-competitive, and cheap labor for the industries of white America.

Migration, Nation-building, and Strategies of Empire

In regards to utilizing nationalist white supremacist migration-centered strategies, U.S. boarding schools and the federal government's overarching policies towards American Indians combined the mobility-limiting policies of Reconstruction with the dispersive strategies employed against undesirable ethnic Europeans. Throughout the eighteenth and early half of the nineteenth century, American Indians experienced federally sanctioned forced emigration via the Indian Removal Act of 1830, and were continuously uprooted from their homelands and forced westward onto undesirable lands delineated as reservation

territory.[125] Coupled with the mobility-limiting Dawes-General Allotment Act of 1887, which allowed the federal government to fragment reservation territories and force Indians onto individually bounded plots of land (and legally racialize Indians' historically more mobile way of life as uncivilized), American Indian boarding schools were thus part of a multi-pronged federal strategy to dissolve American Indian communities via subversive migration protocols of emigration and place-limitation.[126]

Boarding schools, as a child relocation system of supposed education and race uplift, worked hand-in-hand with orphan trains to elide the physical, racial, and cultural violence enacted against American Indians. As Gast's feminine rendition of *American Progress* flew west, where actually were the indigenous people moving? In reality, onto reservations, onto land allotments, and their children, into boarding schools. As the orphan trains were doing the literal work of manifest destiny and populating the United States' westward expanding empire, boarding schools children were literally "emptying" the land to make way for more desirable settlers. Perhaps lending to the irony of these complementary strategies, the railways that transported orphan train children were often the same trains to transport American Indians to boarding schools. Sadly, the trains brought the imperial project full circle when, as noted by Ojibwe historian Brenda J. Child, "Throughout the assimilation period, and increasingly after 1913, the bodies of deceased students were sent home by train for final interment."[127]

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[125] "Chap. CXLVIII. – An Act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi," Approved May 28, 1830; Andrew Jackson, *State of the Union Address*, December 6, 1830.

[126] An Act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes, 24 Stat. 388 (1887), 49th Cong., 2nd sess., Chapter 119: 33-36. See also, O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*.

[127] Métis and American Indian writer D'Arcy McNickle's short story, "Train Time" (1936), is one example that indicates the centrality of the train in children's boarding school experiences. Trains and train stations were oftentimes noted in children's transportation experiences to the school, as well as pit stops in their escape routes (or when they got lost traveling to and from school). Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 5, 17, 26-42, 67.

In addition, and still in line with orphan trains migration strategy, the success of Indian child placement largely depended on their distance from their parents. For example, in 1863, Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs, J.W. Perit Huntington, advised: "To place Indian children for a few hours each day in a school… leaving them at night, and in vacation, to return to their parents and their savage modes of life [cannot] produce any good results… They retain the filthy habits and loose morals of their parents."[128] Sharing this sentiment, Pratt espoused that Indian children should ideally be "[placed] in civilized families at a distance."[129] However, unlike orphan train children, Indian children were not white, and so their racial-national trajectory was not to rise to an assimilative ideal. Instead, what was at stake was cultural genocide. As Pratt articulated,

> It has been said, 'There is no good Indian but a dead Indian;' I say to my students, 'Let us accept that statement. Let us kill the savage Indian in every tribesman, but save and develop the man that is in every Indian. By education and Christianization let us kill the old Indian and save the true man.'[130]

Thus, as opposed to the explicitly negative racialization of African Americans, American Indians' were allowed a narrative of uplift, but only through Indians' eventual disappearance.[131] This state of duality, of compromised redeemability, is particularly apparent when examined through the United States' white supremacist discourses of childhood and paternalism.

Constructions of Childhood and Infantilized Race Uplift

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[128] J. W. Perit Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, "Oregon Superintendency," in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the year 1863* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 54.
[129] 2nd Report of the Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 2nd Annual Address to the Public, at Lake Mohonk, N.Y., September, 1884, in Behalf of the Civilization and Legal Protection of the Indians of the United States (Philadelphia, PA: Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association, 1884), 25.
[130] Hon. Merrill E. Gates, LL.D., L.H.D., of the Board of Indian Commissioners, "Historical Address," in 25th Report of the Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting, reported by Miss Lilian D. Powers, 181-198 (New York: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1907), 190.
[131] Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

Beginning 1662, African American children's 'blackness' was legally bound "according to the condition of the mother" in order to ensure enslaved status and deprivation of any white privilege. Post-emancipation, *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) federally sanctioned the colloquial "one-drop rule." In 1930, Congress officially defined "[a] person of mixed white and Negro blood… a Negro, no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood."[132] On the other hand, beginning with *Ex Parte Reynolds* (1879), the U.S. adopted as official judicial precedent *partus sequitur patrem* whereas all persons with non-Indian paternal ancestry were excluded from Indian status. In regards to blood quantum, throughout the allotment and boarding schools era, Congress increasingly narrowed tribal membership qualifications in order to relieve mixed-race Indians of their land and education funding "privileges." By 1919, attending Indian schools was explicitly limited to those children who documented at least one-fourth Indian blood.[133] American Indians' race uplift was literally tied to their ability to assimilate out of Indianness. Linking this assimilative trajectory to blood quantum, land rights, and education, Indian Affairs Commissioner F. E. Leupp (1905-

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[132] "Act XII. Negro womens children to serve according to the condition of the mother," December 1662, in W. W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature* (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), 170; *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896). TRANSCRIPT OF RECORD. File Date: 1/31/1893. 52 pp., 200 pp., Term Year: 1895; APPELLEE'S BRIEF. File Date: 1/1/1895. 14 pp., 53 pp.; BRIEF. File Date: 1/1/1895. 53 pp.; PETITIONER'S BRIEF. File Date: 1/1/1895. 23 pp.; OPINION, BROWN. File Date: 5/18/1896; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Form 15-100: Instructions to Enumerators, Population and Agriculture* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1930), 26. See also, F. James Davis, *Who is Black?: One Nation's Definition* (University Park: Penn. State University Press, 1991); C. Bennett, "Racial Categories Used in the Decennial Censuses, 1790 to the Present," *Government Information Quarterly* 17 (2000): 161-80; Victor Thompson, "The Strange Career of Racial Science, Racial Categories, and African American Identity," in *The Oxford Handbook of African American Citizenship, 1865-Present*, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., et. al., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 123-50.

[133] While the federal government, including Congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, contradicted itself regarding *partus sequitur patrem* and blood quantum rulings throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the noted statements reflect important turning points and overall trends regarding U.S. federal regulations of American Indian 'membership,' recognition, sovereignty, and rights, in regards to ancestry and blood ties. Paul Spruhan, "A Legal History of Blood Quantum in Federal Indian Law to 1935," *South Dakota Law Review* 51 (2006): 22-3, 39-44. For the early conflation of racial purity and Indian identity, see O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*. See also, O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, xvi-xvii, xxi-xxii, 117-34; Malinda Maynor Lowery, "Racial Science and Federal Recognition;" Jean M. O'Brien, "State Recognition and 'Termination' in Nineteenth-Century New England;" Kathleen A. Brown-Perez, "A Right Delayed;" J. Kehaulani Kauanui, "Precarious Positions," in *Recognition, Sovereignty, Struggles, & Indigenous Rights in the United States*, ed. Amy E. Den Ouden and Jean M. O'Brien (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 66-67, 75, 77-86, 150, 157, 245, 316.

1909) reported, "[I]n view of their white parentage and of their opportunities for education, all Indians of less than one-half blood… should be authorized to sell their surplus lands… [as they do not] need the protection of the government as to their lands."[134] Within this white supremacist assimilationist ideology, the federal government increasingly emphasized American Indians' role as wards, and their own role as guardian.

In 1885, recalling his first interview with former President General Grant, Indian Affairs leader General Clinton B. Fisk disclosed, "[H]e said, 'The trouble is, we regard the Indians as nations, when they are simply our wards… We must make the Indian believe us; we must treat him as a ward. We should work especially… to have no foot of land on which any American may not go.'"[135] Federally sanctioning the infantilizing strategies employed against Irish Catholics and African Americans, the United States legally institutionalized Indians' childhood status via the Supreme Court *Cherokee v. Georgia* (1831) ruling, which declared all Indian nations "domestic dependent nations" and officially placed American Indians in a permanent "state of pupilage. Their relation to the United States resembl[ing] that of a ward to his guardian." While Indians maintained some sovereign "right[s] to the lands they occupy," as Chief Justice Marshall clarified, "They look to our government for protection; rely upon its kindness and its power… and address the President as their Great Father."[136] It was in this sovereign in-betweenness and infantilizing rhetoric, in the same ways that the Dawes Act worked to inhibit Indians' self-government and blood quantum laws sought to inhibit Indians' self-determination, under the guise of federal protectionism, so did

[134] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1908* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 100.
[135] 3rd Report of the Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, Third Annual Meeting: First Day – Opening Session (1885), 4.
[136] *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831).

boarding schools intimately invade American Indian families, in order to inhibit Indians' control over their own children.

The central tenets of boarding schools placements were steeped in the civilizing rhetoric of education, and similar to the strategies employed against Irish Catholic and African American communities, labor was a central component, as well as the explicit notion that Indians needed to "learn to labor" from their white counterparts. Boarding schools were erected in line with the early nineteenth century ideology of the 1819 Civilization Act, whereas the President of the United States was "authorized… to employ capable persons of good moral character, to instruct [Indians] in the mode of agriculture… and [to teach] their children… reading, writing, and arithmetic" in order to "[introduce] among them the habits and arts of civilization."[137] Within this civilizing discourse, American Indians existed in a flexible racial economy that positioned first-wave boarding schools children at the intersections of the orphan trains and black codes.

Indicating American Indians' elevated status as compared to African Americans, unlike black codes children, first-wave boarding schools children were entitled to the rudimentary education allowed southern white apprentices, that of "reading, writing, and arithmetic." Also, similar to orphan train children, boarding schools children's youthful status marked them as malleable. As Indian Affairs Commissioner E. A. Hayt (1877-1880) explained,

> Indian children are as bright and teachable as average white children of the same ages; and while the progress in the work of civilizing adult Indians… is a slow process at best, the progress of the youths trained in our schools is of the most hopeful character."[138]

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[137] "Chap. LXXXV. – An Act making provision for the civilization of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements," Approved March 3, 1819, in R. Peters, Esq., ed. *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from the Organization of the Government in 1789, to March 3, 1845* (Boston: Little & Brown, 1846), 516.
[138] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1879* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), VII.

Further remarking on the children's malleability, and underscoring the schools' benevolent guise, one superintendent noted, "If we truly love [the child], she will as truly love us, and will be as plastic clay in our hands." While boarding schools children were not placed into adoptive families, under the same legal-familial-ideology that institutionalized American Indians as pupils and wards and the federal government as guardian and Father, so did boarding schools officials seek to make their institutions true "homes" and their employees surrogate parents.[139] As superintendent W. N. Hailmann's 1896 "The School as a Home" report articulates:

> The Indian boarding school… is to the child not only school, but home… This should be remembered by employees in every educational measure. Moreover, since under normal conditions the home life is nearest the heart of the child… the Indian schools should place adequate stress upon its home features… Unless the child is loved and can love unreservedly, he will never take a real heart interest in the school and its tasks.

Equating teachers to surrogate parents, Hailmann emphasized the importance that his staff "[have] an adequate conception of his kinship" with their youngest pupils.[140] Echoing these sentiments of boarding school as surrogate family, Philena E. Johnson, 1896 superintendent of the Ramona School in New Mexico, expressed, "[T]he house mother, or matron… is to the Indian girl what the white mother is to her child… If she loves the girls, she may make of them almost what she will."[141] It was thus through love invested (and returned) in the boarding school family (and state), that Indian children were to be successfully educated and uplifted.

Also, similar to the discourse of benevolent race uplift surrounding orphan trains, white family, and farm labor, in ideal circumstances, indigenous children were placed out

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[139] Philena E. Johnson, "Education of Indian Girls," *Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1896* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 74.
[140] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1896, Volume II* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), 341, 348.
[141] Philena E. Johnson, "Education of Indian Girls," 74-5.

from the schools into actual middle class farming households for extended periods of time. Known as the "outing system," this trademark Carlisle program was duplicated throughout the boarding schools system. It is easy to imagine its description in one of Charles Loring Brace's handbooks:

> There is no department in the Indian education exceeding in importance that trusted to the farmer's care, viz. the teaching of agriculture… The Carlisle outing system, briefly stated, consists in the placing of the Indian pupils in good white families, preferably in the country, during a portion or all of the year, where they will be treated as one of the family, made to attend the public school of the district while it is in session, and paid a small sum for their services.

However, in line with the Dawes Act, this system of uplift simultaneously equated Indians' historical right to live and move freely throughout their homeland, with primitivism. As 1901 superintendent Estelle Reel reported,

> Its value as a means of educating and elevating the Indian can not easily be overestimated… No occupation will so dispossess the Indian of his nomadic instinct and fix upon him permanency of habitation as agriculture.[142]

Within these benevolent limitations also existed regional-national components that, similar to orphan trains, funneled Indians into agricultural labor and through this work, similar to black codes and postwar African American training, sought to maintain racialized hierarchies of labor.

In 1899, recalling orphan trains' attendance to western farm labor shortages, Hon. J. Wilson, Secret. of Agriculture, explained "The Necessity of Teaching Agriculture to the Indians":

> [H]alf the people of the United States are producing from the soil directly and… three-fourths of our exports to foreign countries come from the soil. Recognizing the importance of this branch of industry, a number of States are taking measures to introduce the teaching of agriculture into their public-schools system, and colleges are adding it to their courses.[143]

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[142] *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1901. Indian Affairs. Part I. Report of the Commissioner, and Appendixes* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 415-7, 426, 445-7.
[143] Ibid., 457.

However, similar to those African Americans who were allowed (and encouraged) an industrial education via such schools as the Hampton Institute, African Americans and American Indians were not meant to elevate themselves to the idealized yeomen farmer status. They were not trained to be actual competition for white farmers, but to serve in menial service positions. In regards to industrial education, sometimes their training was literally useless. For example, as late as 1927, Indian children were taught the outdated skills of harness-making, as opposed to automobile mechanics.[144] While empowering accounts existed, as represented by one 1891 Carlisle boarding school pupil: "I am very much oblige to you Capt. and I did not know nothing when I first came here and this time I know everything I got to do,"[145] as the 1928 government-sponsored Meriam Report found, for most children:

> [A]griculture at an Indian school [was] rarely taught in terms of what the Indian boy will need when he gets out… [and] the outing system [was] mainly a plan for hiring out boys for odd jobs and girls for domestic service, seldom a plan for providing real vocational training.

Sometimes the outplacements were explicitly exploitative. For example, rather than pay adult wages, children as young as eleven years old were placed out, as cheap labor, into Colorado and Kansas beet fields. Unpaid, exploitative labor also played a large role in the children's lives, not as "education," but to keep the schools themselves open. As noted in 1922 and reemphasized in 1928, the official Course of Study for Indian Schools expressed:

> In our Indian schools a large amount of productive work is necessary. They could not possibly be maintained on the amounts appropriated by Congress for their support were it not for the fact that students [*i.e.*, children] are required to do the washing, ironing, baking, cooking, sewing; to care for the diary, farm, garden, grounds, buildings, etc. – an amount of labor that has in the aggregate a very appreciable monetary value.

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[144] Lewis Meriam, et. al., *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1928), 384.
[145] "What the Pupils Themselves Say," *The Red Man* 11 (1891): 2-3.

By 1927, the Department of Agriculture had begun to "[issue] warnings to the effect that there [were] already too many persons engaged in certain kinds of agriculture," but the needs of individual schools to provide food and other products for staff and students overrode education motives to make students the suppliers of their own (and their employers') sustenance.[146]

On a national level, boarding schools were also understood by the federal government as explicitly beneficial to the larger American economy. As Congressman Morse offered in 1893, "I believe in Indian education. It is said that in the Indian wars that we have had that it has cost the Government $1,000,000 to shoot one Indian. Now, I believe that it is better to spend such money in educating and civilizing the Indian and to teach him the arts of peace." Congressman Taylor similarly saw Indian education as the great solution through which to:

> save to this Government hundreds of millions of dollars… To leave… ten thousand Indian children without any education or care, to grow up and take the places of their parents, is simply to prolong the struggle and make it more expensive and less hopeful. A few million dollars properly expended will make educated, industrious farmers and mechanics of the Indians.[147]

To these congressmen, Indian education was a more economically sound alternative to outright extermination. Rather, reminiscent of the east coast perspective regarding orphan trains as a form of social welfare, boarding schools were seen as the most economical solution of dealing with this "dangerous class" of people.

Discipline and Resistance

Boarding schools' most explicit similarity with black codes was that, between 1891 and 1893, child placements were made *legally compulsory*. In an 1891 Congressional Act,

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[146] Meriam, et. al., *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 375-91.

[147] "For Support of Schools," in An Act: Making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, for the year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and ninety-two, 26 Stat. 1012 (1893), 24th Cong., *Congressional Record*: 2137-40.

the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was granted the authority "to make and enforce by proper means such rules and regulations [that would] secure the attendance of Indian children… at schools established and maintained for their benefit."[148] In 1893, Congress expanded this statute by empowering "the Secretary of the Interior… in his discretion, [to] withhold rations, clothing, and other annuities from Indian parents or guardians who refuse or neglect to send and keep their children of proper school age in some schools."[149] In 1900, reflecting this discourse of disciplinary uplift and dissatisfied by legislative amendments, officials such as Estelle Reel lamented, "I am convinced that force is the only method to be pursued in order to uplift these people." Reflecting on Reel's remarks, Superintendent E. O. Hughes expressed:

> [This sentiment has] repeatedly been made… by superintendents, agents, supervisors, inspectors, and special agents, and for the sake of these savages it is hoped that those in higher authority will soon realize this fact and act accordingly.[150]

Within these directives, while recalling orphan trains' rhetoric of placing out the children "for their [own] benefit… in order to uplift these people," more similar to the black codes' Orphans' Courts, white authorities maintained full "discretion" to withhold indispensable commodities from "these savages," commodities that Indian families needed to survive and remain intact.

In the discussion of compulsory education, the flexible racial economy of Indians' childhood in-betweenness is again highlighted. Within this discourse, both categories of age and gender offered some protection. In 1893 Congressman Taylor defined "Indian children

[148] "For Support of Schools," in An Act: Making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, for the year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and ninety, 26 Stat. 1012 (1891), 51st Cong., 2nd sess., Chapter 543: 1012-4.
[149] "For Support of Schools," (1893): 2137-40.
[150] *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1901,* 382.

[as] Indians between the age of 6 and 21."[151] However, on June 16, 1894, Congress held a lively debate regarding parental consent, children's age, and whether or not youth "under the age of 14 years" should be sent "to a school beyond the State or Territory in which said reservation is situated."[152] Sentimental conversation surrounding younger child placements entered political and policy dialogue. Subsequently, infants were not take from their parents. On July 8, 1896, Superintendent Philena E. Johnson noted that the original plan for the Ramona government boarding school was "to establish a school for Pueblo girls." However, officials soon realized that "it was found impossible to fill the school with girls only, as the parents were not willing to let their girls come without their boys."[153] In the case of Ramona, the more vulnerable construction of Indian girlhood made legible their parents' desire to safe-keep their children.

To this end, while oftentimes exploitative, Indian child removal was not meant to explicitly discipline, as was the case with the black codes placements. Rather, when Superintendent Johnson spoke of the school matron as surrogate mother, she also noted: "[The Indian child's] parents, too, will be appreciative of our love for their child… knowing that we love her… will trust her implicitly to our care."[154] Thus, while expressing the notion that Indian children were better raised by white people, this sentiment was nevertheless imbued with benevolence, so much so that Indian parents would be grateful to lose their parental role to the boarding school. Relatedly, unlike orphan trains parents who were rhetorically, if not legally erased, or black codes parents who were actively denied basic

[151] "For Support of Schools," (1893): 2138.
[152] June 16, 1894, 53rd Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record*: 6432.
[153] Philena E. Johnson, "Report of Ramona School at Santa Fe, N. Mex." in *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1896* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), 382.
[154] Philena E. Johnson, "Education of Indian Girls," 74.

humanity, even when making attendance increasingly compulsory, the necessity for Indian parent consent was always noted.

In Congress's 1891 and 1893 compulsory education rulings, they recorded that it was only "with the consent of their parents" that Indian children be placed "under the care and control of such suitable white families." While rations, clothing, and other necessities were authorized withheld, it was also instructed that "parents shall not be coerced."[155] In 1894, Congress directly addressed the notion of compulsion, namely:

> That no Indian child shall be sent… without the voluntary consent of the father or mother… And it shall be unlawful for any Indian agent or other employee of the Government to induce… by withholding rations or by other improper means, the parents or next of kin… to consent.[156]

Under Commissioner of Indian Affairs D. M. Browning's leadership (1893-1897), Indian parents were afforded the due respect noted in these policies. As the Commissioner expressed,

> The Indian child should be taught… to live in a civilized way… But the forcible taking of children… Even ignorant and superstitious parents have rights, and their parental feelings are entitled to consideration.[157]

Thus, while Browning felt explicit, racialized disdain for Indian people, through this prejudice, he also humanized American Indians as legitimate people whose parental civil rights could not be wholly ignored. Under Browning's tenure, Congressman Holman similarly expressed,

> If there is anything that creates dissatisfaction and wretchedness on your Indian reservations, it is this snatching away of the Indian children from their homes and their parents… Parental affection is a universal instinct, and a strong one among the Indian tribes.[158]

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[155] "For Support of Schools," (1891): 1012-4; "For Support of Schools," (1893): 2137-40.
[156] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1894* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 6.
[157] *Sixty-Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1893* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), 10-1.
[158] Rep. William Holman of Indiana, on June 18, 1894, to Senate, 53rd Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record*: 6432.

In this vein, Browning issued specific orders to his employees: "You are advised that hereafter no children are to be taken… without the full consent of the parents… The consent of the parents must be voluntary and not in any degree or manner the result of coercion."[159]

To this end, Browning's directive notwithstanding, like orphan trains and black codes parents, Indian parents were also compelled to strongly resist the system that sought to take their children. One of the most famous cases occurred under Browning's tenure. In 1894, nineteen Hopi men, husbands and fathers, were arrested by the U.S. military and imprisoned in Alcatraz for resisting boarding schools officials. As the *San Francisco Call* noted at the time, "It happens occasionally that an Indian… refuses to accept the gospel of civilization… He manifests his contempt for education by refusing to send his children to school."[160] That same year, in a different, but no less powerful show of resistance, Congress was moved by the story of an old mother who traveled 90 miles by foot, twice a year, to visit her little girl. As told by Holman:

> This old lady came to the door of the school room, and her little girl came out to her. They went out upon the prairie and sat down. They did not seem to talk much to each other, but after they had sat there together for half an hour the child returned to the school room and the old mother got up and started homeward on her weary journey.[161]

Here, even when the children were taken far beyond the reservation, parents (and children) disallowed the erasure of their kinship ties.

Similar to orphan train children and parents' claims to whiteness, American Indians' claims to sovereignty imbued the community with an agency unrecognized in black codes placements. For example, similar to some orphan train placements, some parents strategically utilized the boarding schools as temporary child care. A former student recalled:

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[159] *Sixty-Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1893*, 10.
[160] "Army and Navy Notes, Indians at Alcatraz Island to Be Sent to Their Reservation," *The San Francisco Call*, September 23, 1895, 7; "Will Visit the Schools," *The San Francisco Call*, March 17, 1895, 18.
[161] Rep. William Holman of Indiana, on June 16, 1894, to Senate, 53rd Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record*: 6432.

"I wanted to go home and be with mama, but she said, 'Well, if you come home, we'll only be eating one meal a day, and so I think you should go.'" Also, for some children, the money that they made during their out placement ventures was enough that they were able to send some home, thus supplementing their family income. And for some, the boarding schools did succeed in granting them entry into the competitive labor market. For example, in 1889, a former Carlisle student who found work as a plumber wrote, "I do most heartily thank the Indian Training School… for giving me an education and a trade that I can work at. I see now it comes very hand." This trend of American Indian families self-consciously utilizing the boarding schools system in positive and empowering ways increased near the end of the first-wave generation.[162]

However, despite these empowering narratives, policies, and discourses that respected Indians' parental and kinship rights, as Browning noted, anti-compulsion legislation did not conflict with the 1893 statute that gave the Secretary of the Interior ultimate discretion to withhold subsistence from parents who did not place their children. Browning thus expressed, "Of course, upon reservations the knowledge on the part of the Indians that rations can be withheld quickens the interest of ignorant or careless parents in school attendance."[163] Implicit in this racist analysis was Indian's knowledge of the truth, that the interpretation of the legislation, similar to the sham Orphan Courts that facilitated black codes placements, was ultimately dependent on the white leadership involved. To this end, Browning's successors, Commissioners William A. Jones (1897-1904) and Francis E.

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[162] David Wallace Adams, "Beyond Bleakness: The Brighter Side of Indian Boarding Schools, 1870-1940," in *Boarding School Blues*, ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, et. al., 35, 40, 44; Tanya L. Rathbun, "Hail Mary: The Catholic Experience at St. Boniface Indian School," in Ibid., 166.

[163] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1893* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), 10; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 7.

Leupp (1905-1909) did not follow their predecessor's more "egalitarian" views towards Indian parents, or their children.

In contrast to Browning, Jones "urged" his staff "to greater exertions for the purpose of filling the schools to the limit of their capacity." Actively attempting to erase Indian sovereignty, and thus infantilize Indians' parental rights, Jones expressed,

> The trend of public and legal thought is away from the traditional idea that the Indian is both a ward and a sovereign to the practical everyday fact that he is simply a ward… and requires the tender care and corrective authority which should always be lodged in the hands of a guardian… The natural love of the Indian father and mother for their offspring is fully recognized… but no parent… has a moral or legal right to stand in the way of his child's advancement in life.[164]

Echoing Jones's impatience with negotiating with Indian parents, Leupp declared,

> [E]special pains [must] be taken to make all the Indians understand that the Government has reached the limit of its patience with the old way of handling such matters, and that hereafter the Indians must… [allow the] necessity of compelling [children's] attendance.

Responding to a question of whether or not education should "be forced on" American Indians, Leupp responded in the affirmative: "[If the Indian] still resists, we say plainly to him that his children must go to school… whether he likes it or not. And if he then still does not listen… we send the policeman or soldier to show him that we mean business."[165] Under the tenure of Jones and Leupp, both under- and over-age children were compelled to attend. Boarding schools numbers soared alongside record charges of abuse, rampant sickness, and child deaths. Through Jones and Leupp's leadership, forced child placement was thus to remain a central and ongoing strand in the first-wave boarding schools narrative.[166]

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[164] *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1898, Indian Affairs* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 6-8.
[165] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1907* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907), 86, 96; *Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1907* (Chilocco, Oklahoma: Printing Dept. U.S. Indian School, 1907), 54.
[166] Diane T. Putney, "Fighting the Scourge: American Indian Morbidity and Federal Policy, 1897-1928" (PhD diss., Marquette University, 1980); Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 56-7.

Truly, despite Jones and Leupp's best efforts, American Indians did indeed maintain a voice that yielded U.S. government respect, and their resilience culminated in the 1928 Meriam Report. The report, an extensive survey of Indian economic and social conditions, officiated at the request of Hon. Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and compelled by Indian activism, spoke to the economies of care and labor that first-wave boarding schools children existed:

> If the labor of the boarding school is to be done by the pupils, it is essential that the pupils be old enough and strong enough to do institutional work… It is the stated policy of the government to discourage attendance of young children… [but in the schools] the children are conspicuously small… – children, moreover, who according to competent medical opinion are malnourished… In nearly every boarding school one will find children of 10, 11, and 12 spending four hours a day in more or less heavy industrial work [unpaid]… The work is bad for children of this age, especially children not physically well-nourished: most of it is in no sense educational, since the operations are large-scale and bear little relation to either home or industrial life outside.[167]

Indeed, in the decades following the Meriam Report, positive reformations transformed the boarding schools system so that boarding schools became an institution that American Indians fought (and still fight) to remain open and federally funded. However, for the first generation of children, placed out through the disquieting strategy of U.S. empire, the childhood discourse surrounding their supposed care and education could not protect them. It is through these experiences that the boarding schools era is often remembered, recalling only forced child removals and cultural genocide, and reflecting the trauma experienced by the American Indian community during this time. Between 1879 and 1928, the first-wave boarding schools system did succeed in the widespread and systematic removal of American Indian children from their families. And whilst empowered, the infantilizing trend of questioning Indian parents' rights to their own children did reverberate, and continued to

[167] Meriam, et. al., *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 356-75.

reverberate, throughout the later emergence of transracial/national adoption practices and modern foster care debates.

Within nineteenth century racial discourse, American Indians, undesirable ethnic whites, and African Americans were alternately characterized together and apart. As Charles Loring Brace racially triangulated, in reference to orphan train children and their Irish Catholic parents:

> There seemed to be a very considerable class of lads in New York who bore to the busy, wealthy world about them something of the same relation which Indians bear to the civilized Western settlers. They had no settled home, and lived on the outskirts of society… their wits sharpened like those of a savage… The difference between the average English and Irish skull is nine cubic inches, and only four between the average African and the Irish… Were we to give… white color and straight hair to some negro skulls, the most practiced anatomist would be deceived.[168]

It is perhaps then not surprising that throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the leadership that structured these various child placement initiatives were intimately linked and in conversation with one another. The Lake Mohonk Conference met annually from 1883 to 1916 and gathered leading reformers to deliberate and provide federal government recommendations regarding Indian policy. Brace or his daughter, "Miss Brace," were noted as mentionable attendees at two of the earliest meetings. The Braces' expertise was well valued, as the Conference report noted, "It became apparent from the first that we were not to listen to impracticable humanitarian theorists, but to men and women who knew from personal experience and observation." General S. C. Armstrong, founder of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (1868), established "for the practical education of Negro youth," was also an original and central organizing member of the Conference. Hampton opened its doors to American Indians in 1868.[169]

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[168] Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work among Them*, 97; C. L. Brace, *The Races of the Old World: A Manual of Ethnology* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1868), 465-6, 477.

[169] 2nd Report of the Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 23; *The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute: Principal's Report for the Year Ending June 30th, 1896* (Hampton: Normal School Steam Press Print, 1897), 4.

Over the course of three decades, boarding schools, sometimes conflated with "industrial schools beyond reservation limits," played a central and starring role in the Conference agenda. Carlisle was highlighted at every meeting, whether discussed alongside other Indian boarding schools, or often the Hampton Institute. General Clinton B. Fisk served as chairman-elect for six of the conference's first seven years. Before beginning his term as President-elect of the Board of Indian Commissioners (1874), Fisk had served as Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, Kentucky and Tennessee (1865-1866) and established the Fisk School for freedmen in 1866.[170] In this way, the overlapping thematics that characterized the late nineteenth and early twentieth century child placement practices – the race, labor, and nation-building ideologies exhibited in these practices' private, state, and national spheres of influence – were structurally embedded in their leadership.[171] Given the expansiveness of these child placement systems, as the final section of this chapter illuminates, it is perhaps unsurprising that these early U.S. trends were also neither exceptional nor disconnected from global discourse or practice.

Global Children and Internationalized Context

Between 1845 and 1929, the U.S. nationalist impulses that drove the nation's three earliest, wide-scale practices of child removal and child placement, employed as empire and nation-building strategies against ethnic and racial undesirables, were not without global precedent and did not represent American exceptionalism. Besides illuminating the global resonance of U.S. practice, this internationalized context also brings American white supremacy to the fore. Without this global, racialized context, a more contained,

[170] Alphonso A. Hopkins, *The Life of Clinton Bowen Fisk* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1890), 93, 110-11, 126, 134-5.
[171] 1st-34th Rep. of the Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1883-1916.

exceptional-nationalist history of U.S. child placement more easily sanitizes its imperial dimensions.

The British empire utilized forced emigration as one of its earliest forms of transatlantic migration, and as a strategy to dispose of unwanted classes of people, including children. The United States' subsequent institutionalization of voluntary and involuntary child placement, closely tied to labor, empire, and dispersive emigration, were both modeled after and mirrored by European practice. Irish Catholics were similarly racialized in Britain and from the mid-nineteenth through early twentieth century, "street children" were forcibly emigrated to Britain's settler-colonies in Australia, Africa, New Zealand and North America, including approximately 80,000 children sent to labor in Canada.[172] Between the mid-nineteenth and late twentieth century, Canada and Australia employed their own versions of forced child removal on behalf of indigenous children's "best interests." These youth were placed into white families, institutions, sometimes federal boarding schools, and encompassed Australia's "stolen generation" of more than 25,000 aboriginal children.[173] America's black codes child placements functioned within the international context and global legacy of the transatlantic slave trade, and the consequences of its demise. Keeping in

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[172] Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1980); Roger Swift, "Crime and the Irish in nineteenth-century Britain," in *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939*, ed. Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (Savage: Barnes & Noble Books, 1989), 163-82; Philip Bean and Joy Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Peter Wilson Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains: A Social History of Forced Emigration to the Americas of Felons, Destitute Children, Political and Religious Non-Conformists, Vagabonds, Beggars and other Undesirables, 1607-1776* (Surrey: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1992); Deborah Oxley, *Convict Maids: The Forced Migration of Women to Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Peter Selman, "Intercountry Adoption: Research, Policy and Practice," in *The Child Placement Handbook,* ed. G. Schofield and J. Simmonds (London: BAAF, 2009), 277; Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton, *Banishment in the Early Atlantic World: Convicts, Rebels and Slaves* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013); Ellen Boucher, *Empire's Children: Child Emigration, Welfare, and the Decline of the British World, 1869-1967* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[173] Rowena MacDonald, *Between Two Worlds: The Commonwealth Government and the Removal of Aboriginal Children of Part Descent in the Northern Territory* (Alice Springs: IAD Press, 1996); Robert Van Krieken, "The 'Stolen Generations' and Cultural Genocide: The Forced Removal of Australian Indigenous Children from their Families and Its Implications for the Sociology of Childhood," *Childhood* 6 (1999): 297-311; Wesley Crichlow, "Western Colonization as Disease: Native Adoption and Cultural Genocide," *Critical Social Work* 3 (2002): 104-27.

trend with its more "domestic" child placement practices, before the United States became an international gate-keeping nation based on race, the U.S. experimented with regional and state (im)migration restriction and deportation laws. These regulations focused particularly on free black and indigenous adults and children, to define the nation's body politic, monitor those bodies moving through and within its borders, and solidify the links between freedom and unfreedom, mobility and migration.[174]

In the late nineteenth through early twentieth century, just as the United States' physical borders were still transient and unstable, so did the nation navigate new legal and political terrain to define the social and cultural boundaries of its national membership. Blurring the lines between affective kinship, and physical and discursive labor, orphan trains, black codes, and first-wave boarding schools simultaneously represented and were enacted as regional solutions to these larger nation-building preoccupations. The intersecting lens of these child placement movements provides an intimate perspective into American empire – its breadth, power, and limits – to shape and define the racial hierarchies of its body politic, and its mission toward becoming a globally recognized nation-state.

In line with this mission, the following chapter will move beyond the "domestic" to understand the internationalization of child placement in conjunction with American empire. To better emphasize the United States' increasingly ambitious nation-building efforts, chapter 2 will spotlight how the United States' experimentation with both child placement and empire did not remain contained within the continental U.S. during this early time. Chapter 2 will also move temporally forward – into the period of Progressive Era reform, to

[174] Gerald L. Neuman, *Strangers to the Constitution: Immigrants, Borders, and Fundamental Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), chapter 2; Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

introduce the sentimental rise of the "priceless child." In doing so, chapter 2 will detail the legacies of America's nineteenth century child placement programs – the nation's early institutional roots, private practices, and discursive thinking – on its Progressive Era developments, transformations, and internationalization of child and social welfare institutional and individual practices. Importantly, these legacies included the continuity of nineteenth century racial hierarchies that worked to inform *who exactly* embodied the "priceless child," and how this construct was expanded overseas – whether into Asia or Europe. Constrained by these persistent racialized economies of childhood, Progressive Era child welfare programs – both domestic and international – developed in a hierarchal fashion, and with episodic results. Ultimately, by providing the raced and global contexts that would undergird these more sentimentalized child placement practices, this chapter will provide another historical layer to what is now considered modern U.S. international adoption.

Chapter 2
The Global Foundations of U.S. International Adoption, 1845-1929

This chapter focuses on the international American child placements prior to the formal institutionalization and widespread practice of international adoption. During this time, the United States' vision of manifest destiny expanded overseas. The United States expanded into more global dimensions of imperial nation-building and as such, continued to build its foundations for empire, including child placement. This chapter will also emphasize the creation of the "priceless child" and investigate where this emergent construct fit into the simultaneous development of U.S. domestic and internationalized practices of child welfare, as the nation moved from the nineteenth century into the Progressive Era. Given the overlapping institutional and discursive links amongst the nation's earliest child placement movements – orphan trains, black codes, and first-wave boarding schools – it should be no surprise that these practices simultaneously transformed and subsequently declined together, with the coming of the new era. The nineteenth century legacies and Progressive Era emergence of racialized economies of "priceless" children will be the focus of this chapter's section one.

Sections two and three of this chapter will better internationalize the question of how these programs and Progressive Era reforms, the professionalization of social work and child welfare, became established and who the concept of the priceless child encompassed, as these constructs expanded overseas alongside the United States' imperial goals and reach. Chapter one introduced the global dimensions of nineteenth century child placements by placing its "domestic" case studies into their international context. Section two of this chapter will further explore the nation's imperial experimentations during this time by shifting our gaze

overseas to Asia – in order to illuminate the global resonance of the United States' racialized economies of childhood and the infantilizing ideologies that ultimately informed its empire-building, child placement practices. For example, while the United States' direct colonial engagement with the Philippines represented American imperialism to the extreme, it was throughout the nineteenth century Pacific that American ambassadors succeeded in creating a culture – and networks of migration – that would provide the foundations for the mass migration of adopted children post-World War II. Adoption scholars, particularly in the case of Korea, also often point to the structural and cultural influence of American missionaries as providing essential infrastructure for the future emergence of international adoption. This dissertation argues that it was only when these religious-cultural elements were in alignment with U.S. imperial goals that the large scale emergence of international adoption was supported. However, nineteenth century American missions, as well as professional social workers, privatize organizations, and colonial administrators throughout Asia – which included the Philippines, China, Japan, and Korea – were nonetheless foundational in building the infrastructures that eventually supported postwar U.S.-Asia international adoption.

Section three will shift our focus to Europe, to more explicitly grapple with the United States' contradictory nation-building desires during this time: to position itself as a benevolent entity and reap the imperialist benefits of overseas intervention, all the while protecting the white supremacist bounds of its national citizenry. Amidst these tensions, the construct of the "priceless" child and more specifically, the priceless refugee child emerged post-World War I, as the perfect entry point for the U.S. to engage in legitimate humanitarianism overseas alongside its imperial counterparts, without compromising its protective isolationist and xenophobic nationalist policies (chapters 3 and 4).

If we are looking to consider how the foundations of early child placement practices became internationalized during a time best characterized by singular, exceptional examples, as opposed to the large scale policies and practices that characterized post-World War II, the historical record is indeed unclear and many questions remain unresolved. There was no common, broad support for international adoption at this time, although individual placements did happen. In this way, these early child placements serve as precursors, as important case studies in the prehistory of international adoption. In trying to understand the emergence of the new embodiment of the "priceless child" and the early expansion of U.S. social work during this time, a juxtaposition of the child welfare activities occurring in Asia and in Europe exposes the early racial hierarchies that prefigured and created the foundations for child placement practices in the second postwar era. In the 1920s, the United States faced the Atlantic and Pacific world from a place of reemerging isolationism, but this foreign policy did not affect its expanding apparatuses of social work during this time. By contrasting Europe and Asia, we can see how these overseas endeavors played out, and in their differences, reveal more accurately the prewar technologies of (inequitable) child placement put into place.

Ultimately, the overseas expansion of U.S. child welfare and refugee policies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century provided the groundwork to internationalize the practices of overseas child placement, organized as racially inflected humanitarian and imperial enterprises, that dominated post-World War II U.S. history (chapters 5, 6 and 7). Within this chapter's emphasis on the international scale of U.S. nation-building during this time is the argument that the narrative of American empire does not exist without this

international perspective. In other words, to illuminate the United States' global context is to illuminate American empire.[175]

Priceless Children, Progressive Era Reforms, and Legacies of the Nineteenth Century

The end of orphan trains, black codes, and first-wave boarding schools child placements occurred during the United States' transition into the Progressive Era, and corresponding discursive shifts to define the twentieth century American child. As childhood studies scholars have long-noted, "childhood" and who has the ability to occupy that space, is a socially constructed apparatus that varies over time and space.[176] Sociologist Viviana A. Zelizer, in her ground-breaking study, *Pricing the Priceless Child,* posits that between the 1870s and 1930s, the U.S. experienced a distinctive cultural shift that included the emergence of the emotionally priceless child – American youth came to be appreciated as sentimental objects, as opposed to their economic or productive value – to be loved, rather than labored.[177]

Encompassing this shift, the Progressive Era brought about a host of child-centric reforms. Protectionist child labor laws emerged, gradually replaced by compulsory (and more truly benevolent) education laws, as children were meant to be nurtured and cultivated, protected from the harsh world of adult work. Complimenting these legal-discursive shifts,

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[175] On methodological scale and internationalizing American history see, for example, White, "The Nationalization of Nature;" Gabaccia, "Is Everywhere Nowhere?;" Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Thomas Bender, *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2009); Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations*.

[176] Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*; Wishy, *The Child and the Republic*; De Mause, ed., *The History of Childhood*; Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*; Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*; Lavender and Singley, eds., *The American Child*; Stearns, *Childhood in World History*; Dubinsky, *Babies without Borders*; Morrison, ed. *The Global History of Childhood Reader*; Duane, ed. *The Children's Table*.

[177] Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*. Zelizer's universal periodization continues to greatly influence the field of adoption studies. See, for example, Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea,* 3. See also, Paula S. Fass, *The End of American Childhood: A History of Parenting from Life on the Frontier to the Managed Child* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

the Progressive Era also yielded the institutional professionalization of child and social welfare vocations. Founded on gendered notions of family life that positioned mothers as the central caregiver, welfare professions and social reform movements emerged as professional and political spaces of female expertise and leadership, and have historically maintained parallel foci on women and children. Perhaps this more feminist professionalization helped to shift the discourse surrounding ideal child care from that of out-placement to that of empowering women, particularly single mothers (but also parents in general), to keep their families intact. As expressed by President Theodore Roosevelt, who called together the 1909 White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, "'Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons.'" This "home life," the conference's central theme, was not idealized as in a stranger's home, or a *farmer's home,* but as in the home of the birth family. As the President went on to say:

> Surely poverty alone should not disrupt the home… above all, deserving mothers… should be given such aid as may be necessary to enable them to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of their children. The widowed or deserted mother, if a good woman… willing to work and to do her best, should ordinarily be helped in such fashion as will enable her to bring up her children herself in their natural home.

This "help," and the paralleling causes of saving both women and children, was further and more specifically illuminated by Hon. Julian W. Mack, of Chicago, Illinois:

> [If the mother] is supplied with the money to keep her child in her own home, it is in that case particularly that we are going to save not only the child but the mother too – the mother possibly from a life of immorality.[178]

The 1909 White House Conference, attended by leading child welfare reformers, not only solidified within mainstream rhetoric the newfound goal of family preservation, but

[178] *Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children,* held at Washington, D.C., January 25, 26, 1909 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 5-6, 52.

illuminated the expanding role of the state, and the collaboration between state and private agencies, in regulating child placement. By 1912, the federal Children's Bureau was established, tellingly, under the Department of Commerce and Labor, and was headed by Julia C. Lathrop, former resident of Hull-House, a leading social welfare institution. In 1919, the Bureau organized the first national conference on child welfare standards.[179]

As Zelizer explains, the transition from economic to sentimental childhood "was not a precisely timed event, but a gradual and uneven process." However, the author's overarching argument ultimately offers a periodization: "[T]he cultural legitimacy of the useful child was dominant in the nineteenth century while in the twentieth, the priceless child became the conventional norm." In making this claim, Zelizer's analysis uniformly encompasses implicitly "white" children of Irish, Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant descent. However, as the orphan trains, black codes, and boarding schools clearly illuminated, not all children were created equal, and while acute similarities existed, their differences similarly informed their respective demises and transformations during the early "priceless" era. The remainder of this section will further explore the different racial economies of childhood that orphan trains, black codes, and first-wave boarding schools existed in, the "progressive"

[179] Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*, 28-9, 56-72, 151, 208; Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Free Press, 1988), ch. 4; Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence: Boston, 1880-1960* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1988), 72-5; Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), ch. 2; E. Wayne Carp, "Professional Social Workers, Adoption, and the Problem of Illegitimacy, 1915-1945," *Journal of Policy History* 6 (1994): 161-84; Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Linda Gordon, *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 88-95; Kriste Lindenmeyer, *"A Right to Childhood:" The U.S. Children's Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912-46* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Chris Guthrie and Joanna L. Grossman, "Adoption in the Progressive Era: Preserving, Creating, and Re-Creating Families," *American Journal of Legal History* 43 (July 1999): 235-53; O'Connor, *The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed*, 295-9; Alice Boardman Smuts, *Science in the Service of Children, 1893-1935* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), ch. 5 and 13; Herman, *Kinship by Design*, ch. 2.; Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992; Mark H. Leff, Patrick D. Moynihan, Joanne L. Goodwin, *Gender and the Politics of Welfare Reform Mothers' Pensions in Chicago, 1911-1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

transformations of their different placement discourses, and their ensuing legacies on modern adoption practice.[180]

Twentieth Century Economies of Childhood

While "14 years of age or younger" is a common perimeter drawn around nineteenth and early twentieth century childhood, the actual age of minority for the "priceless" child, to be protected from the harshness of adult labor, varied widely state-to-state and remained sharply contested throughout the Progressive Era.[181] In the absence of standardization, infant-age children were placed out via the orphan trains and black codes, and children as young as five into first-wave boarding schools. The gendered age of majority that encompassed orphan trains, black codes, and boarding schools placements was eighteen years for female youth (who entered marriage and reproductive adulthood earlier) and twenty-one for males. However, more important than these similar age parameters, were the different economies of race and rights, care and labor, through which these placement practices functioned. The question of who exactly constituted a minor "child" worthy of protection was thoroughly embedded within the value-laden framework of: Who has the right to raise the child?

With the arrival of the Progressive Era, the lines around whiteness were further consolidated and orphan trains parents and children fit the racialized parameters for the most deserving of federal funds and family preservation support. To this end, between 1927 and 1929, the two largest orphan trains institutions, the New York Foundling Hospital and New

[180] Zelizer does not note American Indians, Latinos, or Asian Americans, but she does note exclusions/differential values for black, "minority," and handicapped children in two footnotes. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*, 213-4, 250, *n*45, 263, *n*108.

[181] The fourteen year old age limit emerges scattered about the historical record, such as the *New York Times* and Congressional Record. Zelizer bounds her history of childhood by encompassing those youths "fourteen years of age and younger." Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*, 3, 75-6, 80.

York Children's Aid Society closed their "emigration" programs to refocus their energies on in-state child care programs. CAS established one of the first day-care centers in the United States.[182] Foreshadowing this transition, on December 1914, CAS transported thirteen children, aged one through sixteen, from New York to Auburn, Nebraska. Embodying the children's shift to "priceless" status, and predicting the increased desire for adoptable white children, the *Nemaha County Herald* described:

> It was an unusual spectacle that was witnessed by the crowd that filled the Maclay opera house to standing room. It had been announced that the children were to be brought here on the day and the… people from the country turned out to welcome them… and while [the children's] position in life was one that made people pity them still there was nothing in their appearance to indicate that they were other than bright, healthy children who deserved a chance in the world.

These were not "street children" who needed to be raised up from their unfortunate roots. Rather, these deserving, "bright, healthy children" received more than one hundred applicants, and were "placed in the best of Nemaha county homes." As evidence of the Progressive Era's "more humane" religious matching practices, Protestant and Catholic children were placed in homes of their respective religions. Reflecting the Era's more feminist constructs, the placement committee included one unmarried woman, a Miss Cora Webber. And as expressed by Auburn's *The Granger*, "the ladies" were specifically congratulated for finding the children homes with the best "proper care and treatment."[183] There was no mention of the children's economic labor. Instead, marking their sentimental shift, the emphasis was on "hearts" and "homes" and the fact that the "children must be

[182] Holt, *The Orphan Trains*, 162, 164.
[183] "Nemaha County People Take Homeless Children," *Nemaha County Herald*, Auburn, Nebraska, December 18, 1914, 1; "Homes for Homeless," *The Granger*, Auburn, Nebraska, December 22, 1914, 1. For further discussion of "more humane" kinship strategies, see Herman, *Kinship by Design*.

treated as members of the family, sent to school, church and Sunday school and properly clothed until they were eighteen years old."[184]

Anti-Catholic propaganda did not disappear at the turn of the century. Indeed, early twentieth century writings strategically employed the emerging trope of innocent childhood as a central anti-Catholic artifice. However, Progressive Era rhetoric no longer questioned Catholics' white Americanness through negative ethno-religious racialization. The criticism lay instead on Catholic Americans' civic values, and this widespread criticism largely disappeared by the close of World War I.[185] By the 1930s, (Irish) Catholic children were thoroughly imbued by sentimental value and their parents represented the ideal candidates for family preservation legislation.[186]

Recognizing the full extent of nineteenth century orphan trains legacies, orphan trains administrators, individuals such as Arthur Huck, Alfred F. Whitman, and Mary Boretz, eventually served on the advisory board of the United States Committee for the Care of Europeans, Inc. (USCCE), just as Miss Mary Godley provided leadership to the Non - Sectarian Committee for German Refugee children – two important organizations that emerged during the interwar years, and who would provide central leadership in coordinating the first post-World War II waves of international adoption. At the time of his participation with USSCE, Arthur Huck was director of the New York Children's Aid Society. By 1940, the Charles Loring Brace founded organization had "'400 full-time trained employes [sic], in twenty-six branches in city and State, including a number of buildings suitable for reception centers for the refugee children.'"[187]

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[184] "Nemaha County People Take Homeless Children," 1.
[185] Nordstrom, *Danger on the Doorstep*.
[186] Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
[187] "Washington Refuses Blame," *New York Times,* July 12, 1940, 7.

Alfred F. Whitman was the executive secretary of the Children's Aid Association in Boston. Originally established as the Boston Children's Aid Society (1863) in institutional conversation with Brace, Boston's CAS was also established to "uplift" urban street children through farm work and out-placements, or "binding out" – sometimes through orphan trains to live with rural farming families. These placements sometimes resulted in permanent adoptions.[188] Boston's CAS was also a Protestant institution and faced similar accusations of proselytization. For example, the Boston Catholic newspaper *The Sacred Heart Review* noted, "We have no right to say that the chief motive of all the members of this society is to secure Catholic children, but we fear that some of them are actuated by that motive, and that they all think that they can take better care of those children than Catholics themselves do."[189] However, in comparison to Brace's CAS, Boston's was slightly more egalitarian in their placement practices, sometimes referring Catholic children to Catholic children's homes.[190] Mary Boretz was executive director of the Home for Bureau of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society. Mary Godley was executive director of the Catholic Home Bureau of New York. Both the Home for Bureau of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society, founded 1879, and the Catholic Home Bureau of New York, founded 1899, were established in resistance to the Children's Aid Societies' Protestant child placement

[188] Boston Children's Aid Society records, 1863-1922, University Archives and Special Collections, University of Massachusetts Boston.
[189] "Boston Children's Aid Society," *The Sacred Heart Review*, Boston, October 1, 1898, 265, 271.
[190] "General Statement of Methods," in *Boston Children's Aid Society: Addresses at Meionan, March 24, 1890* (Boston: George H. Ellis, 141 Franklin Street, 1890), 3-4; Boston Children's Aid Society records, 1863-1922, University Archives and Special Collections, University of Massachusetts Boston; Peter C. Holloran, *Boston's Wayward Children: Social Services for Homeless Children, 1830-1930* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 1989), 50-3; Eric C. Schneider, *In the Web of Class: Delinquents and Reformers in Boston, 1810s-1930s* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 54-71; Matthew A. Crenson, *Building the Invisible Orphanage: A Prehistory of the American Welfare System* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 242-3; Julia Grant, *The Boy Problem: Educating Boys in Urban America, 1870-1970* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2014), 23, 26.

models.[191] In this way, we see that the nineteenth century child placement experiences these institutions held evolved alongside, and influenced Progressive Era reforms, postwar internationalized child refugee welfare, and the eventual practice of overseas adoption.

True to Progressive Era trends, Boston's CAS and the Home for Bureau of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society were established by a strong cadre of women and by 1939, had rallied around the cause of the overseas sentimentalized child, German refugee children (chapters 3 and 4). The German refugee children's movement brought together seemingly disparate institutions, activist groups, and individuals around the discourse of humanitarianism, adoption, and the sentimentalized child, solidified around the figure of the (white, European) refugee. These broad-based coalitions most explicitly linked and indicated the transition from the increasingly nationalized and normalized early twentieth century Progressive Era institutionalization of child placement doctrine, U.S. participation in international child refugee crises, and post-World War II (and contemporary) adoption procedures and discourse.

In the legacy of black codes child placements, Progressive Era child welfare reforms introduced new technologies of exclusion – for African Americans to be denied full membership into the body politic. Echoing the black codes' strategically vague and

[191] "A Charity for Children," *New York Times*, March 31, 1895; Reena Sigman Friedman, *These are Our Children: Jewish Orphanages in the United States* (Hanover: Brandeis University Press, 1994), 1, 4-5, 17-8; The History of JCCA, Jewish Child Care Association of New York, Inc., http://www.jccany.org/site/PageServer?pagename=about_history1 (15 April 2013); Guide to the Records of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society of New York, undated, 1879-1917, American Jewish Historical Society, http://findingaids.cjh.org/?pID=251734#FTN2 (15 April 2013); Mary J. Oates, *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 56-7; Dorothy M. Brown and Elizabeth McKeown, *The Poor Belong to Us: Catholic Charities and American Welfare* (Cambridge, MA: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1997), 109; Lisa Sowle Cahill, "Adoption: A Roman Catholic Perspective," in *The Morality of Adoption: Social-Psychological, Theological, and Legal Perspectives*, ed. Timothy P. Jackson (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005), 150-3; S. M. Vincentia Joseph and Sr. Ann Patrick Conrad, "The Parish Comes Full Circle and Beyond," in *Catholic Charities USA: 100 Years at the Intersection of Charity and Justice*, ed. J. Bryan Hehir (Collegeville: Order of Saint Benedict, 2010), 69-70.

disempowering language that black children could be removed if "it would be better for the habits and comfort of such child," the 1909 White House Conference defined family preservation via: "*Home care.* – Children of worthy parents or deserving mothers should, as a rule, be kept with their parents at home."[192] Within the negatively racialized economy of blackness, African American parents were not included in this sentiment of "worthy" or "deserving." Instead, while mother's pensions emerged following the President's declaration that "poverty alone should not disrupt the home [and that] deserving mothers… should be given… aid," black mothers were systematically excluded. For example, while African Americans made up more than twenty-one percent of Houston, TX's population, black parents were not eligible for pension benefits.[193] Similarly, in the development of the Progressive Era orphanage system, to (often temporarily) care for the "priceless child" in the case that the mother could not, black families were again excluded.[194] Regionally, with the 1930s expansion of mother's pensions through the New Deal Aid to Dependent Children program, white southerners rallied to exclude black Americans. Seeking to uphold the racialized labor hierarchy, without this federal aid, white southerners could more easily retain black mothers and their children in low paying wage economies, which ironically included child care labor in white households.[195] Thus, while Zelizer tracks the Progressive Era

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[192] *Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children,* 8.

[193] Similarly, Mexican American parents were denied benefits in Los Angeles. LeRoy Ashby, *Endangered Children: Dependency, Neglect, and Abuse in American History* (New York: Twayne Publishing, 1997), 96-7; O'Connor, *The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed,* 298. See also, Joanne L. Goodwin, *Gender and the Politics of Welfare Reform Mothers' Pensions in Chicago, 1911-1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[194] Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White*. There were of course exceptions, including the white-sponsored Leonard Street Children's Home in Atlanta, Georgia and black-founded Jenkins Orphanage and Industrial School for Colored Children in Charleston, South Carolina. Importantly, Billingsley and Giovannoni similarly argue that black children were systematically and deliberately excluded from the early development of child welfare institutions. Andrew Billingsley and Jeanne M. Giovannoni, *Children of the Storm: Black Children and American Child Welfare* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1972), 51-4.

[195] Laura Briggs, *Somebody's Children: The Politics of Transnational and Transracial Adoption* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 52-3.

transformation of children's value from the economic to sentimental, black children (and their families) were excluded from this shift.

Lastly, the perpetuation of boarding schools child placements beyond the first-wave continued to illuminate the in-betweenness of American Indians' racialized economy of child and parent rights. With the onset of Progressive Era reforms, the first-wave boarding schools movement dovetailed with the end of the orphan trains. Marked by the 1928 Meriam Report, Indian children were included in the emergent discourse of sentimentalized childhood:

> The term 'child labor' is used advisedly. The labor of children as carried on in Indian boarding schools would… constitute a violation of child labor laws in most states… [Children] the years through 14 [should attend schools] primarily for education, and not for 'work' in the adult sense.

Importantly, this sentimentalization reinvigorated American Indians' parental rights to their children. For example, the Meriam Report identified the "pre-adolescent period," particularly for girls, as a time frame "when parents and children should not be separated."[196]

The report's most damning details were widely circulated in journalist Vera L. Connoly's 1929 *Good Housekeeping* series. Drawing on the sentimental discourse, Connoly portrayed "a story of frightened, lonely, hungry, exhausted childhood." Highlighting the central role of women in these reforms, Connoly's series stimulated public outcry amongst her readership:

> [T]he righteous wrath of American womanhood – of home women, consecrated women, aroused to deep indignation and banded together in a crusade to obtain justice for the oppressed.

Under this newfound mainstream public and political sentiment, the 1930s saw a grand restructuring in boarding schools leadership, policy, and practice. Led by such like-minded officials as Superintendent Byron Brophy (1931) and Commissioner of Indian Affairs John

[196] Meriam, et. al., *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 375-6.

Collier (1933-1945), an administration more sympathetic to Indian rights took the helm. Collier was a long-standing advocate of Indian rights, and had previously worked alongside such pioneering female activists as Mrs. Stella M. Atwood.[197] This too marked an important shift in American Indian boarding schools historiography and historical memory. Under such leadership, and bolstered by congressional support, a number of boarding schools closed or were transitioned into day schools. For those institutions left open, second-wave boarding schools students began to see large and positive improvements in their school experiences and education, as did their third-wave counterparts who again witnessed formidable transformations during the 1960s Civil Rights Era. Beginning in the 1930s, Indian parents, particularly due to the Depression, began to more explicitly utilize boarding schools as a form of temporary child care.[198]

However, speaking to Indians' in-betweenness, whereas Zelizer maps the "expulsion of children from the 'cash nexus,'" their evolution from "economically useful to the economically useless child," boarding schools provide the earliest industrialized precedent of child placement driven by economic profit.[199] With congressional funding explicitly tied to schools' attendance, compulsory first-wave recruitment was directly informed by the upwards of $167 per child financial gain. During Progressive Era boarding schools closures, regional political pressures allowed several schools to remain open due to the profits incurred by student labor and attendance.[200] The arrival of the Progressive Era also failed to fully diminish discourses of Indians' infantilization, which existed within the nationalist discourse

[197] Vera L. Connoly, "The Cry of a Broken People," *Good Housekeeping* (February, 1929): 30-1, 226-37; Vera L. Connoly, "We Still Get Robbed," *Good Housekeeping* (March, 1929): 34-5, 249-59; Vera L. Connoly, "The End of the Road," *Good Housekeeping* (May, 1929): 44-5, 153-70.
[198] Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 17, 24, 40, 85-6.
[199] Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*, 11, 213.
[200] Putney, "Fighting the Scourge," 1; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 40, 56-7.

that stigmatized non-white parents as less-deserving of their children. For example, while Vera L. Connoly was incredibly sympathetic to "the condition of the little Indian children being 'civilized' hundreds of miles from their mothers' arms," she also framed the aiding of Indian adults and parents through the lens of "We Must Protect Our Wards." Regarding Indian children, Connoly evoked, "Perhaps… there will be a crusade of American white mothers in behalf of the Indian child, our ward."[201] Within these benevolent constructs, the Indian parent was bestowed the right to her child only through the overseeing gaze of white motherhood. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, while not on a mass scale, white women did transracially adopt Indian children. In this legacy, and alongside the enduring legacies of disease, poverty, empire and conquest, American Indian kinship networks remained particularly vulnerable for future experimentations of child removal, which will be expanded on in future chapters.[202]

Progressive Era Child Care in a Global Perspective

As we explore how the cultural emergence of the priceless child expanded internationally – how Progressive Era child welfare reforms were established abroad – it becomes clear that America's racialized economies of childhood also extended overseas, alongside American empire goals and reach. Where did U.S. relations with Asia and Europe, who would provide the United States' first large scale populations of internationally adopted children post-World War II, fit within the emergent discourse of the sentimentalized child at the turn of the century? Similar to that of American Indians', relative in-betweenness characterized the racialized economy of childhood through which international Asian-

[201] Connoly, "The Cry of a Broken People," 235; Connoly, "We Still Get Robbed," 255.
[202] Margaret Jacobs, "Breaking and Remaking Families: The Fostering and Adoption of Native American Children in Non-Native Families in the American West, 1880-1940," in *On the Borders of Love and Power*, ed. David Wallace Adams and Crista DeLuzio (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 19-46.

American relations functioned. The United States engaged in dual experimentations with overseas imperial outreach – that of direct colonial engagement through the vision of white supremacist manifest destiny, and that of American missionaries through the vision of Progressive Era child-saving white-Christian edict. Section three will shift our focus to Europe.

Nineteenth Century and Progressive Era Inroads to U.S.-Asia International Adoption

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Asian children did not fit the white racialized ideal of America's "priceless" child. The racialized prejudices and imperial motives that informed white Americans' infantilization, colonization, enslavement, and "civilization" and "uplift" strategies engaged in different extremes against black codes, boarding schools, and orphan trains communities, were encompassed in the global ideology of "white man's burden" that informed the wider western world's imperial motives. Between 1845 and 1929, American notions of empire and manifest destiny did not remain bound within the continental U.S. The same territorial, economic, and racialized imperatives encouraged the nation to experiment internationally and in particular, engage with the peoples of Asia and Latin America.[203]

Specifically, the Philippines serve as an illuminating case study of the expansion of U.S. imperial ideology from the regional-national to international, into Asia, the limits of this expansion within child placement practice – and how this expansion of white supremacist manifest destiny was tempered through discourses of infantilizing benevolence, similar to that employed against American Indians. At the same time, a more racially flexible

[203] Winthrop D. Jordan, *The White Man's Burden: Historical Origins of Racism in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974); Laura Wexler, "The Fair Ensemble: Kate Chopin in St. Louis in 1904," in *Haunted by Empire*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Jeremy Wells, *Romances of the White Man's Burden: Race, Empire and the Plantation in American Literature, 1880-1936* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011).

endorsement of the priceless child and a white-Christian edict compelled American missionary ambassadors to propagate U.S.-racial-religious-cultural supremacy overseas, allowing for individual cases of transracial adoption. Ultimately, as evidenced by the United States' nineteenth century territorial acquisitions, including the Philippines, and in its overseas missionary work, including in Korea, China, and Japan, an uneven and episodic commitment to transracial, transnational adoption emerged in an imperial context well prior to World War II.

The Philippines and U.S. Manifest Destiny Internationalized

The United States expanded its imperial assault against indigenous and non-white populations through its major turn-of-the-century territorial acquisitions: Alaska (1867), Hawaii (1898), and following the Spanish American War (1898), the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam. In particular, the United States sought entry points into the Pacific, and these acquisitions were supplemented by the Midway Islands (1867), Samoa (1878), and the Wake Islands (1899).[204] Akin to its domestic relations with Irish Catholics, African Americans, and American Indians, the United States invoked racialized metaphors of childhood and infantilization in order to legitimize U.S. intervention under the necessities of American tutelage, responsibility, and dominion. In particular, the United States conflated such international acquisitions with American Indians, as representing similar types of dependent peoples. Illuminating these overlapping colonial ideologies at the 1903 Lake Mohonk Conference, Chairman James Wood's opening address highlighted a new focus of the meeting. As Wood explained,

> Since we came into possession of Hawaii and the Philippines we have been deeply impressed with our responsibility toward those peoples. We have to consider what is the

[204] Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 24.

> 'white man's burden,' or rather what is the white man's duty?… the duty of our people toward these races.[205]

A central strand throughout this conference was a comparison of the government's responsibilities and affairs regarding Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and North American Indians, alongside the United States' other imperial conquests, in particular Hawaiian and Alaskan Indians. The following year, the conference officially changed its name to the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian *and Other Dependent Peoples*, and officially "[extended]… the scope of the Conference… to include the welfare of the peoples of the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Hawaii."[206] The peoples of Alaska, i.e. indigenous Alaskans, were consistently included within this newfound mission, and further internationalizing their scope, the Conference would sometimes include comparative analyses with other imperial powers, such as their 1911 session focused on U.S. government education in the Philippines and British government education in India.[207] Within the globalized discourse of childhood, colonized territories necessitated tutelage and their infanitilized status both necessitated and legitimized empire.

In 1929, similarly representing both the circulation of knowledge and institutional overlap in America's "domestic" and overseas imperial projects, Congressman Frear lamented,

> [American] Indians… need only support… We've done this in relation to the Porto Ricans and Filipinos. We've fallen down as regards the American Indians. Had there been a despotic, grafting Porto Rican Bureau, or a Philippine Bureau, those native peoples would today be as crushed, as backward, as the American Indian.[208]

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[205] Proceedings of the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian, 1903, reported by Wm. J. Rose (New York: The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1904), 11.
[206] Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1904, reported by Wm. J. Rose (New York: The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1904), 1.
[207] Report of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, 1911, reported by Miss Lillian D. Powers (Lake Mohonk Conference, 1911), 98-113.
[208] Connoly, "The End of the Road," 156, 158.

Here, the Congressman is making a dissatisfied comparison between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the U.S. bureaus in the Philippines and Puerto Rico. This sentiment was echoed by Major George P. Ahern who worked with American Indians early in his career as an army officer, and later with Filipinos, as the coordinator of the Philippine Forest Service (1900-1914):

> Our country could have handled the Indian problem properly. We gave the Filipinos schools and teachers that measured up to the highest of standards. Filipino youths were encouraged… They were given positions of the utmost responsibility in their own government… This shows what can be done with a primitive people![209]

The alleged success of Filipino's uplift from "a primitive people," as bestowed through the tutelage of the American government, speaks to the success of President William McKinley's 1898 Executive Order of "benevolent assimilation," to be employed within the newly acquired Philippines. As McKinley asserted:

> Within the absolute domain of military authority, which necessarily is and must remain supreme in the ceded territory until the legislation of the United States shall otherwise provide… the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation… the bestowal of the blessings of good and stable government upon the people of the Philippine Islands under the free flag of the United States.[210]

This colonial edict fell between the "benevolent" strategies employed again orphan trains and first-wave boarding schools children. Filipinos were not meant to assimilate into whiteness, nor were they meant to "progress" toward extinction. Rather, within the sentiment of imperial benevolence, "under the free flag of the United States," Filipinos were to accept their lesser status, and as a child would their parent, remain appropriately grateful to American tutelage – discipline and authority – until they were raised, i.e., assimilated, to a

[209] Ibid.
[210] William McKinley, "Executive Order," December 21, 1898.

suitable level of self-governance. Within this infantilizing ideology, Filipinos' racialized economy of childhood can also be characterized by its in-betweenness. In one sense, as with the supposed race uplift promised to boarding schools children, when convenient, Filipinos were America's "little brown brothers." Also, Filipinos' colonial status as U.S. nationals placed them in a similar legal space as American Indian domestic dependents. While disallowed citizenship, unlike other Asian internationals, Filipinos were able to freely migrate to the United States. Representing Asians' in-between racialization in the expansion of U.S. policies to its imperial territories, in line with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the U.S. government established Chinese exclusion from the Philippines. For those ethnic Chinese already living in the Philippines, as well as Hawaii and Cuba, these colonial subjects were disallowed the same migration privileges to immigrate to the continental U.S. The United States drew from the "benevolent" argument that it was protecting Filipinos from Chinese labor competition in order to justify these disparate policies. Ultimately, however, Filipinos' status as colonized American subjects failed to protect them from the more virulent discourse of white supremacy that also expanded alongside the reach of U.S. imperialism.[211]

In particular, as poignantly illustrated in Homer Davenport's 1902 political cartoon *Kill Everything Over 10*, whereby four Filipino youth were executed by American soldiers, within the discourse of sentimentalized childhood, Filipino children were not protected.[212] By the close of the Philippine-American War (1899-1902), the *New York Times* wrote freely of the "cruelty" of U.S. armed forces against Filipino men, women, and children, which ultimately culminated in the Moros Massacre atrocity, when approximately 600 indigenous

[211] Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Routledge, 1980); Yen Le Espiritu, *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives across Cultures, Communities, and Countries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, 60-70; Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America: A History* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 108-11, 182-6.
[212] Homer Davenport, "Kill Everything Over 10," *New York Evening Journal*, May 17, 1902.

Filipinos, including infants and their mothers, were surrounded and indiscriminately "slaughtered" by superior American arms.[213] During the Philippine-American War, when convenient to justify their extermination, Filipinos were negatively racialized as akin to American Indians and African Americans, as "savages" and "niggers."[214] As Samuel Clemens, better known as Mark Twain, properly compared at the time:

> Let us now consider… the Civil War… Waterloo… the Cuban War… We did not exterminate… In each engagement we left an average of two percent of the enemy killed or crippled on the field. Contrast these things which have arrived from that Moro crater!... we abolished them utterly, leaving not even a baby alive to cry for its dead mother.[215]

By the War's end, as Filipinos continued to migrate to the United States, Americans' anti-Asian racism encompassed Filipinos as the new "Asiatic invasion." And predicting post-World War II U.S. discourse toward Japan and Korea, the Philippines were increasingly portrayed as an effeminate Asian nation requiring foreign intervention, even while it was simultaneously constructed in America's image.[216]

The United States' interventions in the Philippines directly foreshadowed U.S. decisions post-World War II, particularly toward Korea. As would be the case in postwar Korea, in post-Spanish American War Philippines, the U.S. militarily occupied the newly liberated country and, through its suppression of the people's sovereignty and self-determination, incited a second war. The United States' public motive was benevolent

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[213] "Cruelty in the Philippines," *New York Times*, May 20, 1902; Samuel Clemens, "Comments on the Moros Massacre, March 12, 1906," in *Voices of a People's History of the United States*, eds., Howard Zinn and Anthony Arnove (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2004), 248-51.
[214] Zinn, *A People's History of the United States*; Espiritu, *Home Bound*, 60-70; Clemens, "Comments on the Moros Massacre, March 12, 1906," 248-51; Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Global Families: A History of Asian International Adoption in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 25.
[215] Clemens, "Comments on the Moros Massacre, March 12, 1906," 248-51.
[216] Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Espiritu, *Home Bound*, 66-7; Allan Punzalan Isaac, *American Tropics: Articulating Filipino America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 49-50, 75-6; SooJin Pate, *From Orphan to Adoptee: U.S. Empire and Genealogies of Korean Adoption* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 53; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 192.

governance, but its true interests lay in the strategic geopolitical location of the Philippines in the Pacific and – as would be the case in not only postwar Korea, but Germany and Japan as well – to restructure the Philippine economy in service of American interests. In this way, the Philippines may also be viewed as a moment of transition in American empire. Moving beyond settler colonialism, U.S. expansion overseas was less concerned about land, and instead moved to enact the political, cultural, and economic imperialism that would define U.S. geopolitical relations post-World War II.[217]

As U.S. adoption historians Arissa H. Oh and Catherine Ceniza Choy have each documented, it was also in 1898 that the U.S. military began to produce its first large scale population of foreign-born, mixed race children, fathered by occupation forces stationed overseas. However, as both historians emphasized, this population was largely ignored – by both the U.S. government and the American people.[218] Here is where we see the limits of Progressive Era child placement. While otherwise similar to post-World War II circumstances, in the Philippines, U.S. international adoption did not emerge. Within this early version of American empire, anti-racism, or the appearance of anti-racism was not yet necessary as an important strategic tool in U.S. foreign relations. Rather, white supremacy relieved American soldiers, and the U.S. government, of performing responsibility toward these children. And since U.S.-Philippine geopolitical relations was in no way a partnership, the dynamic of making the Philippines "family" or even "friend" was ultimately unnecessary. Within the construct of Asian America, the model minority discourse had not yet solidified to the point of making Filipino children recuperable within adoptive American families.

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[217] Espiritu, *Home Bound*, 60-70; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 183-6.

[218] In the 1980s, Filipino-American occupation children began to be offered avenues toward U.S. citizenship and immigration. Arissa H. Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea: The Cold War Origins of International Adoption* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 70. See also, Choy, *Global Families*, 25-6.

However, the nineteenth century legacy of U.S. military occupation, including American servicemen's continued sexual relations with Filipina women and subsequent fathering of mixed race children, as well as the transpacific relations, institutions, and networks made by the U.S. government and individual American citizens, proved foundational to the eventual emergence of post-World War II Asian international adoption. Literature on the first wave of children adopted from Asia usually focuses on those born in Japan and Korea, but the Philippines, as well as newly liberated (from Japan) China and Hong Kong, were also included amongst this Asian first-wave. In the twenty-first century, the Philippines consistently retain their status as a "top twenty" sending country.[219] The transracial, transnational adoption of Asian children was not able to flourish until U.S. imperial strategy shifted to encompass anti-racist rhetoric, and when the nation's global power matched its imperial interests. However, important inroads were made during this time through the expansion of the U.S. military, as well as cultural – including religious – and economic imperial attempts. Throughout the late nineteenth century and Progressive Era period, incursions by American missionaries also expanded U.S. influence throughout East Asia. They put networks into place that facilitated individual cases of adopted Asian children that, in turn, created the foundations for the eventual emergence of Asian international adoption following World War II.

American Missionaries, Imperial Ambassadors, and Structures of U.S. International Adoption in East Asia

[219] U.S. Department of State. Americans also adopted from the U.S. Ryuku Islands, which were considered part of occupied Japan territory. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Cited from Richard H. Weil, "International Adoption: The Quiet Migration," *International Migration Review* 18 (1984), 281; Choy, *Global Families*, 186 fn 48.

In the 1880s, American Protestant missionaries expanded their reach into Korea. While official proselytization was banned, missionaries' entry points into Korean society were through such benevolent roles as teacher, doctor, and social welfare provider – which included the establishment of Korea's first western style orphanages. These orphanages, alongside other foreign missionary social agencies and nineteenth century established transpacific networks, such as Korean laborers recruited by American businessmen, inaugurated the idea of mass migration to the U.S. within a positive discourse. Within this discourse, these varied institutions would eventually combine with both non-governmental and military U.S. refugee relief pursuits during and post-World War II and the Korean War, and the consequence of mixed race children born of U.S. military occupation, to support the large scale emergence of Korean international adoption. What will later emerge as an irony, in the deep traction U.S. missionaries were able to gain in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Korea, beyond their humanitarian work, these missionaries were amongst the staunchest and most vocal supporters of Korean anti-Japanese imperialism. Both prior to and during Japan's colonialism of Korea (1910-1945), American Christianity and Christian-founded institutions became in many ways synonymous with Korean sovereignty and nationalist empowerment.[220]

U.S. cultural and economic incursions into Japan and China varied by degrees of success, but were greatly desired. As Protestant missionary Esther M. Baldwin evoked,

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[220] Tobias Hubinette, "Comforting an Orphaned Nation: Representations of International Adoption and Adopted Koreans in Korean Popular Culture" (PhD diss., Stockholm University, 2005), 53-4; Rebecca Hurdis, "Lifting the Shroud of Silence: A Korean Adoptee's Search for Truth, Legitimacy, and Justice," in *International Korean Adoption: A Fifty-Year History of Policy and Practice,* eds. Kathleen Ja Sook Bergquist, M. Elizabeth Vonk, Dong Soo Kim, Marvin D. Feit (New York: Routledge, 2007), 172-3; Andrew Eungi Kim, "Christianity in Korea and Japan: A Historical-Sociological Study of Differential Cultural Reception and Social Impact from the 1880s to the 1940s," in *Society, History, and the Global Human Condition: Essays in Honor of Irving M. Zeitlin,* eds. Zaheer Baber and Joseph M. Bryant (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010), 220-6; Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 42, 45; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 146-8.

