Canterbury Christ Church University

Nostalgia and the Tea Party Movement

by

James A. Gates

Canterbury Christ Church University

Thesis submitted
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2018

Abstract

This thesis examines the role of History and Nostalgia in shaping the modern Tea Party movement, which emerged across the United States of America in early 2009. Inspired by the seminal work of Professor Jill Lepore, The Whites of Their Eyes, this thesis attempts to further investigate the Tea Party movement and their unique relationship with the past: from the social movement's links with other conservative historical organisations such as the John Birch Society, to the Tea Party movement's adoption and exploitation of the history of the American Revolution as a means of gaining political legitimacy. This thesis contextualises as well as details the historical origins, organisations, and ideologies behind the social movement. In the process of this task, the thesis has employed an experimental methodology which attempts to fuse together the philosophy of History with the discipline of History – an idea that was inspired during the experience of carrying out the thesis research at the time. This thesis highlights: the influence of the Internet over Tea Party movement, the Tea Party movement's historiography of the American Revolution, as well as the similarities and differences of historical experiences shared by the Tea Party movement and the generation responsible for the American Revolution.

List of Abbreviations

Americans for Prosperity – AFP

Citizens for a Sound Economy – CSE

Collateralised Debt Obligations – CDO

Credit Default Swap – CDS

Emergency Economic Stabilisation Act – EESA

Federal Election Campaign Act – FECA

Homeowner Affordability and Stability Plan – HASP

John Birch Society – JBS

Men's Rights Activists – MRA

Political Action Committee – PAC

Troubled Asset Relief Programme – TARP

Tea Party Community – TPC

Tea Party Patriots – TPP

Top Conservatives on Twitter – TCOT

0. Contents

1. Introduction

This introduction chapter will provide an overview of the thesis. It begins with an introduction to the topic, providing some background context to the thesis that also explains what the research of the thesis is about and why it matters. Then, it details the methodology behind the thesis, explaining what the thesis attempts to aim for, as well as including some of the issues and problems which arose during the research process. Finally, it details the layout of the thesis, giving a brief overview of the future chapters and their relevance to the theme of the thesis.

1.1: Introductory Context to Topic

> This mass nostalgia is a kind of nationwide midlife crisis; many are longing for the time of their childhood and youth, projecting personal affective memories onto the larger historical picture and partaking collectively in a selective forgetting. [1]

It is the eighth anniversary of the Tea Party movement – a brash, diffuse, and above-all polemical social movement that had swept across the United States of America after the 2008 Great Recession and the inauguration of President Barack Obama. Since their earliest protests against government-funded financial bailouts across hundreds of American cities in 2009, to their commandeering of the Republican Party which led to the Federal Government Shutdown of 2013, the Tea Party movement has proven itself to be a considerably important facet of the contemporary political scene of the United States of America.

Much has been written about the Tea Party movement. Academics, journalists, observers and supporters have published a mountain of literature regarding the social movement – focusing on aspects such as: its origins, membership demographics, philosophical principles, and influence over American politics. [2] This thesis, however, focuses on one particular aspect of

[1] Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, (New York: Basic Books, 2001), p. 58.

[2] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty: A Tea Party Manifesto, (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010); Brody, D. The Teavangelicals: The Inside Story of how The Evangelicals and The Tea Party are Taking Back America, (Michigan: Zondervan, 2012); DiMaggio, A. The Rise of the Tea Party: Political Discontent and Corporate Media in the Age of Obama, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011); Farah, J. The Tea Party Manifesto: A Vision for an American Rebirth, (Washington: WND Books, 2010); Foley, E. P. The Tea Party: Three Principles, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Kibbe, M. *Don't Hurt People and Don't Take Their Stuff: A Libertarian Manifesto*, (New York: William Morrow, 2014); Kibbe, M. Hostile Takeover: *Resisting Centralised Government's Stranglehold on* America, (New York: HarperCollins, 2012); Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty: The Ideological Origins of the Tea Party Movement, (New York: HarperCollins, 2012); Lepore, J. *The Whites of Their Eyes: The Tea Party's Revolution and the Battle over American History*, (Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press, 2010); Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots: The Second American Revolution, (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 2012); O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party: The Counterrevolution Against Bailouts, Handouts, Reckless Spending, and More Taxes, (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2010); Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In: The* Tea Party and Reactionary Politics in America, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013); Paul, R. & Hunter, J. The Tea Party Goes To Washington, (New York: Center Street, 2011); Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell: How the Tea Party Movement is Fundamentally Remaking Our Two-Party System, (New York: HarperCollins, 2010); Rosenthal, L. & Trost, C. [Editors], Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party: Mass Media and the Campaign to Remake American Politics, (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2011); &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad: Inside Tea Party America, (New York: Times Books, 2010).

the Tea Party movement, its relationship with the past, which has for the most part been overlooked or underdeveloped by the existing literature. Essentially, this thesis attempts to answer the following question: What can be learned about the Tea Party movement through the prism of History and Nostalgia?

The research of the thesis was conducted during a peculiar time, it should be noted, which influenced the theme of the thesis overall. Over recent years there has been a plethora of publications which have highlighted the contemporary cultural Zeitgeist that is declinism. The United States of America, they state, is in decline: debilitated by economic crisis, incapacitated by Homeland security, stymied by foreign conflict, tortured incessantly to a schizophrenic state by the mass media, and so on. [3] Disillusioned and traumatised by the trappings of modernity, the American people have now become enchanted by what they believe to be the refuge of the past – nostalgia. In his book, Time to Start Thinking, Edward Luce sums up the nostalgia afflicting the American people:

> Among many liberals there is a resigned type of nostalgia that yearns for the golden age of the 1950s and '60s when the middle class was swelling and the federal government sent people to the moon. Breadwinners worked eight hours a day in the factory and could bank on 'Cadillac' health care coverage, a solid urban or suburban lifestyle, and five weeks' vacation a year. Somewhat more mythically, among many conservatives the past is wrapped up in the godly virtues of the Founding Fathers from whom their country has gravely strayed. People stood on their own two feet and upheld core American values. It was a mostly small town place of strong families, where people respected the military and were involved in their community churches. [4]

The Tea Party movement, this thesis argues, is a result of this latter type of nostalgia depicted in Luce's quote. Exposed and traumatised by the modern trappings of the United States of America, the Tea Party movement was inspired by their overwhelming desires in returning to an America once remembered from the personal tranquillity of childhood, now lost and forgotten. [5] In reaction, its followers have sought their salvation by escaping to that most sacred place of their nation's past – the American Revolution. Having pilfered their nation's reliquary, its adherents adorned themselves with the regalia and rhetoric of their forefathers which they then bandied about in a mass ingemination of ritual exorcism throughout the country (see **Fig 1: Tea Party Protest Regalia** on the next page). Fanatical in their devotion to the dogma of (their particular interpretation of) the divine principles laid down by the Founding Fathers. The Tea Party movement is united in a powerful and shared

---

[3] Alexander, M. The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness, (New York: The New Press, 2010); Balko, R. *Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarisation of America's Police Forces*, (New York: PublicAffairs, 2013); Huffington, A. Third World America: How Our Politicians Are Abandoning The Average Citizen, (London: Collins, 2011); Klein, N. The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism, (London: Penguin Books, 2008); Luce, E. Time To Start Thinking: America and the Spectre of Decline, (London: Abacus, 2013); Maddow, R. Drift: The Unmooring of American Military Power, (New York: Broadway Books, 2013); Murphy, C. Are We Rome?: The Fall of an Empire and the Fate of America, (New York: Mariner Books, 2008); Packer, G. The Unwinding: An Inner History of the New America, (London: Faber & Faber, 2013); Smith, H. Who Stole the American Dream?, (New York: Random House, 2013); Steyn, M. After America: Get Ready for Armageddon, (Washington: Regnery Publishing, 2011); &, Taibbi, M. Griftopia: Bubble Machines, Vampire Squids, and the Long Con that is Breaking America, (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2010).
[4] Luce, E. Time To Start Thinking, p. 7.
[5] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 97; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 75; &, Taibbi, M. Griftopia, p. 14.

belief that the contemporary demons that shackle and torture the United States of America could be banished aside – emancipating the country to once again rise to new exceptional heights – if only their fellow Americans would adhere to the lessons of the past. The Tea Party movement has even gone so far as to blaspheme that: THEY ARE THE PAST, THE PAST IS THEM; THEY ARE AMERICA, AMERICA IS THEM. [6]

Fig 1: Tea Party Protest Regalia

It was the Tea Party movement's unique relationship with American History which inspired the pursuit of this thesis. Indeed, the Tea Party movement's adaptation and exploitation of the past is inherently important to understanding the rise and fall of the social movement in American politics. However, besides the work of Professor Jill Lepore, this particular topic has had little to no examination by other observers of the social movement. In situational terms, this thesis is strongly related to – and in many respects can be considered an extension of – Lepore's work in her seminal book, The Whites of Their Eyes. The Lepore thesis taken from her seminal work could be described as follows:

Firstly, that the Tea Party movement is a product of nostalgia. That what motivates the social movement's adherents is some kind of longing of an imaginary past which is considered

---

[6] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, pp 3-6 & 14-16.

more favourable than the present. [7] Related to this point, is the assertion that the Tea Party movement is somehow attempting to bring their nostalgic past into the present. [8]

Secondly, that the Tea Party movement's conception of the American Revolution (their historiography) is false or misinformed. That their [Tea Party movement's] depiction of the past bares little to no resemblance of the past that Lepore teaches. [9] Furthermore, that the supporters of the social movement have what Lepore describes as a kind of 'historical fundamentalism' (detailed on the thirteenth paragraph of Subsection **7.3: Historical Fundamentalism**) interpretation of the American Revolution. [10]

Professor Jill Lepore's thesis will be referenced from time to time throughout this thesis. However, as will become apparent in future chapters, this thesis does not wholly agree with some of Lepore's conclusions made in her work – particularly, in regards to the historiography and nature of the American Revolution (see Chapter **7. 'One Continued Lye…'** on page 203).

1.2: Methodological Concerns

This thesis is a synthesis of published work surrounding the Tea Party movement. In more specific terms, this thesis is a qualitative piece of exploratory and analytical research, [11] which is composed from a substantial historical literature review, as well as non-participant observation conducted over the Internet. [12] This subsection details some of the methodological approaches (and the problems associated with those approaches) within the thesis. It begins by setting out the aims of the thesis, the research questions. Then it examines the issue of objectivity in research, before applying it in regards to the Tea Party movement. It then details what was attempted during the early research process of the thesis, what went wrong, and how the direction of the thesis changed as a result.

This thesis attempts to answer the following research question: What, if anything, can be learned about the Tea Party movement through the prism of History and Nostalgia? The first step to address this question was to answer the following subsequent questions: What is the

---

[7] Ibid, p. 97.

[8] Ibid, p. 15.

[9] Ibid, p. 7.

[10] Ibid, p. 16.

[11] Professor Robert Brewer describes exploratory research as follows:

> The exploratory approach therefore typically involves case studies, participant or non-participant observational techniques, and collection and analysis of historical data, while quantitative and qualitative techniques, processes and data may be involved.

Whereas analytical research, on the other hand:

> …seeks to explain why things are as they are, or how they came to be as they are, by a process of analysis and explanation. It does this by looking for casual relationships amongst the data involved and attempting to measure them.

Brewer, R. Your PhD Thesis: How to Plan, Draft, Revise, and Edit your Thesis, (Abergele: Studymates, 2007), p. 14 & 17.

[12] Non-participant observation involves a particular degree of detachment between the researcher and the subject(s) researched. This style of research observation is intended to be as unobtrusive as possible, and is used as a means to prevent those who are being observed developing a sense of self-awareness and consequently changing their behaviour – as would typically happen if a visibly obtrusive participatory researcher was present. McNeill, P. & Chapman, S. Research Methods [3rd Edition], (London: Routledge, 2005), pp 92-94; Walliman, N. Your Research Project [2nd Edition], (London: SAGE, 2006), p. 287; &, Wisker, G. The Postgraduate Research Handbook [2nd Edition], (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp 203-205.

Tea Party movement? What is History? What is Nostalgia? These three questions are resolved in the earliest chapters of this thesis (see Chapters **2. Nostalgia, Memory, History** on page 18 and **3. What is the Tea Party?** on page 63). Whilst pursuing research into these questions, more questions arose, such as: What motivated the Tea Party movement to emerge as they did? What, if any, similarities are there between the Tea Party movement and the generation who took part in the American Revolution? What is the Tea Party movement's relationship with History? How Nostalgic is both our and the Tea Party movement's understanding of the American Revolution? These questions were addressed in the future chapters of this thesis (see Chapters **4. The Santelli Myth** on page 107, **5. Nostalgic Origins** on page 133, **6. Nostalgic Principles** on page 169, and **7. 'One Continued Lye…'** on page 203).

Over the last several years, a lot of academic (and non-academic) work has been published surrounding the Tea Party movement. The earliest published material (not including news articles or blogs) could be categorised and divided between the so-called pro-Tea Party 'manifestos' (such as Dick Armey and Matt Kibbe's Give Us Liberty, John M. O'Hara's A New American Tea Party, and so on) and the seemingly anti-Tea Party academic observational works (such as Anthony DiMaggio's The Rise of the Tea Party, Professor Jill Lepore's The Whites of Their Eyes, and so on). The vast majority of this literature has been primarily focused towards an American audience.

The majority of this thesis is composed from textual analysis which seeks to uncover the underlying meaning or 'truth' behind history and the Tea Party movement – which in turn introduces the thorny notion of 'objectivity' in research. Objectivity is, "the ability to consider or represent facts, information, etc., without being influenced by personal feelings or opinions." [13] According to the historian, R. G. Collingwood: "Objectivity is that characteristic of the concept by which it transcends experience. Insofar as what is given in my experience is something that exists outside my experience, it is objective". [14] Objectivity is supposedly seen as shorthand for 'factual', 'scientific', and as close to the 'truth' as possible.

