

# 博士学位論文審査要旨

2019年1月28日

論文題目： Beyond “White Supremacy:” White Reactions to *The Clansman* and *The Birth of a Nation* in New South North Carolina and Georgia

「白人至上主義」の向こう側：ノースカロライナ州及びジョージア州における劇『クランズマン(1905)』と『國民の創生(1915)』に対する南部白人たちの評価

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要 旨：

In this sophisticated, well-researched dissertation, Ms. Mishima explores the complex history of white supremacy in the American South during the early years of the twentieth century. The object is more than simply rescuing the historical period and describing it in detail. This dissertation seeks to explore the varieties of white supremacy, to demystify that ideology and point to its multiple manifestations. By looking very closely at how white Southerners responded to two major expressions of white supremacist culture – the novel and then play *The Clansman* and the film *The Birth of a Nation*, this dissertation shows how white supremacy was not a single, timeless ideology, but an evolving set of responses to black challenges and white racial fears.

The first chapter examines the broad question of racial violence and conflict in the South during the New South era. Through both primary and secondary sources, it surveys the varieties of white supremacy that differed state by state and by various local political circumstances. This chapter paints a picture of a white population committed to white supremacy while experimenting with various forms and expressions of that ideology.

Material in the first chapter supplies the necessary background for examining in chapter two how whites interpreted the enormously popular novel and especially the subsequent play, *The Clansman*, within the context of multiple white supremacies. The chapter demonstrates that whites in North Carolina interpreted the play within the context of racial violence unleashed by the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot, causing many whites in the state to find the play repugnant, even as it asserted white supremacy. The desire to exercise a different form of racial control made whites suspicious, even as the play’s author celebrated his North Carolina roots.

Chapter three then examines the same play and novel as white Georgians received it. Again, while the play aggressively promoted a radical form of white supremacy, white Georgians shied away, likewise concerned that its brand of racism would label the state, and its premier New South city Atlanta, as hostile to outside Northern investment. That is, chapter two and three demonstrate conflicting and surprising reactions among whites to a play that otherwise shared their commitment to promoting white racial supremacy.

The fourth and fifth chapters return to North Carolina and Georgia, this time to survey white responses to the film *The Birth of a Nation*. Again, though celebrating the KKK and its plan for white domination, the film evoked reactions far more complex and ambiguous than we might initially assume. Painting a thorough picture of how these two states aimed at racial reconciliation within a white supremacist framework, the chapter demonstrates some of the constraints that made the film less than wholeheartedly accepted in the heart of American white supremacy.

In sum, this dissertation effectively demonstrates that scholars can not speak of a single “white supremacy” ideology, particularly one divorced from historical and regional context. This dissertation effectively proves, through a thorough grounding in both relevant primary archival material and secondary literature, that scholars of white supremacy and whiteness must take care to understand the nuances that shaped that ideology in ways we might not always expect. Questions remain about just how important those divisions are to the African Americans subjugated, since the results are roughly the same, but the dissertation convincingly highlights the variety of white supremacy ideologies that have thrived through the long course of American history. The committee was uniformly impressed with the scope of the dissertation and its engagement with a wide range of literature in Southern studies, whiteness studies and American studies broadly conceived. For that reason, the committee unanimously agreed that this dissertation amply meets the requirements for a successful PhD dissertation.

よって、本論文は、博士（アメリカ研究）（同志社大学）の学位を授与するにふさわしいものであると認められる。

## 学力確認結果の要旨

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「白人至上主義」の向こう側：ノースカロライナ州及びジョージア州における劇『クラズマン(1905)』と『國民の創生(1915)』に対する南部白人たちの評価

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要 旨：

本論文提出者は、2004年4月に同志社大学アメリカ研究科博士前期課程に入学し、2006年3月同研究科を修了後、同4月に同研究科博士後期課程に入学した。2015年に同博士後期課程を満期退学した後、大阪国際大学および西南学院大学で非常勤講師を勤めながら博士論文の研究を続けてきた。その成果はアメリカの学術ジャーナル *American Historical Review* に掲載された

“The Fear of Violence: Criticism toward *The Clansman* at North Carolina and the Wilmington Race Riot” を含む2編の査読付き英文論文にまとめられ出版されている。また、日本における学会だけではなく、アメリカのニューメキシコで開催された国際会議でも口頭発表を行い、国内外の学会で評価されている。

2019年1月28日、審査委員が学力確認を行った結果、十分な学力を有することを確認した。また、本論文およびこれまでの出版物や学会発表は全て英語によって行っており、口頭試問も英語で行った。これらのことから十分な語学力を有することを確認した。