China sat at the intersections of U.S. economic and religious imperialism: "Not only is [China] the grandest and most promising for our products and manufacturers, but for Christian work and civilization."[221] In regards to Japan, it was during the nineteenth century that the fetishized construct of Japan (and other Asian nations) as effeminate and childlike took root. However, Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) also marked its global arrival on the imperial stage. And for U.S. labor recruiters, Japanese immigrants were surpassed only by the Chinese during this time.[222]

Perhaps given these nations' more powerful geopolitical positions in the United States' worldview, evidence of nineteenth century adoptive kinship formations by American missionaries in China and Japan are more visible in the historical record, as compared to Korea and other geographies of American missions' travel. Still, this historical record is uneven and the exact – or even estimated – number of children adopted during this time is not known.

However, these brief windows into the intimate relations between white American missionaries and adopted Asian children abroad illuminate these late nineteenth and early twentieth century child placements as important placeholders in the history of internationalizing U.S. adoption, as American practices of child placement transitioned through the Progressive Era until eventually, Asian children also found a place in the space of the "priceless child," facilitating the large scale practice of post-World War II international adoption.

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[221] John Kuo Wei Tchen, *New York before Chinatown: Orientalism and the Shaping of American Culture, 1776-1882* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999), 186.
[222] Naoko Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 21-2; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 117.

As expressed by U.S. Baptist missionary Reverend L. Gould in 1889, the transracial, transnational adoption of Chinese children by American missionaries living abroad was not uncommon in the nineteenth century, and in some cases, was encouraged by the local population:

> Flood, failure of crops, cholera, and a long winter have reduced certain provinces of North China to a state bordering on starvation. Parents are ever offering their children for sale because they have no food either for them or themselves. The missionaries have constituted themselves a committee of relief, and are distributing the money that is sent in.[223]

In trend with domestic child placement practices, these "adoptions" varied in form. Oftentimes informal, with uneven and blurred boundaries, these adoptions included out-placements conditional on the child's academic performance, financial sponsorship whereas birth families remained intact, but most often – in order to maintain clear racial boundaries – the placing out of these children into Chinese Christian families, whereby the missionary provided financial support.[224] Not unlike enslaved and post-emancipation African American children, and in line with international imperial practice, it was not encouraged that Chinese children be taught English or advance in higher education.[225] Perhaps best compared to American Indian first-wave boarding schools children, adopted Chinese children were meant to be uplifted, but still to know their place within a white supremacist racial hierarchy.

Perhaps the most famous case of a white American missionary adopting a Chinese child into the privacy of her own home took place in 1873 in Kiukiang (Jiujiang), China, whereby two-month old Kang Cheng was adopted by Miss Gertrude Howe, an American

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[223] Rev. L. A. Gould, Ningpold, "North China Correspondence," *The Baptist Missionary Magazine* 69 (1889): 149.
[224] Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 192-7.
[225] Hu Ying, "Naming the First 'New Woman,'" in *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in Late Qing China*, ed. Rebecca E. Karl and Peter Zarrow (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), 207.

missionary who had arrived just one year prior, on behalf of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society (WFMS) of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to open a Chinese girls' school.[226] Kang Cheng's place of birth, Kiukiang, was a thriving port city in the Jiangxi China province. In such spaces, sites of trade where the United States sought to engage most heavily, American missionaries existed alongside U.S. labor recruiters, entrepreneurs, teachers, doctors, and diplomats, whose combined presence provided the nineteenth century foundations for a transpacific network of commerce, immigration, and foreign relations that continues present-day.[227] It was these spaces, established in the nineteenth century, which provided for the first entry points and transnational networks of cooperation, the central infrastructure for the future emergence of U.S.-Asia international adoption.

In many ways, Howe and Kang's journey to becoming a family encompassed the U.S.-internationalized Progressive Era. In line with the feminist professionalization of social welfare vocations during this time, Gertrude Howe embraced the newfound space for female leadership, politics, and activism through her mission society. By the early twentieth century, U.S. missions were the principal apparatus for women's social movements and in trend with feminist discourse, focused largely on women and children's welfare. Consistent with the nation's international ambitions, mission society work was not limited to the

[226] Margaret E. Burton, *Notable Women of Modern China* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1912), 113-58; Ying, "Naming the First 'New Woman,'" 180-211; Connie A. Shemo, "'So Thoroughly American': Gertrude Howe, Kang Cheng, and Cultural Imperialism in the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society 1872-1931," in *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, eds. Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 117-40. On the politics of Kang's naming: Gertrude Howe retained her adopted daughter's surname, Kang, and gave her the first name, Ida, which translated to the Chinese version, Aide. As an adult, Kang chose Cheng as her Chinese first name. I will refer to her as such, given that it was her chosen name. She is sometimes also referred to as Kang Aide or Dr. Ida Kahn. Shemo, "'So Thoroughly American,'" 121-3. See also, Ying, "Naming the First 'New Woman,'" 180.
[227] Ibid.; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 43-4, 72, 98, 182.

continental U.S.[228] As such, Gertrude Howe found herself in China, intent on founding a Chinese girls' school and subsequently adopted Kang Cheng.[229]

Through this construction of kinship, as one of the earliest cases of transracial, transnational Asian adoption, Howe and Kang's relationship also embodied future trends in U.S. child placement. In one version of Howe and Kang's kinship narrative, a key explanation of how Howe officially adopted Kang grew from the fear that Kang's birth family might wish to reclaim her once she reached "productive age."[230] This anxiety speaks not only to the lingering legacy of children's value as laborers, but as one of the strongest motives for future prospective adoptive parents who would desire international, as opposed to domestic, adoption. International adoption, accompanied by a keen separation in geography between the adopted child and their family of birth, created the additional barriers of distance and international law to best support the "clean break" model of adoption that would increasingly be codified into late-twentieth century adoption policy. As described by legal scholar William Duncan, this model was premised on "the complete integration of the child into the adoptive family and the severance of ties with the biological family."[231] Also, in 1928, Kang described the recently deceased Gertrude Howe in a Chinese language obituary as having "no notions of racial hierarchy at all."[232] Several years prior, Kang's colleague and

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[228] Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo, "Introduction," in *Competing Kingdoms*, eds. Barbara Reeves-Ellington, et. al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 1-16.
[229] Howe eventually adopted three other Chinese daughters. Ying, "Naming the First 'New Woman,'" 180-211; Shemo, "'So Thoroughly American,'" 117-40.
[230] Ying, "Naming the First 'New Woman,'" 193-4.
[231] It should also be noted that this adoption anxiety is not "new" or an exceptionally American characteristic. See, for example, Ann Waltner, *Getting an Heir: Adoption and the Construction of Kinship in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990). On the 1993 Hague Convention on Intercountry Adoption and the "clean break" model see, William Duncan, "Regulating Intercountry Adoption: An International Perspective," in *Frontiers of Family Law*, ed. Andrew Bainman and David S. Pearl (New York: John Wiley, 1993), 51. On the politics and history of sealed adoption records see, E. Wayne Carp, *Family Matters: Secrecy and Disclosure in the History of Adoption* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000). See also, Mary Lyndon Shanley, "Toward New Understandings of Adoption: Individuals and Relationships in Transracial and Open Adoption," in *Child, Family, and State*, eds., Stephen Macedo and Iris Marion Young (New York: New York University Press, 2003).
[232] Translated by Connie A. Shemo. See Shemo, "'So Thoroughly American,'" 121-3.

fellow Protestant missionary J. G. Vaughn provided the following evaluation: "She has… vivacity… and does not reflect any of the Oriental laissez faire spirit which is so often expected by the Occidental in his evaluation of the Oriental temperament. She seems to us all so thoroughly American that racial distinctions disappeared."[233] Kang's description of her adoptive mother, and her own characterization by her fellow missionary as "so thoroughly American" that despite her Oriental temperament… racial distinctions disappeared," gestured toward the future discourse of colorblind multiculturalism that would increasingly emerge after World War II, as Asian children were increasingly embraced under the rubric of the "priceless child."

Speaking specifically to the postwar racialization of Asian Americans as model minorities, and the notion of adopted Asian Americans as elite immigrants who are granted honorary white privilege via their adoptive families, Kang was also amongst the first of four Chinese women to study abroad in the United States, all of whom fell under the guardianship of American missionaries.[234] Emblematic of the dual positionality that continues to inform adopted Asian Americans' identities as privileged minorities in a white dominant society, when Kang received her medical degree in 1896, Chinese immigration had been for eight years explicitly restricted via the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Also foreshadowing modern times, Howe was a 26-year old, single woman when she adopted Kang. Transracial,

[233] J.G. Vaughn, "Dr. Ida Kahn," Missionary Biographical Files, Ida Kahn file, United Methodist Archives, Madison, N.J. Vaughn was associated with his hospital in Nanchang from 1909-1923. Thanks to Mark Shenise of the United Methodist Archives for this information.
[234] Weili Ye, *Seeking Modernity in China's Name: Chinese Students in the United States, 1900-1927* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 117; Ying, "Naming the First 'New Woman,'" 180-211; Shemo, "'So Thoroughly American,'" 117-40.

transnational Asian adoption provided Howe an exceptional avenue through which to forgo the more normative routes of family formation.[235]

Howe and Kang's adoptive family-making encompassed a transitionary time period in U.S. child placement – as it expanded from the regional-national to international scale, entered the Progressive Era, and remained imbued in American empire. In continuity with its "domestic" orphan trains predecessor, the expansion of racial, religiously motivated child placement practices overseas were dominantly Anglo Protestant in nature.[236] The global reach, humanitarian edict, and sentimentalized child discourse was structurally embedded into WFMS, thus enabling Howe to adopt Kang. As was the case with Irish Catholic and American Indian communities, U.S. missionaries conceptualized Chinese children as more "malleable" than their adult counterparts.[237] However, within the equally sustained and internationalized discourse of U.S. white supremacy, like the Catholic Mexican-Arizona parents who adopted white orphan trains children in 1904, Gertrude Howe's transracial adoption did not go undisciplined.[238] That Howe adopted Kang, taught her English, exposed her to advanced western education, and sought to raise Kang as her own daughter, in her own home, was not common nor condoned.

While the church did not force Howe to relinquish Kang, Howe experienced such ostracism that by 1883, she and Kang were compelled to leave Kiukiang for the greater isolation of China's interior. By the 1890s, in response to Chinese families' demands,

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[235] Burton, *Notable Women of Modern China*, 113-58; Ying, "Naming the First 'New Woman,'" 180-211; Shemo, "'So Thoroughly American,'" 117-40.
[236] Reeves-Ellington, Sklar, and Shemo, "Introduction," 1-16.
[237] See, for example, Wendy Rouse Jorae, *The Children of Chinatown: Growing Up Chinese American in San Francisco, 1850-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 22, 45, 58, 147, 166, 175.
[238] It is notable that during this same time period, there are similar cases of Chinese families adopting white children, following which white authorities then reclaimed these children. Ruthanne Lum McCunn, *Chinese American Portraits: Personal Histories, 1828-1988* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1988), 34.

WFMS relaxed its stance on English and education for Chinese children, but not adoption. Rather, in 1900, WFMS officially banned missionary adoption of Chinese children. It was in the intimacy of Howe and Kang's transracial kinship formation, blurring the lines of racial hierarchy that the church found so threatening. In order to live with Kang, due to the system of segregated housing, Howe too was forced to live apart from missionary society and thus, forgo the white American privileges associated with living within the compound. In regards to social policing and discipline, a similar parallel can be drawn to white American women who, following the passage of the 1922 Cable Act, risked losing their citizenship in order to marry Asian immigrants, who were then ineligible for citizenship.[239] As Kang matured into adulthood and pursued a missionary career of her own, this racial prejudice expanded overseas as U.S. immigration barriers restricted her (and Howe's, by association) international access to fundraising, which directly affected their work. The most measurable example of Howe and Kang's existence outside the racialized body politic of U.S. missionary citizenship came March of 1927. Kang and Howe were then living in Nanchang, in an escalating political climate that placed the lives of foreigners and Christians at risk. In the middle of one spring night, WFMS secretly fled, leaving behind Howe, Kang, and all of their other Chinese Christian "friends" – to survive, alone and without support, in China.[240]

Despite the anti-racist discourse of Howe and Kang's relationship within missionary politics, within the discourse of American empire, Kang's adoption can also be read as implicitly imperial. Kang provided her young, isolated missionary mother emotional and personal sustainment as she remained abroad to proselytize a specific type of white U.S.

[239] See, for example, Robert G. Lee, *Orientals: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 108.
[240] Shemo, "'So Thoroughly American,'" 119, 121-8, 133-4.

nationalist-religious-cultural supremacy. Some missionary adoptive parents were explicit in their imperial adoption of Chinese children, in that their motive was to gain inroads into a resistant Chinese population.[241] However, common thematics particular to American female missionaries' initial experiences in China during this time were loneliness, rejection, and in particular, a lack of access to Chinese girl children. Oftentimes these adoptions were framed as "rescue." This particular type of rescue work focused on Chinese girls (and Chinese women) was a nineteenth century transnational phenomenon, whereas white American female missionaries expressed a type of gendered kinship with Chinese girls and women oppressed by what they viewed as a "heathen" culture – in China, epitomized by the image of Chinese girls' bound feet; in the U.S., in the image of the "Chinese slave girl," Chinese prostitutes exploited in sex work; and transnationally, in the image of the Chinese merchant wife, kept under the patriarchal thumb of her husband.[242] These American female missionaries, at home and abroad, were in communication and influenced each other's work. For example, in 1874, the Chinese Mission Home in San Francisco was founded to serve as a refuge for female Chinese sex workers; it was established by a cadre of local women after meeting Mrs. John Gulick, a visiting missionary from China, who spoke to the women of the sad lives of women and girls she witnessed, and her founding of her own orphanage in Shanghai.[243]

However, despite true feelings of sisterhood these white American missionaries felt toward their Chinese counterparts, the framing of rescue reveals their motives equally

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[241] See, for example, missionary Henrietta Shuck, in Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of their Thought and Practice* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997), 84. Ying, "Naming the First 'New Woman,'" 180-211; Reeves-Ellington, et. al., "Introduction," 1-16; Shemo, "'So Thoroughly American,'" 117-40.
[242] Shemo, "'So Thoroughly American,'" 122; Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 52-4
[243] Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue*, 13.

grounded in feelings of superiority, and a goal of inculcating the women within the discursive hierarchy of white supremacist culture and empire. In regards to child placement, missionaries' international adoption-proselytization strategy was in line with domestic Christian mission practice. For example, in 1869, "adopting native children" was a specific call to action to single American women put forth by Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, in their revised *American Woman's Home,* to deal with local American Indian populations.[244] This call to action fell in line with the standard maternalist approach of other women's home missions centered within U.S. populations of color deemed "foreign" to Anglo ideals of national citizenry, such as African American and Chinese immigrant communities.[245] In this way, the transracial, transnational Asian adoptions by U.S. missionaries internationalized the act of child placement and missionary maternalism, within the veil of humanitarianism, as a strategic tool through which to enact, and elide, overseas empire. The imperial thrust of evangelical Protestantism was in both its global reach and capacity to intimately propagate, through religious teachings and philanthropic acts of social welfare, cultural American superiority.

Shifting our focus to Japan, one of the most well-known cases of transracial transnational Asian adoption during this time occurred in 1885, when Protestant missionary Elizabeth Russell adopted her Japanese infant daughter, Ellen May. Ellen May and Elizabeth Russell's construction of kinship, like Howe and Kang, illuminates the international transitionary period that was late nineteenth and early twentieth century U.S. empire and child placement experimentation. Similar to Gertrude Howe, Russell was an American missionary, a single woman, and living abroad in Japan on behalf of the WFMS, to operate a

[244] Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature* 70 (1998): 588-9.
[245] Barbara Reeves-Ellington, et. al., eds., *Competing Kingdoms*.

Japanese girls' school. Lonely, at age 48, Russell chose to construct a family through transracial, transnational Asian adoption. Through this constructed kinship, Ellen May, like Kang Cheng, was able to migrate to the U.S. and receive a western style, higher education. And like Kang Cheng, due in part to the limits of American racism, Ellen May returned to Japan for employment. She returned to Japan following her 1910 graduation from Ohio Wesleyan whereas, in the words of her adoptive mother, "racial prejudice [was] so strong that she could not get a Situation."[246]

However, unlike Howe and Kang, the intimacy and racial politics forged between Ellen May and her adoptive mother can be described in more ambiguous and transformative terms. Just three years prior to Ellen May's adoption, Russell unfavorably compared the Japanese to African Americans: "[I]n many respects the Japanese remind me of the freedmen. They have the same indifference to the future… very greedy and cheat… they get such an idea of earning money without working for it."[247] This cross-racial comparison of black and Asian people was not uncommon, particularly regarding the "childlike" Chinese and Americans' predictions of what an Asian population of former slave labor would look like.[248] Upon Ellen May's adoption, as opposed to her own private home, Russell chose to raise her daughter within the boarding school community, where she served as both teacher and principal. In 1896, Ellen May migrated to Delaware, Ohio to live with Russell's sister and receive an American education, where she lived until her post-college return to Japan. While Ellen May was raised apart from her adoptive mother for a large part of her child and young adulthood, their relationship did mature from afar and through Ellen May's experiences,

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[246] Karen K. Seat, *"Providence Has Freed Our Hands": Women's Missions and the American Encounter with Japan* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2008), 116.
[247] Ibid., 114.
[248] Tchen, *New York before Chinatown*, 182.

Russell became more racially sensitive. Upon Ellen May's return to Japan, Russell had managed to transform her boarding school, Kwassui, into a multicultural institution that reminded Russell of her own family. And upon Russell's retirement to Delaware, Ellen May migrated with her. As Ellen May's life reflects, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a particularly uneven time for Asian America. These ambiguities were oftentimes portrayed most explicitly by the missionaries themselves.[249]

While Protestant missionaries such as Howe, and eventually Russell, projected a more "modern" face of antiracist multiculturalism, and were amongst the most vocal anti-imperial supporters of Korean nationalism during Japanese colonial rule – and not discounting such detractors as Esther Baldwin – these missionaries were also amongst the most influential voices of the United States' anti-Chinese (and subsequent anti-Japanese) movement.[250] As a white supremacist nation-state, racial anxieties motivated the U.S. to enact the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. However, as an ambitious empire-building nation keenly interested in Asian trade, imperial anxieties motivated the U.S. to "acquire" territories and send American ambassadors – in the form of diplomats, missionaries, doctors, teachers, and businesspeople – throughout the Pacific. And as a nation-state historically built on the racial hierarchies of labor, the 1882 Exclusion Act encouraged American businesses to recruit new populations of cheap, non-white labor from overseas.

Representing this unevenness, in 1904, for example, two years after the close of the Philippine-American War, more than 1,000 Filipinos traveled to the U.S. to be displayed, similar to American Indians, at the St. Louis World Fair's "Philippine Reservation." The World Fair's Japanese exhibit was also incredibly popular, driven by the continued "Japan

[249] Seat, *"Providence Has Freed Our Hands,"* 114-17.
[250] Ibid., 153; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 109-11.

craze" that sustained the turn of the century and saw Japan as an incredible curiosity.[251] That same year, the first Korean labor immigrants arrived to Hawaii, having been aggressively pursued by both Christian missionaries and Hawaiian businesspeople. All the while, American ambassadors throughout Asia projected an image of benevolent benefactor and sought to expand a culture of U.S. supremacy. For example, by the early twentieth century, schools focused on girls' education in the Philippines, Korea, China, and Japan, were administered primarily by U.S. missionaries or their local affiliates.[252] Thus, while the colonized Philippines exemplified overseas American empire at its most explicit, it was throughout the nineteenth century and Progressive Era Pacific that U.S. ambassadors successfully inaugurated the cultural and institutional infrastructures that undergirded the eventual mass migration of adopted Asian children to the U.S., following World War II.[253]

The contradictions and ambiguities that characterized the state of Asian America and U.S.-Asia relations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century speak to the United States' struggles with its inconsistent international nation-building goals. While the nation sought to engage, and even recruit, actors from the Pacific in positive relations, the U.S. retained its strongest investment in maintaining and perpetrating a white national supremacy. Shifting our focus to Europe, as the United States' imperial experimentations evidenced, the nation sought to position itself as a world power comparable to Europe's four great empires: Britain, France, Russia and Germany, and reap the imperial benefits of overseas intervention. However, predating Cold War rhetoric, the United States was also deeply invested in establishing itself as an exceptional, non-imperial regime. With these goals in mind,

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[251] Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally*, 22.
[252] Hyaeweol Choi and Margaret Jolly, "Paradoxes of Domesticity: Missionary Encounters in the Making of Christian Homes in Asia and the Pacific," in *Divine Domesticities: Christian Paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific,* eds. Hyaeweol Choi and Margaret Jolly (Canberra: Australian National University, 2014), 22
[253] Choy, *Global Families,* 184-6.

beginning in the nineteenth century, the United States began to fully embrace a strategy of "benevolence" to self-consciously frame its domestic and overseas imperial aspirations.

On an individual level, the sentimentalized construct of the "priceless" child provided nineteenth century U.S. foreign missionaries one such "benevolent" inroad through which to "advance" in the culture of their choosing. On a national level, particularly with the arrival of World War I (1914-1918), American citizens expressed increased anxiety surrounding the nation's maintenance of its protective isolationist and xenophobic international policies. During this time, the construct of the priceless child, specifically the priceless European refugee child, would emerge as the perfect entry point, at a global policy level, for the U.S. nation-state to continue its engagement overseas – without challenging its isolationist policies and perhaps more importantly, helping to solidify the United States' global reputation as a benevolent entity. Section three of this chapter will focus more explicitly on the United States' relations with Europe, its self-fashioning as a non-imperial, global participant and in particular, the role and emergence of the international refugee child. The politics surrounding these children would help to keep the United States involved on the world's stage through the interwar years, even with the nation's policies of isolationism. After World War II, these children would provide the simultaneous face of U.S. humanitarianism and occupation empire.

Europe, Racialized Economies of U.S. Refugee History, and Legitimizing American Benevolence

When the United States entered Europe's World War (1914-1918) in 1917, it entered a global conflict embedded in the conventional imperial motives of advancing and protecting territorial boundaries. The U.S. positioned itself in opposition to these motives, but also

avoided disparaging empire in its entirety. In the early twentieth century, America sustained its nation-building aspirations to sit at the political and economic table with these other world powers.

President Woodrow Wilson strategically framed the war as "a people's war for freedom, justice and self-government among all the nations of the world."[254] He self-righteously proclaimed the United States' moral obligation: "[F]or us there was but one choice…" to "help set the world free, or else… let it be dominated… by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies, the most irresistible armaments."[255] As for the United States' ultimate investments in the war's end, Wilson again claimed moral preeminence: "The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world… We seek no material advantage of any kind. We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in the war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people."[256] To this end, while the United States was critical of Germany's aggressive imperial designs imposed over other Anglo-Western nations, Wilson was careful to note that the United States did not call for "the dismemberment of empires."[257] As long as Germany abided by the racially inflected rules of empire, Wilson noted, "Germany's success… [we] but admired… She had built up for herself a real empire of trade and influence, secured by the peace of the world."[258] It was only with Germany's aggression across Europe that the U.S. found fault. Otherwise, Wilson "intend[ed] no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal

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[254] Woodrow Wilson, "Speech in Washington Monument Grounds: 'The German Plot,'" June 14, 1917.
[255] Ibid.; Woodrow Wilson, "Letter of Reply to the Pope," August 27, 1917.
[256] Wilson, "Letter of Reply to the Pope."
[257] Ibid.; See also, Woodrow Wilson, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress on the Conditions of Peace," January 8, 1918; Woodrow Wilson, "Speech at the Opening of the Third Liberty Loan Campaign, delivered in the Fifth Regiment Armory, Baltimore: 'Force to the Utmost,'" April 6, 1918.
[258] Woodrow Wilson, "Fifth Annual Message," December 4, 1917.

affairs."[259] To this end – to successfully condemn Germany's imperial aspirations, while making sure not to challenge (white supremacist) empire in and of itself, claim the United States as a non-imperial entity, all while the nation maintained neocolonial territories such as the Philippines during this same time – was a delicate negotiation to say the least. Within this strategy of self-purported benevolence and global leadership, all while maintaining strict policies of isolation, American humanitarianism toward the international European refugee child emerged as the perfect nation-building strategy through which to perpetuate all of these contradictory ideals.

By the war's close, while the U.S. ultimately did not join the League of Nations and renewed its isolationist policies, Wilson's unthreatening humanitarian rhetoric resonated throughout the world. The United States was invited to negotiate the war's peace terms and was fervently cheered throughout Wilson's preconference tour of Europe.[260] In line with the United States' purported self-image at the moral highbrow of international politics, the U.S. was poised to present itself as a leading voice in future refugee affairs and impending global refugee crises. The United States' emerging humanitarian role amongst the world's refugee movements went hand in hand with the nation's emerging role via both private and federal organizations as a generous agent of global and social welfare, in particular focused on refugee children. These efforts eventually undergirded and became central to the nation's future international adoption immigration initiatives, as the U.S. worked to define itself as a global humanitarian leader, as well as the exact parameters through which this role entailed.

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[259] Ibid.

[260] Woodrow Wilson, "Sixth Annual Message," December 2, 1918; Charles Seymour, *Woodrow Wilson and the World War: A Chronicle of Our Own Times* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brooks & Company, 1921), 320; William C. King, ed. *King's Complete History of the World War* (Springfield: The History Associates, 1922), 534; John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Breaking the Heart of the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 47; Mark E. Groteluеschen, "The Junior Partner: Anglo-American Military Cooperation in World War I," in *Finding Common Ground*, ed. Jennifer D. Keene and Michael S. Neiberg (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011), 208.

Just as America's discourses of childhood existed within different racial economies, so did America's Progressive Era discourses of refugees emerge within very specific racialized legacies. The racialized nineteenth and early twentieth century history of U.S. refugees accompanied the expansion of these discourses overseas. Constructions of refugees and childhood intersected pre-World War II to encompass the sentimentalized refugee child, who would spurn forth the internationalization of U.S. government and private citizen supported American child welfare that would provide the institutional and discursive foundations for the nation's future shifts toward overseas adoptions during the Cold War.

Pre-World War II U.S. Refugee History

While the United States did not enact official widespread law and policy regarding international refugee immigration until the 1948 Displaced Persons Act, and it was not until the 1951 Geneva Convention that the UN system governing global refugee movements was introduced, refugees were not foreign to Americans' vocabulary, culture, or legal doctrine. The language had long connoted histories of people who were unable to live safe or desirable lives in their lands of residence, and the private and international regime for the humanitarian handling of refugee "problems."

Similar to the United States' racialized economies of childhood that expanded overseas, so did the nation's conceptualization of refugees have strong nineteenth century foundations that shifted according to person, place, and space. For example, as historian Jean M. O'Brien articulates, the narrative of early American Indian displacement "is a story about 'refugees' torn loose from their villages in the wake of invasion and disruptions in wrought: wars, epidemics, and 'economic and ecological imperialism.'"[261] Similarly, in line with

[261] O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, 11.

America's racialized nineteenth century emigration-dispersion strategies to deal with undesirable bodies, African Americans were the United States' first officially documented refugees. The estimated 2,000 enslaved African Americans who escaped bondage for "freedom" in British North America during the War of 1812 (1812-1815), first independently and then officially encouraged by British Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane's April 1814 proclamation, were understood by the United States, Great Britain, and the emigrants themselves to be "American Refugee Negroes" and "refugee [people] of colour."[262] Pre-Civil War, tens of thousands of primarily escaped slaves, but also legally free African Americans, chose to internationally emigrate in search of safe refuge and free life in Upper Canada and the Canadian West. One of the more famous black settlements to help recently immigrated African Americans transition and adjust into Canadian life was Henry and Mary Bibb's Refugee Home Society.[263] During the Civil War, the Union was well aware of both white and black "refugees" displaced due to their Union loyalties, although black refugees were often referred to as "contrabands."[264] During postwar reconstruction, the Freedmen's

[262] It is estimated that of these 2,000 migrants, 1,500 settled in Britain's Canadian colony Newfoundland. "Halifax List," in the Nova Scotia Digital Archive, http://www.gov.ns.ca/nsarm/virtual/africanns/archives.asp?ID=85&Language (9 September 2014); "Memorial of Gabriel Hall Preston, December 7, 1824," Ibid.; "Black Refugees, 1813-1834," Ibid.; "African Canadians," in *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 143; Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1860* (Burlington: University of Vermont Press, 2006), 76, 146; Jason B. Esters, "Nova Scotia and the African Diaspora," in *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora*, ed. Carole Boyce Davies (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2008), 720. For late nineteenth century history of black emigration to Canada, see Sarah-Jane Mathieu, *North of the Color Line: Migration and Black Resistance in Canada, 1870-1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[263] The Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 required the return of enslaved peoples who had escaped to free Union territories. The 1850 version's severity caused even legally freed people to fear for their freedom. By some estimates, as many as 75,000 African Americans, free and enslaved, migrated to Upper Canada by 1860, while others estimate as few as 20,000 persons migrated. "African Canadians," in *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1999), 47, 71, 143; Junius P. Rodriguez, "Fugitive Slave Act of 1850," in *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War*, ed. David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2000), 794-6; Randolph Hollingsworth, "Refugee Home Society," Ibid., 1620-2; Gregory S. Jackson, "Bigg, Henry Walton," in *African American Lives*, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. & Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004), 78; Sean Kheraj, "Canada and African American Refugee Settlements," in *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora*, ed. Carole Boyce Davies (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2008), 246-7.

[264] In between stages of slavery and freedom, particularly since President Lincoln did not issue the Emancipation Proclamation until January 1, 1863, black refugees were oftentimes referred to as "contrabands," even after the Proclamation was issued. White refugees included those loyal to the Union cause and who fled from their Confederate

Bureau's official title was the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Land, whereas the Bureau continued to operate Civil War established African American refugee camps, but the title of "refugee" connoted deserving white southerners displaced during the war, as opposed to black freedmen.[265]

Reflecting the United States' early twentieth century Progressive Era humanitarian shift, the United States' foci regarding refugees transitioned suddenly to it southern border following the commencement and consequential aftermath of the Mexican Revolution (1910-c. 1920). Hundreds of thousands of Mexican migrants sought refuge as economic and political refugees, and immigration officials sought to make legible who would be legally welcomed and permitted asylum in the United States. Confronted with this newfound influx

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states to the North or who remained stranded in the South, as well as those loyally confederate southerners who were displaced by the Union's armies and wandered "stateless" and homeless throughout the war. Regarding southern African Americans, the Union army eventually set up its Kentucky Camp Nelson site as a refugee settlement camp, as well as smaller less famous camps, to house not only men, but their wives, children, and other members of their kin and community networks who escaped southern enslavement to pledge allegiance to the northern army. J. W. Alvord, Gen. Supt. Schools, Bureau Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, *Fifth Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen* (Washington: Government Printing Office, January 1, 1868), 4; William H. Mulligan, Jr., "Camp Nelson, Kentucky," in *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War,* ed. David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2000), 348; Randolph Hollingsworth, "Fry, Speed Smith," Ibid., 793-4; U.S. War Department. *War of the Rebellion; A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* Set. I, Vol. V [S# 5], Ibid., 2318; "Camp Nelson, Kentucky: African-American Refugee Camp," in Camp Nelson Restoration & Preservation Foundation, www.campnelson.org/history/african.htm (9 September 2014).

[265] Besides those white southerners who renounced loyalty to their former confederate (implied nation-) state, i.e., willing-to-rehabilitate citizens, white refugees sometimes encompassed orphan children whose parents were former confederate soldiers, as well southern families whom had always remained loyal to the Union. Additionally, post-1865, more than 7,000 members of the former Confederacy chose to flee the U.S. as exile "refugees" to varied nations throughout Latin America, the Caribbean, Europe, Canada, and northern Africa. J. W. Alvord, Gen. Supt. Schools, Bureau Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, *Third Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen* (Washington: Government Printing Office, January 1, 1867), particularly p. 10; Ibid., *Fourth Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen* (Washington: Government Printing Office, July 1, 1867), 6, 19; Ibid., *Fifth Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen* (Washington: Government Printing Office, January 1, 1868), 9, 55; Ibid., *Sixth Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen* (Washington: Government Printing Office, July 1, 1868), 45; Oliver Otis Howard, *Report of Brevet Major O. O. Howard, Commissioner Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, to the Secretary of War* (Washington: Government Printing Office, October 20, 1869); Mulligan, Jr., "Camp Nelson, Kentucky," 348; Joseph P. Dunn, "Confederate Diaspora," Ibid., 476; Mary Farmer-Kaiser, *Freedwomen and the Freedmen's Bureau: Race, Gender, and Public Policy in the Age of Emancipation* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 21-2, 36; "Unhappiness Abroad: Refugee Camp," Fort Ward Museum & Historic Site, http://alexandriava.gov/historic/fortward/default.aspx?id=40306 (9 September 2014); "The Freedmen's Bureau Act, March 3, 1865," Freedmen & Southern Society Project, http://www.history.umd.edu/Freedmen/fbact.htm (9 September 2014); "The Freedmen's Bureau, 1865-1872," U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, http://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/freedmens-bureau/ (9 September 2014); "Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands," Ohio History Central, http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/entry.php?rec=2107 (9 September 2014).

of Mexican immigrants, politicians and policy makers navigated the contradictory terrain of the Southwest's historically labor-migrant "friendly" relations, nativist social sentiments, and the still not clearly defined humanitarian-refugee policies and developing immigration restriction laws.[266]

In the midst of these U.S.-Mexico geopolitical negotiations the United States' gaze regarding refugee immigration policies was also forced overseas. Following the global upheaval of World War I (1914-1918) and in particular, the Armenian Genocide (1915-1922) and Bolshevik Revolution (1917), a new world order of nation-states faced the new world problem of an unprecedented millions of people who suddenly lacked safe home-states in which to claim national citizenship. By World War I, the United States, while not supreme, was an established leader in this world order. And although the nation continued its own imperial ventures and tightened its own immigration restrictions, the U.S. was deeply invested in identifying itself as a global humanitarian.[267] Before twentieth century Mexican refugees flocked to the southern border of the United States, the U.S. provided an earlier destination for persons who would soon fall under the official definition of "refugee." As U.S. refugee historian Carl J. Bon Tempo chronicles, "In the eighteenth and nineteenth

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[266] Prior and for some time during the Mexican Revolution, the American Southwest experienced desirable and routine immigration of Mexican migrants whom the U.S. saw as a "natural supply of [cheap] labor." John William Weber III, "The Shadow of the Revolution" (PhD diss., The College of William and Mary, 2008), 8, 46-7, 57-66, 70, 73, 79, 95, 97-100, 179, 202; Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 42-6, 91-2; Alan M. Kraut, "Introduction," in *Research in American Immigration,* ed. Rudolph Vecoli (Bethesda: University Publications of America, 1994), v-viii; John F. Longres and Davis G. Patterson, "Social Work Practice with Latino American Immigrants," in *Social Work Practice with Immigrants and Refugees,* ed. Pallassana R. Balgopal (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 71; Judith Adler Hellman, *The World of Mexican Migrants: The Rock and the Hard Place* (New York: The New Press, 2008), 6-7; Patricia Haesly Worthington, *El Paso and the Mexican Revolution* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 8, 57, 101, 107; Erika Lee and Judy Yung, *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), chap. 7.

[267] For 1882-1924 immigration restriction developments see, for example, Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), chap. 9; Roger Daniels and Otis L. Graham, *Debating American Immigration, 1882-Present* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001), 8-24; Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations.*

centuries, the [U.S.] repeatedly offered succor to… French émigrés escaping the Revolution, German radicals who fled after the Revolutions of 1848 collapsed, and the famous Hungarian revolutionary Louis Kossuth in 1850 came to the United States to escape political persecution."[268] However, not until the global migration and resettlement pressures of World War I did the U.S. attempt to officially define these persecuted émigrés as "refugees" in either immigration law or policy. These postwar émigrés entered the world stage in such varied forms as war refugees and stateless persons expelled as enemies or undesirables by their former national governments. The United States responded to this newfound global refugee crisis quickly via official legislation.

Beginning in 1917, the federal government adjusted U.S. immigration law to reflect the needs of a newly vulnerable world population by omitting the literacy prerequisite for those emigrating to escape political or religious persecution. Then in the 1920s, several ultimately unsuccessful Congressional proposals were introduced to specifically account for the admission of Armenian refugees. As Bon Tempo explains, "[Ultimately, these] stillborn efforts to admit Armenians [led to a fashioning] in U.S. legal and political circles a workable definition of 'refugee.' Senate legislations in 1923 defined a 'refugee' as a 'homeless' Armenian 'who shows that he has fled from his home in reasonable apprehension of death or bodily injury at the hands of Turkish troops or the Turkish civilian population since the 1st of August, 1914.'"[269] These U.S. policy developments went hand in hand with global leadership developments. The newly formed international, intergovernmental League of Nations (1919) appointed a "High Commissioner" to lead an international response to the global aftermath of

[268] Carl J. Bon Tempo, *Americans at the Gate: The United States and Refugees during the Cold War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 14.
[269] Ibid., 15.

World War I and establish necessary enactments of policy. In 1926, the League officially defined "refugee" in accordance to the following guidelines:

> Any person of Russian origin (respectively, Armenian origin, formerly a subject of the Ottoman Empire) who does not enjoy, who no longer enjoys the protection of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (respectively, of the Government of the Turkish Republic) and who has not acquired another nationality.[270]

These early international refugee policies, both the United States' 1923 legislation and the League of Nations' 1926 declaration, identified refugees according to their specific ethno-national backgrounds, state, and/or ethno-racial persecutions.[271] Within these early definitions, refugees were not defined according to political affiliation, as they came to be during the post-World War II Cold War era. Rather, post-World War I U.S. engagements with global refugee politics were informed by the nation's historic understanding of refugees linked to vulnerable peoples in search of a new home nation, adjusted via 1920s legislation developments to more narrowly encompass nationalist persecutions linked to ethnicity, race, and oft implied, religion. At the same time, while the U.S. sought to mold its public persona as a global humanitarian leader, 1920s and 1930s mainstream American society also remained pro-isolationist and highly nativist regarding immigration policies. Just a year following Congress's Armenian refugee legislation, Congress also passed its historically most restrictive Immigration Act.[272] A fine line was being negotiated between restricting labor migration and establishing humanitarian exceptions to these restrictions. Where could U.S. foreign policy, immigration legislation, and purported diplomatic ideals find common ground? One of these potential sites of accordance would be in the humanitarian interests of child refugees. While the global benevolence towards the world's needy adult refugees and

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[270] Ibid., 210, fn 10.
[271] Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 9-10; Bon Tempo, *Americans at the Gate*, 15.
[272] Here, I am of course referring to the Johnson-Reed Act or Immigration Act of 1924. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*.

the possible idea of their non-quota immigration into the United States proved too overwhelming and potentially threatening to American sensibilities, the culture of innocence and righteous protectionism globally developing around children during this time lent toward a safe expression of U.S. philanthropic ideals via the development of its child and social welfare institutions abroad.

The Internationalization of American Child Welfare

As early as 1906, when Miss Lillian Wald of the New York Henry Street Settlement and Florence Kelly urged President Roosevelt to create a National Children's Bureau, Miss Wald testified before Congress, "Other countries, too, have awakened to the import of efficient guardianship of their children, have gathered expert information, and are using it under the leadership of trained specialists."[273] Explicit in Wald's argument for the development of a U.S. federal agency focused on the interests of "the child," was an international context that other nations too were developing overarching structures of care and oversight, steeped in global Progressive Era discourse that emphasized and institutionalized the professional and scientific care of the sentimentalized child.

In 1910, the International Scientific Society held its conference in Buenos Aires and agreed that an international "American Child Congress" should be implemented to promote international conversations concerning, in Argentinian Dr. Antonio Vidal's words, "[A]ll initiatives which can improve [the child's] condition and destiny; all achievements made by the natural, biological, psychological and social disciplines."[274] In 1915, representing the

[273] Elisabeth Shirley Enochs, Representative of the United States of America on the Directing Council of the Inter-American Children's Institute, "Interamerican Cooperation in Child Welfare," Prepared as a section of the United States Report for the XII Pan American Child Congress, Mar del Plata, Argentina, December 1963, 1, International Social Service-American Branch papers, Box 12, Folder 8: "Child Welfare – Intercountry Cooperation," Social Welfare History Archive, University of Minnesota (hereafter ISS papers).
[274] Ibid., 1-2.

international centrality of both female leadership and the closely tied causes of children and women, the official establishment of the Child's Congress was set forth by a cadre of Buenos Aires female professionals, spearheaded by Dr. Julieta Lenteri Renshaw, leading physician and social worker. In line with the transforming sentiments regarding children, labor, and age, one of the first resolutions adopted by the Congress in 1916 was the recommendation "that all countries set 14 as the minimum age for employment of minors."[275] Representing the United States growing leadership in the international arena, the U.S. actively supported and attended the organizing meetings of the Pan American Child Congress, towards the establishment of the International Bureau for the Protection of Childhood (1919, 1921, 1924), and officially joined the delegation in 1928. Miss Katherine F. Lenroot, then Assistant to the Chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau provided central leadership. Foreshadowing the United States' official rise to world power and child welfare leadership post-World War II, in 1942 the eighth Pan American Child Congress met in Washington and Miss Lenroot, then Chief of the Children's Bureau, was named president-elect. It was also during this decade that the U.S. Children's Bureau, as officially reported by the United Nations, "became the first public agency in the world to provide international advisory service in the field of social welfare proper."[276]

Most of the international organizations that would organize overseas adoption during the Cold War had their roots in the Progressive Era and immediate aftermath of World War I. Older, child-saving institutions from the nineteenth century and the persons working with

[275] Ibid.
[276] The Pan American Child Congress and International Bureau was constituted of twenty-one American nations, including the United States (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela) and increasingly worked and coordinated with nations and agencies outside of the Americas hemisphere, particularly post-World War II, and with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Enochs, "Interamerican Cooperation in Child Welfare," 2-3, 7-9, 11.

them in the first half of the twentieth century transformed and responded to the growing humanitarian discourse surrounding the sentimentalized refugee child. Alongside child welfare experts, pro-adoption proponents also emerged during these years. In the form of adoption professionals and prospective adoptive parents, these proponents advocated for the permanently placement of children in U.S. citizens' homes (via kinship or stranger adoption) in order to best care for the child (versus foster, indenture, or orphanage care), and as a new way to form family. Ultimately, these earlier organizations and individuals prefigured and influenced the formation of new organizations and impetuses that would figure prominently in international child placement movements throughout the interwar years, and culminate post-World War II.

International Organizations

Immediately post-World War I, Europe mobilized in response to child refugees' need for food. In 1919, the Fight for Famine Council, later known as Save the Children, was founded in London.[277] In 1924, through the organization's efforts, the League of Nations adopted the *Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child* which "[recognized] that mankind owes to the Child the best that it has to give."[278] By 1925, acclaimed pediatrician and eventual Director General of the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood, Dr. Luis Morquio of Uruguay, was able to speak for global child welfare leaders in his emphasis on "the need of united [child protection] efforts through some form of permanent cooperation."[279] Indeed, these forms of permanent cooperation were manifesting

[277] "Our History," Save the Children, http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/about-us/history (9 September 2014); Laura Briggs and Diana Marre, "Introduction," in *International Adoption: Global Inequalities and the Circulation of Children*, ed. Diana Marre and Laura Briggs (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 2-3.
[278] "Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child," adopted 26 September, 1924, League of Nations, *UN Documents: Gathering a Body of Global Agreements*, http://www.un-documents.net/gdrc1924.htm (9 September 2014).
[279] Enochs, "Interamerican Cooperation in Child Welfare," 1-2.

just as Dr. Morquio's sentiments circulated, in order to address the emerging post-World War I child refugee crises of Russia, China, and Spain (chapter 3), then followed by the German and British child refugee crises (chapters 3 and 4). For example, the International Social Services-American Branch (ISS), Travelers Aid Society (TAS), Child Welfare League of America (CWLA), United States Committee for the Care of Europeans, Inc. (USCCE), U.S. State Department, and American Red Cross (ARC), organizations that would be central in coordinating the first two waves of U.S. international adoption post-World War II and Korean War, gained their experience in this earlier international cooperation, child refugee and Progressive Era welfare work.

ISS was originally founded as International Migration Service (IMS) in 1924, in Geneva Switzerland. American (U.S) and European national branches were established soon thereafter. Embodying the gendered Progressive Era emergence and institutionalization of professionalized child (refugee) welfare that went global post-World War I, these cooperative branches were established after "a group of women sat down and resolved 'that skilled case work service to families in trouble… should extend to operate at long distances and across frontiers.'"[280] By 1939, ISS-American Branch was well enough established to place several thousand international child refugees into American homes, including 3,500 British children who were able to immigrate before World War II interfered. Building on this professional experience and already institutionalized international networks throughout World War II, ISS emerged postwar as the United States' leading adoption agency, eventually placing out an

[280] "History," International Social Service, United States of America Branch, Inc., http://www.iss-usa.org/about-us/history (9 September 2014); Save the Children, http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/about-us/history (9 September 2014); "International Social Service United States of America Branch records, Finding Aid," ISS papers.

unprecedented number of children post-Korean and Vietnam War. TAS worked closely with ISS throughout these early decades, eventually merging together between 1972 and 1977.[281]

CWLA was founded in 1921 and its executive director, C. C. Carstens, was a prominent leader in child social work and a fierce opponent of institutional child care. Carstens studied at the New York School of Social Work, was a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, served as a U.S. representative at the Pan-American Child Welfare Conference in Havana in 1927, chairman at the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection in 1930, and was a central activist in the Non-Sectarian Committee for German Refugee Children. Under Carstens's leadership, CWLA provided the professional oversight regarding standards of placement for the British refugee children. The organization's scientific authority only expanded post-World War II.[282]

The State Department, central in managing the potential immigration and child placements of pre-World War II refugee children's movements, represented the continued expansion of the Progressive Era's role of government in regulating family, child placement, and adoption as the practices became increasingly global. As historian Merle Curti notes, it was during the interwar years that "government supervision of nonofficial aid... became established policy. In a sense, the policy began with the requirement in the Spanish Civil War that relief agencies register with the State Department."[283] Within this expanding policy of the federal government institutionally and systematically linked to private international and domestic welfare institutions, the American Red Cross (ARC) was an important partner.[284]

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[281] Ibid.
[282] "C. C. Carstens Dies; Welfare Director," *New York Times*, July 5, 1939; Child Welfare League of America, in the AHPDA, http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~adoption/people/cwla.html (5 September 2014).
[283] Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1963), 414.
[284] Ibid., 410, 427.

By 1939, the American Red Cross was the United States' largest "private refugee organization." In the midst of the German refugee children's movement, President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave the keynote address at the annual American Red Cross Convention, praising the organization's "generous contributions to distressed civilians [including children] in China, in Spain," and throughout the world.[285] The ARC was also central in accumulating aid from wealthy Americans to help support the Russian refugee children's movement.[286] World War I and this interwar international refugee work was a huge impetus in the standardization and professionalization of U.S. child and social welfare worldwide. These efforts eventually dovetailed with the already established nineteenth century foreign missionary social agencies and transpacific networks, and the United States' post-World War II world role and military occupations, to coordinate the first large scale emergence of Cold War international adoptions.

During the interwar years, many individuals such as the global network of Protestant missionaries abroad continued to self-teach child welfare and social work through first-hand experience. Later child placement leaders such as Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers, co-sponsor of the Wagner-Rogers Bill at the center of the German refugee children's movement, gained much professional experience through their social work with the American Red Cross.[287] However, standardized, higher education training was swiftly becoming convention. During World War I universities began to offer official instruction for service training in the American Red Cross and other fields of social work. As Marilyn Irvin Holt historicizes, "Training in wartime led to education in peacetime, and by 1923 there were

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[285] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Address at the American Red Cross Convention. Washington, D.C.," April 25, 1939.
[286] James E. Hassell, "Russian Refugees in France and the United States between the World Wars," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 81 (1991): 80.
[287] *Biographical*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* (1939): Cong. Directory 48.

sixteen university programs allied with the Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work."[288]

Lastly, USCCE was also founded during this time, formed and financed by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and Non-Sectarian Committee for German Refugee Children, the central organizations of the German refugee children's movement. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who chaired the USCCE during the British refugee children's movement was also a central advocate and leading voice in the earlier German, Spanish, and Russian refugee children's movements. The AFSC was a Quaker organization that paid special attention to the plight of child refugees, gained ample experience and international networks through its leadership and participation in the Russian, Spanish, and Chinese refugee children's movements, and was able to draw on this expertise and institutional groundwork to expand and provide legitimacy and direction in their activism with the ensuing German and British refugee children's movements.[289]

Pro-Adoption Advocates

Americans were particularly interested in adopting Russian, Spanish, and British refugee children as a form of child rescue and family formation. When potential adoptive parents were unable to actually bring these children from abroad (as will be detailed in chapters 3 and 4), programs such as the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children allowed for American citizens to donate money for the care of a specific child, thus "adopting" them

[288] Holt, *The Orphan Trains*, 169.
[289] Tara Zahra, *The Lost Children: Reconstructing Europe's Families after World War II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 56.

from abroad. These types of programs continued post-World War II and Korean War, sometimes leading to the eventual actual international adoption of the sponsored child. Additionally, by 1937, the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA) had identified the standardization of adoption procedures to be a priority. As CWLA documented:

> The well-known decline in the birth-rate and the demand on the part of childless families for children to adopt makes a consideration of procedure of ADOPTION a timely subject. The newspapers and magazines are almost daily giving evidence of this vital interest and also of the serious questions that are involved. Doctors, lawyers, and social workers have important parts to play. The standards of procedure of these groups differ much, and within the groups themselves there are as yet no accepted standards.[290]

Individual pro-adoption advocates gained ample experience – and attention – through their early work in the children's refugee movements. Present-day, popular celebrities, particularly movie stars, are often pointed to as adoptive parents and pro-adoption advocates promoting the cause simply by being in the public eye. This type of public celebrity backing began during the Progressive Era and only grew in visibility regarding the interwar child refugee movements, with notable Hollywood and Broadway stars such as Victor Moore, William Gaxton, Mary Martin, and Benay Venuta, utilizing their celebrity status on behalf of the German refugee children's movement.[291] Outside of this celebrity sphere, Sophie Van S. Theis was another notable advocate who gained her experience during this early time. An important part of the leadership in the Non-Sectarian Committee for German Refugee Children, adoption historian Ellen Herman identifies her as "the first genuine adoption professional and researcher in the history of the United States."[292] Theis authored the classic

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[290] Child Welfare League of America, "Adoptions: A Statement of the Problem," 1937, in the AHPDA, http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~adoption/archive/CwlaAASOTP.htm (5 September 2014): Child Welfare League of America Papers, Box 15, Folder 5, Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota.
[291] "Benefit for Refugees," *New York Times*, February 24, 1939, 21; "Benefit for Refugees Monday," *New York Times*, February 25, 1939, 18; "Notes Here and Afield," *New York Times*, February 26, 1939, 130; "Stars in Refugee Benefit," *New York Times*, February 27, 1939, 16; Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*, 190-1.
[292] "Sophie van Senden Theis (1885-1957)," in the AHPDA, http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~adop tion/people/theis.htm (5 September 2014).

and ground-breaking outcome study *How Foster Children Turn Out* (1924) and was a pioneer in the professionalization of social work and scientific standardization of the adoption profession.[293]

In addition, pro-adoption advocates who were not directly involved with the refugee children's movements were still in communication with the movements' leadership. For example, Dr. Marion E. Kenworthy served on the advisory board of the USSCE and provided important scientific expertise for both the British and German refugee children's movement. Her legacy also included groundbreaking professional work in the field of child psychiatry. Notably, Dr. Kenworthy founded the psychiatric clinic of the New York City Family Court with judge and fellow child and family welfare advocate, Justine Wise Polier.[294] Polier's interwar adoption politics were ahead of their time in that she was a sharp critic of religious and racial matching, placing her at the political and professional vanguard of post-World War II adoption policy, culture, and practice. Under Polier's leadership, Louise Wise Services, the originally sectarian and one of the earliest U.S. adoption agencies, was transformed postwar to help pioneer U.S. transracial adoptions, eventually placing the largest number of children via the postwar Indian Adoption Project.[295]

Conclusion

[293] Sophie Van Senden Theis, *How Foster Children Turn Out: A study and critical analysis of 910 children who were placed in foster homes by the State Charities Aid Association and who are now eighteen years of age or older* (New York: State Charities Aid Association, 1924); "Sophie van Senden Theis (1885-1957);" "Sophie van Senden Theis, *How Foster Children Turn Out,* 1924," in Ibid., http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~adoption/studies/TheisHFCTO.htm (5 September 2014).
[294] "Guide to the Marion E. Kenworthy (1891-1980) Papers, undated, 1938-1952," American Jewish Historical Society, Boston, MA and New York, NY, 2014, http://findingaids.cjh.org/?pID=364875 (30 May 2013).
[295] "Justine Wise Polier (1903-1987)," in the AHPDA, http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~adoption/people/polier.html (5 September 2014); "First Specialized Adoption Agencies," in the AHPDA, http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~adoption/topics/firstspecial.html (5 September 2014).

In 1929, the American Red Cross, besides expanding its networks of humanitarian aid overseas, was also focused on the health problems of American Indian reservations and boarding schools. Regarding "little Indian children," ARC employee Miss Florence Patterson reported, "The manifestations of malnutrition were general and acute in a large proportion of the children seen by the writer. They repeatedly presented a picture similar to that of groups of children in eastern Europe whom government and voluntary agencies rushed in to feed in the war-devastated regions."[296] However, in 1929 and throughout the interwar period, due to American Indians' sovereignty over their children, the children's undesirable non-whiteness, and the still-important value of race matching in the emerging pro-adoption discourse, the foster or permanent adoption care in white American families was not yet seen as a viable solution to the children's poor living conditions.

Similarly experienced by Methodist medical missionary and adoptive mother Ruth Hemmenway, the interwar period proved missions no more tolerant toward her transracial, transnational adoption of Chinese girls. Hemmenway lived in China between 1925 and 1941. Like Howe and Kang before her, the missionary community expressed such resistance to Hemmenway's adoptions that she and her adopted daughters felt forced to move further into China's interior. Upon visits back to the port cities, her missionary colleagues would not allow her daughters to visit, rebuttals that Hemmenway interpreted in her 1977 memoir as "racial discrimination."[297] However, despite these racial tensions, lack of institutionalized or standardized adoption policy, successful examples of transracial transnational adoption, such as Hemmenway's, did exist – and were able to exist via the discursive and institutional nineteenth and early twentieth century transitions organized around sentimentalized child

[296] Connoly, "The End of the Road," 153.
[297] Shemo, "'So Thoroughly American,'" 126.

placement, race, rescue, and the "priceless child," eventually consolidated around the humanitarian figure of the refugee.

Thus, while this chapter is organized around singular examples, the following chapters will witness fluid private endeavors become more regimented and consolidated, eventually becoming part of the expanding state functions. In particular, part 2 of this dissertation will historicize the negotiations surrounding overseas refugee children, whose poor living conditions made them ideal humanitarian candidates for U.S. international foster care or adoption. While religious, racial, and economic tensions regarding child placements continued to exist during the interwar years, the discourse of the sentimentalized child and child saving (for some children) did not prevent American citizens and organizations from a variety of backgrounds (religious, secular, state-based, etc.) from coming together, for a common humanitarian motive. During the interwar period, the discourse of "the child" began to actively erase these differences, and these differences would only continue to erode post-World War II.

PART TWO:
THE INTERWAR YEARS

Chapter 3
American Activism, Global Crises of Refugee Children and the International Politics of Child Placement, 1919-1939

The United States' first foray into overseas international adoption emerged while the nation waded through murky global and domestic political waters. Between 1919 – as World War I ended – and 1939, when war again threatened, a number of refugee crises involving children emerged. But these crises did not result in mass international adoption migration. In the United States, contradictory and unstable nationalist impetuses served as obstacles to international adoption. These included an attempt to balance an international façade of liberal humanitarianism with the retention of strong codes of isolationism and immigration restriction, tied to a highly segregated, nativist domestic culture. These impulses would officially shadow American politics and its two subsequent postwar waves of international adoption, through the 1960s.

U.S. actions during this time, however, did create networks, knowledge, and precedent, policies and practice, that would be used in post-World War II refugee crises to institutionalize such infrastructures throughout Europe and Asia. In particular, this chapter will map out American activism and overseas participation in these emergent global crises of refugee children. Focusing on children and child refugee history in a global context shows that U.S. participation in international child placement was in no way exceptional or isolated from global trends and practices.[298]

U.S. participation in the global child saving refugee projects of the earlier twentieth century, particularly with Russian, Chinese, and Spanish refugee children, were large scale

[298] By "exceptional" here, I mean that the U.S. was one of many countries that became involved in international child placement and adoption between 1919 and 1939.

global humanitarian efforts. But they did not result in widespread or continuing international child placement campaigns in large part due to U.S. isolationist and nativist policies, weak geopolitical relations between the U.S. and these countries, and importantly, respect for these nations' sovereignty over their own children. However, the activist momentum, child welfare networks, and increasingly powerful discourse surrounding the sentimentalized refugee child eventually culminated in the United States' first widespread attempt at international adoption, of German refugee children in the late 1930s. Thus, the "distinct" elements that many claim produced later U.S. international adoption "successes" – the ideological conflation of international adoption with international humanitarianism, (internationalized) broad based coalitions, a pronatalist American culture and "market" for adoptable international children – were already in place during the interwar years.

U.S. Overseas Participation: Russian, Chinese, and Spanish Refugee Children

It is important to note that before the late 1930s and the initiation of the German child refugee movement, American citizens and institutions seriously engaged with other international child refugee movements that did not culminate in any significant international adoptions to the U.S. The devastation that followed World War I proved fertile ground for volatile domestic and international conflicts, including imperial aggression, centered on political rivalries between fascist, democratic, and communist governance. The violence that accompanied these conflicts created populations of stateless people at an unprecedented scale and rate. These tragic circumstances, alongside global anxieties about a second world war and unpoliced migration, particularly during the global depression, led nation-state governments to work alongside private charity organizations – in order to both address the scale of these humanitarian crises, and to make sure that private agencies did not violate any

sovereignty agreements. Leading up to World War II, the United States was not yet a global world power, but sought a seat at the table, if not as an equitable leader, than as a strong partner and participant in the world's affairs. During the interwar period, in line with America's global expansion of child welfare initiatives and universalizing sympathies for children in need, the international crises of refugee children offered a perfect entry point for the United States to participate on the global stage alongside other world leaders. Child humanitarianism abroad was a productive U.S. strategy to secure and maintain global influence, whilst not violating its own isolationist policies.

The American public paid particularly close attention to the refugee crises created in Russia (via the political and social upheaval created by World War I, the 1917 revolution, eventual Civil War through 1923, and subsequent famine), China (via Japan's imperial aggressions officiated via the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)), and Spain (via their Civil War (1936-1939)). For all three cases, but particularly for Russia and Spain, U.S. physical distance, political neutrality and isolationist policies, and comparatively weak migratory geopolitical relations allowed other world powers to take the lead in refugee aid and intervention. The negatively racialized perception of Chinese immigration also influenced America's involvement in the Chinese refugee children's crisis. However, American child activist leaders and organizations were able to make significant supporting contributions in all three of these cases. There was sometimes overlap amongst the organizations and individuals who volunteered and took leadership roles in these causes, and these folks gained invaluable experience and practice that they then put to use mobilizing behind the eventual German child refugee movement. These three early case studies illuminate how, besides providing foundational experience, Americans' observations of Europe's practice of refugee child placement foreshadowed Americans' future participation

in the international practice. Importantly, a central theme for each of these case studies was an enforced respect for each nation's sovereignty over its people and its children. This respect inhibited any child saving strategy, European or American – even if it involved child placement, from becoming a long-term, systematized, or institutionalized "solution" to any of the refugee crises.

Russian Refugee Children

Following Russia's 1917 Revolution in the midst of World War I and its longer lasting Civil War and consequent famine, Russia's interwar refugees were largely bourgeois former Russians fleeing the new Bolshevik "Red" Soviet government. Known as White Russians, most refugees fled to western Europe. Initially and primarily settling in Germany and then France, Russian refugees eventually settled throughout Europe. Approximately 250,000 emigrated to eastern Asia, 40,000 to Canada, 15,000 to the British Isles, as well as a few thousand to South America and Australia. Before the U.S. instituted its 1924 quota-restricting immigration act, approximately 20,000 Russian refugees were able to migrate to the United States as well, although the U.S. was not most refugees' initial destination.[299] A special focus on child refugees, many of whom had at least one living parent, existed from the very beginning of the crisis. A humanitarian response to "save" the children via international child placement emerged. For example, hundreds of Russian refugee "orphans" were placed into primarily French farming families via *Placement Familial.* A Russian Red Cross orphanage was created, which eventually relocated to France, and the International Red Cross adoption agency placed out hundreds of child refugees into more permanent

[299] Harold Henry Fisher, *The Famine in Soviet Russia, 1919-1923: The Operations of the American Relief Administration* (MN: Ayer Publishing, 1927); James E. Hassell, "Russian Refugees in France and the United States between the World Wars," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 81 (1991): 1-3, 20, 22-3, 32, 35-6.

families.[300] Importantly, beyond Russia and France's historic geopolitical relations and France's espoused commitment to offering asylum to persecuted stateless persons, France's historic dependence on foreign labor and pre-World War II military mobilizations were also central nation-building factors that contributed to France's openness to Russian and other Euro-nationality refugees' immigration. France was especially eager to gain labor after World War I due to the intersections of its historically low birth rates and its heavy wartime losses. Embodied in the image of an unmarried and childless French woman, the nation felt keen anxiety concerning its reproductive future.[301] In particular, as refugee scholar James E. Hassell noted, "Youth were most welcome, as potential soldiers or producers of soldiers [in future wars]."[302]

However, a strong sense of Russian sovereignty and loyalty to surviving parents' rights always accompanied these practices of refugee child placement and child care. When possible, the children were only temporarily removed from their parents, such as in 1920 when 780 Russian "globe circling waifs" stopped for temporary refuge in New York. When reunification was not possible, it was a priority that internationally raised child refugees were educated and instilled with a strong nationalist sense of their Russian heritage.[303]

To this end, American private and government organizations coordinated domestically and transnationally with other European governments, intergovernmental groups (League of Nations), and international private organizations to support Russian child

[300] Initially, there was hopeful optimism that White Russians would be able to regain control of Soviet Russia and repatriate. Hassell, "Russian Refugees in France and the United States between the World Wars," 9-11, 23, 61, 66.
[301] Leslie Page Moch, "Lessons and cautionary tales from the past: Building bridges from migration history to Europeanness," in Jan Logemann, Donna Gabaccia and Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, eds., *Europe, Migration and Identity: Connecting Migration Experiences and Europeanness* (London: Routledge, 2014), 14.
[302] Hassell, "Russian Refugees in France and the United States between the World Wars," 20, 22-3.
[303] Ibid., 9-11, 70, 72.

refugees.[304] Beyond the American Red Cross, U.S. War Department, American Relief Administration (led by Herbert Hoover), Russian Relief Society of America, and the American Society of the Relief of Russian Exiles, coordinating abroad, Americans also founded child-refugee-specific organizations.[305] For example, in 1926, the Russian Refugee Children's Society, Inc. was implemented "by White Russians [in the U.S.] to care for children of impoverished Russian émigrés in [the United States] and Canada. The society [had] branches in many large cities."[306] That same year, the Russian Emigrant Children's Welfare Society was also founded. Its aid went mostly abroad, and adding a personal touch, introduced a "Godparent program that allowed Americans to support an individual child for a cost of $10 per month."[307] These societies worked alongside such existing and later initiatives as the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and Associated Russian Refugee Children's Society, and continued to host benefits and work transnationally to aid and provide for Russian refugee children in order to support keeping families together. When family preservation was not possible, the organizations provided other types of relief and support in the form of education, orphanages, and adoption aid. In line with the gendered global expansion of female leadership in child and social welfare, women leaders in

[304] The Union of Zemstovs and Towns (Zemgor), a social service joint committee originally made up of Russian local and municipal governments and whose leadership continued the organization in exile "dedicated to relief work for Russian refugees" was one of the most important "private" Russian refugee organizations. As time went by, the resources of Zemgor were increasingly used to provide relief for refugee children. Needy children were given food, clothing, medical care, and support for education. By 1927, as V. V. Rudnev reported, 95.8 percent of Zemgor funds were expended on aid to children. Ibid., 65.
[305] Fisher, *The Famine in Soviet Russia, 1919-1923: The Operations of the American Relief Administration*; Hassell, "Russian Refugees in France and the United States between the World Wars."
[306] "Debutantes Aid Plans for Perfume Show to be Held Tuesday for Russian Refugees," *New York Times*, January 12, 1939, 28.
[307] Hassell, "Russian Refugees in France and the United States between the World Wars," 69-70.

business, arts, and celebrity were often highlighted in connection with Russian child refugee philanthropy.[308]

Chinese Refugee Children

In 1937, Japan's imperial aggressions against China became official with the start of the second Sino-Japanese War, also known as China's War of Resistance, which lasted through 1945 and Japan's ultimate defeat in World War II.[309] The American Committee (AC) for Chinese War Orphans was formed to pay special attention to those Chinese children whose families had been lost, displaced, or devastated by the war and Japan's incursions. Its aid and efforts were focused on providing these refugee children with life essentials – shelter, food, and if possible, other provisions for care.[310] While the committee highlighted the children's needy status as refugee "war orphans," sustained 1930s anti-Chinese immigration sentiment in the U.S. was too strong to allow for the kind of international adoption programs that emerged post-World War II in response to the existence of such vulnerable children. Chinese refugee children were not seen as adoptable, in large scale, by American families.

U.S. anti-Chinese sentiment was a global trend. While there was some resistance to White Russian immigration, the U.S. system under the Immigration Quota Act of 1921 was based on "national origins," i.e. birthplace, so that refugees' stateless or potentially changed

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[308] "Grand Duchess Marie is Chairman of Ballet to Aid Russian Children," *New York Times,* January 1, 1939; "Aid Plans for Perfume Show to be Held Tuesday for Russian Refugees," *New York Times,* January 12, 1939, 31; John Martin, "The Dance: WPA Troubles: Reductions and More Basic Problems in Federal Project – Current Programs," *New York Times,* January 8, 1939, 130; John Martin, "The Dance: Being Bullied," *New York Times,* January 15, 1939, X8; "Perfumes Will be Fashion Show Item: Manikins at Russian Refugee Benefit to Offer New Feature," *New York Times,* January 17, 1939, 18. The Associated Russian Refugee Children's Society was formed in Amsterdam in 1936. John Martin, "Georgi's Ballet in Premiere Here: Company Headed by Former Kruetzberg Associate Aids Russian Refugee Youths," *New York Times,* January 16, 1939, 10; Fisher, *The Famine in Soviet Russia, 1919-1923: The Operations of the American Relief Administration,* 457-9; Hassell, "Russian Refugees in France and the United States between the World Wars," 80.

[309] Him Mark Lai, "The War of Resistance against Japan" in *Chinese American Transnational Politics,* ed. Him Mark Lai and Madeline Y. Hsu (IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 100-22.

[310] T. Christopher Jespersen, *American Images of China, 1931-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 47.

citizenship status did not hinder their migration efforts to the United States. Therefore, all Russians born within the Soviet Union were eligible to immigrate, *except* for those of Asian descent.[311] In line with this white supremacist and anti-Chinese discourse, Europe, in comparison to its humanitarian refugee immigration response to White Russians, extended no such response toward the Chinese refugee crisis.

In collaboration with seven other organizations explicitly motivated to alter Americans' negative foreign perceptions of China, AC achieved limited success. Even though the American public and government allied themselves with China against Japan in World War II, these sympathies were not able to overcome domestic stereotypes that racialized Chinese immigrants as unassimilable and ineligible for naturalized citizenship.[312] For example, in 1939, as reported by the *New York Times,* New York Mayor and Mrs. La Guardia accompanied Chinese consul general Dr. Tsune-chi Yu, alongside "two bus loads of women and children from Chinatown" to view an exhibition whose proceeds would explicitly provide funds on behalf of the "war orphans in China." In his encouragement for the wider public to visit the exhibit, Mayor La Guardia expressed, "Strength in this age is measured by the consideration and protection given by strong countries to the weaker… The public by their visits will aid in a most worthy humane cause."[313] In 1939, U.S. public officials felt secure in their whole-hearted endorsement of aiding China's refugee children. However, this was also the year that the full-fledged campaign to adopt Germany's refugee children developed. No such activism arose on behalf of the Chinese child refugees. Instead AC, alongside such organizations as the Refugee Relief Commission (RRC), focused on raising

[311] Hassell, "Russian Refugees in France and the United States between the World Wars," 36.
[312] Jespersen, *American Images of China, 1931-1949*, 45-58; Lai, "The War of Resistance against Japan," 100-22.
[313] "Chinese Here Hail 2-Year Resistance," *New York Times*, July 8, 1939, 5.

money and sending funds abroad to develop orphanages and aid the children who needed to remain in China.[314] AC's leadership included such influential individuals as author Pearl S. Buck and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, both of whom would continue to maintain visible public roles in future child refugee movements. In particular, Buck would emerge as an iconic proponent of post-World War II domestic and international transracial adoptions. Also mirroring their good work with Russian refugee children abroad, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), including future adoption leaders Henry Luce and Howard Kershner, also took an active role in aiding Chinese refugee children. Henry Luce was the founder of *Time Magazine* (1923) and several other influential media enterprises throughout the 1930s; Howard Kershner, in 1939, would officially retire from business to spend the next fifty years devoted to children's causes.[315]

Ultimately, these efforts were met with minimal success due to the overwhelming scale of the Chinese refugee situation. Instead, in line with the modern notion of recognizing women and children as the most vulnerable populations and in particular, saving children as a nationalist prescription of saving the nation's future, China utilized much of its resources to save its nation's youth and female caregivers. Without ample outside aid, these domestic

[314] The RRC had also mobilized on behalf of the Russian refugee children. Similar to Russian refugee-related philanthropy, female leaders were often highlighted in connection with Chinese refugee children fundraising efforts. Benefit dance performances for Chinese "war orphans" included such titles as "Refugee" and "Lullaby for a Dead Child." John Martin, "The Dance: Romanticism," *New York Times,* March 5, 1939, X8; The Associated Press, "3 Shantung Cities Won by Japanese," *New York Times,* March 6, 1939, 3; F. Tillman Durdin, "Chunking Warns of Raids," *New York Times,* March 6, 1939, 1, 3; "Britain Studies Loan to China," *New York Times,* March 6, 1939, 3; John Martin, "Dances Given Here in Aid of Chinese," *New York Times,* March 6, 1939, 10. This article references foreign American "refugees" in China: "43 Foreigners Flee from China War Zone," *New York Times,* January 13, 1939, 14; Ellen Graff, *Stepping Left: Dance and Politics in New York City, 1928-1942* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 187.

[315] Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1963), 418, 421; Jespersen, *American Images of China, 1931-1949*, 45-58; Lai, "The War of Resistance against Japan," 109; James L. Baughman, "Henry R. Luce and the Rise of American News Media," *Time Magazine,* April 28, 2004; Glenn Fowler, "H. E. Kershner, 98, A Longtime Worker in Children's Causes," *New York Times,* January 3, 1990.

efforts became the foundations for China's modern welfare system.[316] Chinese Americans also contributed to raising philanthropic funds to send abroad. While they were unable to help unrelated refugee children migrate, parents were successful enough in bringing over their own children that by the start of World War II, approximately 11 percent of Chinese Americans were youths between fifteen and nineteen years old, the consequence of this chain migration (and natural population increases).[317]

Spanish Refugee Children

During the same time that Japan invaded China, Spain underwent its own domestic upheaval as the Spanish Republic fought against Francisco Franco's Fascist Nationalist regime, aided by German and Italian forces, in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).[318] While both the Spanish Republic and China were viewed worldwide as representatives of the same anti-Fascist, anti-imperial causes, Spain's European racial and geopolitical background allowed the U.S. and Europe to mobilize more aggressively and coordinate volunteer and military efforts on a larger scale. Although the United States remained officially neutral, individual Americans, alongside Canadians and Europeans, volunteered on behalf of the Spanish Republic. International, domestic, and transnational child and social welfare

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[316] Jespersen, *American Images of China, 1931-1949*, 47; Lai, "The War of Resistance against Japan," 109; Danke Li, *Echoes of Chongqing: Women in Wartime China* (IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 36-8, 76.
[317] Lai, "The War of Resistance against Japan," 114.
[318] Associated Press, "Loyalists Modify Terms in Peace Talks at Border; Franco Bars Concessions," *New York Times*, February 7, 1939, 1, 8; Herbert L. Matthews, "130,000 Refugees Enter France; Army Orderly as It Leaves Spain," *New York Times*, February 7, 1939, 1, 10; William P. Carney, "Rebels Forge on in Pursuit of Foe," *New York Times*, February 7, 1939, 9; This article implies that Loyalist Spain is Communist: "Madrid to Resist," *New York Times*, February 8, 1939, 1, 14; P. J. Philip, "The Loyalist Government Is Told It Cannot Wage War From France," *New York Times*, February 8, 1939, 1, 14; Associated Press, "Loyalists to Move Capital to Madrid," *New York Times*, February 11, 1939, 1; Paris Bureau Times World Wide Photos, "Spanish Exodus," *New York Times*, February 12, 1939, 123; "General War Held Last Loyalist Hope," *New York Times*, February 13, 1939, 2; Associated Press, "Clash of Warships Off Spain Foreseen," *New York Times*, February 15, 1939, 2; "10,000 to Quit France and Go Back to Spain," *New York Times*, March 1, 1939.

activists rallied together.[319] By 1937, Spain's child refugees captured the world's attention and emigration was introduced as official state policy. And in line with the global trend, both women and children's welfare were emphasized together. As *New York Times* reporter Herbert L. Matthews relayed, "A high Spanish Government official told me tonight that they could see only one solution at the moment and that was to try and form an international commission with a wide appeal – since it is no longer a case of a war problem – so that women and children at least could be sent to countries that would accept them."[320] U.S. organizations worked wholeheartedly to raise funds and coordinate transnationally, in particular with France and Britain, to aid in the transport and care of Spanish refugee children.[321]

In contrast to Chinese refugee children, the United States showed interest in adopting Spanish refugee children, but this interest was met with scorn by Spain. The Spanish newspaper *ABC* charged, "'American citizens and Spanish residents [in the U.S. attempting] to adopt Spanish children and prevent their return to Spain [constitutes] collective kidnapping[, an] infamous exploitation of Spanish children[, and General Francisco Franco would] spare no effort for the total repatriation of these children.'"[322] Similar to the nationalist sentiment surrounding Russian child refugees, there was an international respect for Spain's sovereign claims to its children and when possible, the individual child's parents' rights were also considered. In the event that it was decided to remove the children via

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[319] "Spain Volunteers Cross into France," *New York Times,* February 8, 1939, 14; Israel Epstein, *My China Eye: Memoirs of a Jew and a Journalist* (San Francisco: Long River Press, 2005), 25; Richard Bermack, *The Front Lines of Social Change: Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2005).
[320] Matthews, "130,000 Refugees Enter France," 10.
[321] Global sympathetic attention came to Spanish refugees following the civilian bombing of Guernica in April, 1937. The following articles draw notable attention to Spanish refugee women, children, and sometimes the elderly. Associated Press, "Loyalists Modify Terms in Peace Talks at Border," 1, 8; Carney, "Rebels Forge on in Pursuit of Foe," 9; Philip, "The Loyalist Government Is Told It Cannot Wage War From France," 1, 14; Paris Bureau Times World Wide Photos, "Spanish Exodus," 123.
[322] "U.S. Adoptions Opposed," *New York Times,* June 12, 1939, 8.

international placements, whether foster or adoption, it was understood that the children would ideally eventually return to Spain.[323] Thus, permanent international adoption to the U.S. was not seen as a viable option, and similar to the case of Russian refugees, Americans did little more than "adopt" Spanish child refugees from afar. By the summer of 1939, for a contribution of $9 a month, 541 Americans had chosen to "adopt" a Spanish refugee child through the Foster Parents' Plan for Spanish Children (led by Eric G. Muggeridge). These refugee children were adopted by such famous Americans as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, former President Herbert Hoover, Miss Tallulah Bankhead, Miss Helen Hayes, and Efrem Zimbalist, many of whom were active in either the Russian or Chinese refugee children's movements, and would continue to be active in the movement for German child refugees. These adopted children resided in overseas children's colonies in France.[324]

Ultimately, it is estimated that as many as 200,000 Spanish refugee children were displaced during the war, with approximately 25,000 children placed out in France, 4,000 in Britain, 2,000 in the Soviet Union, 500 in Mexico, and thousands more throughout eastern

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[323] This article highlights that Franco is winning, that the Spanish Civil War would soon be over, and that "women, children, and aged refugees would be freely allowed to return to their homes." The article also emphasizes, in respect to Spanish sovereignty, that foreign troops would not be allowed to remain on Spanish soil. "Deal is Reported: Franco Said to Pledge Removal of German and Italian Troops," *New York Times*, February 9, 1939, 1, 3. Ultimately, many of the Spanish refugee children were not able to repatriate until after the end of World War II, some not at all, and were thus permanently adopted by their foreign nations/institutions/families. See, for example, Tracy McVeigh, "Basque child refugees meet for final reunion, 75 years after arrival in Britain," *The Observer*, March 24, 2012; Sam Jones, "Forgotten children of Spain's civil war reunite 75 years after exile," *The Guardian*, May 11, 2012. A good case study is that of the Spanish refugee children also known as Basque children, who emigrated to Wales, UK. Wales and Spain had historic geopolitical ties before the Spanish Civil War. When the war ended in 1939, it was not certain that the children would be safe back in Spain and with the arrival of World War II, the children became stateless for a second time. Lacking either British or Spanish citizenship, these children became permanently displaced and were sometimes permanently adopted by a family. Similar cases of "double" refugee status occurred to children placed out in France and the Soviet Union. Jill Rutter, *Supporting Refugee Children in 21st Century Britain: A Compendium of Essential Information* (VA: Trentham Books, 2003), 15; Hywel Davies, *Fleeing Franco: How Wales Gave Shelter to Refugee Children from the Basque Country During the Spanish Civil War* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011); Abbie Wightwick, "Spanish Civil War refugees had mixed welcome in Wales," *Western Mail*, July 16, 2011; "History," *Basque Children of '37 Association UK*, http://www.basquechildren.org/colonies/history (30 April 2013).