Recently, however, the notion of objectivity has fallen under criticism. It should be noted, before continuing, that future chapters throughout this thesis wrestle with this notion of objectivity in greater detail. The American journalist Ben H. Bagdikian, for instance, argues that the so-called doctrine of 'objectivity' that was adopted by the news media in the twentieth-century created a deceitful sense of 'scientific neutrality' in news reporting which in actuality promoted conservative (mainstream/hegemonic) values, ignored minority perspectives and failed to provide significant meaning to the complex and confusing unfolding events reported on at the time. [15] Similarly, this is what the postmodernist French philosopher, Roland Barthes, referred to as the 'referential illusion' in which historians were presenting their (subjective) impressions of the past as objective insomuch as they tricked their audience by emphasising the past as a collection of facts and writing in an unemotional 'neutral' tone. [16]

---

[13] objectivity, n. : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/129639, (05/05/15).

[14] Collingwood, R. G. [Author], Dray, W. H. & van der Dussen, W. J. [Editors], The Principles of History: and other writings in philosophy of history, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 134.

[15] Bagdikian, B. H. The Media Monopoly [2nd Edition], (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987), p. 130 & 180.

[16] Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, (London: Granta Books, 2000), p. 94.

This thesis, in light of the previously mentioned arguments, does not pretend to be 'objective'. As neither its author, (a British academic with politically Left-leaning sympathies), nor the subject matters in question throughout the thesis, (a politically far-Right social movement, collective memory, nostalgia, and so on), can be thought to be 'objective' in any natural scientific sense – further details regarding this latter point are addressed in a future chapter of this thesis (as discussed in the first nineteen paragraphs of Subsection **2.4.3: History, Hermeneutics, and Objectivity**). This thesis does not pretend to be the one true ultimate narrative of the Tea Party movement (and by extension, American History), rather, its attitude is best summarised by what the historian Richard J. Evans states below:

> No historians really believe in the absolute truth of what they are writing, simply in its probable truth, which they have done their utmost to establish by following the usual rules of evidence. [17]

Instead, this thesis is (and should be treated as) simply one perspective (one narrative) out of many, of the Tea Party movement. In this respect, the thesis follows a hermeneutic approach, which touches upon on the plurality of interpretations surrounding the Tea Party movement, rather than focusing on the endorsement of one particular political paradigm – a point detailed more thoroughly in a future chapter of the thesis (see the latter half of Subsection **2.4.3: History, Hermeneutics, and Objectivity**). [18] This, of course, does not mean that the author of the thesis condones nor sympathises with the actions or views of the Tea Party movement – it is merely attempting to explain how things are. Consequently, the author of this thesis has, over the course of conducting the research, taken a postmodern approach towards interpreting the various texts embedded throughout the thesis. This approach was necessitated after it became increasingly apparent when reading through the multitude of historical texts concerning the American Revolution that understanding the role of narrative and its influence was of the utmost importance – a point which is exemplified in a future chapter of this thesis (see Subsection **7.2: The Historiography of the American Revolution** on pages 203 through to 223).

From the beginning, the most challenging aspect of researching the Tea Party movement is with regards to the notion of objectivity. As has been previously mentioned in an earlier subsection of this chapter, the Tea Party movement is an extremely polarising political movement, and so remaining neutral or objective is a seemingly difficult if not altogether an impossible endeavour. Indeed, even remaining neutral can be interpreted as a bias either in favour or against the Tea Party movement, depending on the interpreted perspective of the audience. In addition, there is also the related problem of 'going native'. The term 'going native' describes a phenomenon in which the researcher becomes overly sympathetic towards the subjects they are researching to the extent that their research consequently reflects this newly adopted bias in favour of the researched subjects and their ideological prejudices. [19] However, during the course of the research it became evermore apparent that not only did the concept of bias influence how the Tea Party movement was treated as a subject, but also these issues affected other important subjects within the thesis including the discipline of history itself, in a more generalised sense, that were no less important – a point which is addressed in a future chapter of this thesis (see Chapter **7. 'One Continued Lye…'** on page

---

[17] Ibid, p. 219.
[18] hermeneutic, adj. and n. : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/86256, (29/02/16).
[19] Harrison, L. Political Research: An Introduction, (Oxon: Routledge, 2001), pp 79-80.

203). It should be made clear that the author of this thesis has no sympathies towards the politics of the Tea Party movement, nevertheless the thesis and its author were committed to recognising and respecting the Tea Party movement and their ideological perspective without overly prejudicing the research by allowing their views a platform as well as at the same time restraining the polemical language that is often used against the social movement. Nonetheless, due to the nature and size of such a polarising and polemical subject matter that is the Tea Party movement, the author of this thesis acknowledges that not everyone will be happy with what is (and is not) covered.

At first, this project attempted to gather contemporary data surrounding the Tea Party movement by attempting to interview members of the social movement. The participants would be contacted and selected through the Tea Party movement online social network FreedomConnector – details of which are expanded on in future chapter of this thesis (on the tenth and eleventh paragraphs of Subsection **3.2.2: The Tea Party Movement Organisations**). Interviewees were selected on the basis of their role within the hierarchy of the Tea Party movement, specifically the research was looking for members who were active, knowledgeable, and passionate about the social movement but who at the same time were not simply going to spout pre-determined talking points from collaborating organisations such as FreedomWorks. In other words, the ideal interviewees who were approached were local Tea Party movement co-ordinators who were seen to have something interesting to say. These interviews, once organised, would be recorded online over Skype using appropriate compatible software. However, throughout the course of conducting this initial research it became increasingly apparent that gaining direct access to members of the Tea Party movement was harder than anticipated. Despite contacting a sizable number of potential interviewees, the (lack of) response was less than ideal. Reasons for this were threefold: Firstly, the context in which the potential interview participants were initially contacted was during the lead up to the 2012 Presidential Election of the United States of America when the Tea Party movement was currently campaigning against Barack Obama and consequently did not want to talk to outsiders at such a time; secondly, there was the possibility that the potential interviewees that were contacted via FreedomConnector either failed to keep up to date with their social-networking due to lack of particular interest, a lack of technological expertise, or that they had simply abandoned the Tea Party movement at the time; and finally, of course, was the fact that the potential interview participants simply did not want to participate in the research and therefore ignored it. The direction of the thesis, due to these setbacks, therefore changed to become more theoretical as a result.

Despite these unfortunate setbacks, the Internet has nevertheless remained a useful platform for the gathering of more contemporary information regarding the Tea Party movement within this thesis. The Internet as a platform for conducting academic research is still, from a methodological standpoint, relatively new and somewhat of a novelty. Consequently, a strong consensus regarding Internet research has yet to be developed. The following paragraphs detail some of the actions and issues which were raised in relation to the Internet by the thesis:

An important issue regarding online observation is related to the notion of consent. At the moment what little research literature exists regarding the Internet and researching Internet communities suggests that, if it is at all possible, the consent of those observed should be

taken (the feasibility of how this is undertaken, however, is another matter altogether). [20] Nevertheless, the information gathered from the online forums of the Tea Party movement that is documented in this thesis was not restricted behind a password or paywall and is therefore considered public knowledge. In other words, this information was not private (requiring that consent be given) as anybody could access the data without having to either register an account or pay money to the websites hosting the data.

Equally important, is the verifiability of the data that is taken from the Internet. In recent times, academics who use the Internet for research purposes have quickly developed a healthy notion of caveat emptor: in part because of the easy ability to produce and proliferate content (regardless of its quality or truthfulness), [21] but also because of the recent emergence of the cultural phenomenon known as 'trolling' (elaborated further in paragraphs four to eight of Subsection **6.3.1: Authoritarianism**). In order to prevent any potential misunderstandings and improve the reliability of the information gathered, a process of online acclimatisation was used. Online acclimatisation involved the immersing of oneself within the various online communities and forums related to the Tea Party movement, observing their online behaviour and discussions (also known as 'lurking') without physically interacting with them. Over time, online acclimatisation eventually allowed for authentic information to emerge and be highlighted in contrast to that which would be considered false or otherwise spurious information. [22]

Although for the most part academia is currently enthralled by the potential promises the Internet has to offer as a secure platform that both saves and makes accessible important data in their relevant field, the reality is altogether different. Firstly, it should be noted, that the Internet is still to this day predominantly a preserve of the privileged middle to upper classes – who contribute, design and host online blogs, forums, and web-videos that concern their sensibilities. Not everyone has access to the Internet, nor do they have the same Internet bandwidth and connection speeds, nor do they use the Internet for the same purposes as everybody else. Therefore, representation (and lack, thereof) is a key issue regarding the Internet. [23] Secondly, related to the first issue, is the fact that not everything is recorded on the Internet. In addition, when attempting to uncover digital sources to recent historical events, one found that many of the websites that had once hosted the significant data at the time have now been erased or replaced – a fact which became apparent during the research of a future chapter of the thesis (Chapter **4. The Santelli Myth**). Nevertheless, some online archival services do exist and can recover to a limited extent the lost data of the Internet, such as the Internet Archive. [24] However, it should be stressed that not entirely everything can be salvaged in this manner.

Throughout the thesis, it will become apparent that the author has a somewhat peculiar approach and style to writing History. Whereas most (but not all) historical texts tend to adopt what could be described as a linear narrative of the past (for further details see the third paragraph of Subsection **2.4.2: Narrative**), this thesis on the other hand, employs a more

---

[20] Gilbert, N. [Editor], Researching Social Life [3rd Edition], (London: SAGE, 2008), pp 316-318.

[21] Ibid, p. 313.

[22] Harrison, L. Political Research, p. 82.

[23] Gilbert, N. [Editor], Researching Social Life [3rd Edition], pp 307-308.

[24] Internet Archive: Digital Library of Free Books, Movies, Music & Wayback Machine, https://archive.org/, (10/04/14).

cyclical and recurrent style to depicting the past. This approach to writing History was inspired by the documentary filmmaker Adam Curtis, specifically his series entitled The Living Dead as well as his other documentaries in general which tend to adopt a collage-style of historical archival film footage that is used as a backdrop to explain contemporary political issues.

Another important facet of this thesis regarding its attitude towards History is the adoption of postmodernism as an analytical paradigm. This was because it was for the most part the result of the physical research process itself – repetitively reading numerous texts regarding the American Revolution, in which the same subject matter had espoused radically different knowledge and narratives – as well as it being the only paradigm that could coherently acknowledge the existence of all the radically different historiographies together without the problem of favouring one narrative or historiographical paradigm above another (see **Fig 8: Objective History – The Ideal versus the Real** on page 49 for a visual representation of the aforementioned experience).

The point of a thesis is to show originality and creativity which in the process will build new avenues of academic knowledge. To accomplish this task, this thesis attempts to fuse together the separated philosophical and literary strands of historical writing back together with the discipline of History (for further details read Subsections **2.4.1: What is History?** and **2.4.3: History, Hermeneutics, and Objectivity**). This is why these particular approaches towards the writing and understanding of the discipline of History have been undertaken.

Finally, given the broad scope of the subject matter, it seems prescient to discuss what this thesis will not be covering:

To start, this thesis acknowledges that there is a vast and substantial field of social movement theory, for instance: Framing Theory, Political Opportunity Structure, and Resource Mobilisation Theory. However, this thesis does not utilise these theories as it is more concerned with the discipline and philosophy of History, as this provided more interesting and original research opportunities. Even so, given the multidisciplinary nature of the work, it is possible to pick up or read elements of social movement theory within the thesis (albeit unintended).

In regards to the subject matter of the Tea Party movement itself, given its sheer size and scope, not every aspect of the social movement will be addressed within the thesis for obvious reasons. This thesis does not, for instance, focus its attention on the so-called Tea Party ('Freedom') Caucus (see the latter half of Subsection **3.3.2: The Republican Party**) or the social movement's attitudes regarding policies such as affordable healthcare, as these subjects have already been detailed by many other academics and publications beforehand. [25] Furthermore, other facets of the Tea Party movement, such as the role of Evangelical Christianity will also receive little attention throughout the thesis. There are plenty of publications which tackle the role of religion within the politics (both domestic and foreign)

---

[25] Brody, D. The Teavangelicals; DiMaggio, A. The Rise of the Tea Party; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots; O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*; Paul, R. & Hunter, J. The Tea Party Goes To Washington; Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell; Rosenthal, L. & Trost, C. [Editors], Steep; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad.

of the United States of America. [26] Specifically, David Brody's The Teavangelicals: The Inside Story of how The Evangelicals and The Tea Party are Taking Back America, provides a somewhat detailed insight of the role played by Evangelical Christianity in shaping the social movement. [27] Once again, it should be noted that the main focus of this thesis is with regards to the Tea Party movement's relationship with History.

Lastly, in the fourth chapter of this thesis there is a significant discussion regarding the role of the modern news media and its systemic issues (as detailed in the middle of Subsection **4.2.3.1: The Media Response**). One issue which will not be addressed in this thesis, however, is the emergence of so-called 'Fake News' after the 2016 Presidential Election. The term, which was popularised by President Donald Trump, was originally used to disparage the mainstream news media who Trump clashed with during his electoral campaign. The term was then later co-opted by the said mainstream news media as an attempted means of attacking and separating the traditional 'professional' news media (newspapers, television, and so on) from the new 'amateur' Internet media (blogs, podcasts, video logs, and so on) that were popular on social media platforms such as Facebook. A frivolous moral panic surrounding the issues of 'Fake News' and 'Post-Truth' then surfaced, as Adam Curtis summed up in an online podcast interview:

> "There's been lots of fake news way before this [2016 Presidential Election]. What about [Iraqi] weapons of mass destruction?
>
> The liberals who go on about 'Post-Truth' ['Fake News'] at the moment have got to look back at 2003...
>
> So to squeak about 'Post-Truth' at this stage, without seeing the much more important roots about how politicians [and mainstream news media] lied to them, again and again and again, over the last six or seven years…
>
> It's not because they read some little 'Fake News' on some news feed on Facebook. It's because in 2003 [Iraq Invasion] and then in 2008 [Financial Crisis] with the banks the politicians [and journalists] lied and failed to do anything, that led to a people turning away from politicians [and journalists] and not trusting them, and they deserve it." [28]

This thesis does not address the issue of 'Fake News' in great detail, because as the thesis will make clear in future chapters, the term 'Fake News' is essentially redundant. As Curtis has alluded to in the aforementioned quote above, 'Fake News' has always existed prior to the 2016 Presidential Election and the mainstream news media is equally guilty of promoting 'Post-Truth' as the new Internet media is.