以上のことから、本学位申請者の専門分野に関する学力ならびに語学力は十分なものであると認める。

## 博士學位論文要旨

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(「白人至上主義」の向こう側：ノースカロライナ州及びジョージア州における劇『クランズマン (1905)』と『國民の創生(1915)』に対する南部白人たちの評価)

氏名： 三島 (原) 恵実子

要旨：

Since Donald Trump ran for the presidency and was elected as the forty-fifth President of the United States of America, the term “white supremacy” has become one of the main definitions used to express his character, policies, and administration. This was because the President called Mexican immigrants “rapists,” and promised “a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States.” Even after a year and a half as President, his tendency seems not to have changed. In fact, on August 9, 2018, Trump claimed during a dinner with CEOs at his private golf club in New Jersey: “almost every student who comes over” to the U.S. from the nation “is a spy.” As a result, the term “white supremacy” has become a major talking point and people have been discussing it more actively ever since, even though the definition of the term “white supremacy” is unclear. Having said that, some people might argue that there is no need to analyze differences within ideologies of white supremacy, because whatever the definition of white supremacy is, the result is the same.

However, we have to be aware that when we use the term “white supremacy” without careful examination, we unconsciously or consciously define white groups as a monolith. As a result, people have difficulty carrying out any close investigation into how white people think/thought and what they practice to maintain white supremacy, especially when considering three significant aspects: the period, place, and historical and social circumstances of white supremacy. To improve American race relations, we must investigate distinctions within the ideologies of white supremacy. This dissertation, therefore, hypothesizes that white supremacy is a flexible ideology that changes depending on the location, the period, and historical as well as social conditions in which it is promoted. This dissertation, therefore, examines white southerners’ evaluation of the play *The Clansman* in 1905 and the silent film version of it, named *The Birth of a Nation*, in 1915 in North Carolina and Georgia. Both the play and the film are significant in investigating the creation of a specific type of white supremacy, called Radical white supremacy, which, when people practiced it, led to the worst types of violence, such as lynching and rioting, which victimized individual African Americans and their whole communities.

By examining and comparing the differences between the responses of white North Carolinians and white Georgians towards *The Clansman* in 1905 and *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915, this dissertation argues that even though we assume that Radical white supremacy seems to have covered the entire South during the Jim Crow era, and images and stories of supposed “black beast rapists” obscured social differences within the white group, there were a range of variable and sometimes competing ideologies among white supremacists. In fact, people from both regions criticized the Radical white supremacist play in 1905 for different reasons, based on their states’ historical context. North Carolina whites objected to showing *The Clansman* because the play could trigger a re-occurrence of the Wilmington Riot of 1898, while white Georgians, especially from the business class, protested the play because they feared it might hinder their plans for the emerging New South.

Ten years later, both regions’ social situation had changed dramatically. Georgia had experienced the Atlanta Riot of 1906, which was one of the most appalling Radical outrages in the country, and had faced the

economic crisis and the shattering of the state's reputation as the premier city of the New South. Georgians from both races believed that one of the causes of these events was *The Clansman*. Therefore, white Georgians feared showing *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915 because it might cause another race riot in their state. While Georgians had been busy urbanizing and industrializing the state, whilst simultaneously excluding blacks from basic social and political rights and witnessing the lynching of Leo Frank and the revival of the Second Ku Klux Klan, North Carolinians had been attempting to reduce racial tension by favoring peaceful coexistence with blacks. In fact, after the riot of 1898, white North Carolinians developed education for black citizens, turned back residential segregation laws in the city and the state, and desisted from total racial segregation in the countryside. It took almost twenty years to settle down; however, the efforts of white North Carolinians to live in an interracial society led to many seeing African Americans not as a threat, but as productive members of society. As a result, when the film was shown in the state, white North Carolinians did not focus on its central theme, race, but enjoyed it as entertainment, without specific feelings of dissatisfaction.

This dissertation uses Joel Williamson's innovative research of white mentalities to explore three basic types of white supremacy: Paternalism, Conservatism, and Radicalism. The dissertation begins by analyzing the life of the writer of *The Clansman* and *The Birth of a Nation*, Thomas Dixon Jr., as an example of a Radical white supremacy to demonstrate the process at the individual level of becoming a racial Radical. The following two chapters research into both white North Carolinians' and white Georgians' reactions toward the theatrical play in 1905 by focusing on regional differences in particular. The last two chapters then shift our attention to the dissimilarity between these states by analyzing white responses toward the film in 1915. Thus, by comparing evaluations of *The Clansman* and *The Birth of a Nation* from two different times and regions, this dissertation reveals the distinction within ideologies of white supremacy in a time when most white Americans accepted white superiority and black inferiority as both scientific fact and common sense. (935 words)