[324] "'Adopt' Refugee Children," *New York Times*, July 16, 1939, 19; "Spanish Refugee Boy 'Adopted' by Hoover," *New York Times*, September 15, 1939, 14; Richard Whelan, *Robert Capa: A Biography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 59.

Spain – into foster families, residential schools, or Colonias Infantiles, Children's Colonies, as they were popularly named. New U.S. organizations emerged, such as the Anglo-American committee, set up in Paris "to cooperate with the Office International de l'Enfance in raising funds and distributing food for Spanish refugee children," as well as continued leadership from the earlier child refugee movements, such as Howard Kershner of the AFSC who became a lead organizer of the International Commission for the Assistance of Child Refugees in Spain. These U.S. organization and individual efforts worked transnationally to support Europe's placing out practices.[325] The AFSC was particularly active in France, and in this on the ground experience and observance of the largest receiving nations of placed out child refugees: France, Britain, the Soviet Union, and Nationalist Spain itself, adoption trends were introduced that both mirrored U.S. past practices and invoked the nation's eventual future practices in international adoption.[326]

Beyond the widespread professionalization of child care and social work expertise that occurred during the interwar years, child welfare organizations also began to perfect the arts of publicity, mass marketing, and media savviness in order to raise approving awareness and enthusiastic financial, cultural, and political support. Just as the New York Children's Aid Society's placing out program was largely dependent on soliciting individual donors, as social scientist Célia Keren explains, "[T]he AFSC relief programme in Spain depended upon American people from New York or Boston knowing and being concerned about children suffering on the other side of the planet, in a country to which they had never been, speaking

[325] "To Aid Children in Spain," *New York Times*, January 22, 1939, 27; Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad*, 3-21.
[326] Célia Keren, "Autobiographies of Spanish Refugee Children at the Quaker Home in La Rouvière (France, 1940): Humanitarian Communication and Children's Writings," *Les Cahiers de Framespa 5 2010*, http://framespa.revues.org/268 (30 April 2013); Tara Zahra, *The Lost Children: Reconstructing Europe's Families after World War II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 47-8, 56.

a language they did not understand."[327] In addition to the attention being brought to Spanish child refugees via celebrity sponsors and benefit galas, in order to achieve the transference of a more intimate empathy, and thus larger proceeds for their French La Rouvière, the AFSC hired an additional staff member, Margaret Frawley. Hired to expertly convey an effective humanitarian message, Frawley "was not a humanitarian worker [and] had never been in the field, but she had '10 years of newspaper experience and [had] done publicity work for many social agencies.'"[328] AFSC was very conscious of the colony-image it wanted to present and selectively chose poignant images of the children themselves, as well as child produced picture drawings and journal writing in order to create a narrative of childhood innocence, home, and love. This business model of marketing children, drawing from professional expertise and utilizing compelling emotional strategies, proved effective and provided a strong precedent for future U.S. international child placement initiatives. Specific tropes of the colonies as representative of "family" units continued a trend set by the earlier orphan trains and American Indian boarding schools models, and further solidified the modern universalist sentiment that all children needed a family to care for them. The introduction of child "mascots," endearing children, with an appropriately endearing, politically tinged backstory, meant to act as "the face" of child saving institutions or campaigns, also became an enduring trend. Margaret Fawley began her first colony report with the following story:

> Amor, rosy-cheeked and dimpled, is the mascot of Colony Iberny at Ecully, a suburb of Lyon. These two years of Amor's life have been turbulent. Born in Barcelona, a city crowded with evacuees from other parts of Spain and which experienced numerous bombardments, she is the first child of Maria and Carlos. Carlos was fighting at the front and with the retreating Republican army crossed the French frontier.[329]

[327] Keren, "Autobiographies of Spanish Refugee Children at the Quaker Home in La Rouvière (France, 1940)."
[328] Ibid.
[329] Ibid.

The Office International pour l'Enfance (OIE) similarly relayed in their publication materials:

> Typical case and pride of the colony is little Pascual Lopez, the youngest member of the community, twenty months old. His mother was killed in a bombardment in Barcelona and his father is in a concentration camp…. Little Pascual had scabies… [h]is stomach was swollen in hunger… [h]e neither played nor laughed. Special food… [m]edical care and constant cleanliness… in the sunlit colony hospital [cured Pascual]. Today, Pascual romps with the others. He has learned to laugh again.[330]

These narratives heavily foreshadowed the World War II and Korean War military camp mascots that again emerged as central figures of politicized care and humanitarian necessity in America's future international child placement movements.

Another future trend starkly illustrated by Spanish child refugee placement practices was the mistakes made during the chaos of disaster regarding children's identities. At the end of the Spanish Civil War and Britain and France's decision to recognize Franco's national government, the French soon realized that child refugee repatriation would not be easily accomplished. Whilst attempting to register the refugees to repatriate in an organized fashion, as the *New York Times* reported, it was found that:

> Many [women] had been separated from their children in the mad rush across the frontier… Orphans, of which there are many, and thousands of strayed children are hopelessly intermingled. Children 3 or 4 years old, when asked their names and where they lived, could only reply: 'Manuela or Pedro Catalan.' Lost children have been sent to orphanages and convents in France and even Belgium.[331]

Also, unlike Britain and France, who remained officially neutral during the Spanish Civil War, and whose child refugee welfare campaigns remained privately funded, the Soviet Union actively contributed to the Spanish Republic war effort and its child placement initiatives were state funded. To this end, the Soviet Union's child placement practices can be read as a precursor to the Cold War and the United States' eventual strategic use of

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[330] Ibid.
[331] "France Speeds Aid to Catalan Exiles," *New York Times,* February 27, 1939, 5.

international adoption as representing American democracy, capitalist success, and humanitarian generosity. The Soviet Union fashioned their "saving" of Spanish child refugees as compelling propaganda that was at the same time humanitarian, anti-fascist, and importantly, pro-communist.[332]

Following the war, child placement practices in Nationalist Spain illustrated the most direct continuity of U.S. and global nineteenth and early twentieth century child placement practices in that Republican children were taken from their political-enemy population and parents, to be raised and assimilated into Nationalist families and ideals, for the overall good of the Nationalist nation. Loyalist mothers were infantilized as "children," both incapable and undeserving of raising their own children. The government characterized individuals with Republican politics via racialized tropes characteristic of eugenics science and their children "disappeared," and were adopted out.[333]

The global refugee crisis came to a head with the creation of an overwhelming population of German refugees, largely of Jewish descent, following the rise of Fascist Nazi Germany.[334] In February 1939, representing the American public's overlapping philanthropic interests, the Philadelphia Music Center hosted what would be one of several concert benefits to raise funds for "German refugees, Spanish orphans, and the Chinese people."[335] In particular, the United States' and Europe's participation in the Spanish refugee children's movement provided important political and practical experience in their mobilization behind the movement for German child refugees. As historian Tara Zahra

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[332] "The Evacuation of Spanish Children to the Soviet Union," http://www.gutenberg-e.org/kod01/kod08.html (30 April 2013); Zahra, *The Lost Children*, 50.
[333] Michael Richards, "Ideology and the Psychology of War Children in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945," in *Children of World War II*, ed. by Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2005), 115-37, 121.
[334] Carl J. Bon Tempo, *Americans at the Gate: The United States and Refugees During the Cold War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 15-6.
[335] Theodore Strauss, "News of Night Clubs," *New York Times*, February 26, 1939, 124.

notes, "The Spanish Civil War has often been called a dress rehearsal for the Second World War."[336] France's International Commission (*Comité International d'Aide aux Enfants de France*) was initially set up in 1937 to assist displaced Spanish child refugees. In 1939, with the end of the Spanish Civil War and emigration of 500,000 Spanish refugees into France, the Commission was officially renamed International Commission for the Assistance of Spanish Child Refugees. With the advancement of Nazi Germany and World War II, the organization expanded to include French children, other displaced child refugees residing in France, and became known as International Commission for the Assistance of Child Refugees. For both France and Britain, their participation in the Spanish child refugee movement provided the foundations for their World War II and postwar refugee involvement. In particular, Britain's *Kindertransport* project that placed out approximately 10,000 Jewish children from Nazi Germany, emerged directly from its earlier efforts.[337]

In the United States, similar coalitions to those that organized in support of Russian, Chinese, and Spanish refugee children subsequently emerged. For example, the Non-Sectarian Group for the Benefit of Refugee Children, Refugee Children's Non-Sectarian Committee of Business and Professional Women, and National Coordinating Committee for German Refugees were all national organizations without religious affiliations, which instead highlighted the necessity of providing children with "a normal life."[338] Building on the globalized Progressive Era rhetoric emphasizing the normative care and protection that all

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[336] Zahra, *The Lost Children*, 46.

[337] The Kindertransport Association, http://www.kindertransport.org/ (30 April 2013); Loring M. Danforth and Riki Van Boeschoten, *Children of the Greek Civil War: Refugees and the Politics of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 28; Jill Rutter, *Refugee Children in the UK* (Berkshire: Open University Press, 1999), 57-60; McVeigh, "Basque child refugees meet for final reunion, 75 years after arrival in Britain;" Jones, "Forgotten children of Spain's civil war reunite 75 years after exile."

[338] "Straws and Felts Lead Popular Hats," *New York Times*, February 2, 1939, 30; Elizabeth La Hines, "Organize to Aid Refugee Youths," *New York Times*, February 5, 1939, D4; "Benefit for Refugees," *New York Times*, February 24, 1939, 21; "Benefit for Refugees Monday," *New York Times*, February 25, 1939, 18; "Notes Here and Afield," *New York Times*, February 26, 1939, 130; "Stars in Refugee Benefit," *New York Times*, February 27, 1939, 16.

children deserved, the movement behind the immigration and adoption of German refugee children also expanded the space of female empowerment at the underpinnings of the child and social welfare profession, as well as the more general activism at the foundations of U.S. international adoption history. Occupying central leadership roles, women were able to strategically reference both their professional roles when applicable, as well as strategically essentialize their maternal expertise as women and mothers.

The mass exodus, refugee crisis and eventual genocide of Europe's Jewish population is well known and widely documented as the most infamous refugee and global humanitarian failure of the twentieth century. After Hitler and his Nazi party came to power in January 1933, Hitler's political opponents and the Jewish population began to flee. As the shadow of German occupation further encroached the continent and the Jewish plight became increasingly desperate, the millions of hopeful escapees found themselves up against an international community already in the midst of a global depression, overwhelmed with prior (and ongoing) refugee crises, and increasingly xenophobic.[339] In line with this international response, the United States also refused these refugees safe haven, instead referencing its own uncompromising immigration restrictions as explanation. The world watched instead as the U.S., Britain, and Czecho-Slovakia negotiated emigration terms for German Jews into such countries as Palestine, the Philippines, Canada, and Kenya.[340] However, while the U.S.

[339] Hassell, "Russian Refugees in France and the United States between the World Wars," 20.
[340] It is important to note that a number of German and/or Jewish refugee adults and children were able to find (at least temporary, and sometimes permanent) safety in England, Palestine, the U.S., and a number of other nations. But compared to the millions of people who could have been saved had the world opened its doors, these numbers appear miniscule. Bon Tempo, *Americans at the Gate*, 12, 15-6. In particular, these "other nations" were oftentimes those that were prior or currently colonized by Britain or the U.S. G.E.R. Gedye, "Prague Arranges Exodus of 10,000: Palestine, Canada, and South American Countries," *New York Times*, January 5, 1939, 5; "Prague Gives Funds to Help Refugees," *New York Times*, January 13, 1939, 14; "Children Leave Vienna," *New York Times*, February 20, 1939, 8; "Pontiff Reminded Chamberlain of Need to Fight Totalitarian Evils," *New York Times*, February 11, 1939, 6; "Hails Palestine Refuge," *New York Times*, February 12, 1939, 36; P. J. Philips, "In Tunisia the Races and the Ages Jostle," *New York Times*, February 22, 1939, 110.

refused to tackle the German refugee crisis alone, in line with its moral self-positioning, the nation did attempt to take on a visible humanitarian leadership role in addressing this new "refugee problem." Included in this attempt was a clear emphasis on children. Internationally, German Jewish families with a large number of children were given migration precedence. Nations such as Britain and Holland explicitly opened their private homes to child refugees.[341] In the U.S., while it was too risky in the tense climate of 1930s employment concerns to advocate on behalf of adult refugee immigration, the nation attempted to follow Europe's lead to make exceptions for child refugees, who were not an immediate labor threat. As compared to past instances, the U.S. also sought to take a more central role in this child refugee movement.

Americans' First Big Push: German Refugee Children

> *We have gladly given aid, at different times, to the children of Belgium, of devastated France, of revolutionary Russia, of post-war Germany, of Eastern Europe, of China. Though we no longer open our gates to all the earth's oppressed, it is in our tradition… to open them to these children. There is nothing sectarian, nothing political in this appeal, nothing but a helping hand to young boys and girls who sorely need it.*
>
> – "Children in the Dark," *New York Times*, February 18, 1939[342]

The "children in the dark" for whom the February 18 *New York Times* article pleaded were German Jewish refugee children, and they were the focus of America's first overseas child placement movement. In line with the United States' purported self-image as the moral highbrow of post-World War I international politics, and as a generous agent of global child and social welfare, by 1939, the nation's sentimentalized reimagining of "the (priceless) child" and humanitarian discourse centered on both domestic and international child welfare,

[341] Gedye, "Prague Arranges Exodus of 10,000," 5; "Prague Gives Funds To Help Refugees," 14; Anne O'Hare McCormick, "Palestine: Solution of Problem Must Be Based on Present, Not Past," *NY Times*, January 9, 1939, 10.
[342] "Children in the Dark, *New York Times*, February 18, 1939, 7.

had so successfully pervaded mainstream consciousness that the article was able to appeal not only to the humanitarian *goodness* of supporting said children, but also to an apparent "tradition" and longstanding American history of benevolent protectionism towards (implied) not only America's children, but toward children from around the world. By the late 1930s, Americans' sentimentalized understandings of "the child" continued to strengthen alongside the language of the local "orphan" and expand globally to encompass "child refugees" as part of American citizens', and particularly those who imagined themselves as citizen-parents, moral nationalist compass of patronage and care.

Analyzing the activist movement deployed for the immigration and overseas adoption of German refugee children points toward several themes that would repeatedly emerge in subsequent U.S. international adoption developments, but also highlights important sources of divergence in Americans' participation and experimentation in adopting other people's children, as a form of both child rescue and family formation. It was during this transition period that the central tenets now pointed to as institutionally and ideologically foundational to the emergence and still-ongoing practice of international adoption (in particular, the different impetuses that scholars now ascribe to the foundations of Korean international adoption) were originally organized through mainstream discourse in the 1930s.

One central tenet that emerged during this time was the strategic rhetoric of pro-adoption activists' conflation of international adoption with international humanitarianism, attached to the sentimentalized definition of overseas child refugees. Within this discourse, the practice of adopting overseas strangers' children as a form of humanitarian rescue and family formation, was increasingly constructed as a natural and good desire. This strategic rhetoric of conflating child placement with child saving was first introduced via the orphan trains and American Indian boarding schools during the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. Internationalized during this same time period via U.S. foreign missionaries and other American "ambassadors" abroad, this child saving ideology was further expanded to include the language of "adoption" within mainstream discourse during the Spanish refugee children's movement, and would only continue post-World War II.

A closely related second tenet in 1939 was the well-noted depiction of broad based coalitions, diverse public partnerships of pro-adoption activists who mobilized across the normal segregators of religion and politics. The public affiliates that supported the overseas adoption of German child refugees included diverse, nationwide alliances of private, everyday citizens, religious leaders from various affiliations, bipartisan politicians, labor leaders, academics, child welfare experts and adoption professionals, as well as the occasional celebrity, such as acclaimed actress and "First Lady of American Theatre," Helen Hayes. These diverse coalitions emphasized the humanitarian discourse surrounding "the child," and thus child saving via international adoption, as eliding differences in politics and religion, as well as highlighting the newly legitimized role of child welfare experts as foundational to constructing the policies surrounding international adoption.

Beyond these altruistic motives, two other central trends emerged during this time and were well solidified by World War II. Connecting back to chapter one's child placement practices for the regional, racial, and economic *benefit* of the child receiving family-adult-institution, the campaign to adopt German child refugees illuminates a pre-Cold War existence, of a pronatalist culture that created a demand for internationally adoptable children. Secondly, recalling both the AFSC's internationalist child saving propaganda alongside the Soviet Union's politically tied child placement practices during the Spanish child refugee movement, the U.S. increasingly fashioned the adoption of German refugee children within the context of nationalist, capitalist democracy propaganda. This conflation

of humanitarian child saving and U.S. cultural supremacy continued to normalize after World War II.

The movement for the immigration and adoption of German refugee children into American homes and families (and welfare institutions) gained national momentum as the impending threat of war and German pogroms against its Jewish population became increasingly well known. Public figures, political representatives, and everyday people coalesced to raise urgency about the plight of Jewish Germans in general, and Jewish German children, in particular. Despite the coalitions' varied backgrounds, the image and idea of the universalized "child" was often a central (or at least implicit) theme in trying to personally invest the American people and thus pressure Congress to accept an ethical responsibility to aid Germany's refugee children. Ultimately, these various coalitions of pro-adoption activists coalesced around a focused and realistic political objective embodied in the Wagner-Rogers bill.

Building the Movement

On January 3, 1939, German-born American Robert F. Wagner, Democrat, began his third term as Senator of New York State.[343] One of his first orders of business, on Tuesday, January 5, was to ask that the Senate enter into official record "a memorial on the community of the city of Nyack[, New York], protesting the persecution of the Jewish race in Germany."[344] Following unanimous consent, the memorial was ceremonially documented:

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[343]*Biographical*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* (1939): Cong. Directory 72; *Certificate of Election/ Senate – Tuesday, January 3, 1939*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (January 3, 1939): Cong. Rec. 7; "Wagner for Entry of Child Refugees," *New York Times*, February 10, 1939, 11; "Sidelights of the Week," *New York Times*, February 12, 1939, 72.

[344]Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, speaking for the Petition and Memorial, on January 5, 1939, to Senate, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84, pt. 1: 87-8; *Petition and Memorial/Senate – Tuesday, January 3, 1939*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (January 5, 1939): Cong. Rec. 87-8. On Thursday, January 12, 1939, Senator Wagner also "asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address relative to the persecution of religious and racial minorities by the Nazi regime in Germany, delivered by Senator Green in Carnegie Hall, New York City,

> We, the citizens of Nyack… abominate the race hatred which stalks rampant through [Germany]… We feel that it is our duty as citizens of a free country to register our protest against those who have violated the fundamental rights of man in the persecution of a race whose history has proved it a stable and helpful unit in any nation… *Resolved*, That this assembly make known this our formal protest of those acts of persecution against our Jewish brethren, sanctioned and abetted by the German leaders.[345]

The memorial was signed by a Christian and Jewish coalition of Nyack community representatives: Pastor William Neely, First Reformed Church; Hugh M. Brush, vice president, consistory; Pastor J. Edward Hamilton, First Presbyterian Church; John Acken; Pastor Glen G. Vought, First Baptist Church; Marion J. Beasley, secretary of the board of trustees; Rabbi Abraham H. Israelitan, Temple Israel; and Isaac Neisner, trustee of Temple Israel.

By emphasizing the unity of peoples from Jewish and Christian backgrounds as "brethren," while at the same time highlighting Jewish people as a separate and persecuted race, but a race who could be characterized as composed of "stable" and "fit" persons, the Nyack citizens' memorial illuminates the religious-racial dilemma that the coalitions for the immigration of German Jewish refugee children would consistently face. Ultimately, the coalitions that emerged surrounding the United States' first nation-wide campaign for international adoption considered the German Jewish refugee children to be *white enough* to unite their common cause. Consistently eliding or downplaying the children's Jewishness – for example, Christian religious leaders (repeatedly) publicly emphasized "that the refugee problem of Central Europe had 'never been purely Jewish'"[346] – the pro-adoption coalitions carefully constructed German Jewish child refugees through the sentimentalized discourse of

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December 9, 1938, which appears in the Appendix." *Soul Liberty – Address by Senator Green/Senate – Thursday, January 12, 1939*, Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (January 12, 1939): Cong. Rec. 229.

[345]Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, speaking for the Petition and Memorial, on January 5, 1939, to Senate, 87-8; *Petition and Memorial/Senate – Tuesday, January 3, 1939*, 87-8.

[346] Gedye, "Prague Arranges Exodus of 10,000," 5.

the "priceless child," both deserving to be saved and desirable to adopt. Chapter 4 will expand on the children's coexistent, anti-Semitic racialization.

Exactly one week following Wagner's political elevation of the Nyack memorial, the Senator again asked for unanimous consent to draw attention to the plight of German Jews, but this time spotlighted a petition submitted to the President on January 9, 1939. This petition emphasized the refugees' status as children, but it did not highlight their Jewishness, and called for specific American action, "urging the American people to join in offering refuge to German children subject to religious and racial persecution in their native land."[347] As highlighted by Wagner, the petition was signed by "His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, and 47 other outstanding prelates representing the Catholic and various Protestant faiths."[348] Also included amongst the fifty-eight total signatories was the non-religious affiliate Dr. Avery A. Shaw, president of Denison University, as well as Reverend Joseph D. Osterman, representing the Committee for the Catholic Refugees from Germany. These various community, institutional, and organizational representatives hailed from across the nation, including such states as Connecticut and Massachusetts, Nebraska and Colorado, Texas and Louisiana, California and Washington. In a great departure from the recently ended and regional orphan trains movement which pitted Catholics against Protestants, the German refugee children's movement united these leaders of various faiths across the country in their humanitarian

[347] Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, speaking for the Refuge for Persecuted Children, on January 10, 1939, to Senate, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84, pt. 1: 163; *Refuge for Persecuted Children/Senate – Tuesday, January 10, 1939*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (January 10, 1939): Cong. Rec. 163. Senator Wagner also entered the text of a speech given Senator Theodore F. Greene of Rhode Island, given on December 9, 1938, at Carnegie Hall, New York City: *Appendix*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congress. Record* 84 (January 12, 1939): Cong. Rec. 82-3.
[348] Ibid.

endeavor. Media reports similarly chose to focus on this nation-wide Christian coalition. For example, a February *Washington Post* editorial, "A Bipartisan Move," articulated:

> The proposal on behalf of the German refugee children... has the endorsement of… Catholics and Protestants alike. Thus, recently a group of prominent clergymen of leading denominations presented a petition at the White House calling on all Americans to join together, 'without regard to race, religion, or creed, in offering refuge to children as a token of our sympathy and as a symbol of our faith in the ideals of human brother hood.'"[349]

A similar *Post* article noted, "The idea was set forth a few weeks ago by 40 of the outstanding Catholic and Protestant churchmen of the United States, including Cardinal Mundelein, as a token of our sympathy and as a symbol of our faith in the ideals of human brotherhood."[350] Conspicuously absent in these reports is any mention of Jewish American support.

Placing their plea in international context, the signatories of the petition explained, "We have been stirred by the knowledge that Holland and England have opened their doors and homes to many of these children."[351] Rather than highlight the Jewish backgrounds of these children, the authors instead chose to emphasize the youths' vulnerable child status, tightly aligned with Americans' humanitarian "tradition" of aiding persecuted peoples:

> The American people has made clear its reaction to the oppression of all minority groups, religious and racial, throughout Germany. It has been especially moved by the plight of the children. Every heart has been touched, and the Nation has spoken out its sorrow and dismay through the voices of its statesmen, teachers, and religious leaders… We conceive it to be our duty, in the name of the American tradition and the religious spirit common to our Nation to urge the people by its Congress and Executive, to express sympathy through special treatment of the young, robbed of country, homes, and parents… To us it seems that the duty of Americans in dealing with the youthful victims of a regime which punishes innocent and tender children as if they were offenders, is to remember the monition of Him who said, "Suffer little children come unto me." And in that spirit we call on all Americans to join together without regard to race, religion, or creed in offering refuge to children as a token of our sympathy and as a symbol of our faith in the ideals of human brotherhood.[352]

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[349] "Editorial: A Bipartisan Move," *Washington Post*, February 14, 1939, 8.
[350] Ernest K. Lindley, "Humane Plan," *The Washington Post*, February 13, 1939, 9.
[351] Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, speaking for the Refuge for Persecuted Children, on January 10, 1939, to Senate, 163; *Refuge for Persecuted Children/Senate – Tuesday, January 10, 1939*, 163.
[352] Ibid.

Calling attention to America's "every heart," the signatories of the petition highlight how the plight of internationally persecuted children rises above any other petty division that might exist in "regard to race, religion, or creed" to encompass "the ideals of human brotherhood." And to these religious leaders, the concept of U.S. liberal humanitarianism was not simply contemporary political rhetoric, but at the foundation of Americans' duties, bound "in the name of the American tradition and… religious spirit." Recalling a reimagined American history of religious tolerance, compassion, and generosity, making a clear break from the previous decades' hostilities between Catholics and Protestants, and eliding the children's potential Jewishness, the clergymen utilized the rhetoric of "the child" to eschew religious differences, politics, and to emblemize common humanity. Highlighting the children as "youthful victims," "innocent" and "tender," implying that the young refugees in question were parentless and thus had no one else to turn to, and recalling a biblical forewarning, the petition constructed a population of children, not as German Jewish refugees, but as innocent babes whose only salvation was international adoption into American families.

Advocates of the German child refugees continually interwove the international context of their movement into their rhetoric in order to emphasize that the U.S. would not be acting alone. Rather, while the U.S. was attempting to position itself at the humanitarian forefront, pro-adoption advocates argued that it was instead lagging behind. As the *Washington Post, New York Herald,* and *The Evening Star* editorials pointed out:

> Great Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, France and other countries have already hearkened to the appeal sent out on behalf of the refugee children of the Third Reich. In this great work of mercy, the United States cannot afford to be behindhand.[353]
>
> Great Britain has already agreed to take 5,000 of these waifs; small and crowded Holland has taken in 1,700 and is accepting more… Small as it is, it seems well worth the doing –

[353] "Editorial," 8.

> both for the portion of misery that it would end and as a gesture to the world of where American sympathies unmistakably lie.[354]
>
> Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Belgium have opened their doors to increasingly large numbers of these unfortunate boys and girls. The United States now has opportunity to do likewise under conditions which safeguard every essential interest involved.[355]

Clara Savage Littledale, editor of *Parents Magazine*, made sure to point out in her letter of support that "Both England and Holland have already opened their doors to these suffering children."[356] Unlike the earlier case of Spanish child refugees, American citizens were not comfortable to sit on the sidelines. As an early Washington, D.C. *Pathfinder* article asserted, "Accordingly, while the Inter-Governmental Committee on Political Refugees weighs broader and more complex plans for solving the problem in general, the United States should join such other countries as Great Britain and The Netherlands in acting immediately to alleviate the situation as it applies to children."[357] While the U.S. (alongside its global partners) continued to ineffectively respond to the refugee crisis at large, widespread media coverage highlighted the extensive appeal that special exceptions for child refugees had for the broader American public.

Not all efforts behind the German child refugee movement were explicitly non-sectarian. For example, by February 8, 1939, various youth groups were able to raise and send "$3,000 to Junior Hadassah for the resettlement of Jewish child refugees from Germany to other countries."[358] However, most efforts did try to emphasize the broad based aspect of

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[354] "The Child Refugees," *New York Herald*, February 11, 1939.
[355] "A Commendable Project," *The Evening Star*, February 16, 1939, A-10. See also, "Aiding Refugee Children," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, February 15, 1939, 8; Lindley, "Humane Plan," 9.
[356] Telegram from Clara Savage Littledale, Editor, *Parents' Magazine*, New York, N. Y., February 14, 1939, to Senator Robert F. Wagner, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., quoted in *Admission of German Refugee Children/Senate – Thursday, February 16, 1939*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Cong. Rec.* 84 (February 16, 1939): Cong. Rec. 1458.

[357] "Let Them Come In," *Pathfinder*, February 25, 1939, 12.
[358] "$3,000 for Child Refugees," *New York Times*, February 9, 1939, 4.

the "refugee problem" and as days passed and little was being done by the United States, domestic and international pressures continued to mount. While the national spotlight shone on Wagner and the petition, quieter work on behalf of German child refugees continued to grow and gain mass appeal. Individuals with special talents and networks with experience in international children's aid began to mobilize. Even when efforts were organized around German refugees in general, children and the vulnerability of this population were highlighted as central to their humanitarian impulses, in order to gain sympathy and support from the general public. On January 20, 1939, famous violinist Mischa Elman performed his first of many concert benefits on behalf of the German refugees from his home country. These concerts were explicitly non-sectarian. The *New York Times* highlighted the children Elman's charity would affect:

> It was [Elman's] forty-eighth birthday and the violinist had returned last night from giving a recital in Carnegie Hall… no sooner had he entered his apartment… than he was greeted by a group of German refugee children, eleven in all, singing 'happy birthday to you.' They presented him with a birthday cake and eleven red roses. Mr. Elman could only say, 'Danke schoen.' Later he added, he was 'extremely happy' that he could aid the refugees.[359]

The affective power of innocent, singing child refugees is evident in Mischa Elman's emotional response and as a reader, we are also meant to feel sympathy for the plight of these children. On February 6, 1939, former Czech Minister to Great Britain, Jan Masaryk, "spoke out at a meeting under Roman Catholic, Jewish and Protestant auspices," presided over by George V. McLaughlin of the Committee for Catholic Refugees from Germany.[360] Masyryk appealed:

> for more united effort at solving the refugee problem… 'This problem should be regarded as a whole. It is not a Jewish problem, it is not a Roman Catholic problem, it is not a Protestant problem. The plight is getting more terrible.'[361]

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[359] "Elman, 48, Greeted by Refugee Children," *New York Times,* January 21, 1939, 18.
[360] "Asks United Refugee Aid: Masaryk Warns Against Lack of Organized Help in U.S.," *New York Times,* February 7, 1939, 14.
[361] Ibid.

It was behind this universal humanitarian rhetoric that the proponents of the immigration and adoption of German refugee children found their mainstream and united voice in the political spectrum. From this voice emerged multi-pronged, bipartisan political action.

The Wagner-Rogers Bill and Solidifying the Ideological Argument

Both the activism and resistance to the children's migration were centered around the 1939 Wagner-Rogers bill (sometimes referred to as the Wagner resolution), and other slightly different variations of this bill, which would waive the U.S. quota act for 20,000 German child refugees to immigrate to the United States over the course of a two year period. Wagner's partisan House ally on this bill was Edith Nourse Rogers, Republican. Rogers' biography speaks to the feminist and internationalized development of U.S. welfare work. Before her 1925 election to Congress, Rogers worked overseas, and with the American Red Cross. This work informed her service as a politician. Beyond Rogers' commitment to her home state of Massachusetts, she was particularly invested in the welfare of veterans, disabled people, women and children.[362] While not as overt in her record, it was important to Congresswoman Rogers that she was recognized as a voice in "protest against the abuse of the minorities and the atrocities perpetrated upon them by the countries under dictatorship."[363]

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[362] *Biographical*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* (1939): Cong. Directory 48.

[363] Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers of Massachusetts, speaking for the Extension of Remarks, on January 3, 1939, to House of Representatives, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84, pt. 1: 17; *Extension of Remarks/House of Representatives – Tuesday, January 3, 1939*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (January 3, 1939): Cong. Rec. 17. For further Congressional support see, Ferdinand Kuhn, Jr., "Orderly Migration of Germany's Jews Envisaged in Plan," *New York Times*, February 14, 1939, 1, 12; *Biographical*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* (1939): Cong. Directory 53; *Public Bills and Resolutions/House of Representatives – Monday, February 13, 1939*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (February 13, 1939): Cong. Rec. 1358; *Public Bills and Resolutions/House of Representatives – Monday, February 13, 1939*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (February 13, 1939): Cong. Rec. 1405.

On February 9, 1939, Senator Wagner "introduced Senate Joint Resolution 64, which was referred to the Committee of Immigration."[364] The resolution, Wagner's explanatory statement, and the included statement authored and signed "by a number of distinguished clergymen… to authorize the admission into the United States of a limited number of German refugee children" strategically highlighted the central trends of the movement.[365] Following the formal introduction of Wagner's joint resolution, pro-adoption activists from all spectrums of the movement, until its final August 1939 Senate Committee Hearing, utilized the resolution as a focal point through which to mobilize. Principal points of the resolution read as follows:

> Whereas there is now in progress a world-wide effort to facilitate the emigration from Germany of men, women, and children of every race and creed suffering from conditions which compel them to seek refuge in other lands; and
>
> Whereas the most pitiful and helpless sufferers are children of tender years; and […]
>
> Whereas [the children's admission] by the United States would constitute the most immediate and practical contribution by our liberty-loving people to the cause of human freedom, to which we are inseverably bound by our institutions, our history, and our profoundest sentiments: Now therefore, be it
>
> *Resolved, etc.,* That not more than 10,000 immigration visas may be issued during each of the calendar years 1939 and 1940, in addition to those authorized by existing law and notwithstanding any provisions of law regarding priorities or preferences, for the admission into the United States of children 14 years of age or under, who reside, or at any time since January 1, 1933, have resided, in any territory now incorporated in Germany, and who are otherwise eligible.[366]

The resolution placed the proposed immigration and adoption of German refugee children within the context of the global crusade to find homes for German refugees of "every race and creed," thus highlighting the international teamwork and large scale plight of the refugees, as well as de-emphasizing the refugees' potentially undesirable religious

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[364] *Bills and Joint Resolutions Introduced/Senate – Thursday, February 9, 1939*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (February 9, 1939): Cong. Rec. 1276.

[365] Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, speaking for the Admission of German Refugee Children, on February 9, 1939, to Senate, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84, pt. 2: 1278-9; *Admission of German Refugee Children/Senate – Thursday, February 9, 1939*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Cong. Rec.* 84 (February 9, 1939): Cong. Rec. 1278-9.

[366] *Admission of German Refugee Children/Senate – Thursday, February 9, 1939*, 1278-9; "The Day in Washington," *New York Times*, February 10, 1939, 13.

backgrounds, i.e. Jewishness. Similar to aforementioned appeals, this resolution positioned this call to action as a natural American endeavor, whose people were "liberty-loving" and committed to "the cause of human freedom" through their institutions, history, and innate sentimentality. Wagner's accompanying statement further emphasized American action not only as a natural extension of American tradition, but also as the responsibility of a world leader, when nations such as Britain and Holland were already opening their doors to needy children.[367] In a number of news articles, the *New York Times* echoed these sentiments of the child refugees' universal humanitarian appeal and the United States' self-purported exceptional positioning as a benevolent nation-state. Comparing the U.S. to other nation-state-empires, one article particularly emphasized the resolution's remembering of American tradition and history: "German-born Robert F. Wagner, Senator from New York, last week proposed to Congress that the United States adhere to its traditional custom of providing a haven for the oppressed… of 'every race and creed.'"[368] Besides appealing to the children's diversely universal backgrounds (of every race and creed), the article's emphasis on Wagner's German immigrant heritage directly and intimately links the primary author of the refugee resolution to the German children themselves, gesturing towards more liberal understandings of race and internationalism post-World War II, and again downplaying the children's Jewish potential, in favor of emphasizing America's history of aiding the "oppressed."

Positioning the children as "the most pitiful and helpless sufferers… of tender years," the resolution appealed to the sentimentalized discourse of "the child" established in the

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[367] Ibid.

[368] "Sidelights of the Week," 72. See also, "Wagner for Entry of Child Refugees," 11; Lindley, "Humane Plan," 9; "German Refugee Children," *Sioux City Journal,* February 18, 1939; Telegram from Clara Savage Littledale, Editor, *Parents' Magazine*, New York, N. Y., February 14, 1939, to Senator Robert F. Wagner, Cong. Rec. 1458.

Progressive Era. Wagner's accompanying statement further emphasized the resolution's sentimentalized language that highlighted the child sufferers and universalized their innocent suffering across race and creed. Tying American humanitarianism to the discourse of the child, Wagner assessed, "The admission of a limited number of these children to the United States would release them from the prospect of a life without hope and without recourse, and enable them to grow up in an environment where the human spirit may survive and prosper."[369] Here, Wagner is speaking to the *rights* of the sentimentalized child. He is evoking the modern right of children to *enjoy* what adults, by the 1930s, understood to be part and parcel of a *normal childhood*. Mainstream media coverage similarly appealed to the constructed sentimentality of children's rights in order to advocate for the German child refugee's migration. For example, pursuing this universalizing rhetoric of childhood, a 1939 *Washington Post* article argued:

> The [Wagner] plan looks practical… because the children are ready to come or be sent. The young of the persecuted minority groups have long since lost the chance to enjoy a normal childhood. They are unable to obtain a proper education; they are forbidden to play in the parks, and, in some instances, even to play on the streets. Now even their lives have become unsafe.[370]

Identifying an acceptable "normal childhood" in terms of access to enjoyment, education, and play, without even playtime in the streets, the article declares the children's actual lives now at stake, thus implying that without the chance to emigrate, the children would surely perish. Present day, this rhetoric maintains purpose in the promotion of international adoption, arguing that if the children are not adopted, they will languish in orphanages and ultimately die. Besides this sentimentality, the author also notes the children's availability, in that they were "ready to come or be sent." Elided in this statement of child immigration readiness is

[369] *Admission of German Refugee Children/Senate – Thursday, February 9, 1939*, 1278-9.
[370] Lindley, "Humane Plan," 9.

that fact that there were of course an equal number of German adults ready to come or be sent to safety, but these adults were too politically dangerous for the author to advocate for their immigration.

In support of this normative construction of childhood, Clara Savage Littledale's telegram to Senator Wagner expressed, "May I express hearty approval of your bill to permit 20,000 German refugee children, 14 years and under, of every race and creed, to enter this country during the next 2 years," and numerous other media outlets tugged at readers' heart strings "to aid the most helpless victims of Nazi persecution – the children."[371] Echoing the sentimental language of the *Washington Post,* the Washington, D.C. *Pathfinder* noted:

> Of the hundreds of thousands of Europeans … the children arouse the greatest sympathy. With life still stretching before them, they find themselves shorn of opportunity, shorn of education, and in some cases shorn even of the right to play, the right to enjoy the sun and grass. This is not an emotional exaggeration; there are documented stories to confirm it. No imagination is needed to appreciate how evilly a situation of this sort can affect young minds and hearts.[372]

Invoking the special status of childhood to express incredulity at not supporting the Wagner-Rogers bill, the Virginia *Richmond Times-Dispatch* articulated:

> It is difficult to see how any one with humanitarian impulses can oppose the resolution… Those of us who have enjoyed a normal and happy childhood should try to place ourselves in the position of these unfortunate boys and girls in the Germany of today, where they are treated as outcasts, scoffed at in public, and in many cases thrown out of orphan asylums and left on the verge of starvation. How can we, who profess to believe in democracy and human rights, sit idly by and allow such atrocities to be committed without raising a finger?[373]

[371] Telegram from Clara Savage Littledale, Editor, *Parents' Magazine*, New York, N. Y., February 14, 1939, to Senator Robert F. Wagner, Cong. Rec. 1458; "A Commendable Project," A-10.
[372] "Let Them Come In," 12.
[373] "Aiding Refugee Children," 8.

Here, beyond starvation and death, the author equates childhood normality with happiness and belonging, and the lack of such as indicative of human rights violations and a lack of democracy.

Broad Based Coalitions and Building on Earlier U.S. Refugee Activism

Wagner's accompanying statement recalled the clergymen's January 10 petition, whereas "49 of our outstanding Catholic and Protestant prelates of the United States… joined in a statement urging our people to join together without regard to race, religion, or creed" in order to highlight the universal humanitarianism and broad based religious (and non-Jewish) appeal to accomplish this goal.[374] Soon after Wagner's formal introduction of the bill, other religious leaders quickly stepped forward to publicly support his efforts. For example, a coalition of Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen publicly announced a joint statement in full support.[375] Individual letters also began to flood Senator Wagner's mailbox. For example, Reverend Harry S. Coffin, president of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, wrote, "May I express my hearty appreciation of the action you have taken in introducing a bill for the admission of refugee children from Germany and trust that it will be given favorable consideration. This seems an act of humanity which our country dare not refuse in the light of the critical situation."[376] Similarly, J. F. E. Nickelsburg's personal letter to Wagner expressed:

> As chairman of the welfare committee of the Metropolitan Lutheran Inner Mission Society and a trustee of the Lutheran Welfare Council, city of New York, I wish to express my hearty approval of your proposed bill favoring the admission of 20,000 children 14 years of age and under into the United States on the terms enumerated kin your proposed legislation. If the various organizations with which I am connected can be of any service in carrying out your proposed plans, I shall be glad to receive from you additional information which might aid us to give cooperation in carrying out your

[374] *Admission of German Refugee Children/Senate – Thursday, February 9, 1939*, 1278-9.
[375] "Wagner for Entry of Child Refugees," 11.
[376] Letter from Reverend Harry S. Coffin, president, Union Theological Seminary, New York City, February 15, 1939, to Senator Robert F. Wagner, Senate Chamber, Washington, D.C., quoted in *Appendix*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (February 21, 1939): Cong. Rec. 642.

> splendid ideals. You have my permission to make public announcement of my endorsement of your project.[377]

For the clergymen who had mobilized in January, when interviewed, they spoke to an already established framework that existed to put international adoption into practice. As described by the *New York Times*, "The clergymen said that they have formed no committee, but were merely interested in registering an opinion favorable to this country's doing its share in helping, through already established agencies, German children who are unable to remain in their own land."[378] The nationwide signatories did not feel it necessary to form an official committee to ensure the migration and international adoption of the German refugee children into the United States and American families. They knew there already existed a strong network of adoption and child welfare agencies that could do this job for them, many of whom gained their experience aiding in the earlier refugee children's crises.

Who then would internationally select, organize travel, and place these children into American families and institutions? Advocates assured the public that "[the children's] admission would be predicated upon satisfactory and voluntary undertakings by responsible American citizens or private organizations that adequate provision would be made for their maintenance and care."[379] Beyond the publicly asserted support of bipartisan politicians and religious clergy, advocates of the German refugee children's movement also called attention to the diverse welfare organizations that already had a wealth of experience through their prior aid in earlier child refugee welfare movements, most recently regarding the Spanish

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[377] Letter from J. F. E. Nickelsburg, the Lutheran Welfare Council, New York City, February 17, 1939, to Senator Robert F. Wagner, Senate, Washington, D.C., quoted in *Appendix*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (February 21, 1939): Cong. Rec. 642.

[378] "Ask Roosevelt Aid Refugee Children," *New York Times*, January 10, 1939, 9. See also, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, speaking for the Refuge for Persecuted Children, on January 10, 1939, to Senate, 163; *Refuge for Persecuted Children/Senate – Tuesday, January 10, 1939*, 163.

[379] "Wagner for Entry of Child Refugees," 11.

Civil War. In line with the development of professional and private social and child welfare organizations building over the past decade, advocates for the German refugee children's movement were able to confidently assert, "Several responsible national organizations, representing various religious denominations, stand ready to co-operate in placing the young refugees in homes throughout the entire country."[380] Again, the organizations for this movement were not simply regional, and the standardization of child welfare allowed organizations across the nation to mobilize. Of these organizations, in particular, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) had already gained ample experience aiding the earlier Russian and Spanish child refugees.

The AFSC played a very public and important role in the children's activist movement. In a reflection of good timing, the visibility of two central organization leaders, Clarence E. Pickett and Dr. Rufus M. Jones, rose soon after the Wagner-Rogers Bill was introduced. Both received Philadelphia's annual "Nobel Prize" Bok Award for their service at home and abroad. Just a few weeks prior, AFSC had also received international publicity for several committee members' travels to Germany in order to view the plight of German Jewish refugees firsthand. Evidencing the longevity and continuity of experience and leadership, Pickett had served on AFSC's executive committee since 1929 and Jones served as chairman from 1917 to 1928, and then from 1934 through the German refugee movement. Both men had ample leadership experience under AFSC, and coordinated internationally with the Red Cross, on behalf of the Spanish refugee children.[381] Also a former AFSC affiliate was the current First Lady, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. A longtime supporter, Roosevelt contributed to AFSC's earlier work during the Spanish Civil War, and in 1939, was a vocal

[380] "A Commendable Project," A-10.
[381] "Philadelphia Pays 2 Quakers Honors," *New York Times,* February 21, 1939, 21.

supporter of the German refugee children's movement.[382] Able to rely on the organization's reliable and far reaching reputation, the *Evening Star* expressed:

> That seasoned American agency of humanitarianism in many fields, the American Friends Service Committee, has tendered its 'complete support' and expressed its willingness 'to assume any responsibility with our power in carrying out any provisions of the legislation requested of us.' The Star believes it speaks for Americans of every class and creed in commending the Wagner-Rogers proposal to the prompt and favorable attention of Congress.[383]

Pro-adoption advocates were able to lean on the AFSC's reputable standing. Also, similar to contemporary international adoption practice, by 1939, rather than try to figure out a way to keep families together for immigration, the option of internationally placing a refugee child in a stranger family or institution was seen as acceptable, and constructed as a purely humanitarian option. In response to the rapidly mobilized support, *Pathfinder* offered this summary:

> Indeed, active interest has already been expressed. The Quaker organization of the American Friends Service Committee, a group whose humanitarianism has long been a source of inspiration in all parts of the world, has wholeheartedly endorsed the plan. One of the driving forces behind it is a group of religious leaders representing all denominations, Protestant and Catholic alike. In the field of labor, both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have gone on record in its favor. Behind it, too, are groups of private welfare workers now organizing in order to put the plan into effect as congressional approval is forthcoming. Further, the plan has won the support of numerous prominent individuals, such as Mrs. Calvin Coolidge, who has joined a number of women in Northampton, Mass., in offering to provide for 25 refugee children.[384]

As the German child refugee movement continued to mobilize and gain broader public appeal, similar to the earlier child refugee movements, well-known local and national leaders utilized their public visibility and sometimes celebrity status to lend further credence to the cause.

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[382] Ibid.
[383] "A Commendable Project," A-10.
[384] "Let Them Come In," 12.

Former First Lady Mrs. Calvin Coolidge lent her name and service to personally do her part, and to legitimize the claim that there were indeed "private individuals and agencies in this country… ready to work out the details of the arrangements for caring for these children who are in desperate need."[385] As reported, the case of the German child refugees was so compelling that "Mrs. Calvin Coolidge has broken her standing rule of silence on all matters involving legislation to express her approval of this plan, as one of the women in Northampton, Mass., who want to take care of 25 children."[386] Using the former President's wife as an important example, advocates of the Wagner-Rogers bill assured that "there are thousands of other individuals and organizations who would gladly do likewise."[387]

On March 1, 1939, as the movement grew, Clarence E. Pickett, then-executive secretary of AFSC, announced the formation of a separate organization focused entirely on the German child refugees: "the organization of the Non-Sectarian Committee for German Refugee Children, in which leading representatives of many religious faiths and child-welfare experts will cooperate in giving sanctuary."[388] In this formation of a separate non-sectarian organization, the AFSC was trying to distance the German refugee children's movement from even its own Quaker background. Besides Mr. Pickett, who would serve as interim executive director, other co-chairmen of the committee included former signatories of the original Petition to the President, George Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago and Canon Anson Phelps Stokes of the Washington Episcopal Cathedral.[389] Stokes, beyond his religious leadership, also referenced his own personal experience of aiding Russian refugees following World War I in order to assert that "he felt sure the program of the [non-sectarian German

[385] Lindley, "Humane Plan," 9.
[386] Ibid.
[387] "Aiding Refugee Children," 8.
[388] "New Group to Aid Refugee Children," *New York Times*, March 2, 1939, 10.
[389] Ibid.; "Aid to Child Exiles in U. S. is Mapped," *New York Times*, March 31, 1939, 4.

children's] refugee committee was entirely sound."[390] Stokes, similar to Mrs. Calvin Coolidge was also willing to extend more than his good name and provide on the ground leadership to the German children refugee cause. Eagerly reported by the media,

> The Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes of Washington, D. C., and Dean D. D. Caroll, of the University of North Carolina, have expressed willingness to arrange for the care of one or more children… Dean Carroll said he would take one child, although he has four of his own. The Rev. Mr. Stokes said he had arranged with two responsible families to take two children each and care for them until they are able to obtain citizenship. Mr. Stokes added that proponents of the plan have offers to take more than 5,000 children.[391]

Dorothy Thompson, acclaimed journalist and oft-referred wife of Sinclair Lewis was another leading advocate who offered to personally "take one refugee child and educate him or her."[392] The leaders behind the German refugee children's movement exemplified their personal connection with the children and in doing so, besides relying on the strategic themes of humanitarianism and innocent childhood, also gestured to the availability of potential adoptive parents and caregivers, the already existing culture and market for international adoption, the "offers to take more than 5,000 children," that will be expanded on in the next section. Additionally, Dean Carroll represented another important contingent in the German refugee children's movement that continues to present-day, that of academics and scholars.

Dr. Frank Porter Graham, President of the University of North Carolina and Helen Taft Manning, Dean of Bryn Mawr College, also served as official co-chairs of the Non-Sectarian Committee. Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, President of Stanford University, was another notable supporter. Dr. Avery A. Shaw, President of Denison University, while not an official co-chair, was one of the original non-religiously affiliated signatories of the January petition. Numerous of the religiously affiliated signatories also had direct connection to academic

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[390] "Hoover Backs Bill to Waive Quota Act for Reich Children," *New York Times,* April 23, 1939, 1.
[391] "2 More Willing to Aid Refugee Girls and Boys," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* April 30, 1939.
[392] "Two More Reply to Tribune Quiz on Refugee Bill," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* April 26, 1939.

communities, such as Very Rev. Joseph D. Ostermann of Georgetown University and Dr. Howard Thurman, Dean of Chapel, Howard University. American Friends leaders Mr. Picket and Dr. Jones were themselves formally affiliated with professional education as well. Mr. Pickett, as a former Professor of Biblical Literature at Earlham College; Dr. Jones as member of the board of Bryn Mawr College, perhaps then in early conversation with Helen Taft Manning, and as a professor at Haverford College, for more than four decades.[393]

George Rublee, who had recently served as executive director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees was also an indelible voice to the cause. As the *New York Times* highlighted, "Because of Mr. Rublee's wide knowledge of conditions abroad, his sponsorship was regarded as of special significance by the Non-Sectarian Committee for German Refugee Children, which organized the sponsoring committee and made it public here yesterday."[394] Other notable supporters and vocal advocates for the German child refugees were businessman Marshall Field and Frank Knox, who in 1930 became the publisher and part owner of the *Chicago Daily News* and eventual Secretary to the Navy under Roosevelt's presidency.[395]

Other media reports pursuing the universalizing humanitarian rhetoric chose to emphasize the bipartisanship character of the coalitions surrounding the bill, in order to speak to the apolitical and broad based cooperation that the immigration bill engendered. Besides evidencing the bill's joint sponsorship by Senator Robert F. Wagner (NY-D) and Representative Edith Nourse Rogers (MA-R), New York Governor Lehman, Democrat and renowned Republican political activist William Allen White, served as official co-chairmen

[393] "Aid to Child Exiles in U. S. is Mapped," 4; "Philadelphia Pays 2 Quakers Honors," 21; "Nation-Wide Group Backs Refugee Bill," *New York Times,* April 19, 1939, 4.
[394] "Nation-Wide Group Backs Refugee Bill," 4.
[395] Ibid.

of the Non-Sectarian Committee.[396] As an early *Pathfinder* article noted, "[The] resolution is naturally non-partisan because its purpose is wholly humanitarian."[397] A February *Washington Post* editorial, "A Bipartisan Move," similarly articulated, "Humanitarianism in the United States knows no party lines or sectarian divisions… the desperate plight of the youthful unfortunates who find themselves for racial, religious, or political reason unwelcome and unwanted in the Third Reich touches no partisan chords. Indeed, with regard to this question other than political divisions tend to disappear."[398] Other publicly supportive politicians and government officials included Newbold Morris, president of the New York City council, and Alfred M. Landon, an active leader in the Republican Party and President Franklin D. Roosevelt's rival candidate for the 1936 presidency.[399] Other vocal political advocates were Senator Capper, Republican of Kansas and demonstrating notable leadership, Representative John D. Dingell, Republican of Michigan. Former President Hoover, who had gleaned important experience through is work in the Russian and Spanish child refugee movements, was one of the Wagner-Rogers bill's earliest and most vocal supporters.[400] As Hoover explicitly expressed via telegram during an April Senate hearing, "As you know, I strongly favor this bill providing for the admission into the United States of 20,000 refugee children. No harm, and only good, can come to a nation by such a humane action. I have no doubt of their adoption into American homes."[401] Beyond noting the basic bipartisanship efforts characterizing widespread support of the child refugee movement, it is also important

[396] "A Commendable Project," A-10; "Aid to Child Exiles in U. S. is Mapped," 4.
[397] "Let Them Come In," 12.
[398] "Editorial," 8.
[399] "Anti-Nazi Germans Hold Tribute Here," *New York Times,* February 23, 1939, 10; "Nation-Wide Group Backs Refugee Bill," 4.
[400] Lindley, "Humane Plan," 9; Kuhn, Jr., "Orderly Migration of Germany's Jews Envisaged in Plan," 1, 12; "Refugee Children's Bill Supported by Capper," *New York Times,* April 24, 1939; *Biographical*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* (1939): Cong. Directory 53; *Public Bills and Resolutions/House of Representatives – Monday, February 13, 1939,* 1358; *Public Bills and Resolutions/House of Representatives – Monday, February 13, 1939,* 1405.
[401] "Hoover Backs Bill to Waive Quota Act for Reich Children," 1.

to note that the movement's political advocates could not be easily dismissed as marginal characters who somehow made their way to the center of debate. The Non-Sectarian Committee was not simply a Quaker (or Jewish) organization, and spanned a broad spectrum of citizens. These supporters were not "radicals" or minorities in their time. Instead, the leaders in the German child refugee movement were well known, well respected, and often well liked American citizens who were already highly visible in the American public and who had already occupied highly regarded leadership positions within their communities.

Within this group of highly visible individuals, the explicit backing and confident opinions expressed by such specialists as adoption professionals, social scientists, and child welfare experts further legitimized the German refugee children's cause. The weight behind these various fields' expertise can be seen through the ways in which their specialists (and specialties) were emphatically referenced alongside the comparably noted perspectives of famous politicians and religious leaders. When the Non-Sectarian Committee for German Refugee Children was first introduced, Clarence E. Pickett was clear to introduce the "child welfare experts from various societies in [the] country," who would "augment" the AFSC's infrastructure, already in place, and the multitude of religious leaders that sponsored the organization. In order to assure the American public of the organization's serious commitment, organization, and focus, the Committee emphasized, again, that it would be "child welfare experts" that would draw up the plan, help to implement the bill, and provide the subsequent "selection, handling and placement" of the children. The children would ultimately be "placed in homes selected by recognized social agencies," under the direction

of the Non-Sectarian Committee's own child welfare experts. One of the committee's central headquarters would be located in the New York School of Social Work, itself.[402]

Dr. Marion Kenworthy, Director of the Department of Mental Hygiene of New York School of Social Work, was one noteworthy expert that the Non-Sectarian Committee explicitly called upon to translate "the tragedies" of the refugee children.[403] Dr. Kenworthy continued with the trend of highlighting universal child humanitarianism and eliding the children's potential Jewishness, expressing, "'Our deep concern for the children of Germany subjected to exclusion from school, separation from parents, exile from their country and even death by starvation moved us to join together to contribute whatever we could to ameliorate the tragedies of these children.'"[404] Speaking to the roots of professional international adoption already laid, Dr. Kenworthy was able to speak of her background with the AFSC, who had "been active in refugee work in several countries, and was adding five child welfare workers and would station them in Berlin, Vienna, Prague and Frankfurt to support the work of reestablishing the children in family circles."[405] Thus, besides evidence of the growing leadership and expertise amongst child and social welfare agencies in the U.S., the fact that the American Friends Service Committee was adding five professional child welfare workers speaks to the institutionalized networks already established internationally.

Besides Dr. Kenworthy, notable members of the committee also included Paul T. Beisser, C. C. Carstens, and Miss Sybil Foster, respectively president, executive director, and

[402] "Aid to Child Exiles in U. S. is Mapped," 4; "New Group to Aid Refugee Children," 10.
[403] Ibid.
[404] Ibid.
[405] "2,500 Homes in U.S. 'Open' to Refugees," *New York Times,* May 9, 1939, 13; "C. C. Carstens Dies; Welfare Director," *New York Times,* July 5, 1939.

field secretary of the Child Welfare League of America.[406] Additional members were Miss Mary Boretz, executive director of the Home Bureau of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society; Jessie P. Condit, executive secretary of the Children's Aid Society of Newark, N.J.; Miss Gertrude M. Dubinsky, executive director of the Juvenile Aid Society of Philadelphia; Miss Mary Godley, executive director of the Catholic Home Bureau of New York; Miss Katherine E. Griffith, director of the Diocesan Bureau of Social Service at Hartford, C.T.; Sidney Hollander of the Maryland Board State Aid and Charities. Child and social welfare organizations and professionals across the United States provided their unwavering support and expertise behind the German children's refugee movement.[407] Additional participants included Dr. Stephanie Herz of the Committee for Catholic Refugees from Germany, Jacob Kepecs, superintendent of the Jewish Children's Bureau at Baltimore, Harrie Lurie of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds; Miss Lotte Marcuse, director of the placements of the German Jewish Children's Aid, Miss Ruth Taylor, Commissioner of Public Welfare in Westchester County, Miss Sophie Van S. Theis, assistant secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York, and Alfred F. Whitman, executive secretary of the Children's Aid Association in Boston.[408] Several of these organizations were founded in nineteenth century and Progressive Era child welfare work.

Clara Savage Littledale, editor of *Parents' Magazine*, was a highly visible and vocal supporter of the refugee children's movement. In accordance with the gendered, normative construction and professionalization of child welfare during the Progressive Era, and the coalition trends of the German refugee children's movement, *Parents' Magazine* had been

[406] "Hoover Backs Bill to Waive Quota Act for Reich Children," 1.
[407] Ibid.
[408] "Aid to Child Exiles in U. S. is Mapped," 4.

established in 1926 and by 1939, the magazine's advisory editors board included such diverse and formidable leaders as Grace Abbott, Former Chief, U.S. Children's Bureau, Professor, School of Social Service, Univ. of Chicago; Dr. S. Josephine Baker, Former Chief, Bureau of Child Hygiene, New York City; Dr. Grace Langdon, U.S. Government Specialist on Nursery Schools, Parent Education, and Homemaking; Rev. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of America; Eugene A. Gilmore, Pres. State University of Iowa, Dr. Charles Seymour, President Yale University; Dr. Frank Howard Richardson, Pediatrician, Author of "Simplifying Motherhood;" Mrs. Eva B. Hansel.[409]

In all of the formal organizing behind the German children's refugee movement, this reliance on a broad coalition of experienced international and domestic child welfare professionals, educators and leaders in University communities, non-sectarian and religious leaders, political and pop culture figures, as well as eager and generous everyday American families and individuals, were able to find political voice and coalesce around the Wagner resolution in order to unite around a real and focused objective, to lobby the American government and, in particular, the joint Senate-House immigration subcommittee.

Americans' Pronatalist Culture and the Shifting Market Economy

The altruistic motives portrayed above were not the only driving factor for pro-adoption. As emphasized by New York columnist, author, (and oft-referred to as wife of Sinclair Lewis), Dorothy Thompson, during an April Senate Hearing, by the late 1930s, it seemed certain that there existed a "common knowledge that there are never enough American children available to meet adoption demands."[410] Speaking to the overabundance

[409] *Parents' Magazine,* February 1939, 4; Diana Selig, "Parents Magazine," Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society, Advameg Inc., 2008, http://www.faqs.org/childhood/Me-Pa/Parents-Magazine.html (30 April 2013).
[410] "Hoover Backs Bill to Waive Quota Act for Reich Children," 1.

of prospective adoptive parents at the April Senate Hearing, Paul T. Beisser, from Baltimore and President of the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA) articulated that there was in fact "an average of twelve applicants for every child adopted in the United States."[411] On top of the humanitarian liberalist motives for adoption, Thompson and CWLA spoke to the familial and market demands created by a prewar pronatalist American culture and a shortage of white children for domestic adoption during this time. While Korean adoption studies scholars often cite both this pronatalist culture and shortage of white children as central impetuses to the development of Korean international adoption, as evidenced in the prewar refugee children's movements, this market was already in place by the 1930s.[412] Viviana Zelizer historicizes this early twentieth century "sentimental adoption" market:

> In 1910, the press already discussed the new appeal of babies, warning, 'there are not enough babies to go around.' The Home-Finding Committee of the Spence Nursery… was surprised to discover that, 'instead of our having to seek these homes, they have sought us, and so great is the demand for babies that we cannot begin to meet it." … By 1927, the *New York Times* reported that the new problem in adoption 'has become one of finding enough children for childless homes, rather than that of finding enough homes for homeless children.'[413]

The clergymen's January petition had similarly gestured towards this existing international adoption market. Describing the outcome of their calls, the clergymen espoused, "A heartening token of the mood of America is to be found in the fact that thousands of Americans of all faiths have made known their eagerness to take these young children into their homes without burden or obligation to the state."[414] Before a special immigration act had even been introduced to Congress, the clergymen offered up the fact that

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[411] Ibid.
[412] On the shortage of white adoptable children during this time, and throughout later periods in U.S. history see, for example, Herman, *Kinship by Design*; Briggs, *Somebody's Children,* 6-7.
[413] Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*, 190, 192-3. See also p. 170, 190 fn 75, 199-200. See also, Brian Paul Gill, "Adoption Agencies and the Search for the Ideal Family, 1918-1965," in *Adoption in America*, ed. E. Wayne Carp (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 175, fn 5.
[414] Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, speaking for the Refuge for Persecuted Children, on January 10, 1939, to Senate, 163; *Refuge for Persecuted Children/Senate – Tuesday, January 10, 1939*, 163.

there already existed the demand for internationally adoptable children that thousands of Americans were already eager to adopt these children into their homes, to raise and care for them as their own. Wagner's resolution-accompanying statement also gestured towards the pre-Cold War existence of a pronatalist culture that created a demand for internationally adoptable children. Referencing the adoptive family market and thus the on-the-ground resources for child care already in existence, Wagner highlighted the "[t]housands of American families… [who] already expressed their willingness to take refugee children into their homes."[415] Editor of *Parents' Magazine,* Clara Savage Littledale, echoed, "There is a greater demand here for children for adoption than there are children now available… There are thousands of American homes eager to welcome these young refugees. May your bill permitting them to enter be passed with the least possible delay."[416] Similarly, Dr. Kenworthy reported thousands of unsolicited offers to care for the German refugee children. As the *New York Times* articulated:

> On hearing of the proposal to bring refugee children from Germany to establish them in American homes, 2,500 families in various parts of the country have already offered to take child refugees into their circles, although there has been no solicitation, Dr. Marion E. Kenworthy announced yesterday at the quarterly meeting of the American Committee for Christian German Refugees… Dr. Kenworthy declared that the spontaneous reaction of so many American families to the plight of the refugee children disclosed in letters sent to the committee and their willingness to admit them into their homes and take responsibility for their upbringing was a testimonial to the 'humanitarian sympathies of the American people.'[417]

The newfound sentimentalized value prescribed to children, the known domestic shortage of desirable adoptees, and prewar pronatalist culture yielded a market economy to create families via adoption that was foundational to activists' desire and optimism to immigrate German refugee children. The earlier movements of the orphan trains, black codes, and

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[415] *Admission of German Refugee Children/Senate – Thursday, February 9, 1939*, 1278-9.
[416] Telegram from Clara Savage Littledale, Editor, *Parents' Magazine*, New York, N. Y., February 14, 1939, to Senator Robert F. Wagner, Cong. Rec. 1458.
[417] "2,500 Homes in U.S. 'Open' to Refugees," 13.

American Indian boarding schools placed the commodity value of the placed children predominately on their physical and discursive-race *capital* and *labor* to the nation-state. By 1939, the sentimentalized child construct had succeeded in eliminating the more overt attachments of physical labor to children, but these labor dimensions had not yet been entirely erased for German refugee children. And importantly, the discursive-race capital and labor dimensions did not disappear at all; rather they were transformed. Speaking to the adoption market economy and anticipating the Cold War culture that explicitly utilized international adoption as evidence of U.S. capitalist democracy, Dorothy Thompson asserted, "[The German refugee children] will belong to the age group which we need, and will be of the ages where assimilation is simple. The action would be the finest propaganda for this country that can be imagined…"[418] With the transformation of the white child's role as one to be nourished and protected, Thompson's highlights the emergence of the internationally adopted new, hierarchized commodity-capital value as a sentimental object, who would perform the labor of producing and enriching American families, and discursively, provide international propaganda evidence the superiority of the U.S. nation-state.

"Labor" and the Refugee Child Immigrant

As the German refugee children's movement continued to gain momentum, the support of labor leaders and immigration reformers became necessary and essential. The German refugee children were not viewed by all as simply adoptees. By 1939, the politically "neutral" language of the "adoptee" had not yet emerged to encompass and "protect" prospective German refugee children from the highly politicized labor and race anxieties surrounding their immigration status. As immigrants, they were in need of special legislation

[418] "Hoover Backs Bill to Waive Quota Act for Reich Children," 1.

and at the time, not all Americans were believers of the solely positive capital attached to the potentially immigrating child. As early as the January petition, in the clergymen's plea to the American public, they simultaneously recognized the German children as save-able, adoptable, refugee-immigrants. The clergymen understood that individual citizens' sympathies were not enough and that Congress and the Executive branch needed also to be brought into the fray. They expressed, "Working within and under the laws of Congress, through special enactment if necessary, the nation can offer sanctuary to part of these children by united expression of its will to help."[419] In this sentiment, the clergymen clearly recognized the need for an act of special immigration exceptions for these children. Also, recognizing and speaking to the on-the-ground realities and tensions surrounding the children's entry into the country as immigrants, the clergymen also made sure to highlight that the children would be adopted into private homes and would therefore by no "burden or obligation to the state."[420] Principal points of the Wagner-Rogers resolution read as follows:

> Whereas the admission into the United States of a limited number of these children can be accomplished without any danger of their becoming public charges, or dislocating American industry of displacing American labor; and […]
>
> *Provided*, that satisfactory assurances are given that such children will be supported and properly cared for through the voluntary action of responsible citizens or responsible private organizations of the United States, and consequently will not become public charges.[421]

Thus, in line with the discourse of helping needy children, "the most pitiful and helpless sufferers… of tender years," the resolution also recognized that the children were indeed immigrants, but would only be allowed to enter as a "limited number" such that they would not serve as competition to "native" American workers or become burdens on the state

[419] "Ask Roosevelt Aid Refugee Children," 9. See also, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, speaking for the Refuge for Persecuted Children, on January 10, 1939, to Senate, 163; *Refuge for Persecuted Children/Senate – Tuesday, January 10, 1939*, 163.
[420] Ibid.
[421] *Admission of German Refugee Children/Senate – Thursday, February 9, 1939*, 1278-9.

as public charges. Specifically, the resolution proposed the authorization of the extra-quota admission of 20,000 German refugee children over the course of two years: 10,000 children admitted in 1939 and 10,000 in 1940, with disregard to race or religion. "Children," in line with U.S. social and legal discourses of this time, were defined as 14 years or under, those of "tender years."[422]

Within Wagner's accompanying statement that reemphasized the bill's humanitarian appeal, that "[t]he admission of a limited number of these children to the United States would release them from the prospect of a life without hope and without recourse, and enable them to grow up in an environment where the human spirit may survive and prosper," Wagner made sure to readdress the concerns that came with children being immigrants. As Wagner emphasized, "This resolution does not suspend existing quota restrictions on the immigration of adults. It merely authorizes the admission during a limited period of a limited number of refugee children, 14 years of age or under." Carefully emphasizing the limited time period, admittance numbers, and youthful age requirements, Wagner hoped to convince Congress that the limited admittance of the young children "could readily be accomplished without their becoming public charges and without any danger of dislocating American industry or American labor." In order to support this claim, Wagner highlighted three branches of support for the movement. Referencing the adoptive family market and thus the ground resources for child care already in existence, Wagner highlighted the "[t]housands of American families… [that] already expressed their willingness to take refugee children into their homes."[423] In direct response to the potential immigrant-labor anxieties, Wagner confidently charged, "'[This child immigration] could readily be accomplished… without

[422] Ibid.
[423] Ibid.

their becoming public charges and without any danger of dislocating American industry or displacing American industry or displacing American labor.'"[424] Citing as key evidence for these labor-risk-adverse children, Wagner was able to highlight that "both branches of the labor movement… joined in expressing sympathy for this objective."[425]

The day before Wagner officially introduced his Joint Resolution to Senate, the American Federation of Labor's (AFL) executive council and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) officially approved Wagner's proposed legislation. Thus, besides the support of esteemed Catholic and Protestant leaders, in addition to the less publicized work being done on the ground, the AFL and CIO also recognized that the admittance and child placement of the German refugee children would occur "under the supervision of the Quaker Relief Organization." Here, the AFL and CIO were referring to the American Friends Service Committee. In early supportive statements, labor leaders John L. Lewis and John Brophy, respectively president and executive director of the CIO, and William Green and Joseph A. Padway, respectively president and general counsel for the AFL, expressed their organization's whole hearted support of the Wagner resolution. For example, Green asserted, "because of humanitarian reasons, [AFL] could not oppose the idea of helping young children, particularly as the idea did not mean modification of the immigration statutes affecting adults." Again, emphasizing the necessary humanitarian responsibility to these young children, and positioning them as separate from other potential immigrant laborers, Lewis supported Labor's commonsense backing of child immigrants: "'Assuredly America should do its part in caring for some of the children who are the victims of religious and

[424] "Wagner for Entry of Child Refugees," 11.
[425] Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, speaking for the Admission of German Refugee Children, on February 9, 1939, to Senate, 1278-9; *Admission of German Refugee Children/Senate – Thursday, February 9, 1939*, 1278-9.

racial oppression in Germany. I heartily approve of any practical action necessary for the accomplishment of this purpose.'"[426]

In the midst of American immigrant anxieties focused around labor/unwanted job competition and race/the ideal of northern and western Europeans, Lewis and Green, as leaders of the two largest Labor organizations in the United States, were important vocal leaders in the movement. Their support meant to assuage any immigrant anxieties attached to the potential incoming child refugees and provided mainstream political weight to the Non-Sectarian Committee's cause. Regional and national labor organizations' endorsement of the Wagner-Rogers bill was amply cited and easily referenced within the media, and repeatedly indicated in statements by the movement's leadership in order to lend further legitimacy to their claims. For example, Canon Anson Phelps Stokes of the Washington Episcopal Cathedral, emphasized, "'If [the plan] held any danger to American labor you would not find the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations endorsing it.'"[427] Professor Arthur H. Compton, physicist and 1927 Nobel Prize winner, made similar references in his submitted *Chicago Daily Tribune* article: "'The public should know that many of our citizens have given this matter careful consideration and are advocating its adoption. I should like to point out through your columns that the Chicago Federation of Labor is in favor of this bill and is urging its passage. Also, the board of trustees of the Chicago Church federation recently endorsed it.'"[428] Another important example can be cited in the New York City Council's unanimous vote to "memorialize

[426] Louis Stark, "A.F.L. Backs Plan to Admit Refugees," *New York Times*, February 9, 1939, 5.
[427] "Hoover Backs Bill to Waive Quota Act for Reich Children," 1.
[428] "Voice of the People," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 18, 1939.

Congress to pass [the Wagner-Rogers bill]… The resolution was introduced by the American Labor Party group."[429]

Lewis and Green utilized the central sentimentalist linguistic strategies of their day that appealed to the common-sense humanitarian necessity of helping "young children," children who were implied to be helpless, vulnerable youths whose role necessitated care and nurture. In highlighting the adoptable refugees' child status, Lewis and Green sought to explicitly separate the understanding of these children's immigration into the United States from the potential "problems" attached to their adult counterparts. Additionally, Lewis's reference to the United States' international humanitarian responsibility was in line with the nation's self-proposed international identity, and by positioning the U.S. in opposition to Germany's "religious and racial oppression," worked to elide the United States' own history (and contemporary manifestations) of religious and racial discrimination. The "victims" of Germany's religious and racial oppression are the coded language for Jewish children.

Besides sentimental rhetoric, the common-sense rhetoric of "practicality," the "practical, concrete" design of the Wagner-Rogers bills was often utilized in order to strategically assuage immigration anxieties.[430] For example, highlighting the safeguarding limitations of the Wagner-Rogers bill – the limited time period and admittance numbers, the *Washington Post* espoused, "Humanitarian impulses so often get caught in blind alleys that it is cheering to see brought forward a plan which is both irresistibly humane and, in its main outlines, thoroughly practical… to afford sanctuary in this country for a limited number of

[429] "McCormick Scored in Council Debate," *New York Times,* May 3, 1939. See also, "Editorial," 8; Lindley, "Humane Plan," 9; "Aiding Refugee Children," 8; "A Commendable Project," A-10.
[430] "A Commendable Project," A-10; "Mail-Bag Excerpts: Brief Comment by Readers on Various Subjects: Refugees: Senator Wagner's Plan," *New York Times*, February 19, 1939, 73.

German refugee children." The article outlined the bill's practicality in further detail:

> [T]here are individual agencies in this country who are eager to care for these children, to see that they are fed, clothed, housed, and educated. No child would be given an immigration visa until satisfactory provision for its care has been guaranteed by a responsible American citizen or private agency. Thus… the number actually admitted would be restricted to the number for which responsibility is voluntarily assumed in this country.[431]

These "practical" descriptors were specifically addressing ethnocentric and isolationist politics, assuring that the immigration of child refugees, unlike other immigrants, were *without risk.*

Within these argumentative strategies, the emphasis on the youthful age of the children was not so much speaking to their sentimental value or the adoption market, but to emphasize their guaranteed support as dependents, as well as their uniquely non-threatening status in the American labor market. Engaging with the children as potential non-quota immigrants, thus placing internationally adopted child refugees in the same immigrant category as spouses and minor children of U.S. citizens, advocates repeatedly assured, "The children, all under 14, would be admitted only on condition that responsible individuals organizations agreed to care for them;" "the bill would simply allow [the children] to be brought in by those already willing to receive and support them."[432] And directly counterattacking the arguments that these children were a competitive threat to native-Americans' labor, the media similarly and consistently highlighted, "[The Wagner-Rogers bill] would not suspend quota restrictions upon adults… The New Yorker said that such action… [would] but merely authorize the admission 'during a limited period of a limited number of refugee children, 14 years or under;'" "It limits the age of the youthful immigrants

[431] Lindley, "Humane Plan," 9.
[432] "Aiding Refugee Children," 8; "The Child Refugees." See also, "Aid to Child Exiles in U. S. is Mapped," 4; "New Group to Aid Refugee Children," 10.

to fourteen years and under, so that they can be no burden on the labor market… It would allow annual admission for two years of a maximum of 10,000 children, many of whom would be quite young;" "These 20,000 children would not compete in American labor markets; all would be under 14. They would not become public charges; the bill would simply allow them to be brought in by those already willing to receive and support them." [433]

Directly engaging the American unemployment struggles, a *Washington Post* article readily admitted, "We can no longer offer refuge to the oppressed of all nations and ages. With millions of unemployed on our hands, there is good reason for examining with the greatest of care any proposal to relax our present immigration restrictions." However, similar to the *New Yorker*, the *Post* drew a sharp distinction between potential adult immigrants and the child refugees, arguing, "But the objections to letting down the bars to men and women of working age does not apply to children. No one will be deprived of a job." Rather, the article went on to boldly state, "In fact, the money in caring for these children will provide more employment for American citizens."[434] Making similar claims that the admittance of the German refugee children would actually create jobs, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* editorial argued, "The admission of 10,000 of these children to the United States during each of the next two years, would not affect our unemployment problem adversely… So far from competing with American citizens for jobs, these children would make jobs, for the money spent in providing for them would mean the purchase of goods and services."[435]

Conclusion

[433] "Wagner for Entry of Child Refugees," 11; "A Commendable Project," A-10; "The Child Refugees." Also, "Let Them Come In," 12.
[434] Lindley, "Humane Plan," 9.
[435] "Aiding Refugee Children," 8. See also, "Asserts Refugees Create Many Jobs," *New York Times,* May 5, 1939.