---

[26] Marsden, L. *For God's Sake: The Christian Right and US Foreign Policy*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); & Williams, D. K. *God's Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[27] Brody, D. The Teavangelicals.

[28] Episode 65 – No Future feat. Adam Curtis (12/12/16) by Chapo Trap House | Free Listening on Soundcloud, http://soundcloud.com/chapo-trap-house/episode-65-no-future-feat-adam-curtis-121216, (12/12/16).

1.3: Thesis Structure

 The thesis is divided into three major parts: the first part sets up the theoretical framework of the thesis, the second part concerns itself with the origins of the Tea Party movement, and the third part examines the philosophy behind the Tea Party movement. It should be noted that the layout of this thesis was designed in such a way as to reflect the progress of the research as it was conducted. Each chapter of this thesis can be read as a standalone, however, the thesis is best read in the order it is arranged.

 The thesis is structured as follows:

 Chapter two, **Nostalgia, Memory, History**, is the epistemological chapter which provides the theoretical framework for the rest of the thesis. It details the origins and epistemological issues surrounding the three topics of nostalgia, memory, and history. This chapter sets up many of the key themes that recur throughout the thesis, such as: collective memory, historical recurrence, narrative, and nostalgia.

 Chapter three, **What is the Tea Party?**, gives a general overview of the social movement. The chapter explains in brief detail the emergence of the Tea Party movement after the 2008 Great Recession and Santelli Rant which is believed to have motivated the first protests in late February, 2009. It then details how the Tea Party movement is organised, both at the local and national level, focusing in particular on the influence and role of an important organisation, FreedomWorks, before explaining the demographics and ideological principles behind the social movement. The chapter then politically contextualises the Tea Party movement, by comparing its relationships to the Republican Party and other historical conservative organisations of the United States. The chapter then finally places the Tea Party movement in its historical context by examining the historical Boston Tea Party of 1773 and the 'proto-Tea Party' movements which emerged throughout the history of the United States prior to the modern Tea Party movement.

 Chapters four and five provide two distinct narratives as to the origins of the Tea Party movement. In chapter four, **The Santelli Myth**, the event which is widely regarded as being the de facto origin narrative of the social movement, the Santelli Rant, is examined in as close to full detail as is possible. The chapter describes how the event has been represented within the literature relating to the Tea Party movement before using a linear style narrative to explain the incident as it happened, what happened behind-the-scenes, and who capitalised on the incident to organise the first Tea Party protests. This chapter (and the one following) challenges the preconceived notion that Rick Santelli was as influential as to create a social movement by the strength of his outburst alone – an idea which taps into the nostalgic narratives shown in films, such as Network. Chapter five, **Nostalgic Origins**, on the other hand, uses an experimental alternative cyclical narrative of history to historically contextualise the Tea Party movement's origins. In the process, this chapter highlights some of the similarities shared by both the members of the Tea Party movement and the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century in spurring their political revolutions – in other words, pointing out the historical recurrences between the two groups' collective memories which incited them to take action.

 Chapter six, **Nostalgic Principles**, concerns itself with the so-called three key principles behind the Tea Party movement – Individual Liberty, Fiscal Responsibility, and

Constitutionally Limited Government – and compares the movement's ideological principles to that of the values espoused during the American Revolution by using the Declaration of Independence as a thematic springboard. This chapter also examines and compares the mentality of authoritarianism and conspiracism of supporters of the Tea Party movement and that of the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century. The purpose of this chapter is to both challenge the Tea Party movement's claim that they are following the ideals of the American Revolution, as well as to dispel some of the nostalgia surrounding the American Revolution.

Chapter seven, **'One Continued Lye…'**, focuses on the Tea Party movement's relationship with History. The chapter examines the multitude of historiographies surrounding the American Revolution that have been written throughout the ages up to and including the historiography promoted by the Tea Party movement – in so doing, it reinforces an argument made in previous chapter that there is no one singular true narrative to history. The chapter then details the Tea Party movement's relationship with history by expanding upon Professor Jill Lepore's concept of historical fundamentalism, by using a case study comparing the contemporary held perceptions of American 'declinism' and the historical 'decline and fall' narratives of Ancient Rome as a modern instance of history as a kind of 'philosophy teaching by examples'.

Finally, chapter eight, Conclusion, sums up the key contributions of the thesis. It also provides some examples of further research which arose during the research process as well as other topics related to the research which could be pursued.

2. Nostalgia, Memory, History

2.1: Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to articulate and develop an epistemological understanding of the phenomenon of nostalgia that was initially developed from the research question of this thesis. First it will provide a definition of the term nostalgia, from which the significant features of the phenomenon will be mapped, to then attempt to classify and understand the peculiar nostalgic condition suffered by the Tea Party movement. Following on from the epistemological examination of nostalgia, the other two key forces related to this concept – memory and history – will also be epistemologically examined in a similar vein. In the process, this chapter will uncover and explore a number of important thesis-shaping epistemological facets that recur in later chapters of the thesis.

Implicit within the margins of the early literature surrounding the Tea Party movement, was the notion that the social movement was in some manner or another motivated by a domineering sense of 'nostalgia':

"Behind the Tea Party's Revolution…" proclaimed Professor Jill Lepore: "lay nostalgia for an imagined time." A nostalgia that reflects, she contemplated: "a yearning for a common past," intended to serve as: "[a] bulwark against a divided present," with the desired outcome to transform the United States of America into a polity that: "[is] less riven by strife, less troubled by conflict, less riddled with ambiguity, less divided by race." [29] So, too, Professor Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson imply that the Tea Party movement's inflammatory rhetoric is representative of an underlying desire: "to live again in the country they think they recall from childhood or young adulthood." This desire, they continue, is inspired by: "a determination to restore that remembered America, and pass it on to their children and grandchildren (whether or not they are asking for this gift)." [30]

The use of the term nostalgia, however, appears to have a double-meaning: The term is not only used, for instance, to reflect a literal value-judgement pertaining to the independent beliefs, ideas, and sense of memories – the private but mostly harmless musings which conflict and contradict with contemporary sensibilities – held by members of the Tea Party movement. But it is also implied that nostalgia itself is in fact a kind of driving force, an ambition which is striving to be attained through their political action. Looked at in this latter sense, nostalgia becomes an altogether more interesting political phenomenon to investigate – if indeed it exists.

What is nostalgia? Only by tracing its epistemological roots will the answer to this question be resolved.

---

[29] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 97.
[30] Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 75.

2.2: Nostalgia

 The first section of this chapter and the following three subsections are dedicated to uncovering the epistemology behind the phenomenon known as 'nostalgia'. It begins by examining the etymology behind the definition of the term, tracing its early roots as a medical condition and noting how it changed as time progressed, following on from the description of nostalgia the section then sets out to uncover the features of the phenomenon, in order to better understand both why and how such a phenomenon is believed to exist.

2.2.1: Definition

 To begin, an examination of the etymology behind the term nostalgia: from its origins as a seventeenth-century medical condition, to its more contemporary trappings as a psychological condition – including some key contributions by recent scholars on the very subject – will be detailed. By learning of nostalgia's history as a term and how its definition has transformed as time has progressed, a greater understanding of the nature of the phenomenon will be uncovered, allowing for the further development of its key features in the following subsection below.

 It is perhaps ironic that the word 'Nostalgia' was first coined in the midst of the early modern period as Western civilisation began its indomitable transition towards modernity. The phenomenon of nostalgia, of course, has existed as far back as ancient times, [31] evidenced by its depiction in the poems of Homer (the Odyssey) and satires of Juvenal (Satire III) – but, up until the seventeenth-century, the word 'nostalgia' did not exist to articulate and categorise such notions. The term 'nostalgia' itself came into existence from the enlightened mind of a Swiss physician and scholar, Johannes Hofer, wherein it was first noted down in the pages of his Dissertatio Medica de Nostalgia (Medical Dissertation on Nostalgia), published in 1688. Hofer was inspired to invent the term nostalgia as a means to articulate a particular malaise he regarded as ubiquitous to the manner of the patients he examined, but which had no recognisable definition at the time. This phenomenon Hofer attempted to articulate was related to a rash of noticeable cases of (for want of a better term) extreme 'homesickness' experienced by his fellow countrymen stationed in foreign lands at the time. Cases of this malaise included reports of victims developing semi-recognisable physical symptoms, including: the appearance of dejection, infrequent bouts of emotional instability, signs of bodily marasmus, an obstinate-mindedness towards the homeland, and, occasionally, the flourishing of suicidal tendencies. From Swiss students studying at foreign universities to Swiss mercenaries forced to fight in foreign lands under European despots, this condition of extreme homesickness was all-pervasive. [32]

---

[31] Indeed, the historian Tom Holland describes the Ancient Romans as suffering from a kind of nostalgia wherein; "The present was engaged in a perpetual compromise with the past, restless motion with a reverence for tradition, hard-headedness with a devotion to myth. The more crowded and corrupted their city grew, the more the Romans longed for reassurance that Rome remained Rome still."
Holland, T. Rubicon: The Triumph and Tragedy of the Roman Republic, (London: Abacus, 2004), p. 13.
[32] Bonnett, A. Left in the Past: Radicalism and the Politics of Nostalgia, (London: Continuum International Publishing, 2010), p. 5; Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. XIII & 3; Davis, F. Yearning for Yesterday: A

This condition is what Johannes Hofer termed nostalgia. An epithet which resulted from the combination of two Greek terms: Nostos, a phrase referring to one's home or the notion of homecoming; and -Algia (also sometimes referred to as Algos), which denotes a kind of pain attributable to the prefixing noun it is attached to. Nostos-algia (nostalgia), therefore, is a homecoming pain – homesickness. Indeed, Hofer's conceptualisation of nostalgia was intended to literally mean "homesickness as a disease." [33]

Almost as soon as Hofer's conceptualisation of nostalgia was eked out into existence it had already spread itself, disease-like, throughout the modernising Western World. Over the following century, Hofer's medical thesis was soon expanded by the contributions of countless great and not-so-great medicinal minds across Europe and in the Americas. As time progressed, so did nostalgia's symptoms and its lethality. Autopsied cadavers with pus-ridden lungs and signs of asphyxiation around the thorax were regarded as the latest victims of this malaise. In an attempt to remedy this condition, physicians had subscribed a contrarious and at times futile prescription of: bleeding, purging, alcohol, leeches, opium, the company of women, exposure to mountainous air, the sound of cow bells, and so on – perhaps unsurprisingly, the remedy that was guaranteed to most likely of all succeed, was the prescription to return home. But for all the evidenced cases, the supposed symptoms, and the so-called cures, Johannes Hofer's conceptualisation of nostalgia as a kind of "homesickness as a disease" was simply that – an idea. Victims that were believed to have died from Hofer's nostalgia were in fact, as it would later turn out, the victims of as-then unrecognisable diseases such as: gastroenteritis, meningitis, and tuberculosis. [34]

By the turn of the nineteenth-century and with the advancement of modern medicine, Johannes Hofer's definition of nostalgia as a physical malady was slowly excised, increment by increment, from the journals of physicians and began to establish a new home in the journals of poets, philosophers, and psychiatrists. [35] Nostalgia, still defined as a pain for a lost home, had now predominantly become an affliction of the mind rather than of that of the body. Indeed, nostalgia was now a state of mind, including the fabled homeland yearning to be returned to. It was not so much a lost place, a piece of geography, but a lost time, such as childhood, which concerned those afflicted by this kind of nostalgia. [36] Nostalgia as a

---

Sociology of Nostalgia, (New York: The Free Press, 1979), pp 1-2; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 10; &, Matt, S. J. "You Can't Go Home Again: Homesickness and Nostalgia in U.S. History", The Journal of American History, Vol. 94, No. 2, (September, 2007), p. 470.

[33] nostalgia, n. : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/128472, (05/02/13); nostos, n. : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/128481, (05/02/13); &, -algia, comb. form : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/233781, (05/02/13).

[34] Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. XIV; Lowenthal, D. "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory", Geographical Review, Vol. 65, No. 1, (January, 1975), pp 1-2; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 11; &, Matt, S. J. "You Can't Go Home Again", p. 470.

[35] Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. 11; Lowenthal, D. "Nostalgia tells it like it wasn't", The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 18; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, pp 10-11; &, Matt, S. J. "You Can't Go Home Again", p. 470.

[36] Chase, M. & Shaw, C. "The Dimensions of Nostalgia", The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 1; &, Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 8.

recognisable term had finally come to mean a "sentimental longing for or regretful memory of a period of the past, especially one in an individual's own lifetime." [37]

At the advent of the twentieth-century, nostalgia had once again reached its zenith. Modernism at this time had spiralled out of control: economies boomed and busted, institutions declined and were (sometimes) replaced, cultural attitudes radically changed, and advances in technology once again displaced human labour as they had begun so centuries earlier. The present was aimless and chaotic – constantly changing and in the process erasing almost everything which came before it: Nostalgia no longer simply affected the individual and their private childhood, but instead now affected entire communities (including nations), who collectively yearned to return to a mythical yet orderly past – a golden age wherein their community was at its most privileged position. [38] It was in this context, that the sociologist Fred Davis created the term, collective nostalgia, in 1979. This kind of nostalgia, Davis argued:

> …refers to that condition in which the symbolic objects are of a highly public, widely shared, and familiar character, those symbolic resources from the past that under proper conditions can trigger wave upon wave of nostalgic feeling in millions of persons at the same time. [39]

Such nostalgia, it was said, could be dangerous if left unchecked. "In extreme cases" argued the philologist, Svetlana Boym, "it [nostalgia] can create a phantom homeland, for the sake of which one is ready to die or kill." [40] This kind of nostalgia, ruminated Boym, was driven by a desire to reconstruct, restore, and if possible, physically return to the past within the present. It was the kind of nostalgia which: "characterises national and nationalist revivals all over the world, which engage in the anti-modern myth-making of history by means of a return to national symbols and myths." [41] This nostalgia was what Boym termed restorative nostalgia. A nostalgia which it could be argued, consequently overshadowed the entirety of the twentieth-century: with the beginning and middle-part dominated by the outbreak of two world wars – and at the century's end, concluding with multiple cases of ethnic cleansings across Africa (in Rwanda) and Eastern Europe (following the dissolution of Yugoslavia).