The joint Congressional hearings on the Wagner-Rogers bill officially began April 19, 1939, whereas Senator Wagner and Representatives Rogers and Dingell repeatedly referenced an estimated "100,000 children in Germany in 'desperate straits… hundreds of thousands… denied the right to live in peace and the very means of sustaining life.'"[436] Numerous "expert" and everyday witnesses testified before Congress in order to supplement Wagner, Dingell, and Rogers's remarks, reemphasize the movement's central themes, and lend personal testimony to describe firsthand accounts of the "desperate straits" of Germany's children.

On the second day of the Wagner-Rogers April hearings, Newbold Morris, the president of the New York City Council and treasurer of the refugee committee announced that the Non-Sectarian Committee had already "underwritten to the extent of $250,000 to cover transportation of [the refugee] children to [the U.S.] if the bill went through and to care for any unexpected situation, such as the possibility that some of the refugees might become public charges." As Morris explained, "'[The Committee] realized that in dealing with so large a group of children, regardless of any general financial provision, emergencies might arise… We, therefore, felt that it would be wise to establish a special fund of $250,000 as a contingency reserve against any unexpected situation. As has already been testified in these hearings, the full amount of this reserve has already been underwritten."[437] Thus, very early on, the Non-Sectarian Committee had already accumulated a very large sum of money to act as a safety net and direct rebuttal against any financial or economic social concerns of the American public.

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[436] "Urge Bill to Admit Refugee Children," *New York Times,* April 21, 1939; "Nation-Wide Group Backs Refugee Bill," 4.
[437] "Declare Germans Abhor Nazi Terror," *New York Times,* April 22, 1939.

At the April 22 joint Congressional Committee hearing, former Governor Philip La Follette of Wisconsin and D. Robert Yarnall of Philadelphia, who was a manufacturer and official of the American Friends Service Committee, provided testimony as two recent visitors to Germany. From his recent expedition abroad, "Mr. Follette… said that it was a mistake to regard the situation [in Germany] as oppressive to merely Jews and Catholics."[438] Recalling the German pogroms of November, La Follette and Yarnall expressed that tremendous suffering and terror were experienced by all of the "plain people" and "non-Aryans" of Germany, and that German government officials had confided that there would be but another, and then another, night of terror if the international community chose to ignore the November days of "broken glass." As these officials explained, Hitler and his Nazi party had promised Germany a Jew free nation and did not plan to ameliorate its measures of terror until the international community decided to take their Jewish population off of their hands.[439]

Again, layered within La Follette and Yarnall's testimony is the universalizing appeal and responsibility of the Wagner-Rogers bill through the emphasis on the blanket discrimination and trauma of the German people beyond "merely Jews and Catholics" to all "plain people" and "non-Aryans" – and the explicit threat of another night of "broken glass" if the U.S. does not step up to aid the stateless refugees. During the same hearing on the Wagner-Rogers resolution, former President Herbert Hoover's telegram was also read to the Senate Immigration Committee: "'I am glad to see support of measure by such great influences as both the Protestant and Catholic churches and the American Federation of

[438] Ibid.
[439] Ibid.

Labor.'"[440] Explicit in Hoover's support of the bill is a clear elision of the refugee children's potential Jewishness in order to construct a more universal appeal for the adoption of these refugee children into American homes through an emphasis on the support of the Protestant Catholic churches, as well as the American Federation of Labor.

Come late May, reiterating witnesses La Follette and Yarnall's earlier testimony, William L. Chenery, the editor of *Collier*'s magazine, informed Congress "that a terrible new 'pogrom' in Germany was not far distant and that the Bavarian Catholics were next on Hitler's purge list."[441] As illustrated, this very diverse network of people and organizations, together and separately, worked to appeal to their varying constituents in support of the German children – whoever they imagined them to be. The discussion of an impending and widespread pogrom provided newfound urgency to the advocates' cause and humanitarian rescue of German refugee children. As alluded to in Rev. Almon R. Pepper's announcement that the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church would enact a program to help to "obtain employment in placing children in homes," this coalition of supporters offered very real and material aid in helping to enact the Wagner-Rogers Bill. These substantive acts of generosity directly combated the argument that somehow the arriving refugee children would exacerbate the immigration or employment debates in the U.S. and attempted to assuage any domestic anxieties related to post-depression climate. The efforts behind the German refugee children's cause were seemingly coalescing as a powerful personal, institutional, policy, and political front – embodying the same characteristics as the post-World War II adoption movements. However, during these prewar years, the internationalist

[440] "Hoover Backs Bill to Waive Quota Act for Reich Children," 1.
[441] "New 'Pogrom' Coming, House Group is Told," *New York Times*, May 26, 1939.

and humanitarian rhetoric was not yet at the forefront of the United States' nation-building goals.

On January 20, 1939, following one of the earliest benefits for the movement, where famous violinist Mischa Elman was greeted by a small cadre of refugee children from his home country, the *New York Times* also indicated that it was necessary for Elman to be escorted back to his apartment due to a "recent threatening letter."[442] The newspaper does not indicate the motivation behind the letter, but its inclusion in the article indicates that the humanitarian cause of aiding German refugees, including children, was particularly controversial for some people and despite advocates' attempts to elide or downplay the children's potential Jewishness, was perhaps indicative of the anti-Semitic shadow that continued to shade the movement's activist efforts. In line with this sentiment, chapter 4 will more explicitly address these discursive incompatibilities, the opposition to the Wagner-Rogers legislation, and the movement's ultimate failure. By the close of the Progressive Era, in regards to the discursive transformation of American constructs of childhood, Viviana Zelizer argues, "In the 1920s and 30s, sentimental adoption made sympathetic headlines as it rapidly displaced earlier instrumental fostering arrangements. A new consensus was reached. The only legitimate rewards of adoption were emotion, 'an enlargement of happiness to be got in no other way.'"[443] Within this "new consensus," Zelizer includes the Jewish child. Departing from this analysis and common historicization, the following chapter will illuminate how the U.S., through the 1930s, remained an experimental time before all "white" children, particularly Jewish children, were considered priceless. Instead, incorporating the global element of adopting children from overseas, German Jewish

[442] "Elman, 48, Greeted by Refugee Children," 18.
[443] Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*, 171, 189-90, 193-4.

children's refugee-immigrant status only further ladened their already complicated identities in trying to perform ideal sentimentalized childhood.

Chapter 4
Naming the Priceless Child: Immigrant-Refugees, Parental Rights, and Flexible White Privilege, 1939-1940

On May 8, 1939, Dr. Marion Kenworthy spoke alongside the Reverend Almon R. Pepper of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and Henry Israel, the director of the Greater New York division of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Their forum was the quarterly meeting of the American Committee for Christian German Refugees, and their audience included some thirty representatives of various Protestant denominations.[444]

At this May meeting, Kenworthy, Pepper, and Israel still had every reason to feel optimistic about the future of the Wagner-Rogers bill. As recently as May 5, the bill was still being reported and debated favorably in both the media and the House and Senate's joint Immigration Committee. However, as time soon revealed, this positive drive forward, to the shock of many of the moment's supporters, began to rapidly dissipate. As leading intellectual and political figure, journalist Raymond Moley opined:

> [Despite] the support and… moving pleas of the representatives of nonpartisan organizations and of great religious, educational, and social agencies… Apparently our big, brave American Congress, representing the richest, the most powerful, and reputedly the most generous Nation in the world, is groveling before the prospect of a peaceful invasion by 20,000 children.[445]

This chapter will focus on the opposition to the Wagner-Rogers legislation. By June of 1939, the bill had stalled in Congress. By July, little progress had been made. In August, a new plight had officially arisen to overshadow that of the German refugee children – that of child refugees from Britain.[446] As anti-Semitic hostility toward German children (and their

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[444] "2,500 Homes in U. S. 'Open' to Refugees," *New York Times,* May 9, 1939.
[445] *Congressional Record* (1939) Appendix 3981.
[446] "Refugee Child Bill Formally Reported," *New York Times,* May 6, 1939; "The Day in Washington," *New York Times,* May 25, 1939; "Asks New Quota Vote," *New York Times,* July 3, 1939; "Congress Wind-Up On or Near July 15 Again is Predicted," *New York Times,* July 3, 1939.

families) escalated, complicated by their white privilege, it was the British child refugees who were ultimately deemed more deserving of America's humanitarianism.

As illustrated in chapter 3, the immigration and international adoption of German refugee children required changes in existing immigration policy. Similarly after World War II, what is now considered the "first wave" of U.S. international adoption also dealt centrally with child refugees whose immigration and adoption into American families required special immigration legislation. This would be the same case regarding Korean international adoption following the Korean War.

During the interwar years, the idea of international adoption, as a form of both child saving and American family formation, became further normalized. However, in 1939, the separation between the sentimentalized construction of "the child" and immigrant-labor concerns was not yet complete. Particular to German refugee children, while pro-adoption activists consistently emphasized the diversity of their backgrounds, the negative racialization and anti-Semitism surrounding the potential Jewishness of the children heightened the public's anti-immigrant feelings. Ironically, the children's white privilege also added to this nativist anxiety. Because the Wagner-Rogers bill did not explicitly address the continuation or termination of the children's parents' rights, the placements sometimes took on the rhetoric of temporary child placement or foster care. As opposed to current scholarship which focuses explicitly on anti-Semitism, this chapter reveals how, like European parents before them, German Jewish parents maintained claims of white privilege

of their children. This recognition of privilege caused many Americans to fear that these parents might make future immigration claims based on their children's U.S. residence.[447]

As the United States continued to develop its first nationwide campaigns to institute the practice of large scale overseas international adoption, it addressed first the immigration of German Jewish refugee children, but then facilitated only the entry of British refugee children. Both groups were at different times framed sometimes as temporary foster care and sometimes as straightforward kinship or stranger adoption. German and British child refugee placement case studies help define a transition period between the official close of the orphan trains and white childhood tied to labor, and the post-World War II "successful" institution of U.S. international adoption based on humanitarianism. I ultimately argue that the overseas child placement of German Jewish refugee children failed due to the racial in-betweenness of German Jews, as well as the still instable construct of childhood. By contrast, the U.S. mobilization to adopt, or at least temporarily host, British refugee children, the optimal "priceless" children, introduces the premise that these efforts would have succeeded had the violence of World War II not directly interfered.

Undergirding these assessments is the reality that United States entered into World War II as a nation still deeply invested in maintaining an idealized "white" body politic. Domestically, the interwar years' child placement practices evidenced these white supremacist investments in the continued "shortage" of available white children, and the comparable undesirability of black and American Indian children, for adoption.[448]

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[447] Later congressional discussions of the Wagner-Rogers bill revised the legislation so that the admission of the German refugee children would count against the existing quota numbers for Germans (precluding earlier demands to create non-quota immigrants via adoption), but the movement still ultimately failed.

[448] In continuance of Progressive Era reforms, black children also continued to languish in orphanages and black adults continued to be deemed unsuitable prospective adoptive parents. In addition, boarding schools continued to function as an in-between institutional space of empowering temporary child care and colonial oppression for the American Indian community.

However, "whiteness" – much as in nineteenth century ethno-religious discourse – remained unstable for some immigrants, and was still centrally tied to U.S. nation-building, but at a more highly visible international level. Additionally, the discursive rhetoric surrounding American white supremacist nation-building changed during this interwar period. While in practice, the United States' policies of nativist immigration restriction recognized the white-citizenship ideal, reflecting continued anti-Catholic sentiment, the mainstream language surrounding these exclusions became less explicitly racial and more thoroughly encoded within nationalist anxieties of labor and immigration, and the language surrounding inclusion gestures toward the discourse of multiculturalism and the United States' as a nation of immigrants, that became increasingly mainstream after World War II.

"But the children are a special case": Negotiating Whiteness and German Jewish Refugees

> *You say, 'All would be under 14 and so would not compete for employment.' What of the future? Perhaps in the next decade, when these children will be of employable ages… they will deprive thousands of native-born young people of jobs. Perhaps thousands of them will become burdens on the State, because the law requiring that 'their support be guaranteed by responsible individuals or organizations' cannot be construed to mean providing support indefinitely.*
>
> – Excerpted letter from Robert G. Booth, concerned citizen, East Orange, New Jersey, to the *New York Times*, February 24, 1939.[449]

The overabundance of positive claims laid forth by German refugee children pro-adoption advocates were ultimately not enough to persuade folks such as Robert G. Booth. For Booth, the emphasis on the refugee's child status did not compensate for this status's temporariness, and the fact that these children would indeed eventually become adults and thus adult competition for American employment. Assimilation did not play into Booth's

[449] Robert G. Booth, "Letters to the Times: Admitting Child Refugees," *New York Times*, February 24, 1939, 14. See also, *Appendix*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (May 26, 1939): Cong. Rec. 2253-4.

narrative as the German refugee children transition into adulthood. Rather, after perhaps ten years, Booth focused not on the children as future Americans, but instead emphasized that these refugees would then "deprive… native-born young people of jobs." This insistence on differentiating the German refugee children from those native-born draws attention to the children's immigrant status, besides being tied to labor in the more conventional sense, but their implied non-assimilability indicated the highly racialized view that many Americans had of the children.

Speaking from their broad based coalitions, pro-adoption advocates emphasized that the immigrating children would be of various religious backgrounds. They often highlighted their national, German heritage and Christian religious leaders felt it necessary to publicly emphasize "that the refugee problem of Central Europe 'had never been purely Jewish.'"[450] However, it was clear that the population in dire need of international aid and open borders was indeed Jewish. Specifically regarding the Wagner-Rogers bill, it was understood that approximately 50 percent of the children would be Jewish. While, this 50 percent was often emphasized through the positively framed guarantee that "only half" of the immigrating refugees would be Jewish children (and the others would be of Catholic or Protestant faiths, or even some of "purely Teutonic stock") in continuation of the conventional labor-capital ascribed in child placements, as well as the ethno-racial anxieties surrounding non-Protestant-northern-western Europeans, the white-Jewish children were seen as undesirable.[451]

How could the German child refugee advocates assure the public that only half of the children who immigrated would indeed be Jewish, and the others either Catholic or

[450] G.E.R. Gedye, "Prague Arranges Exodus of 10,000," *New York Times*, January 5, 1939, 5.
[451] Ernest K. Lindley, "Humane Plan," *The Washington Post*, February 13, 1939, 9; "A Commendable Project," *The Evening Star*, February 16, 1939, A-10; "Let Them Come In," *Pathfinder*, February 25, 1939, 12; "New Group to Aid Refugee Children," *New York Times*, March 2, 1939, 10; "The Child Refugees," *New York Herald*, February 11, 1939.

Protestant? Activists sought to assure the public with hard numbers and a guarantee that there would be a selection process, leaning heavily on the professional reputation of the AFSC:

> According to the best estimates available, there are about 75,000 German children in distress. Such authoritative sources as the American Friends Service Committee say that America's proposed total of 20,000 admissions could be chosen from 50,000 of the 75,000 in distress. Approximately only half of these 50,000 are Jews, the rest being in Nazi disfavor because they may have one or more Jewish grandparents or because their parents are politically outlawed. This means that all faiths are represented and that all groups in the United States have reason to take active interest in the Wagner-Rogers proposal.[452]

Besides reassuring the public that the 20,000 children would be carefully selected from a much larger pool, reminiscent of the racial-regional labor concerns that stimulated the orphan trains, the children's advocates also assured: "The [Non-Sectarian] committee will try to prevent any concentration of children in large cities or on the Eastern seaboard, it was announced. About half of the children now seeking refuge are Jewish, and the rest are Catholic and Protestant."[453]

Whiteness Contested: Malleable Assimilation versus Racialized Religious Matching

Activists' choice of capping the age limit was strategic in order to capture the refugees' child-status and hopefully elide the labor criticism posed by detractors such as Robert Booth. Additionally, this emphasis on age spoke to the market of the more youthful desirable age of adoptable children, as well as the continued belief that children were indeed malleable. For example, similar to the rhetoric surrounding orphan trains and early boarding schools children, Dorothy Thompson assured that the German refugee children "will be of the ages where assimilation is simple," thus alluding to the fact that the children's ethno-religious roots could easily be overcome. However, highlighting the inconsistencies in the

[452] "Let Them Come In," 12; "A Commendable Project," A-10.
[453] "New Group to Aid Refugee Children," 10.

advocates' assimilation argument, activists also emphasized the "matching" aspect of their placement process in order to allay racial anxieties. Specifically, for example, they assured that the children would receive "maintenance and care, in homes of their own faith."[454] In this sense, the importance of racial-religious matching was elevated on par with the advocates' economic assurances. As editorials nation-wide assured:

> No Federal appropriation is required. No child would be brought to the United States unless adequate guarantees were made for his or her support and until he or she is assured a proper home with people of his own religious faith – Jewish, Protestant, or Catholic.[455]
>
> Moreover, the Wagner-Rogers bill would specifically provide that no child be admitted unless his support were first adequately guaranteed and unless he were assured a proper home with individuals, families or groups of his own religious faith.[456]
>
> Mr. Pickett said the committee would 'implement' the Wagner-Rogers bill to admit up to 10,000 German children under 14 years of age this year and the same number next year if Congress enacts the bill, with a program under which the committee will assume responsibility for the placement of the children in… homes of their own faith.[457]

Ultimately, however, these matching assurances did little to quell the religious and racial anxieties of citizens such as Booth because they highlighted the children's religious background. In this regard, opposition to the children's immigration remained unconvinced and concerned about refugee children's role as future-laborers and as racially unassimilable Americans.

Scholars who analyze the ultimate defeat of the Wagner-Rogers bill and the United States' failure to admit these German refugee children analyze this failure as straight-forward anti-Semitism. Historian David S. Wyman has argued that the German refugee children's leadership took the form of Quaker organizations who acted as the public front for the Jewish

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[454] "Wagner for Entry of Child Refugees," *New York Times,* February 10, 1939, 11.
[455] "A Commendable Project," A-10.
[456] "Let Them Come In," 12.
[457] "New Group to Aid Refugee Children," 10.

American community.[458] Indeed, the AFSC was a Quaker organization. However, the Non-Sectarian Committee was clearly a multifaceted group that included a coalition of openly Jewish and non-Jewish members, affiliates, and organizations. Hailing from a range of states that included Connecticut, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C., the committee's members were affiliated with Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, and Episcopalian organizations, and represented a variety of private, state, and federally funded children's aid societies and welfare bureaus. The committee also included members of the media, private and public university affiliates, and professionals in the fields of child development, mental hygiene, psychiatry, and social work.

As this suggests, the legacies of white ethnic immigration discrimination tied to religion had not yet disappeared. While the public discourse surrounding the children's immigration was more often focused on the children's Germanness, as well as the guarantee that not all of the refugees were of Jewish descent, Jewishness was an important subtext of the dialogue. Ultimately, by 1939, Jewish children's whiteness was unstable, and thus so was their sentimental pricelessness. The racialized in-betweenness of white Jews was foreshadowed in earlier child placement movements. For example, one scholar notes that Jews were (like African Americans) excluded from Charles Loring Brace's orphan trains program.[459] However, while they were placed out in lesser number than their Catholic counterparts, Jewish children were placed out in large enough numbers that Jewish institutions of child care and placement arose in resistance to Brace's placement practices.

[458] David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945* (New York: Random House Value Publishing, 1990).
[459] O'Connor, *Orphan Trains*, 209.

Also, unlike African Americans, Jewish mothers and children were not excluded from Progressive Era reforms that provided state and federally funded support.[460]

In the 1920s, interwar Russian refugees were sometimes as negatively racialized as Jews. This religious racialization, on top of the racialized regional prejudices they faced, that encouraged northern and western, as opposed to southern and eastern European migration (institutionalized through the Immigration Quota Act of 1921 and more restrictive Immigration Act of 1924) also did not make them particularly desirable.[461] However, unlike Chinese (refugee) immigrants who faced explicitly racialized anti-Chinese movements and immigration exclusion via the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Immigration Quota Act of 1921, and 1924 Immigration Act that succeeded in excluding all immigrants of Asian descent, approximately 20,000 Russian refugees were able to migrate to the U.S. during the interwar years. And importantly, while Russian children were placed out into international families, within the parent-national community, Russian parents' sovereign rights to their children were uncontested. No comparable mobilization to adopt or "save" via international placing out practices emerged on behalf on Chinese children following the Japanese military campaign. While anti-Jewishness did indeed play a direct and important role in refusing the German refugee children's entry into the U.S., it is also important to recognize that these

[460] Reena Sigman Friedman, *These Are Our Children: Jewish Orphanages in the United States, 1880-1925* (Hanover: Brandeis University Press, 1994), 4-5; Kristine E. Nelson, "The Best Asylum," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1980), 233-8; Paula F. Pfeffer, "A Historical Comparison of Catholic and Jewish Adoption Practices, 1833-1933," in *Adoption in America*, ed. E. Wayne Carp (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 101-23; Jessie B. Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White: Working Parents and the History of Orphanages* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012). There were of course exceptions, including the white-sponsored Leonard Street Children's Home in Atlanta, Georgia and black-founded Jenkins Orphanage and Industrial School for Colored Children in Charleston, South Carolina. Importantly, Billingsley and Giovannoni similarly argue that black children were systematically and deliberately excluded from the early development of child welfare institutions. Andrew Billingsley & Jeanne M. Giovannoni, *Children of the Storm: Black Children and American Child Welfare* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1972), 51-4.

[461] James E. Hassell, "Russian Refugees in France and the United States between the World Wars," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 81 (1991), 32, 35-6.

children did indeed maintain some white privilege, and prejudice against them did not play out in the public, media, or political debates in such straight-forward fashion as towards other non-white peoples.

Not all coverage or mobilizations behind German child refugees' immigration and placement ignored or attempted to elide the children's status as Jewish immigrants. For example, the Nyack citizens' memorial, introduced by Senator Wagner in early January, 1939, declined to elide the refugees' largely Jewish heritage and instead chose to emphasize the unity of peoples from Jewish and Christian backgrounds as "brethren." The coalition highlighted Jewish people as a separate and persecuted race, but a race that could be characterized as composed of "stable" and "fit" persons. Within this purported discourse, while potentially Jewish, the German refugee children were also considered, white, brethren, and fit.

Similarly, by focusing on the sentimentalized child-status of the refugee youths, other advocates argued that the children's Jewishness simply did not matter. For example, as articulated in the *Washington Post, Collier's* contributor Quentin Reynolds endearingly humanized the Jewish children by characterizing the children through the lens of innocent simplicity. Reynolds "describes [their] behavior… when they discovered, on their arrival in England, that they were allowed to go near the grass: 'And so when they heard the incredible news… they gave happy cries and rushed out onto the grass and rolled in it like kittens in catnip. They tore tufts of it and pressed it against their cheeks. This was the first freedom any of them had ever known.'"[462] Highlighting the simple joys of being near grass, Reynolds describes the children's "happy cries" and creates the adorable association between the

[462] Lindley, "Humane Plan," 9.

children and frolicking kittens. The reader can imagine fresh faced cherubs breathing in fresh cuts of grass, pressing it to their cheeks, and experiencing the first joys of freedom. Through this reading, the underlying argument is, shouldn't these children also experience freedom on American soil?

The article continues to describe the devastating situation children would face if not allowed to emigrate: starving, homeless, and alone. Within this framing, besides emphatically utilizing the discourse of sentimentalized childhood as a strategy to universalize the appeal of immigration and promote humanitarian responsibility, advocates also attempted to emphasize Jewish children's blamelessness regarding their current situation, in some cases rhetorically distancing them from their Jewish genealogies. For example, as the *Washington Post* articulated, "In addition to the children of the confessional Jews, there are, of course, those of other 'non-Aryans' – persons who in many instances are of the Protestant and Catholic faith but have been found to have had one or more Jewish grandparents."[463] Reports such as these mentioned the fact that some of the Catholic and Protestant children had partially Jewish genealogy. However, as a *New York Herald* editorial attested, these children could not be held at fault for their older ancestors' beliefs. They were guiltless innocents "who committed the crime of having a Jewish grandparent or were guilty of being born to purely Teutonic parents of too liberal or independent a cast of mind." Equating the children's Jewish heritage to the political choices or liberal political casts of their parents, the rhetoric argues that these children cannot and should not be held accountable to their parents' or grandparents' indiscretions, thus constructing the children as untouched and thus untainted by the adult world of prejudices and discrimination. As the *New York Herald* continued to

[463] Ibid.

articulate, "When all the politics and the passions surrounding the Nazi dictatorship are forgotten, it seems probable that the memory of crowds of helpless children, thrust into trains with a bare 40 cents in the pocket of each and perhaps, or perhaps not, tags recording the names of the parents who were forced to abandon them to perpetual exile, will survive as the most vivid monument to the humanity of the Hitlerian god-state." Addressing the anti-immigrant sentiment of the day, the editorial goes on to validate, "The United States cannot and should not be asked to succor all the victims of race prejudice and high politics… Its first duty is to preserve its own unity as a nation. *But the children are a special case* [emphasis mine]." The children are the special case; the children are the exception to the anti-immigration rule.[464]

Importantly, within the *New York Herald*'s assessment, the reader is told that the "helpless children, thrust into trains… perhaps, or perhaps not, [had] tags recording the names of the parents who were forced to abandon them to perpetual exile." Because the Wagner-Rogers bill did not explicitly address the continuation or termination of the refugee children's parents' rights, a majority of the discussion framed the children's immigration through the language of adoption, and in order to make permanent settlement of these children less threatening, a central strategy was to emphasize that the children's parents would not lay claim to them in the future. Thus, the children's situation was oftentimes described in such detail: homeless children whose "parents [have] disappeared in concentration camps;" who "would emigrate without their parents… The plight of the parents of these youngsters is tragic… They have been forced out of employment, ruined in business, or thrown into concentration camps. [The parents] face a life utterly without hope."[465]

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[464] "The Child Refugees."

[465] Lindley, "Humane Plan," 9; "The Child Refugees;" "A Commendable Project," A-10.

Similarly noted in a different article, "The young thus allowed to enter America will be forced to leave their parents behind, but this part of their tragedy will not be unbearable, because on these shores they will have at least hope to spur them on."[466] As Honorable Samuel Dickstein noted in a radio interview, "Who are these child refugees? These are children whose parents have either been killed or placed in a concentration camp, or deprived of any means to make a livelihood."[467] In these descriptions, the situation of the parents is presented as so hopeless that the chance of reunion was not a redeemable option. In line with immigration restrictions and prejudices against adult Jews, the non-option of the refugee children's parents accompanying them to the U.S. constructed permanent, international child placement as the only and most humane choice. Thus, while leaving their parents would be a "tragedy," at least in the U.S. they would have "hope." However, a major discursive flaw existed in this strategic argument when advocates also promoted the temporary or foster care of these overseas children.

White Privilege, Parental Rights and Temporary Foster Care

Senator Robert F. Wagner illustrated the uncertainty of German Jewish child refugee placement practices in a June 7, 1939 radio address. Wagner initially stated, "The parents of thousands of these unfortunate waifs have been driven to death or lost forever behind the walls of concentration camps."[468] However, the Senator later needed to defend himself against the accusation of breaking up families:

> I want to emphasize especially that the resolution if adopted would not contribute to breaking up of families abroad. It is the present Nazi regime which is tearing children and parents asunder. This resolution would alleviate, not aggravate that tragic situation. It would bring help only where help is urgently wanted – for orphans and for those

[466] "Let Them Come In," 12.
[467] "Radio Address by Hon. Samuel Dickstein, of New York, May 23, 1939," *Appendix,* 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (May 25, 1939): Cong. Rec. 2238-9.
[468] "Radio Address by Hon. Robert F. Wagner, of New York, June 7, 1939," *Appendix,* 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (June 8, 1939): Cong. Rec. 2473.

> children whose parents are willing to place them temporarily in friendly hands, beyond the reach of the terror and oppression they are themselves unable to avoid.[469]

The early prospective form of international adoption represented by German refugee children's advocates did not imagine the birth parents as having no rights. Thus, slippage regarding the types of placements emerged, as in the case of Wagner's radio interview, with activists simultaneously advocating for both permanent adoption and temporary foster care. For example, illustrating the ambiguity between permanent immigration and birth parent rights, the *New York Herald* noted, "The whole group [of German refugee children] would be but a drop in the vast American population bucket… and their rescue (if accepting them for permanent, even though kindly separation from their parents can be called rescue,) would take but a few drops out of the buckets of misery filled by the new politics."[470] Similarly, *Parents* editor Clara Savage Littledale gestured towards the fact that some of the child placements would be permanent, or at the very least, long-term adoption of the children was hoped or assumed for given that "[t]here [was] a great demand [in the U.S.] for children for adoption than there [were] children [then] available." However, she concurrently advocated, "I am convinced through this magazine's contact with families and with child-placing agencies that these children can be quickly and efficiently cared for with resulting happiness to the children and their foster or temporary parents."[471] *The Evening Star* similarly articulated, "Without disturbing the immigration quota system, the Wagner-Rogers bill would permit a limited number of German children to be brought here, when foster parents are

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[469] Ibid.
[470] "The Child Refugees."
[471] Telegram from Clara Savage Littledale, Editor, *Parents' Magazine*, New York, N. Y., February 14, 1939, to Senator Robert F. Wagner, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., quoted in *Admission of German Refugee Children/Senate – Thursday, February 16, 1939,* 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (February 16, 1939): Cong. Rec. 1458.

ready to give them homes."[472] Unlike the earlier parameters surrounding earlier international child placement movements, as with Spanish refugee child placements, the temporariness of the German refugee children's placements were much less exact, particularly since the sovereignty and future migrations of the children's parents were much more unstable.

Within this slippage of proposed placement practices, a nuanced reading of German Jewish refugee children's whiteness reveals that they were not white enough to achieve "priceless child" status, and yet ironically, were white enough so that their birth parents and birth culture were afforded the respect to not allow them to be completely erased. Within this recognition of parent privilege, and the continued "matching" discourse of child placement, there was never a complete elision of their birth culture and heritage, even though advocates tried to downplay the children's Jewish background. Thus, similar to the race and sovereignty privileges expressed in nineteenth century orphan trains and boarding schools child placements, Americans were unable to equate overseas child placement with the "clean slate" rhetoric of international adoption that became popular post-World War II, and was solidified post-Korean War.

Ernest K. Lindley was one journalist who described the children's birth parents' circumstances in a more hopeful manner:

> Including what used to be Austria, it is estimated that there remain in Germany between 75,000 and 100,000 distressed children… Some of them could certainly be taken care of in this country without harm to anyone, and with immense satisfaction to those who provide the foster homes. In the course of time, *the parents of some will be able to reestablish themselves in other lands and so resume the care of their children* [emphasis mine].[473]

Viewing these children as potentially in possession of their parents and perhaps another national home, was a sentiment in stark contrast to the image that pro-adoption

[472] "A Commendable Project," A-10. See also, "New Group to Aid Refugee Children," 10.
[473] Lindley, "Humane Plan," 9.

advocates presented, of malleable, assimilable children placed permanently in American homes and families. Additionally, while Lindley points to the parents (and children) reestablishing themselves in other lands, perhaps similar to contemporary "anchor baby" anxieties, the retained bonds between refugee child and parent created public anxieties that the allowance of the refugee children might also open the door for their parents to immigrate. While *parents* of U.S. citizens (or permanent resident aliens) were not included in U.S. immigration family unification preferences until 1965 (as opposed to spouses and minor children), as cited in the June 1939 congressional record: "The children so admitted would, at a later date, seek priority for the admission of their parents into the United States," was a central objection of the Wagner-Rogers legislation.[474] This objection was second only to the concern that the resolution would be "an opening wedge for breaking down the quota law."[475] It is in this racial in-betweenness that an extra layer of anxiety enveloped immigration restrictionists and Anti-Semites. Beyond the view of German refugee children as undesirable immigrants themselves, there was also the fear that these children would one day influence U.S. immigration legislation, to eventually sponsor their adult German Jewish parents to enter the United States.

In the American public's imagination, this fear of refugee family chain migration was not entirely unfounded. As reported by the *New York Times,* in London,

> Leo Levi, 14-year-old Jewish refugee from Germany, has written to King George asking him to grant sanctuary to the boy's parents. In a letter from the Talmudical College at Gateshead, the boy said his father, a Professor of Mathematics, and his mother, an elementary school teacher, 'only wish to go to a peaceful country to lead a free life.' 'I personally am 14 years old and feel rather lonely in this country, but, chief of all, I feel free,' the child wrote."[476]

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[474] *Appendix*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (May 13, 1939): Cong. Rec. 2586-87; David M. Reimers, "Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965," in *Encyclopedia of U.S. Labor and Working-Class History*, Eric Arnesen, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2007), 633.
[475] *Appendix*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (May 13, 1939): Cong. Rec. 2586-87.
[476] "Refugee, 14, Writes to King Asking Haven for Parents," *New York Times*, February 26, 1939, 30.

In the United States, rather than denying this concern, proponents of the Wagner-Rogers bill responded, "Even if such were the outcome, this would not increase the total number of persons admitted to the United States; only the order of admission would be changed. Visas for these parents would be dependent on the quota law, and it certainly would be of little, if any, importance whether they or some other adult were admitted."[477] Perhaps this was a central downfall of the German refugee children's advocates, as the combined immigration fears of those restrictionists ultimately proved too large to overcome. The advocates' assurances and the German refugees children's child status were of little relief to those tensions attached to their accompanying white, Jewish, immigrant identities. Ultimately, the white privilege and racialized in-betweenness that characterized German refugee children impeded their successful adoption or overseas placement into American homes.

German refugee children provide an optimal historic case study to illustrate the transition of U.S. "domestic" to overseas child placement and transition to humanitarian immigration policy. As has been detailed in this chapter, during the interwar years, for some children, racial whiteness was still being solidified and Americans' understandings of childhood as priceless and not tied to labor, were still undergoing transition. Unlike the Chinese refugee children and similar to their Spanish refugee counterparts, the European backgrounds of Germany's refugee children marked them as racially acceptable and even desirable for international placement into American families. However, these children were also widely understood to be of Jewish heritage. Ultimately, this racial flexibility created two obstacles — the German child refugees were either too white or not white enough. Their racialized Jewishness invoked negative anti-Semitism, while their privilege as white

[477] *Appendix*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 84 (May 13, 1939): Cong. Rec. 2586-87.

migrants, similar to the cases of Russian refugee parents and nationalist Spain (and orphan trains and boarding schools communities), invoked the children's birth parents' parental rights, and the fear that these adult German Jewish refugees might somehow migrate to the U.S. via family reunification. Labor anxieties surrounding the German refugee children could not be elided by their allegedly priceless child status, revealing the still transitory stage of Americans' understandings of the construct of childhood in purely sentimental values.

The Priceless Child, Named: British Refugee Children

As the Wagner-Rogers bill and the future of the German child refugees stalled in Congress, the plight of the British refugee children took center stage. By early March 1939, Britain was mobilizing in preparation for impending war, compiling defense and wartime supplies, and in line with world sentiment, with a special focus on children. For example, chronicling conditions in Britain, the *New York Times* highlighted the "Gas Helmets for Babies." In addition to civilian gas masks, "the government [had] ordered 1,400,000 protective gas helmets for babies and 1,300,000 gas masks for other children." In order to accustom the babies to the helmets, in line with the proper construction of childhood with sentiment and play, officials "[advised] mothers play 'peek-a-boo' through the windows of the helmets."[478] Linking the humanitarian causes of women and children, another spring 1939 *New York Times* article reported on the "public spirit of the countryfolk of England, who [had] already offered shelter for more than a million city children and their mothers in the event of war." Besides these children and their mothers, Walter E. Elliott, Minister of Health, reported that unaccompanied minors, "the child unaccompanied by either mother or teacher," would also be accommodated. Interestingly, reflecting nineteenth century tropes,

[478] Ferdinand Kuhn Jr., "Civil-Defense Aids Piled Up In Britain," *New York Times*, March 2, 1939, 13.

"wealthy" British country people had "openly protested against having 'slum children' brought into their country homes, war or no war," but the newer construct of sentimentalized childhood outweighed that of the old and Mr. Elliott, to the applause of Parliament, was able to assure that if necessary, compulsion would be used to adequately place out the children.[479] Within this context, as the U.S. watched Germany's steady advancement across Europe, by summer of the following year:

> Washington, June 18 – With a German invasion of England expected at any moment, the possibility of bringing thousands of British children to the United States was discussed here today in various quarters and even in certain government circles… Presumably the task of evacuating the British boys and girls would be handled by a nongovernment agency, such as the American Friends Service Committee, which has done such notable work on the Continent, or by the Non-sectarian Committee, with headquarters in New York, which has been dealing with the problem of German refugee children.[480]

In the midst of World War II, it was the same coalition of private individuals, religious and political leaders, and adoption, social, and child welfare professionals that attempted to bring over British refugee children. However, the British child refugee movement that dovetailed the flagging movement for German refugee children was met with less resistance because British children were inarguably understood as "priceless," white children. Thus it seems that British refugee children would have succeeded in being the first large-scale wave of overseas child placements to the U.S. had not the violence of war gotten in the way.

Immigrant? Non-Immigrant? Visitor? Foster? Adoptee?

As with earlier discussion of German child refugees, the exact details of British refugee children's overseas placement – permanent versus temporary – were initially not provided or known. The question of their adoption forced a re-examination of where the children fit and how they would be defined within the United States' existing categories of

[479] "1,100,000 Britons Offer Billet Aid," *New York Times*, March 4, 1939, 2.
[480] "U. S. Studies Haven For Young Britons," *New York Times*, June 19, 1940, 14. See also, "Entry of British Children into U. S. Discussed," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 19, 1940.

migration. However, what was of central concern was that they be allowed to immigrate, thus taking them out of harm's way.

Originally, the British refugee children's overseas child placement was discussed in terms of immigration quota laws: "The British children would be admissible as immigrants under the quota laws and under guarantees that they would not become public charges. British quotas now afford ample opportunity for thousands of immigrants to enter the United States."[481] As was the case with Germany, Britain rarely filled its allotted quota during the 1930s as American consuls oftentimes designated potential immigrants as "likely to become public charges." For both German and British refugee children, technologies of child placement – official sponsorship via institutional, family, or foster care – the construction of child refugees as exceptional immigrants, the guarantee that they not become public charges, and were thus non-threateningly admissible, were advocated alongside the understanding that "[l]egislation would be needed for admission beyond the quota."[482] However, in regards to how legislation progressed for both child refugee groups, this is where the similarities ended. For German refugee children, the Wagner-Rogers bill, to the great dissatisfaction of the bill's proponents, was amended so that the children would only be admitted as part of the German immigration quota. In practice, a mass immigration of child refugees via overseas child placement was then never fully attempted. On the other hand, in contrast to the German refugee children, there was no comparable racialized anxiety regarding the British children's religion, age, assimilation potential, labor competition, or severing of parental rights. Instead, the British refugee children's unstigmatized whiteness allowed them to be accepted as the priceless child.

[481] "U. S. Studies Haven For Young Britons," 14.
[482] Ibid.

As was poignantly expressed in journalist Catherine MacKenzie's 1940 summer article:

> Americans have proved the truth of the old saying, 'If there's room in the heart there's room in the home.' In a single week ten thousand offers of homes have been made for children evacuated from the British Isles. A thousand offers or more a day, by telegram, mail and by personal visit, they still flood the New York headquarters of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children.[483]

According to Leonard W. Mayo, director of the Child Care Division, what was remarkably "dramatic [and] heart-warming" about these offers was their "spontaneous open-arms welcome to any child. Ninety per cent of the offers do not specify age or sex or religious status."[484] Tellingly, however, details regarding the remaining ten percent's preferences directly echoed that of Viviana Zelizer's description of the twentieth century priceless child: "To be sure… a few hearts are set on blue-eyed, blond little girls, and two-thirds of those who do state a choice ask for girls. Most people, as a matter of fact, want to adopt girls rather than boys."[485] Ultimately, due to the assumed tenure of the children's birth parents, permanent stranger adoption did not become the objective regarding British child refugees' overseas placements. However, as the remainder of this section illuminates, central institutional and thematic tropes akin to postwar international adoption, and existent in the German child refugee movement, were even more evident in regards to the British child refugees.

For example, many of the same organizations that forged the German refugee children's movement, such as the AFSC and Non-Sectarian Committee, came together to form and finance the above-noted umbrella organization, the United States Committee for the

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[483] Catherine MacKenzie, "Child and Parent: Little Refugees," *New York Times*, July 14, 1940, 93.
[484] Ibid.
[485] Ibid. In the nineteenth century discourse of the physically "useful" child, there was a child placement preference for older boys. However, by the 1920s and 1930s, "blue-eyed babies and golden-haired girls" were viewed as better embodying the "sentimental value" of the priceless child. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*, 173, 189.

Care of Europeans, Inc. (USCCE). This organization was foundational in the early overseas child placements of post-World War II child refugees that constitute what is now considered the first wave of international adoption. Coordinating with USCCE, the Travelers Aid Society, Red Cross, and the State Department also participated in the early aid of the few British refugee children who were able to migrate to the United States; these organizations would continue to aid overseas placements of post-World War II and Korean War children. Also representing child placement and refugee children's movements continuity, organizations such as the New York Children's Aid Society, and individuals such as Marion Kenworthy, Mary Boretz, Alfred F. Whitman, and Sidney Van S. Theis (perhaps of relation to Sophie Van S. Theis) provided central leadership experience. Arthur Huck, director of the New York Children's Aid Society, served as advisor for the USCCE.[486] The professionalized standards of placement were made in accordance with Child Welfare League of America, whom Mr. Leonard W. Mayo was also the president, and was another organization foundational to post-World War II and Korean War international adoptions.[487]

Additionally, in less than a month's time, while the Wagner-Rogers bill continued to stagnate, this coalition of child welfare experts, politicians, religious leaders, and everyday citizens succeeded in removing the immigration quota restrictions on the British refugee children. As the *New York Times* expressed:

> Thousands of anxious British parents, thousands of open-hearted American families, will applaud the news that the United States Government has at last cut most of the red tape that was entangling the rescue of children from Great Britain. The children coming here will no longer be regarded as immigrants, and their numbers will no longer be limited by the immigration quotas. The corporate affidavit has been sanctioned, so that responsible American organizations can guarantee the support of children who are not fortunate to have well-to-do relatives or friends in this country. These are vast improvements over

[486] "Refugee Problem Taxing Facilities," *New York Times*, July 7, 1940, 13; "Washington Refuses Blame," *New York Times*, July 12, 1940, 7; "Refugee Ship Safe in Port with 120," *New York Times*, November 16, 1940, 5; "Refugees Turning to Travelers Aid: 546 British Children Met at Piers by Society in 1940, Annual Report Shows," *New York Times*, April 21, 1941, 7.
[487] MacKenzie, "Child and Parent," 93.

> the former system, with its endless obstructions and legal absurdities. They represent a triumph of common sense and suggest that the urgency of this rescue effort is at last recognized in our Government Departments.[488]

The movement to allow the immigration and international child placement of German child refugees outside original quota laws was debated in Congress for well over a year before it was ultimately rejected. Utilizing the same disparate coalitions and strategic rhetoric mobilized by the German refugee supporters, the bill for British child refugee outside-quota immigration and placement was passed within a month's time.[489] In order to circumvent the quota system, the children would enter the United States as non-immigrant visitors. The U.S. would be temporarily "adopting thousands of these children as her own for the duration of the war."[490]

Gesturing toward the modern discourse of adoptees as non-immigrants, the article espoused, "The children coming here will no longer be regarded as immigrants, and their numbers will no longer be limited by the immigration quotas."[491] Choosing to not regard the British children's migrating bodies as "immigrant" identifies the negative and racialized connotations the term is so laden with: ethnocentrism, racism, fears of unassimilability and labor competition. Eliding the anxiety associated with older age, congressional discussions and media reports also recognized that some of the children might be upwards of sixteen years old.[492] British refugee children were not laden with such negative terminology and were thus allowed to exist, unlike the German child refugees, as simply children – priceless, sentimentalized objects to be saved, cherished, and cared for. Thus, immigration restrictions

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[488] "The Children Still Wait," *New York Times,* July 15, 1940.
[489] *New York Daily Mirror,* July 9, 1940; *Christian Science Monitor,* July 10, 1940; *New York Herald,* July 9, 1940.
[490] "Saving Democracy's Children," *New York Times,* June 10, 1940, 16.
[491] "The Children Still Wait."
[492] "British Speed Exodus of Children Oversea," *New York Times,* June 19, 1940, 5; "Refugee Children," House of Representatives, 76th Cong., 3rd sess., *Congressional Record* 86 (July 25, 1940): Cong. Rec. 9629-9630; "Refugee Problem Taxing Facilities," 13. Concerns regarding the children's age and potential future labor competition were occasionally voiced, but nowhere near the level of that compared to German child refugee.

for the British child refuges to live with "thousands of open-hearted American families," rather than viewed as protectionist and again, gesturing towards both the preexisting adoption market and sentimentalized construction of the child, were seen as "red tape… endless obstructions and legal absurdities" that were inhibiting the children's "rescue."[493] As Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, chair of the USCCE's temporary administrative committee, expressed, "Under the present Department of State regulations… only a few hundred children can be admitted each week. While these regulations on immigrants have a useful purpose… 'red tape must not be used to trip up little children on their way to safety.'"[494] Similar language would continue (and continues) to be used regarding immigration bureaucracy concerning international children desired for adoption by American families. Instead, the international placement of such children, professionalized and facilitated through "responsible American organizations" could be portrayed as an unchallenged "triumph of common sense," their incorporation into American families understood as part of an "[urgent…] rescue effort," where the German refugee children could not.

In addition, referencing the "[t]housands of anxious British parents," similar to the German child refugees (and unlike future Korean refugee children), the British children were not constructed as without parents or disconnected from their heritage, some of them to even be placed via kinship foster care with "well-to-do relatives" or the American family "friend."[495] However, unlike their German counterparts, the British children's white privilege did not create aggressive, oppositional anxiety about a racialized religious heritage or their birth parents' parental rights. Instead, the idea of temporary placement options,

[493] "The Children Still Wait.".
[494] "Plan a Refuge Here for English Children," *New York Times,* June 23, 1940, 28; "Lift Bar to Children, Mrs. Roosevelt Urges," *New York Times,* July 17, 1940, 5.
[495] "The Children Still Wait."

"wartime adoption," was able to exist alongside the sentimentalized market-adoption discourse that opened thousands of private homes to care for the children.[496] According to Congressman J. C. Hinshaw, California-R, "[There were] probably thousands and thousands more families in the United States ready and willing to take children than there are families in foreign countries willing to send their children to the United States."[497] Congressman Samuel Dickstein, New York-D, more specifically proposed, "there are twice as many families in this country willing to care for children, even though we should bring in 100,000 [children…] there are 200,000 families in this country."[498] Speaking to the achievement of British refugee children as "the priceless child," even for temporary placements, concerns were raised regarding the children's desirability and American foster parents' potential attempts to keep the children permanently. In response to these anxieties, Congressman Robert F. Rich, Pennsylvania-R, reassured:

> If an American family should get children from a foreign country and should become attached to those particular children while they are here, it certainly should not be the intent of any law that we may pass that those children will not be returned to their rightful parents when they want them to be returned, regardless of whether the American family wants to keep them or not.[499]

Thus speaking to the realities of this adoption market, American families' desire to save the children was tempered by their equal desire to have a child. While thousands of American citizens volunteered to take a child into their homes, there was an explicit lack of "remote sponsors": Americans "[willing to] underwrite the rescue of a child without insisting on personal custody."[500] Additionally, for those true war orphans, whom Congressman Dickstein described as the "number of orphan children whose fathers have been killed in this

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[496] "Saving Democracy's Children," 16.
[497] "Immigration of War and Political Refugees," House of Representatives, 76th Cong., 3rd sess., *Congressional Record* 86 (July 25, 1940): Cong. Rec. 9628-9629.
[498] Ibid.
[499] Ibid.
[500] "Washington Refuses Blame," 7.

unfortunate war and whose mothers have disappeared," these children could enter the United States as immigrants, as opposed to visitors, in order to ensure their permanent placements.[501] Recognizing the instability of war, Congress debated whether or not "a new form of visitor's permit should be devised, permitting an indefinite stay dependent upon conditions abroad… Temporary guardianship laws might be enacted. Machinery must be set up for placement of children that will protect the children and the parents of the children."[502]

War's Interference

Ultimately, the overseas immigration and child placement of British refugee children into American families in the U.S. was not hindered by American tensions surrounding race, religion, labor, or immigration, but by the violence of the war itself. Throughout the summer and fall of 1940, a few hundred British refugee children reached the United States safely and in July of that year, the U.S. State Department, corroborated by Britain, adamantly declared, "'[A]ny delay that may be occurring in the immigration from England of children refugees for the United States or Canada is not attributable in any way to American regulations or to failure of American officials to cooperate.'"[503] Rather, the problem lay in navigating the complications of neutrality laws and appropriate shipping resources for the children's transport. The future of the British refugee children began to dim further as the United States could not get explicit or official confirmation from Germany that these children would be allowed to safely cross the ocean without fear of enemy attack.[504]

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[501] "Refugee Children," 9629-9630; "Immigration of War and Political Refugees," 9628-9629; "Mercy Ships for Refugee Children," Extension of Remarks of Hon. Emanuel Celler of New York in the House of Representatives, *Appendix*, 76th Cong., 3rd sess., *Congressional Record* 86 (July 25, 1940): Cong. Rec. 4560-4561.
[502] "Immigration of War and Political Refugees," 9628-9629.
[503] "Washington Refuses Blame," 7; "Refugee Problem Taxing Facilities," 13; "Refugee Ship Safe in Port with 120," 5.
[504] Ibid.

On September 3, 1940, Americans, along with much of the rest of the world watched with bated breath as a vessel, transporting 320 British refugee children to Canada, was torpedoed in the Atlantic. Luckily, there was only a single casualty out of a potential 875 total children, chaperones, and crew aboard the ship. The surviving travelers were able to make it back to British land.[505] Tragically, the passengers aboard a transport ship later that month were not so fortunate. As reported, "Eighty-three of ninety British children seeking Canada… lost their lives… when an unidentified submarine sent a torpedo crashing through the liner bearing them through a raging Atlantic storm and more than 600 miles off of the British coast. At least 293 men, women and children were believed lost… Seven of nine adult escorts of the small refugees… perished with their charges."[506] The United States Committee for the Care of European Children were intimately involved in both of these attempts to bring British refugee children to North America. Still, Americans did not give up hope, and on November 15, 1940, following a three week journey which included a German air attack and submarine threat, the "shrapnel-scarred" British ship liner, *Baltrover*, arrived in Boston, carrying forty unharmed children.[507] However, following these dramatic and ultimately traumatic endeavors, the British government chose to end the child emigration movement by the close of the year.[508]

Conclusion

If World War II had not so directly interfered, both the institutional and ideological foundations would have been laid for the British child refugees to constitute the first large-

[505] "320 Landed Safely," *New York Times*, September 3, 1940.
[506] "Many Killed in Bed," *New York Times*, September 23, 1940. It is well documented that the U.S. and the United States Committee for the Care of European Children were intimately involved in both of these attempts.
[507] "Refugee Ship Safe in Port with 120," 5.
[508] "25 Child Refugees Here on Excambion," *New York Times*, December 24, 1940, 7; "119 Child Refugees Here from Lisbon," *New York Times*, June 22, 1941, 19.

scale overseas child placements, including some permanent stranger adoptions, of foreign children into American homes and families. Instead, while a few hundred children did manage to immigrate, many Americans, such as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, utilized the still-active Foster Parents' Plan for War Children, to satisfy their urge to aid and "adopt" a British refugee child.[509]

The ultimate and successful end of the United States' closed door refugee strategy is the reason why history books are able to gloss over this earlier history of America's refugee history, in particular why historians of Jewish refugee history are able to recall an isolated, anti-Semitic past, and why this history continues to be seen as disconnected from more contemporary U.S. refugee narratives and, tellingly, detached from the United States' history of adoption. However, a focus on the plight of German and British refugee children during this time reveals that while post-World War II and eventual Korean international adoption are hailed as the watershed moments, when all the pieces seemingly fell into place to allow for the adoption of children overseas: international humanitarian crises, the emergence of refugee children, and the conflation of international humanitarianism with international child placement; the U.S. rhetoric of racial liberalism and humanitarian leadership; a pronatalist, family centered culture and shortage of domestic white American children that created a market for international adoption; the professionalization of adoption practices, undergirded by transnational networks of social and child welfare experts, backed by the support of broad public coalitions – these pieces were largely in place already by the 1930s, lending to the nationwide support behind the immigration of German and then British refugee children. While both of these early attempts for international child placement were unsuccessful, they

[509] "British Boy 'Adopted' by Mrs. Roosevelt," *New York Times,* June 2, 1941, 19; "Cost for Refugee Aid Up," *New York Times,* July 27, 1941, 10.

were also ultimately foundational in the creation of the ideological underpinnings for later international adoptions.

After the British refugee children's movement ended, small numbers of other refugee children from other nations, including Austria, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Germany, Poland, Rumania, and Russia, were able to immigrate via overseas kinship and stranger child placement, and largely under the supervision of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children.[510] For those children migrating from democratic nations, in both policy discussions and popular culture, the anti-communist rhetoric that conflates international adoption with democratic supremacy post-World War II was already in place. Regarding refugee children, as Congressman Dickstein noted, "We cannot help the democracies in any other way, perhaps, than to save their living children in this the land of the free."[511] The *New York Times* reached the same assessment of Canada's adoption of refugee children from Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium: "In adopting thousands of these children as her own for the duration of the war, Canada is helping to protect democracy's most precious asset, the democratic generation of the future."[512] Such ideologies and conditions, networks and institutions continued to function, strengthen, and further integrate into American culture so that the stage was set for the post-World War II immigration and overseas child placements of children from such countries as Germany, Greece, and Japan, children who are now understood to be the first-wave of U.S. international adoptions. These adopted children were admitted to the U.S. under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, representing a

[510] "25 Child Refugees Here on Excambion," 7; "119 Child Refugees Here from Lisbon," 19.
[511] "Immigration of War and Political Refugees," 9628-9629.
[512] "Saving Democracy's Children," 16.

continuation of the practices and placement endeavors developed earlier to admit child refugees.

The tensions surrounding the 1939 German refugee children illuminate the tensions between the United States' purported international humanitarian role and the tensions at home over race and labor, tensions that were a continuation of those histories outlined in chapter 1. By the close of the Second World War, these domestic tensions continued to exist, but "saving" refugee children via adoption, as a natural extension of American humanitarianism and goodwill, would more explicitly serve America's nation-building goals as the U.S. emerged as a world power post-World War II. While U.S. anti-immigrant sentiment continued postwar, the child refugee and in particular, the "war orphan," became normalized as the exception to these ethnocentric concerns. All these conditions were then characterized and embodied under a Cold War rubric, a rubric through which Korean children would eventually be adopted. These postwar adoptions were another expression of a persistent branch of the United States' earlier practices of child refugee immigration and adoption history, constructed as humanitarian child saving, and evidence of the United States' moral superiority, even as these acts of adoption and the sentimentalization of child subjects were in service of American empire, and continued to be constructed as beyond politics.

PART THREE:
POST-WORLD WAR II
International Adoption and the Rise of U.S. Global Supremacy

> *Being the American Branch of an international agency, we are particularly aware of the social problems which arise from the assignment of large numbers of servicemen to posts outside of the United States. The great majority of our cases from Germany, for instance, relate to servicemen or veterans. A soldier marries a German girl and then when they have established themselves in the States, they ask help in getting the wife's out-of-wedlock child (perhaps the child of another American soldier) to their home.*
>
> *Hundreds of military families stationed in Germany apply to adopt German children in the courts there… As a matter of fact there has been such widespread interest in the adoption of foreign children by American military families stationed abroad that the Department of Defense has prepared the enclosed manual on intercountry adoptions…*
>
> *Our offices in Korea, Japan and Okinawa are deeply involved in direct service to members of the armed forces. One recent case, referred to us by the National Home Service office of the American Red Cross involved working out plans for the Japanese wife of a soldier now stationed in Korea…*
>
> – Letter from Susan T. Pettiss, Assistant Director, International Social Service-American Branch, to Charles F. Stoughton, Director, Home Service, American National Red Cross, April 21, 1959.[513]

In 1946, International Migration Service (IMS) changed its name to International Social Service (ISS). The goal was to reflect the changing needs of its client base, from the more straightforward work of aiding struggling (refugee) families and children, to the post-World War II family and child circumstances created by the presence of foreign servicemen. In this way, United States' postwar military expansion was directly responsible for this shift. The above letter between the ISS-American Branch and American National Red Cross (ARC), respectively the United States' largest and most influential international adoption and refugee relief organizations, represents just one of many letters exchanged between the two.[514] This correspondence illuminates the then-common knowledge that when there were large numbers

[513] Susan T. Pettiss, Assistant Director, International Social Service-American Branch, to Charles F. Stoughton, Director, Home Service, The American National Red Cross, April 21, 1959, ISS papers, Box 19, Folder 32: "American National Red Cross: 1946-1963."
[514] See, for example, ISS papers, Box 19, Folder 31: "American National Red Cross, 1964-1980;" Box 19, Folder 32: "American National Red Cross: 1946-1963."

of American servicemen stationed abroad, international "social problems" inevitably arose – oftentimes embodied by the highly visible out-of-wedlock child.

America's first internationally adopted children were fathered by overseas U.S. servicemen – literally, as well as symbolically. Reminiscent of the American Friends Service Committee's interwar child refugee colonies, overseas World War II and Korean War children were oftentimes adopted as "mascots" of U.S. wartime units.[515] When not placed via kinship adoptions, military families constituted the first stranger placements, and military technology provided the first international child placement transports.[516] And when these children were not direct progeny, U.S. military interventions abroad created the conditions through which the large scale practice of international adoptions were feasible. As such, the International Social Service-American Branch understood well that the practice of U.S. international adoption was not a result of Americans' philanthropic response to unfortunate war-related circumstances. Rather, it was a necessary service compelled by the "social problems which [arose] from the assignment of large numbers of servicemen to posts outside of the United States."[517] American servicemen were both the first producers and first

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[515] Eleana J. Kim, *Adopted Territory: Transnational Korean Adoptee Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 45-7, 49-54, 75, 77.

[516] In all matters of documentation, military transports are frequently visible in the discussion of the logistics of bringing over both military brides and war orphans. As expressed by President Truman, the immediate postwar efforts of aiding the migration of displaced persons and refugees would be focused on American zones of occupation in Europe, largely "so that immigration can begin immediately upon the availability of ships." Harry S. Truman, "Statement and Directive by the President on Immigration to the United States of Certain Displaced Persons and Refugees in Europe," December 22, 1945.

[517] Recognition of the problem of servicemen abroad and illegitimate children was not limited to ISS-America or the ARC. For example, by 1948, The U.S. Children's Bureau emphasized the "case-work problems growing out of the presence of our troops in foreign countries" and ISS-Italy and AGIUS, the special Legal Assistance Section under the Italian Red Cross, were inundated with cases of foreign parented illegitimate children: "How many innocent children owe to AGIUS the securing of a name, a father a homeland!" Notes and Comment, "International Placement of Children," *Social Service Review* 22 (December 1948): 508; Excerpt from the report made by Marcella Petella, Director of the Italian Branch of the International Social Service, at the meeting of the Committee of Directors of AGIUS, October 23, 1948, ISS Papers, Box 21, Folder 28: "ASSNS – International Red Cross Legal Assistance 1949-1952;" Letter from J. Pictet, Directeur-delegate of the International Committee of the Red-Cross, Geneva, January 17, 1947, ISS Papers, Box 21, Folder "ASSNS – International Red Cross Legal Assistance 1949-1952." Regarding the early interest in postwar overseas adoption linked with illegitimate children fathered by overseas American servicemen, see also Susan T. Petiss, "Effects of Adoption of Foreign Children on U.S. Adoption Standards and Practices," *Child*

adopters of the so-called "foreign orphans" that encompassed the first waves of U.S. international adoption.

Post-World War II, child placement inquiries and international adoption soon grew to constitute ISS's largest provided service. By following the international migrations of U.S. military personnel as explicit and strategic tools of American empire, one also maps the emergence of postwar international adoption practice, law, and policy. As scholars have duly noted, the United States emerged in the postwar era as a world power amidst global decolonization and antipathy toward conventional structures of colonialism and empire.[518] Thus, the United States pursued its imperial aspirations, not through the obvious and outdated means of territorial acquisition and settler-colonialism, but by establishing economic and cultural hegemony, couched in the rhetoric that equated the United States and free market global capitalism with the benevolent tenets of liberal democracy, human rights and freedom, reciprocity and fairness. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 thus define American postwar empire and imperial expansion as U.S. intervention in a sovereign nation-state's economic and political restructuring in order to establish (or maintain) a U.S. economic supremacist relation of power. In particular, these chapters will illuminate postwar U.S. Cold War policy as being coterminous with U.S. empire building. Importantly, under the fearsome Cold War shadow of the newfound atomic age, alongside the realities of potential resistance and the expansion of Soviet influence, the United States' global reconstruction of the world's economy, focused

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Welfare 37 (1958): 27-32; Weil, "International Adoption," 276-93; Laura Briggs and Diana Marre, "Introduction," in *International Adoption: Diana Marre and Laura Briggs*, ed. Diana Marre and Laura Briggs (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 5. See also Eleana Kim's analysis of the ways in which American men "fathered" Korean children, within the context of U.S.-South Korea neocolonial relations, Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 53.

[518] Thomas G. Paterson, *On Every Front: The Making and Unmaking of the Cold War* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1992); James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-2000* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2002); Willam H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: American Since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

in western Europe and eastern Asia, and continued self-positioning as humanitarian leader of the "free world," was always undergirded by U.S. military and political supremacy.[519]

As previous chapters showed, imperial advancement via strategies of cultural benevolence and compelled by economic motives were central to the U.S. nation-building repertoire long before World War II. And in line with global trends, the United States strategically utilized child placement, alongside military aggression and diplomatic policy, as one central and successful stratagem. Part 3 of this dissertation marks World War II not as a watershed moment for American aspirations toward international empire or transnational child placement, but as a watershed moment in U.S. power and legitimacy as a world leader – which then enabled the nation to implement these strategies and practices overseas.

Ultimately, internationally adopted children emerged at the intersections of U.S. Cold War policies that promoted American responsibilities abroad and humanitarian refugee immigration, as well as U.S. imperialist economic and military expansion. As was the case with the United States' earlier experimentations with domestic and international child refugee aid, both the cultural and institutional foundations for postwar international adoption were already set. Transnational networks were already in place to help facilitate overseas child placements. Pre-World War II tensions between the U.S. and Soviet Union already existed, and these tensions, embodied in anti-communist pre-Cold War ideals and ideologies

[519] Laurence H. Shoup and William Minter, *Imperial Brain Trust: The Council on Foreign Relations and United States Foreign Policy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977); Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Michael J. Hogan, *A Cross of Iron: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of the National Security State, 1945-1954* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Robert G. Lee, *Orientals: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 155; Rob Kroes, "American Empire and Cultural Imperialism," in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, ed. Thomas Bender (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 295-314; Ji-Yeon Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown: Korean Military Brides in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2002); Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004).

bulwarked the pronatalist philanthropic impulses that promoted American citizens' desires to internationally adopt child refugees as a form of humanitarian aid.

The difference between pre- and post-World War II overseas adoption attempts was that the imperial expansion of the U.S. military repeatedly produced out-of-wedlock children, placing a positively framed practice of U.S. international adoption at the forefront of the nation's needs. And it worked in confluence with the strengthening of these pre-existing Cold War tropes and child placement network. Within this framing, the nation's white supremacist discourse of racial hierarchies did not disappear with the end of World War II, and did indeed bear influence on the ways in which U.S. transnational kinship formations were conceived. However, within the Cold War anti-colonial context through which postwar American empire emerged, the world's eye was on American military expansion and it was imperative to represent the United States' response to American servicemen's overseas progeny as positive, responsible, and when possible, non-racist. Thus, in the same fashion as orphan trains children, the humanitarian and sentimental framework surrounding postwar adopted children helped to elide the more hostile undercurrents of American imperial actions abroad, and the children themselves, acted as familial, transnational bridges to better and more intimately link the U.S. and their overseas counterparts.

The ensuing chapters will thus explain how the first "successful" wide-scale instances of U.S. international adoption emerged as direct products of American empire under the rubric of America's postwar Cold War foreign policy. It will also elucidate these early transnational child placements in strong counterpoint to still-dominant, ahistorical narratives. These narratives continue to position the emergence of postwar international adoption as straightforward, humanitarian events, wherein altruistic American citizens were simply compelled to adopt needy war orphans. Specifically, chapter 5 will paint the biggest picture,

defining the global context for the postwar emergence of U.S. international adoption, in order to better explain why the United States' reach expanded into certain nations, and in a way that allowed for the manifestation of large scale adoption practices. Chapter 6 will focus on the policies and practices that emerged in U.S.-occupied Germany and Japan, the United States' respective foci in reconstructing a U.S. favorable world economy in West Europe and East Asia. Chapter 7 will then turn to the case of Korean international adoption, the sending country from where the largest and most longstanding wave of adopted child migration came forth.

Chapters 6 and 7 also introduce and discuss the parallel emergence of international military bride marriages that materialized alongside overseas adoption practices. I use the term "military bride" as opposed to "war bride" in order to connote empire. The language of war bride, similar to that of war orphan, temporally links the women's status to wartime, while *military* broadens the circumstances surrounding the women's bride status to include the non-wartime presence of American servicemen abroad.[520] In the cases of German, Japanese, and Korean military brides, the long-term occupation of their home nations by American military personnel were a consequence of U.S. imperial motives. Comparatively analyzing these cases highlights important historical similarities – and divergences, particularly how U.S. politics of race translated overseas to create hierarchies of both military bride status and transnational adoption practice.

Framing the discussion of these international marriages and adoptions together helps to emphasize both the longstanding tradition of linking causes and social practices concerning women and children and the highly raced and gendered nature of (U.S.) empire

[520] For further discussion on this politics of language – and the United States' ongoing military engagement in South Korea, beyond wartime, see Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown,* 1-3.

building and international relations. Of course, military brides and adopted children were incorporated differently into American families, as romantic partners and child dependents, but they were still intimately connected within a robust postwar discourse of racialized infantilization that compromised both women and children's agency. Just as the measure of community infantilization and respect for birth parents' (and nations') rights to their children helped to determine the character of prewar U.S. child placements, this postwar discourse strongly impacted international kinship formations. Ultimately, as chapters 6 and 7 will illuminate, migrations of foreign women and children into American families provided the multivalent material and discursive work that allowed for Americans, and the U.S. nation-state, to simultaneously purport strategies of generosity and empire, humanitarianism and discipline, non-racism and white supremacy, both at home and abroad.

Chapter 5
Cold War Politics and American Empire: The Emergence of U.S. International Adoption, 1945-1962

The letter that introduced this final section of the dissertation was dated April 21, 1959, and focused on the intimately linked consequences and desires embodied by overseas American servicemen's sexual relations with foreign women: out-of-wedlock children, adoption, and marriage. The correspondence initially focused on Germany, before moving on to discuss similarly intimate circumstances involving U.S. armed forces stationed in Korea, Japan and Okinawa. According to the classic humanitarian timeline of U.S. international adoption, this letter is dated six years following the close of the first wave of post-World War II adoption (1948-1953) which highlights children adopted from Germany and Japan, and six years into the second wave, which focuses solely on Korean child placements. Focusing on the reality of the continued and interconnected presence of American military abroad as impetus for the development and continued practice of international adoption disrupts this periodization and reframes the role of the U.S. from reactive responder to proactive participant whose imperial interventions abroad created the conditions that then warranted international child placement as a form of child welfare. Rather than viewing the early history of overseas U.S. international adoption as emerging through a series of postwar waves of war orphan migration, the stories of children such as nine-year old Myrosaw Martiuk, also known as "First Sergeant Charlie," who was adopted in 1947, and four-year old Lee Kyung Soo, renamed Lee Paladino and adopted in 1953, reveal post-World War II and Korean War children as part of the same military adopted collective. This collective of postwar adopted children provided the important discursive work of

overshadowing American imperialism through the benevolent gaze of humanitarian child saving – child saving done by American military citizens stationed overseas.

Myrosaw Martiuk was first "adopted" as a mascot from his Austrian refugee camp by the 524th Military Police Battalion before he arrived to the U.S. on November 29, 1947, alongside twenty-three other displaced children and several German war brides and fiancées of former U.S. occupation servicemen. Martiuk was a favorite amongst American military personnel, whom the *New York Times* saw as having found a "special friend" in the MP unit, First Sergeant Nicholas F. Mazucco of Rochester, N. Y., and "had so won over the crew that he bunked in the cabin of Assistant Purser Salvatore Brunettii of Port Chester, N. Y., and ate at the officers' mess."[521] In November of 1952, Lee Kyung Soo was unofficially adopted by U.S. naval officer, Chief Boatswain's Mate Vincent Paladino, stationed in Inchon, South Korea.[522] Exactly one year later, Lee accompanied his adoptive father back to the U.S. and as *Life Magazine* chronicled, when his "transport landed at Alameda, Calf.[, o]ut of it swaggered a new American."[523] Both Lee Kyung Soo and Myrosaw Martiuk came down their respective gangplank and gangway dressed in "tailored-to-size United States Army [and Navy] uniform[s], replete with chevrons, service stripes and… service ribbons."[524] In both of these child placement narratives, the adopted children represented their wartorn nations and, remade American military style, embodied U.S. benevolence and humanitarianism abroad.

[521] "24 DP Children Here; War Brides Arrive," *New York Times*, November 30, 1947, S11.
[522] While outside the scope of this dissertation, it is interesting to note that both Myrosaw and Kyung Soo's adopting fathers were Italian American men. Later chapters document adoptive parents whose surnames also suggest recent immigrant origins. Further research needs to be done regarding whether particular groups of soldiers were more likely than others to adopt children (or marry women) in the places they occupied.
[523] "A New American Comes 'Home,'" *Life Magazine*, November 30, 1953, 25.
[524] "24 DP Children Here," S11. *Life Magazine*'s detailed photographs and description reveal Lee Kyung Soo's uniform dress to be an exact replica of his adoptive father's. "A New American Comes 'Home,'" 25.

In both cases, the children were characterized as parentless orphans, and their pitiful wartime backgrounds were emphasized. Martiuk was a boy "born in Zboriw, in the Polish Ukraine, an area overrun by the Germans and later the Russians during the war. Efforts to locate his parents and older brother had failed." When the U.S. army found him, he was living as a refugee in Salzburg, Austria. When Lee Kyung Soo was first taken under the wing of the U.S. navy, not only was he a homeless victim of the Korean War "begging and fighting for bits of food," but he was also "the smallest, the loneliest, the one most easily pushed aside by the others." Lee's family also could not be found.[525]

Before the American military found Myrosaw Martiuk and Lee Kyung Soo they were kinless orphans, Martiuk a child refugee and Lee the runt of his brethren. However, following both boys' mutual adoptions, they were transformed – made into "men," as epitomized by (white) American military ideals. Myrosaw Martiuk became "First Sergeant Charlie" and Lee Kyung Soo "Lee Paladino." The two boys were saved and rehabilitated, both by and in the image of the U.S. military, thus epitomizing both the care and authority of American servicemen's presence overseas. The boys, in their stories, names, and dress, were quite literally wearing the emblems of benevolent (and masculinist) U.S. supremacy on their small child bodies. Implicit in these foreign children's performances of American militarism was the assumption that the U.S. military abroad was doing good, *good* work, such as adopting and saving otherwise starving and miserable waifs from wartorn countries.

For example, as emphasized through media coverage across the nation, outlets such as the *Chicago Daily Tribune, Los Angeles Times,* and *New York Times* chronicled and celebrated Lee's 1953 arrival, and subsequent "Americanization" through 1955. Through

[525] Ibid.

these news reports, the only narrative available was founded on the humanitarian premise that "Chief Paladino found Lee, at that time a ragged, cold and starving war orphan, in the streets of Inchon, Korea… and adopted the child."[526] Evaded through this discursive work was the interrogation of American servicemen's active role in producing these earliest adopted children, or the more subversive potentials as to what exactly the U.S. military was doing abroad. For example, why exactly was the United States enacting peacetime military expansion into certain nation-states, and in such a way as to compel the large scale practice of international adoption?

This chapter provides the global context for the postwar emergence of U.S. international adoption, alongside the expansion of the nation's militarist, capitalist empire. Transnational child placement practices unfolded at the crux of the nation's expanding imperial motives, and served as its public face of Cold War humanitarianism.

The first section of this chapter will map out the United States' imperial aspirations to reconstruct the postwar global economy to U.S. advantage, economic motives that necessitated the peacetime presence of the American military in certain nation-states, and were justified under a Cold War rubric of "national security." This comparative treatment of global U.S. military developments is necessary to establish the imperial structures that created the foundations of U.S. international adoption, and lay the groundwork for the central question of this chapter: With so many postwar child refugees in need, which international

[526] "Paladino and Lee Fly for U.S. Again," *New York Times*, November 8, 1953, 26. See also, "Korean War Waif Denied U.S. Entry; Stopped in Hawaii," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 19, 1953; "Brings Home Orphan," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 12, 1953, C15; "Fly to New Homes," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* December 22, 1953, A1; "A Big New Family Hugs War Orphan, *New York Times,* December 22, 1953, 18; "Korean War Orphan Baptized Here," *New York Times,* January 11, 1954; "Korean Waif Becomes Real American Boy," *Los Angeles Time*, January 10, 1955, 19; "A Long Way From Korea," *New York Times,* January 10, 1955, 3. See also, Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 52-3; SooJin Pate, "Genealogies of Korean Adoption" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2010), 72-3.

children were able to utilize America's special immigration legislation to allow for their adoption by American parents?

This central question explicitly confronts the humanitarian narrative that posits international adoption as simply the natural postwar outcome of Americans' child saving compassion. It reveals how U.S. Cold War ideology and the existence of American empire were essential factors in the emergence of large-scale international adoption.

U.S. Cold War Foreign Policy: Global Capitalism and "National Security"

The United States' imperial project of global economic supremacy was central to the nation's Cold War anti-Soviet, anti-communist containment policies, and the expansion of U.S. capitalist democracy ideals abroad. This project relied on reconstructing the postwar world according to free market policies that would align with American economic interests. How did U.S. economic interests come to embody U.S. Cold War national security policy, so much so that it warranted overseas occupation and peacetime (sometimes wartime) intervention? What was at stake?

As historians of the early Cold War period have explained, wartime industry and the absence of fighting on U.S. soil, as compared to Europe and Asia, not only brought the United States out of the global great depression, but enabled the U.S. to emerge as a world power.[527] In concrete terms, by the end of the war, approximately one-third of the world's manufactured goods were produced by American industry and, as documented in George F.

[527] Paterson, *On Every Front*; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*; LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-2000*; Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey*.

Kennan's 1948 formerly classified "Policy Planning Study 23," postwar, the United States held approximately "50% of the world's wealth but only 6.3% of its population."[528]

Regarding U.S. foreign policy and foreign relations, George F. Kennan explained that: "Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position of disparity without positive detriment to our national security."[529] But how was the United States to do that? Postwar international markets needed to sustain high consumption levels of American products. The world upheaved by war thus needed to be reconstructed accordingly. As Kennan explained, "We should recognize that our influence… in the coming period is going to be primarily military and economic. We should make a careful study to see what parts of the… world are absolutely vital to our security, and we should concentrate our policy on seeing to it that those areas remain in hands which we can control or rely on."[530]

It was through these policy prescriptions, legitimized through America's Cold War rubric of intervention, that the United States was able to solidify its political, military, and economic hold in already occupied countries. In this political and military entrenchment, the nation set the foundations for the first widescale successes of overseas U.S. international adoption.

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[528] George F. Kennan, "Review of Current Trends: U.S. Foreign Policy, PPS/23, Top Secret," February 24, 1948. Originally written as a classified document for the State Department in 1948. Declassified and cited in: U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948. General; The United Nations (in two parts)*, Vol. I, Part 2 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), 509-29. See also, Shoup and Minter, *Imperial Brain Trust*; Lee, *Orientals*, 155; Noam Chomsky, *Language and Politics* (Oakland: AK Press, 2004), 503-4.

[529] Ibid.

[530] Kennan's policy recommendations specifically concerned the "Far East," but the United States incorporated Kennan's economic and military suggestions globally. Kennan's Far East policy recommendations existed alongside his call for a "political, military, and economic union in Western Europe… necessary if the free nations of Europe are to hold their own against the people of the east united under Moscow rule." Ibid. Additionally, Kennan's policy recommendations were in line with the U.S. State Department and Council of Foreign Relations policy recommendation in the late 1930s and early 1940s, which "had initially imagined a 'Grand Area' of American influence, to include the Western Hemisphere and the Asia-Pacific area." Lee, *Orientals*, 155.

Military Expansion

The national origins of the earliest adopted overseas children reflected where the United States had engaged most heavily in post-World War II military intervention and occupation, to establish "spheres of influence" and protect U.S. economic imperial interests. In direct correspondence with these Cold War intercessions, more than 80 percent of these children were born in one of six countries: Austria, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, and Korea.[531]

Immediately following World War II, the United States (alongside other Allied nations) occupied Austria, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Korea. In 1946, under War Department General Orders 32, an Army of Occupation Medal was established to honor those servicemen assigned to any one of these "armies of occupation."[532]

In 1947, officially galvanized by motives of "national security," the United States intervened in the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), where communist insurgents had risen up against the British-backed monarchy. In 1947, three years before the Korean War, the Greek Civil War provided precedent as the nation's first economic and military intervention in another nation's domestic conflict, in order to suppress the establishment of communist governance.

The infiltration of American military into Greece, Austria, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Korea was enabled through the National Security Act, enacted September 1947, which

[531] More than 98 percent of the children adopted between 1948 and 1962 came from either Europe or Asia: 18,912 of 19,230. 81.34 percent = 15,642 of 19,230. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Weil, "International Adoption," 281-2. I included the numbers from the U.S. Ryukyu Islands in this total, as those servicemen who occupied the Islands from September 3, 1945 to April 27, 1952 were considered part of the Army of Occupation of Japan. Also, for writing purposes, I am not highlighting Berlin, which was considered a separate occupied territory from West Germany. "32 CFR 578.48," *L.S.A., List of C.F.R. Sections Affected* (Office of the Federal Register: National Archives of the United States, July 1, 2003), 421-2.

[532] Title 32 refers to the United States' National Defense code of federal regulations. "32 CFR 578.48," 421-2.

allowed the U.S. to defend its national security (tied to its economic security) through a more sophisticated infrastructure of expanded militarism. As explained by historian Michael Hogan, U.S. postwar military expansion was enabled to defend U.S. Cold War policies abroad. By the end of the Greek Civil War, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was forged, solidifying U.S. military investments in Europe and officially undergirding U.S. economic and diplomatic Cold War involvement abroad with military undertones.[533]

NATO was the United States' first peacetime military alliance. In 1949, its members (U.S., Canada, western European countries) pledged mutual defense against the expansion of Soviet power and as was famously stated by NATO's first secretary general (also Churchill's military adviser), Lord Ismay, the purpose of the multinational alliance was to "keep the Americans in, the Russians out, and the Germans down."[534] As a consequence of World War II, Germany was to remain a weakened nation-state. However, as the United States soon made clear, the U.S. had different intentions regarding the reconstruction of Germany's economy.

United States' economic motives in Germany, Japan, and Korea explain why exactly the United States chose to militarily expand in these nation-states. International adoption in turn arose as a byproduct of the social welfare problems created by the presence of American servicemen.

Germany

[533] Hogan defines this postwar U.S. military expansion as an enlargement of presidential power, consolidation of War and Navy divisions into a single Defense Department, and the creation of both the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and National Security Council. Hogan, *A Cross of Iron*. See also, Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*; Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown*; Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire*.

[534] Michael Lind Whitehead, *The American Way of Strategy: U.S. Foreign Policy and the American Way of Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 135.

Eventual U.S. national policy and congressional legislation clearly named U.S. economic supremacy as a major cause of international aid, one that ultimately compelled the division of Germany and a decade-long military occupation of West Germany and Berlin. However, the widespread public rhetoric surrounding this aid emphasized international collaboration and straightforward humanitarianism. As will be detailed in chapter 6, as the United States became increasingly involved with rebuilding its new ally, the patterns of law and policy regarding transnational family making – American servicemen's adoption of German children and marriage to German brides – explicitly followed the transformation of America's position toward West Germany. The roots of reimagining internationally adopted German children, not as "occupation babies," but as wartorn orphans, exist within this public and policy reframing. U.S. Cold War foreign economic policy, reinforced by military occupation, provided the foundations of this reimagining.

Utilizing an overseas military occupation framework to uncover the roots of U.S. international adoption, as opposed to a postwar humanitarian framework, raises the question: Why were so many U.S. armed forces personnel deployed into Germany? What was at stake? In postwar Western Europe, Germany represented the largest imperial vacuum left vulnerable to communist influence, particularly since the Soviet Union also occupied large portions of the country immediately postwar. Thus, reconstructing a pro-American German capitalist economy became a national priority and central matter of U.S. national security.[535]

In former president Herbert Hoover's March 18, 1947 report on German industry, the tensions between Germany's position as wartime enemy and U.S. economic necessity were palpable. In discussions of postwar collaboration with its fellow allied powers, Hoover

[535] Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*; Paterson, *On Every Front*; Carolyn Woods Eisenberg, *Drawing the Line: The American Decision to Divide Germany, 1944-1949* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

emphasized economic cooperation and free trade: "[W]e wish to establish a unified federal state in Germany, embracing mainly the present American, British, Russian and French military occupation zones, with economic unity and free trade between the states."[536] Hoover referred to this unified state as "New Germany." While Hoover maintained the priority objective "to clear German life of the Nazi conspirators and to punish those who have contributed to this conspiracy," Hoover also criticized putting heavy restrictions on German industry as part of the nation's punishment. Linking Europe's economic recovery to world peace, Hoover repeatedly emphasized German industry as central to that project, stating insofar that "broad economic policies toward the New Germany… alone can produce the reconstruction of Europe and peace."[537] Here, Hoover was also implicitly critiquing Soviet occupation policy that dismantled German industries and moved them to the Soviet Union to support its own postwar recovery.

Hoover thus framed American motives in the language of freedom and democracy, to "free German industry," so that Germans would own their own production. In light of these recommendations, Hoover noted that surely "[t]hese conclusions were not the product of sentiment… toward a nation which has brought such misery upon the whole earth." However, the U.S. felt strongly enough to propose a system of "Bi-Zonal Administration" if there was not full agreement on reinvigorating Germany's economy. As Hoover concluded:

> If… we cannot get a quick and sound peace on the lines I have recounted, the Anglo-American zones should abandon the destruction of plants, the transfer of plants for reparations and the 'level of industry' concept, and start every plant, 'heavy' as well as 'light,' which can produce non-arm goods. If this interregnum is to endure for long, we could build a self sustaining economic community out of the Anglo-American zones alone.[538]

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[536] Herbert Hoover, Draft Report, "Report No. 3. The Necessary Steps for Promotion of German Exports… [so as to relieve American taxpayers of the burdens of relief and for economic recovery of Europe," *The President's Economic Mission to Germany and Austria* (March 18, 1947), Official File, Truman Papers, 2-3.
[537] Ibid., 2-4, 14.
[538] Ibid., 1, 15, 18.

As this quote illuminates, foretelling the future division of Germany between U.S. and Soviet spheres of influence, as the United States' imperial mission overpowered its need to punish the German people, too large a rift rose between the U.S. and Soviet Union. By the spring of 1948, the United States' economic ambitions to revive, secure, and stabilize German industry, in favor of financing American imports, superseded its need to discipline the German people. These overseas American goals were in opposition to the Soviet Union, whose aims embodied an adequately weak and punished German state, including reparations and deindustrialization.

Just a few months following Hoover's report, Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson publicly argued for the necessary reconstruction of former wartime enemy Germany – and Japan – industry. Similar to Hoover, Acheson linked "industrial production to the organization of Europe, and the relation of the organization of Europe to the peace of the world."[539] Equating economic instability with inevitable chaos and anarchy, Acheson argued:

> [U]ntil the various countries of the world get on their feet and become self-supporting there can be no political or economic stability… no lasting peace… Without outside aid… In these conditions freedom and democracy and the independence of nations could not long survive, for hopeless and hungry people often resort to desperate measures.[540]

These "desperate measures" that Acheson referred to were the threats of communism and Soviet influence and, alongside the principles of "freedom," "democracy," and "independence," the United States would lose these valuable nations as free market capitalist allies.

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[539] Address made before the Delta Council at Cleveland, Miss., on May 8, 1947, and released to the press on the same date. Speech by Dean Acheson, "The Requirements of Reconstruction," May 8, 1947, The Department of State Bulletin, Volume XVI, Number 411, 992.
[540] Ibid.

Highlighting two specific countries, Acheson elaborated on the "grim fact of international life… that two of the greatest workshops of Europe and Asia – Germany and Japan – upon whose production Europe and Asia were to an important degree dependent before the war, have hardly been able to begin the process of reconstruction." Denoting Germany (and Japan's) economic recovery as "necessary if we are to preserve our own freedoms and our own democratic institutions… our national security. And it is our duty and privilege as human beings," Acheson argued for American international aid as a simultaneous act of compassion and communist resistance, explicitly undergirded by motives of U.S. economic supremacy. Framing U.S. exports as humanitarian aid, Acheson argued that the global economy needed to be rebuilt so that these nations could continue to import and pay for American goods:

> The contribution of the United States towards world… reconstruction is best measured… in terms of the commodities which we ship abroad… Our exports of goods and services to the rest of the world during the current year, 1947, are estimated to total 16 billion dollars, an all-time peacetime high. Before the war our exports… fluctuated around 4 billion dollars annually.[541]

With U.S. international exports at stake and following through on Hoover's earlier threat, March 1948 the U.S., Britain and France, divided Germany in order to gain unprecedented control over the western region. They accepted the "loss" of eastern Germany to the Soviet Union and communist influence. This allied division and partition of western Germany into separate occupation zones was the United States' first military peacetime alliance.[542]

The United States' rebuilding of Germany found legal authenticity a month following Germany's division, in the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) of 1948. In policy and practice, the FAA echoed Acheson in its transparent and explicit linking of world peace and U.S.

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[541] Ibid.
[542] Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*; Paterson, *On Every Front*; Eisenberg, *Drawing the Line*.

humanitarian aid with the protection of free market capitalism and U.S. economic supremacy. Equating "world peace" with "the maintenance of the strength and stability of the United States" vis-à-vis "free institutions," the FAA made explicit its long term goal "to bring about the progressive elimination of trade barriers."[543] Besides constructing a free access market for U.S. exports, the FAA also included a donations clause that encouraged the restructuring of overseas industry in accordance to a type of colonial relationship, so that "whenever practicable, promote… an increase in the production in such participating country of materials which are required by the [U.S.] as a result of deficiencies or potential deficiencies in the resources within the [U.S.]"[544]

However, the FAA and European Recovery Plan of this era is not remembered as the Acheson Plan, but as the Marshall Plan. The FAA cited as its influence, Secretary of State George C. Marshall's June 5, 1947 Harvard University speech. While Marshall's speech did make mention "the consequences to the [U.S.] economy" if Europe was not aided, and similarly linked U.S. assistance to political stability and world peace, the politics surrounding such aid were coded in a more neutral language of humanitarianism and freedom:

> [U.S.] policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist… Political passion and prejudice should have no part. With foresight, and a willingness on the part of our people… the difficulties I have outlined can and will be overcome."[545]

Similarly, upon signing the Foreign Assistance Act, President Truman noted,

> This measure is America's answer to the challenge facing the free world today. It is a measure for reconstruction, stability, and peace. Its purpose is to assist in the preservation of conditions under which free institutions can survive in the world. I believe that the

[543] Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, 80th Congress, 2D Session, Chapter 169, April 3, 1948.
[544] Ibid.
[545] Made on the occasion of commencement exercises at Harvard University on June 5, 1947, and released on the same date. Speech by George C. Marshall, "European Initiative Essential to Economic Recovery," June 5, 1947, The Department of State Bulletin, Volume XVI, Number 415, 1159-60.

> determination of the American people to work for conditions of enduring peace throughout the world, as demonstrated by this act, will encourage free men and women everywhere…[546]

Here, there is no language that implies the safekeeping of a dominant U.S. economy. American empire is erased. Instead, Truman links the bill and impartment of foreign aid to the nation's humanitarian quest for peace and freedom. U.S. military occupation of West Germany thereby becomes a part of this quest. And within this narrative reframing linked to U.S. adoption history, what began as an occupation baby "social problem" could then be remembered in today's popular culture as the first wave of internationally adopted war orphans.

Asia

Initially interested in cultivating its influence in China, as evidenced in chapter 3, the United States was allied to China during World War II and prewar, attempted to provide humanitarian aid to Chinese refugee children. In 1946, the U.S. remained in favor of Chinese relations and in comparison, stationed only a small number of troops in Japan.[547]

In line with these interests, included in the nation's 1948 Addendum to its European Marshall Plan and Foreign Assistance Act, besides economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey, was a separate clause outlined in the Title IV China Aid Act of 1948.[548] Within this clause, the U.S. provided $3 billion to China's nationalist movement. However, the United States failed to directly intervene in China's Civil War and U.S. foreign policy shifted to

[546] Harry S. Truman, "Statement by the President Upon Signing the Foreign Assistance Act," April 3, 1948.
[547] "Telegram from Nikolai Novikov, Soviet Ambassador to the US, to the Soviet Leadership," September 27, 1946. Cited from Kenneth M. Jensen, ed., *Origins of the Cold War: The Novikov, Kennan, and Roberts 'Long Telegrams' of 1946* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1993), 3-16.
[548] Foreign Assistance Act of 1948; Felix Belair, Jr. "Congress Votes a Historic Program: Sixteen Nations Join the U. S. in a Great Economic Effort," *New York Times*, April 4, 1948, E5.

Japan only in anticipation of the United States' ultimate "loss" of China to communism in 1949.[549]

It was thus only in this Cold War geopolitical economic reframing, undergirded by U.S. military occupation, that the practice of widescale U.S.-Japanese international adoption gained legitimacy. As in Germany, as the U.S. became increasingly invested in Japan's reconstruction, the patterns of law and policy regarding American servicemen's adoption of Japanese children and marriage to Japanese brides transformed with this repositioning (chapter 6). Similarly, as American interests in Korea proliferated alongside the newly independent nation's political inclinations towards communism, so were the roots of U.S. international adoption solidified (chapter 7).

Reflecting on George F. Kennan's recommendation that the U.S. implement foreign trade terms that would allow the U.S. to maintain its prewar "position of disparity," historian Robert G. Lee has highlighted that American trade negotiations with Europe fell far short of sustaining the nation's wartime economy. Thus, the U.S. needed to devise a system of trade in Asia "to close the 'dollar gap.' The development of a Pacific Rim economic strategy therefore became a central requirement for American policy planners directly at the war's end."[550] This policy was successful insofar as "[b]etween 1951 and 1976, the book value of American investments in the Pacific Rim grew from $16 billion to $80.3 billion."[551] Thus, the United States' Cold War economic investments made the safekeeping of Asian markets vital to the nation's "national security" in unprecedented degrees.

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[549] Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*; Thomas G. Paterson, *On Every Front*; Warren I. Cohen, *America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).
[550] Lee, *Orientals*, 155-6. See also Noel J. Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 5.
[551] Ibid.

Japan

Postwar Japan was Asia's Germany. Similar to the tensions and policy transformations embodied in the United States' occupation of Germany, the U.S. ultimately chose to support and ally itself with its former Asian wartime enemy for economic purposes. U.S. occupation of Japan under General Douglas MacArthur initially (1945-1947) emphasized the democratization of Japanese society, wartime accountability, and punishment of war criminals. However, by 1947, anticipation of communist victory in China prompted American officials to shift course. As such, rather than continue its democratization (and punishment) of Japan's economic and political systems, the U.S. began to utilize Marshall Plan funds to reconstruct Japan as the United States' Asian economic partner. According to Kennan's 1948 policy recommendations to base U.S. "security" in the Philippines and Japan, the objective regarding Japan was identified as "the one [place] where there is the greatest need for immediate attention on the part of our Government and the greatest possibility for immediate action."[552]

In line with these recommendations, prewar systems of industry were soon reestablished and by 1949, Japan's manufacturing economy had been rebuilt and repositioned to serve as the United States' hub of capitalist Asia, the central player in the United States' Pacific Rim strategy. The United States subsequently utilized Japan's geopolitical networks to gain access to Southeast Asian markets and solidify its hold on the Korean peninsula. By 1952, Japan's free market capitalist economy succeeded as, in historian Naoko Shibusawa's words, America's "bulwark" against the spread of Asian communism. As detailed in Shibusawa's revelatory cultural history, transforming the image of wartime Japan to that of

[552] Kennan, "Review of Current Trends."

U.S. Cold War ally required an enormous ideological shift in Americans' perceptions.[553] Within this complex and uneven process that intimately tied foreign policy to popular culture, in Japan, as in Germany, the legitimization of transnational kinship networks, in the form of American military brides and adopted children, also emerged.

Korea

As the United States shifted its focus from China to Japan, the Korean peninsula, situated at the intersections of China, Japan, and the Soviet Union, occupied an increasingly critical geopolitical zone of interest.[554] U.S. Cold War occupation strategy in Korea represented a combination of the United States' postwar repositioning in both West Europe and East Asia. However, the critical difference between the United States' political, military, and economic strategies regarding Germany and Japan was that the U.S. was not trying to set up a partnership, junior or otherwise. Rather, taking advantage of the nation's postwar instability, the U.S. sought to reconstruct Korea as a neocolonial state.[555] This explicit power differential had important and long lasting effects on the development of international adoption and military bride unions between American servicemen and Korean citizens.

As Korean independent governance emerged immediately postwar, the new people's government appeared politically inclined toward communism. In response, and in line with U.S. Cold War policies of containment, alongside its political and economic, capitalist

[553] Naoko Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006). For the postwar transformation of U.S.-Japan relations, see also, John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon, 1987); Walter LaFeber, *The Clash: U.S.-Japanese Relations Throughout History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1997); Lee, *Orientals*, 155-6; John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2000).
[554] Murray Schumach, "Marshall Says Foe Has Eyes on Japan," *New York Times*, June 11, 1951, 1, 5; Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War: Liberation and the Emergence of Creation of Separate Regimes*, vol. I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).
[555] Richard S. Kim, *The Quest for Statehood: Korean Immigrant Nationalism and U.S. Sovereignty, 1905-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 160-1.

interests in Asia, the U.S. intervened and militarily occupied what is now known as South Korea.[556]

While Germany was a wartime enemy, the U.S. delayed its division until March 1948, after careful negotiation and with full support of Britain and France. In comparison, while Korea was a wartime victim, as well as thirty-five years' Japanese imperialism, the United States expressed a remarkable lack of respect toward the newly liberated nation and its people. Rather than support Korea's sovereignty and self-determination, without approval or authorization from the U.N., the United States independently inaugurated military governance and occupied all Korean territory south of the 38th parallel in order to encompass Seoul, the nation's capital. American interventions, as opposed to Soviet interactions with (North) Korea, were non-cooperative, U.S. nationalist, and in opposition to on-the-ground Korean citizen resistance.[557] In order to subdue Korean nationals, the U.S. instead reinstituted former Japanese collaborators to positions of power and by 1948, had established a pro-U.S., capitalist government under the dictatorial leadership of U.S. sanctioned President Syngman Rhee.[558]

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[556] On postwar Korea and the emergence of communist-leaning Korean national movements see, for example, Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War*, vol. I; Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (New York: Norton, 1997); William Stueck, *Rethinking the Korean War: A New Diplomatic and Strategic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2011); Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America: A History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2016), 267.

[557] There is no consensus within the scholarship as to the exact political relations – the level of collaboration – between North Koreans and Russia, but it is generally agreed by American scholars of the Korean War that the Soviet Union acted as more a "steward" versus the United States' military occupation government, which heightened the resistance of South Koreans. However, there is some controversy regarding the level of Soviet (and Chinese) involvement in North Korean politics, particularly by a few Dutch, Russian, and Chinese scholars. It is well understood that the United States actively subdued the South Korean nationalist movements that opposed U.S. occupation. Ibid.; Joungwon Kim, *Divided Korea: The Politics of Development, 1945-1972* (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center at Harvard University, 1976), 229; William Stueck, *The Korean War: An International History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Allan R. Millett, "Introduction to the Korean War," *Journal of Military History* 65, no. 4 (Oct. 2001): 921-35; Stueck, *Rethinking the Korean War*, 3-4, 18; Dong Choon Kim, "Forgotten War, Forgotten Massacres – the Korean War (1950-1953) as Licensed Mass Killings," *Journal of Genocide Research* 6 (2004): 523-544; Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 20; Pate, *From Orphan to Adoptee*, 26.

[558] Scholars of transnational Asian American history most often position the division of North and South Korea post-World War II in more neutral terms. See, for example, Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown*, 19, 42-3; Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 47; Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America: A History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2016), 262-3; Oh,

The United States' unilateral division of Korea and self-serving takeover of South Korean governance incited the Korean civil war. America's earlier experience with Greece provided precedent for U.S. military intervention in a sovereign nation's civil conflict for the sake of Cold War national security. Following the United States' failure to intervene in China's civil war, emphasized by its 1949 communist victory, the U.S. was not going to risk "losing" Korea as well. Korea's civil conflict thus formally emerged in 1950, documented as the Korean War between North Korea and the United States. This three year armed conflict resulted in incredible postwar Korean devastation, the solidification of a divided Korean nation, and a 1953 armistice that continues to hold the threat of war over the Korean peninsula – all as a consequence of U.S. economic ambitions. These helped to set the stage for the largest and still-ongoing wave of U.S. international adoption.[559]

By ignoring the United States' clear postwar objective to establish global spheres of free market influence that compelled long-term military occupations and by ignoring the imperial consequences evident in Myrosaw Martiuk and Lee Kyung Soo's adopted ties to the U.S. military, one might argue that while the U.S. was in these "war orphans'" nations of birth with variable Cold War agendas, the actual adoption of these children represented nothing more than American benevolence. But a disjuncture separated the child saving humanitarian rhetoric officially espoused and the actual postwar practices of international adoption that unfolded.

To Save the Children of Korea, 20. However, a close reading of Korean War historiography and in particular, Cumings's canonical works, reveals U.S. empire at the heart and center of this division, and the ensuing Korean War. Kim, *Divided Korea*; Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War*, vol. I; Stueck, *The Korean War*; Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*; Stueck, *Rethinking the Korean War*; Kim, "Forgotten War, Forgotten Massacres;" Cumings, *The Korean War*. SooJin Pate's monograph is an exception to this trend in transnational Asian American studies. Pate, *From Orphan to Adoptee*. See also, Kim, *The Quest of Statehood*, 160-1.

[559] Ibid.

Humanitarian Frameworks and Imperial Realities

All of Europe and most of East and North Asia were devastated post-World War II and the plight of needy children, starving and dying throughout wartorn Europe and Asia, received immediate national attention.[560] As President Truman explained, "The war brought in its wake an appalling dislocation of populations in Europe… To the extent that our present immigration laws permit… we may do something to relieve human misery to other countries of the world which are able to receive some of these war sufferers."[561]

Within this 1945 directive, Truman explicitly stated, "I desire that special attention be devoted to orphaned children whom it is hoped the majority of visas will be issued."[562] With this authorization, as noted by historian Laura Briggs, "[T]he State Department began to issue refugee visas piecemeal, slowly breaking the solidity of the anti-immigrant position."[563] Children were given special immigration precedent and in congruence with the United States' prior attempts of overseas child placement and humanitarian self-positioning, through a series of special laws passed between 1948 and 1957, nearly 20,000 foreign children were adopted by American citizens between 1948 and 1962.[564] (Chapter 6 will provide historical context to how these laws emerged, in particular on behalf of German and Japanese children.) These laws included special clauses for refugee children. However, the question remains, with so many children in need, which were able to utilize the special child immigration legislation, to allow for their adoption by American parents?

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[560] Paterson, *On Every Front*; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*; LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-2000*; Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey*.
[561] Harry S. Truman, "Statement and Directive by the President on Immigration to the United States of Certain Displaced Persons and Refugees in Europe," December 22, 1945.
[562] Ibid.
[563] Briggs, *Somebody's Children*, 151.
[564] U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Weil, "International Adoption," 279, 281-2. These numbers include children internationally adopted through the 1948 Displaced Persons Act, Act of July 29, 1953, 1953 Refugee Relief Act, and Act of September 11, 1957. As Weil notes, since there is no recorded date for children internationally adopted via two refugee immigration laws passed in 1959 and 1960, there may be a slight discrepancies in the numbers.

In 1946, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) was established to aid these "most tragic victims," so that global humanitarian aid would be distributed "on the basis of need, without discrimination because of race, creed, nationality status or political belief."[565] Indeed, UNICEF's Executive Board included representatives from such diverse nations as Argentina, Australia, and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Greece, and Iraq, the Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socials Republics, and the United States of America.[566] Central to the establishment and continuation of this Fund were the "[m]illions of orphans [being] cared for under the most deplorable conditions."[567] In particular, priority would be based on need, and focused on helping those "children and adolescents of countries which were victims of aggression."[568]

By winter 1947, as reported by the *New York Times* (and supported by state records), "about 2,500,000 children in eight of Europe's poorest countries [would] get one [Christmas] meal," and a program was well underway to feed and care for "a total of 3,715,000 out of an estimated 31,600,000 needy children and nursing and pregnant mothers."[569] By February 1948, the operation was effective in twelve European countries and programs in China "and

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[565] John C. Charnow, Assistant Chief, Social Branch, Division of International Labor, Social, and Health Affairs, "The International Children's Emergency Fund," *Department of State Bulletin* (March 16, 1947); "Resolution 57 (I). Establishment of an International Children's Emergency Fund," United Nations 1946 General Assembly, Fifty-sixth plenary meeting, December 11, 1946.

[566] The other governments included in the original Executive Board were Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia. "Resolution 57 (I). Establishment of an International Children's Emergency Fund."

[567] *Establishment of an International Children's Emergency Fund, Report of the Third Committee,* doc. A/230, December 9, 1946, 3-4; Charnow, "The International Children's Emergency Fund;" "Final Report of the First Executive Board of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, 11 December 1946-31 December 1950," *United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Official Records, Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 3* (January 22, 1951), 3.

[568] "Final Report of the First Executive Board of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, 11 December 1946-31 December 1950," 3.

[569] Michael L. Hoffman, "U.N Fund Aids a Fraction of the Neediest Children," *New York Times*, December 21, 1947, E5. Charnow, "The International Children's Emergency Fund," 4. "Resolution 126 (VI). Reports of the Executive Board of the International Children's Emergency Fund," 1948 Economic and Social Council, February 25, 1948.

other countries of the Far East [were] being developed."[570] Between 1947 and 1950, UNICEF raised and distributed $22,947 to Asia, $87,568 to Europe, and $12,488 to the Middle East and North Africa. In regards to Asia, it was decided that nearly 70 percent of the funds be allocated to China, India, and Indonesia; Poland, Italy, and Yugoslavia were allocated nearly double the funds of any other European nation; Palestine refugees received more than 80 percent of funds allocated to their other Middle East and North African counterparts.[571]

Within the humanitarian narrative of American citizens rescuing orphans from war-devastated countries, it would make the most sense if the emerging postwar patterns of international adoption reflected UNICEF policies and activism. If postwar U.S. international adoption truly emerged as a reactionary, humanitarian response to the plight of those war orphans most severely in need, then circumstances dictated that the largest number of postwar adopted children from Asia would have come from China, India, and Indonesia, not Japan or Korea – and children from Poland or Yugoslavia would outnumber those adopted from Austria, Germany, and Greece. However, this was not the case.

While the global child welfare practiced by UNICEF represented the Cold War humanitarianism that the U.S. espoused, the actual development of U.S. international adoption represented the overseas consequences of U.S. economic and military imperial policies abroad. A case study of U.S. interventions in Greece illustrates the progression of American Cold War ideology into policy and practice that supported the nation's imperial

[570] "Resolution 126 (VI). Reports of the Executive Board of the International Children's Emergency Fund." Rather than "rescuing" needy children via adoption, by supporting expectant and nursing mothers, ICEF was actually working to help parents keep their children.
[571] UNICEF also allocated $5,181 to Latin-American countries, and these funds were dispersed relatively equitably and in lower amounts compared to the above cited regions/countries. "Final Report of the First Executive Board of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, 11 December 1946-31 December 1950," 34-5.

motives under the guise of unadulterated humanitarianism, and eventually supported the emergence of U.S. international adoption.

The Case of Greece: U.S. Cold War Ideology at Work

The Greek Civil War (1946-1949) did result in humanitarian crises. In terms of the needs of children, UNICEF identified the war in Greece alongside the droughts in Bulgaria (1948, 1949-1950), pellagra in Romania (1949), and drought in Yugoslavia (1950), as "particular emergencies" that required special and increased aid to children.[572] However, just as Greece was the only site of interest for American empire, so was Greece the only one of these nations afforded U.S. military intervention, and consequently emerged as a major site of U.S. international adoption.

Greece offers a special case study as the United States' earliest postwar venture that resulted in the formalization of American Cold War ideology as U.S. foreign policy. Made official as the Truman Doctrine, the United States' purported ideology, policy, and successful actions concerning Greece provided both the moral and practical justifications for future U.S. entanglements and imperial undertakings abroad. Ultimately, the military and political precedents set in Greece forged the foundations for further U.S. interventions across the globe. In particular, while Korean American studies scholars often point to the Korean War (1950-1953) as the first hot war of the Cold War era, Greece was the first international civil war that the U.S. interceded in, and it was the United States' success in suppressing the communist uprising, accompanied with the "freedom" diplomatic rhetoric and unprecedented

[572] Ibid., 5.

military legislation that allowed the U.S. in intervene in Korea, thus leading to the Korean War and ensuing largest and longest wave of U.S. international adoption.[573]

The United States' Cold War interests in Greece, similar to the nation's ultimate interventions in Germany, Japan, and Korea, were predicated on the imperial vacuums that emerged postwar. At the war's close, Britain's "loss" of Greece provided one of the largest indicators of British imperial collapse, and simultaneously made visible an important void in influence for the United States to fill. While Greece was never an official colony in the British empire, as one historian described, the political influence held by Britain before, during, and immediately after the war, could only be described as "monarchy."[574]

On February 21, 1947, Britain informed the United States that they could no longer sustain economic aid to anticommunist Greece and Turkey. In response to this knowledge, the Truman administration formalized a policy of containment that took Greece and Turkey as its starting points, but easily expanded globally, to enact political, economic, and military legislation to curtail the spread of communism and make the world "safe" for U.S. world capitalism. Less than a month following Britain's announcement, on March 12, 1947, in the President's historic special address to Congress, now known as The Truman Doctrine, President Truman explicitly linked U.S. "foreign policy" with its "national security" and equated the threat of communism in Greece and Turkey with the imperial wartime threats of Germany and Japan. As Truman outlined, "One of the primary objectives of the foreign

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[573] Ramsay Liem, "History, Trauma, and Identity: The Legacy of the Korean War for Korean Americans," *Amerasian Journal* 29 (2004), 114; Kim Park Nelson, "Mapping Multiple Histories of Korean American Transnational Adoption," *U.S.-Korea Institute Working Paper Series* 9 (2009), 3; Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 47; Kim Park Nelson, *Invisible Asians: Korean American Adoptees, Asian American Experiences, and Racial Exceptionalism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2016), 42.

[574] Procopis Papastratis, *British Policy towards Greece during the Second World War, 1941-1944* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 217. See also, Michael J. Hogan, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 33; Athanasios Lykogiannis, *Britain and the Greek Economic Crisis, 1944-1947: From Liberation to the Truman Doctrine* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002).

policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries who sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations."[575] Drawing parallels with World War II, Truman spoke to a postwar world embroiled in a new war between two ways of life – that of American democracy distinguished by its "freedom," and that of the communist Soviet Union, "based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority," reliant on terror, control, and "the suppression of personal freedoms."[576]

In Truman's speech, reflecting the rhetoric used in his later announcement of the Marshall Plan, there was no mention of the United States' economic investments in maintaining this free world. Rather, in regards to U.S. national security, Truman framed everything through the rhetoric of *freedom*, the moral cornerstone of American Cold War ideology, as well as the United States' own role as leader in this free world mission, as moral justification for its military policies of containment:

> To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part… to make possible lasting freedom and independence… We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed upon free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.[577]

Armed with the moral latitude of safeguarding world freedom and world peace, in order for Greece "to survive as a free nation," Truman requested $400 million in aid and the authorization to deploy both American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey,

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[575] Harry S. Truman, "Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine," March 12, 1947.
[576] Ibid.
[577] Ibid.

to rebuild the nation and keep it safe from "terrorists." However, besides fitting the general moral rhetoric of American Cold War policy, "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed [communist] minorities or by outside pressures… assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way," Greece occupied a central geopolitical location in Europe. As Truman argued, "the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war." It is within this sentiment that the true source of American intervention comes to light.[578]

Capitalist Investments and Military Action

While the United States was not interested in Greece as a capitalist partner or neocolonial subordinate, Truman's argument that "the disappearance of Greece… would have profound effect[s]" on other countries of Europe spoke to the nation's geopolitical weight in American Cold War policy. The United States was incredibly concerned about the continental ripple effects were the nation to "lose" Greece to communist influence. On the other hand, as evidenced by UNICEF's careful documentation, there were many nations in dire need of U.S. humanitarian aid. In his 1947 report, Under Secretary Acheson explicitly outlined a "third imperative" of U.S. Cold War foreign policy in regards to who the United States would decide to help: "Since world demand exceeds our ability to supply, we are going to have to concentrate our emergency assistance in areas where it will be most effective in building world political and economic stability, in promoting human freedom and democratic institutions, in fostering liberal trading policies, and in strengthening the authority

[578] Ibid.

of the United Nations."[579] In 1947, the democratic stability of Greece, Turkey, (and then-China) were seen as vital to maintain the political and economic security of wider Europe and East Asia, necessary for the continents to function as a free market capitalist sphere for the United States. Within this broader, economic geopolitical context, the democratic contingent of Greece's Civil War perfectly fit the bill to receive American aid priority: "Free peoples who are seeking to preserve their independence and democratic institutions and human freedoms against totalitarian pressures, either internal or external, will receive top priority for American reconstruction aid." And it was with these economic geopolitical strings attached that Under Secretary Acheson could boldly claim, "These measures of relief and reconstruction have been only in part suggested by humanitarianism… your Government is carrying out a policy of relief and reconstruction today chiefly as a matter of national self-interest."[580]

George F. Kennan's 1948 report brought Greece to the forefront of U.S. military strategy. In his study focused on the Mediterranean, in line with Acheson's Cold War concerns, Kennan focused on "the Soviet chances for disrupting the unity of western Europe."[581] In particular, his report focused on "the desperate weakness and weariness of the Greek and Italian peoples." Kennan identified the conditions in Greece (and Italy, another central site of U.S. international adoption emergence), as "peculiarly favorable to the use of fear as a weapon for political action." He emphasized that the United States "[did not] possess the weapons which would be needed to enable it to meet head-on the threat to national independence presented by the communist elements in foreign countries;" he thereby

[579] Acheson, "The Requirements of Reconstruction," 991-4.
[580] Ibid.
[581] Kennan, "Review of Current Trends," 518.

recommended the deployment of American armed forces to Greece to act as a preemptive, protective strategy against communist forces:

> The wisest policy for us to follow would be to make it evident to the Russians by our actions that further the communists go in Greece and Italy the more surely will this Government be forced to extend the deployment of its peacetime military establishment in the Mediterranean area… There is no doubt in our minds but that if the Russians knew that the establishment of a communist government in Greece would mean the establishment of U.S. air bases in Libya and Crete… a restraining hand would certainly be placed on the Greek and Italian communists… our policy with respect to Greece and Italy, and the Mediterranean area in general, should be based upon the objective of demonstration to the Russians that: (a) the reduction of the communist threat will lead to our military withdrawal from the area; but that (b) further communist pressure will only have the effect of involving us more deeply in a military sense.[582]

In April 1948, as part of the Marshall Plan's Foreign Assistance Act (FAA), i.e., the United States' European Recovery Program (ERP), Congress included a special clause that enabled the U.S. government to extend enormous economic and military resources to Greece, thus officially funding the United States' imperial aspirations abroad.

Imperial Humanitarianism and Strategies of Sentimentality

The United States' European Recovery Program (ERP), as described by the *New York Times*, was "[the] most ambitious program ever undertaken by any nation in peacetime" and was predicated on the assumption "that world stability and European stability are inseparable and that free institutions and genuine independence cannot perish in Europe and flourish elsewhere."[583] As the newspaper further detailed:

> The American people this week made a great monetary contribution to 'contain' the sweep of Communist Russia and so help to maintain a free world… Never before in peacetime [has] Congress acted with such dispatch on such important legislation. But rarely if ever before had there been so clear a threat to the world's free institutions… What was to have been a measure of economic aid to Europe changed unnoticed to a 'measure short of war' to counteract Russian influence."[584]

[582] Ibid.
[583] Belair, Jr. "Congress Votes a Historic Program," E5.
[584] Ibid., Foreign Assistance Act of 1948.

Thus, rather than honestly express U.S. interests in Greece and "European stability" in terms of American empire and influence, the *New York Times* instead positioned the nation's foreign policy as reactive to Russian aggression. Coded through the Cold War ideological language of freedom, American aid abroad was instead presented as purely humanitarian in purpose. In particular, American economic investments in a free and stable Greece and western Europe are largely absent. In regards to the "Impact on U.S. Economy," the article noted:

> No one familiar with the program is inclined to minimize the impact of the ERP on the national economy. Yet because it imposes no greater burden than the nation has borne for the past two years no one considers the obstacles insuperable. The $5.8 billion aid authorized for the first year is not much greater than has been provided in the past in various forms. The export volume involved actually is less than that of the past year, and without the ERP there would be very little commerce between the United States and the Marshall Plan countries.[585]

Thus, instead of transparently describing the United States' designs of creating U.S.-centric, free market export economies abroad, as in the Acheson Report or ERP legislation itself, the article ironically defends the nation's Cold War policy against potential accusations that the humanitarian aid might somehow be a burden to the American people themselves.

In line with this elision of U.S. capitalist motives, the positioning of the nation's international "contributions" as reactions to Soviet aggression similarly neglected the reality of an unprecedented, proactive, and global expansion of U.S. power in order to reinforce its "peacetime" imperial goals. Empowered by the nation's newly sanctioned Cold War military doctrine, gilded in straightforward humanitarian rhetoric, and driven by postwar economic imperial motives, early U.S. Cold War foreign policy encouraged U.S. intervention in the Greek Civil War. It was this intervention, $300 million in U.S. sanctioned political, economic, and military aid (including a formal delegate of U.S. military advisors), that

[585] Ibid.

created the geopolitical circumstances through which the large scale practice of U.S.-Greek international adoption was not only feasible, but encouraged.[586]

When the U.S.-backed Greek nationalists prevailed in the Civil War, the Greek nationalist government propagated the care of its wartorn nation's children as emblems of victory, success, and anticommunism just as the Soviet Union's "saving" of Spanish Civil War child refugees had been presented as compelling humanitarian, anti-fascist, and pro-communist propaganda in the 1930s. However, immediately postwar, the Greek government did not yet possess the resources to fully support its entire child population. It was thus, within this discourse of humanitarian, pro-capitalist Cold War ideology that the United States became Greece's child welfare partner. As one Greek foreign minister expressed, "[W]e hardly need to emphasize how deeply grateful we feel to the U.S. government and to Congress for the opportunity generously granted to some of those unfortunate children to emigrate to the United States for adoption."[587] Importantly, at this exact same moment, Greek officials were also demanding that Yugoslavia repatriate to Greece those children whom Greek communists had evacuated during the Civil War.[588] It was within these U.S.-forged geopolitical relations and impelled by the U.S.-backed Greek nationalist government that Greek children became the second largest population of European children adopted by American parents between 1945 and 1962.[589]

These children, in line with the United States' camouflage of its capitalist geopolitical intentions, served as ideal, strategic Cold War tools to elide the true nature of America's imperial interests in Greece. While the practice of adoption was imbued with humanitarian

[586] Rachel E. Winslow, "Colorblind Empire" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2012), 98-101.
[587] Ibid.
[588] Ibid.
[589] Weil, "International Adoption," 281-2.

sentiment, the children themselves also provided living propaganda for U.S. altruism. Reminiscent of orphan train children's discursive labor, as little bridges representing the union between the developing eastern and western parts of the nation, adopted Greek children were also transformed into literal and symbolic bridges between the United States and Greece, both representing and performing the positive ties of intimacy between the U.S. and the "ally" nation that they "benevolently" occupied. Also similar to the United States' earlier practices and experimentation with domestic and overseas child welfare and child placement, the care of Greek children took on a variety of forms, but in order to emphasize the humanitarian nature of their placements, the children's "orphan" status was often highlighted.

For example, in 1949, the *New York Times* detailed the story of twelve-year old Barbara Nikoli. "Adopted" by American actress Tallulah Bankhead, again reminiscent of the celebrity activism of prior decades, Barbara Nikoli was the first Greek child arranged through the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children (FPP). Brought over in May of 1949 for reconstructive facial surgery, Barbara is described as "a Greek orphan, who lost the sight of one eye when her face was mutilated by an exploding mortar shell… wounded in the early part of the Greek civil war."[590] Her parents "died of starvation during the German occupation and her only living relative, a brother," was fighting in the Greek Army.[591] While Barbara's brother's enlistment as a soldier suggests he was an adult, there is no mention of other extended kinship relations, and Barbara's identity is constructed to epitomize the ideal, sentimentalized war orphan. Literally bearing the marks of war on her face, she is

[590] The article did not make entirely clear what would happen to Nikoli following her operation. Since it indicated that she had no other family members to care for her, it was possible she would eventually be officially adopted into the United States. Also, initial fostering of a child abroad sometimes led to adoption later on. At the time the article was written, Bankhead was paying $15 a month in order to support Nikoli. "Mrs. Blue said she hoped to get foster parents for 1,000 children before the end of the year." "Orphan of Greek War Here for Operations," *New York Times*, May 13, 1949, 21.

[591] "Orphan of Greek War Here for Operations," 21.

nonetheless resilient, "well-behaved," and grateful for her rescue and rehabilitation by American society's child welfare and medical services, through the benevolent caretaking of her American adoptive mother. Linking Barbara's family story to both the wartime hardships of the past and the current fight for "freedom" reminded American citizens of what exactly the United States is working towards overseas and, embodied in Barbara Nikoli, the small lives and futures at stake. Speaking for Barbara, Mrs. Edna Blue, an FPP international chairman, elaborated on this bigger picture: "Barbara feels she has come here as an ambassador and representative of all Greek children."[592] Here, Barbara serves as both political and sentimental bridge, a child representative of both her nation-state and vulnerable kin. Implicit in Barbara's narrative is the sheer *rightness* of U.S. interventions in Greece.

In the case of Greece, international adoption dovetailed with the United States' imperial investments and provided the moral, policy, and practical precedent for the widescale operations in Germany, Japan, and Korea. But beyond Greece and these other early wave adoption nations, other attempts to execute overseas child placement as a form of humanitarian child saving developed, for example with the emergence of the World Children's Foundation, Inc. (WCF).

WCF's services represented a balanced spread of pre- and postwar child welfare services and, foreshadowing the now (in)famous ventures of Harry Holt post-Korean War, WCF was the earliest independent (and religiously motivated) company to include international adoption as one of its central missions. Its services underscored that the central difference between pre- and postwar U.S. child welfare activism abroad was the presence of American servicemen overseas. And while this military presence mobilized the emergence

[592] Ibid.

of international adoption practice, American imperial interests were the necessary precondition for the widescale development of such practices.

The Unfolding of Cold War Adoption

In 1946, the same year that International Migration Service (IMS) changed its name to International Social Service (ISS), the non-profit organization, World's Children's Foundation, Inc., was founded in Washington, D.C. In line with the State Department's postwar "piecemeal" issuance of refugee visas, the Department was also completely unsystematized in regards to the "orphaned children" whom President Truman articulated that "special attention be devoted to." As ISS private reports noted, "Because of the State Department's often repeated and avowed policy of no policy at all with regard to the abandoned and deserted women and children in all theaters of war, there has been no official action. The way has thus been left open for private initiative apart from professional interests."[593]

WCF was the earliest and most highly publicized of these first privatized ventures. ISS's characterization of WCF as a "private initiative" separate from the legitimized sphere of "professional" child welfare foreshadows future privatized ventures, most famously Harry Holt's initiatives following the Korean War, which ISS sought to police and place under professional duress. However, in 1946, the founding of WCF emerged directly from the prior decades' institutional and individual precedents regarding domestic and global developments of U.S. welfare work: on-the-ground activism by strong female leadership, an intimate linking of children and women's welfare, and social work experience gained through

[593] "Private Reports: World Childrens Foundation," 131-41, ISS papers, Box 12, Folder 8: "Child Welfare – Intercountry Cooperation."

overseas practice. The added postwar development that led to the actual successes of overseas child placement was the expansion of the U.S. military abroad.

WCF was founded by Miss Mary Rizzotto. The seeds of Rizzotto's non-profit enterprise were planted during her tenure as Director of American Red Cross Headquarters Office in Oran, North Africa. Rizzotto's work both recalled Congresswoman Rogers' Red Cross experience and social welfare politics, and foretold the continued and central role of the American Red Cross (ARC) in future international adoption practice. As ISS documented, "Having seen so many destitute children left in the wake of war's ruin, having listened to so many stories about the needs of these half Americans, and finally, having been rebuffed so many times when she requested help for them, Miss Rizzotto accepted the challenge of an American Naval officer who said, 'You're a woman, why don't you do something about them?'"[594] Here, the "destitute children" of wartorn nations were unequivocally defined as "half Americans." Just as ISS noted in this chapter section's opening vignette, these "social problems" unquestionably produced by U.S. servicemen stationed abroad created a demand for overseas welfare services previously unnecessary. Further linking the gendered military emergence of U.S. international adoption practice, WCF was ultimately founded as a call to Miss Rizzotto by an American serviceman to do her woman's work. Also symbolized in this exchange, while WCF – and future international adoption movements – were citizen-led, the U.S. military was ever-present.

Ultimately, the work of WCF can be read as a transitionary link between the prewar work (and efforts) for overseas child welfare and child placement, and the explosion of international adoption that emerged post-1948. WCF's Board of Trustees consisted of a

[594] Ibid.

broad coalition of private citizens, but all their backgrounds included either strong military connections or, like many successful adoption enterprises that emerged postwar, evangelical motives. For example, WCF president and founder Miss Rizzotto was joined by Brigadier General Thomas D. Campbell (and former special investigator on Indian reservations), professor of religion Dr. Glenn Clark, Reverend John D. Hayes, and female activists Mrs. Sartoris and Mrs. White. Mrs. Sartoris was the wife of U.S. Navy Commander Harry Sartoris and well known for her work with the Girl Scouts, at home and abroad; Mrs. White was a leading voice in the women's Baptist mission. Also, while WCF maintained branches in Washington, D.C. and New York, beyond the northeast region, its members and particularly the ex-servicemen it aided, hailed from such southern and midwestern states as Alabama, Florida and North Carolina, Michigan, Minnesota and North Dakota.[595]

Potential clients contacted WCF directly, but the organization also received a variety of referrals from such national and international organizations as the American Red Cross; Oeuvre Nationale del 'Enfance, Belgium; Moral Welfare Society, England; Casa Materna, Italy; and The Orphanage, Switzerland. In order to provide its services, WCF commissioned the aid of already established domestic and international networks of individuals and organizations, from international Red Cross field workers and CARE operatives, to reform minded club women, church groups, and consular officials.[596]

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[595] Ibid.; "Annual Dinner and Election by Girl Scouts," *The News*, February 1, 1946, 2; USC Title 36, *Patriotic Societies and Observances*, Chapter 2A, "Girl Scouts of America," Sec. 31 (March 16, 1950, ch. 62, §1, 64 Stat. 22.); *The Daily Tar Heel*, January 22, 1932, 2; *Aiken Standard and Review*, October 9, 1936, 1; *The Gastonia Gazette*, May 14, 1948, 11; Mrs. J. J. Lassiter, *Mount Zion Woman's Missionary Union History, 1906-1956*, (Institute of Museum and Library Services, State Library of North Carolina, 1956); Alan Scot Willis, *Southern Baptist Missions and Race, 1945-1970* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005); Melody Maxwell, *The Woman I Am: Southern Baptist Women's Writings* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2014).
[596] "Private Reports: World Childrens Foundation," 131-41.

Speaking to the solidified rhetoric of sentimental childhood that informed postwar child placement, WCF's charter stated as one of its central goals: "To provide for those children proper home life, education, recreation, and guidance amid wholesome surroundings and the constant touch of compassionate human kindness, thus properly training these children for useful citizenship."[597] Besides naming the "proper," "wholesome," and "compassionate" "home life, education, recreation, and guidance" that was every child's due, WCF's further assertion of "properly training" the children "for useful citizenship" identified American homes and American care as ideal. In the context of the Cold War, American citizenship was purported as the global ideal in comparison to the Soviet Union, and post-Korean War was constructed further still, as the ideal to even some allied nations. Additionally, speaking in the ultimate shift in race politics postwar, the charter identified that the WCF was: "To provide for the welfare of *all children regardless of race, creed, or color* and especially those children destitute, abandoned, or needy as a result of World War II [emphasis mine]."[598] By the close of the war, language surrounding international child placement no longer included caveats regarding ethnicity, race, or religion. Rather, at least in official rhetoric, the postwar era marked the expansion of the priceless child ideal to encompass *all children*.

Continuing American citizens' prewar public appeals in the popular press, Miss Rizzotto's efforts were accompanied with compelling articles in such nationwide periodicals as *American Magazine, Magazine Digest,* and *Colliers,* as well as news series in both the *New York* and *Washington Daily News*. This media blitz reflected not only the continued (and heightened) postwar appeal of child-focused humanitarianism, but the new alignment of

[597] The World Children's Foundation Inc., Circular of information. Cited in Ibid.
[598] Ibid.

the United States' national mission with these citizen-led campaigns. With captivating headlines such as "War Babies God Mother" and "G.I. Begotten and Forgotten Babes," these articles highlighted not only the United States' postwar, Cold War investment as a leader in global humanitarianism, but evoked the strong sense of obligation that many Americans felt, if to not be embarrassed by the many out-of-wedlock children U.S. servicemen left behind. Besides the mainstream press, and illustrating the official sponsorship of WCF's mission by the U.S armed forces, WCF also received ample positive coverage in such military periodicals as *The Army Times* and *The Stars and Stripes*.[599]

By 1948, WCF had handled upward of 600 cases. Embodying the convergence of pre- and post-war internationalized child welfare practices, connected to both women's social welfare and the U.S. military abroad, WCF's six central objectives included:

1. To channel direct aid from G. I. father to mother and child and assist him to expedite family status for their protection, thus removing them from relief and from public welfare liabilities.
2. To assist the mother in finding homes and unemployment.
3. To arrange adoption in the United States or abroad.
4. To enlist direct aid for the mother and child through friendly sponsor, such as parcels, food, toys, a kind personalized service, best suited to individual needs.
5. To establish 'Childrens' Villages' which more closely approach the atmosphere of normal home life for children, when there is no other solution.
6. To promote little Shops of the Nation through the sale of handcrafts made by the children and their friends may be secured for their partial maintenance.[600]

Emphasizing the military underpinnings of WCF's founding, the organization's first objective highlighted the assumed absent "G.I. father," enabling (and encouraging) him to "expedite family status" of "mother and child" through the appropriate legitimizing means of marriage and adoption. Indeed, of WCF's 600 cases, more than half came directly from U.S. servicemen.

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[599] Ibid.; "War Babies God Mother," *American Magazine*, April 1948, 109; "G.I. Begotten and Forgotten Babes," *Magazine Digest*, June 1948, 56-62.
[600] "G.I. Begotten and Forgotten Children," 60. Cited in "Private Reports: World Childrens Foundation," 131-41.

Illustrating the confluence of popular culture, national interest, and official policy, in regards to WCF's work and American servicemen's responsibility to these women and children, Miss Rizzotto was able to directly intervene in the military transfer of at least one veteran soldier. In this case, the American G.I. had reenlisted as a means to return to England, marry his British paramour, and adopt their child. However, upon learning that he was to be sent to Japan, the soldier enlisted the aid of WCF. In turn, WCF was able to circumvent the soldier's immediate chain of command in order to convince the War Department to change the soldier's assignment. In another instance, WCF was able to arrange for an unmarried American serviceman to bring both his future bride and child home from England.[601] In other instances still, U.S. servicemen called on the WCF to investigate possible children that they might have left behind. For example, one doctor wrote to Miss Rizzotto on behalf of their veteran patient:

> We feel you might be of great service to us in helping one of our patients work through some anxiety about an alleged affair in England.
>
> Our patient is expressing considerable guilt feeling as to the possible parentage of a four year old child without any accurate evidence for it. We would appreciate your obtaining information as to the character, present marital status, and sources of financial support of the woman in question in as unobtrusive way as possible.

Miss Rizzotto followed up in kind:

> Dear Dr. A.,
>
> Your letter has been received and I am sorry that the soldier is suffering so, yet grateful that he is concerned about the little family. I am today writing the Moral Welfare Council in England, whom I am sure will help us to learn the situation Mrs. X. finds herself in. Recently, for a former soldier who was worried, we were able to ease his worry, about a similar situation in France...[602]

[601] "Private Reports: World Childrens Foundation," 131-41. "Vet Reinlisted to See His British Baby; So Uncle Sam Sends Him to Japan – Almost!" *Army Times*, Veteran's Edition, April 5, 1947, VII, p. 1.
[602] "Private Reports: World Childrens Foundation," 131-41.

In the more positive outcomes of WCF's casework, whereas American servicemen were not willing to marry, or adopt their children, they would at least admit paternity and work with WCF to arrange proper care for their children overseas. In some instances whereas the father was less cooperative, WCF received communication from the G.I.'s relatives interested in aiding their child kin abroad. Sometimes these letters came directly from the former soldiers' wives. Aware of their husband's infidelities overseas, they reached out to WCF and asked that the organization investigate their suspicion of an illegitimate child so that they could "contribute… to help some [out-of-wedlock] child."[603] Only when neither the U.S. serviceman nor his kin would recognize his overseas family, or if they could not be found, would WCF call upon its eager pool of would-be sponsors.

While kinship international adoption was strongly encouraged, stranger adoption was a less immediate focus of the organization. Rather, WCF's broad spectrum of services represented the continued prewar belief that honored intact families. Thus, the unwed mothers overseas whom WCF catered to, from such nations as Belgium, England, France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, were afforded the same parental privileges granted prewar refugee children, parents, and nations. Thus reflecting the Progressive Era emergence of (white) family welfare, these women were aided to keep their children. Besides "adopting" children from afar, reminiscent of the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children, WCF also encouraged sponsors to adopt mothers. These mothers were not always described as unwed or deserted, but in some instances, as "mothers of small children whose husbands, many of them American, had died in the armed service."[604] In light of these cases, as documented by the *Prescott Evening Courier,* women such as Mrs. Ray Warfield, of Arizona, "'adopted' five

[603] Ibid.
[604] "Woman Receives News of German She Befriended," *Prescott Evening Courier,* August 23, 1950, 4.

mothers – two in Germany, two in England and one in France. Besides regular correspondence with all of them… Mrs. Warfield sends packages of food and clothing and remembers the mothers and children on birthdays and holidays."[605] As Mrs. Warfield expressed, besides herself, her five adult daughters and their children also "[took] an active interest in her friendship with these European mothers… shared her concern over their [and their children's] welfare," and so also became involved.[606]

While WCF's cases maintained a strong spread of clients and networks across Europe, only Germany and Italy emerged as places of large scale international adoption. Similarly, while the institution had all the makings of a successful, full-on adoption agency, it did not expand as such. Ultimately, this was due to the overall lack of imperial designs in the other nations WCF was servicing. In Germany and Italy, where the United States had explicit interests in undercutting communist influence, the U.S. flooded the nations with American servicemen and, particularly in the case of Germany, set up postwar occupation infrastructure that led to foreign women working in close contact with American military personnel. As a result of these more numerous and intimate relations, initially banned due to Germany and Italy's wartime enemy status, more children were born out of wedlock. However, in correspondence with this emerging child population and similar to Greece, as the United States' Cold War investments grew in these nation-states, so did the adoption of these children serve as the ultimate humanitarian apparatus through which to elide the United States' imperial intentions.

[605] Ibid.
[606] Ibid.

Conclusion

By 1946, the Soviet Union was accurately assessing the United States' imperial economic motives, tied to its military, and particularly in the United States' dealings with Germany and Japan. Completely in line with U.S. imperial thought, Soviet Ambassador Nikolai Novikov linked the collapse of German – and Japanese and British – empires, the devastated economies of Europe and Asia, and these regions' complimentary need for American goods and capital aid, to the United States' desire to create a hegemonic export economy. In 1946, Novikov assessed:

> The foreign policy of the United States, which reflects the imperialist tendencies of American monopolistic capital, is characterized in the postwar period by a striving of world supremacy… For this purpose broad plans for expansion have been developed and are being implemented through diplomacy and the establishment of a system of naval and air bases stretching far beyond the boundaries of the United States, through the arms race, and through the creation of ever newer types of weapons."[607]

One of these "ever newer types of weapons," no doubt unanticipated by the Soviet Union, was that of the U.S. internationally adopted child. The following chapter will open by providing the global landscape surrounding discourses of children and childhood by the close of the war. As expressed by an early *New York Times* article, the welfare of the children of wartorn nations seemingly rose above the fray of Cold War politics: "On both sides of the iron curtain, governments seem unwilling to play politics with the lives of children. For nobody who has any doubt that in the battle to save children, the future of Europe, in the most literal and fundamental sense, is at stake."[608] However, it is this seeming absence of political stock that made adopted children an ideal weapon of public sentiment to elide American imperial interests. Instead, as U.S. geopolitics, economic, and military investments became increasingly global, internationally adopted children served as the ideal American

[607] "Telegram from Nikolai Novikov, Soviet Ambassador to the US, to the Soviet Leadership."
[608] Hoffman, "U.N Fund Aids a Fraction of the Neediest Children," E5.

citizen-subjects to provide the public face of the United States' postwar, transnational, humanitarian image.

Just as the United States experimented with nineteenth century child placement practices in efforts to police and shape the nation's body politic and future citizenry, so did postwar children, "the future of Europe [and Asia], in the most literal and fundamental sense," emerge at the center of U.S. nation-building policies to manifest itself as a global, humanitarian, empire. The following chapters will highlight, in first Germany and Japan, and then in Korea, how similar (and different) developments (as in Greece) emerged via U.S. empire and international adoption – while also uncovering the specific conditions that transformed Korea's adoption practices into the most persistent and long-lived of all, a veritable industry of child re-location.

Chapter 6
Making Friends, Making Family:
Postwar Occupation Children, Military Brides, and Sentimental Labor, 1945-1955

By the close of World War II, America's sentimentalized discourses surrounding (white) children and childhood were solidified and the authority of U.S. child welfare professionalism was institutionalized.[609] Between 1940 and 1950, as officially reported by the United Nations, the U.S. federal Children's Bureau "became the first public agency in the world to provide international advisory service in the field of social welfare proper."[610] In May 1946, representing these mainstream shifts, President Harry S. Truman transferred the Children's Bureau, which included programs in "child welfare [and] child and maternal health" to what is now the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. As Truman relayed, "The child labor program is the only permanent program of the Children's Bureau that is properly a labor function," and so functions related to the Fair Labor Standards Act were transferred to the Secretary of Labor.[611] According to Viviana Zelizer, these now conventionalized discourses of childhood and labor support the notion that by the end of the Second World War, children had indeed transformed into "useless" sentimentalized objects whereby "as children's labor value disappeared, their new emotional worth became increasingly monetized and commercialized."[612]

Postwar, Americans' ability to consume desirable commodities on a mass scale, which resulted in the performance of higher standards of living, was the perfect propaganda

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[609] Paula S. Fass and Michael Grossberg, eds., *Reinventing Childhood After World War II* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).
[610] Enochs, "Interamerican Cooperation in Child Welfare," 7.
[611] This institutional reorganization also emphasized the still-closely linked causes of children and women's welfare. Harry S. Truman, "Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 2 of 1946," May 16, 1946; Enochs, "Interamerican Cooperation in Child Welfare," 10.
[612] Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*, 171.

to evidence U.S. capitalist superiority over Soviet communism.[613] Postwar pronatalism, the constitution of the Cold War nuclear family, also became an ideal symbol of American patriotism and success.[614] Internationally adopted children, as living, sentimentalized commodities were consumed, within a discourse of humanitarianism, in order to achieve this end. What overseas act or purchase could be more patriotic? What commodity more valuable?

While building on this notion of adopted children's new Cold War value, this chapter also counters the idea that they were no longer valuable as laborers. By the mid-twentieth century, the United States no longer needed (or desired) child bodies for agricultural and industrializing labor. However, similar to the empire-building discursive work and citizen-subject population management of earlier orphan trains, boarding schools, and black codes children, postwar adopted children served as central cogs in the United States' new nation-building goals and anxieties: to imperially expand overseas while eliding communist charges of empire-building, to prove the supremacy of U.S. (democratic) free market capitalism over socialist communism, and to defend itself against accusations of racism while maintaining a citizenship-structure based on white supremacy. In line with these nation-building goals, German and Japanese adopted children (and military brides) were the perfect, highly visible,

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[613] Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003). A prime example was Vice President Richard Nixon's 1959 opening speech at The American National Exhibition in Moscow, "What Freedom Means to Us: American People are Peace-Loving People," which took place just prior to Nixon and Khrushchev's famous "Kitchen Debate." Nixon emphasized American dishwashers, homes, and appliances as symbols of the average American family's wealth and prosperity. As Nixon stated: [T]here are 44 million families in the [U.S.]… 31 million families own their own homes… America's 44 million families own a total of 56 million cars, 50 million television sets and 143 million radio sets. And they buy an average of 9 dresses and suits and 14 pairs of shoes per family per year." Richard M. Nixon, "What Freedom Means to Us: American People are Peace-Loving People," *Vital Speeches of the Day* 25 (1959): 677-79; Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khruschev, "The Kitchen Debate" (U.S. Embassy, Moscow, Soviet Union, July 24, 1959).

[614] Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988). See also, Elaine Tyler May, *Barren in the Promised Land: Childless Americans and the Pursuit of Happiness* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995).

and highly dependent subjects to perform this discursive labor, in both the most public and private spheres of American citizenship propaganda.

The United States occupied both West Germany and Japan for the same imperial goals of reconstructing hegemonic free market economies in West Europe and East Asia. Congressional policies and practices, U.S. military occupation government, and individual American citizens, at home and abroad, legitimized the intimate encounters that emerged from U.S. military occupation in Germany and Japan.

Ultimately, this chapter argues that, just as orphan trains children acted as little bridges between the American East and West, the romantic and familial kinship relations that emerged between American servicemen, foreign women and their progeny, provided the discursive labor to legitimize U.S. imperial goals abroad. Validating the newfound international relations between the United States, Germany, and Japan, these children and brides acted as cultural ambassadors to transform the former wartime enemies to, not just postwar friends, but family.

This propagation of familial intimacy, this sentimentalized labor performed by adopted children and military brides, provided ideal anti-communist propaganda by obscuring America's imperial role in these nations. By framing U.S. foreign policy and military envoys as humanitarian and responsible, capitalist American family life and culture as superior and desirable, U.S. interventions to reconstruct and rebuild West Germany and Japan's economies were not that of empire, but of caregiver.

The relations forged between U.S. servicemen stationed overseas and their future brides and children no doubt existed within different discourses of romantic and familial sentiment. However, as both females and youth, these newfound family members coexisted in the same infantilizing discourse that compromised women and children's agency. In line

with this discourse, U.S. policy dictated that military brides and adopted children enter the United States highly dependent on their (primarily white) male counterparts, for both residency status and ultimately, their survival. Within this context, both military brides and adopted children entered the United States in a highly controlled environment. Theirs was no mass influx of former wartime enemies. Rather, they were highly regulated immigration exceptions who were to be intimately policed by their husbands and fathers. These nonthreatening women and children were the ideal transnational citizen-subjects to represent Germany and Japan in the sensitive Cold War climate of transforming (sometimes non-white) wartime enemies into allies. As U.S. imperial goals expanded, the induction of these foreign brides and children could be elevated as compelling forms of transnational propaganda, without threatening to dismantle who exactly was in charge of such international relations.

In addition, the first internationally adopted children from Germany and Japan were only conditionally adopted through the legislation that allowed their military bride mothers' marriages. The discussions surrounding the legitimization of German and Japanese military bride marriages were thus directly related to creating a positive discourse around international adoption, eventually providing the precedent for future "orphan" migrations.

Postwar military bride marriages and child adoptions also continued to function within the different U.S. racial economies sustained from prior decades. These different racial discourses intimately shaped the character and emergence of divergent transnational family narratives in both Germany and Japan.

As U.S. Cold War relations transformed Germany and Japan into international allies, the U.S. felt pressure to perform, beyond friendship, responsibility toward American servicemen's sexual partners and children. The negotiations surrounding these kinship formations were highly dependent on racial hierarchies based in white supremacy. The

postwar narratives of Germany and Japan encompassed white and Asian women, and multiethnic white, black, and Asian children. An intersecting lens into American servicemen's overseas sexual relations and child placement movements provides an intimate perspective into the breadth, power, *and limits* of early Cold War American empire.

As the United States aspired toward global expansion, the nation sought to utilize military brides and adopted children to perpetuate itself as a non-racist nation-state, but at the same time remained invested in expanding its discourses of white supremacy overseas. Domestically, with the immigration of the brides and children themselves, the U.S. sought with varying degrees of success to regulate, shape and define the racial hierarchies of its internal body politic even through its transnational undertakings. Transnational adoption practices continued to change in relation to domestic developments in child placement.

After World War II, as the nation sought to defend itself against Soviet and domestic accusations of racism, the multicultural "nation of immigrants" history (that interwar child refugee placement advocates had gestured towards) emerged as central rhetoric. African American and American Indian children assumed a different place in notions of who was adoptable in the allegedly more liberal, Cold War era of "priceless" children and sentimentalized childhood. Similarly, white German military brides and adopted children were able to elide the immigrant anxieties attached to their German Jewish predecessors within this new, nationalist rhetoric. However, the existence of African American GIs, interracial intimacies, and mixed race progeny also exposed the limits of this new imperial identity.

Most important, perhaps, Japan's racial positionality as an Asian nation required greater rehabilitation efforts to not only transform, but elevate the nation's status to that adequate to the station of U.S. ally. While the extra "work" necessary on the part of Japanese

military brides and children exposed the white supremacist underpinnings of U.S. nation-building abroad, it also allowed successful kinship relations to provide the U.S. with even more powerful, multivalent anti-racist propaganda labor, all without challenging the institutional structures of American white supremacy. Ultimately, the transnational racial economies embodied in these immediate postwar family formations further solidified the foundations for the United States' eventual shift toward Korean international adoption, the longest and largest adoption industry that continues present-day.

Postwar Economies of Childhood and Child Placement

Not all children, or prospective adoptive parents were created equal in the years after World II. Instead, the postwar period introduced new technologies to exclude black Americans from full participation in the United States' expanding system of child placement. Continuing the nineteenth century and Progressive Era precedent, white systems of power wielded the greatest authority to approve or disapprove, encourage or discourage, adoption by American citizens. Internationally, U.S. military and immigration governance provided huge roadblocks. And while domestic U.S. race politics retained the focus of the global Cold War gaze, domestic adoptions received far less scrutiny, as compared to their international counterparts, thus diminishing the supposedly straightforward humanitarian impulses that compelled the passionate outreach for children located overseas. As was the case during the interwar years, when the ideal priceless child was constructed as white, a postwar shortage of domestic white American children persisted. At the same time, African American children languished in orphanages.

While black families expressed interest in domestic adoption, African Americans most often failed to meet the financial or "cultural" criteria set forth by white supremacist

child welfare standards. Erasing the political, social, and economic realities that led black families to make less money, forced more black women to enter the workforce, or created different family cultures, child welfare standards instead used these discrepancies to deem black families unworthy, undeserving of creating family life through domestic (or international) adoption.

As influential child welfare researcher David Fanshel noted in his study of the Family and Children's Service in Pittsburgh, his research was motivated by "the concern of the agency over the wide spread discrepancy between the number of couples who have approached the agency out of interest in adoption and those who have actually continued to the point of having a child placed in their home." Besides economic standards, as explained by Fanshel, "Social agency practice in adoption has its roots in work with white couples." Beyond the outright rejection of black parents, early interactions between social workers and prospective parents also led to applicants' withdrawal of their applications. In 1951, 1952, and 1953, 111 black couples expressed interest with The Family and Children's Service, but only 20 children were placed into adoptive homes.[615] In 1953, the Urban League made domestic adoption of black children a priority in its national agenda.[616] However, this prioritization did not necessarily result in positive outcomes. As Fanshel ironically noted: "for every [black] child placed in 1953, four couples were seen; whereas in 1954, a year of much promotional activity, seven couples were seen for every child placed."[617]

Within this contentious period of child placement, American Indian children (and adults) also carried with them the legacies of nineteenth century and Progressive Era racial

[615] David Fanshell, *A Study in Negro Adoption* (New York: Child Welfare League of America, Inc., 1957), 9-11, 83-5.
[616] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 104.
[617] Fanshell, *A Study in Negro Adoption*, 10.

economies. By and large, second-wave boarding schools experienced vast and continued improvements throughout the interwar years and post-World War II. However, as boarding school student Tim Giago's experience attests, many Indian children continued to face exceptional hardships.

Giago, Oglala Lakota name Nanwica Kciji, was born on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, attended Holy Rosary Indian Mission from 1941 to 1951, and was the son of boarding school legacy. His parents, placed out via compulsory education laws during the first-wave era, chose to utilize boarding schools for their children in what can be read as both a gesture of empowerment and the legacy of U.S. colonialism: Indian parents choosing boarding schools as temporary child care due to economic hardship. As Giago recounted in his memoir:

> When I was a boy we were in the middle of the Great Depression. Even though my parents had been products of the boarding schools, the extreme poverty on the reservation made the schools an alternative to starvation… we would at least have a roof… and three meals a day."[618]

However, as Giago also chronicled, the passage of time and these material benefits failed to erase the other legacies of physical, racial, and cultural violence enacted in boarding schools:

> To be torn from the loving homes of our Lakota parents… to be placed in a cold, cold institution was in and of itself extremely traumatizing. Beyond that, to be placed in an environment where all teachers and related staff were not only white but also Jesuit priests and Franciscan nuns… their style of discipline went against everything that was part of [my] culture.[619]

In the immediate postwar period, in regards to American Indian transracial adoption (which remained a transnational endeavor within the politics of Indian sovereignty), Indian children were also deemed widely "non-adoptable" alongside their domestic black and mixed

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[618] Tim Giago, Nanwica Kciji, *Children Left Behind: The Dark Legacy of Indian Mission Boarding Schools* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishing, 2006, 6.
[619] Ibid., 6-7.

race (and physically disabled) child counterparts.[620] By the 1950s however, indicative of Indians' continued racial economy of in-betweenness, white couples who were non-ideal adoption applicants due to, for example, older age, would be increasingly receptive to adopting mixed race Indian children, as opposed to their black child counterparts.[621]

"Fraulein" Brides, Adopted Children, and Legitimizing Sexual Intimacy

By April 19, 1948, two months prior to the enactment of the Displaced Persons Act, which scholars point to as the official marker of the first wave of U.S. international adoption, the American Red Cross (ARC) was in collaboration with ISS providing intake and home service policies related to "war brides," "acknowledged illegitimate children," and combining the two: "fiancées, only during the period in which plans are being made by the veteran to bring an acknowledged child to this country, and the mother is accompanying the child."[622] Immediately following World War II, approximately 300,000 American servicemen took up post in occupied Germany and, as European historian Tara Zahra aptly phrased, "The American military jealously protected the right of American men to sleep around."[623] From these relations, while not the military's original intentions, true intimacies developed and, as U.S. foreign policy shifted toward occupied Germany, from World War enemy to Cold War ally, it was in the United States' interests to allow the legitimization of families as desired by their servicemen.

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[620] Karen Dubinsky, *Babies Without Borders: Adoption and Migration across the Americas* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 8. See also, Barbara Melosh, *Strangers and Kin: The American Way of Adoption* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Veronica Strong-Boag, *Finding Families Finding Ourselves: English Canada Encounters Adoption from the Nineteenth Century to the 1990s* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2006); Herman, *Kinship by Design* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
[621] Herman, *Kinship by Design*, 197.
[622] Home Service – American Red Cross Intake and Service Policies, February 2, and April 19, 1948, ISS Papers, Box 19, Folder 32: "American National Red Cross: 1946-1963."
[623] Zahra, *The Lost Children*, 159-60; Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

The first German children adopted by U.S. citizens post-World War II were "occupation children" adopted by American military personnel stationed in U.S. occupied West Germany. "Occupation children" commonly referred to children fathered by the foreign servicemen occupying the country either during or after World War II.[624] This terminology was also used in reference to mixed race Japanese children of American military descent.[625] Rather than frame these children within the humanitarian discourse of child-saving that a refugee or orphan status might connote, this rhetoric instead evidenced the widespread understanding of these children as a consequence of, if not American empire, then U.S. military-supremacist international relations. The incorporation of German children, alongside their military bride mothers, into American families helped to ease tensions and build relations between Germany and the U.S. by allowing the American public to reimagine Germans as friends, as *family*, and put the war behind them. Importantly, the extension of U.S. ideals of white citizenship to include white German women and children helped to transnationally strengthen and expand the United States' system of racial hierarchies based in white supremacy, both at home and abroad.

From Nazis to White Germans

When the United States first occupied Germany, U.S. servicemen raped local women. German women who engaged in romantic relations with U.S. servicemen were disparaged as sex workers, as described by one German mother, "[women] who stooped for a cigarette or a piece of chocolate," and prostitution in service of American clientele did indeed exist.[626]

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[624] "Occupation Children Citizens," *New York Times*, November 13, 1945, 6; Heide Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler: Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).
[625] Darrell Berrigan, "Japan's Occupation Babies," *Saturday Evening Post*, June 19, 1948, 24-5; Lloyd Barner Graham, "More Information on 'Occupation Babies,'" *Japan Christian Quarterly* 14 (Winter 1953): 51-7; "Occupation Children Citizens," 6; Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*.
[626] "'Brown Babies' Agency Head to Stay in City With Her Own Negro-GI-Sired Son," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 28, 1955, 3.

However, in comparison to Japanese women, Germany's female population was both humanized and afforded a relative respect that, as non-white persons, Japanese women simply were not.

German history canonizes assaults perpetuated by all Allied Powers. Within this canon, sexual assaults are most brutally described, and were perpetuated in the largest number, by the Soviet Union. While exact numbers remain contested, numerous reports place those assaults committed by the Soviet Union in the range of several hundred thousand, whereas it is widely cited that but 1,000 rapes were committed by U.S. soldiers. In line with the future "friendliness" of U.S.-German relations, historical memory softens the blow of these accounts.

However, at the time, Germany expressed national outrage at these rapes and the consequent impregnation of German women.[627] In the United States, these German women were discussed in the media as victims of sexual assault, prejudice, or simply framed as mothers in need of aid. They were not anonymous, faceless persons. They were humanized and given names. In some cases, German mothers' names and addresses were listed in U.S. publications so that Americans could personally reach out and aid a specific family.[628]

Immediately after the war, within this discourse that humanized German women, Germany's status as a former enemy did not prevent U.S.-German romantic relations. However, anti-fraternization laws were put into place and German women were not eligible for marriage-related migration under the 1945 War Brides Act or the Fiancées Act of 1946. The purposes of the War Brides and Fiancées Acts were "to expedite the admission to the

[627] Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*, 50-1, 200, *n*52.
[628] P. L. Prattiss, "Germany's 'Brown Babies' Must Be Helped! Will You?," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 30, 1949, 1.