This brief etymology of nostalgia has already gleaned some important information about the phenomenon which is said to enthral the Tea Party movement. This section has defined what exactly nostalgia is in modern parlance, that definition being: a "sentimental longing for or regretful memory of a period of the past." [42] Moreover, nostalgia can be classified as being 'collective' in the sense that it can effect a multitude of individuals simultaneously, as well as 'restorative' in the sense that the driving force behind the nostalgia experienced is to in some

---

[37] nostalgia, n. : Oxford English Dictionary.
[38] Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. XVI; Chase, M. & Shaw, C. "The Dimensions of Nostalgia", p. 3 & 15; &, Davis, F. Yearning for Yesterday, pp 105-106.
[39] Davis, F. Yearning for Yesterday, pp 122-123.
[40] Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. XVI.
[41] Ibid, p. 41.
[42] nostalgia, n. : Oxford English Dictionary.

manner or another 'physically' return to the past. [43] It thereby seems common-sensible to link nostalgia with the twin epistemes of memory and history, both of which will be further examined in the latter sections of this chapter (see Subsections **2.3: Memory** and **2.4: History** on pages 26 and 32). Now that the term nostalgia has been defined, the next priority, therefore, is to identify the recognisable features of nostalgia as it manifests – to describe nostalgia as it is experienced and, crucially, how it comes into being.

2.2.2: Features of Nostalgia

Now that this thesis has a working definition of nostalgia, the key features of this peculiar phenomenon need to be identified, in order to explain and understand how and why it manifests. To achieve this aim, this section will analyse a description of the experience of nostalgia, from the writings of the twentieth-century sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs.

Defining the experience of nostalgia is in many respects a fool's errand: nostalgia is a phenomenon which (provided a person lives long enough) universally affects everyone, but the personal experiences of nostalgia – what a person is nostalgic for or of, for instance – vary wildly from individual to individual. Nevertheless, a truly exemplary, if not perfect, general description of the experience of nostalgia, can be found in the writings of Maurice Halbwachs. Halbwachs describes a nostalgic experience in the following manner:

> When one of the books which were the joy of our childhood, which we have not opened since, falls into our hands, it is not without a certain curiosity, an anticipation of a recurrence of memories and a kind of interior rejuvenation that we begin to read it. Just by thinking about it we believe that we can recall the mental state in which we found ourselves at that time… we therefore hope by reading the book again to relive the memory of our childhood…

> But what happens most frequently is that we actually seem to be reading a new book, or at least an altered version. [44]

Maurice Halbwach's description of nostalgia illuminates three key features of the phenomenon that will be further elaborated throughout this section. These features being: it's seemingly 'apolitical nature', its inherent 'desirability', and finally, its 'triggerable nature' as a phenomenon.

The first feature of nostalgia which is not so much bluntly stated as it is implied in Halbwachs's writing is that nostalgia is an 'apolitical' phenomenon. By this it is meant that nostalgia is just as likely to affect those on the political Left of the spectrum as it is likely to affect those on the political Right. In other words, nostalgia is a non-discriminatory universal force with the possibility to affect anybody. [45] So, too, it must be added, nostalgia is also 'apolitical' in the sense that it can resonate from non-political sources, such as with childhood

---

[43] Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. 41; &, Davis, F. Yearning for Yesterday, pp 122-123.
[44] Coser, L. A. [Translator], Halbwachs, M. [Author], On Collective Memory, (London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 46.
[45] Lowenthal, D. "Nostalgia tells it like it wasn't", p. 27; & Luce, E. Time To Start Thinking, p. 7.

memorabilia including books, films, music, toys, videogames, and so on. However, as Halbwachs points out in his final sentence, there is also the possibility that when re-examining said 'apolitical' childhood memorabilia as an adult, the political messages that were seemingly invisible at the time may emerge, thereby redefining its value amongst an individual.

 The second feature highlighted by Halbwachs's description, which in part answers the question as to why people are susceptible to nostalgia, is what could be defined as nostalgia's 'desirability'. This, of course, refers to when Halbwachs states that individuals foster "an anticipation of a recurrence of memories" and in the process expect "a kind of interior rejuvenation." [46] Nostalgia in many respects is seen as desirable insofar as it provides individuals with an indomitable sense of comfort and certainty, particularly in times of personal upheaval. Nostalgia is also desirable because it provides a utopian image of the past which is so desperately craved for amongst an unsatisfactory present. Although nostalgia is a flagrantly distortional phenomenon, said distortion is desirable insofar as it removes the undesirable, unpleasant facets of the past, and in some instances it can result in cultivating prideful identities. [47]

 The third and perhaps most insightful feature of nostalgia that is once again alluded to in the description provided by Maurice Halbwachs, is the notion that nostalgia is triggerable, or in other words, that nostalgia can be evoked within an individual given the right circumstances. Halbwachs in his description makes mention of one such circumstance or trigger of nostalgia, that being the existence of impressionable objects from the past such as the childhood book which an individual is consequently exposed to. However, according to Malcolm Chase and Christopher Shaw, there are at least three broadly agreed-upon and interrelated conditions required for nostalgia to develop including the condition depicted by Halbwachs. These conditions being:

1. Belief in a linear conception of time;
2. Disillusionment with the present;
3. Exposure to objects from the past. [48]

 The first condition for nostalgia to develop is the belief in a linear conceptualisation of time (see **Fig 2: Linear Conception of Time** on the next page). This particular conception of time, according to Caroline Coffin, can be described as: "[the] conceptualisation of time as a successive movement through space…" [49] Time and History, according to this conception, is progressional: consisting of a sequential plotting of events, one after another, from the point of past beginnings and ever-extending outwards towards an indeterminate but nonetheless progressive future. This is essentially the legacy of the eighteenth-century Western Enlightenment and of Modernism which consequently inculcated a grand narrative of

---

[46] Coser, L. A. [Translator], Halbwachs, M. [Author], On Collective Memory, p. 46.
[47] Davis, F. Yearning for Yesterday, pp 44-45; &, Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 8 & 13.
[48] Chase, M. & Shaw, C. "The Dimensions of Nostalgia", pp 2-4.
[49] Coffin, C. Historical Discourse: The Language of Time, Cause and Evaluation, (London: Continuum, 2006), p. 97.

continual human progress into the consciousness of mankind. [50] Under this conceptualisation of time, the past, once experienced, is considered to be lost forever – with the exception of the relics it leaves behind – and nostalgia, therefore, is the result of yearning for this seemingly lost past. Nostalgia is, in the words of Svetlana Boym: "the mourning of displacement and temporal irreversibility…" [51] which is: "dependant on the modern conception of unrepeatable and irreversible time." [52]

Fig 2: Linear Conception of Time
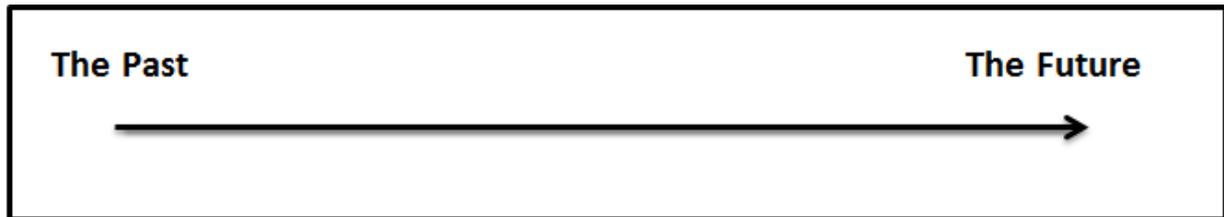
On the other hand, the belief in a cyclical conceptualisation of time (see **Fig 3: Cyclical Conception of Time** on the following page) is said to somewhat prevent the emergence and development of nostalgia. A cyclical conception of time, according to Caroline Coffin, is premised upon: "the notions of sameness and repetition…" which is: "linked to the notion of continuity on that cycles of activity frequently involve recurrent patterns of human behaviour that appear to remain constant over time" [53] The cyclical conceptualisation of time has antedates as far back as Antiquity, embodied in the works of Aristotle, Plato, and Polybius, among others, who applied their Greek philosophy to their theorems regarding what they believed to be the natural cyclical succession of political constitutions throughout history. History, in this sense, was a recurring phenomenon – civilisations rose and fell, economies prospered and waned. [54] Consequently, nostalgia for a 'lost' past finds itself difficult to develop because as Malcolm Chase and Christopher Shaw point out: "eventually time lost will be instituted once again." [55] What use is there for nostalgia if the past is seen by the individual as repetitive? Eventually the past will be re-experienced (or at least believed to be re-experienced), thereby making nostalgia redundant.

Fig 3: Cyclical Conception of Time

---

[50] Coffin, C. Historical Discourse: The Language of Time, Cause and Evaluation, (London: Continuum, 2006), p. 97; Southgate, B. Postmodenism in History: Fear or Freedom?, (London: Routledge, 2003), pp 29-30; &, Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past: Reflections on the uses of History, (London: Penguin Books, 2009), p. 40.
[51] Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. XVI.
[52] Ibid, p. 13.
[53] Coffin, C. Historical Discourse, p. 98.
[54] Coffin, C. Historical Discourse, p. 98; Plumb, J. H. The Death of the Past, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), p. 22; Trompf, G. W. The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought: From Antiquity to the Reformation, (California: University of California Press, 1979), p. 1; &, Walbank, F. W. The Decline of the Roman Empire in the West, (London: Cobbett Press, 1946), p. 4.
[55] Chase, M. & Shaw, C. "The Dimensions of Nostalgia", p. 3.
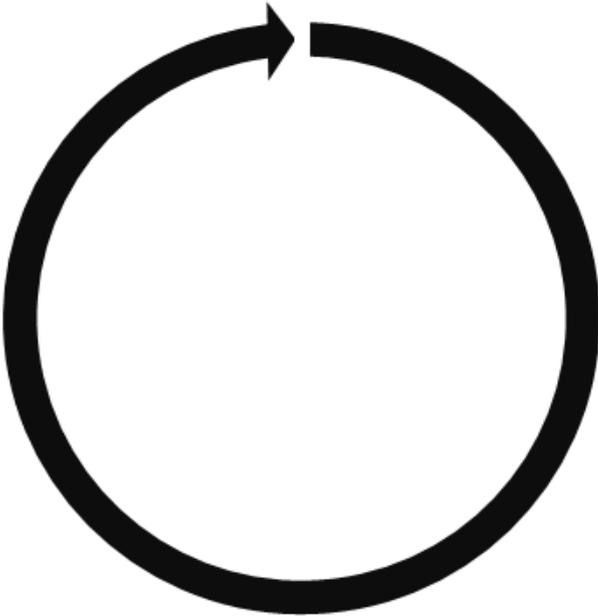
Examples of Cycles

- **Biological-Cycles of Life and Death.**
- **Chronological-Cycles of Day and Night.**
- **Economic-Cycles of 'Prosperity and Depression'.**
- **Historical-Cycles of "The 'Rise and Fall' of Civilisations".**

 The second circumstance responsible for developing and triggering nostalgia identified by Chase and Shaw is the condition that the present time must be regarded as insufficient in some manner. People become susceptible to nostalgia as they perceive that the present conditions that they find themselves in are intolerable in some sense or another. This is especially true in times of crisis, on both a personal and national level, such as with financial crises, the erosion of traditional institutions, and the death of important figures during an individual's lifetime. Furthermore, nostalgia has a persistency to develop amongst collective groups and individuals that have in some manner or another lost their traditional socio-economic privileges in present society. Nostalgia, in this sense, is triggered by trauma. Subsequently, said groups and individuals that have been stripped of their privileges use nostalgia as a compensatory device to be used as a bludgeon to denounce the present conditions they find themselves exposed to, and to act as an aspirational goal – reminding themselves of what they had lost could eventually be reclaimed. It should also be noted that nostalgia can develop out of a sense of disillusionment, the disappointment of missed expectations, as well as the prevalence of fears and anxieties surrounding the future. [56]

 The third condition in order for nostalgia to develop, of course, is an exposure to objects from the past. The availability of material relics from the past such as buildings, objects, as well as visual representations and audio stimuli can usher in nostalgic sentiments amongst individuals as exposure to these objects reminds individuals of the attributable memories of the past. It should be pointed out that these three conditions are by no means the only

---

[56] Bonnett, A. Left in the Past, p. 34 & 44; Bonnet, A. "Radicalism is Nostalgia", What is Radical Politics Today?, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 179; Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. 64; Chase, M. & Shaw, C. "The Dimensions of Nostalgia", p. 3 & 15; Davis, F. Yearning for Yesterday, p. 34; Lowenthal, D. "Nostalgia tells it like it wasn't", p. 21; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. XX; &, Plumb, J. H. The Death of the Past, p. 40.

prerequisite factors which determine the emergence of nostalgia amongst an individual or collective, but they are by far the most relevant in respects to the continuation of the thesis. [57]

Having defined and examined the features of the phenomenon known as nostalgia, it now seems appropriate to apply this knowledge to the Tea Party movement. As observers of the social movement have noted, members of the Tea Party movement are said to share a common nostalgia which transcends the personal and private recollections related to their country, which in turn leads to an expression of a conceited desire to restore the United States of America to the reflected perceptions of said nostalgia. [58] It therefore appears reasonable to describe the Tea Party movement's peculiar sense of nostalgia as being both a collective and restorative kind of nostalgia.

2.3: Memory

In order to appreciate the value of the Tea Party movement's nostalgia, the role of human memory and its features must likewise be epistemologically examined. As the previous section established, nostalgia is a phenomenon which is inexplicitly linked with an individual's recollections of the past, their memory. Memory is defined as "the act of commemorating, recollecting and remembering a facet of the past: be it an event, object, person, place, or element of knowledge, etc." [59] Indeed, nostalgia is itself a kind of memory – albeit an indigent kind, as the previous subsections have shown. It is therefore wise to examine memory as an episteme, to uncover how reliable such a process of remembering the past actually is, and why it is important.

2.3.1: Remembrance

One of the greatest philosophical conundrums debated since the earliest days of human history has been the question: how do individuals remember? Unable to successfully dissect the brain in a scientific manner, the great minds of the past resorted to metaphor to attempt to answer this pressing question. Indeed, the philosophy of memory is a philosophy of metaphors. [60] The very earliest metaphor relating to memory, that laid the foundations for how it would be interpreted and respected as a form of knowledge ever since, of course, stemmed from the Ancient Greek philosopher Plato in his conceptualisation of the metaphor of the wax tablet.

2.3.2: Plato's Metaphor of the Wax Tablet

In his dialogues concerning Theaetetus, Plato establishes what would become the foundation stone of the philosophy of memory with his metaphor of the wax tablet [191d-195b].

In Plato's metaphor, (channelled, of course, through the voice of Socrates), the act or process of remembering is figuratively compared to the action of imprinting a stamp on a tablet of

---

[57] Chase, M. & Shaw, C. "The Dimensions of Nostalgia", p. 4.
[58] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 97; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 75; & Taibbi, M. Griftopia, p. 14.
[59] memory, n. : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/116363, (05/02/13).
[60] Byatt, A. S. "Introduction", Memory: An Anthology, (London: Chatto & Windus, 2008), p. XIII.

wax. According to this metaphor: every individual has inside their heads a wax tablet filled with a substance referred to as 'mental wax'. When an individual has to remember some thing (i.e. an experience, idea, object, person, etc.), that thing is mentally stamped onto the wax tablet with the use of a signet ring or similar stamping device of some kind. This process thereby leaves an engraving on the wax tablet, said engraving is a reflection of the likeness of the thing that is remembered, and as an aside its quality therefore reflects the quality of the memory remembered. Finally, in order to recollect the memory of the thing remembered, the individual is said to retrace the impressions of the engraving in their minds – as if they were physically tracing their fingers over the wax tablet. [61]

Furthermore, within his wax tablet metaphor, Plato recognises the fact that individuals within society have varying qualities of remembrance. Put simply, he distinguishes the so-called 'good' memory from 'bad' memory which may be held by individuals:

Accordingly, those who are argued to be blessed with good memory are believed to have inside them a superb quality of 'mental wax' which is described as being: "deep, plentiful, and smooth." Said wax, Plato explains, produces: "marks imprinted which are clean and of sufficient depth to last a long time…" and as a result: "their marks are clear and well-spaced, so that they can quickly distribute everything from the real world (as it is called) to the proper impressions…" [62] Consequently, Plato deduces that (emphasis added):

> In the first place, then, such people are good at learning: secondly, they have good memories; thirdly, their beliefs are true, because they don't mismatch perceptions and marks. [63]

On the other hand, those individuals who are argued to be cursed with bad memory are believed to have inside them a deficient quality of 'mental wax' which is described as being: "dirty, with impurities in the wax… a gritty sort of thing, contaminated and clogged with earth and dirt" and its consistency, is either: "too moist or too hard." In either case, individuals with this condition are stricken with forgetfulness and a hindrance for learning, as the moist wax produces blurred impressions which eventually over time will vanish, and the hard wax, on the contrary, creates impressions lacking in sufficient depth for enough detail to remerge. Consequently, Plato argues that (emphasis added):

> …these people are liable to false beliefs, because when they see or hear or think of something, they are unable to assign it quickly to its proper impression. This makes them slow-witted and, because they assign things to the wrong impressions, they invariably miss-see and miss-hear and miss-think. [64]

For centuries since it was first developed, Plato's metaphor of the wax tablet has remained a philosophical bulwark in relation to the manner in which the process of memory and its efficiency has been understood. Modern analogies may replace and update the archaic

---

[61] Plato, Theaetetus, (London: Penguin Books, 1987), pp 99-100.
[62] Ibid, p. 104.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid, p. 105.

technology of wax tablets, with that of the more familiar contemporary technologies of diaries, tape cassettes, computer hard drives, or indeed, USB 'memory sticks'.

 From the above description of Plato's metaphor of the wax tablet, the first senses of the limitations of the episteme of memory can be ascertained. It is evident that the representation of memory as functioning in the same or similar manner as a wax tablet highlights the very physical sense of the limitations of remembering: Firstly, that there is only so much an individual can remember – that can be stored on their wax tablet, so to speak – which is consequently affected by the individual's own prowess of remembrance – the quality of their 'mental wax', in a manner of speaking. An individual can only remember so much for so long until they begin forgetting or indeed misremembering the past. Significantly, the role of the individual is considered tantamount to this Platonic idea of remembrance, and as such it can be inferred that *memory can be linked to an individual's sense of identity* – Identity, of course, also being a recurrent theme throughout this chapter. Secondly, that the engravings stored on the metaphorical wax tablet are likewise simply mere representations of reflections of the likeness of the real experiences and objects that the individual intends to recollect. In other words, remembrance operates with the invocation of an image as close to the likeness of the past itself (be it an experience or object), but it is not the true past – rather, it is imagined. This notion of the operation of memory is ironically evidenced by scientific inquiry, as Jeffrey K. Olick asserts (emphasis added):

> Neurological studies, moreover, have demonstrated conclusively that memories are not unitary entities, stored away as coherent units to be called up wholesale at a later date. Neural networks channel bits and pieces called 'engrams' to different places in the brain and store them there in different ways. The process of remembering, *therefore, does not involve the 'reappearance' or 'reproduction' of an experi*ence in *its original form, but the cobbling together of a 'new' memory. People do not perceive* every aspect of a situation, they do not store every aspect they perceive, and they do not recall every aspect they store. [65]

 To develop this point further, the use of the phrase 'likeness' is itself significant, as it refers to the Platonic term eikon (or eikasia) that is used in another of his dialogues, The Republic. Eikasia, which is said to represent illusion or imagination, is situated on the lowest rung of the epistemological hierarchy depicted in Plato's Analogy of the Divided Line (see **Fig 4: Plato's Analogy of the Divided Line** on the next page). [66] "Memory, reduced to recall, thus operates in the wake of the imagination..." asserts Paul Ricoeur, adding that: "these two affections are tied by contiguity, to evoke one – to imagine it – is to evoke the other – to remember it." [67] The problem with such an epistemological process, Ricoeur argues, is that it has the potential to elicit: "The constant danger of confusing remembering and imagining, resulting from memories becoming images in this way, affects the goal of faithfulness corresponding to the truth claim of memory." [68] Imagination is a poor substitute for reality, as David Hume explains by using a colourful metaphor, because:

[65] Olick, J. K. "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures", Sociological Theory, Vol. 17, No. 3 (November, 1999), p. 340.
[66] Sayers, S. *Plato's Republic: An Introduc*tion, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 123.
[67] Blamey, K. & Pellauer, D. [Translators], Ricoeur, P. [Author], Memory, History, Forgetting, (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 5.
[68] Ibid, p. 7.

Every one will readily allow, that there is a considerable difference between the perceptions of the mind, when a man feels the pain of excessive heat, or the pleasure of moderate warmth, and when he afterwards recalls to his memory this sensation, or anticipates it by his imagination. These faculties may mimic or copy the perceptions of the senses; but they never can entirely reach the force and vivacity of the original sentiment… all the colours of poetry, however splendid, can never paint natural objects in such a manner as to make the description be taken for a real landskip. The most lively thought is still inferior to the dullest sensation.

When we reflect on our past sentiments and affections, our thought is a faithful mirror, and copies its objects truly; but the colours which it employs are faint and dull, in comparison of those in which our original perceptions were clothed. [69]

Therefore, just as imagination is considered the least reliable and respectable form of knowledge, so too, must memory be considered just as unreliable as an episteme and treated with some cynicism when it attempts to 'faithfully' recollect the past.

Fig 4: Plato's Analogy of the Divided Line
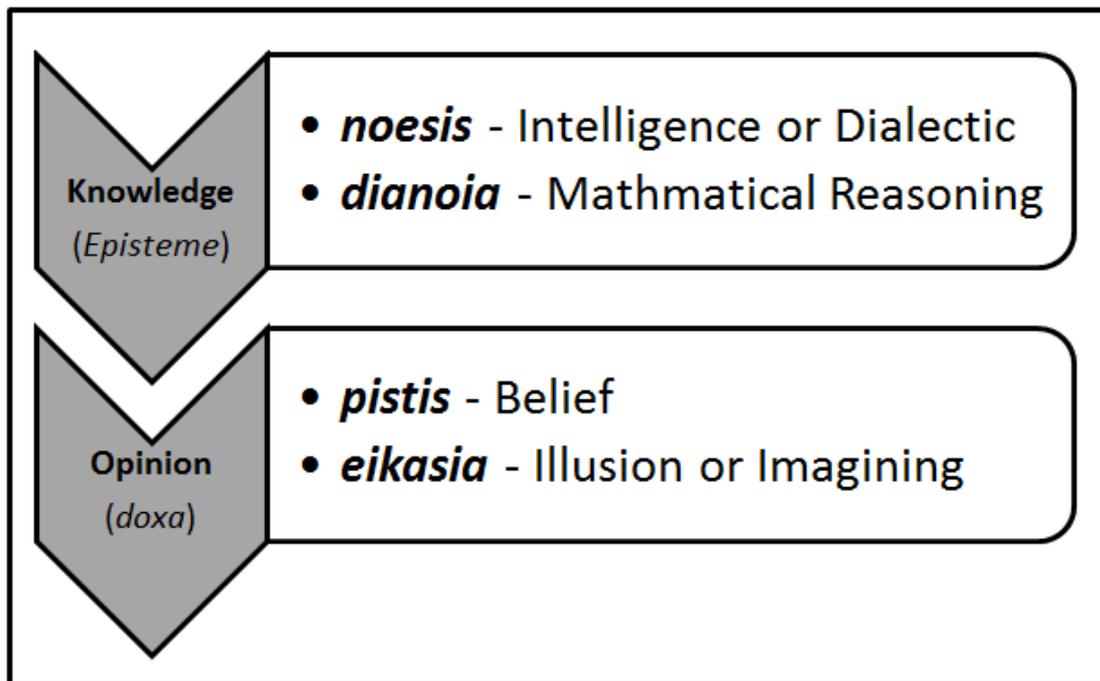
For this reason, it can be said that nostalgia – widely considered to be an apparition of an individual's memory – is even less reliable as an episteme of knowledge then that of the episteme of memory, and so nostalgia is thereby held equally contemptible in the grand courtroom of objectifiable Truth. [70] The ties that bind nostalgia and memory together; their revocation of the past, the sense of identity it instils within an individual, and so on, bely their fundamental differences. Indeed, what truly separates nostalgia from memory is the

---

[69] Selby-Bigge, L. A. [Editor], Hume, D. [Author], Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals [3rd Edition], (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp 17-18.
[70] Bonnett, A. Left in the Past, p. 2.

contention that in the utmost idealist sense memory at least offers the possibility of remembering the closest likeness to the past – given the most optimal circumstances available, of course. Memory, at least, is honest and naive enough to believe in the very truth it supposedly tells – which gives it some modicum of epistemological use-value. This is not, however, the case with nostalgia – whose distortions, it is argued, make it impossible for its adherents to truly draw any realistic lessons of the past that can then be applied to the present. Nostalgia therefore has very little epistemological use-value, unlike memory – as it is inherently distortional, subjective, and unreliable. [71]

Plato's metaphor of the wax tablet may indeed have highlighted a means to explain the process of memorisation, but it does not, however, explain where memories originate from which is equally as important in remembrance. To attempt to explain this latter conundrum, a much more modern conceptualisation of memory will be examined in the following subsection, detailing the twentieth-century's conception of collective memory by the French sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs.

2.3.3: Halbwachs's Conception of Collective Memory

At the turn of the twentieth-century, advances in the modern discipline of sociology began to transform the philosophical understanding of the development of memories in individuals. A pioneer of this field was the French sociologist and former student of Emile Durkheim, Maurice Halbwachs, and his radical conceptualisation of what he termed, collective memory.