[U.S.] of alien spouses [and fiancées] and alien minor children of citizen members of the [U.S.] armed forces."[629]

In March 1946, the U.S. military stood explicitly against romantic unions between American servicemen and German women. As Major General J. M. Bevans, the Army's Germany personnel section's assistant chief of staff, plainly stated:

> It must be remembered that they're still our enemies… The policy of nonmarriage…is necessary to emphasize the relationship between the occupying forces and the defeated Germans… Aside from the just [war-related] consequences which the Germans [must suffer], we… should not confer the benefits which come to the wife of a [U.S.] soldier upon an enemy of the [U.S.].[630]

Specifically, Major General Bevans did not view a child born out of wedlock warrant enough for any special exceptions. Speaking directly to this point, the Major General articulated:

> To relax the policy in cases where relations have resulted in intimacy and to deny the requests of those who desire to marry Germans but who have refrained from intimate relations would be inequitable and would indicate this headquarters approves such illicit intimacies.[631]

In the face of daily and close interactions between U.S. military personnel and German citizens, the United States was unable to uphold its anti-fraternization policies for more than a few short months. However, it was several years until American servicemen could officially marry their German brides and thus, adopt their children.[632]

On April 24, 1946, reflecting with these immediate postwar U.S.-German relations, the "first visa to the United States to be granted to a displaced person by a newly opened Berlin Consulate" went to three year-old Bella Raphael. As reported, Bella's parents "were murdered by the Gestapo in Oswiecim [Auschwitz]." In line with President Truman's 1945

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[629] Public Law 271 (War Brides Act) (1945), ch.591, 59 Stat. 659; Public Law 471 (G.I. Fiancées Act) (1946), ch.520, 60 Stat. 339-340; Public Law 213 (1947), ch.289, 61 Stat. 401.
[630] Sydney Gruson, "Army to Keep Ban on German Brides," *New York Times*, March 16, 1946, 8.
[631] Ibid., 8.
[632] For further reading about U.S. (anti-)fraternization policy and practice, and early attitudes toward German occupation children see, for example, Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*, 30-1, 68-73; Zahra, *The Lost Children*, 159-60.

humanitarian directive that highlighted orphaned refugee children, as Vice Consul Dan A. Gribble, chief of the visa station, explained, "It seemed only fitting that the first visa case processed through regular channels should be that of a youngster who lost both parents."[633]

Bella's migration was facilitated by her new "daddy," Sergeant Bert Simons, 103d infantry, from Brooklyn, New York. As the *New York Times* chronicled, Sergeant Simons made a heartfelt pledge "when in a tough spot during the Battle of the Bulge[, vowing] that if he got out unharmed he would adopt some Jewish orphan." Bella, described as "dark-eyed," "chestnut-haired," and pictured as cute as a button, did not epitomize the ideal golden haired girl, as envisioned in Viviana Zelizer's twentieth century priceless child. However, post-World War II, neither Bella's dark hair nor her Jewish heritage provided a deterrent to her adoption. Rather, in line with U.S. Cold War politics, Bella's Jewishness made her more desirable. Like Myrosaw Martiuk and Lee Kyung Soo's narratives of the prior chapter, Bella's transformation from Jewish war orphan to American child by an American serviceman illustrated the enormous political discursive work that the overseas adopted child could provide the U.S. nation-state.[634]

Recounting his fateful meeting with Bella at a Berlin Jewish orphanage, as well as her subsequent transformation, Sergeant Simons recalled, "Bella ran toward me – and that settled that. She was tiny then, undersized and undernourished, but look at her now." Bella and Sergeant Simons' adoption story is a heroic saga. Bella stands in as the most innocent, pitiful victim of Germany's wartime atrocities, a tiny, starved Jewish orphan whose parents were murdered by the Gestapo. Sergeant Simons, characterized as a "serious, bespectacled

[633] "Osweicim Orphan Gets First Berlin Visa; She Is Adopted by a Brooklyn Sergeant," *New York Times*, April 25, 1946, 8.
[634] Ibid.

man," stands in as an ideal U.S. military archetype, an everyday hero who fought valiantly for his country and the oppressed peoples of Europe. It was in the midst of battle, "under fire" and fighting for his life that Simons vowed to adopt a child, confident in American victory when the war was over. Now representing valiant U.S. occupation forces in Germany, he came upon Bella. The news article's description of Bella as having "rare luck," and her ultimate transformation to "look at her now" indicates the superiority of American life and care. The fact that Bella "ran toward" Sergeant Simons, thus *choosing* her new father and future American life further cements this natural undercurrent of American supremacy.[635]

Committed to Bella's adoption at a time when bureaucratic networks were not yet set up, Sergeant Simons declined redeployment twice in order to extend his stay for a total of six months, until a U.S. consulate began to function. During this time, Bella was relocated to the U.N. Relief and Rehabilitation camp in the British zone of occupation. When the camp declined Simons' request to remove Bella, he "kidnapped" her back to U.S. territory. Simons' dedication to Bella's adoption, illustrated through his extended stays in Germany and ultimate kidnapping, were portrayed positively. Simons' colonel's "forgiveness" of his legal transgressions, as well as the lack of consequences regarding Simons' adoption of Bella, illuminate the implicit right of Simons, a sergeant in the U.S. military, to a child with no parents or nation-state to claim her as their own.[636] However, less than a year following Bella's adoption, and further speaking to the power of transnational family formation, German women and children joined Bella's company.

[635] Ibid.
[636] Ibid.

In early December, General Joseph T. McNarney, European Theatre Commander and U.S. occupied territories' Military Governor, repealed the marriage ban between American servicemen and German women. On December 11, 1946, Army Colonel George S. Eyster formally announced the ban's dissolution. The response was immediate. The day of the announcement an Army spokesperson predicted that a "'German war brides' transport might sail soon for the [U.S.]" and the Army confirmed that during the prior week "2,500 [U.S.] war veterans had applied for permission to have German girls enter the United States to marry them."[637] Much like the on-the-ground demand displayed by U.S. soldiers and their brides-to-be in Britain, the desires of troops deployed in Germany and their hopeful brides arose well before legal sanction. For example, at the time of Major General Bevans' March disavowal of German-American marriages, the *New York Times* noted "increased agitation among the occupation forces for relaxation of the marriage ban." While the Army considered marriages carried out under German civil law "invalid and in violation of the Articles of War," these marriages were performed nonetheless.[638] This on-the-ground activism notwithstanding, German women (and their children) were not allowed to apply for legal adoption into American families until, in accordance with American imperial motives, U.S. foreign policy toward Germany began to shift. The marriage ban was thus lifted "on the heels of an announcement that [instructed soldiers] to forget their war-time 'hate the German' indoctrination, and to help the Germans rebuild their country."[639] This newfound credo was known as the "Be Kind to the Germans" policy.[640]

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[637] "U.S. Army Ends Ban On German Brides," *New York Times*, December 12, 1946, 22.
[638] Gruson, "Army to Keep Ban on German Brides," 8.
[639] "U.S. Army Ends Ban On German Brides," 22.
[640] Delbert Clark, "McNarney Defends War Brides' Visas," *New York Times*, December 22, 1946, 32.

The policy turnabout was indeed sudden. While General McNarney repealed the marriage ban, on the day of the Army's public announcement, he admitted that the diplomatic sea change had caught him by "complete surprise," having recently stated that "such marriages were 'still out.'"[641] A few weeks later, McNarney was again called upon to defend the nation's decision to allow military brides' migration to the United States. Specifically, the criticism was "that enemy nations were being favored over displaced persons who wished to emigrate… that many of the thousands of the displaced persons in the United States zone of Germany ardently wished to migrate to the United States."[642] This criticism spoke to the contradictions embedded in the nation's public propaganda as a global refugee and humanitarian leader, the reality of Germany as a wartime enemy, and the concealed truth of American imperial designs.

The Women and the Children

Prior to changes in official policy or the widespread transformation of American attitudes, U.S. policymakers were both weary and well-aware of the discursive power held by relations between U.S. servicemen and German women, in both popular culture and occupation policy. On the one hand, early fraternization caused the U.S. both national anxiety and international embarrassment. For example, on March 4, 1946, following a "British [girl's]" complaint concerning the visitations of German women to U.S. military compounds, the *New York Times* ran an expose. "Why should German girls be allowed to live in the compound with American officers?" the British girl inquired. "Maybe [Americans] have not lost anything in the war or suffered any hardships, and that is why they can forget the Krauts they are with are part of the evil which cause do much suffering in the

[641] "U.S. Army Ends Ban On German Brides," 22.
[642] Clark, "McNarney Defends War Brides' Visas," 32.

world?" In light of this international attention, despite the fact the high ranking officials also participated in this transgressive behavior, the U.S. military responded with disciplinary action.[643] Similarly, in a March 1946 *Readers Digest* article entitled "Why So Many GIs Like Germans Best," the author, fearful that naïve American servicemen "could help a defeated… vengeful Germany rise from its ashes for a third try at world domination," argued that American men were being led astray, as "from the moment he crossed the border he was submerged in a sea of willing Frauleins," and through their influence, would return to "lobby in Washington and support politicians" who were likewise misguided.[644]

On the other hand, as U.S. policy began to lean toward an allied Germany, German women were also seen as the ideal ambassadors for these new relations. If maintained correctly, these women could be safe and controlled tools whose discursive power could be wielded by the U.S. military. For example, in a September 1946 *American Mercury* article similarly titled "Why Americans Like German Women," an American lieutenant explained:

> German women [are] so desirable because… [u]nlike their American sisters, German females have never been spoiled… they have been relegated to… inferior status, as ancillaries, cooks and mistresses…. What the GIs like most about the Frauleins was that they knew how to treat men… everywhere dream of being treated, with feminine deference and sexual approachability.[645]

Sexually available and submissive, desperate from wartime loss, and colonized by U.S. occupation, German women appeared to the American soldier the ideal female companion.

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[643] "Fraeuleins Stay in U.S. Compound," *New York Times*, March 4, 1946, 2.
[644] Richard Joseph with Waverly Root, "Why so Many GIs Like the Germans Best," *Reader's Digest,* March 1946, 5-8; Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 114. "Fraulein" was a colloquialism used to describe German women, oftentimes implying that they were unmarried. See, for example, Vernon W. Stone, "German Baby Crop Left by Negro GI's," *The Survey* (1949): 579-583. As historian Donna Gabaccia notes, Fraulein is also a particularly dismissive term, a diminutive. Stylistically, as I connect the benevolent infantilization of German's women and youth by within the gaze of American empire, this terminology helps to keep with these thematic connections.
[645] Saul K. Padover, "Why Americans Like German Women," *American Mercury*, March 1946, 356.

However, they also maintained the power, as noted in the earlier *Readers Digest* article, to transform the attitudes of American occupation. As the *American Mercury* author described:

> Even the less thoughtful soldiers realized that German girls often gave themselves because they are hungry and this often arouses compassion and a deeper awareness of the purely human aspects of the occupation. Most GIs do not condone Nazism, but through the German women, they learn to know the meaning of hunger and privations.[646]

Building authentic relations truly transformed culture on-the-ground. Through this genuine humanization, a March 1946 poll found that with increased fraternization and prolonged contact with their so-called enemies, the more positive American soldiers' attitudes became.[647]

Behind the scenes, tapping into this powerful discourse of feminized German friendship, U.S. officials began to experiment with institutionalizing explicit occupation policy. In early 1946, Brigadier General Leroy H. Watson, commanding general of the International Military Tribunal, informally enacted a policy of issuing "desirable" German citizens, explicitly defined as female, social passes to American functions within the bounds of the Nuremberg-Fuerth Enclave of the American military government. For a brief period in early fall, Watson's model was expanded as official policy to encompass the entire U.S zone of occupation.[648] Come winter, Congress expanded the nation's War Brides and Fiancées special immigration acts to encompass German women, and the U.S. military enacted its new Be Kind to Germans policy, thus transnationally supporting and legally embedding this transformation of Germans from enemy to friend within the highly gendered practices of U.S. marriage and family formation.

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[646] Ibid.
[647] Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 118.
[648] Ibid., 87-8.

On March 27, 1947, the marriage of 27 year-old Peter Rupeka of Hempstead, N.Y. and 21 year-old "Fraulein" Erika Schaefer became the first military and state-sanctioned American-German nuptials since the marriage ban was lifted that prior winter. Rupeka, former Army Sergeant of the 508th Parachute Battalion, had lived in occupied Germany for approximately two years. The *New York Times* described Rupeka and Schaefer's romance as such:

> He met his attractive blue-eyed, brown-haired bride while sightseeing in Frankfort's bomb-damaged zoo in September, 1945. He stayed on in Germany as a War Department civilian employee after his Army discharge, in the hope of some day being permitted to marry her. They were married in a brief civil ceremony by the Frankfort rituals in both English and German.[649]

Here, the reader witnesses a telling tale of love. Erika Schaefer was not a faceless German enemy, but a young and attractive bride. The wartorn and devastated Frankfurt, rather than a symbol of German-American distrust or animosity, was instead the dramatic and romantic backdrop for the young lovers' meeting. Following his discharge, ex-GI Rupeka's stay on in Germany, in the United States' zone of occupation, was not a symbol of U.S. military occupation or American empire, but an admirable symbol of a young man's devotion to his hopeful bride.

Importantly, Schaefer's description as beautifully "blue-eyed" and "brown-haired" marked her as implicitly white, thus connoting her tacit assimilability into U.S. society. When Rupeka and Schaefer wed, their ceremony was conducted in both English and German. Rather than brand Schaefer as foreign or threatening, her German home language and culture was celebrated. Similar to the prewar identification of Senator Robert F. Wagner as German-born in his crusade to migrate German refugee children, Rupeka and Schaefer's bilingual

[649] "Ex-GI Weds a German in Occupation Zone," *New York Times*, March 28, 1947, 5.

ceremony served to highlight the ancestral bonds and common heritage that Americans and the U.S. nation-state had historically claimed with Germany and other nations of western Europe.

By the time of Rupeka and Schaefer's marriage, both the American military and the U.S. national government were working in tandem to transform Americans' perceptions of Germany. Behind the scenes documentation of how these unions were approved reveals that the U.S. military was well aware of the public discourse these legitimized marriages were making. For example, while the images of Rupeka and Schaefer were circulating nationwide, U.S. serviceman Robert J. Maylie and his bride-to-be Lucie Von Kettler were in the midst of their seven-month application process. Their marriage was approved in July 1947, but only after a chaplain went on record to state that their marriage was not "contrary to public interest" and Maylie's superior assured that they "[would] not bring discredit upon the Military Service."[650]

Following the Rupeka precedent, U.S. military officials estimated 6,000 marriages within the year.[651] Ultimately, between March 1947 and June 1950, 14,175 German women entered the U.S. as "alien spouses" of "citizen members of the [U.S.] armed forces."[652] An additional population was included in the primarily female count of 2,010 "alien fiancées or fiancés."[653]

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[650] Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 99-100.
[651] "Ex-GI Weds a German in Occupation Zone," 5.
[652] Table 9A. "Alien spouses and alien minor children of citizen members of the United States armed forces admitted under the Act of December 28, 1945, by country or region of birth: years ended June 30, 1946 to 1950." United Stated Department of Justice, *Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, Washington, D. C., for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1950.
[653] Table 9B. "Alien fiancées or fiancés of citizen members of the armed forces of the United States admitted under the Act of June 29, 1946, by country or region of birth: years ended June 30, 1947 to 1950." Ibid.

It was also through these marriages that the first German adoptees came to the United States. Between March 1947 and June 1950, 750 internationally adopted German children arrived to the U.S. as "alien minor children of citizen members of the [U.S.] armed forces."[654] One such child was 5 year-old Elke Rogers. On July 26, 1947, Elke was one of thirty-six other children who arrived on the Army transport Zebulon B. Vance alongside their "war bride" mothers and adoptive U.S. military fathers. Symbolizing the lengths to which Germans had been transformed into American friends, Elke was not a mixed-ethnic child. Rather, her birth father, a German soldier, was killed fighting Russian forces during the war. Despite the family's Nazi affiliation, Elke's mother married American Marion S. Rogers "while he was serving with the occupation forces in Germany." Following Rogers' discharge, the newly formed family traveled together on the Zebulon B. Vance, en route to their new home and life in California.[655]

Similar to the discourse surrounding German women, U.S. policymakers acknowledged the powerful political and cultural resonance of German youth, in both occupation policy and popular culture, well-prior to widespread changes in Americans' attitudes or official foreign policy. For example, on December 13, 1945, foreshadowing both these future shifts and German children's central role, Byron Pierce, Truman's personal representative in Germany, reported back his findings: that American servicemen were "the world's best [salesmen] of democracy" and that "fraternization, which has come about

[654] Table 9A. "Alien spouses and alien minor children of citizen members of the United States armed forces admitted under the Act of December 28, 1945, by country or region of birth: years ended June 30, 1946 to 1950."
[655] "39 War Brides Arrive," *New York Times*, July 27, 1947, 22.

naturally and inevitably, has made some friends, particularly among the young children who are the hope of the long future."[656]

On the one hand, U.S. servicemen's publicly acknowledged sexual fraternization with German women and the emergence of U.S.-German occupation children created a public discourse ripe for potential international embarrassment. But even as early as spring 1946, German youth, as written by the American popular press, could embody optimism, and the existence of (white) occupation children, a sort of embarrassed ambiguity. For example, in May of 1946, journalist Dana Adams Schmidt provided the American public with observations of what he considered everyday German life: "These Germans may despair [but p]erhaps the swarms of ever-present children account for the impression of vigor. They still look sturdier than most 'liberated children.'" Linking American servicemen's overseas romances with out-of-wedlock children, Schmidt goes on to describe:

> It is Saturday afternoon and the soldiers are still there with their fraeuleins. In every park they are thick, in couples and in groups… Thirty-two per cent of the babies born in Bavaria last month were illegitimate. In the next war they say all the Americans will have to do is send over the uniforms… Germans, walking by, grin embarrassedly. Some undoubtedly clench their fists.[657]

It was also during that spring, in April 1946 and several months prior the legitimization of U.S. servicemen's relations with German women, that the U.S. military formalized American GI's fraternization with German youth under its German Youth Affairs program. As an elderly German citizen espoused, "[the failure of Nazism] has left a void in the German mind. Therein lies the hope. Whoever fills this void first and points the way to spiritual, political and economic solutions will win the German people."[658] In order to have the

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[656] "Appointment of Byron Price as President's personal representative in Germany," Press release, August 30, 1945 in *U.S. Department of State Bulletin,* September 12, 1945, 333; Byron Price, "Relations between the Armed Forces and the German People," *U.S. Department of State Bulletin,* December 13, 1945, 885-6; Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 118-9.
[657] Dana Adams Schmidt, "Land of Questions Without Answers," *New York Times,* May 26, 1946, 18.
[658] Ibid.

greatest impact in filling this void, and speaking to the sustained discourse of children's greater malleability, the U.S. occupation government chose to focus a large portion of its resources on Germany's youth, its future.

Beyond the government's involvement in the formal re-education of Germany's children, occupation policy was written to include recreation, welfare, and mentorship programs that cast American GIs in the benevolent roles of provider and parent figure. Formal adoption was but an expansion of U.S. occupation policy.[659]

In December 1946, the War Brides and Fiancées Acts explicitly tied adopted German children to their mothers' legal status. However, some American GI children existed outside of this transnational family ideal. As a June 1947 *Newsweek* article detailed:

> [A]doption, despite the fact that there are hundreds of Americans in the theater eager to adopt [GI-German children], is not legally possible. A GI stationed in Germany today cannot even adopt his own son… The case of the GI who has been frustrated in his attempt to adopt his own child is very real… [along with other] exasperated hundreds of Americans in Germany who have already informally adopted orphans only to find that they can establish no legal claim to them.

In response to this situation, "In addition to individual efforts to adopt GI offspring," the article's author also described "in Frankfurt, the only organized effort to care for the GI's legacy." This organization, "Orphans, Incorporated," was founded by a former military chaplain who discovered "in a typical Frankfurt orphanage, that almost 40 per cent of the children were of assumed GI paternity." As the article explained, "Although Father O'Dea is now redeployed, the organization he left behind is burgeoning. The [American wives] who have taken over are making up in enthusiasm what they lack in professional skill as welfare workers."[660]

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[659] Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 126-65.
[660] James P. O'Donnell, "Occupation: The GI Legacy in Germany," *Newsweek*, June 16, 1947, 49-50.

In more detail, the article described Orphans, Inc. as "a loosely organized amateur group of about twenty Army wives and five War Department civilians… working actively to supply five of Frankfurt's 21 orphanages… supported by donations from American military and civilian personnel stationed… and recently by shipments from churches in the States." In this description, one can read the powerful continuity, and foreshadowing – of individuals located outside the realm of professional social welfare, with links to the U.S. military, religion, and a strong cadre of female leadership – involved in future international adoption efforts.[661]

The author linked these eventual first internationally adopted "war orphans" directly to U.S. military occupation, and specifically American paternity and Americans' desires to adopt:

> In the various *Kinderheime* throughout the American zone… the story is the same. Each orphanage that this reporter visited at random contained from 100 to 150 orphans, almost all illegitimate. Of these about a quarter were of alleged American paternity.
>
> If legal adoption were made possible, most of the several thousand GI babies in the German orphanages would be snatched up by Americans. Strong pressure is being exerted upon the [U.S.] Office of Military Government by interested Army officers, their wives, and… the GIs themselves, not only for the right to adopt GI-German offspring, but German and DP orphans.[662]

It was due to these concerted efforts on behalf of Americans stationed abroad that, in addition to those children adopted via the War Brides and Fiancées Acts, on November 28, 1947, U.S. occupation government approved the nation's first postwar adoption-specific legislation.

[661] Ibid, 50.
[662] Ibid.

Enacted on December 1, 1947, adoption procedures according to U.S. Military Government Law No. 10: Adoptions by Nationals of the United Nations, provided that once the potential adoptive parent was approved according to "the law of the state or territory of permanent residence of the adopter," U.S. nationals or permanent residents were then "required to submit a written statement signed by an American consul to the effect that from preliminary examinations it would appear that the person to be adopted qualifies under the provisions of the migration laws of the [U.S.]." While the parameters of this U.S. occupation law encompassed "any adoption case in which either of the prospective adopting parents is a national of the United Nations and in which a German court exercises jurisdiction," the law was ultimately intended to benefit U.S. military personnel and its affiliates.[663] As described in the U.N. 1949 Annual Report on Child and Youth Welfare, which provided a summary of its twenty-six countries' annual reports and legislative texts passed in 1947, it was noted for the U.S.:

> In 1947 provision was made for adoption of children by [U.S.] citizens in the German courts of the U.S. zone. Military Government Law No. 10, effective 1 December 1947, provides for the adoption of children in German courts by a person serving with or accompanying the armed forces of one of the United Nations or a [U.N.] national connected with the military government, or a dependent of either… Prior to this law, adoptions could not take place in the [U.S.] zone, since German courts had no jurisdiction with respect to American or allied nationals."[664]

The enactment of this important special adoption legislation did not occur within a separate or peculiarly compassionate military occupation discourse. Rather, this legislation, already bulwarked by the War Brides and Fiancées Acts, emerged amidst an increasingly

[663] "Law No. 10: Adoption by Nationals of the United Nations, Article I, II" in Edmund C. Jann, *The Law of Adoption in Germany* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Library of Congress, 1955), 11-12.
[664] United Nations, Department of Social Affairs, *Annual Report on Child and Youth Welfare* (New York: United Nations Publications, 1949), 219.

transnational military-national effort of creating German-U.S. kinship and sentimentalized German childhood.

Originally granted permission to do so in April 1946, German Americans were by 1947 sending notable material relief both to their kin abroad and to needy individuals identified by their American GI relatives living in occupied Germany. So well understood was this transnational family making linked to aid that in November 1947, the U.S. occupation branch of the International Red Cross began to help German nationals reestablish relations with long distant U.S. relatives. And as General Lucius D. Clay, deputy military governor of Germany, detailed in his 1950 report: in 1947, when U.S. Congress was skeptical of providing international funds, it was how "their post exchange rations usually found their way into the hands of German children," that ultimately informed their decision.[665]

By April 3, 1948, the inclusion of West Germany (which had been officially divided in March 1948) in the United States' Cold War humanitarian Marshall Plan transformed Germany from punishable wartime enemy to Cold War ally, friend, and family, expanding individual and military gestures to national policy.[666] The option of internationally adopting German children also expanded beyond military legislation with Congress's summertime passage of the Displaced Persons (DP) Act of 1948. Spotlighting the coalescence of American economic empire in Germany and the inclusion of German children in U.S. transnational family making, the DP Act was passed just five days after West Germans' legal embrace of the German Mark, the U.S.-led currency reform that fully committed West

[665] Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 120-1, 123.
[666] Hogan, *The Marshall Plan*; Goedde, *GIs and Germans*.

German society to the U.S. free market capitalist economy and solidified the nation's division from its Soviet supported eastern half.[667]

On June 25, 1948, the Displaced Persons Act was enacted "[t]o authorize for a limited period of time the admission into the United States of certain European displaced persons for permanent residence." In accordance with President Truman's 1945 directive and the United States' self-positioning as a humanitarian leader, the Act introduced a new legal clause: "eligible displaced orphans" who could "be issued special nonquota immigration visas, except that the number of such nonquota immigration visas need not exceed three thousand."[668] Reminiscent of their nineteenth century child counterparts, these children, defined as under sixteen years of age, qualified for "orphan" status so long it was decided that their parents had "disappeared."[669] Locating U.S. empire in this law, these children also needed to be "on, or before the effective Date of this Act… in [the allied occupation zones of] Italy… Germany or Austria."[670] Through the DP Act, of the 4,066 "foreign children" adopted by U.S. citizens, 500 were placed with U.S. personnel stationed overseas and an untold number were the direct progeny of U.S. occupation servicemen. 1,156 (28 percent) originated in occupied Germany.[671]

Gender, Age, and White Supremacist Misogyny

As historian Petra Goedde has shown, "The low visibility of women as active players in the Third Reich contributed to the assumption among American GIs that relations with

[667] Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 170-97.
[668] Displaced Persons Act of 1948, ch. 647, *Stat.* 62.
[669] Who could be defined as "orphan" was thus open to quite a bit of discretion. As adoption scholar Richard H. Weil has contextualized, the legal understanding of this clause "has remained broad enough to include abandoned single parent children." Weil, "International Adoptions," 279-82.
[670] Displaced Persons Act of 1948, ch. 647, *Stat.* 62.
[671] Only Greece surpassed the numbers of adopted German children. Weil, "International Adoptions," 279-82.

German women occurred outside the political context of the occupation."[672] Children too occupied a status of apolitical blamelessness. As U.S. serviceman Sergeant Giles noted in his published journal entries, "As much as you hate the Nazis, you can't hold it against a bunch of innocent children. All of us give them candy and gum we get in rations and whatever else."[673] A policy focus on German military brides and adopted children thus helped to support a larger discourse of a feminine and youth-oriented Germany. However, the ultimate success of these transnational kinship formations, and of personal relations translated to (inter)national transformation, was mediated by the notion that Germans could embody U.S. white citizenship ideals.

For potential German brides and adopted children, there were specific racial assumptions regarding their desirability. Assumed to be white, their inclusion into American military families helped to transnationally expand, maintain, and reify the United States' domestic system of racial hierarchies based in a white supremacist citizen-structure, abroad. As reported in a March 1946 *New York Times* article, "Observers in the United States zone have reported a growing feeling among the troops to consider the Germans 'our kind of people' because of the similarity in the German and American material way of life."[674]

The notion of Germans as "our kind of people" was a coded manifestation of white supremacist cultural affinity. For example, in the fall of 1946, a U.S. lieutenant described German women's desirability in this racially inflected language: "Our troops, moreover, [find German girls] surprisingly *clean* and *wholesome*, in physical appearance *not unlike American girls* [emphasis mine]."[675] And in 1947, as Congress debated the risks and merits of making

[672] Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 104-5.
[673] Ibid., 136-7.
[674] Gruson, "Army to Keep Ban on German Brides," 8.
[675] Padover, "Why Americans Like German Women," 356.

exceptions to the U.S. quota system, the inclusion of orphaned children notwithstanding, Truman's Displaced Persons program was ultimately accepted through congressional amendments that gave immigration preference to white racially coded "ethnic Germans."[676]

Reminiscent of the United States' nineteenth century North-South reconstruction bonding, it was within white supremacy that white Germans and white Americans, the German and U.S. nation-state, forged common ground. As evidenced even during the war, German Americans' white privilege had allowed them to evade incarceration, as opposed to the continental internment of Japanese Americans. This race privilege expanded to encompass even wartime German *prisoners* who, as compared to segregated African American GIs, enjoyed better living facilities and, on U.S. soil, greater access to institutions and social comradery. As poignantly recalled by Captain Charles L. Thomas:

> The army struck out with me when I got my first furlough from the 365th. I was returning by way of El Paso, Texas, where the passengers had a lay-over. I was hungry and the only place I could find that would serve me was a dingy, dinky place near the station. The station restaurant was doing a rush business with white civilians and German prisoners of war. There sat the so-called enemy comfortably seated, laughing, talking, making friends… If I had tried to enter that dining room the ever-present MPs would have busted my skull, a citizen-soldier of the United States.[677]

In this way, the ultimate cultural transformation of U.S.-German relations was founded in the discourse of anti-black racism, a discourse that had its foundation in prewar cultural sentiment that allowed white Germans and white Americans an infrastructure of comfort to build upon.

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[676] As noted by migration historian Donna R. Gabaccia, this coded language also meant "not Jewish." Susan S. Forbes and Patricia Weiss Fagen, "Unaccompanied Refugee Children: The Evolution of U. S. Policies—1939 to 1984," *Refugee Policy Group* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 16.

[677] Interview with Captain Charles L. Thomas, 614th Tank Destroyer Battalion, in *The Invisible Soldier: The Experience of the Black Soldier, World War II,* compiled and edited by Mary Penick Motley (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 266. For intimacies between white American soldiers and overseas enemy Germans, see Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler,* 17-45.

Thus, while unions such as Sergeant Rupeka and Erika Schaefer were celebrated by the American media, it was common knowledge that black GIs were refused legitimization of their unions. For example, in a 1949 survey of 500 African American servicemen, over half expressed the desire to marry their German partners but having submitted the requisite paperwork, at the time of the study "110 were pending, 57 had no response, 91 had been disapproved, and only 22 had been approved." As the author noted, it was "American custom, in almost every instance, [that] intervened to prevent such a union. Even when a child was expected, or had been born, requests for permission to marry were disapproved on racial grounds. Army officials turned down thousands of such requests."[678] And while it was not uncommon to read of black servicemen who considered renouncing their American citizenship in order to legally wed German brides, German prejudice also made these unions unfavorable, as women were socially, culturally, and sometimes legally denigrated.[679]

In this cooperative response to romantic relations between black GIs and white German women, white German and American men could find common cause in their misogynist, anti-miscegenist sentiment, in their transnational endeavor to, in historian Heide Fehrenbach's words, "defend white manhood and police [their] white women."[680] These prejudices also worked to further delegitimize both the mixed race children of such unions and the validity of German-American kinship relations. For example, when Walter Dawson, a thirty year-old African American soldier, sought to claim his own child, he was brought up "on charges of being illegally in the U.S. Zone and kidnaping his own 24-day-old baby."[681]

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[678] Stone, "German Baby Crop Left by Negro GI's," 583.
[679] See, for example, "German Press Slurs Tan Yanks," *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 12, 1949, 7. For systematic German and American discrimination, both official and unofficial, against black-German unions, see Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*, 31-45, 62-9; Zahra, *The Lost Children*, 160.
[680] Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*, 37, 41, 44-5, 63-9.
[681] "German Press Slurs Tan Yanks," 7.

Dawson and his German fiancée were denied the right to marry by the U.S. military. Neither was Dawson allowed to adopt his own child. Instead, brought up on legal charges, Dawson's story was a far cry from Sergeant Simons' lauded kidnapping of his unrelated and adopted daughter, Bella.

The idea and practice of including majority white ethnic Germans as part of America's global family, particularly through the lens of military brides and adopted children, fulfilled U.S. national imperatives of constructing itself as a humanitarian nation of immigrants without challenging its foundations of white supremacy. However, the rejection of black GI marriages and adoptions revealed the limits of this benevolent construction of U.S. international relations. Signifying a rupture in American Cold War empire, and in opposition to (white) American expectations, a "crisis" surrounding U.S.-German *Mischlingskinder* "brown baby" child placements soon emerged.[682] This crisis provided an intimate perspective into the breadth and limits of a U.S. Cold War identity as both humanitarian and non-racist.

The "Brown Baby" Problem and Crises in American Empire

Of the estimated 94,000 children born in all four Allied occupation zones, it is (conservatively) estimated that between three and five thousand were "brown baby"

[682] *Mischlingskinder* translates directly to "mixed blood." *Mischlingskinder* and "brown baby" were the most common names used in both Germany and the U.S., as well as in current scholarship, for children of black GI parentage. In Germany, *farbige Besatzungskinder*, "colored occupation children," or *Negermischlingskinder*, and in the U.S., "occupation," "illegitimate," or "half-Negro" children were also common terms. Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*, 1-2, 8-14, 74-5; Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 111. As I learned from Childhood Studies scholar Rosemarie Peña, who identifies as a dual heritage Black German-American adoptee, *Mischlingskinder* is derogatory. As Donna R. Gabaccia notes, *Mischling* was a term commonly used during the Fascist Era for products of Jewish/Christian intermarriage. Some adoptees also find the terminology "brown baby" and "mixed race" to be highly problematic. For the purposes of this dissertation, in order to stay in dialogue with the current scholarship, and because I utilize "race" as a central analytical lens, I am choosing to use the terms "brown baby," "mixed race," and "Afro-German."

children of African American GI parentage.[683] While not a particularly large number, within the global Cold War context of race and democracy, these children received enormous attention domestically and overseas. The existence of American racism received intense international scrutiny, provided excellent Soviet Union propaganda, and had great potential to damage U.S. international relations.[684] Ultimately, American GI mixed race children, viewed through the lens of child saving, provided provocative discursive labor for critics of U.S. race relations to call into question the humanitarian legitimacy of U.S. occupation and postwar reconstruction. The tensions surrounding these children revealed the breakdown of a humanitarian, non-racist Cold War American empire abroad by illuminating the nation's ultimately white supremacist mission.

Transnational Endeavors in White Supremacy

Evidence of Germans' prejudice and disregard toward its mixed race children, and their African American fathers, was also well documented. For example, in November 1949, the Munich-based German periodical, *Der Simpl*, circulated throughout the country

[683] A *Survey* study completed late January 1949 estimated that at the time, of the 70,000 American troops that occupied Germany, less than 5 percent were African American and only 2,100 of the occupation children were of African American descent. Stone, "German Baby Crop Left by Negro GI's," 579-83. A *Pittsburgh Courier* article published May 1949 estimated the number of German brown babies to be 3,000. P. L. Prattis, "Brown Babies!: Their Last Resort is Your Help," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 21, 1949, 12. In 1958, the Associate Press estimated that between 1945 and 1955, 67,753 occupation children were born in West Germany, 4,500 of whom were of African American parentage. Benjamin E. Mays, "My View," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 3, 1958, 9A. A 1951 *Jet* magazine article cites an estimate upwards of 8,000 brown occupation babies. "Brown Babies Adopted by Kind German Families," *Jet*, November 8, 1951, 14-6. A 1962 *Pittsburgh Courier* article cites that between 1945 and 1955, 4,000 of the children were *Mischlingskinder* and by 1960, this number rose to 6,000. "Germany's Brown Babies Visit Denmark," *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 3, 1962, 22A. Petra Goedde's oft referenced work cites that, over the entire course of occupation, between two and three thousand of Germany's 94,000 occupation babies (in all four German occupation zones) were *Mischlingskinder*. Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 111. Heide Fehrenbach cites 3,000 mixed race children in 1950 and upwards of 5,000 by 1955. Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*, 1-2, 8-14, 74-5.

[684] For the United States' wariness of, vulnerability to, and navigation regarding U.S. race politics, accusations of racism, and related Cold War pressures at home and abroad, see for example, Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Brenda Gayle Plummer, ed., *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

degrading and stereotypical images of "African" men and white German women with mixed race babies.[685]

Earlier that year, in May 1949, the *Pittsburgh Courier* published a telling compilation of German citizens' "true confessions" regarding the nation's "brown baby" crisis. As one grandfather expressed, the racism that he and his two year-old, mixed race granddaughter experienced pervaded even his own family and was so terrible, that perhaps even death could take his granddaughter to a kinder place:

> I am 76 years old. Of my eight living children, seven do not come and see me or talk with me any more… It is impossible to take her out on the street because already now at her age she is constantly called names and molested in the worst possible way… If I cannot live to see that she is adequately taken care of before I close my eyes, then I want to take her with me when I go."[686]

Speaking to the problem of desertion, as well as the problem of finding care for mixed race children, a Hersfeld town official recounted of several German mothers:

> Her baby was born Aug. 24, 1946. He is still there because we were unable to find a home for him. Since Jan. 20, 1948, the mother has disappeared, leaving no traces or address…
>
> The boy was delivered in a Hersfeld hospital. His father was an American colored soldier. Pretending to have found a job, the mother moved to Huenfeld, but moved away shortly after…
>
> Her child was born in the Hersfeld hospital where she has left the little girl until today. She could not be traced down… It is not possible to find foster parents… because she is colored.[687]

In another town, an official described the local Youth Welfare Supervision Committee, who had in their custody "about fifty colored children whose fathers [were] colored American soldiers." The official sought help from the U.S. military and media to find the children adoptive or foster parents. Their mothers were not missing, but "willing to give their

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[685] "German Press Slurs Tan Yanks," 7.
[686] P. L. Prattiss, "'Brown Babies' In Germany: 'True Confessions' of German Women Disclose their Helplessness and Need," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 14, 1949, 2.
[687] Ibid.

children away temporarily or permanently." Speaking to this transnational racial discourse that united white German nationals and U.S. occupying soldiers in racist sentiment, a widowed mother of one such baby wrote to a military chaplain: "They are always to be recognized by their outward appearance and I must hear many a hard word full of hatred from Germans and white Americans, too."[688]

In regards to official adoption policy, Germany's white nationalist prejudices were clear. On April 14, 1938, Germany enacted the "Law of April 12, 1938, to Change and Supplement the Regulations on Family Relations and to Regulate the Legal Status of Stateless Persons" which stated that an adoption relationship could be terminated "if important reasons in the person of the adopter or the child make continuation of the adoption relation no longer appear morally justified."[689] This amendment to German adoption policy was motivated by Nazi racial and political rationales. In response to this policy, on November 10, 1947, the U.S. Military Government enacted Law No. 59: Part XIV: Article 81: Re-Establishment of Adoptions:

> If an adoption relationship was cancelled within the period from 30 January 1933 to 8 May 1945 for any of the reasons set forth in Article 1 [for reasons of race, religion, nationality, ideology or political opposition to National Socialism], such relationship may be reinstated *nunc pro tunc* by a contract between the foster parent or his heirs and the child or his heirs.
>
> Where an adoption was cancelled by decision of a court during the period from 30 January 1933 to 8 May 1945 for any of the reasons set forth in Article 1, and if no facts have appeared which thereafter would have caused contracting parties to revoke the adoption on their own initiative, either party to the contract or his heirs may demand that the decision be vacated.[690]

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[688] Ibid.
[689] Edmund C. Jann, *The Law of Adoption in Germany* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Library of Congress, 1955), 8.
[690] "Military Government, United States Area of Control, Germany; Law No. 59: Part 1: Article 1: Basic Principles; Part Part XIV: Article 81: Re-Establishment of Adoptions," *The American Journal of International Law* 42 (January 1948): 11, 42.

However, despite this legal gesture by the U.S. occupation government, Germany's original law was not repealed. Instead, in order to take advantage of U.S. Military Law No. 59, "The application for re-establishment of an adoption [had to be] made on or before 31 December 1948."[691] The legal structures of German Nazi era white supremacy thereby remained intact.

As the population of mixed race Afro-German children gained increasing visibility, different solutions were discussed. For example, in 1947, a Protestant missionary group proposed that the children be provided segregated religious schooling, to be sent to Africa as eventual future missionaries. By 1950, there was public discussion surrounding the inauguration of "colonies" for the children similar to those established for interwar refugee children. A few years later, the German press lauded African American "mammies" as the ideal custodians for "brown babies."[692] Ultimately, prophesying South Korea's response to its mixed race American GI babies, emigration, or in the words of West Germany's 1951 federal Interior Ministry officials, the "deportation of *Mischlingskinder*," international adoption soon became the nation's preference and official policy toward its "foreign-looking," child population.[693]

While the United States never officially broadcast its ideological cooperation with West Germany, U.S. white supremacist underpinnings continuously emerged in private discussions. For example, in a 1951 meeting with West Germany's federal minister of the interior, Lois McVey, the U.S. child welfare director of the Displaced Commission, proposed that mixed race Afro-German children be sent to Central or South America. As McVey conveyed, "[in these Latin American countries, as opposed to the U.S.] issues of race [would]

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[691] Ibid.
[692] Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*, 133, 140-1.
[693] Until 1952, dialogue surrounding the "brown babies" emphasized their "foreign-looking" appearance. Ibid., 77, 94, 136-7, 141-2.

hold less significance." This recommendation fell directly in line with earlier U.S. nineteenth and early twentieth century nation-building precedents: out-migration as a strategy for removing or assimilating undesirable children from or into its body politic. It also reflected the United States' interwar year proposals for dealing with overseas Jewish people in need of refuge. This sentiment was also in stark contrast to McVey's positive engagement regarding the adoption of white German "orphans" and occupation children, the *Volksdeutche*. McVey actively pursued German authorities for information about their number and availability for adoption to the U.S.[694] These children would more adequately represent U.S. humanitarian gestures abroad in that they would simply expand U.S. white supremacist parameters of national belonging. Ultimately however, the United States' black community disallowed this white-only humanitarian discourse through the elevation and claiming of the "brown babies" as equally save-able.

Black Resistance

In the face of such overt and institutionalized prejudice, between 1945 and 1968, (primarily African American) U.S. citizens adopted nearly seven-thousand Afro-German children.[695] This exceptionally high number is both incredibly revealing and deeply ambiguous. While the exact number of German "brown babies" is contested, it is widely accepted that during the United States' ten-year occupation, between three and five thousand Afro-German children were born.[696] Furthermore, between 1948 and 1962, under the special U.S. legislation most often referenced in regard to the number of "foreign children" adopted in the United States' first two waves of international adoption: 1948 Displaced Persons Act;

[694] Ibid., 141-2.
[695] Ibid., 133.
[696] See footnote 79.

Act of July 29, 1953; 1953 Refugee Act; Act of September 11, 1957, the total number of *all* German children adopted through these immigration acts was only 1,845.[697] Turning the early U.S. adoption history narrative on its head, while we only have access to the aggregate numbers, the fact that upwards of seven thousand Afro-German children were adopted during this nearly identical time period speaks to the incredibly high number of children adopted *outside* the legislation focused on refugee and war orphans. Instead, this high number speaks directly the practice of U.S. international adoption tied to the legacy of U.S. military occupation abroad.

It is clear that black parents were using not only special U.S. immigration legislation, but other legal avenues that included military bride marriage and military government Law No. 10 in order to adopt. However, given the institutional racism that governed these laws, black prospective adoptive parents also took advantage of legal loopholes such as foreign court petitions and adoption by proxy (to be discussed in further detail, chapter 7) that allowed international adoption as well.[698] Viewed through this lens, African American international adoption of Germany's "brown babies" was an act of resistance, a resistance to U.S.-German white supremacy by both elevating "brown babies" to that of equal sentimental value to their white counterparts, and as prospective adoptive parents, demanding black Americans' equal rights to adopt, save, and raise children from abroad. In this way, the plight of "brown babies" became a political cornerstone in the African American political movement to highlight the hypocrisy of U.S. racism and the nation's purported Cold War role

[697] Weil, "International Adoptions," 280.
[698] Richard H. Weil also cites anecdotal evidence of individual congressional petitions to grant foreign orphans citizenship, children who entered the U.S. via medical or student visas and subsequently stayed, and others admitted under former immigration quotas, as other procedures parents have undergone to internationally adopt their children outside the special immigration legislation. Weil, "International Adoptions," 279.

as humanitarian world leader, which ultimately revealed the limits of U.S. benevolent imperial supremacy abroad.

In a subversive critique of U.S. segregation and Jim Crow laws, it was not uncommon for the African American press to portray Europeans as more racially liberal, and to place at least some blame for noted European prejudice on transplanted American racism and military discrimination. For example, illustrating European (including German) tolerance toward and sometimes love of black Americans and their progeny, periodicals such as the *Afro American, Pittsburgh Courier,* and *Jet* printed such stories as "Survey Shows Most Europeans Want to Keep Tan Babies," "Fraulein Mothers of 'Brown Babies' Love 'Em Fiercely," and "Brown Babies Adopted by Kind German Families."[699] Indeed, a widely cited 1949 *Survey* study detailed the "racial equality" practiced by Germans and asserted that for mothers of mixed race children, "not only [was] infanticide unthinkable, but even separation – rarely considered."[700] By presenting a strong counternarrative to that of German white supremacy and anti-black racism, black Americans also created a rupture in the believability of the (white) German-American-friends narrative, to question how truly close postwar Germany and the U.S. really were.

The international adoption of black occupation children by African Americans was in trend with Civil Rights activists' transnational politics, wherein African Americans found to some degree, reciprocal nation-building partners with white Germans. Whether these German citizens wanted to rebuild a white supremacist German nation, or truly had anti-

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[699] "Survey Shows Most Europeans Want to Keep Tan Babies," *Afro American*, November 27, 1948; "Fraulein Mothers of 'Brown Babies' Love 'Em Fiercely," *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 1, 1950; "Brown Babies Adopted by Kind Germany Families," 14-16.

[700] Stone, "German Baby Crop Left by Negro GI's," 579-583. For further discussion in regards to Germany, the "positive" coverage of Germans' reception to its "brown babies," as well as to black GIs see, for example, Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 108-12; Michael Cullen Green, "A Brown Baby Crisis," in *Black Yanks in the Pacific: Race in the Making of American Military Empire after World War II* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 88-9.

racist humanitarian motives, white Germans' support of African American adoption aided black activism: to build an anti-racist and equitable U.S. society where black Americans had full inclusion and to whom the U.S. nation-state felt equitably responsible.

The United States' lack of responsibility toward its "brown babies" became a central part of African Americans' political strategy to illuminate the shortcomings of U.S. race relations. As *Pittsburgh Courier* journalist J. A. Rogers wrote:

> We Americans pride ourselves on being humanitarian… but it makes a big difference in many of the best of us when it comes to so-called race… If Americans are to lead the world in democratic conduct they will need a tremendous amount of broadening. There is a vast difference between how [the nation] regard[s itself] and how the rest of the world does.[701]

Private citizen R. D. Pittman, Jr. echoed Rogers' sentiments in his letter to the editor: "America will soon find that it is not very popular with the peoples of the world when she says one thing and practices another."[702] In beseeching Americans to take responsibility for the welfare of its overseas mixed race children, black leaders and everyday citizens pressured the American government to make good on its democratic and humanitarian claims at home. Media coverage such as these internationalized U.S. race debates by placing them in the very public and highly politicized global Cold War arena.

Taking advantage of this arena, German citizens likewise utilized African American political strategies surrounding "brown babies" to challenge U.S. empire in West Germany. For example, in 1951, the German periodical *Stern* lauded black initiatives to internationally adopt Afro-German children in the "fight against white bureaucracy in America… in a country where racial segregation is exercised with unrelenting rigor."[703] In highlighting African Americans' struggles to internationally adopt and U.S. race problems at home, West

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[701] J. A. Rogers, "Rogers Says: Only the Hard-Hearted Will Not Be Touched by Plight of 'Brown Babies,'" *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 28, 1949, 15.
[702] R. D. Pittman, Jr., "All of Us to Blame For 'Brown Babies,'" *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 3, 1949, 21.
[703] Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*, 134.

Germany was able to strategically critique the United States' purported supremacy *in all things*, particularly in the realm of humanitarian culture and within the safe and acceptable Cold War discourse that made criticisms of U.S. race politics both highly acceptable and particularly embarrassing. Over time, these criticisms (as will be detailed in chapter 7) helped West Germany to level the playing field, maintain sovereignty, and resist U.S. incursions in a very public manner.

Lastly, African Americans' humanitarian responses to the "brown baby" crisis empowered the community to both claim and perform ideal Cold War American citizenry. Through international adoption, African Americans very publicly positioned themselves as the American nuclear family ideal, created through the white normalized paradigms of love, responsibility, and compassion. It was in this regard that, while the first internationally adopted "brown baby" brought to the U.S. was indeed German, the popular press chose to instead focus on a later adoption story from Britain.

The first "brown baby," little Johnny Hine Chilkutt, was 16 months-old when he arrived from Germany to Ohio, December 26, 1948, "just a few days after [his father, Frank Chilkutt,] was discharged from the Army."[704] However, since his unwed father failed to meet the legal standards to formally adopt his son, Chilkutt's aunt and uncle, Mr. and Mrs. Bedford Mitchell, embraced responsibility. Thus while the first in practice, a secondary kinship adoption failed to arouse media attention and became but a footnote in the U.S. "brown baby" narrative.

Instead, it was the international adoption of three year-old Leon Lomax, Jr. from England, also adopted to Ohio, but by his GI father and faithful American wife, that captured

[704] "Ohio Claims Three 'Brown Babies,'" *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 12, 1949, 3.

the nation's imagination. Thus dubbed "[t]he first 'Brown Baby' adopted by an American couple to reach America," with little mention of the Lomax's second son, the story of Leon Lomax, Jr. became the story of African American nuclear family and humanitarian citizenship.[705]

In line with African Americans' strategic international race politics, Lomax Sr.'s obvious unfaithfulness in producing Leon was framed as a race-empowering mission. The *Pittsburgh Courier*, in describing how "Lomax met and wooed an English girl," relayed how she,

> [L]ike other English girls, had been told by white [American] soldiers that Negroes were monkeys… subhuman… Lomax made it his business, wherever he went, to convince the English that Negroes were equal to and, in many instances, superior to other races. Lomax won.[706]

In this narrative rendition, Lomax Sr. was a black patriot, his love affair characterized as a triumphant act of anti-racism, an act of resistance against the spread of white American racism abroad. As another news article deduced, Leon was "far more than a beautiful child. He [was] something of a symbol."[707] World War II "brown babies" were symbols of African American pride and citizenry, and could perform important anti-racist labor at home and abroad.

In addition, besides inspiring an exclusive *Pittsburgh Courier* profile series, to be revisited countless times in future articles and repeatedly declared 1949's "story of the year," the Leon Lomax, Jr. media phenomenon also illustrated the solidified postwar connection between individual family narrative, popular culture representation, and international

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[705] Robert M. Ratcliffe, "'Brown Baby' Adopted; Arrives in U.S.," *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 12, 1949, 1.
[706] Ibid.
[707] "Portrait of Leon: Brown Baby," *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 19, 1949, 13.

adoption practice.[708] From viewing Leon's adoption story, "scores" of interested parties contacted the *Courier* "to care for one or more of Europe's war-born children." These requests ranged from a Louisiana public school principal, to a Florida mother of three, and an Ohio college professor. This occurrence of one personalized adoption story having the impact to inspire widespread practice would become particularly apparent in the case of Korea. Similarly, as the media began to conflate postwar occupation babies such as Leon with "Europe's much-discussed orphans of the great war," post-Korean War, this discursive integration would be complete.[709]

For many African Americans, the adoption of children represented both race-based and nationalist responsibility, as well as a highly visible and sensitive political venue through which to expose and criticize American racism at home and abroad. However, to a comparable degree, the African American press also provided nationalist race criticism by juxtaposing the plight of international "brown babies" to that of their domestic brethren in the U.S., a criticism that included black Americans within its critique. For example, in a June 1950 *Pittsburgh Courier* article entitled, "Our Own 'Brown Babies' Beg Foster Home," the author asks:

> So you think they've got a problem to find foster homes and to get people to adopt the 'Brown Babies' in England and Germany? Brother, the Family and Children's Service says there is a scarcity of foster homes and people who want to adopt a number of the little brown babies who were born right here in Pittsburgh or Allegheny County.[710]

Raised in these criticisms was the clear question, which continues present day, how can U.S. citizens be so concerned with the welfare of children abroad when there are so many children

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[708] See, for example, "'Brown Baby' Leon Lomax Set for Xmas," *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 24, 1949, 3; Toki Schalk Johnson, "Women Help Make Big News in Year 1949," *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 31, 1949, 8; Robert M. Ratcliffe, "1949 Roundup," *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 31, 1949, 2; "The Story of '49," *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 31, 1949, 3; Mrs. Ray Bruning, "Brown Baby Lomax Has Won Hearts of Couple," "Women Help Make Big News in Year 1949," *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 14, 1950, 26.
[709] "Scores Seek 'Brown Babies,'" *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 26, 1949, 6.
[710] "Our Own 'Brown Babies' Beg Foster Home," *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 10, 1950, 2.

domestically in need? As the United States continued to negotiate these racial complications, on both international and domestic scales, adopted Japanese children provided a lens toward the future widescale shift of U.S. transracial transnational adoptions that sought to utilize *certain* non-white child bodies to provide the discursive labor of performing anti-racist family making, all while perpetuating transnational systems of white supremacist American empire.

Sex Workers, Wives, and Children: Negotiating Sovereignty and Domesticating the Model Minority

Immediately following World War II, it is estimated that between 400,000 and 600,000 U.S. servicemen took up posts in occupied Japan.[711] Geopolitically, Japan was, for the United States, the Germany of Asia. As U.S. imperial interests transformed Japan from enemy to friend, the nation provides the perfect foil to illuminate the intersections and divergences of the United States' approach, policy, and practice in dealing with a non-white Asian ally, and the implications of these similarities and differences on the self-fashioning of postwar America.

In Japan, as in Germany, American servicemen engaged in sexual relations. While the details of these relations, both initially and over time, diverged from those of their German counterparts, the eventual emergence of occupation children and military brides as adopted American family members, provided the discursive labor that the American public necessitated to reimagine Japan and Japanese Americans as friends and family of the United States. In this reimagining, similar to their white German counterparts, Japanese military brides and adopted children helped the United States to obscure its imperial motives through

[711] Masako Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?: Marriage, Migration, and Integration of Japanese War Brides After World War II" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2010), 37.

their performance of public intimacy, which supported a U.S. self-portrayal of international humanitarianism, responsibility, and caregiving capitalist superiority. In addition, as compared with both their white and mixed race German counterparts, these women and children both deflected and reified Cold War domestic and international accusations of racism. Japanese women and children – like their mixed race German counterparts – were people of color, but departing from the "brown babies" narrative, their eventual adoption into white American families directly answered, in the most intimate form possible, critics of U.S. race politics.

Because Japanese brides and children exhibited Asian-ness, the U.S. nation-state and American families could demonstrate inclusion in a new way. Unlike Afro-German, domestic African American, and American Indian peoples, postwar Asian bodies came to be infantilized and idealized in ways that did not challenge the fundamentals of U.S. white supremacy. Their road to widespread adoption acceptance was a long and uneven one. The lengthy transitory period and dual racialization positioned Japanese military brides and adopted children at the vanguard of a striking postwar racial shift of Asian Americans from yellow peril to model minority. The unevenness of this transformation exposed the still-severe limits of the United States' self-fashioning as a humanitarian, non-racist Cold War entity, and Asian people's vulnerability in the nation's continued mission of global (and domestic) white supremacy.[712]

[712] For further discussion of the transformation of Asian Americans from yellow peril to model minority during the Cold War see: Ellen D. Wu, *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); Madeline Y. Hsu, *Good Immigrants: How the Yellow Peril Became the Model Minority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

From Sex Workers to Model [Minority] Brides – and Children[713]

From its onset, the United States' occupation of Japan as an enemy nation, embodied in its military interactions with Japanese women, developed both unevenly and differently from its occupation in Germany. In comparison to the early discourse surrounding German women, there were no equivalent humanizing publications on Japanese rape victims or GI-impregnated mothers. There were no published names of Japanese women to aid, individualize, or relate to. This discursive and material non-engagement was in trend with the racial bias that governed U.S. military relations overseas since the United States colonized the Philippines in the late nineteenth century. While illegitimate children of U.S. military paternity were provided welfare services or citizenship benefits if born to white mothers in Europe, Filipino children were denied those rights.[714] It was within this racial hierarchy of white supremacy that Japanese women were denied the widespread and public personal recognition, let alone respect, afforded their German counterparts, by U.S. military officials and even their own national government.

Japan's government was well aware of Americans' racist disregard toward Japanese people. This devaluation of Japanese lives, as well as Japan's powerlessness to protect its citizenry, was most poignantly demonstrated in the United States' atomic detonations in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In addition, the specific fear of rape by U.S soldiers had been

[713] A note on terminology: Perhaps because the German language was felt (and remains) easier to anglicize, the past American popular press and current scholarship will often refer to German military brides (or romantic counterparts) and "brown babies" via their German terminologies, as *Fraulein*s and *Mischlingskinder*, respectively. On the other hand, comparable Japanese terminologies for Japanese military brides (or romantic counterparts) or mixed race occupation children do not emerge in either the historic record or the current historiography. Rather, more racist and derogatory language emerges in historic texts – such as referring to Japanese women as "madame butterflies," or "baby-sans," which I choose not to highlight in my writing.

[714] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 90.

instilled during the war. For many Japanese, these fears were of retribution, knowing their own troops' violent sexual conduct overseas. Also, as suggested by historian Sarah Kovner, earlier warnings by Japanese officials were perhaps also part of Japan's wartime propaganda to justify its continued fight in a losing war. Upon surrender, public panic mounted in an overwhelming fear of the rape and pillage that would accompany the arrival of American troops.[715]

Anticipating sexual assault as a byproduct of U.S. military occupation, the Japanese national government preemptively institutionalized legalized sex work to cater to American servicemen, in hopes of preventing the widespread rape of Japanese women. Institutionalized sex work in government-sponsored installations known as Recreation and Amusement Associations (RAA) was formalized in August 1945, mere days prior to the arrival of American occupation troops.[716] As several of the earliest Tokyo RAAs collectively declared, their facilities:

> [Would help maintain] the national polity by protecting the pure blood of the hundred million… promote mutual understanding between the [U.S.] and [Japan], and to contribute to the smooth development of people's diplomacy and abet the construction of a peaceful world."[717]

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[715] Sarah Kovner, *Occupying Power: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Postwar Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 22, 50; Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 124; Regina F. Lark, "They Challenged Two Nations: Marriages between Japanese Women and American GIs, 1945 to the present" (PhD Diss., University of Southern California, 1999), chap. 2.

[716] As historians of U.S. occupation in Japan have clearly documented, these "state-sponsored brothels" were instituted by Japan's national government, through organized instruction via local chiefs of police and funding to local business networks, immediately upon Japan's surrender. Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 90; Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 124-6; Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?," 37; Yukiko Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 69-70; Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally*, 38; Kovner, *Occupying Power*, 3, chap. 1; Lark, "They Challenged Two Nations," chap. 2. Specifically, on the controversial dimensions of institutionalizing this kind of sex work, within the canon of Japan's war history, see Kovner, *Occupying Power*, 21-4. See also, Yuki Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and US Occupation* (London: Routledge, 2002).

[717] Quoted in Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 128.

RAAs demonstrated the Japanese government's willingness to sacrifice its poorest citizens. The women recruited to work in these RAAs were meant to serve as a "shock-absorber" for the upper and middle classes included in the "pure blood of the hundred million."[718]

By the close of the year, several dozen RAAs employed an estimated 20,000 Japanese women who serviced upwards of sixty American servicemen a day each, in approximately twenty-one of Japan's cities.[719] Despite these government-sponsored and (initially) U.S. sanctioned sex work installations, it is estimated that American servicemen perpetrated an average of forty rapes and sexual assaults per day against Japanese women. This number rose to a daily estimate of three-hundred-thirty following the RAA's termination in early 1946.[720] RAAs were eliminated as venereal disease spread amongst U.S. troops. Following the RAA's disbandment, new non-government sponsored sex work societies proliferated and flourished alongside expanding U.S. military installations.

Beyond the U.S. military government's (and American public's) general disinterest, the widespread rape and utter disregard for Japan's female population sparked no national outrage from Japan's national government. The preemptive institutionalization of sex work installations by the Japanese government no doubt worked to both confirm and deepen preexisting racial and cultural prejudices of the American occupiers. The Japanese government's active participation in institutionalizing the sexual availability of Japanese women worked to encourage and validate the levels of sexual disregard and violence

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[718] Quoted in Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 38. This strategy of providing state sanctioned sex workers from the lower classes, as buffers to the more "respectable" female population, had its roots in nineteenth century Japanese policy when met with nineteenth century American imperial incursions. Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 126, 128. See also, Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 70; Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally*, 39; Kovner, *Occupying Power*, 11, chap. 1; Lark, "They Challenged Two Nations," chap. 2.

[719] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 123-31; Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 38; Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?," 37.

[720] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 579, *n*16.

perpetrated against Japanese women by American servicemen. For example, Japanese government officials also collaborated with the U.S. military occupation government to organize sex work economies outside of state-sponsored institutions.

In mid-September 1945, Yosano Hikaru, head of the Tokyo Bureau of Epidemic Protection, was called into MacArthur's headquarters. Hikaru described the meeting's purpose:

> [T]hey took out a large, aerial photograph of Tokyo and said that the real reason that they had summoned me was about the women who took care of the soldiers… They wanted my advice about where it would be good for officers… white soldiers… where black soldiers should go."[721]

Following the RAA's termination, Japan's Home Ministry went so far as to publicly declare Japanese women's "right" to choose prostitution as their profession of choice.[722]

Ultimately, the level of sexual violence, the conquest and dehumanization of Japan's female population, and the utter lack of resistance on the part of Japan's government, elevates the role that race played in reconstructing U.S.-Japan and U.S.-Germany relations. Historians Heide Fehrenbach and Petra Goedde have each written about the postwar infantilization of occupied Germany, respectively documenting the "flaccid fatherland" and the "cultural feminization" of the nation.[723] However, as evidenced by the early and widespread respect afforded to Germany by the United States, this postwar infantilization was but a temporary state. On the other hand, the U.S. perceived racialized, cultural

[721] Quoted in Kovner, *Occupying Power*, 26.
[722] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 132. This "right" of legal sex work was also in line with Japan's historic precedent, which allowed for legal and regulated sex work practice for more than 300 years prior to World War II. Prostitution was not made illegal until 1956, following Japanese women's activist movements. However, illegal sex work economies continued, and continue, to function. Kovner, *Occupying Power*, 1-16, chap. 1.
[723] Goedde, *GIs and Germans*; Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*.

feminization of Japan was such that more permanently marked the character of the Japanese people.[724]

When the U.S. first occupied Japan as an enemy nation, it did not put anti-fraternization laws into place because Japanese women, compared to German women, were not viewed as social threats. They existed within a gendered racial discourse that did not view Japanese women as true partners for American servicemen, but as sexual conquests.[725]

On September 22, 1945, when a *New York Times* journalist "[a]sked whether any fraternization was developing between American troops and the Japanese civilian population," General MacArthur replied: "'None. The general aloofness of the American soldier, based on his innate self-respect, is one of the most noticeable characteristics of the occupation.'"[726] Besides the fact that rape and Americans' participation in Japan's sex work economy were disregarded in MacArthur's assessment, this observation stood in stark contrast to policy in Germany, where the military's anti-fraternization ban was lifted when it proved unenforceable.

In Germany, the transnational discourse of white supremacy and white Americans' claims to German heritage evidenced the foundations of friendly relations between white Germans and white Americans even during the war. On the other hand, Japan found its early overtures toward friendship, beyond sex work, to be rebuffed and perceived as inappropriate.

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[724] Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally*; Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 138; Kovner, *Occupying Power*, 156; Lark, "They Challenged Two Nations," chap. 2.
[725] On the complicated matter of U.S. (anti-)fraternization occupation policy in postwar Japan see, for example, Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*; Dower, *Embracing Defeat,* 211-2; Kovner, *Occupying Power*, 26-30, 36, 47, 125, 156; Lark, "They Challenged Two Nations," chap. 2.
[726] Hugh Baillie, "M'Arthur Declares Japan Ended as a Great Power," *New York Times*, September 22, 1945, 2.

As one American journalist expressed it, "a conquering army cannot and does not desire to bridge the spiritual gap between the people and themselves."[727]

Ultimately, the U.S. military introduced anti-fraternization regulations, not to actively dissuade its soldiers' from building friendships, but in response to the affront that the Japanese might see themselves as equal to their white American "conquerors." It was in this spirit that General MacArthur implemented anti-fraternization as U.S. occupation policy on April 2, 1945. More localized anti-fraternization laws followed. For example, on September 4, 1945, the military introduced the transportation regulation that "[a]ny car, train, or horse carriage that [carried] a Japanese person on board must not pass an American automobile. A violator may be shot to death."[728] By summer 1946, the U.S. military government had institutionalized white supremacist segregation akin to the American South on all levels of Japanese society.[729]

It was within this white supremacist discourse that the transnational construction of Germany as a feminine and youth-oriented nation ultimately benefited both the U.S. and Germany in rebuilding a postwar friendship. Even while infantilized, Germany maintained the United States' respect as a white European nation. Japan lacked this white privilege. Thus in a 1951 Senate hearing, General Macarthur testified that while Germany was a "mature" race, "[Japan was] like a boy of 12 as compared to our own development."[730] Within this racialized context, only German unions that violated white supremacy – notably

[727] Quoted in Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 58. See also, Frank L. Kluckhohn, "East and West Now Face to Face in Japan," *New York Times*, September 9, 1945, 71.
[728] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 58.
[729] Ibid., 60-2. See also, Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 211-2; Kovner, *Occupying Power*, 125, 156.
[730] Quoted in Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally,* 55. See also, Goedde, *GIs and Germans*, 208; Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 83.

black-German romantic relations – resulted in condemnations by Germans and Americans of German women (and children) and American servicemen.[731]

Ultimately, the postwar Cold War "friendship" between the United States and Japan, as epitomized by the legitimization of romantic relations between American servicemen and Japanese women, required much more than overcoming immediate postwar legislation and the wartime marring of Japan's image. However, despite the brutal beginnings of U.S. occupation and, in particular, the more demeaning and violent discourse that surrounded Japanese-American sexual relations, true intimacies did develop in Japan as in Germany. As U.S. foreign policy shifted to include Japan in its Cold War alliance, immigration and familial policies also changed to allow servicemen to legitimize their international kinship relations. However, due to the more poignant stigma of prostitution that maligned all Japanese women, and in accordance with the continued U.S. legal and cultural prejudice against non-white people, Japanese women necessitated a more public image rehabilitation than their German counterparts. As such, reforms that reimagined and transformed Japanese sex workers to respectable American wives, in both official policy and popular attitudes, took more time, progressed unevenly, and were a much more complicated matter.

Japanese American Resistance

In June 1947, at least 30 Nisei (U.S.-born children of Japanese immigrants) and 20 white Americans had applied for, and were denied through chains of military command, permission to marry their Japanese partners.[732] As in Germany and other occupied European places, American servicemen desired to marry Japanese women, but largescale activism on

[731] Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*, 53-61. And it was within this globalized hierarchy of race that the German government thus boldly recommended that African American GIs be deployed to Asia, to such places as Japan, that they might mingle amongst other non-white peoples, rather than pollute the body politic of the German nation-state. Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 28-33.
[732] Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?," 38-9.

behalf of these marriages overseas was stunted due to race prejudice and well-known prewar, anti-Japanese immigration and naturalization restrictions.

Nevertheless, in Denver, Colorado, the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL, est. 1929), had initiated its first postwar meeting on February 28, 1946. By that spring, the allowance of Japanese military bride marriages and migration became the organization's central political campaign. As expressed by Mike M. Masaoko, Nisei military veteran and JACL's legislative director, a successful campaign on behalf of the brides would be but a strategic first step to "breach the ban against Japanese embodied in the Immigration Act of 1924."[733]

In March 1947, as U.S. domestic and international race relations faced unprecedented scrutiny on the world's stage, Masaoko testified to the War Brides Act's discriminatory premise. In a congressional hearing before the Subcommittee for Immigration and Naturalization of the House Judiciary Committee, Masaoko highlighted the "curious situation" enabled by the racial parameters drawn in the Act whereby if "Japanese-American soldiers serving in Australia and in India married Indian and Australian girls… they [could] bring these girls into the United States, yet [not] when they marry [Japanese women] of their own flesh and blood."[734]

By June 1947, JACL was working closely with the Tokyo-based Director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Roger N. Baldwin, to establish a JACL Tokyo Chapter. As Baldwin highlighted upon his return to the U.S., the failure of U.S. legislation to support Japanese military bride marriages was also a failure to support the Cold War nuclear family, and the reputation of American men as responsible providers. Baldwin campaigned

[733] Ibid., 46-7.
[734] Ibid., 48-9.

on behalf of these marriages: "Over 40 servicemen and civilians in Tokyo alone put up to me pathetic cases of babies and pregnant would-be wives for whom the fathers under the regulations can make no provision whatever… [I would] urge the War Department to change the policy of compounding sin and irresponsibility [to allow servicemen to marry these Japanese women]."[735]

Ultimately, on July 24, 1947, more than six months following Germany, the War Brides and Fiancées Acts were amended to include Japanese women. Following the passage of these amendments, Republican representative Frank Fellows, who had introduced the bill on behalf of Masaoko and the JACL, proclaimed, "The bill is designed to correct an injustice to Americans of oriental ancestry. But it also permits soldiers of non-oriental ancestry to marry Japanese brides and bring them [to the U.S.]."[736] In this way, rather than the confluence of transnational white supremacy and U.S. empire in Germany, the ultimate passage of the amendments to Japanese military bride policy can be read as, akin to African American activism surrounding Germany's "brown babies," the convergence of Japanese American activism and Cold War anti-racist pressures, alongside the expansion of U.S. imperial goals in Japan.

Following U.S. precedent in Germany, as U.S. policy toward Japan changed, so did its laws regulating marriage (and adoption), transforming Japan from wartime (and racial) enemy to deserving (white) American ally and friend. Highlighting the central roles of Japanese women and children provides a productive entry point into the transitory state of postwar Asian America. As historian Naoko Shibusawa has elaborated in her study of postwar U.S.-Japan relations: "The postwar public discourse assumed two 'natural' or

[735] Ibid., 56.
[736] Ibid., 57-8.

universally recognized hierarchical relationships – man over woman and adult over child – and compared them to the relationship between the United States, a 'white' nation, and Japan, a 'nonwhite' nation."[737]

Within this postwar public discourse, Cold War politics necessitated the expansion of the racial discourse surrounding Asian Americans to include not only yellow peril, but the more benevolent racialization of model minority. As chronicled by historian Masako Nakamura, transforming Japanese women into "good wives and mothers of U.S. citizens" subsequently transformed "these women… from a 'problem' to a showcase of ideal, 'model minority' brides."[738] Japanese military brides, and adopted children, epitomized this striking change. And while this transition was indeed a challenge, as a *New York Times* article related in 1954, "Since America and Japan *became friends again* 18,000 Japanese women have married American servicemen" [emphasis mine].[739] Besides solidifying U.S.-Japan postwar relations, similar to Germany, these familial intimacies also countered Soviet accusations of American empire overseas. And in addition, for those white Americans who "successfully" created a nuclear family with their Japanese partners and children, these unions provided the additional function of performing U.S. anti-racism in the face of criticisms at home and abroad.

The Women and the Children

Prewar U.S.-Japan relations existed within the U.S. domestic and transnational racial discourse of the "yellow peril." Between 1882 and 1924, this fear of Asian bodies polluting

[737] Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally*, 4. on the linked, discursive racialization of Japanese women and children, as well as the overall infantilization of postwar Japan within U.S. public discourse see also, for example, Ibid., chap. 1; Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 39, 117, 130, 142-5, 155, 262, 284, 303; Kovner, *Occupying Power*, chap. 2.
[738] Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?," 2, 300.
[739] Ray Falk, "G. I. Brides Go to School In Japan: Red Cross teachers prepare them for home-making in U. S." *New York Times*, November 7, 1954, SM54-6.

the white American body politic (ideal) resulted in the widespread exclusion of ethnic Asians' immigration, and naturalization to U.S. citizenship.[740] Postwar these policies remained in place. Within this anti-Asian context, Japan and Japanese women were framed as the non-white foil to Germany. For example, in a widely cited November 1949 study, while German women were lauded as devoted mothers to even mixed race "Negro" babies, it was reported that "[in] Japan, many women who [had] borne children to American [GIs] – white or Negro – [were] reported to have 'saved face' by abandoning the child, or by resorting to infanticide."[741] Through this image, Japan was marked as a more racist nation, and Japanese women as worse mothers.

On the other hand, as U.S. policy continued to lean toward an allied Japan, Japanese women, even more so than German women, embodied ideal postwar ambassadors for the new U.S.-Japan relations. Constructed as hyper sexually available and submissive, the two traits that also characterized German women's desirability, Japanese women were even more compelling as U.S. servicemen's ideal female companions. As one American observed in 1951, "One of the biggest reasons why American men like Japanese girls… whether it is a boyfriend or a customer, [they] completely obey American men."[742] By the late 1950s, as documented by Yoshiko Gloria Yamaji, MSW, U.S. servicemen could describe their rehabilitated Japanese brides' desirability in their "qualities of being a good housekeeper, a mother, a nurse, and a maid, as well as wife… [their] femininity, submissive attitudes and devotion to husbands, their acceptance of the women's role."[743] The U.S. military, in alliance with the U.S. national government, recognized, that as with German women, Japanese

[740] Lee, *Orientals*, 106-44.
[741] Stone, "German Baby Crop Left by Negro GI's," 581-2.
[742] Kovner, *Occupying Power*, 57.
[743] Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?," 153, 172-3.

women maintained the discursive potential to transform the attitudes of not only U.S. occupation, but of the American public abroad. Indeed, just as Germany was humanized through a feminine (and youth-oriented) discourse that emphasized the nation's more unthreatening attributes, Japanese military bride allowances were constructed within the hyper-feminine discourse of, as Naoko Shibusawa fittingly framed, "America's geisha ally." The submissive femininity embodied in Americans' vision of the Japanese geisha encompassed the U.S. masculinist ideal of a pleasingly conquered nation.[744]

As the United States sought to reconstruct Japan as its Cold War ally of the East, sympathetic accounts arose surrounding romantic unions between American servicemen and Japanese women. Embodied in a dearth of popular culture that included the 1952 feature film *Japanese War Bride* and the widely viewed 1957 *Sayonara*, as historians Robert G. Lee and Naoko Shibusawa have well documented, popular films such as these, musicals, and novels, alongside mainstream media accounts, helped to solidify a national discourse that not only accepted Japan, through the visage of Japanese military brides, as the United States' newfound friends and family, but also evoked the importance of a more racially liberal U.S. culture, for the sake of American empire and Cold War success.[745]

Japanese military brides, acceptable as women safely contained in their white American families, did the work of deflecting Cold War accusations of U.S. racism, built public acceptance for U.S.-Japan international relations, and reinforced a transnational racial hierarchy that placed white American men on top. The most explicit reinforcement of this white supremacist multiculturalism was evidenced in the fact that in the earliest marriages

[744] Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally*.
[745] Lee, *Orientals*, 161-72; Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally*, 47-50. See also, Kovner, *Occupying Power*, 57, 65-6.

and migrations of Japanese military brides to the U.S., unlike their German counterparts, Japanese women's non-white status made it impossible to naturalize into American citizens.

In August 1947, the marriage of 27 year-old Frank K. White, former U.S. Army officer of Somerset, P.A. and 21 year-old Japanese national Pia Kurusu became the most famous of these early unions. The ceremony took place at the U.S. consulate in Yokohama, Japan, and no less than a dozen newspaper mentions heralded the occasion. Unlike their U.S.-German counterparts Sergeant Rupeka and Erika Schaefer, White and Kurusu's marriage was less a grand romance and more a bundle of contradictions, representing the still tenuous place of Japan and Japanese people, in U.S. public discourse.

An early *Washington Post* article captured Pia in the most descriptive (and favorable) of terms. Within this positive description, Pia was described through attractive details: "having black, silken hair, a light complexion and vivacious charms." Described as a sophisticated citizen of the globe who spoke "English and French as well as Japanese," Pia could also claim some white American heritage through her mother, "an American-born white woman whom [Pia's father] Kurusu wed while he was a Japanese consul-general in Chicago." However, while these traits were desirable and less-threatening attributes for the first highly publicized U.S.-Japanese military bride marriage, Pia's Asian-ness, her explicit foreignness and perceived unassimilability were also highlighted in that she was "but not American-type beauty," i.e., white.[746]

Thus, while a few other articles mentioned Pia as "pretty," "happy," or emphasized her background as the daughter of an "American-born white woman," the vast majority identified Pia with greatest emphasis on her relation to her father, Saburo Kurusu, Japan's

[746] "American to Wed Daughter of Envoy Kurusu," *Washington Post,* August 12, 1947, 6.

wartime envoy to Washington at the time of Japan's Pearl Harbor attack.[747] Within this identification, just two of a dozen news articles printed in the *Washington Post, New York Times, Los Angeles Times,* and *Chicago Daily Tribune* afforded Kurusu any gesture of innocence.[748] It was much more common for news articles to leave the former envoy's involvement in Pearl Harbor ambiguous, derogatory, or outright condemning: "the Jap envoy sent here at Pearl Harbor time," thus casting a shade on Pia's Japanese heritage that found her still vaguely untrustworthy, despite her marriage to an American serviceman.[749]

The union of Pia Kurusu and former-lieutenant Frank K. White was not a romantic coming together of newly reforged (white) friends and family, but a still-tenuous union between Japan and the U.S., an Asian bride and white American soldier. Pearl Harbor and a bombed and burned Tokyo served not as a dramatic or romantic backdrop for a young lovers' meeting, but retained their symbolism of Japanese-American war wounds and distrust. White's stay on in Japan was not framed as a symbol of a young man's devotion to his hopeful bride, but as a necessity of U.S. postwar occupation. And as White disclosed to reporters, despite the publicity his marriage held, he still "had not informed his relatives in Somerset, Pa." Speaking to his awareness of the racial tensions that still pervaded U.S. culture, White expressed that he and his new bride would not travel stateside right away: "I don't know how people in the United States feel about these things. I've been away for two years."[750]

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[747] "American to Wed Kurusu's Daughter," *Los Angeles Times,* August 11, 1947, 1; "Pia Kurusu, Former Japanese Envoy's Daughter, Weds Yank," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* August 14, 1947, 1; "She Looks Happy," *Los Angeles Times,* August 16, 1947, 5.
[748] "American to Wed Daughter of Envoy Kurusu," 6; "Pia Kurusu and American Husband," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* August 16, 1947, 6; "Kurusu Sought Peace with U.S., Jap Testifies," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* August 16, 1947, 6.
[749] "News Flashes," *Washington Post,* August 17, 1947, S1. See also, "Ex-Officer Weds Miss Kurusu," *New York Times,* August 14, 1947, 21; "Envoy's Daughter," *Washington Post,* August 16, 1947, B12; "Fifteen News Questions," *New York Times,* August 17, 1947, 88; "Honeymooners," *Los Angeles Times,* September 9, 1947, 5.
[750] "American to Wed Daughter of Envoy Kurusu," 6.