Collective memory was a concept popularised by Maurice Halbwachs – who in many respects is widely considered as its predominant 'Founding Father' – in his seminal work entitled, Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire or The Social Frameworks of Memory, published in 1925 – which is now published and commonly referred to under the title, On Collective Memory. The idea of collective memory itself, however, had existed long before the publication of Halbwach's treatise, as a term first explicitly mentioned as early as in 1902 by the Austrian dramatist and novelist, Hugo von Hofmannsthal. It was also a phrase touched upon a good decade or so earlier than Halbwachs, in the works of his intellectual mentor, Emile Durkheim. One such pioneer of the idea of collective memory, of particular note, was that of the German Art Historian, Aby Warburg, and his unfinished magnum opus, the Mnemosyne. Warburg's Mnemosyne, ungracefully subtitled: "Image Sequence for the Cultural Study of Expressive Material Reminiscent of Antiquity in the Representation of Cosmic and Human Movements during the European Renaissance," was intended as an atlas of his notion of what he called the Soziales Gedächtnis (social memory). Countless artworks, drawings, paintings, pictures, sketches, and photographs that had been collected by Aby Warburg throughout his lifetime were supposed to be arranged thematically in his atlas of memory, as a means to depict the transmission of universal symbols found in the art throughout history – the shared collective memory of human culture. What distinguishes Maurice Halbwach's contribution to the idea of collective memory, however, was that he was in many respects the first author able to successfully systemically conceptualise and devote

---

[71] Ibid, p. 43.

his thoughts to the articulation of the specific idea of collective memory itself in his writings. [72]

 As an aside, the notion of an historic linage of memory as depicted in Arby Warburg's Mnemosyne, is the idea championed by Maurice Halbwachs known as the *Imago*. According to Halbwachs, an *Imago* is the product of a memory which over the course of time has lost its detail and become generalised. [73] The best means of understanding this concept is through the following metaphor: Imagine memory as a newly built sandcastle that has intricate details and engravings etched along the walls and towers of the structure: over time, however, with the wind and the tides, the details of the sandcastle eventually erode or disappear until such a time when all that is left of the sandcastle is a generic mound which nonetheless is still identifiable as a sandcastle but an indistinguishable one at that – this end result is the *Imago*. In a more practical sense, when one examines history, one finds that the further back in time, the more generalising occurs due to the lack of specific detail of the past that has survived in the present – events which occur in Ancient Rome become compressed and span the course of several centuries at a time, whilst one finds a multitude of significant events closer to the present, such as with the War on Terror, which have significant amount of detail. [74]

 The idea of collective memory, then, asserts that the process of remembrance is evoked, influenced, and shared within a collective environment. Maurice Halbwachs succinctly explains his conceptualisation of collective memory in the following paragraphs (emphasis added):

> If we examine a little more closely how we recollect things, we will surely realize that the greatest number of memories come back to us when our parents, our friends, *or other persons recall them to us…*
>
> Most of the time, when I remember, it is others who spur me on; their memory comes *to the aid of mine and mine relies on theirs…* the groups of which I am a part at any time give me the means to reconstruct them, upon condition, to be sure, that I turn toward them and adopt, at least for the moment, their way of thinking. [75]

What Halbwachs is implying in the quoted statement is the distinction between two kinds of origins of a person's memory – what the historian, David Lowenthal, categorises as primary and secondary memories. Primary memories, according to Lowenthal, are memories which

---

[72] Confino, A. "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method", The American Historical Review, Vol. 102, No. 5 (December, 1997), pp 1390-1392; Diers, M. Girst, T. & von Moltke, D. "Warburg and the Warburgian Tradition of Cultural History", New German Critique, No. 65, (Spring-Summer, 1995), pp 70-73; Funkenstein, A. "Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness", History and Memory, Vol. 1, No. 1, (Spring-Summer, 1989), p. 9; Olick, J. K. "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures", p. 334; Olick, J. K. & Robbins, J. "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices", Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 24 (1998), p. 106; Olick, J. K. Vinitzky-Seroussi, V. & Levy, D. [Editors], The Collective Memory Reader, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 5; &, Olick, J. K. The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility, (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), p. 5.
[73] Olick, J. K. "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures", p. 335; &, Olick, J. K. & Robbins, J. "Social Memory Studies", p. 129.
[74] Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, pp 204-206.
[75] Coser, L. A. [Translator], Halbwachs, M. [Author], On Collective Memory, p. 38.

are established only through the person's lived-experience that is remembered – they are, in other words, wholly internal. Secondary memories, on the other hand, are memories which are evoked from other people, who share their recollections and in doing so implant these external memories into a person's mind – a collective memory, therefore. [76] Collective remembering, according to Halbwachs, relies on the individual's memories being melded together with those of a social group, who in turn are able to invigorate the memories they collectively share and to ignore those which they do not – but, equally, collective memory in itself is not an example of an all-encompassing single-minded 'hive-mind'. [77]

2.4: History

The final interrelated epistemological subject of this thesis to examine is that of the discipline of History. History is humanity's link to the otherwise forgotten 'dead' as well as the recently lost 'living' memories of the past, providing those living in the everlasting present a tangible record of past deeds. Indeed, without memory there can be no awareness of the past and hence no histories to write and record of it – but History is more than just the recollection of an individual, it is a public, collective kind of memory, featuring multiple perspectives of the past altogether, and moreover, History is not only comprised of the recollections of those who experienced the past but also of those past generations who uncovered or remembered the past adding their own contributions to its story. [78] History is important because it establishes precedent, shapes identities, and can precipitate action. [79] As will be made apparent throughout this thesis, the Tea Party movement of the United States of America exploits the history of their country for these very reasons – therefore, examining and deconstructing the epistemology of History is of the utmost importance. The following subsections begin, like with the previous sections of this chapter, with the etymology of the term before exploring the evolution of the discipline throughout time, it then details the role and influence of the narrative form, before finally examining the issue of historical recurrence.

2.4.1: What is History?

What is History? Such a question in itself already has an extensive literature devoted to its inquiry, which could be said to fill an entire library in and of itself alone. [80] This subsection,

---

[76] Coser, L. A. [Translator], Halbwachs, M. [Author], On Collective Memory, p. 24; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 196; Olick, J. K. "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures", p. 335; &, Olick, J. K. Vinitzky-Seroussi, V. & Levy, D. [Editors], The Collective Memory Reader, p. 19.

[77] Coser, L. A. [Translator], Halbwachs, M. [Author], On Collective Memory, p. 22; &, Green, A. "Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates", Oral History, Vol. 32, No. 2, Memory and Society, (Autumn, 2004), p. 38.

[78] Appleby, J. Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. Telling the Truth About History, (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), p. 258; Carr, E. H. What is History?, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 29; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, pp 193-194; Olick, J. K. & Robbins, J. "Social Memory Studies", pp 110-111; &, Olick, J. K. Vinitzky-Seroussi, V. & Levy, D. [Editors], The Collective Memory Reader, p. 19.

[79] Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, p. 17; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 40; Plumb, J. H. The Death of the Past, pp 11-12 & 16; &, Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past, p. 6.

[80] Ankersmit, F. Meaning, Truth, and Reference in Historical Representation, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2012); Appleby, J. Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. Telling the Truth About History; Black, J. Using History, (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005); Blamey, K. & Pellauer, D. [Translators], Ricoeur, P. [Author], Memory,

however, will attempt to provide a succinct answer to the question, once again through examining the etymology and history behind the discipline of History.

 In the Western World, the term 'History' originally stems from the Ancient Greek word, historia, which when translated is defined as: "an inquiry which produces knowledge through investigation." This term 'historia' was adopted by an Ancient Greek living in the fifth-century BCE, Herodotus of Halicarnassus (484-420 BCE), to describe the content of his magnum opus – a grand narrative account of the origins of the Greco-Persian Wars that had taken place in Greece before and during his childhood. [81] In the first paragraph of The Histories, his work poignantly outlined the purpose of his endeavours:

> Herodotus of Halicarnassus here displays his inquiry, so that human achievements may not become forgotten in time, and great and marvellous deeds – some displayed by Greeks, some displayed by barbarians – may not be without their glory; and especially to show why the two peoples fought with each other. [82]

From this the concept of 'History' was developed, whose definition became akin to: "[That] branch of knowledge that deals with past events; the formal record or study of past events, usually presented as a chronological narrative." [83]

 Herodotus, of course, was hardly the first Ancient Greek to have recorded past events in a narrative form. Centuries before Herodotus, the past had been recorded by professional entertainers known as poets, whose works are best exemplified by the famous epic of The Iliad. Composed by Homer around the time of 750 BCE, The Iliad describes the events of a few days' fighting during the tenth year of the Trojan War. [84] What distinguishes the narratives surrounding the past events in both Herodotus's The Histories and Homer's The Iliad, however, is that the latter was founded on conjecture and evoked the divine intervention of various gods, demi-gods, and other such mythical monsters. Throughout The Iliad, there are explicit references that focus on the role of the gods that were depicted as directly interfering in the course of the events which unfolded: take, for instance, the passage

---

History, Forgetting; Burrow, J. A History of Histories: Epics, Chronicles, Romances, and Inquiries from Herodotus and Thucydides to the Twentieth Century, (London: Penguin, 2009); Carr, E. H. What is History?; Collingwood, R. G. The Idea of History, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Collingwood, R. G. [Author], Dray, W. H. & van der Dussen, W. J. [Editors], The Principles of History; Evans, R. J. In Defence of History; Hegel, G. W. F. The Philosophy of History, (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2004); Hobsbawm, E. J. On History, (London: Abacus, 1998); Jenkins, K. Re-thinking History, (New York: Routledge, 2003); Kramer, L. & Maza, S. [Editors], A Companion to Western Historical Thought, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006); Lambert, P. & Schofield, P. [Editors], Making History: An Introduction to the history and practices of a discipline, (London: Routledge, 2004); Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country; Marwick, A. The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language, (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001); Munslow, A. Deconstructing History [2nd Edition], (London: Routledge, 2006); Plumb, J. H. The Death of the Past; Tosh, J. The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods & New Directions in the Study of Modern History [2nd Edition], (London: Longman, 1992); Toynbee, A. J. A Study of History, (London: Oxford University Press, 1960); &, Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past.
[81] De Sélincourt, A. [Translator], Herodotus [Author], The Histories, (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. XIV; Hartog, F. "The Invention of History: The Pre-History of a Concept from Homer to Herodotus", History and Theory, Vol. 39, No. 3, (October, 2000), pp 393-394; &, Stadter, P. A. "Historical Thought in Ancient Greece", A Companion to Western Historical Thought, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 39.
[82] De Sélincourt, A. [Translator], Herodotus [Author], The Histories, p. 3.
[83] History, n. : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/87324, (28/10/11).
[84] Kirk, G. S. "Introduction", The Iliad, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. VII.

wherein the Trojan hero Aeneas is struck down by Diomedes and was about to perish – just as the goddess Aphrodite intervenes and rescues him from harm. [85] Whereas Herodotus founded his narrative of past events squarely on his own personal inquiries and had subsequently focused his attention solely on the deeds of men (as he had laid out in the opening paragraph of The Histories quoted above). This is what supposedly separates the 'History' of Herodotus from the 'Myth' of Homer – the former uses rational inquiry as the basis for the claims, the latter dispenses with such notions: consequently, the former is seen at the very least as a service towards understanding and knowledge, whilst the latter is regarded as mere entertainment to its audience. [86]

 Although Herodotus had distinguished his Histories from those ballads, epics, and myths of the Ancient poets before him, he nevertheless drew inspiration from them in other aspects of his work. Herodotus was born the nephew of the epic poet Panyassis who had like those before him composed ballads relating to both historical and mythical subject matters including the Heracleia (the adventures of Hercules) and Ionica (the founding of the Ionian colonies). [87] Perhaps because of this heritage, or perhaps because of the fact that The Histories would have been read aloud on street corners and between intermissions of public events such as the Olympics to an audience, Herodotus treads an extremely fine line between the realms of fact and fiction on several occasions in his work. [88] An excellent example of this problem can be found in the infamous retelling of the story of the 'gold-digging ants' in the third book of The Histories. According to Herodotus's account of this story: in the far-eastern desert-ridden provinces of the Persian Empire an Indian tribe routinely takes expeditions to scavenge for gold amongst the sand dunes, the gold is apparently dredged up to the surface of the sand by burrowing ant-like creatures that are about the size of a fox, and once the Indians have filled their bags with as much gold as they can quickly muster they must flee to avoid certain death at the creature's mandibles. [89] Such a story, of course, is pure fantasy and consequently has damaged Herodotus's reputation as a credible historian for generations. No such creature as Herodotus describes exists or indeed had existed at the time – nevertheless, to an audience at the time, such a story must have been compelling. Indeed, even today Herodotus still haunts historiography with this sordid legacy of attempting to make the past entertaining, a sentiment remarked upon by the British historian, Arnold J. Toynbee, when he wrote: "History, like the drama and the novel, grew out of mythology…" citing that: "It has, for example, been said of The Iliad that anyone who starts reading it as history will find that it is full of fiction but, equally, anyone who starts reading it as fiction will find that it is full of history." concluding: "All histories resemble The Iliad to this extent, that they cannot entirely dispense with the fictional element." [90]

---

[85] Fitzgerald, R. [Translator], Homer [Author], The Iliad, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 81.
[86] Hartog, F. "The Invention of History", p. 389; Murray, O. "Greek Historians", The Oxford History of Greece and the Hellenistic World, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 215; &, Wardman, A. E. "Myth in Greek Historiography", Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Bd. 9, H. 4, (October, 1960), p. 404.
[87] De Sélincourt, A. [Translator], Herodotus [Author], The Histories, p. IX; &, Panyassis -- Britannica Online Encyclopaedia, http://original.search.eb.com/eb/article-9058299, (14/11/11).
[88] Plumb, J. H. The Death of the Past, p. 22.
[89] De Sélincourt, A. [Translator], Herodotus [Author], The Histories, pp 215-216.
[90] Toynbee, A. J. A Study of History, p. 44.

Despite his narrative foibles, Herodotus nevertheless laid the epistemological foundations of the discipline of History with the meting-out of his personal inquiries. Herodotus's historiographical methodology was twofold: the adoption of a primitive kind of empiricism (seeing with his own eyes), and the gathering of oral testimonies from those he had interviewed during his travels across North Africa, Mesopotamia (modern-day Iraq), and Greece – which he would later filter with his own judgement as he began composing what he had collected. [91] The epistemological foundations of his work rested upon memory – of both the observations he himself made as well as that of the people who he interviewed. Furthermore, when Herodotus eventually penned his magnum opus to papyrus, he was doing it so by the virtue of his memory. [92] Re-examining Herodotus's retelling of the story of the 'gold-digging ants' in this light, it could be argued that Herodotus was the victim of collective memory: as an outsider and a unilingual one at that, Herodotus may have mistranslated or felt the need to humour his interviewees when he recounted their story. Indeed, later historians have argued that perhaps the 'ants' of which Herodotus had spoken of were in fact other such large burrowing animals such as badgers, marmots and pangolins, or that perhaps they might have even been Tibetan miners. [93] This early historiographical methodology devised by Herodotus, referred to as 'Scissors-and-Paste History' by the British historian, R. G. Collingwood, would linger on throughout the course of Western civilisation up until the advent of the early modern period. [94]

Up until the late-nineteenth-century, the discipline of History for the most part remained a hodgepodge of inquiry, literature, and philosophy – presented in the style of grandiose and sometimes romantic sweeping narratives. Out of the Renaissance's rediscovery of antiquity and the Enlightenment's embracement of early scientific thought emerged a dominant attitude towards History which survived up until the onset of modernism – the notion that History should be regarded "as philosophy teaching by examples." In this regard, History had a positive utilitarian value, acting as a template from which the correct course of action could be derived (or the wrong actions ignored) by those in the present who found themselves facing similar dilemmas to that of their ancestors. History, in other words, had the means to teach reliable 'lessons' and provided examples of figures to 'aspire towards' to those who diligently studied it. [95] A notion which was further expounded upon by David Hume in the

[91] Burrow, J. A History of Histories, pp 2-3; Coonen, L. P. "Herodotus on Biology", The Scientific Monthly, Vol. 76, No. 2, (February, 1953), p. 65; De Sélincourt, A. [Translator], Herodotus [Author], The Histories, p. XX; Murray, O. "Greek Historians", p. 220; Stadter, P. A. "Historical Thought in Ancient Greece", pp 41-42; Starr, L. "Oral History", Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology [2nd Edition], (London: Sage, 1996), p. 40; &, Wardman, A. E. "Myth in Greek Historiography", p. 404.

[92] De Sélincourt, A. [Translator], Herodotus [Author], The Histories, (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. XII.

[93] McCartney, E. S. "The Gold-Digging Ants", The Classical Journal, Vol. 49, No. 5, (February, 1954), p. 234; &, Regenos, G. W. "A Note on Herodotus III, 102", The Classical Journal, Vol. 34, No. 7, (April, 1939), p. 426.

[94] Collingwood, R. G. [Author], Dray, W. H. & van der Dussen, W. J. [Editors], The Principles of History, pp 12-13.

[95] Commager, H. S. "The American Enlightenment and the Ancient World: A Study in Paradox", Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Third Series, Vol.83, (1971), pp 3-4; Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, pp 15-16; &, Jackman, S. W. Man of Mercury: An Appreciation of the Mind of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965), p. 44.

eighth section of his Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals, wherein he states (emphasis added):

> It is universally acknowledged that there is a great uniformity among the actions of men, in all nations and ages, and that human nature remains still the same, in its principles and operations. The same motives always produce the same actions: the same events follow from the same causes…

> Mankind are so much the same, in all times and places, that history informs us of nothing new or strange in this particular. Its chief use is only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature, by showing men in all varieties of circumstances and situations, and furnishing us with materials from which we may form our observations and become acquainted with the regular springs of human action and behaviour. [96]

This attitude towards History was further reinforced with the prevalent notion that blurred the perception between past and present. Karl Marx famously described such a phenomenon towards the past as weighing like "an alp upon the brain of the living." [97] Nowhere was this attitude towards History best exemplified, than with the generation which existed during the American Revolution. It was this generation which had so famously immersed themselves in the realm of antiquity, using the past as an impressionable model. George Washington was fancied as an American Cincinnatus, [98] so too, the newly established government of the United States of America was modelled on the Roman tripartite system as described by

---

[96] Selby-Bigge, L. A. [Editor], Hume, D. [Author], Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding, p. 83.

[97] Marx, K. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, (Rockville: Serenity Publishers, 2009), p. 9.

[98] Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus was a retired Roman consul during the mid-fifth-century BCE. Around this time, Rome was besieged and driven close to ruin by two neighbouring Italian tribes; the Aequi and the Sabines. In a last act of desperation, the Romans petitioned Cincinnatus, whom was busy ploughing his farmland across the Tiber, to become Dictator of Rome and defend the city – which Cincinnatus reluctantly accepted. As soon as Cincinnatus had successfully defended Rome from the onslaught of the barbarians, it is said, he immediately renounced his position as dictator and returned to ploughing his farm. Similarly, the life of George Washington has often been depicted as an analogue to that of Cincinnatus – both in his own lifetime and in the histories written of him – as the parallels appear seemingly striking; Washington, having been a Virginian plantation owner of similar stock to his Roman counterpart, who defended his people as a military commander, became President only to relinquish his power like the legend before him after serving eight years in office and returned to his stead at Mount Vernon. Immortalised in marble, this analogy sits in the Smithsonian at Washington D.C. – with a statue of George Washington dressed in toga, holding out his sword to the audience, evoking the Cincinnatus metaphor of virtuously returning his power back.
Burrow, J. A History of Histories, p. 104; Chernow, R. Washington: A Life, (London: Penguin Books, 2011), p. 444 & 457; Jones, P. Veni Vidi Vici: Everything you ever wanted to know about the Romans but were afraid to ask, (London: Atlantic Books, 2013), pp 48-49; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 112; Murphy, C. Are We Rome?, pp 38-39; Rakove, J. Revolutionaries: Inventing An American Nation, (London: Vintage Books, 2011), p. 115; &, Wood, G. S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution, (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), p. 205.

ancient authors such as Polybius, [99] the virtues of Roman Republicanism were lauded as a secular moral model of behaviour in the New Republic, [100] and so on.

With the advent of modernity, however, History broke away from its traditional roots as it became transformed in great part due to the commandments established by the German historian Leopold von Ranke in the nineteenth-century. Ranke repudiated the attitude towards History as serving as a kind of "philosophy teaching by examples" in favour of History becoming a medium in which the past was depicted "as it really was." Ranke's reforms thereby separated the facets of literature and philosophy from what became regarded as professional History, with the facet of inquiry becoming the dominant focus of the historian – which, in effect, it was believed, transformed History into a kind of science. No longer concerned with grand sweeping narratives couched in rhetoric and prose, historical writing thus became monographic, technical, and particularistic. The pursuit of historical inquiry was to be henceforth guided through a set of principles laid down by Leopold von Ranke: First and foremost, was the notion that the past should not be judged by the present, but rather, that it must be evaluated on its own terms – the role of the historian was no longer to serve as a chief moralising arbiter of the past, but instead their role was now to understand the past to as close as possible to the same extent as those who had lived through it did. In order to serve this end, the duty of the professional historian was to diligently stick to the examination of primary source materials when compiling their histories, and in the process, to root out forgeries by comparing the consistency of said testimonies with one another. [101]

Von Ranke's revolutionary re-conception of History, however, was shattered in the late twentieth-century as the discipline (alongside many others) was beset by the severe cynicism and iconoclasm of a philosophical phase of what became known as post-modernism. The post-modernists began to deconstruct the historical discipline, focusing on its narrative foundations and the dynamics of power related to said establishments of narratives. In his influential essay entitled Historical Discourse, Roland Barthes questioned whether there was

---

[99] Bederman, D. J. The Classical Foundations of the American Constitution: Prevailing Wisdom, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Eckstein, A. M. Moral Vision in The Histories of Polybius, (California: University of California Press, 1995), p. 17; Kramnick, I. "Ideological Background", A Companion to the American Revolution, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), pp 91-92; &, Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 112.

[100] Arendt, H. On Revolution, (London: Penguin Books, 2006), p. 189; Gould, P. "Virtue, Ideology, and the American Revolution: The Legacy of the Republican Synthesis", American Literary History, Vol. 5, No. 3, Eighteenth-Century American Cultural Studies, (Autumn, 1993), p. 565; Holland, T. Rubicon, p. XXII; Kerber, L. K. "The Republican Ideology of the Revolutionary Generation", American Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 4, Republicanism in the History and Historiography of the United States, (Autumn, 1985), p. 478; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 47; Middleton, R. Colonial America: A History, 1565-1776 [3rd Edition], (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), p. 364; Murphy, C. Are We Rome?, p. 36; &, Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America: A Narrative History [Brief 8th Edition], (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010), p. 167.

[101] Burrow, J. A History of Histories, p. 456; Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, pp 16-19; Harrison, R. Jones, A. & Lambert, P. "The Institutionalisation and Organisation of History", Making History: An Introduction to the history and practices of a discipline, (London: Routledge, 2004), pp 11-12; Iggers, G. G. "The Professionalisation of Historical Studies and the Guiding Assumptions of Modern Historical Thought", A Companion to Western Historical Thought, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 226; Liebersohn, H. "German Historical Writing from Ranke to Weber: The Primacy of Politics", A Companion to Western Historical Thought, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 168; &, Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past, p. 41.

anything to distinguish the lines between 'factual' historical discourses on the one hand and 'fictional' literary genres on the other. [102] So, too, historians contested with the notion of History as collective memory, with the contention that the past was construed "not as fact but as myth to serve the interest of a particular community..." [103] – essentially coming full circle back to Herodotus's age when myth and history were prominently entangled. History had lost its epistemological self-confidence and authority, as facet by facet its foundations were deconstructed by the postmodern turn.

This subsection has provided a brief overview of the discipline of History, its origins, its purpose, how it was perceived, and the various changes that it had experienced throughout time. History was originally created by Herodotus for the explicit purpose of remembering the past deeds of mankind – the past had, of course, been recorded by poets, who focused on the fantastic deeds of monsters and gods in mankind's affairs, but these were myths – and Herodotus, of course, relied upon his memory in the creation of his Histories. [104] For the longest time and in large part to Herodotus' heritage, the discipline of History was married in kind with myth – the purpose being to tell memorable stories of the past which conveyed important and often moral 'lessons' to their audience. Indeed, History was considered to be "philosophy teaching by examples." [105] It was only up until the age of modernity, that such attitudes towards the discipline of History in Western civilisation had changed with the historian Leopold von Ranke's attempts at turning the discipline away from its literary and philosophical roots and towards a more 'scientific' approach towards reflecting and uncovering the past. [106] Recently, however, the epistemological foundations of the discipline of History have been re-examined once more with the emergence of the postmodernist philosophical turn, which deconstructed the discipline into its base components, focusing particularly on the role and structure of narrative in creating the discipline's product. [107] The discipline of History – its purpose, structure, and attitudes towards it – as this subsection has shown, has evolved throughout time constantly adapting and changing to suit the needs of whichever generation has use for it. As the following chapters of this thesis will continue to

---

[102] Barthes, in his influential essay, questioned that;
> "Is there in fact any specific difference between factual and imaginary narrative, any linguistic feature by which we may distinguish on the one hand the mode appropriate to the relation of historical events… and on the other hand the mode appropriate to the epic, novel, or drama?"
Crane, S. A. "Language, Literary Studies, and Historical Thought", A Companion to Western Historical Thought, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 328.

[103] Confino, A. "Collective Memory and Cultural History", p. 1387.

[104] Boardman, J. Griffin J. & Murray O. [Editors], The Oxford History of the Classical World, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 215; De Sélincourt, A. [Translator], Herodotus [Author], The Histories, p. XII & 3; &, Kirk, G. S. "Introduction", The Iliad, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. VII.

[105] Commager, H. S. "The American Enlightenment and the Ancient World, pp 3-4; Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, pp 15-16; Jackman, S. W. Man of Mercury, p. 44; &, Toynbee, A. J. A Study of History, p. 44.

[106] Burrow, J. A History of Histories, p. 456; Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, pp 16-19; Harrison, R. Jones, A. & Lambert, P. "The Institutionalisation and Organisation of History", pp 11-12; Iggers, G. G. "The Professionalisation of Historical Studies", p. 226; Liebersohn, H. "German Historical Writing from Ranke to Weber", p. 168; &, Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past, p. 41.

[107] Crane, S. A. "Language, Literary Studies, and Historical Thought", p. 328; Kramer, L. & Maza, S. "Introduction: The Cultural History of Historical Thought", A Companion to Western Historical Thought, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 5; &, Munslow, A. Deconstructing History, p. 3 & 7.

assert, there is no fixed means of producing History, and following from this logic no single *'Truth' to how the past is portrayed*.

Now that the historiography of History has been briefly outlined, the following subsection will now examine further its epistemological foundations, by deconstructing the narrative form which underpins the very product of the discipline.

2.4.2: Narrative

Following on, the epistemological role of narrative which underpins the historical discipline and its limitations as a medium of conveying knowledge will be examined. All Histories are narratives; or rather, they are all presented in a narrative form of some kind. [108] This is unsurprising, as the origins of history as a discipline established by Herodotus was, of course, influenced by the storytellers of his age – the poets. The narrative form and its epistemology, therefore, require attention.

The term narrative stems from a combination of two Latin words: Narrare, meaning 'to tell'; and Gnarus, which describes something as being 'knowledgeable' or simply 'knowing'. A Narrative, therefore, is a device 'to tell knowledge'. [109] Typically, a narrative (or story) is presented as the process of depicting a series of events in some manner of sequential order. [110] Narratives, as the French postmodernist philosopher Roland Barthes points out, are seemingly omnipresent in an almost infinite manner of platforms: from oral speech to physical gesture, in written language to image (both still and moving), or as a complementary mixture of the platforms. Narratives are found in: art, painting, film, myth, story, history, news, theatre, opera, electronic entertainment, and so on. [111] Barthes continues to argue that narrative is ubiquitous to the human condition, stating that: "narrative occurs in all periods, all places, all societies; narrative begins with the very history of humanity; there is not, there has never been, any people anywhere without narrative… narrative is there, like life." [112]

As ubiquitous to human life as narratives are it is important to distinguish, however, that narratives of life are not the same as life itself. Narratives, like memories, are abstractions of reality. Therefore Histories, being narratives, are also abstractions of the past. They are impressions of the past. [113] As narratives are stories which plot the passage of time (historical narratives explicitly so) they often depict a sequence of events not too dissimilar in which the passing of time is conceptualised in either a linear or cyclical fashion (see **Fig 5: A Linear Narrative** and **Fig 6: A Cyclical Narrative** below and over the page) – similar, in many respects, to the experiences of time and memory that have been conceptualised throughout

---

[108] Munslow, A. Deconstructing History, p. 3 & 7.