Pia Kurusu, unlike her German counterparts, was not deemed immediately fit to provide the positive discursive labor of cultural ambassador, to fully bridge the U.S.-Japan divide from enemy to friend to family, but she symbolized the first step toward acceptance. She stood at the vanguard of what would become an army of Japanese military brides, the transnational foot soldiers held up as the model minority ideal of U.S. capitalist and non-racist American family life. As an entry point, by the close of 1950, 762 Japanese women had entered the United States as "alien spouses" or "alien fiancées" of "citizen members of the United States armed forces."[751] These women were the first Japanese nationals to legally migrate to the U.S. since 1924, and would account for the largest number of Japanese immigrants through the 1960s.[752]

In turn, the first adopted Japanese children, as in Germany, were placed into American families through these early military bride marriages. Important to note, between July 1947 and June 1950, only 5 adopted Japanese children entered the U.S. as "alien minor children of citizen members of the United States armed forces."[753] Instead, explicitly tying early U.S. international adoption practice to American empire, corresponding with the nation's early Cold War imperial focus on China, it was 589 Chinese children that accounted for the largest wave of U.S.-Asian adoption via this early Cold War congressional-military legislation. However, while there were fewer such children from Japan, as U.S.-Japan geopolitical relations changed, so were Japanese children adopted, and Japanese women married, in larger numbers.

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[751] Table 9A. "Alien spouses and alien minor children of citizen members of the United States armed forces admitted under the Act of December 28, 1945, by country or region of birth: years ended June 30, 1946 to 1950;" Table 9B. "Alien fiancées or fiancés of citizen members of the armed forces of the United States admitted under the Act of June 29, 1946, by country or region of birth: years ended June 30, 1947 to 1950."
[752] Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?," 76.
[753] Table 9A. "Alien spouses and alien minor children of citizen members of the United States armed forces admitted under the Act of December 28, 1945, by country or region of birth: years ended June 30, 1946 to 1950."

Private Laws, Public Policy, and Popular Culture

While not yet supported via systematized immigration law, speaking to the building momentum of Japanese-American military family formation, between 1947 and 1950, two-hundred private laws, personalized legislation, were passed by Congress – for the marriage and adoption approval of Japanese brides and their children, to U.S. servicemen. Indeed, one month prior to the July 1947 War Brides and Fiancées Acts amendments, the U.S. State Department mobilized behind the universally sentimentalized discourse of the child, linked to women's welfare. Well aware of the world's Cold War gaze on its military's many illegitimate children, Congress began to debate the idea of giving U.S. citizenship to Japanese occupation children with *white* American fathers, despite the fact that these unions were not yet legal.[754]

Ignoring the foundations of Japanese international adoption in U.S. military occupation, the early adoptions of Japanese children by U.S. citizens are most often cited as part of the first wave of U.S. international adoption, alongside German and Greek children. In line with this popular and humanitarian timeline, one historian famously chronicles the beginnings of the transracial, transnational adoption of Japanese "war orphans" as a direct consequence of the war, specifically of the multitude of orphans produced through the devastation of the atomic bomb, and the U.S. activism in response to this travesty. Oft cited, historian E. Wayne Carp notes that "a highly publicized campaign to adopt Japanese children orphaned by the atomic bomb met with great success." Within this context of postwar rescue, Carp explains:

> The end of World War II witnessed the first phase of an upsurge of intercountry adoption (ICA). Between 1946 and 1953, American citizens and organizations… brought to the

[754] Scott R. Rohrer, "From Demons to Dependents: American-Japanese Social Relations During Occupation, 1945-1952" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2006), 127.

> United States… foreign-born orphans and abandoned children for adoption, many of whom were from war-torn Greece, Germany and Japan.[755]

However, the reality is that no Japanese children are recorded as having entered the U.S. under the 1948 Displaced Persons Act, the refugee act that supposedly facilitated the immigration of the "first wave" of U.S. international adoption.[756] Rather, the only children internationally adopted prior to 1953 were those children fathered and adopted by U.S. military occupation personnel. The first international Japanese adoptions were thus not humanitarian responses to the parentless orphans of a war-torn nation. Instead, Japanese children were adopted in large numbers only when U.S. Cold War foreign policy had transformed Japan into an ally.

Just as discourse, policy, and practice surrounding Japanese military brides was still uneven between 1948 and 1953, in the brides' transformation from quasi-yellow peril to full-on model minority, so was the discourse surrounding Japanese occupation children. For example, in summer 1948, U.S. occupation censorship policies remained in place, and so *Saturday Evening Post* journalist Darrell Berrigan found himself deported following his published article on "Japan's occupation babies." In this article, Berrigan attempted to speak honestly to the circumstances surrounding these children, but as he noted: "[there were no] official figures. There never will be so long as the Allied authorities have anything to say about it."[757] At that time, the United States, while well-aware of the ever-increasing number

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[755] E. Wayne Carp, *Family Matters: Secrecy and Disclosure in the History of Adoption* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 33. See also, Howard Altstein and Rita J. Simon, eds., *Intercountry Adoption: A Multinational Perspective* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991); Carp, ed., *Adoption in America*; Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 137-141; Toby Alice Volkman, ed., *Cultures of Transnational Adoption* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Laura Briggs and Diana Marre, "Introduction: The Circulation of Children," in *International Adoption: Global Inequalities and the Circulation of Children*, eds. Diana Marre and Laura Briggs (New York: New York University Press, 5).
[756] Besides children from Europe, only one child from China and one child from Africa were admitted under the Displaced Persons Act. Weil, "International Adoptions," 279-82.
[757] Berrigan, "Japan's Occupation Babies," 24-5, 117-8.

of mixed race occupation children, also maintained a deep ambivalence as to what to do about them.

However, by late 1948, as the U.S. anticipated its ultimate "loss" of China to communist governance (1949), making Japan the United States' central foothold in Asia, the major shift for both Japanese women and children (from yellow peril to model minority) built momentum. As U.S. Cold War policy toward Japan transformed that winter, the *New York Times* highlighted how U.S. GIs in Tokyo (as in Berlin) "held Christmas Eve parties in great numbers, and had collected money and gifts for Japanese orphans whom they brought in as wide-eyed guests."[758]

In 1949, U.S. foreign policy officially shifted to follow the recommendations of Herbert Hoover, Dean Acheson, George F. Kennan and George C. Marshall, to reconstruct Japan through a move that would favor the American economy but could be portrayed as straightforward humanitarianism. In this way, the U.S. reversed its initial demilitarization and democratization policies in Japan, relaxed its persecution of war criminals, and introduced cultural programs and military policy akin to the "Be Kind to Germans" policy that accompanied U.S.-Germany's military bride amendments. Throughout 1949, a transnational league committed to obtain an extension of the Japanese War Brides and Fiancées Acts continued to lobby, and sympathetic Congressmen approved a small number of individual military bride marriages and migrations to the U.S. By September, General Macarthur announced an explicitly pro-fraternization policy to "permit an attitude of friendly

[758] "Christmas Cheers A World Troubled By Fears of War," *New York Times,* December 26, 1948, 3.

interest and guidance toward the Japanese people, which is reflective of democratic ideals and to avoid unnecessary military control."[759]

Thus, by fall 1949, U.S.-Japan relations had changed so much that journalist Norman Cousins, while not commenting on the continued "problem" of Japanese-American occupation children, was able to publicly relay: "Before coming to Japan, several people had told me that they would like to adopt Japanese children orphaned by the [atomic] bombing." While these stranger adoptions were disallowed "[u]nder the Oriental Exclusion Act," Cousins "[suggested] the next best thing – moral adoptions." As he explained:

> By moral adoptions I am thinking of Hiroshima children who would be adopted by American families and who would carry the names of the people adopting them. The children would continue to live in Japan… but the American families would be responsible for their care and upbringing. Then, later, if Congress passes a law permitting Japanese children to come to America, these morally adopted children could become legally adopted as well.[760]

This idea of "moral adoptions" took the interwar "foster care" and individual sponsorship "adoptions" a step further, in that the children would carry the American families' names and if the law permitted, would then migrate to the United States.[761]

Post-Korean War, this two-step method of sponsorship before actual adoption would become commonplace.[762] In addition, the focus on atomic "war orphans" as opposed to the many mixed race children born of U.S. occupation, did the important work of deemphasizing U.S. empire and American military presence in Japan. This narrative of saving unfortunate

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[759] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 70-2. See also, Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 270-3, 453-4, 511-5.
[760] Norman Cousins, "Hiroshima – Four Years Later," *Saturday Review of Literature*, September 17, 1949, 30.
[761] Cousins' article received a strong initial response by its U.S. readership. Alongside the "moral" sponsorship of Mrs. Yamashita's orphans, a "moral adoptions" program expanded to maintain seven orphanages (accounting for approximately six-hundred children) over the course of the next decade. In continuance of the gendered, infantilized linking of women and children, at least six-hundred children, the "Hiroshima Maidens" project (1955-1956) also emerged to aid twenty-five female victims disfigured by the atomic bomb. No such program emerged for Japanese men. Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally*, 216-7, 219-26, 291. See also, Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 83, 85, 152. On the devolvement of the moral adoptions program, see Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally*, 250-4
[762] See, for example, Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 54-5, 62.

children of a wartorn nation did the work of rehabilitating not only the children themselves, as desirable and deserving of adoption by U.S. families, but of rehabilitating American citizens as kind, responsible, and humanitarian. This narrative of adopting Japanese children served the subversive purpose of erasing U.S. war crimes as well, the United States' criminal dropping of two atomic bombs with explicitly civilian targets. In the contemporary literature's mis-historicization of the emergence of Japanese international adoption as a direct humanitarian response to those children left parentless during the war, scholars are elevating an historical narrative that erases the imperial and military roots of U.S.-Japanese international adoption.

By October, the U.S. government in Japan had repealed all of its censorship policies that had previously outlawed any mention of race, racism, and the discussion of fraternization or interracial relations in the public media, Japanese or American. However, a media culture of self-censorship remained, helping the U.S. maintain cultivation of a non-racist public image.[763]

U.S. policymakers soon came to identify culture, as opposed to economic or military policy, to be of primary importance in cultivating a Cold War friendship that could then support U.S. economic and military incursions. In 1950, the Department of State, in cooperation with the Department of the Army, fortified overseas and cultural exchange programs to include pro-U.S. programming, such as the widespread teaching of English in Japan, and the exchange of students, teachers, and other professional scholars – transnational cultural ambassadors.[764]

[763] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan,* 62-66, 73.
[764] Ibid., 74.

On August 19, 1950, President Truman passed Public Law 717, known as the "Oriental Brides Bill." While Japanese military brides remained ineligible for citizenship, the Bill allowed these women to circumvent the racial restrictions of the 1924 Immigration Act, a symbolic and legislative gesture to this newfound friendship. Despite the interference of the Korean War (whereby U.S. troops stationed in Japan were redeployed to Korea), 8,381 Japanese military brides were approved under this legislation and granted entry into their white American families (73 percent of their U.S. servicemen husbands were white). Within this creation of familial intimacy, Japanese military brides were the ideal postwar cultural ambassadors for the U.S. and Japan.[765]

This bill was the second important piece of legislation to allow the international adoption of Japanese children. Admitted as "alien minor children of citizen members of the [U.S.] armed forces," more than 2,000 children accompanied their military bride mothers. The bill's time frame was originally six months, but was soon extended through spring 1952.[766]

On September 11, 1951, Japan's sovereignty was restored and took full effect April 1952; U.S.-Japanese segregation was also dismantled. But U.S. troops remained in Japan for an indefinite amount of time. As Secretary of State John Foster Dulles expressed during this time, Americans' "habit of treating the Japanese as inferiors" would make it "peculiarly difficult to carry out our treaty resolve as 'sovereign equals'… in friendly association."[767] The intimate relations between Japanese military brides and white American men were again seen as the ideal solution to this diplomatic conundrum, whereas legitimized romantic unions

[765] Peter Kalischer, "Madame Butterfly's Children," *Collier's,* September 20, 1952, 17. See also, Rohrer, "From Demons to Dependents," 125-6; Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?," 67-8.
[766] Ibid.
[767] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan,* 75-6, 78-9, 82.

wielded the discursive power to reimagine the Japanese as friends and family, without dismantling the gendered racial hierarchy of white American military dominance.

Thus, at the request of the Department of State, it was in 1951 that first American "brides schools" were established, whose sole intention was to help Japanese women refashion themselves as ideal brides for their American husbands. The Christian Women's Association named their "brides school" volunteers "American occupation women," whose liberal teaching mission of civilization and race uplift invoked the same imperial discourse of their nineteenth century predecessors. Masako Nakamura has identified these women as wives and daughters of American servicemen living in occupied Japan; they played an important role in U.S. "nation-state building by exercising their female citizenship (through their 'civilizing mission') in transforming Japanese 'inassimilable' wives into 'model minority brides.'"[768]

The American Red Cross soon spearheaded and expanded this project to inculcate military brides married to Americans affiliated with the Army, Navy, and Air Force. It taught the women Cold War ideals of U.S. female citizenship and culture, which included emphases on personal grooming, housekeeping, and child care. Japanese women were taught to perform publicly in the private sphere of their American home, as the perfect hostess, wife, and mother. In this indoctrination, military brides were also taught their role as "dependents of the Armed Forces." They well understood their role within the hierarchy of their families. At the same time, speaking to America's alleged non-racist, Cold War internationalism, the schools taught the women to strategically retain pride in Japanese culture, particularly those

[768] Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?," 18, 87, 106. For an in-depth history of these "brides schools" see Masako Nakamura's Chapter 2: Making "Model Minority Brides"?: American Red Cross Brides Schools for Japanese Wives of U.S. Servicemen in Japan, 1951-1963, 75-136.

customs such as "filial piety" and "Japanese femininity" that would support their submissive role in the U.S. At home, the U.S. media, including such outlets as *New York Times Magazine*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and National and American Broadcasting Systems, reported favorably on both the Japanese brides and the schools training them in proper U.S. citizenship.[769]

By 1952, this wholesale embrace of U.S. Cold War multiculturalism was institutionalized as immigration law. With the summer passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act, known as the McCarran-Walter Act, Japanese military brides were granted entry to the United States through general immigration law. By the close of 1952, more than 11,000 American servicemen had registered their marriages to Japanese women via the U.S. consulate.[770]

The 1952 McCarran-Walter Act was the third piece of legislation that facilitated the international adoption of Japanese children. As in the past, 221 Japanese children were allocated non-quota immigration status and migrated alongside their military bride mothers.[771] In addition, the McCarran-Walter Act eliminated the anti-Asian racial restrictions to naturalization, thus allowing both Japanese military brides and adopted Japanese children to gain full citizenship.

The following year, U.S. policymakers fully acknowledged, and embraced, the powerful political potential of Japan's youth. For example, in July 1953, *Washington Post* journalist Malvina Lindsay published an article that spoke directly to the future of Japan's

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[769] Ibid.
[770] Graham, "More Information on 'Occupation Babies,'" 51. Prior to the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act, more than 5,000 Japanese military brides had entered the United States via special legislation. Of these military brides, the Tokyo General Consul estimated that 73 percent of these brides were married to white husbands. Kovner, *Occupying Power*, 65; Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?," 64-70, 76.
[771] Rohrer, "From Demons to Dependents," 137.

"American-fathered war babies" as central to the nation's Cold War victory over the Soviet Union. As Lindsay chronicled, one particularly emotional grievance against Soviet rule in East Germany was the "'calling home' by the Kremlin of the 29,000 illegitimate children of Red army soldiers… A Soviet order… decreed that all East German children whose fathers are Russians must take Soviet citizenship at the age of 5." As Lindsay noted:

> All over the world Communists are thus "stockpiling" propagandists… How can [the U.S.] counter such strategy? Certainly not by "calling home" its… American-fathered war babies… However, [we do] have an obligation and an opportunity to show a humanitarian interest in the thousands of half-American nameless children around the world who are products of war's displacements. Their care and education is in this Nation's long-range interest… One way in which [the U.S.] could help [the children of Japan] would be to cut some of the red tape surrounding [U.S.] adoption procedures – which have also been handicapped by severity of immigration laws.[772]

By 1953, journalists, politicians, and the American public all understood the future of American GI babies in Japan as a result of U.S. occupation and a crucial matter in Cold War diplomacy.

For the many "adoptive parents" who participated in the "moral adoptions" program, their investment in Japanese children was simply monetary. These children were still viewed by their American sponsors as inassimilable and none attempted to formally adopt their children. Instead, the records show that most "parents" stopped their payments (and contact) once the child turned legal adult age, sixteen in Japan.[773] However, by the close of summer 1953, Americans' investment in adoptable Japanese children had expanded.

In 1953, the U.S. passed two immigration laws that would facilitate the adoption of Asian children: the Admission of Orphans Adopted by United States Citizens (Act of July 29, 1953) and the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, with a special provision for 4,000 nonquota visas issued to eligible orphans. Representing more than 88 percent of the children admitted from

[772] Malvina Lindsay, "Nameless Babies – Cold War Pawns," *Washington Post,* July 1, 1953, 12.
[773] Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally*, 251.

Asia, 287 Japanese adoptions were facilitated by the Act of July 29, 1953.[774] And as was later noted by Susan T. Pettiss, Assistant Director of the ISS-American Branch, "[The] largest block of the 4000 non-quota visas, 1549, were granted to children in Japan; 90% of these [approx. 1,394] were granted to children adopted in Japan by American families stationed there."[775] Within international adoption historiography, it was this Act that is often pointed to as facilitating the second wave of U.S. international adoption, that of Korean War orphans. However, from the passage of this special legislation through August 1957, more than three times as many Japanese children (appox. 1,681) as compared to Korean (461) were adopted by U.S. citizens.[776]

Conclusion

In January 1955, the *New York Times* reported on "[f]ive Japanese-American orphans who [had] been adopted by couples in the United States." By the mid-1950s, the rhetoric surrounding adopted Japanese children had shifted, to conflate mixed race occupation children with "Japanese-American [war] orphans." In this case, the children "were admitted under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953," but it was well understood that "[a]ll were children of American fathers and Japanese mothers who [were] dead or unable or unwilling to care for them."[777]

Later that year, both the *New York* and *Los Angeles Times* provided separate profile pieces on two four year-old girls: "a 4-year-old Japanese-American orphan named Nancy"

[774] Weil, "International Adoptions," 281.
[775] Susan T. Pettiss, "Effects of Adoption of Foreign Children on U.S. Adoption Standards and Practices," *Child Welfare* 37 (1958), 27. See also, Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 190-1.
[776] Ibid.; Weil, "International Adoptions," 281. Also, by 1957, upwards of 102 American Red Cross brides schools remained functioning in Japan. Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?."
[777] "5 Orphans From Japan Getting Homes in U.S.," *New York Times*, January 10, 1955, 20.

and "4½… Hiromi Shibata."[778] Nancy was chosen by her adoptive mother, Mrs. Earnes of Rhode Island, after her brother, Sergeant Milton Gilmore, saw her in an orphanage in Japan. In the *L.A. Times'* narrative, the "action in the Far East," set the stage for Hiromi's story to unfold:

> Hiromi Shibata, 4½, yesterday came to America, the birthplace of the father she never knew because he died in war overseas. Her mother was Japanese.
>
> Because of war and the heartbreaks it wrought, the little dark-eyed girl was orphaned. But she is in America now… with new parents… tonight she will spend her first Christmas Eve in a new home in a new nation – a nation that was the birthplace of the father she never knew.[779]

Hiromi's father was identified as a deceased U.S. veteran "killed in action in the Far East," an implied veteran of the Korean War. A new narrative was thus constructed for the American reader, with the Korean War as backdrop and Hiromi thoroughly embraced by her birthfather's home nation. Hiromi's father was not an occupier of her homeland or a deserter of family. He was a war hero, whose "birthplace… she never knew" only "because he died in war overseas."

In this historical reframing, Hiromi's birth and "orphaning" had nothing to do with U.S. geopolitics, but was the tragedy "of war and the heartbreaks it wrought." Her adoption was but a coming home, a safe embrace from a long lost (adoptive) relative. Hiromi's birthmother was a footnote in this narrative; she "was Japanese." Instead, Hiromi's heritage was highlighted in her photographed meeting with Naomichi Tsukahara, Vice-Consul of Japan, who greeted Hiromi at her layover in the Los Angeles International Airport. While the patriotic narrative of Hiromi's adoption claimed her as a child of America, the accompanying photograph pictured the young girl held between both Tsukuhara and Carol

[778] "Japanese Girl, 4, Meets New Parents," *New York Times*, March 14, 1955, 4; "War Orphan Reaches U.S. Destined for New Home," *Los Angeles Times*, December 24, 1955, 3.
[779] "War Orphan Reaches U.S. Destined for New Home," 3.

Titus, a Pan American stewardess. In this way, Hiromi acted as an ideal two-way cultural bridge. An innocent rendering of postwar U.S.-Japan friendship and family, Hiromi represented a liberal image both nations embraced.

By the mid-1950s, the American Cold War empire had achieved success in Japan. Japan's importance in the United States' mission of global economic supremacy was made particularly evident in the fall of 1955, when in the face of European opposition, the U.S. pressured for Japan's inclusion in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.[780] In line with this imperial success, both Japanese military brides and adopted children were thoroughly embraced as America's ideal model minorities, proudly paraded in American discourse as unequivocal proof of Japanese-American friendship and the success of U.S. multiculturalism.

As model minorities, Japanese military brides and adopted children were racialized as desirable additions to their white American families, who in turn were nothing but responsible, humanitarian, and above all, non-racist. However, as the actual delays in mass practice of these kinship formations evidenced, Japanese nationals did not receive equal treatment to that of white Germans. While the immediate negative associations attributed to Germany's "brown babies" were absent, Afro-Japanese children were consistently denied adoption by U.S. immigration officials and, as early immigration restrictions illustrated, mixed race or full Japanese women and children's non-white status remained a real barrier to overcome.[781] By 1955, the state of Cold War Asian America was well in-transition from that of yellow peril and full exclusion to that of model minority, but this transition was highly

[780] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 87; Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?," 64-70, 80.
[781] Green, "A Brown Baby Crisis," 90-1, 94, 100-2.

policed by the U.S. nation-state, and the positionality of model minority was one of high vulnerability.

In addition to military brides and adopted children, the allowances for Asian bodies to enter the United States at the close of World War II, were small in number and highly specific, steeped in a global Cold War geopolitics that either legitimized or obscured U.S. postwar economic or military investments.[782] Guided by special immigration legislation, the earliest postwar exceptions to U.S. anti-Asian exclusion policy were military brides and adopted children, refugees; preferences for specific cadres of elite students and professionals were also granted controlled allowances, explicitly identified for the unique Cold War labor they provided.

The ultimate coup that this vanguard of model minority Asian Americans achieved on behalf of the U.S. nation-state was the perpetuation of white supremacy under the cloak of colorblind idealism. On one hand, military brides and adopted children were privileged Asian immigrants and afforded honorary white privilege opportunities such as the housing and schooling that segregation had historically denied Asian communities. On the other hand, the subtle disciplining measures to maintain these women and children as "good"

[782] For example, adopted Japanese children were not the first or only Asian children adopted postwar. Nor were Japanese military brides the only Asian intermarriages allowed postwar. However, these other family unions did not provide or necessitate the same sentimental, Cold War, empire-eliding labor and as such, did not garner the same numbers or (inter)national attentions. For example, approximately fifty Chinese and near one hundred Filipino youths were adopted alongside Japanese children via the special adoption acts of 1953. Weil, "International Adoptions," 281. Similarly, before Japanese military bride marriages were allowed, the U.S. government had made special allowances for their Asian wartime allies. In a series of laws passed in 1946, Chinese, Filipino, and Indian brides of American servicemen were allowed to immigrate and eventually to naturalize as U.S. citizens. Prior and alongside these allowances, small immigration quotas and naturalization rights were allotted for each of these countries as well. Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?," 36. However, postwar India was not meant to be the hub of U.S.-Asia economic empire, the Philippines already had its history as a U.S. protectorate, and in line with the nation's Cold War imperial moves and ultimate "loss" of China, U.S. interest waned in the well-being of Chinese children. Instead, as more servicemen were stationed in Japan, more GI babies were born out-of-wedlock, and as U.S.-Japan relations inclined increasingly toward friendship – it was only in the case of Japan within the global Cold War context, that these transnational and mixed race family unions received enormous attention and thus provided (and necessitated) a highly visible venue for the United States to perform anti-racism, liberal multiculturalism, and international humanitarianism.

minorities who did not challenge U.S. white supremacy, were also firmly encoded into the family formation.

As historians have well documented, a common thread in the experience of the military brides was isolation, often in the face of abusive family life and despite their formation of supportive Japanese War Brides Clubs. The women were often estranged from their family overseas, judged unkindly by the local Japanese American community (if there was one), faced with racism in their American families, in possession of limited English skills, and dependent on their husbands to navigate legal residency in the U.S.[783]

Adopted Japanese children were similarly spread out and disconnected from larger Asian communities. For those children adopted into U.S. families via their mother's marriage to a U.S. serviceman, the expectation for that mixed race child was to identify solely with their American, coded white, culture. As documented by historian Regina Lark, part of Japanese military brides' job in "becoming American" themselves was the "instilling in their children the 'Americanness' of their fathers, rather than the 'Japaneseness' of their mothers."[784]

Within the new "race-does-not-matter" trope encoded into Asian Americans' model minority racialization, coupled with adoptees' vulnerability as children, Americans believed that adopted Asian children were exceptionally racially flexible, and could thus be remolded and remade into an almost whiteness.[785] In direct opposition to the persistent historical legacy of African Americans' "one drop rule," and more accurately paralleling the founding

[783] See, for example, Nakamura, "Families Precede Nation and Race?;" Lark, "They Challenged Two Nations," 333-4, 343-8; Rohrer, "From Demons to Dependents," 552-8, 569-70.
[784] Lark, "They Challenged Two Nations," 288, 329-30. See also, Rohrer, "From Demons to Dependents,"575.
[785] For more on Asian Americans' alleged racial flexibility and construction as "honorary whites," see for example: Mia Tuan, *Forever Foreigners or Honorary Whites? The Asian Ethnic Experience Today* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Sara K. Dorow, *Transnational Adoption: A Cultural Economy of Race, Gender, and Kinship* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

premise of American Indian boarding schools' earlier slogan of "to kill the Indian and save the man," adopted Japanese children were encouraged to dissociate with their Asian heritage and internalize a white American identity.

Ultimately, Japanese occupation children were America's ideal Asian immigrant – and ideal postwar adoptee. The ideal transnational citizen-subject, they simultaneously performed the Cold War anti-imperial, humanitarian, and (non-threatening) anti-racist labor that their white European, "brown baby," and domestic children of color counterparts could not.

Why then, did Japanese adoption fail to develop into a mass movement similar to Korea, particularly since Japanese adoptees did not begin to migrate in full force until 1953? The answer to this question will be addressed in the following chapter.

Chapter 7
Industrializing Adoptees and Korean International Adoption

KOREAN ORPHANS ENTERTAINED BY U. S. NAVY

Youngsters on deck of a hospital ship docked at an unidentified port Department of Defense

Figure 7-1. Korean Orphans Entertained By U.S. Navy, 1951. A group of young Korean children occupy the lower portion of a 1951 photograph, published in the New York Times and credited to the U.S. Department of Defense. These children appear to be standing, walking, or huddled together. They're on the "deck of a hospital ship" and overhead, occupying the upper portion of the image, a large American flag billows patriotically in the wind. The photograph accompanied the news article "Marshall Says Foe Has Eyes on Japan."[786]

Interestingly, while the photograph (as shown in Figure 7-1) occupied a large visual space in the newspaper, there was no mention of the "orphan" children in the article itself. Instead, the article focused on Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall's recent trip to China, his analysis of American progress and strategy in the ongoing Korean War, and

[786] Murray Schumach, "Marshall Says Foe Has Eyes on Japan," *New York Times*, June 11, 1951, 1, 5.

outlined Korea's central and strategic role in U.S. national security, to defend Japan and larger Asia against Communist China.[787]

One year into the Korean War, U.S. Cold War military intervention was mainstream foreign policy. The humanitarian discourse was institutionalized to such an extent that it was taken for granted by the American public. Within this same trajectory, by 1951 U.S. occupation children had been normalized as war orphans. With little or no explanation regarding the children's circumstances, the trope of war orphan created the humanitarian façade for American empire. Adopted Korean children, and military brides, provided the same sentimental and discursive labor as their Japanese predecessors. Their incorporation into American families could go unnamed and do the work of defending the U.S. against accusations of racism, which simultaneously served the nation's anti-communist mission and maintained the United States' citizenship-structure based in white supremacy.

As in both Japan and Germany, the intimate postwar relations between American servicemen and Korean women resulted in military bride marriages, adopted child kinship formations and international migration. Also, as in Japan, these earliest sexual intimacies were forged through the sex work economies established in response to the United States' 1945 military occupation of the southern portion of the Korean peninsula. While not formally instituted by the Korean government (or U.S. military), these informal economies had pre-existent structural foundations through the sex work services provided to Korea's former colonizers. When the United States entered Korea, Japan's headquarters and several of the Japanese Imperial Army's military installations were simply reoccupied by the U.S. military government. The first U.S.-Korean military camptown was institutionalized within

[787] Ibid.

three months of U.S. occupation and during the Korean War (1950-1953) camptowns enlarged to employ upwards of two thousand women in a single camp.[788]

While Korean women necessitated recuperation from, as historian Ji-Yeon Yuh has eloquently positioned, the "shadow of the camptown" regardless of their non-affiliation with sex work, legitimized Korean military brides and adopted children entered a normalized legal and cultural discourse of respectability created by their Japanese predecessors. Korean military brides and adopted children were visual symbols of U.S. overseas humanitarianism and responsibility. They performed the same nation-building work of solidifying intimate-national relations between the U.S. and South Korea. They eschewed accusations of American empire, propagated the superiority of U.S. free market, global capitalism and perhaps most importantly, validated the existence of a non-racist, U.S. social economy within the discourse of hyper model minority.

This chapter highlights how, unlike in either Germany or Japan, Korean international adoption developed into a full-fledged industry. This industry normalized the overseas adoption of Korean children by white Americans as both South Korea's central provision for child welfare and Americans' model of transnational adoption entitlement.

Korean international adoption became the largest (and longest lasting) system of U.S. transracial and transnational adoption, which continues to the present. Since 1953, more than 150,000 adopted Korean children have migrated into American families. Too often and largely because of these numbers, scholars elevate Korean adoption as an "exceptional" case based on historically inaccurate premises. As this dissertation shows, the preconditions to transracial international adoption had been a century in the making, and were tied to

[788] Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown*, 19-20.

migration, labor, race- institution- and family-making processes in service of U.S. nation-building and American empire. My focus here will be to provide a comparative analysis of Korea with other ongoing international adoption practice at the time, to better and more accurately qualify the unique character that identifies Korean adoption as exceptional.

By positioning U.S.-Korean adoption within a much longer and larger history of domestic and international adoption, several standard (and well-accepted) premises can be questioned. For example, Korean international adoption was not the product of a newfound, colorblind American culture that emerged post-World War II, nor was it the result of any shortage of adoptable white American children or the vast number of Korean "war orphans" available for adoption, or the postwar pronatalist, and highly humanitarian culture that emerged during the Cold War.

The narrative of a "newfound colorblind culture that emerged post-World War II" does not explain Japan's story of international adoption. And, bearing the mark of white supremacy, this narrative flattens the political realities of race to erase the histories of other "brown babies," Afro-Asians, and domestic children of color during this time. As documented in previous chapters, both the "shortage" of white domestic (and international) adoptable children and a U.S. pronatalist culture that drove Americans' desires to adopt from overseas existed well before World War II. Similarly, the adoption of Korean occupation children emerged within a solid, preexisting discourse of "war orphans" and U.S. Cold War humanitarianism.[789]

[789] On the narrative of a "newfound, colorblind (and assimilationist) American culture that emerged post-World War II" see, for example: Howard Altstein and Rita J. Simon, "Introduction," in *Intercountry Adoption: A Multinational Perspective*, eds. Altstein and Simon (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991), 3-4; Constance Pohl and Kathy Harris, *Transracial Adoption: Children and Parents Speak* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1992), 29-30; Carp, *Family Matters*, 33; Carp, "Introduction," 14-5; Kim Park Nelson, "Shopping for Children in the International Marketplace," in *Outsiders Within*, eds. Trenka, Oparah and Shin, 91; Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 102, 115; Barbara Yngvesson, *Belonging in an Adopted World: Race, Identity, and Transnational Adoption* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010),

With these preconditions in place, the standard reasons given to explain Korean adoption as "exceptional" do not hold up under scrutiny. Rather, earlier American experimentations in child placement set the conditions – the legal, administrative, military, and popular discourses – that allowed for the emergence of Korean international adoption. As neither the earliest instance, nor first proponent of U.S.-Asian international adoption, nor the first site of U.S. postwar military intervention, Korean adoption was but an extension of U.S. child placement practices, in service of American empire, that all came before.

The numbers and longevity of Korean adoption were the product of the unique neocolonial relationship between Korea and the United States that emerged immediately postwar. As Chapter 5 established, the U.S. Cold War geopolitical relationship forged with South Korea was founded in an inequality inconceivable in Germany and ultimately, even Japan. It was this difference, this more compromised sovereignty post-World War II as a result of U.S. imperialism that made Korea qualitatively and quantitatively different from its predecessors.

21; Choy, *Global Families*, 15, 135. On the "shortage of adoptable white American children": Pohl and Harris, *Transracial Adoption,* 29-30; Carp, "Introduction," 15-7; Park Nelson, "Shopping for Children in the International Marketplace," 89, 91; Richard M. Lee and Matthew J. Miller, "History and Psychology of Adoptees in Asian America," in *Asian American Psychology: Current Perspectives*, eds. Nita Tewari and Alvin N. Alvarez (New York: Psychology Press, 2009), 343; Yngvesson, *Belonging in an Adopted World*, 30; Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 45, 57-8. On the accepted trope of the "war orphan,"Americans' reactionary response to the Korean War, and U.S. (Cold War) humanitarianism: Altstein and Simon, "Introduction," 3-4; Carp, *Family Matters* (1998), 33-4; Joyce Maguire Pavao, *The Family of Adoption* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 194; Carp, "Introduction," 14-5; Vincent J. Cheng, *Inauthentic: The Anxiety over Culture and Identity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 72; Toby Alice Volkman, "Introduction: New Geographies of Kinship," in *Cultures of Transnational Adoption*, ed. Toby Alice Volkman (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 1; Ji-Yeon Yuh, "Moved By War: Migration, Diaspora and the Korean War," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 8 (2005): 279-80; Kim Park Nelson, "Mapping Multiple Histories of Korean American Transnational Adoption," *U.S.-Korea Institute at SAIS Working Paper Series* 9 (2008): 3; Peter Selman, "The Movement of Children for International Adoption: Developments and Trends in Receiving States and States of Origin, 1998-2004," in *International Adoption: Global Inequalities and the Circulation of Children*, eds. Diana Marre and Laura Briggs, 42; Domingos Abreu, "Baby-Bearing Storks: Brazilian Intermediaries in the Adoption Process," in *International Adoption*, eds. Marre and Briggs, 138; Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 11-2, 48, 56, 75-76, 77-81, 262-4; Yngvesson, *Belonging in an Adopted World*, 21, 29-30, 32; Choy, *Global Families*, 16. On "postwar (Cold War) pronatalism": May, *Homeward Bound*; Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*; Park Nelson, "Shopping for Children in the International Marketplace," 89, 90-1; Lee and Miller, "History and Psychology of Adoptees in Asian America," 343; Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 44, 57.

South Korea's compromised sovereignty, compounded by its devastation post-Korean War and its consequent reliance on U.S. foreign aid, created conditions unique to the South Korea-U.S. relationship, and subsequently made South Korea exceptionally vulnerable to U.S.-influenced systems of free market capitalism. Immediately post-Korean War, as in Germany and Japan, the Korean government was complicit and supportive of individual American citizens' idealized solution to the problem of South Korea's mixed race occupation children – the adoption of these children by American citizens. However, within South Korea's U.S.-led capitalist-oriented postwar reconstruction, American influence infiltrated even the realm of Korean child welfare. The money and drive of individual U.S. citizens, built atop the preexisting conditions that supported U.S. international adoption, and initially supported by an occupation and war-compromised South Korean people – ultimately institutionalized a transnational pipeline system of Korean child out-migration unprecedented in U.S. adoption history.

This transnational pipeline system yielded to and naturalized the burden of Korean child welfare for the United States, which ultimately enabled a transnational business of adoption that favored capitalism – the supply of available Korean children to meet the demands of prospective American adoptive parents – over Korean birth mothers' rights to their own progeny. These deeply entrenched, privatized ventures of overseas child placement were such that, when the South Korean government encouraged the out-migration of Korean unwed mothers' children in the 1960s and 70s, a system was in place for an unprecedented number of Korean children to be quickly and efficiently funneled into the United States. On the other hand, when the South Korean government committed to stem and then stop the outflow of its Korean child citizenry, both prior and after the late 1980s, it was unsuccessful.

The following three sections highlight three central narratives that continue to drive popular historical understandings of U.S. international adoption from Korea: the foundational role of U.S. Reverend Harry Holt, the entitlement of white Americans to other people's children, and South Korea as a "racist" and "patriarchal" culture. These standard narratives of Korean adoption, reinforced in popular culture and academic literature, continue to perpetuate a history of Korean adoption that obscures the central role of the American empire and its longue durée that are at the roots of this child placement practice. Thus, this chapter highlights historical continuity: U.S. child placement linked to American empire – Korean international adoption as but the next step in the long-standing economic and white supremacist mission of U.S. imperial nation-building. Seeking to redefine the canon of U.S.-Korean adoption exceptionalism, this chapter will point to the transnational pipeline system put in place during Korea's immediate postwar years. Instituted in a culture of South Korean vulnerability and U.S.-supremacist free market capitalism, this pipeline system ultimately enabled the South Korean government to rebuild the nation on the backs (and removal of) its women and children.

The Harry Holts of U.S. International Adoption

One dominant narrative that continues to drive popular understandings of the history of Korean international adoption centers on Reverend Harry Holt, the Midwestern evangelical minister who adopted 8 children and allegedly, single-handedly institutionalized the mass migration of Korean children into white American families. A 1957 *Time Magazine* article offers one version of this story.

The setting was Holt's "13-room farm home perched on a hill near Creswell, Ore." Surrounding him and his wife Bertha, her "unrouged face a picture of contentment," sat their

eight "button-eyed children, aged 3 to 5." The family sang together – of Jesus's love for "*[a]ll the children of the world, Red and yellow, black and white.*"

As the article noted, this hymn had "a special meaning." It had been but two and a half years since "Harry Holt flew to Korea, hunted through orphanages, disease-ridden huts and gutters, rounded up Korean babies fathered by American G.I.s and abandoned by their mothers, and took them home." Memorializing Holt's role at the foundations of U.S.-Korean adoption, the article document how since then, the humble Midwestern farmer had arranged for the adoptions of "no fewer than 575 mixed-blood foundlings."[790]

Holt's story encompassed both historic nostalgia and Cold War, contemporary urgencies of American empire and child placement, past and present. Embodying both his nineteenth and early twentieth century predecessors, Holt was the idealized yeoman, Christian American farmer of the West, gone global. His Cold War, patriotic, and humanitarian mission of saving abandoned, half-GI orphans of the Korean War – mixed-race Asian children – to be placed out amongst devout, colorblind, all-American (i.e., white) families in the Midwest expanded the Cold War U.S. body politic to encompass a well-regulated, non-threatening, non-white citizenry – through strategic and controlled migration strategies.

Given these powerful nationalist investments, it is not surprising that the story of Harry Holt remains an important starting point in many studies of U.S. international adoption.[791] And while there have been important efforts both inside and outside academia,

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[790] "New Faces," *Time Magazine*, December 23, 1957.

[791] On the indelibility of the "Harry Holt" narrative see, for example: Yuh, "Moved by War," 279; Jae Ran Kim, "Scattered Seeds: The Christian Influence on Korean Adoption," in *Outsiders Within*, eds. Trenka, Oparah and Shin, 151-62; Park Nelson, "Mapping Multiple Histories of Korean American Transnational Adoption," 4; Laura Briggs and Diana Marre, "Introduction: The Circulation of Children," in *International Adoption*, eds. Marre and Briggs, 6-8; Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 43-44; Briggs, *Somebody's Children*, 153, 156, 158; Choy, *Global Families*, 75; Maggie Jones, "Why a Generation of Adoptees is Returning to South Korea," *New York Times Magazine*, January 14, 2015.

and particularly by adopted Korean Americans to critique this dominant narrative, the persistence of Harry Holt's story has had deep and resounding effects.[792] As Arissa Oh describes, Harry Holt became the figurehead for what she calls "Christian Americanism… [a] powerful religious and patriotic ideology" of Christian humanitarian exceptionalism which took Korean adoption as a nationalist call to prove the racial liberalism of the United States. Today, beyond the direct legacy of Holt himself (Holt International Children's Service just "[celebrated its] 60 years of service to orphaned and vulnerable children" and "remain[s a leader] today" in the placement of Korean children nationwide), as sociologist Liz Raleigh's recent research highlights, fourteen out of fifty-three new U.S. adoption agencies instituted since 2009 were encouraged by "faith based" (predominately Christian) motives.[793] The perpetuation of faith-motivated child placement institutions, particularly in the realm of overseas (Korean) adoption, can be read as a direct legacy of the Harry Holt story, the pervasive internalization of Christian internationalism linked to adoption as a profoundly American venture.

Harry Holt was neither exceptional nor unique. Rather, practically every other nation involved in international adoption on a notable scale had a "Harry Holt" of its own who facilitated – or attempted to facilitate – large numbers of proxy adoptions. In the 1950s and 1960s, International Social Service was not only preoccupied with the affairs of Harry Holt and Korea but with also, for example, Mrs. Mabel Grammer and Germany. Between 1953 and 1969, Germany, Japan, Italy, and Greece all figured at times among the top five sending

[792] On critiques see, for example, "Transracial Abductees," Tranracial Abductees, http://www.transracialabductees.org/ (1 October 2007); Kim, "The Origins of Korean Adoption;" Pate, *From Orphan to Adoptee.*
[793] "Holt International," Holt International, https://www.holtinternational.org/ (12 November 2016); "Korea Adoption," Holt International, http://www.holtinternational.org/korea/ (12 November 2016); Liz Raleigh, "Wither International Adoption? Implications for Adoption Researchers" (paper presented at the sixth biennial conference of the Alliance for the Study of Adoption and Culture, Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 27-29, 2016).

nations.[794] Thus, while the scholarly literature highlights Korean international adoption as a separate and exceptional wave, Japanese, Greek, Italian, and German international adoptions did not end in the "first wave" but continued through and alongside the emergence of Korean adoptions in the 1950s. Specifically, of the 3,762 children internationally adopted under the 1953 Refugee Relief Act, only 12 percent hailed from South Korea. Instead, 35 percent – and the largest number of children – continued to come from Japan. The second largest number (13.45 percent) came from Greece, followed by Italy (also 12 percent) and Korea. Italy and Korea were closely followed by the other postwar U.S. occupied nations, Austria (9.75 percent) and Germany (5.2 percent).[795] However, speaking to the fluctuation of these numbers, in 1967, for example, Germany occupied the top sending country, followed by Korea, Italy, Japan, and then England.[796] To speak of Harry Holt's story in the absence of these other narratives erases the historical, social and political particularities of Korea that allowed Holt's proxy adoptions to develop into a full-fledged, long-standing industry, while the others waned and failed.

Other Independent Adoption Schemes

Before Reverend Harry Holt and Korea, there was Mrs. Mabel Grammer and Germany. Grammer was a writer for the *Afro American* in Baltimore, Maryland and, locating U.S. military empire in her narrative, Grammer's husband, Oscar, was an American serviceman. Like Holt, Grammer was touched by the plight of unwanted Afro-German children languishing in orphanages, and made it her personal mission to find homes for these children, with American families. Frustrated by the slow pace and rightly perceived racism

[794] On occasion Hong Kong, Philippines, Canada, and England would also make an appearance. Altstein and Simon's compilation of adoption statistics are frequently cited by adoption studies scholars. I find them useful to map general trends. Altstein and Simon, "Introduction," 14.
[795] Weil, "International Adoptions," 279-82.
[796] Altstein and Simon, "Introduction," 14.

of official placement agencies, Grammer recognized a legal loophole that allowed American families living or traveling abroad (i.e., military families), to petition for adoption through the foreign courts. For those U.S. families who could not travel to Germany, in order to circumvent the Refugee Relief Act (which required prospective parents to undergo an extensive agency approval process) Grammer represented these families in German court by proxy. This loophole reduced the adoption process from years to months. Considered a one-woman adoption agency, Grammer's adoption process was fast and desirable – by both (African) American families and for a time, the German government.

Mrs. Mabel Grammer could claim sole credit for American families' access to the German court system. Initially, German officials highly approved of Grammer's work. Similar to the future response by South Korea, Germany felt that U.S. international adoption solved the problem of perceived racism against Germany's "brown babies." Also, German representatives – youth, municipal, and state officials – liked that in many cases, they could actually meet the prospective adoptive families. If they were unable to meet the families in person, Grammer would at least provide them with a description. In addition to perceiving Grammer as responsible and personable, West German officials also responded to the swiftness of Grammer's proxy method. Officials were ever-cognizant of the fact that the longer it took for the children to find private homes, the longer they lived on Germany's welfare system.

Like Holt, Grammer did the matching process. She located the children and she approved the American families, typically military families that were stationed in Germany, but also U.S. families on American soil. Beyond her military networks, Grammer utilized her position at the *Afro American* to reach out to families in the U.S. After providing a step by step tutorial for how to adopt "brown babies," requests poured in. With the support of

German government officials, Grammer convinced Scandinavian Airlines to transport the children from Germany to New York. During her tenure, Mabel Grammer facilitated the adoption of upwards of 500 German children into American families.

In addition, Grammer and her husband outdid Harry Holt by adopting 12 German children – first four year-old Peter in 1951, followed by Rose, Vera, Eugenia, Oscar, Jr., Matt, James, Elwin, Nadia, and Edward. Similar to Holt, Grammer's family story and work made her famous, and while her methods of proxy adoption were criticized by the ISS, on the whole, Grammer was praised for her humanitarian efforts in the U.S. popular press and by West German officials. In 1968, Grammer received a humanitarian award from Pope Paul IX.[797]

Thus, well before Reverend Harry Holt began his work, ISS was investigating Mrs. Mabel Grammer, her practice of proxy adoptions, and trying to figure out how to regulate them. However, despite these efforts, it was only after both West Germany and the United States decided that the out-migration of Afro-German children was not in the best interests of either nation (to be discussed later in this chapter), that adoptions facilitated by Grammer ultimately ended. In the meanwhile, ISS had its hands full trying to regulate the independent adoptions undertaken on behalf of prospective adoptive parents in practically every other wave of child placement. Lesser known than Holt or Grammer were Mr. Peter C. Giambalvo, working on behalf of Italian adoptions, Reverend Sorenson, focused on Greece, and Dr. Thomas de Figueredo, who worked on Japan. ISS kept all three under close watch.

[797] Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler*, 148, 150-56; *Brown Babies: The Mischlingskinder Story*, DVD, directed by Regina Griffin (Regina Griffin Films, Inc., 2011).

Italy and Greece

Under the 1953 Refugee Relief Act, Italy's number of international adoptions were the same as those from South Korea (respectively 464 and 461). Under the special immigration legislation of September 11, 1957, which allowed for the admission of non-quota alien minors under the age of 14, Italian adoptions were 14 percent of the total, a number supported by an independent adoption scheme not unlike Grammer's.[798]

Mr. Paul C. Giambalvo, a New York lawyer and "chairman of the Italian Orphans and Migration Committee of the Order Italian Sons and Daughters of America, which he described as a non-profit national fraternal benefit group with 50,000 members," was at the center of publicity. Through this organization, Giambalvo was "contesting the privileged granted by the Italian government to the International Red Cross and the National Catholic Welfare Conference to the exclusion of other agencies."[799]

On July 17, 1959, journalist Paul Hofmann reported to both the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and the *New York Times*: "The adoption of Italian children by couples in the United States has become a subject of public controversy here and is due to be considered by Parliament. National attention has been attracted by recent incidents at Rome's Ciampino Airport involving the children who were to leave for the United States."[800] Susan T. Pettiss, Assistant Director, ISS-American Branch, similarly wrote to Marie Youngberg, National Director, Home Service, American Red Cross, the following month:

> Dear Marie,
>
> There has indeed been a great deal of publicity lately in Italy in regard to the adoption of Italian children by American families. I am attaching for you the translations of some press articles which have recently appeared in the Italian papers. A great deal of the furor

[798] "Adoptions in U.S. Defended in Italy," *New York Times,* July 25, 1959, 4; Weil, "International Adoptions," 279-82.
[799] "Rome Aroused by U.S. Flood of Child Adoptions," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, July 17, 1959; "Italians Stirred by U.S. Adoptions," *New York Times,* July 17, 1959, 4.
[800] Ibid.

> seems to be aroused by the activities of an Italian Lawyer from New York who has, over the past year or two, been in the process of making private arrangements for the placement of Italian children for adoption here. Mr. Gianbalbo [sic] is his name, and his activities are well-known to the Attorney-General in New York.[801]

Paul Hofman summarily captured just a few of the incidents that provoked Italians' public outcry in his July article:

> Last Saturday a poor Neapolitan widow who had agreed that two of her eight children should be transferred to American foster-parents changed her mind at the last moment… The widow obtained police intervention preventing her children from leaving… [She] later told reporters that she was to have received the equivalent of $324 for giving up her two children.
>
> Last Tuesday another girl from Naples, 10 years old… tearfully pleaded with airport personnel not to be sent away from her mother. Three unidentified persons… tried futilely to convince her to take her seat on the plane. Later it was learned that the girl was the daughter of an un-married mother in Naples and had twice before refused to leave for adoption in the United States.[802]

In what was a common thread that had begun with nineteenth century orphan trains and continued through Korean international adoption, the two women who attempted to give up their children were poor, single mothers.

In all cases, including Korea, single mothers, compelled by poverty, were offered monetary compensation for their loss and, I infer, a better life for their children in America also served as incentive. Often, in Korea as in other countries, the single mothers, or their children, *changed their minds.* But it was at this point that the narratives of Korean and Italian adoption begin to diverge.

Both the mother and child in the two Italian stories, after an apparent commitment to international adoption, successfully resisted immigration and obtained intervention, first from local officials, and soon from the national government. Keeping in mind Italian parents' rights to their children and the Italian government's involvement in regulating international

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[801] "(Mrs.) Susan T. Pettiss to Miss Marie Youngberg, The American National Red Cross, August 11, 1959," ISS papers, Box 19, Folder 32: "American National Red Cross: 1946-1963."
[802] "Rome Aroused by U.S. Flood of Child Adoptions;" "Italians Stirred by U.S. Adoptions," 4.

adoption, Carmine de Martino, Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Charge of Emigration expressed, "at least one United States citizen who had been arranging such adoptions had ben [sic] barred from Italy recently because he had developed a 'lucrative aspect' in these operations."[803]

In the following month, de Martino's assertion was supported by Susan Pettiss's ISS correspondence:

> About six months ago the Italian Government became concerned as to the placements of the Italian children and issued a strict order that no exit permit or 'nulla osta' will be issued to any un-accompanied orphan child coming to the United States for adoption unless it was approved by either the international Social Service Branch of the Italian Red Cross or the National Catholic Welfare Conference.[804]

However, the initial success of Giambalvo in obtaining passports for children (at least twenty-five placed since 1958) suggests that it was still possible at that date to work outside of these institutional parameters. But as time passed, the Italian Government worked even more closely with its transnational U.S. affiliates, who in turn worked closely with Congress, in order to create better regulations surrounding the oversight and flow of Italian children into American families.[805] Ultimately, these transnational private and governmental technologies of oversight became so effective that despite the early success and aggressive efforts of such individuals as Giambalvo, no full-scale Italian adoption industry emerged as it would in South Korea.

As for Greece, whose numbers of international adoptions (506) surpassed those of Italy and South Korea under the 1953 Refugee Relief Act, soon after the passage of the Act of September 11, 1957, concern over the practices of another Midwestern religious leader,

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[803] Ibid.
[804] "(Mrs.) Susan T. Pettiss to Miss Marie Youngberg, The American National Red Cross, August 11, 1959."
[805] Ibid.; "Rome Aroused by U.S. Flood of Child Adoptions;" "Italians Stirred by U.S. Adoptions," 4; "Adoptions in U.S. Defended in Italy," 4.

Reverend Sorenson, gained ISS's attention. Greece ultimately provided for 12.4 percent of the total number of children adopted under this special legislation.[806]

In a letter dated January 2, 1958, concerned citizens wrote to ISS, "We wrote you in November 1957, about this recent development, whereby applicants are arranging for proxy adoption with the help of the American Mission to Greeks… As you suggested we are now forwarding information to the regional representative of the Children's Bureau as it comes to our attention."[807] Similar to Holt's international adoption scheme, this Greek narrative too had regional and religious roots. In this case, Greek children were being adopted by Minnesota families and, similar to the cases of Holt, Grammer, and Giambalvo, ISS was concerned that prospective parents were circumventing both immigration law and adequate child protective regulations via proxy adoption. In fact, besides emphasizing the danger of proxy adoptions, the letter specifically referenced Harry Holt and the fear that Reverend Sorenson was attempting a similar adoption coup.

Japan

In Japan, the implementation of the 1953 Refugee Relief Act, and the start of the so-called second (and Korean) wave of U.S. international adoption, resulted in three times as many adopted children entering the U.S. from Japan (1,315) as from Korea. Under the special September 11, 1957 legislation, Japan accounted for 13 percent of all adoptions.[808] Throughout the 1960s, Dr. Thomas de Figueredo came under close scrutiny by ISS following the great success of his proxy adoptions of Japanese children to, primarily, Japanese American families living in California.

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[806] Weil, "International Adoptions," 279-82.
[807] Box 10, Folder 8: "American Mission to Greeks 1957-1960," ISS papers.
[808] Weil, "International Adoptions," 279-82.

An attorney at law who maintained offices in both Yokohama and Los Angeles, Dr. Figueredo was a frequent thorn in ISS's side, as he navigated working with, against, and around the agency.[809] As Figueredo explained in late 1962 to the California State Department of Social Welfare in Sacramento (SDSW), "He… quite openly and frankly [made] it clear that he had no use for social agencies – they took too long, and for other reasons he intended to circumvent them, if he could."[810] Through the years, Figueredo found several ways to evade agency oversight. For example, working with famed Japanese adoption advocate and orphanage director, Madame Sawada, he found legal loopholes "to have Mme Sawada appointed legal guardian of the [children]. A legal guardian [could] then directly grant consent or transfer custody without going through the Child Welfare Center."[811] It then became common practice to "[by-pass] professional social services through direct request of local Immigration and Naturalization Service before finding a particular child and petitioning with the usual I-600." Figueredo then had the child adopted via proxy in Japan, and was able obtain an orphan visa.[812]

Behind the scenes, Figueredo also worked to undermine ISS's authority. In 1963, the SDSW communicated to ISS that they "felt that Dr. de Figueredo was playing the Catholic Committee for Refugees against the ISS."[813] It appears that a central strategy throughout the years was for Figueredo to ingratiate himself with various child welfare authorities and then

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[809] "(Miss) Patricia Hye, Director, ISS, Hong Kong to Edna, ISS Headquarters, Re: Japan, December 2, 1966," ISS papers, Box 34, Folder 2/3: "ISS Branch-Japan Adoption, 1959-1967."
[810] "Memo From: Susan Pettiss Re: Dr. de Figueredo, January 8, 1963," ISS papers, Box 32, Folder 2/3: "ISS Branch-Japan Adoption, 1959-1967."
[811] Ibid.
[812] "Mrs. Elsie L. Heller, Supervisor, Adoption Division, ISS-American Branch to Mrs. Eleanor Blankenship, Social Service Consultant, SDSW, Re: Intercountry adoptions involving Doctor Figueredo, May 10, 1967," "(Mrs.) Susan T. Pettiss, Associated Director, ISS-American Branch to ISS Japan – Mrs. Tamura, Re: Dr. Thomas de Figuieredo, November 1, 1961," "(Mrs.) Kimi Tamura, Director, ISS, Japan to Mrs. Susan T. Pettiss, ISS, American Branch, Re: Dr. Figuereido, February 20, 1962," ISS papers, Box 34, Folder 2/3: "ISS Branch-Japan Adoption, 1959-1967."
[813] "Memo From: Susan Pettiss Re: Dr. de Figueredo, January 8, 1963."

make bold, disparaging claims regarding ISS's adoption licensing (or lack thereof). He frequently claimed, for example, "that the Tokyo ISS [was] not a Branch of the International Social Service."[814]

At the same time, Figueredo was quite adept at manipulating the adoption system when he needed, or desired, a social agency to perform the "home study" step of his proxy adoptions. For example, on July 1, 1963, Kimi Tamura, Director of ISS-Japanese Branch, wrote in frustration to ISS-America, concerning four proxy cases ISS found itself entangled in. As Director Tamura conveyed:

> We have never specifically discussed the… case with [Figueredo] nor even given any indication that we would cooperate with him so that this case can move forward. He has, what is termed in Japanese, 'eight faces'. He seems to have left an exceptionally good impression with the Dept. of Welfare offices in California, as well as reverse impression of us in that it is ISS which is holding up the processing of the adoption because we are not cooperative.[815]

In this letter, the tension emerges between ISS's feelings of responsibility to participate in these adoption cases, tempered by the organization's frustrations that ISS was seemingly directed by Dr. Figueredo to play a limited role.

Ultimately, Tamura concluded, "I don't wish to be arbitrary but we do not want ISS to be associated with Dr. Figueredo. All he wants to do is to use us for his convenience and if ever any problems come up with his cases we do not want to be in a position where he can say 'If it had not been for ISS, etc., etc. ---'…. I know that [ISS-America] would not like to be associated with Mr. Holt's way – we feel the same way with Dr. Figueredo."[816] However, Figueredo was not deterred by ISS's non-cooperation, which originally followed Tamura's recommendation.

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[814] Ibid.; "(Miss) Patricia Nye, Director, ISS, Hong Kong to Edna, ISS Headquarters, Re: Japan, December 2, 1966."
[815] "(Mrs.) Kimi Tamura to Miss Letitia Di Virgilio, ISS, American Branch, July 1, 1963," ISS papers, Box 34, Folder 2/3: "ISS Branch-Japan Adoption, 1959-1967."
[816] Ibid.

Instead, SDSW representative Doris Cole met with Tamura on October 31, 1963. The specific purpose of the meeting was held "in an effort to try to resolve the existing problems in situations involving children know to Dr. Figueredo."[817] Ultimately, it was "agreed that it was in the best interest of children for Mrs. Tamura to review the situation [again, before deciding] whether she would endeavor to get the requested studies of the children known to Dr. Figueredo."[818] It was also decided that "because of her reluctance to work with Dr. Figuerado [Mrs. Tamura] had not met her responsibility [as director of ISS-Tokyo]."[819] Even though ISS did not approve of Figueredo's methods, it was decided that this did not mean ISS was able to fully wash its hands of responsibility toward the children he placed. Ultimately, in this Japanese case, by 1967 (as will be detailed in the following section) despite ISS's objections, Figuerado was able to establish what was then well known as a flourishing adoption business.

Intersections and Divergences

The independent adoption schemes that emerged during and post-Korean War illuminate many parallels in practices of international adoption in Korea and other U.S. occupied nations. In some cases, other nations provided precedent for Korea. In other cases, Korea appeared to provide the model. ISS understood all proxy adoption schemes as part of the same conversation, as part of the same problem. Highlighting activists involved in proxy adoption in other countries reveals that the circumstances and exceptionalism often attributed to Reverend Harry Holt or to U.S.-Korea proxy adoption were not unique.

[817] "Conference with Director of ISS Japan, October 31, 1963," ISS papers, Box 34, Folder 2/3: "ISS Branch-Japan Adoption, 1959-1967."
[818] Ibid.
[819] Ibid.

Harry Holt did not exist in isolation. Others shared his personal drive, humanitarian and religious convictions, publicity, and even initial success. The individual biographies, motivations, and practice of proxy adoptions, with varying degrees of success, all highlight the clear intersections of U.S. military empire, individual humanitarianism, frequent religious motivations, and also sometimes capitalist enterprise at the center of each of these adoption schemes. By the time of the Korean War, popular sentiment coincided with national imperatives, and all nations where these adoption schemes arose were central sites of postwar U.S. occupation and empire.

Ultimately, Harry Holt succeeded in creating an international adoption industry, while other individuals did not because of the particular imperial circumstances that governed U.S.-Korea relations. While Germany, Italy, Greece, and Japan were all sites of U.S. military occupation and empire, the exceptionalism of Korea's situation, at the level of the nation-state, was in its extremely compromised sovereignty.

In 1953, South Korea emerged from the Korean War even more vulnerable than it had been post-World War II, after thirty-five years' Japanese colonial rule. In the immediate postwar years, U.S. foreign aid accounted for nearly 100 percent of the new republic's government budget.[820] With the South Korean economy entirely reliant on the United States, and built on the military-political foundations that placed President Syngman Rhee at the head of a pro-U.S., capitalist government, South Korea was primed to serve as a fruitful neocolonial entity for American capital. Situating U.S. military empire at the center of South Korea's postwar reconstruction, between 1951 and 1959, the United States' aid program fell entirely under the control of American military command. In addition, in 1957 alone, for

[820] Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997), 306.

example, the United States gave Korea $400 million in military aid, plus $300 million to support U.S. troops. This military figure amounted to more than the U.S. gave to all of Europe by that time.[821]

The character of postwar South Korean reconstruction was such that, even while Korean government officials initially approved of the overseas adoption of its children via American agencies and individuals, the nation lacked the economic or political resources – the agency – to fully regulate practices that developed. This lack of Korean government regulation was also supported by the fact that South Korea failed to invest its U.S.-government-aid capital into developing its own system of domestic child welfare services. It was into this economic and geopolitical context that Harry Holt entered, where a U.S.-driven and South Korean-supported culture of free market capitalism allowed the early, relatively unregulated development of a private Korean adoption enterprise by American citizens. The ultimate long-term consequence of this allowance was that the structural institutionalization and cultural normalization of U.S. overseas adoption became South Korea's primary form of child welfare services.

The Imperial Limits of American Entitlement

A second dominant narrative that has emerged to reframe popular understandings of the history of Korean international adoption focuses on the role of Americans' entitlement, and more specifically, the transnational white privilege of prospective adoptive parents to take other people's children. This argument is sometimes hinged on accounts now told by Korean birth parents, on the politics and technologies of coercion that emerged, transformed, and proliferated from the onset of U.S.-Korean adoption – and narrates the ultimate

[821] Ibid., 304, 307.

commodification of these children within a market economy driven by U.S. citizen demands.[822] Conflated with the Harry Holt myth, with an emphasis on Holt's religious character, Holt's narrative then takes on the appearance of "the missionary as cultural imperialist," as Eleana Kim succinctly describes it.[823]

Yet, as illuminated in the prior section, individuals in other countries were also religious leaders but they were not ultimately successful in their attempts to practice mass proxy adoption. Or on the contrary, there were individuals more secular in their approach who enjoyed more sustained success. Outside of this comparative framework, too strong an emphasis on the individual strength of white Americans' privilege distorts the fact that Americans also felt privileged to other nations' children, including children of white nations. Yet in none of these other cases did a massive adoption industry develop comparable to that of Korea. To speak of white Americans' entitlement outside of this comparative imperial context erases the neocolonial-specific foundations that enabled, and continue to enable, the mass adoption of Korean children by white parents. With this comparative framework in place, the character of American empire thus again emerges as the deciding factor in meeting white Americans' demands for overseas children.

Sovereignty and Contested Privilege

As Chapter 3 illustrated, American parents expressed their desire to adopt overseas children already during the interwar years. However, Americans' interests to adopt dislocated Spanish refugee children were immediately shut down by the Spanish nation-state. Viewed as an insult to the nation's sovereignty, Spain's national newspaper named such

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[822] On the entitlement of white Americans to other people's children see, for example: Dorow, *Transnational Adoption*, 17-19; Park Nelson, "Shopping for Children in the International Marketplace," 89-104; Lee and Miller, "History and Psychology of Adoptees in Asian America," 344; Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 270, *n*10, 287, *n*10.
[823] Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 44. See also, Hübinette, "Comforting an Orphaned Nation;" Trenka, Oparah, and Shin, eds., *Outsiders Within*.

attempts "collective kidnapping" and vowed that Spain would "spare no effort for the total repatriation" of its children.[824] The interwar cases of Russian, German, and British refugee children all showed that Americans' interests in overseas international adoption were tempered by the respect demanded by nations' sovereign claims to their children and, in some cases, respect for the individual child's parents' rights as well.

Recall also the case of three-year-old Bella Raphael and her adoption by U.S. serviceman Sergeant Simons. As a Jewish war refugee living in occupied Germany, with no living parents or nation-state to claim as her own, Bella was spirited away by Sergeant Simons who had illegally crossed international boundaries – an act otherwise known as international kidnap or child trafficking – but experienced no repercussions. This was the reality of unchecked (white) American adoptive parent privilege in the absence of state sovereignty over vulnerable children like Bella.

Postwar occupied Germany's sovereignty was also compromised. As evidenced by the U.S. prewar child refugee movement, Americans' desires to adopt German children were also already well established. These desires continued post-World War II, when the U.S. occupied a newly privileged place in relation to Germany. The United States' new position as a global power trickled down to Americans' feelings of entitlement to German children. In the midst of U.S. occupation, the story of one German birthmother, Hedwiga, sheds light on the grey area that characterized German parental rights during this period – and foreshadowed what would become large scale practice in South Korea.

In 1950, Hedwiga gave birth to her baby boy, Daniel. African American serviceman Brown, Hedwiga's boyfriend and Daniel's father, wanted to marry Hedwiga, but in line with

[824] "U.S. Adoptions Opposed," 8.

racist military practice at the time, Brown and Hedwiga's marriage request was denied. Brown was instead transferred and the military sent Hedwiga a personal message prohibiting further contact. At the time, the then-twenty year-old Hedwiga was a legal minor, and so the German courts retained guardianship of Daniel.

Hedwiga was placed in a juvenile hall and Daniel in the Marburg children's home, Bethesda Lutheran *Kinderheim.* Desperate to obtain custody of Daniel and formalize her union to Brown, Hedwiga attempted to locate her American G.I. After a failed attempt, Hedwiga returned to Bethesda only to discover that Daniel had been placed out for adoption. Her child was gone.[825] In this way, Hedwiga's heartbreaking story of lost love and a lost child reveals how, at this time, the U.S. military and the German state shared a fundamental disrespect for German women's parental rights.

Another example suggests that Americans' feelings of entitlement to German children were not limited to white Americans. In the spring of 1949, journalist P. L. Prattiss interviewed Captain Pliny B. Jenkins, Chaplain, for his *Pittsburgh Courier* series on the "brown baby" crisis. As Prattiss described, "While this correspondent was visiting with Captain Jenkins, the latter pointed to one of the babies in an adjoining room. Said he: 'I've been trying to get that one myself. My wife and I kept it for several months, then the mother came and took it away. We're still hopeful that we can get it.'" In response to this interaction, Prattiss observed, "Obviously, you cannot tear a child away from its mother. But Captain Jenkins' attitude reflected that of many persons in the American zone today."[826]

Encompassed in both Captain Jenkins's sentiment and birth mother Hedwiga's circumstances is the more tenuous nature of German mothers' rights to their children during

[825] *Brown Babies: The Mischlingskinder Story*, DVD, directed by Regina Griffin.
[826] P. L. Prattiss, "'Brown Babies' in Germany," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 7, 1949, 2.

U.S. occupation. Captain Jenkins's feeling, his entitled "hope" that he could still take the baby from its mother, encompassed not only the "attitude… of many persons in the American zone," but a wholesale cultural shift of U.S. citizens' feelings during this Cold War period that American families provided the *best* homes for children. In alignment with this sentiment, it often became possible to "tear a child away from its mother." However, unlike the history of Korean adoption, Hedwiga's story – and the full-on transformation of Captain Jenkins's sentiment into practice – did not become the main pattern of German international adoption. The difference between Germany and Korea emerges in the dissimilar place of these two nations in the United States' imperial project. Cold War U.S. relations with postwar Germany were founded on the assumption that Germany, or at least West Germany, would ultimately recuperate its sovereignty, while that was never a goal in U.S.-Korea relations. In fact, one of the earliest actions of the newly sovereign West Germany was to lay claim to "its" children.

Recuperating Sovereignty, a Comparative Analysis

In Germany, from the onset, Christian institutions had tried very hard to be involved in the nation's child welfare reconstruction, including that of adoption and child placement. However, strong state laws mediated these attempts and in the process, prohibited the wholesale takeover of its child welfare and adoption system by foreigners – including international adoption agencies and foreign individuals, religious or not.[827]

In 1955, the Allied Statute of Occupation ended in West Germany and, upon reclaiming its sovereignty, one of the nation's earliest acts was to demand legal redress for German women whose children were fathered by American servicemen. Before 1955, the

[827] Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler*, 137-9.

U.S. military had actively sought to prevent German women from making paternity claims. However, once occupation was officially over, Germany demanded child support from American fathers. Taking a public and political stand, Germany both demonstrated and sought to legitimize its newfound sovereignty on a global scale. Ultimately, Germany was partially successful and it was decided on May 6, 1955 (for any birth on or following that date) that American servicemen could be brought to West German civil courts for paternity suits. However, by publicly questioning the United States' military and humanitarian role abroad, and presenting Americans' material wealth as hypocrisy, Germany was able to strategically utilize the United States' purported capitalist supremacy in its own favor, by making U.S. occupation children an economic and human rights issue.[828]

In contrast to the place of Germany in postwar U.S. geopolitics, the United States' immediate post-World War II military occupation of Korea (then an allied nation), its suppression of Korea's postwar nationalist movement, its unilateral creation of a divided North and South Korea, and its reappointment of Japanese colonial supporters and U.S. nationalists into South Korean positions of power, suggest that the United States was never invested in aiding Korea's reconstruction as a fully independent, sovereign nation. The United States' imperial hold on the nation became even stronger after the Korean War, when South Korea emerged even more politically, economically, and militarily reliant on the United States.

As in Germany, American parents' sense of entitlement to Korean children grew in direct correlation with the compromised state of Korean sovereignty. Speaking to the postwar cultural shift of U.S. citizens' feelings of *family* superiority – translated to on-the-

[828] Zahra, *The Lost Children*, 159; Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler*, 30, 68-73, 76.

ground practice – as one fifty-year-old "war generation" adopted Korean American reflected, "[Korean mothers] were told all sorts of things." His own birth mother, a singer, was told that her son would be raised by an American musician "and therefore… she'd give me up… [to live] a life she would want for me."[829] To this end, without comparable interference by the Korean government, U.S. individuals such as Harry Holt, and eventually agencies, were able to use their comparable wealth to institutionalize a child out-migration pipeline structurally inconceivable in West Germany. This institutionalization was exacerbated by the infiltration of a U.S.-supremacist free market capitalist culture, a product of the unique neocolonial geopolitics that the United States was able to institute in South Korea immediately postwar.

Free Market Capitalism and U.S. Empire as Cultural Supremacy

A third dominant narrative, one which has resonated since the immediate post-Korean War period, presents South Korea as *wanting* in some way, as somehow culturally inferior. Most often, South Korea is either framed as a racist nation, unduly preoccupied with maintaining pure blood lines, or as exceptionally patriarchal. For example, as esteemed adoption scholar Barbara Yngvesson highlighted in her introduction of an adopted Korean woman's story: "[Her] foster mother was [her] only link to a complicated past that included reproductive policies of the Republic of Korea and its marginalization of women whose out-of-wedlock children could not be accommodated in Korea's strongly patrilineal society."[830]

[829] Interview by Eleana J. Kim. Eleana J. Kim, "Remembering Loss: The Cultural Politics of Overseas Adoption from South Korea" (PhD diss., New York University, 2007), 91.
[830] Yngvesson, *Belonging in an Adopted World*, 12-3, 29-30. On the demonization of Korean culture see also, for example, Choy, *Global Families*, 11, 16, 20-3, 27-32, 41, 68.

My goal is not to deny the misogyny of South Korea's state building policies, which eventually sought to compromise women's reproductive and parental rights through measures that encouraged reduced fertility and child welfare-emigration.[831] Nor is it to deny the well-evidenced climate of hostility that existed surrounding mixed race children post-Korean War.[832] However, I do argue that analyses of Korean culture that elevate its constructions of race and patriarchy as unduly exceptional, support a teleological argument of U.S.-Korean adoption – as a (perhaps unfortunate but) necessary intervention, given the distressing politics of the Korean nation-state. This argument complements Eleana Kim's assessment: "constructions of Korean culture, envisioned as an unchanging same of Confucian patriarchy, [construes] adoption as a necessarily moral and pragmatic solution."[833] This section thus posits an alternate reading: that by situating Korean "culture" and government policies within a time-sensitive, historically comparative framework, Korean cultural "flaws" appear less exceptional, and its eventual government policies emerge as complementary features that funneled children into an *already established* pipeline system of U.S. international child placement.

Nationalist Constructions

As is well documented, both Japan and West Germany's postwar patrilineal societies also marginalized those women whose children were born out-of-wedlock. In doing so, they

[831] Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 33. See also, Seungsook Moon, "Begetting the Nation: The Andocentric Discourse of National History and Tradition in South Korea," in *Dangerous Women: Gendered and Korean Nationalism*, eds. Elaine Kim and Chungmoo Choi (New York: Routledge, 1998).
[832] Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 55.
[833] Ibid., 254.

too constructed postwar nationalist narratives of racial homogeneity that were incompatible with domestic adoption.

Just as South Koreans claimed *minjok*, a modern construction of ethnic nationalism – constituted and claimed in part, against Japanese colonialism – so did Japanese claimed *minzoku*, a postwar assertion of nationalist racial homogeneity – in opposition to its prewar construction as a multiethnic empire. Germans too claimed a modern nationalist construction of white ethnic German-ness – defined in opposition to blackness (its longstanding black residents, citizens, colonial subjects, and mixed race children born following Germany's occupation post-World War I).[834] The narrative of Japan's immediate response to its mixed race occupation children was also framed heavily in terms of infanticide and abandonment. And initially, both postwar Germany and Japan refused to engage in domestic adoption, constructed a negative discourse around mixed race children's birth mothers, expressed concern regarding the cultural and economic burdens posed by the "foreign looking" children, and encouraged international adoption as a humanitarian solution.[835]

Providing a comparative reading of Korea's ethnic nationalism and immediate postwar response to its mixed race children illuminates the necessity for further historic intervention. Why, in neither Germany nor Japan, did these nation's similar responses and "cultures" of homogeneity not result in comparably widespread adoption industries? The remainder of this section will account for the structural differences that led to these nations' divergent adoption histories – in particular, the networks of free market capitalism that

[834] Henry H. Em, *The Great Enterprise: Sovereignty and Historiography in Modern Korea* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013); Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler*, 11, 77, 80-88, 185; Eiji Oguma, translated by David Askew, *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-images* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002).
[835] Stone, "German Baby Crop Left by Negro GI's;" Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*; Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler*, 11, 66, 77, 80-88, 94, 136-7, 142, 153-66, 185; Zahra, *The Lost Children*, 165.

ultimately pervaded South Korean society, founded in U.S. imperial goals and the specific neocolonial relationship established in postwar Korea.

Transnational Nation-building and Big Business

In January 1963, Dr. Thomas de Figueredo (earlier introduced) met with the California State Department of Social Welfare in Sacramento (SDSW). As SDSW assessed:

> approximately 150 children in the 'Sawada home'… 50 to 75 have been picked up in the rural areas (probably by Dr. de Figueredo) and brought into the Home of Mrs. Sawada for care. He gave the reason for doing this that there was no social welfare agencies out in these rural areas…
>
> [SDSW Representative] Miss Cole was very glad at this point, that Miss Clauson had been in Japan… and was able to comment in surprise at his statement. She was under the impression that there was complete coverage throughout Japan… He did concede this.
>
> He advised that Mme Sawada's Home receives $40 or $50 per month per child from the Child Welfare Center for those children placed by the Center in her Home… He did not say so, but Miss Cole assumes that the other children are paid for by the adopting parents… It is these other children that Dr. de Figueredo gives his attention to in his planning.[836]

Korean adoption was not the only postwar U.S. international adoption practice to develop within a framework of free market capitalism, and Figueredo's proxy adoption scheme flourished under this business model – but not without occasional complication. In this 1963 meeting, Figueredo was reaching out to SDSW because he was having difficulties obtaining visas for some thirty children, most identified as "destined to California families." In the meeting, Figueredo "admitted that he was rather desperate and evidently committed and probably accepted money for these children… As a final note Miss Cole commented on the fact that these children whom he is processing for U.S. families, and who are in Mme Sawada's Home, are all registered as children of Mr. Sawada."[837]

[836] "Memo From: Susan Pettiss Re: Dr. de Figueredo, January 8, 1963."
[837] Ibid.

As reported by ISS, Figueredo's discussion with SDSW evidences several themes that would eventually emerge as common U.S.-Korean international adoption practice. As Figueredo ultimately admitted, close to half of the children in the "Sawada home" were not obtained through official avenues. They were instead pursued independently, on behalf of the orphanage itself, "picked up in the rural areas" despite the fact that there were known social welfare agencies and staff members in those areas. This practice resonates with that of Mrs. Hyun Sook Han, an influential social worker who in 1964 began her employment with ISS. As Han notes in her memoir, it was routine practice to actively seek out vulnerable Korean populations, areas known to house "high numbers of mixed-race children." Social workers would then "ask the mothers if they wanted to place their children for adoption." Han herself admitted that she would often "[push] those mothers to sign the papers."[838]

The orphanage with which Figueredo worked also received institutional funding for each child it housed, as well as private funds from prospective adoptive parents with whom the orphanage maintained a contract. With so many "orphans" "registered as children of Mr. Sawada," many children also had no clear link back to their birth families. Figueredo and the "Sawada Home" thus maintained the financial incentive, client base, "available" children, and the suspect, yet tenable paperwork that would characterize Korean adoption practice, and subsequently yield a highly successful adoption industry for decades to come.

By late 1966, the social welfare departments in California continued to "[have] a great deal of difficulties with Japanese children being brought… for adoption by [Figueredo]."[839] As the Department of Social Welfare of California in San Francisco (DSW) relayed to Patricia Nye, Director of ISS-Hong Kong, "The D.S.W. in California does not

[838] Hyun Sook Han, *Many Lives Intertwined: A Memoir* (St. Paul: Yeong & Yeong Book Co., 2004), 98-100.
[839] "(Miss) Patricia Nye, Director, ISS, Hong Kong to Edna, ISS Headquarters, Re: Japan, December 2, 1966."

work with Dr. Figueredo at the onset of the cases, but becomes involved at the breakdown of placements. They understand that Dr. Figueredo is doing intercountry adoption as a business enterprise. It is a flourishing business as there is a big demand for Japanese children in California, and for adoption service to related children. Consequently, children and families are being exploited."[840]

At DSW's prompting, in late 1966 and early 1967, Nye wrote on their behalf to ISS-Headquarters, ISS-Japan, and ISS-New York. In particular, Nye hoped these branches could address DSW's (mis)understanding that "the only way the Japanese-Americans can adopt a Japanese child is through Dr. Figueredo. The D.S.W. wonders why ISS Japan cannot give service to adoption. They feel that if ISS Japan can participate with them in giving service – particularly to related children – families will not go to Dr. Figueredo, but as it is they have no choice."[841]

In response to Nye's letter, Seiho Miyano, Acting Director, ISS-Japan, replied in kind:

> We have never stopped and never told anyone to stop the service of inter-country adoption… Such misunderstanding may have arisen from the tendency in the recent years that less and less children have become available for adoption in Japan.
>
> This represents remarkable change of social needs in this country, compared to the Post-War period when all the children's institutions were crowded with orphans… Usually remaining [parents] want, and are encouraged, to take them back when they are ready… If adoption is recommended, the child welfare centers first seek to find adoptive parents within the country, and inter-country adoption would be the secondary device as it is in the principle of ISS. Still there exist a number of children for whom inter-country adoption are well advised…
>
> We know that Dr. Figueredo is sending more and more Japanese children to U.S. for adoption. You might question how he finds such children when we say that number of adoptable children are decreasing. It is his traditional way to go into the orphanage with very assertive measure in order to obtain children… Adoption services must be handled

[840] Ibid.
[841] Ibid. See also, "(Miss) Patricia Nye, Director, ISS, Hong Kong to Mr. Miyano, ISS Japan, January 3, 1967," ISS papers, Box 34, Folder 2/3: "ISS Branch-Japan Adoption, 1959-1967;" "(Miss) Patricia Nye, Director, ISS Hong Kong to ISS American Branch – Mr. Walter Sherman, February 21, 1967," ISS papers, Box 34, Folder 2/3: "ISS Branch-Japan Adoption, 1959-1967."

> by professional workers of social agencies but the reality is that personal business of a lawyer covers most of cases flourishingly…There is always a loophole in law.[842]

Walter R. Sherman, Associate Director, ISS-New York, provided a similar response to Nye:

> [W]e understand that the small number is related first to the ISS philosophy that if children can be cared for in their own country, this is preferable… and second, to the developments in Japan that make it possible for more children to be cared for better there…
>
> We here are very much concerned about the problem of children now coming to the U.S. brought by persons or agencies who do not follow sound adoption practice. It seems that either the new U.S. Immigration law has provided some new loop holes or that ways are being found to circumvent the protections that we all thought our laws provided. We are aware that this has been happening in connection with children coming from several different countries.[843]

In Miyano and Sherman's testimony, we see the success – and the limits – of Japan's adoption industry as created by Figueredo. Figueredo tapped into the demand of Japanese American consumers, the prospective parents, and provided the supply of Japanese children to adopt. Both Miyano and Sherman spoke to the immigration "loopholes" that enabled Figueredo's privatized practice, the same loopholes "in connection with children coming from several different countries," which no doubt included Korea. Miyano emphasized Figueredo's "assertive measures" in obtaining adoptable Japanese children. In accordance with the ethical standards of social welfare practice, both ISS representatives spoke to why there were "less children… available" for adoption as compared to the immediate postwar years. Here is where the narratives of Japanese and Korean international adoption diverged.

Emphasizing the deeply raced structure of U.S. international relations, neither Japan nor Korea were able to claim equivalent child support demands (from the U.S.) as Germany

[842] "Seiho Miyano, Acting Director, ISS, Japan to Miss Nye, ISS, Hong Kong, February 17, 1967," ISS papers, Box 34, Folder 2/3: "ISS Branch-Japan Adoption, 1959-1967."
[843] "Walter R. Sherman, Associate Director, ISS New York to Miss Nye, ISS Hong Kong and Mr. Miyano, ISS Japan, February 24, 1967," ISS papers, Box 34, Folder 2/3: "ISS Branch-Japan Adoption, 1959-1967."

(or other white European countries).[844] However, Japan's reclamation of sovereignty in 1952 included a reassertion of claims over the nation's children – through child and social welfare programs, "developments in Japan that [made] it possible for more children to be cared for better there," that discouraged the placement of children into orphanages. Parents were encouraged by Japanese child welfare institutions to keep their children so that adoption, and particularly international adoption, "would be the secondary device as it [was] the principle of ISS." While neither ISS nor Japan could completely stop someone like Figueredo, Japan's self-instated systems of support and limitations were enough to stop the expansion of a widespread, privatized industry comparable to the one that emerged in South Korea.

Figueredo's smaller Japanese industry was thus also performing alongside the expanding and already nationwide operation of the more easily accessible Korean adoption industry. This industry was growing to satiate the transracial Asian adoption demands of its larger white consumer base, and whose practice more readily fulfilled the anti-racist Cold War humanitarian narrative of making nuclear families.

1950s South Korea: The Investment of U.S. Markets

Post-World War II South Korean reconstruction was compromised by U.S. military occupation. While Japan's postwar reconstruction shifted to that of economic recovery and a reassertion of self-determination, South Korea was meant to be maintained as a neocolonial entity. As George Kennan boldly reemphasized to Dean Acheson in the midst of the Korea War, "[Japan is] the most important single factor in Asia… It is important for the *nominal independence* of Korea to be preserved, for it provides a flexible vehicle through which

[844] Tara Zahra, *The Lost Children: Reconstructing Europe's Families after World War II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 159; Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler*, 30, 68-73, 76.

Japanese influence may someday replace Soviet influence without creating undue international repercussions. [emphasis mine]."[845]

Between 1951 and 1953, in what began during "armistice negotiations," the United States was officially involved in South Korea's industrial reconstruction. In 1953, as detailed by geographer Karin Wessel, "following the recommendation of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) the South Korean government converted their economic system, which had been incorporated in the constitution and was strongly socialist in orientation, to a free market economy."[846] Between 1945 and 1970, the United States invested more than $5 billion government aid into South Korea.[847]

From a top down perspective, President Syngman Rhee and his political successors failed to invest the flood of post-Korean War U.S. foreign aid into a domestic system of child or social welfare. Specifically, in the 1950s, Rhee implemented no official social welfare programming. In 1957, foreign aid accounted for 105 percent of South Korea's social welfare expenditures.[848]

In regards to South Korea's other investments, leadership worked sometimes in tandem and sometimes in friction with America's direct recommendations, as South Korea retained a strong resistance to compliance under Japan. Ultimately, from the 1950s through the 1980s, the South Korean state invested heavily in the nation's industrial economy, creating what scholars deemed a "capitalist" heaven for such big businesses as steel,

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[845] Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*, 309-10, 318. On South Korea's postwar development as a U.S.-Cold War nation-building project, see also David Ekbladh, "How to Build a Nation," *Wilson Quarterly* (2004): 12-20.
[846] Karin Wessel, "Basic Features of Economic and Regional Development in South Korea," in *Regional Development and Decentralization Policy in South Korea*, eds. Ludwig H. Schatzle, Karin Wessel, Yong-Woo Lee (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1997), 37.
[847] Chan Sup Chang and Nahn Joo Chang, *The Korean Management System: Cultural, Political, Economic Foundations* (Westport: Quorum Books, 1994), 23.
[848] Dong-Myeon Shin, *Social and Economic Policies in Korea: Ideas, Networks and Linkages* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 49.

machinery and chemicals, eventually expanding to include automobiles and ships. Textiles emerged as South Korea's industrial backbone in the 1960s.[849]

However, there were multiple layers to South Korea's postwar economic reconstruction. On-the-ground, facilitators of Korean international adoption emerged alongside other newfound economies of black-market operators, sex workers, and other service-oriented occupations – all meant to meet the needs and desires of their American clientele. As scholars have well-acknowledged, in the 1950s, "every single American, from GI to ambassador, possessed more than virtually any Korean… Koreans therefore attached themselves to Americans by any means necessary."[850] In these postwar, free market systems of exchange and commerce, adoption emerged alongside other creative enterprises meant to service the huge and wealthy foreign presence in their midst.

By 1954, in addition to money donated from individuals and private organizations, the Armed Forces Aid to Korea (AFAK) had constructed upwards of fifty orphanages, fully staffed and primarily funded by the U.S. army.[851] In this way, before Korean international adoption was propelled by (Korean) state-subsidized agencies, its infrastructure was solidified in the postwar establishment of a primarily U.S.-funded orphanage system. In the same way that Korean sex work emerged as a central component in local economies that proliferated alongside U.S. military installations, my argument expands on geographer Richard H. Weil's observation: "the presence of efficient foreign adoption facilities encouraged the abandonment of children."[852]

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[849] Steven Hugh Lee, *The Korean War* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 72; Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*, 305, 317, 322, 331.
[850] Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*, 302-4, 309. See also, Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown*, 51-2.
[851] Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 49. According to Korean American Voluntary Associations records, between 1950 and 1970, foreign organizations donated upwards of $350 in monetary and material aid to South Korea. Ibid., 273 *n*14.
[852] Weil, "International Adoptions," 282.

By the mid-1950s, Korean nationals had identified adoption, the supply of children and service of child placement, as a key source of American capital.[853] The Korean national government was nominally and ideologically supportive of these developments, sometimes in direct conversation with organizations and political leadership, but could not provide actual monetary support.[854] A May 7, 1956 missive from Ambassador Im Byung Jik to President Rhee, a "Report on the Discussion of the Problem of Unwed Mothers and Mixed-Blood Children," sheds light on the government's early response. This report provided a summary of a UN meeting concerning redress for Korean women whose children were fathered by foreign servicemen. As Im relayed, "[W]hile we should be alert on what can be done… for the benefit of our girls and their children, we shall also keep in mind the larger aspects of national interest such as intercountry adoption and military aid we continue to receive and keep our diplomatic relations in proper attitude."[855] According to the South Korean Ministry for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs (MIHWAF), between 1958 and 1960, of the 2,532 children placed out for overseas adoption, approximately 66 percent were "abandoned," 25 percent came from "broken home[s]," and 9 percent were those children born to "single mother[s]."[856] The next decades would reveal a startling shift as Korean nation-building policy began to directly intersect with U.S. market rationalities.

1960s and 1970s South Korea: Camptowns, Emigration, and Factory Girls

In 1966, the same year as Nye, Miyano, and Sherman's initial correspondence surrounding Figueredo and Japan's decreased rate in child placements, ISS noted for South Korea: "There is quite a bit of rivalry and competition among the different adoption agencies

[853] Kim, *Adopted Territory,* 32, 71-2.
[854] Ibid., 60-2.
[855] Ibid., 71-2.
[856] Ibid., 25.

[in Korea], and it is not beyond agencies to bribe or pressure the mothers for the release of these children, and agencies including ISS have to go to find the Korean-Caucasian children by visiting prostitute areas, as it is not common practice for the mothers to approach the agencies for the release of their children."[857] Just as with German and Japanese occupation children, policy makers (and practitioners) explicitly linked U.S. military occupation with the consequence of Korean international adoption.[858] In South Korea, as U.S. imperial designs normalized a long-term U.S.-Korea military apparatus, a direct link can be extended from Korean camptowns to Korean adoption. Within a free market capitalist framework, ISS directly located the supply-side of Korean adoption in these similarly U.S.-servicing sex work economies.

At their peak, throughout the 1960s, upwards of thirty thousand Korean women labored in sex work economies, to service the correlating American military population of approximately sixty thousand servicemen.[859] As political scientist Katharine H.S. Moon has documented, during this peak, American servicemen's camptown spending accounted for upwards of 25 percent of South Korea's GNP.[860]

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[857] "Report on Korea, August 1966," ISS papers, Box 35, Folder 30: "Korea: Reports and Visits to Korea 1956-."
[858] Green, "A Brown Baby Crisis," 97.
[859] Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown*, 60. These local economies functioned and flourished alongside the more legitimate economies, such as food industry and military civilian employment, driven by the existence of U.S. military bases. As with Germany and Japan, the U.S. military was the largest and sometimes only source of employment for South Koreans. As such, these economies, which were explicitly created to cater to U.S. servicemen, continued to reenact postwar South Korea-U.S. relations, at the most intimate levels, with South Koreans' welfare almost entirely reliant on American patronage, and the United States and American servicemen represented as the benevolent provider. To this end, the intimacy bred between Korean women (whether camptown worker, military employee, or curious patron in the local economy) and U.S. military personnel, as well as the expansive and powerful cultural association of the U.S. with strength and prosperity, provided strong encouragement for Korean women to both seek romantic partnerships with American servicemen and desire to emigrate to the United States. Ji-Yeon Yuh, "Imagined Community: Sisterhood and Resistance among Korean Military Brides in America, 1950-1996," in *Asian/Pacific Islander American Women: A Historical Anthology*, ed. Shirley Hune and Gail M. Nomura (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 222.
[860] Katharine H.S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 44.

However, beyond this literal trajectory of an enduring U.S. military presence and international adoption, by the 1960s, South Korea's adoption industry had already expanded well beyond the reach of its military roots. In complete opposition to developments in Japan, by 1960, the privatized, capitalist-humanitarian system of transnational Korean adoption, spearheaded by such Figueredo-esque individuals as Harry Holt, had surpassed domestic developments in social welfare. Instead of "less children… available," the South Korean adoption industry instead saw its "supply" shift from mixed race to full Korean children, in order to meet the demands – and reap the economic benefits – of its white American citizen-clientele.[861]

In the 1960s, official South Korean nation-building initiatives would coalesce with on-the-ground markets. According to MIHWAF, between 1961 and 1970, of the 7,275 children placed out, 55 percent were "abandoned," 27 percent came from "broken home[s]," and 18 percent from "single mother[s]." Between 1971 and 1980, South Korea placed out 48,247 children, a six-fold increase from the prior decade. Approximately 36 percent were "abandoned," 28 percent were from "broken home[s]," and 36 percent from "single mother[s]."[862] The 100 percent increase in the number of children from single mothers speaks to the shift in South Korean nation-building policy that created a new population of vulnerable unwed mothers. However, the astonishing 500 percent increase in overall number of Korean international adoptions speaks to the preexistence of a U.S.-funded system of child out-migration – a transnational pipeline system already in place. This system, conceived already in the ideology of finding (Korean) children for (white) parents, as opposed to parents for children, simply funneled this new population of poor parents' children into the

[861] Kim, *Adopted Territory* 34-5, 72; Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 9, 182.
[862] Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 25.

appropriate channels, into its supply of "adoptable" children, and the waiting arms of prospective American parents.

At the level of national policy, between 1961 and 1979, General Park Chung Hee's "growth-first, redistribution later" military dictatorship spent approximately 2 percent of South Korea's national budget on social welfare. Influenced by Cold War anxieties of North Korean reprisal, 40 percent was spent on national defense, and the rest on an intense regime of South Korean economic recovery. These policy decisions funneled an inordinate number of Korean children into the international adoption economy.[863]

At a very basic level, amidst Park's structural upheavals – too rapid industrialization –families were made progressively more vulnerable in a child welfare culture and economy that was pre-established to send children overseas. There was nowhere else for the increasing numbers of "abandoned" children to go.[864] Any explanation for the numbers of abandoned children must begin with two specific aspects of Park's tenure that had the largest effect on Korean international adoption: emigration and factory girls.

A central consequence of the Korean War and subsequent wartime geopolitical restructuring – that did not develop in postwar Germany or Japan – was the mass emigration

[863] Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 176-7, 179; Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 74. A number of studies analyze more recent (1990s) South Korean social welfare developments in relation to other nations of similar economic development, and find the nation to be both generations behind, and government investments comparably inadequate. See, for example: Doh C. Shin, *Mass Politics and Culture in Democratizing Korea* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 268 *n*9; Byung Young Ahn, "Globalization and welfare reform in South Korea under the Kim Dae Jung government," in *Korea Confronts Globalization*, eds. Chang Yun-Shik, Hyun-Ho Seok and Donald L. Baker (New York: Routledge, 2009), 229-49.

[864] Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 179-80. An insidious relationship also developed in the 1960s, wherein the standard of living was so much greater in foreign-aided orphanages, than in local economies – and because many institutions required that the children be "parentless" upon acceptance – parents opted to "abandon" their children so that their children might live and reap the material benefits. The more children an orphanage housed, the more money it would receive from its foreign sponsors, and so the orphanage would expand, and the cycle would continue. Ibid., 180-1. See also, Rosemary C. Sarri, Y. Baik, and M. Bombyk, "Goal Displacement and Dependency in South Korean-United States Intercountry Adoption," *Children and Youth Services Review* 20 (1998): 87-114.

of Korean nationals, in large part to the United States.[865] Immediate postwar migrants included Korean military brides, adopted children, and POWs who refused to choose between a divided Korea. Mass emigration soon expanded to include labor migrants, political exiles, professionals, and international students, but military brides and adopted children continued to number the vast majority. Other than adopted children, historian Ji-Yeon Yuh labels these postwar emigrants as "refuge migrants," "those seeking refuge from the consequences of the Korean War."[866]

Under the direction of Park Chung Hee, emigration became official South Korean nation-building policy. Park was concerned with overpopulation as a detriment to economic growth. In 1961, the South Korean government passed the Extraordinary Law for the Orphan Child, which made it easier for foreigners to adopt Korean children.[867] Two years later, the government passed the 1963 Emigration Act, to officially encourage the out-migration of its citizens en masse.[868] Through this Act, and through transnational contracts such as South Korea's deployment of several hundred troops to aid the U.S. mission in the Vietnam, Park

[865] By 1948, the United States was actively recruiting highly trained personnel and scientists to immigrate to the U.S. At the same time, German authorities sought to restrict emigration and maintain its human resources. Within this dynamic, postwar German immigration to the U.S. peaked in 1950, but then dropped sharply by the 1960s and 1970s. Emigration to the U.S. continued to slow as Germany's economy improved. This is in sharp contrast to Korean emigration which, for example, set up a policy of emigration in 1963, and whose military bride emigrations peaked in the 1960s and 70s. Scholars of Japanese immigration to the U.S. have attributed no comparable "American fever" to postwar Japanese immigration. Yuh, "Moved by War," 278-80; Dietrich Herrmann, "Immigration and Emigration before 1968," in Detlef Junker, ed., *The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945-1990: A Handbook, Vol. I: 1945-1968* (Cambridge, Mass., Cambridge University Press, 2004); Gail M. Nomura, "Japanese American Women," in Wilma Mankiller, Gwendolyn Mink, Marysa Navarro, Barbara Smith, Gloria Steinem, eds., *The Reader's Companion to U.S. Women's History* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1998); Yukari Takai, "Japanese and Japanese Americans, 1870-1940," in Elliott Robert Barkan, ed., *Immigrants in American History: Arrival, Adaptation, and Integration, Vol. I* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2013), 1057.

[866] Yuh, "Moved by War," 278-80.

[867] Dong Soo Kim, "A Country Divided: Contextualizing Adoption from a Korean Perspective," in *International Korean Adoption*, eds. Bergquist, Vonk, Kim, and Feit, 6.

[868] These citizens were encouraged to migrate to such politically and economic destinations as the U.S., Europe, and Latin America. Yuh, "Moved by War," 278-80.

also strategically utilized emigration to procure economic and political gains for the larger Korean nation-state.[869]

By 1961, international adoption to the United States was South Korea's child welfare safety net. Imperial U.S.-Korean relations had already created the conditions for large-scale adoptee migration. When Park instituted emigration as official economic development policy, adoptees were seamlessly incorporated as but one other group of excess Koreans. In fact, they were the most easily dispersed.

Besides the structural preexistence of the U.S.-Korean adoption system to channel this new excess of Korean children, U.S. cultural empire was also an important undergirding factor in Park's emigration-adoption regime. The 1970s and 1980s, the height of Korean international adoption, was also the height of what Asian American studies scholars call "American fever," "a desire to emigrate to America and the belief that things American [were] vastly superior to things Korean."[870] This success of American cultural imperialism translated to promote overseas adoption. Korean nationals internalized U.S. superiority to such an extent that, beyond their own migration, they embraced the notion that America was the best place to save and raise their impoverished children. The United States perpetuated this transnational discourse through Americans' own internalization that Korean children needed to be saved, even many years postwar, and that these children would be better raised in the United States.[871]

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[869] Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 189.

[870] It's important to note that Korean military brides' emigration also peaked during those decades, with an average annual rate of 4,000 children per year. Yuh, "Imagined Community," 222-33. See also, Yuh, "Moved By War," 278; Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 20; Nancy Abelmann and John Lie, *Blue Dreams* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995), especially chap. 3; Kyeyoung Park, *The Korean American Dream: Immigrants and Small Business in New York City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

[871] See, for example: *First Person Plural*, VHS, directed by Deann Borshay Liem; *In the Matter of Cha Jung Hee*, DVD, directed by Deann Borshay Liem.

Shifting our gaze to the domestic, Park employed what Arissa Oh calls a "patriarchal nationalism" in his mission of rapid industrialization. This nationalism mobilized hundreds of thousands of young women as South Korea's modern "industrial soldiers" – the factory girls who provided the cheap, temporary, and easily replaced labor at the backbone of South Korea's economic miracle. These women – often young, single, first generation city residents with few networks of support – also became the population at highest risk for unwed pregnancies. In Park's patriarchal nationalism, there was only room for the married woman or the single female worker. By the 1970s, South Korea's economy of poor unwed mothers, located in its urban centers, had replaced the sex work economies of U.S. military bases.[872] As one scholar described, the vulnerable population that Korean social workers sought out were thus "young pregnant women… sequestered in homes for unwed mothers and pressured to give up their babies."[873]

In 1976, the Park administration chose four organizations as the only licensed institutions approved to work with U.S. based agencies and practice international adoption: Holt Adoption Agency, Social Welfare Society (SWS), Korea Social Service (KSS), and Eastern Social Welfare Society (ESWS). In delineating these agencies, Park proscribed formalized rules, standards, and regulations, which helped to further streamline services. Park's increased standards also required larger revenues for the agencies to self-sustain. The agencies' highest earnings were made through successful international adoptions. What resulted was increased overseas competition for U.S. partner-agencies, and domestic competition for obtaining "adoptable" children. It was in this free market capitalist economy

[872] Ibid., 187-8; Kim, *Adopted Territory,* 36.
[873] Yuh, "Moved By War," 279.

that South Korean agencies sought out additional markets in Scandinavian countries, Western Europe, Australia, and Canada, to meet revenue demands.[874]

By the 1970s, what had begun as individual child sponsorship and airfare costs had expanded into a transnational economic apparatus that included agency and bureaucratic fees. These fees had increased over time to imbed the international adoption industry in the South Korean national economy as a multi-million dollar annual contributor.[875] As a capitalist system based on supply and demand, on the Korean side, the operation expanded beyond "agencies" and "orphanages" to include prenatal services for (relinquishing) unwed mothers, preadoption foster homes, and separate homes for disabled children – all funded by international adoption profits.[876]

1980s South Korea: An Industry Normalized

Between 1981 and 1990, South Korea placed out 65,321 children. According to the MIHWAF, approximately 10 percent were "abandoned," 17 percent were from "broken home[s]," and 72 percent from "single mother[s]."[877] By the 1980s, it was not poverty, but the social stigma of unwed motherhood that propelled the industry – an industry that actively reached out to pregnant, single women, who provided the largest supply of adoptable children.[878]

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[874] In the 1960s, several agencies in Minnesota, Oregon, Iowa, and Pennsylvania began actively engaging in Korean adoption. Since then, agencies have opened nationwide. Kim, *Adopted Territory,* 21, 216. In comparison to the streamlining of international adoption processes, Park's underfunded attempts to revamp South Korea's domestic adoption structures flounderd. Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea,* 183-5.
[875] Kim, *Adopted Territory,* 33, 76. By the 1980s, it is estimated that international adoption contributed between $15 to $40 million to the Korean national economy. Ibid., 33; Matthew Rothschild, "Babies for Sale: South Koreans Make Them: Americans Buy Them," *The Progressive* 52 (1988); Park Nelson, "Shopping for Children in the International Marketplace," 96; Kim, "Scattered Seeds," 156; Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea,* 189.
[876] Kim, *Adopted Territory,* 33.
[877] Ibid., 25.
[878] Ibid., 36; Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea,* 188.

Ironically, it was in the mid-1980s, a time when South Korea's postwar recovery was widely touted as an "economic miracle," that Korean international adoption to the United States peaked. In another important comparison with West Germany and Japan, the historic and political memory surrounding both nations' postwar rehabilitation has similarly been reconstructed to frame each nation as independent economic "miracles." However, unlike Korea, none of this economic success was framed around the "sale" or "export" of its children.[879]

Under Park Chung Hee's successor Chun Doo Hwan's military regime (1979-1988), Chun also expanded Korea's international adoption system through emigration and "civil diplomacy" programs, which actively constructed adopted Koreans as future ambassadors of Western wealth, culture, and social capital.[880] During the peak years of the 1980s, there were thirty-three U.S. agencies coordinating with South Korea's four designated organizations. The U.S. states with the highest concentrations of adopted Korean children were those in closest proximity to those adoption agencies with the closest relations to South Korea. Thus, the majority of adopted Korean children were placed out in the Midwest, including such states as Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa; the Pacific Northwest, including Oregon and Washington; the Northeast, including New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts; and the West, including Utah and Idaho – with only small numbers placed out in the South or Southwest.[881]

Recuperating Sovereignty, a Comparative Analysis

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[879] Hanna Schissler, ed., *The Miracle Year: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Aaron Forsberg, *America and the Japanese Miracle: The Cold War Context of Japan's Postwar Economic Revival, 1950-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Sayuri Shimizu, *Creating a People of Plenty: The United States and Japan's Economic Alternatives, 1950-1960* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2001).
[880] Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 34-6, 173, 216.
[881] Ibid., 21-2.

Following the 1949 foundation of the West German nation-state, federal and state interior Ministry officials, as well as numerous youth workers, openly advocated the "Toxi" solution – the emigration of Germany's "brown babies" from the nation's "traditionally white land" to a "historically multiracial one."[882] As in South Korea, child out-migration via international adoption was thus actively promoted as the national "solution" to the existence of mixed race children in West Germany.[883] However, despite this similar policy, speaking to the white privilege extended to these children via their German birth mothers, neither pressure from American individuals, nor from the German government, could force German women to relinquish their parental rights. Evidencing these rights, as well as the German nation-state's commitment to ridding itself of its mixed race children, if birth mothers did not agree to relinquishment, Germany's emigration policy then expanded to include the mother's migration as well. While the government actively recruited its "brown baby" children for deportation, with or without living families, it also actively recognized their mother's parental rights.[884]

Also, lesser known is that not all of these women were unwed mothers in dire straits. Rather, the government appealed to both wed and unwed women's cultural sensibilities, and to societal standards of pressures. Speaking to the assumed cultural and political labor embodied by these mixed race children, and similar to Chun Doo Hwan's "civil diplomacy" program, a separate solution was to raise mixed race German children in segregation, with the future aim to emigrate them abroad as cultural ambassadors.[885]

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[882] Stone, "German Baby Crop Left by Negro GI's," 583; Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler*, 66, 77, 94, 136-7, 142, 153-66; Zahra, *The Lost Children*, 165.
[883] Ibid.
[884] Single motherhood was less stigmatized in Germany. Ibid.
[885] Ibid.

Ultimately, what separated West Germany's policy of "brown baby" emigration-overseas adoption from that of South Korea, was in the nation's eventual, and very strategic move to redirect the outflow of its children to Denmark. By the early 1960s, German adoptions to Denmark surpassed those to the United States.[886] Germany's sending of its "brown babies," read as German-U.S. occupation children, to Denmark was an exercise of sovereignty. Similar to the nation's demand for paternity care from the United States, in this public gesture, Germany was demonstrating its sovereign right to choose where exactly to relinquish its mixed race children. Pointedly, and in plain view of the international Cold War community, this choice was not the United States. Rather, in comparison to the many distressing portrayals of "brown babies" adopted in the U.S., as the director of the German Protestant Youth Welfare Association reported from his visit to Denmark in 1962:

> In the children's demeanor we perceived in general only joy… Everywhere we went we were met with Danish hospitality by the adoptive parents and were able to gather some insight… Everywhere it was the same picture. The children snuggled up to the parents trustingly… In the Danish schools things went well. There is great understanding for these children, especially since many teachers themselves have taken in one or two Mischlingskinder.[887]

In this way, Germany was making an explicit political statement – that while brown Germans did not belong in Germany, Denmark's racial politics were far superior to that of the United States.

By the early 1960s, West Germany had also reversed its policy of overseas adoption as the best and only solution for its mixed race children. Partially a forced decision, as birth mothers also actively resisted relinquishing their children to Denmark, West Germany was also largely compelled (similar to South Korea) in response to media critiques. However, despite West Germany's policy turnabout as a reaction to the media and birth mothers'

[886] Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler*, 161-8; *Brown Babies: The Mischlingskinder Story*, DVD, directed by Regina Griffin.
[887] Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler*, 164.

activism, the nation was again able to strategically utilize this decision for its own nation-building agenda.

While West German officials took great pains to evidence mixed race German children's alleged integration into West German schools and society, they made equal efforts to highlight U.S. race problems at home. In these comparative portrayals, West Germany strategically critiqued the United States' purported supremacy in all things, particularly in the realm of its humanitarian culture, and within the international Cold War discourse that made criticism of U.S. race politics both highly acceptable and deeply embarrassing.

The African American press, in particular, was able to use Germany's critiques in favor of its own anti-racist activism. For example, in a November 1960 *Ebony* article, "Brown Babies Go To Work," the author documented the "frictionless move, which followed painstaking ground work by West German youth authorities and employers," to integrate its "brown baby" youth population into its work force. Ultimately, the author declares that "[a]s a whole, the country has risen to the challenge," and quoted for example, Dr. Dorothea Struwe, a Nuremberg Youth Office official: "The incidents in Little Rock (Ark.) have caused much indignation in Germany. I hope that no one will ever have reason to tell us Germans to clean up before our own door. It is essential that our colored children can expand and develop their talents and abilities so that they will be firmly rooted in our community."[888] Over time, these criticisms helped West Germany to level the playing field with the United States – to legitimize and maintain its postwar sovereignty, and resist further U.S. incursions in a very public manner.[889]

[888] "Brown Babies Go To Work," *Ebony*, November 1960, 97-100, 102, 104, 106, 108.
[889] Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler*, 161-8; *Brown Babies: The Mischlingskinder Story*, DVD, directed by Regina Griffin.

On the other hand, from the very beginning, on the whole, Korean women's rights to their children were not protected. Instead, when birth mothers did resist on a large scale, as evidenced by the "lack" of adoptable mixed race Korean children available by the early 1960s, Korean and American social workers instead found new populations of vulnerable Korean children to send overseas. And when South Korea expanded its practice to include not only the United States, but countries in Scandinavia, West Europe, Australia, and Canada, these decisions did not account for a sovereign or political shift in practice. Rather, South Korea's international adoption industry was so deeply imbedded in its U.S.-led capitalist infrastructure, an infrastructure that necessitated revenue before all else, that South Korean adoption agencies were simply looking for new markets of income.

The most famous example of public critique that South Korea faced due to its overseas adoption practices came in 1988. Perhaps most emblematic of South Korea's economic success and the ironies it spoke of, was the nation's winning bid to host the 1988 summer Olympics. This momentous occasion was almost overshadowed by the international press's accusation that South Korea's recovery was made possible only through the wholesale "export" of its children.

As journalist Susan Chira's widely circulated *New York Times* article expressed, "This flow of children overseas began when South Korea was a poor nation, its cities and families devastated by the Korean War. That it continues now, when South Korea boasts skyscrapers, giant factories and the 1988 Olympic Games, is prompting questions." Without noting South Korea's subpar child welfare system, the author still made the link between the nation's miraculous industrialization and its international adoption industry. As Chira noted:

> South Korea is no longer a third-world country, so poor that it cannot afford to feed… its children. Yet this very industrial development has helped to swell the nation's pool of unwanted children, even as the number of war-displaced or orphaned… shrank. Most of the

> children adopted overseas are born to unwed mothers, usually teen-age women who left the countryside to work in factories in the city.

The article emphasized the South Korean government's complicity, as well as the out-migration of its children through a streamlined and organized industry design. As Chira noted:

> Indeed, the Government supports the idea of foreign adoptions… licensing adoption agencies and the unwed mothers' homes that supply them with babies… The agencies draw children from hospitals where unwanted babies are delivered, police stations that pick up abandoned children, and a network of unwed mothers' homes that they help support financially.
>
> The scale and efficiency of the adoption process in South Korea troubles [many.] "I think the women are pushed to give up their babies, and that the agencies do get profits from adoptions," said a social worker who has dealt with adoption agencies for years… It is clear that foreign adoptions bring in more money to the agencies – the agency director interviewed said there is virtually no charge when Korean families adopt children.[890]

In response to this international humiliation, the nation issued new adoption guidelines in 1989, which set up quota goals to reduce the number of children sent abroad. By 1997, South Korea was to abandon international adoption as a form of child welfare.[891] However, in reaction to this statement and speaking to the deep and privatized institutionalization of this industry, U.S. adoption agencies protested. While in 1995, China replaced South Korea as the largest sending country of internationally adopted children, South Korea remained amongst the top sending nations well beyond its 1996 cut-off date. At this point, U.S.-Korean adoption was so much part of modern Korean – and American – culture that despite South Korea's economic stability and attempted government intervention, the nation failed to meet its national decrees.

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[890] Susan Chira, "Babies for Export: And Now the Painful Questions," *New York Times,* April 21, 1988, A4. See also, "Korea Exports More Babies to U.S.," *Asian Week,* May 6, 1988; Edmund Blair Bolles, "Self-Denial Is at the Root of South Korea's Baby Export," *New York Times,* May 9, 1988, A18.
[891] Hubinette, "Comforting an Orphaned Nation," 73.

Lesser known is that international critique regarding South Korea's adoption program, and the nation's response to these critiques, began decades earlier. Already in 1959, North Korea began, sometimes supported by other international press (as in 1988), its historically vocal antagonism of South Korea's alleged liberal and capitalist commodification of its children, via international adoption. In the 1960s and 1970s, South Korea implemented several domestic child welfare programs in hopes to stem the flow of overseas adoption, including "Every Person Should Raise and Orphan" (1962) and the "Five Year Plan for Adoption and Foster Care" (1976); special legislation to encourage domestic child placements were also introduced that year. Since South Korea's failed cut-off date in 1996, the nation made similar announcements – again in 1996 (for 2015) and in 2007 (for 2012). To this end, South Korea's numbers have steadily declined since the country's peak in the mid-1980s, but the nation has not been able to entirely curtail its industry.[892]

Between 1970 and 1975, following some particularly virulent criticism from North Korea, South Korea temporarily suspended international adoptions to its leading Scandinavian nations: Sweden, Norway, and Denmark (and expanded its adoption partnerships with the U.S. in order to make up revenue loss.) However, these adoptions were soon re-started following "combined and intense lobbying" on behalf of those three Scandinavian countries.[893]

By 1959 U.S.-Korean adoption, despite the decline of adoptable mixed race Korean children, became institutionalized as a transnational, privatized industry. Embedded in U.S. capitalist free market ideology, an already complex network of Korean individuals and organizations were economically invested in transnational adoption for their livelihood and

[892] Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 2, 32-4, 48, 273 *n*13; Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 197-8, 202.
[893] Hubinette, "Comforting an Orphaned Nation," 2-3.

survival. In addition, a recuperating South Korean government and vulnerable populations of its citizenry had come to rely on this industry as South Korea's primary and only form of child welfare. By the time South Korea sought to intervene in this system of child out-migration, the nation-state was already complicit and compromised at the levels of national government, private industry, and local individual. Compounding these internal stressors, since the 1970s, every moment that South Korea publicly sought to better regulate or diminish the outflow of its children, U.S. parents, social workers, adoption agencies, and politicians have coalesced in powerful social, political, and economic defense of international adoption. On the other hand, South Korea has yet to meet its annual domestic adoption goals necessary to stem the flow of children overseas.[894] Instead, Korean transnational adoption continues to set the "gold standard" for all other international adoption industries that have since emerged in its wake.[895]

Conclusion

The expansion of U.S. international adoption into Korea was a "natural" extension of Americans' practice of overseas child placement, tied to U.S. military occupation empire, that emerged after World War II. The systematic institutionalization of U.S.-Korean child out-migration was the success of the United States' geopolitical restructuring of a separate, neocolonial South Korean nation-state. In this U.S.-led culture of free market capitalism and a vulnerable local citizenry, compounded by the Korean War, South Korea became the only postwar U.S.-occupied nation whose compromised political and economic conditions

[894] Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 2, 32-4, 48, 273 *n*13; Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 197-8, 202.
[895] Korean adoption is sometimes also called the "Cadillac of adoption programs." Maggie Jones, "Why a Generation of Adoptees is Returning to South Korea." On the precedent of South Korea in creating future transnational adoption industry "complexes" see, for example: Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 203-6; McKee, "Monetary Flows and the Movements of Children," 137-78. On the ultimate "end of Korean adoption," see: Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 194-200; Park Nelson, *Invisible Asians*, 189-93.

allowed American citizens to systematize their adoption desires into a full-fledged placement industry.

In the modern era of the "priceless child," South Korea thus became home to the first transnational business of adoption that favored capitalism – the supply of available children to meet the demands of prospective adoptive parents, over birth mothers' rights to keep their families intact. South Korea set the stage for the future expansion of U.S. international adoption.

Both historian Arissa Oh and women, gender, and sexuality studies scholar Kimberly McKee speak to U.S.-Korean adoption as providing the "template" for "international adoption [and] transnational adoption industrial [complexes]," respectively coined IAC and TAIC. Within these respective "complexes" both scholars identify that while U.S.-Korean adoption emerged within the unique geopolitical context of U.S. and South Korea relations, the systems of practice were flexible insofar that they could be easily transferred to other international sites.[896] Adoption scholars have identified several "waves" and significant sending countries since the initial institutionalization of U.S.-Korean adoption, periodized as: Latin America and Vietnam in the 1970s; Central and Eastern Europe, and China in the 1990s; and Ethiopia present-day.[897]

The emergence of U.S. international adoption in Latin America and Vietnam were a direct extension of U.S. overseas child placement linked to Cold War empire, driven by U.S. economic investments and military intervention. Prior to the 1970s, as told by historians Laura Briggs and Karen Dubinsky, "Operation Pedro Pan" emerged in Cuba only after Fidel

[896] Both scholars speak to this transference as apply to other sending nations, for the U.S. – or for other western nations to model their international adoption industries on. Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea,* 203-6; McKee, "Monetary Flows and the Movements of Children," 137-78.
[897] Altstein and Simon, eds., *Intercountry Adoption*; Volkman, "Introduction," 1; Briggs, *Somebody's Children,* 235; Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea,* 204.

Castro came to power in 1959. The U.S. State Department collaborated with an underground Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) network located in Cuba (alongside Cuban exiles, prospective adoptive parents, and child placement agencies) to actively promote overseas placements – via foster care and adoption – as anti-Communist propaganda. More than 14,000 Cuban children arrived to the U.S. between 1960 and 1962.[898] In 1975, "Operation Babylift" emerged in Vietnam only after the U.S. militarily intervened in its civil war. Mirroring Korea, as France began to lose its neocolonial hold over southern Vietnam to northern communist influences, the United States intervened. Bolstered by its relative "successes" in Greece and Korea, U.S. military intervention for the sake of capitalist "freedom" had clear historical precedent – as did the complementary practice of humanitarian child saving, of rescuing "war orphans," in erasure of American empire. In what would continue as adoption trend, more than 1,700 Vietnamese children arrived to the U.S. between April 3 and April 15 of that year.[899] Also during the 1970s, in Guatemala and throughout Latin America, civil war raged – supported on either side of the Cold War by U.S. or Soviet Union counterintelligence, military arms and training. It was from these nations that prospective American parents "rescued" new populations of war orphans.[900]

Beginning in 1989, with the fall of the Ceausescu regime in Romania, followed by the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union, adoption markets opened up for eager prospective parents throughout Central and Eastern Europe.[901] In 1991, when China instituted its first adoption laws to allow for overseas adoption – in response to the overwhelming number of

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[898] Briggs and Marre, "Introduction," 10-1; Dubinsky, *Babies without Borders,* chap. 2; Briggs, *Somebody's Children,* chap. 4.
[899] Lee, *The Making of Asian America,* 333.
[900] Briggs and Marre, "Introduction," 11; Dubinsky, *Babies without Borders,* chap. 4; Briggs, *Somebody's Children,* chap. 5.
[901] Altstein and Simon, eds., *Intercountry Adoption*; Volkman, "Introduction," 19 *fn*1; Briggs and Marre, "Introduction," 12-3.

children abandoned due to the government's strict and sudden enforcement of its (nation-building) one-child family planning policy – U.S. structures of overseas child placement were ready and easily transposed onto China. China surpassed South Korea as the United States' top sending nation in 1995.[902]

In mapping out the major sites where American practices of international adoption expanded, the thrust of U.S. empire is obvious through the end of the Cold War. Within the capitalist framework of U.S. international adoption, Americans' adoption practices also followed a clear trajectory of market supply and demand.

As adoption markets opened throughout Central and Eastern Europe, the markets in Latin America (with the exception of Guatemala) – following accusations of widespread abuse (kidnapping, child-traffic, coercion) – were rapidly closing. Similarly, the rise of U.S. adoptions from China dovetailed with, again beginning in Romania and following a similar pattern across Europe, closing markets after allegations that the largescale demand for children had led to baby-selling and unethical commercialization of practice. At the same time, South Korea's available market of children was decreasing for the first time since 1953.[903]

This narrative surrounding sites of U.S. international adoption: 1) a large number of successful overseas placements; 2) followed by reports of systematic corruption and abuse (driven by the capitalist motives of obtaining "adoptable" children); 3) leading to the suspension, limit, or temporary close of an adoption site; 4) and the subsequent movement of U.S. international adoption elsewhere, to new sites of children – is a well-known and

[902] Kay Ana Johnson, *Wanting a Daughter, Needing a Son: Abandonment, Adoption, and Orphanage Care in China* (St. Paul: Yeong & Yeong Book Co., 2004); Dorow, *Transnational Adoption,* 57-8; Briggs and Marre, "Introduction," 13.
[903] Dorow, *Transnational Adoption,* 58; Briggs and Marre, "Introduction," 13-4.

undisputed pattern that has undergirded U.S. international adoption practice since the 1970s.[904]

Similar to the income economies structuring South Korean agencies, American agencies who participate in both domestic and international adoption openly admit that their primary source of revenue comes from the more expensive placements of overseas children. When profitable child-sending countries begin to shut down, in order to self-sustain, U.S. adoption agencies have no choice but to look for other markets.[905] In this way, present-day U.S. international adoption has truly become global. Its expansion has moved beyond the trajectory of American empire to fully encompass capitalism as its foundational mainstay.

Perhaps most exemplary of modern U.S. international adoption as a primarily consumer-capitalist industry was the huge jump in Americans' adoptions from Ethiopia following the high visibility created around Angelina Jolie's adoption in the summer of 2005.[906] In 2005, 442 Ethiopian children were adopted by American citizens. Five years later, this number peaked at 2,511, second only to China. Since 2010, Ethiopia has remained among the United States' top five sending countries.[907]

In 2005, Ethiopia transitioned to be an exceptionally important market of adoption as other sites were shutting down. Since 1988, the numbers surrounding Korean adoption have steadily decreased, and scholars point to "the end of Korean adoption."[908] Since 2004, this decrease in numbers parallels the overall decrease in international adoptions. This decrease

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[904] David M. Smolin, "Child Laundering: How the Intercountry Adoption System Legitimizes and Incentivizes the Practies of Buying, Trafficking, Kidnapping, and Stealing Children," *Wayne Law Review* 52 (2006): 115-200; Briggs and Marre, "Introduction," 13-4; Jennifer Ludden and Marisa Peñaloza, "Would-Be Parents Wait as Foreign Adoptions Plunge," *National Public Radio,* August 7, 2012; Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea,* 205-6.
[905] Raleigh, "Wither International Adoption?."
[906] *People* magazine led this coverage. Michelle Tauber, "Angelina Adopts a Girl: And Baby Makes Three," *People,* July 18, 2005.
[907] "Statistics," Intercountry Adoption: Bureau of Consular Affairs · U.S. Department of State, https://travel.state.gov/content/adoptionsabroad/en/about-us/statistics.html (10 December 2016).
[908] Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea,* 194-202; Park Nelson, *Invisible Asians,* 189-93.

did not stem from a decline in prospective adoptive parent desires to adopt. For example, in the weeks that followed the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami devastation, Sri Lankan and UN officials reported that international adoption applications totaled "more than twice the number of children orphaned by the Dec. 26 disaster."[909] Instead, the decrease was due to the overall decline in the number of available adoptable children, through increased regulations by the largest sending countries. As in the past, these restrictions came in response to the uncovering of widespread corruption and international criticism. In 2007, Guatemala was the United States' second largest sending country. In 2008, Guatemala temporarily closed international adoptions to reform its system, by that time premised on the buying and kidnapping of children for profit. Also in 2008, the U.S. suspended adoption from Vietnam over concerns about fraud. Vietnam still managed to be the United States' sixth top sending nation that fiscal year (behind South Korea). In 2010, Russia restricted its overseas adoptions following the infamous return of one of its adopted children by his adoptive American mother. Present-day Russia and China are promoting domestic over international adoptions.[910] These drops in numbers have had significant impacts on U.S. adoption agencies. In 2012, as Jodi Harpstead of Lutheran Social Service of Minnesota expressed, "We took quite a financial loss the very first year that this decline happened quite suddenly… We've had to readjust and downsize."[911]

In this way, I think more significant than the fact that Korean adoption numbers have decreased in these past years, is the fact the Korean adoption has consistently remained in the

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[909] Associated Press, "Sri Lanka inundated with tsunami adoption requests," *Taipei Times*, January 19, 2005.
[910] "Statistics," Intercountry Adoption: Bureau of Consular Affairs · U.S. Department of State, https://travel.state.gov/content/adoptionsabroad/en/about-us/statistics.html (10 December 2016); Dubinsky, *Babies Without Borders*; Ludden and Peñaloza, "Would-Be Parents Wait as Foreign Adoptions Plunge;" Peter Selman, "The Global Decline of Intercountry Adoptions: What Lies Ahead?" *Social Policy and Society* 11 (2012): 381-97; Choy, *Global Families*, 165-6; Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea*, 202; Park Nelson, *Invisible Asians*, 191.
[911] Ludden and Peñaloza, "Would-Be Parents Wait as Foreign Adoptions Plunge."

top five sending countries since 1995.[912] To this end, the consistent perpetuation of U.S.-Korean adoption, can be read as the verification of U.S.-Korean adoption as the continued "gold standard" of U.S. international adoption – as a veritable, time-tested, transnational business enterprise. As other nations have come and gone, Korean adoption remains.

[912] "International Adoption: Statistics," Holt International, http://holtinternational.org/insstats.shtml. (30 March 2015); Holt "Statistics," Intercountry Adoption: Bureau of Consular Affairs · U.S. Department of State, https://travel.state.gov/content/adoptionsabroad/en/about-us/statistics.html (10 December 2016); "FY 2015 Annual Report on Intercountry Adoption," Intercountry Adoption, Bureau of Consular Affairs, U.S. Department of State.

Conclusion

A history of American empire through the lens of child placement and adoption reveals the intimate economies of sentiment and capital that have been alternately, and simultaneously at the roots of U.S. child placement and nation-building practice since the mid-nineteenth century. This dissertation has provided a history of Americans' experimentation with child placement within the regional, national, and international confines and trajectories of U.S. imperial goals. Between 1845 and 1988, small-scale practice expanded whenever the large-scale movement of particular children to new American families or institutions supported the larger geopolitical and economic missions of the United States. Hidden within this nationalist history of Americans' involvement (and investments) in child migration, is also the story of U.S. race-making, citizen-construction, and population control – the goals, limits, and aspirations of U.S. nation-building. To locate American imperial investments in children – the world's most vulnerable population yet one that directly represents the futures of nations – is to locate the United States' most intimate hopes, anxieties, and dreams for its future.

Americans' involvement with Korean international adoption bookends this dissertation. By examining the long-term historical context of the emergence of a Korean adoption industry, my research documents how institutional structures and discursive-ideological foundations were a century-in-the-making. From the early era of American manifest destiny to the nation's military occupation of southern Korea after World War II, Americans' on-the-ground leadership and experience (domestically and overseas, in small and large-scale operations), and regional, private, and federally affiliated institutions laid the groundwork to support the large-scale emergence of overseas Korean adoption following

World War II. These emergent structures evolved and advanced in conversation and cooperation with global patterns of child placement practices. By the end of the Korean War, individual, organizational, and bureaucratic precedents embodied a multi-level and transnational network of child placement technologies (child placement and child welfare institutions, immigration and family-making laws, practices and procedures) that facilitated a vast new population of overseas adopted children.

Structural transformations of child placement institutions and practices were always undergirded by discursive-ideological investments in U.S. empire and nation-building. These racial and national logics exposed the United States' cultural and economic investments as a white supremacist, capitalist empire. As the political acceptability of empire (from settler-colonial to neocolonial enterprises) and of a special realm of childhood (from economic participant to sentimental protectionism) changed over time, so did American child placement practices. The practice of child placements reflected these shifts, however unevenly. Within a global nation-building context, American child placements performed very specific labor in the name of U.S. empire.

In the mid-nineteenth through early twentieth century, orphan trains, black codes, and first-wave boarding schools placements performed physical and discursive regional-national labor. They supported the United States' imperial mission to solidify its hold over the American West (and South) within white supremacist racial and capital hierarchies of care, industry, and national membership. During the Progressive Era and after World War I, Americans' child placement participation in Asia and Europe, as extensions of U.S. cultural and economic imperial aspirations, and its emerging goal to be recognized as a humanitarian world leader, provided crucial infrastructure for the expansion of Americans' participation throughout the interwar years and following World War II.

The interwar years saw Americans' involvement with overseas child placements become increasingly regimented and systematized, particularly around the sentimentalized figure of the child refugee. During this era, Americans' participation in the plights of overseas refugee children enabled the United States to maintain its then-dual mission of strict isolationism, and engagement with the international community as a still-striving leader in global humanitarianism. It was in the United States' activist movements in support of German and British refugee children that the nation established the practical and ideological underpinnings that would characterize the United States' more successful international adoptions after World War II, when U.S. Cold War imperial goals fell in alignment with its citizens' activism.

Post-World War II, the stage was set on personal, institutional, policy and political fronts for the overseas child placements of children from U.S. military occupied countries. The placements were performed as a gesture of U.S. Cold War humanitarianism and capitalist supremacy. The placements also worked to justify, better accommodate, and deflect American empire in such nations as Germany, Japan, and Korea. Ultimately, the cultural and material infrastructure for the widescale out-migration of Korean children to American families was put into place as part of the United States' successful neocolonial restructuring of its geopolitical relationship with South Korea. However, within the racial discourse of U.S. nation-building, if the ultimate labor performed by adopted Japanese children (on behalf of American Cold War empire) was the perpetuation of white supremacy under the cloak of U.S. multiculturalism and the establishment of a model minority Asian American discourse, what then was the labor of postwar adopted Korean children?

Adopted Korean Children and U.S. Nation-Building

Unlike Germany, other European countries and Japan, it was in South Korea, within the context of U.S.-Korea neocolonial geopolitics, that American citizens most fully enacted the power of personal free market capitalism. The immediate postwar circumstances of South Korea were not unique; child welfare institutions were inadequate in many places and postwar cultural nationalism encouraged the emigration of mixed race occupation children from several lands. But South Korea was unique in the overwhelming success of prospective American adoptive parents – U.S. citizens whose demands compelled them to go through proxy routed adoptions – in privatizing an industry to meet their needs. American citizens have since expanded this industrial model of adoption across the globe.

Alongside military brides, refugees, and the elite cadre of student and professional immigration allowances, adopted Japanese children helped to create a model minority discourse that embraced adopted Asian children as the ideal postwar adoptees and as the ideal Asian immigrants. Adopted Korean Americans continued this trend, and solidified adoption discourse for future waves of Vietnamese (1970s) and Chinese (1990s) adopted children. In 2003, the U.S. Census recorded that adopted Asian children represented 7.4 percent of all adopted youths under 18 years of age. Only 3.5 percent of Americans' biological children were of Asian descent. In 2005, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security recorded that adopted Chinese Americans represented an estimated 15 percent of the total Chinese American population; adopted Koreans made up an estimated 10 percent of the total Korean American population.[913]

[913] Lee and Miller, "History and Psychology of Adoptees in Asian America," 339.

The ultimate impact of U.S.-Korean adoption was the result of volume, which incorporated large numbers of adopted Koreans into the American body politic. Since the close of the Korean War more than 75 percent of the approximately 200,000 adopted Korean children have entered the United States (the other 25 percent went to Scandinavia, Western Europe, Canada and Australia).[914] Embodied in these numbers, adopted Korean Americans have been central proponents in the maintenance of the Asian American model minority stereotype, a stereotype whose discursive-political labor is the perpetuation of white supremacy under the guise of liberal multiculturalism.

The model minority stereotype presents Asian American "success" stories to undermine accusation of racism by other minority groups, notably African American and Latinx, thus obscuring the continued structural embeddedness of U.S. hierarchies of race. Scholars have noted the rise of transracial Korean adoptions in the 1970s and 1980s against the domestic race conflicts surrounding the adoptions of black and American Indian children. It was in 1971 that the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW) named the placement of black children in white families "cultural genocide," and in 1978 that the U.S. federal government enacted the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA). ICWA expanded the "triad" to recognize Indian tribes as stakeholders in "their" children's adoption, and thus disallowed the transracial, transnational adoption of American Indian children without their tribes' consent.[915]

The model minority stereotype performs the discursive labor of making Asian Americans' experiences appear illegible to other people of color. The international adoption

[914] Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 21, 24. It is also important to note that post-1965, via chain migration and family reunion legislation, Korean military bride have accounted for upwards of 50 percent of all Korean migration to the U.S. Yuh, "Moved by War," 278-80.
[915] Park Nelson, "Mapping Multiple Histories of Korean Adoption," 6-8; Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 27-8, 102; Choy, *Global Families*, 126-30.

industry, through its mass numbers, succeeded in creating an entirely new Asian American population whose experiences were illegible even within their own racial group, let alone with other non-white peoples'.[916] Just as adopted Japanese children were encouraged to dissociate with their Asian heritage and internalize a white American identity, most adopted Koreans have self-identified as white, for at least a significant portion of their lives.[917]

As documented by Korean adoption studies scholar Kim Park Nelson, adopted Korean Americans in the 1950s and 1960s resembled their Japanese counterparts in experiencing extreme isolationism and pressure to "assimilate" into their primarily white families and racially segregated communities.[918] As revealed in her 1970s and 1980s interviews with Korean Americans adopted to Minnesota – the state with the highest per capita population of adopted Korean Americans – adopted Koreans reported having "[grown] up having little contact with other people of color[, whereby r]acial isolation [began] at home."[919] Research psychologist Richard M. Lee identifies the psychic consequence of this placement design as the "transracial adoption paradox":

> [the] paradox that confronts racial/ethnic minority children who are adopted by White parents. Namely, adoptees are racial/ethnic minorities in society, but they are perceived by others, and sometimes themselves, as if they are members of the majority culture (i.e., racially White and ethnically European) due to adoption into a White family.[920]

One of the common and widely documented consequences of this paradox for adopted Korean Americans has been the very strong "drive to dissociate from other Asians," an "Asia-phobia" as described by one adoptee, in order to better assimilate into white American

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[916] This analysis was encouraged by Juliana Hu Pegues's analysis of Asian American and Native relations made illegible in U.S. colonial Alaska: Pegues, "Interrogating Intimacies."
[917] Park Nelson, "Korean Looks, American Eyes;" Park Nelson, *Invisible Asian Americans*, particularly chap. 2 and 4. A widely cited 2009 Evan B. Donaldson study also found that 75 percent of 179 adopted Korean Americans surveyed considered themselves white, or wanted to be white, during their childhood. Maggie Jones, "Why a Generation of Adoptees is Returning to South Korea."
[918] Park Nelson, *Invisible Asian Americans*, chap. 2.
[919] Ibid., 116.
[920] Lee, "The Transracial Adoption Paradox," 711.

culture – but also as a defense mechanism against anxieties surrounding ethnic and racial "authenticity."[921] Relatedly, in several surveys of Korean and other adopted Asian Americans' patterns of dating and marriage, adopted women chose white male partners at a wide margin.[922]

Unlike the adoption of other children of color, Asian transnational, transracial adoption has not provoked cultural-national anxieties; even as adults adopted Korean Americans were not meant to pose a threat to white norms of power. A cynical assessment of the studies of adopted children's eventual marriages is that the internalized racialization of adopted Asian Americans naturally pushes them toward this kinship (and subsequent reproductive) future, much as the federal government's blood quantum strategies meant to whiten American Indians to the point of extinction.[923] Is not the ultimate success of multicultural white supremacy its ability to produce a large segment of Asian American citizens who actively dis-recognize their own racial identities and community affiliations?

Adopted Korean American Adult Perspectives

> *Being adopted Korean is far more complex than choosing racial designation. You knew that. The struggles of racial identity cannot be solved at culture camps […] They cannot be described as growing pains nor diagnosed with color-blind love […] Society has already told you and me that we have become Americans because of someone else's charity. Now we're being told that our cultural displacement had a purpose – multiculturalism. By growing up in white families, we can be examples, Luuk. We can show others that racial harmony is possible. We just can't show our burdened backs. We allay our parents' fears by internalizing our own.*
>
> – An essay and open letter from Kari Ruth to her close friend Luuk, another adopted Korean American whose recent suicide weighed heavily on her heart, published 1997.[924]

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[921] Park Nelson, *Invisible Asian Americans*, 134; Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 93.
[922] See, for example: "Survey of Adult Vietnamese Adoptees," Baltimore: Holt International, 2000; Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 279 *n*1; Park Nelson, *Invisible Asian Americans*, 181.
[923] It is also important to note that these were not Kim Park Nelson's ethnographic or interview findings of adopted Koreans' romantic relations. Park Nelson, *Invisible Asian Americans*, 181.
[924] Kari Ruth, "Dear Luuk," in *Seeds from a Silent Tree: An Anthology By Korean Adoptees*, eds. Tonya Bishoff and Jo Rankin (San Diego: Pandal Press, 1997), 143-4.

> *Sometimes I look at them and I see two white American people that are so different from me that I can't fathom how they could be related to me […] as a child I accepted them as my parents because I depended on them for survival – but as an adult I don't think that I've accepted them as my parents, and that's the distance that I've been feeling from them, for many years.*
>
> – Documentary by Deann Borshay Liem, released 2000.[925]

Korean adoptees are the first group of children for whom there exists such extensive testimony speaking to their placed out experiences. This testimony continues to grow. In the late 1980s, adopted Koreans began to regionally organize in local associations.[926] By the late 1990s, adopted Korean American adults were actively inserting their voices into the overwhelmingly positive discourse surrounding U.S.-Korean adoption. What has since emerged, as a product of the mass number of adopted Korean Americans incorporated into the U.S. body politic, is a mass collection of voices to respond – to speak back – to the institutions, practice, and (familial) political-discursive labor demanded of adopted Korean Americans in the production of "successful" U.S.-Korean adoption. What has emerged are the real-life consequences of adopted Koreans' expected performance of "multiculturalism [and] racial harmony" policed by a discourse of gratefulness (adopted "because of someone else's charity") so that the tensions between adopted Korean Americans' lived experiences within a white supremacist society ("their burdened backs") are meant to be "internalized as [their] own." What has emerged is a fierce disconnect between adopted Korean Americans' experiences and the expectations of their adoptive parents, "white American people that are so different… that [it is hard to] fathom how they could be related" – and in this disconnect, a speaking back against the adults, whose voices, demands, and perspectives, have largely framed and perpetuated the U.S.-Korean adoption industry.

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[925] *First Person Plural*. Directed by Deann Borshay Liem. 2000. San Francisco: National Asian American Telecommunications Association (NAATA), 2000. VHS.
[926] Kim, *Adopted Territory*, 106-10.

The process of this speaking back, of including adopted Korean voices alongside and as equal to those perspectives uncritically supportive of international adoption (as a modern multicultural and humanitarian enterprise), has represented a sea change in adoption discourse. But it has also been a long and uneven road. Until the late-1990s, adopted Korean Americans existed in popular culture largely only as children – and in the realm of academia, only as subjects.[927] They existed in a multi-level national-familial discourse that located them as always-infantilized. In this way, adopted Korean Americans have needed to overcome the decades-long institutionalization of a complicated array of legal, social and cultural hurdles in order to combat the imperial and white supremacist structures at the roots of their adoption. Since 2000, adopted Koreans have successfully intervened and claimed a space, in coalition with other people of color, in two intimately linked arenas of adoption discourse: academia and politics. However, this political arena – and the discourse of adopted Korean Americans' lived realities – remains a contentious and highly contested space.

Adoption Politics and Academia

In his 2003 article, "Transnational Adoption and Queer Diasporas," one of the first Asian American studies publications to critically engage Korean or transnational Asian adoption, literary scholar and queer studies theorist David L. Eng asked: "Is the transnational adoptee an immigrant? Is she… an Asian American?" Also asking similar questions at the same time was research psychologist Richard M. Lee, who in his exploration of adoptees' experiences within the "Transracial Adoption Paradox," asked: "How do the unique experiences of transracial adoptees shape racial/ethnic identity development?" Both Lee and

[927] Bishoff and Rankin, eds., *Seeds from a Silent Tree*; Clement, *The Unforgotten War*.

Eng spoke to the state of Asian American studies in the early 2000s, as the field – across disciplines – sought to make sense of the seeming disconnect between adopted Asian Americans' history and experiences, and those that seemed to characterize historical and contemporary Asian America.[928]

The field of Korean and transnational Asian adoption studies has since expanded to include such critical works as Tobias Hübinette's "Comforting an Orphaned Nation" (2005), Sara K. Dorow's *Transnational Adoption* (2006), Jane Jeong Trenka, Julia Chinyere Oparah, and Sun Yung Shin's *Outsider's Within* (2006), Eleana J. Kim's *Adopted Territory* (2010), and more recently, Catherine Ceniza Choy's *Global Families* (2013), Arissa H. Oh's *To Save the Children of Korea* (2015) and Kim Park Nelson's *Invisible Asians* (2016).[929] Asian American studies has fully embraced research on adopted Korean and other Asian Americans as productive and central sites of scholarly interest and inquiry.

However, for adopted Asian Americans themselves, the question of status as both "Asian American" and "immigrant" in their lived realities remains contested. In this way, adopted Korean and other Asian Americans continue to straddle the fine line that upholds the ideal model minority discourse first embodied by postwar Japanese adoptees. On the one hand, they are the most privileged of Asian immigrants, afforded honorary white privilege opportunities through their adoptive families. On the other hand, they can be readily disciplined, discarded by the State or their "forever families" if they fail to fit the "good" minority mold into which they were adopted.[930] Thus, despite the strides that the incorporation of adopted Korean voices have made within the discourse of Asian adoption

[928] Asian American studies was having a similar struggle situating mixed race Asian Americans during this same time. Eng, "Transnational Adoption and Queer Diasporas," 1-2; Lee, "The Transracial Adoption Paradox."
[929] Kim Park Nelson's monograph yields from her 2009 dissertation, "Korean Looks, American Eyes."
[930] Trenka, *The Language of Blood*; Maggie Jones, "Why a Generation of Adoptees is Returning to South Korea."

studies, the story of Adam Crapser speaks to adopted Korean Americans' continued vulnerability:

> *Adam's children need him. His wife needs him. This country is his home, and he should not be deported because his abusive adoptive parents failed to complete his naturalization paperwork.*
>
> – #KeepAdamHome social media campaign and 18MillionRising petition, signed by more than 10,000 individuals, March 2015.[931]
>
> *A South Korean Man Adopted by Americans Prepares for Deportation*
>
> – *New York Times,* November 1, 2016.[932]

Adam Crapser, now age 41, emigrated to the United States in 1979. At 3 years-old and named Shin Song Hyuk he, along with his older sister, were adopted by an American family. Hinting at the shadow of U.S. military empire, Adam's adoption papers described his mother as "Amerasian."[933]

Adam Crapser's placement was not into an idealized American nuclear family. In 1985, when Adam was 9 years-old, his adoptive parents "decided they no longer wanted the children" and he and his sister were sent (separately) into the foster care system.[934] He settled in for a while with the Crapser family, a home filled with both foster and adopted children. In 1992, Thomas and Dolly Crapser, the adoptive parents, were charged with "dozens of counts of child abuse, including rape [and] sexual abuse," and were ultimately convicted on several counts of assault and criminal mistreatment. Around the age of 16 Adam was kicked out of his home by Thomas and Dolly and then arrested for burglary when

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[931] "Petition: Stop Deportation of Adult Adoptees and #KeepAdamHome," Reappropriate, http://reappropriate.co/2015/03/petition-stop-deportation-of-adult-adoptees-and-keepadamhome/ (12 March 2015). See also, Rachael Lee, "Petition to Keep Korean American Adoptee Adam Crapser in the U.S. Signed by over 10,000," March 17, 2015.
[932] Liam Stack and Christine Hauser, "A South Korean Man Adopted by Americans Prepares for Deportation," *New York Times,* November 1, 2016.
[933] Maggie Jones, "Adam Crapser's Bizarre Deportation Odyssey," *New York Times Magazine,* April 1, 2015.
[934] Ibid.

he tried to break back into the Crapser home and reclaim his personal belongings. Adam pled guilty and served twenty-five months in prison.[935]

Adam's story certainly does not read like the model minority ideal. Since 1992, Adam has been convicted of several misdemeanors, unlawful firearm possession, and violating a protection order. But he also answered for his crimes. And in recent years he has married and worked as a stay-at-home father to his two children. He was discovered by Homeland Security only after he began to apply for a green card in 2012 because he was unable to hold a steady job.[936]

After eight months in a Washington state immigration detention center, Adam was deported in the winter of 2016. The Child Citizenship Act of 2000 was not retroactive. Neither of Adam's adoptive parents, nor his adoption agency, processed Adam's naturalization paperwork when he was a minor. Adam was not given his paperwork by the Crapser family so he might have legally applied himself until 2012. And despite 10,000 signatures and a transnational, multi-level activist mission on his behalf, because of Adam's criminal history, on October 24, 2016, a Tacoma immigration court decided for deportation.[937]

Judged an unwanted immigrant and discarded by the U.S. nation-state, as detailed by *New York Times Magazine* journalist Maggie Jones, Adam joined "at least three dozen other international adoptees [who] have also faced deportation charges or have been deported to countries like Thailand, Brazil and South Korea," as well as an estimated 35,000 other internationally adopted Americans, according to the Adoptee Rights Campaign advocacy

[935] Ibid., Stack and Hauser, "A South Korean Man Adopted by Americans Prepares for Deportation."
[936] Ibid.
[937] Ibid.

group, whose adoptive parents never completed their process to citizenship.[938] However, when Adam returned to South Korea, a silver lining was that he would not be entirely alone. He would enter via a transnational discourse of Korean adoptee community and activism.

An estimated 300 to 500 adopted Koreans have moved back to South Korea, from countries in Scandinavia and Western Europe, but mostly from the United States.[939] Adoptee birth family reunion is not widespread, but no longer an uncommon idea. It is within this discourse that Adam Crapser's Korean birth mother, after viewing a South Korean documentary based on his and other adopted Koreans' "plights," came forward.[940]

It is also within this discourse that the small, but powerful faction of adopted Koreans living in South Korea have worked, in transnational coalition with their community and allies abroad, that real political change has happened in recent years. Through such organizations as the Global Overseas Adoptees Link (GOA'L), repatriated adopted Korean American can now permanently work and live in South Korea through F-4 visas, or if they so choose, claim dual citizenship. On the side of adoption, the Adoptee Solidarity Campaign (ASK), KoRoot (an adoptee-only guesthouse located in Seoul), and two Korean organizations: Dandelions (Korean birth parents who had relinquished their children) and Kumfa (representing Korean unwed mothers), joined the Truth and Reconciliation for the Adoption Community of Korea (TRACK), to succeed in an extensive lobbying campaign. In 2012, this political coalition of adoptees, birth parents, and unwed mothers succeeded in the implementation of an amendment in South Korea's adoption law, an amendment that is ultimately responsible for the recent decreased rates of Korea's child out-migration flow. Included in this amendment,

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[938] Ibid.
[939] Maggie Jones, "Why a Generation of Adoptees is Returning to South Korea."
[940] Liam Stack and Christine Hauser, "A South Korean Man Adopted by Americans Prepares for Deportation," *New York Times,* November 1, 2016.

for example, "[w]omen must receive counseling and wait seven days before placing a child for adoption. All adoptions must be registered through the courts, which gives adoptees… an avenue for tracking their history." As Jane Jeong Trenka, memoirist, repatriated adopted Korean American, and the lead advocate in this political coalition stated, "The law incorporates the opinions of the people actually affected… And it's proof that adoptees can be taken seriously and effect change."[941]

In the United States, as in South Korea, adopted Korean Americans now demand recognition as scholars, lawyers, artists, and activists – as *experts in their own experiences*. They continue to head campaigns that will lead to more ethical practices of U.S. transracial, transnational adoption. For example, adopted Korean Americans helped to spearhead the Adoptee Rights Campaign "a diverse group of intercountry adoptees and allies striving to advance adoptee rights."[942] This organization is currently working in bi-partisan coalition on the Adoptee Citizenship Act (ACA) S. 2775, and companion bill H.R. 5454. Introduced to Senate in November 2014 by Senators Amy Klobuchar (D-MN), Dan Coates (R-IN) and Jeff Merkely (D-OR), and the House in June 2016 by Representatives Trent Franks (R-AZ) and Adam Smith (D-WA), this bill will grant retroactive citizenship to all internationally adopted Americans left out of the Child Citizenship Act of 2000.[943]

Contemporary Economies of Transracial, Transnational Child Placement

The "international" aspect of modern child placement helps to both harden and to obscure the lines of U.S. race-making and cultural belonging – the contemporary racialized

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[941] Maggie Jones, "Why a Generation of Adoptees is Returning to South Korea." For further discussion on the politics, history, and experiences of repatriated adopted Korean (Americans) see, for example: Kim, *Adopted Territory*, chap. 6; Park Nelson, *Invisible Asians,* chap. 6.
[942] "Our Mission," Adoptee Rights Campaign, http://adopteerightscampaign.org/our-mission/ (22 November 2016).
[943] "The Adoptee Citizenship Act," Adoptee Rights Campaign, http://adopteerightscampaign.org/aca/ (22 November 2016).

economies of care and sentiment through which child placements continue to function. Domestically, African American children continue to languish as "unadoptable" in U.S. orphanages. The media continues to report on the consistent "shortage" of white babies available to adopt. In 2004 – the year of the United States' highest rate of international adoption – African American children were sent abroad to be adopted. In 2004, the U.S. was the fourth largest "supplier" of internationally adopted children to Canada.[944] In 2015, situated between China (ranked 1) and South Korea (ranked 3), Ethiopia was the United States' second largest "supplier" of such children.[945] These migration trends document an expanding racial "flexibility" assigned to internationally adopted children alongside the simultaneous domestic hardening of black-white hierarchies in the United States.

Between May and September 2015, speaking to the ways in which child placement continues to serve as a central strategy in American empire, white prospective adoptive parents challenged the constitutionality of their state's ICWA laws. Virginia, Minnesota, Arizona, Oklahoma, and Michigan have each been subject to lawsuits.[946] As the Arizona class-action lawsuit accused: "Native American children are being deprived of equal protection in foster-care placements and adoptions because federal law puts tribal supremacy ahead of the children's best interests."[947] Speaking to the contemporary strength of Indian sovereignty, these suits have thus far not been successful. And in December 2016, a new Obama administration-issued Indian Child Welfare Act will go into effect. According to Dr.

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[944] Ruth Arlene W. Howe, "Adoption Laws and Practices: Serving Whose Interests?," in *Baby Market: Money and the New Politics of Creating Families,* ed. Michele Bratcher Goodwin (New York: Cambridge University Press: 2010), 88.
[945] "FY 2015 Annual Report on Intercountry Adoption," Intercountry Adoption, Bureau of Consular Affairs, U.S. Department of State.
[946] National Indian Child Welfare Association, Native American Rights Fund, National Congress of American Indians, ICWA Appellate Project: MSU Law, "ICWA Defense Project Memorandum," March 14, 2016.
[947] Mary Jo Pitzl, "Lawsuit challenges Native American adoption law," *The Republic | azcentral.com, http://www.azcentral.com/story/news/arizona/politics/2015/07/07/arizona-lawsuit-challenges-indian-child-welfare-act/29827303/* (22 November 2016).

Sarah Kastelic, executive director of the National Indian Child Welfare Association (NICWA), "This is a historic step toward guaranteeing greater safeguards for Indian children."[948] Yet in 2014, while Indian children accounted for only 2 percent of Minnesota's child population, they made up 24 percent of the state's foster care numbers. The widespread trend of 2015 legal attacks against ICWA thus speak to the still-deeply raced economies of childhood and care within which American Indian child placements continue to function.[949]

Beginning in the nineteenth century, child placement paths ultimately opened up, transformed, and sustained child migration chains that have spanned the decades, the continent, and across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. While these practices have served as central tools in U.S. nation-building and the consolidation of a national body-politic defined by white supremacy, imperial projects have never been completed. As every generation of disenfranchised birth mother and placed out child comes of age, new technologies of child placement emerge, as do new technologies to contest unsound practices, fight for the recognition of basic human rights, and help to develop better, more ethical and more transparent processes of child placement, child relinquishment, and child keeping.

[948] National Indian Child Welfare Association, Native American Rights Fund, National Congress of American Indians, ICWA Appellate Project: MSU Law, "Press Release: Federal government issues new regulations to protect Native children for the first time since 1979," June 9, 2016. See also, "Final Indian Child Welfare Act rule goes into effect this December," June 9, 2016, indianz.com, http://www.indianz.com/News/2016/06/09/final-indian-child-welfare-act-rule-goes.asp (22 November 2016).
[949] Brandon Stahl, "Lawsuit seeks to overturn Indian child welfare law," *Star Tribune,* January 3, 2016.

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Jet
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Los Angeles Times
Magazine Digest
Nemaha County Herald

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