[109] Abbott, H. P. The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative [2nd Edition], (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 10; Bennington, G. & Massumi, B. [Translators], Lyotard, J. F. [Author], The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 19; Burger, A. A. Narratives: in Popular Culture, Media, and Everyday Life, (London: SAGE, 1997), p. 7; Lacey, N. Narrative and Genre: Key Concepts in Media Studies, (New York: Palgrave, 2000), pp 13-14; &, narrative, n. : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/125146, (07/02/13).

[110] Abbott, H. P. The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative, p. 15 & 19; Burger, A. A. Narratives, p. 4; Howard, R. [Translator], Barthes, R. [Author], The Semiotic Challenge, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 136; Munslow, A. Deconstructing History, p. 3 & 201; &, narrative, n. : Oxford English Dictionary.

[111] Howard, R. [Translator], Barthes, R. [Author], The Semiotic Challenge, p. 95.

[112] Ibid, p. 95.

[113] Munslow, A. Deconstructing History, pp 37-38.

human history as has been previously mentioned earlier within this chapter. [114] In the process of depicting said sequences of events, a sense of order is established. Typically, this sense of order is represented by the fact that in most cases narratives have and are divided into various beginnings (introductions or setups), middles (the body of confrontations), and ends (conclusions or resolutions) – which in some circles, such as in the media and the like, this is known as the 'Three Act Structure' (see **Fig 7: Three Act Narrative Structure** on the following page). [115]

Fig 5: A Linear Narrative
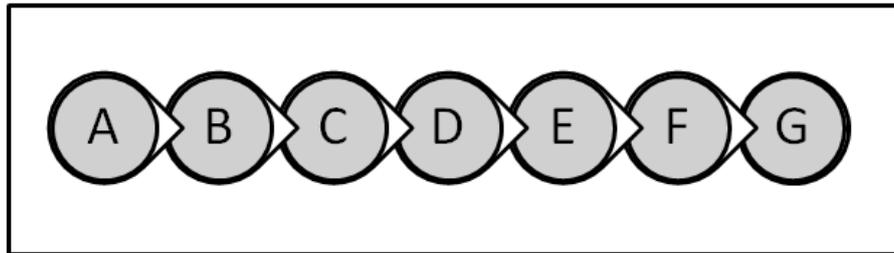
Fig 6: A Cyclical Narrative

[114] Abbott, H. P. The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative, p. 15 & 19; Appleby, J. Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. Telling the Truth About History, p. 231; Burger, A. A. Narratives, p. 4; Lacey, N. Narrative and Genre, pp 13-14; &, Wright, W. Sixguns & Society: A Structural Study of the Western, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 186.

[115] Burroway, J. Stuckey-French, E. & N. Writing Fiction: A Guide to Narrative Craft [8th Edition], (London: Longman, 2011), p. 249; &, Three-Act-Structure, http://www.indiana.edu/~audioweb/T206/three-act.html, (20/04/12).
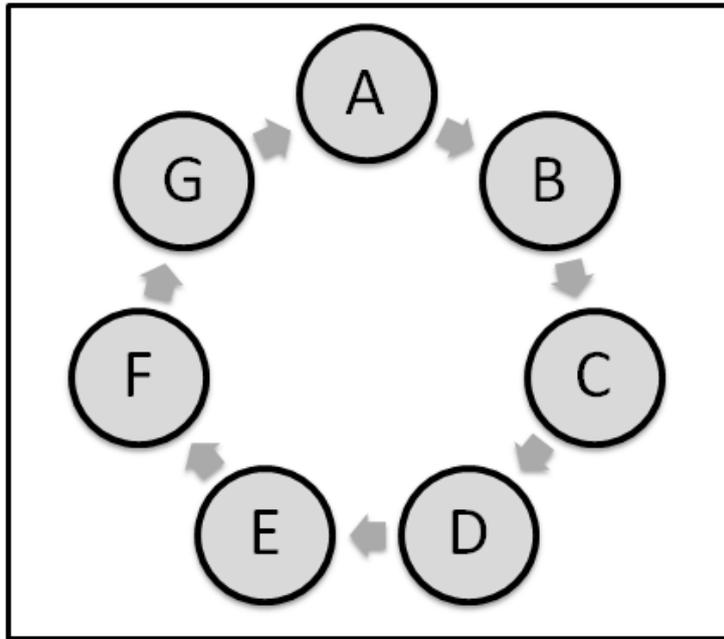
Fig 7: Three Act Narrative Structure
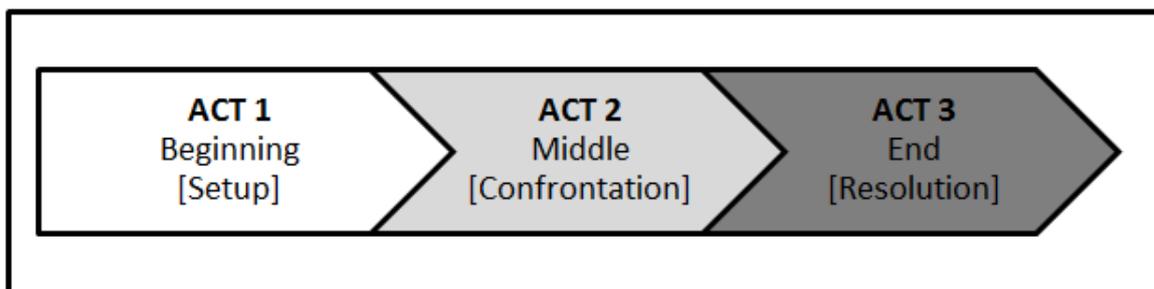
There are some narratives, of course, which given their potency become distinguished as either 'Grand Narratives' (sometimes referred to as 'Master Narratives') or when combined with 'smaller' multiple narratives that argue a similar position, form what are called Historiographies. Both grand narratives and historiographies are narratives which, according to the postmodernist philosopher, Jean-François Lyotard, depict the world and its history in an encapsulated form under the accepted paradigms of knowledge – it reduces the complexities of reality into broad, sweeping, and simplistic theoretical models influenced-by (and for the benefit of) an ideology. [116] An example of a grand narrative related to History would include, for instance, the conception that all of human history was simply the record of the so-called 'guiding spirit of Reason' which was argued to have shaped human affairs throughout the course of time by the German philosopher, Georg W. F. Hegel. In his work, The Philosophy of History, Hegel states (emphasis added):

> "The History of the World begins with its general aim – the realisation of the Idea of Spirit – only in an implicit form that is, as Nature; a hidden, most profoundly hidden,

---

[116] Abbott, H. P. The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative, p. 47 & 236; &, Browning, G. K. Political Philosophy Now: Lyotard and the End of Grand Narratives, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), pp 3-5 & 28-31.

unconscious instinct; and the whole process of History (as already observed), is directed to rendering this unconscious impulse a conscious one… But on this point I announced my view at the very outset, and asserted our hypothesis… and our belief, that Reason governs the world, and has consequently governed its history." [117]

 The narrative form, however, brings with it inherent epistemological limitations and shortcomings. Firstly, there is the primal epistemological limitation of the narrative form relating to its authenticity and reliability as a platform for knowledge, which is explained in an ancient myth recited by Plato in his work, Phaedrus, through the voice of Socrates – what is known as the 'myth of writing'. In the parable, the Egyptian God Theuth (sometimes spelt as Thoth) presents the King of Egypt, Thamus, with the gift of writing on the assumption that: "this study, king Thamus, will make the Egyptians wiser and improve their memory;" boasting that: "what I [Theuth] have discovered is an elixir of memory and wisdom." King Thamus, unconvinced of the God's sincerity, then famously rebutted:

> "…you, as the father of letters, have been led by your affection for them to describe them as having the opposite of their real effect. For your invention will produce forgetfulness in the souls of those who have learned it, through lack of practice at using their memory, as through reliance on writing they are reminded from outside by alien marks, not from within, themselves by themselves. So you have discovered an elixir not of memory but of reminding. To your students you give an appearance of wisdom, not the reality of it; thanks to you, they will hear many things without being taught them, and will appear to know much when for the most part they know nothing, and they will be difficult to get along with because they have acquired the appearance of wisdom instead of wisdom itself." [118]

In essence, the quoted fable questions the inherent authenticity and reliability of written language as a platform for disseminating knowledge in and of itself – its 'truthfulness' as a medium. Centuries later, the postmodernist philosopher Richard Rorty would reassert the lesson of this fable in a more plain sense of language, by stating that:

> "Truth cannot be out there – cannot exist independently of the human mind – because sentences cannot so exist, or be out there. The world is out there, but descriptions of the world are not. Only descriptions of the world can be true or false. The world on its own – unaided by the describing activities of human beings – cannot." [119]

The written word, as both authors warn, has the propensity to deceive as language itself is an abstraction manufactured by mankind and hence is susceptible to folly and manipulation – a facet which Richard Rorty further develops with his notion of 'redescription'. Redescription, as explained by Rorty, is the literal process of re-describing terms to create new attitudes and understandings within language – in effect, turning and twisting terminology into new descriptions that change a concept's meanings in order to suit the needs of its authors and

---

[117] Hegel, G. W. F. The Philosophy of History, p. 25.
[118] Plato, Phaedrus, (London: Penguin Classics, 2005), p. 62.
[119] Rorty, R. Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 5.

audience. [120] Take, for example, the notion of the term 'virtue', and how its definition has been redescribed throughout history: Ancient Greek authors such as Aristotle described the term to exhibit such qualities including courage, generosity, justice, modesty, temperance, and wisdom; centuries later with the rise of Christianity in Western Europe, the term was redescribed to suit the Christian ideals of altruism, morality, patience, purity, and religiosity; and centuries later still, selfishness was redescribed as a virtue in and of itself by the author Ayn Rand in 1964. [121] If words can be redescribed, so too, 'Truth' (or what is considered the 'Truth') can equally be redescribed by its unscrupulous authors who can redefine what is right or wrong on a whim – in effect, concealing or obscuring the real 'Truth' if it existed. [122]

Another epistemological conundrum expressed in the myth of writing is the conundrum regarding the authenticity of knowledge from having first-hand 'lived' experience as opposed to second-hand 'learnt' experience from written materials. In other words, is it at all possible for an historian that writes about the past to truly and faithfully represent it in their works if they themselves never lived through it personally? It has often been contended that personal experience lends genuine credence to the written works produced. [123] Then again, it could be argued, at the same time Thamus's assertion over-emphasises the significance of experience over learnt knowledge – and that it ignores the assertion that learnt knowledge is itself a kind of experience anyway. [124] Moreover, having experience of something, it has been historically shown, is no guarantee that a person fully understands what it is that is happening around them during the moment, nor does it provide them with an acquittance from harbouring downright false assertions and conclusions. Take, for instance, the recent historical events of September 11th, 2001, wherein a significant proportion of on-lookers and survivors of the event were drawn towards inventive conspiracies involving actors such as the Illuminati, Jews, and even the George W. Bush Administration (the so-called 'inside job') – even otherwise 'intelligent' persons, including academics, were at the time swept up by such nonsense and were impeded, rather than aided, by their experience. [125]

Another epistemological shortcoming concerning the narrative form is that, whereas the narrative structure is seemingly dependent upon an orderly 'Three Act Structure' and the like, fundamentally, reality has no beginnings, middles, or ends. Of course, there is the argument that people are born, they live, and eventually die, or that civilisations are created, they rule for a time, then collapse, and so on – but in the grand scheme of things, the universe has existed for trillions of human years before humanity and it will continue long after humanity

[120] Ibid, pp 5-9.
[121] Barker, E. [Translator], Aristotle [Author], The Politics of Aristotle, (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 105 n2; Honohan, I. Civic Republicanism, (London: Routledge, 2002), pp 20-21; Rand, A. The Virtue of Selfishness: A New Concept of Egoism, (New York: Signet, 1964); &, virtue, n. : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/223835, (09/02/13).
[122] Browning, G. K. Political Philosophy Now, p. 11; &, Rorty, R. Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity, p. 7.
[123] The Ancient Historian Polybius, for example, argued that a lived experience of the subject matters of which they were depicting, such as in politics, was necessary for historians to appropriately conduct their work. Waterfield, R. [Translator], Polybius [Author], The Histories, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. XXII.
[124] Munslow A. Deconstructing History, p. 12.
[125] Aaronovitch, D. Voodoo Histories: How Conspiracy Theory has Shaped Modern History, (London: Vintage, 2010), pp 220-250; &, Barkun, M. A Culture of Conspiracy: Apocalyptic Visions in Contemporary America [2nd Edition], (Berkley: University of California Press, 2013), pp 159-182.

is extinct (alongside the narrative form) also. Mankind lives in the perpetual present – the 'middle' – wherein everyday life is for the most part a cycle of unimportant routine chores – eat, sleep, toilet breaks, work, and so on – which itself is mostly ignored within narratives because of its triviality. Whereas in narrative, especially historical ones, it is often only the exciting, the unique or significant events in life which are recorded: and as in the same manner with the episteme of memory, narratives which typically do not follow an orderly, natural, or rational course are often erased, ignored, or revised by its author. [126] Related to this point is the danger posed by the narrative form in regards to what historian James Loewen describes as the 'heroification' of historical figures. Heroification (and indeed, its opposite, 'villainisation') emerges as the events described in a narrative are often driven by the actors, who themselves are depicted as having agency and therefore the responsibility for the consequences which unfold in hindsight. [127] Nowhere, perhaps, is this idea of 'heroification' best exemplified, than with the Founding Fathers of the revolutionary generation of American history. Figures like George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams have literally become deified in the manner in which their unabashedly praised deeds and seldom criticised sentiments are depicted by the narrative form – no longer are they fallible humans, but are instead supermen, characters more adept in the realms of fiction than that of reality.

 Another important issue surrounding the narrative form is related to the problem of the multiplicity of interpretation. To understand this problem, however, first the distinctions between *narrative* (story) and *narrative discourse* (plot) must be understood. A *narrative* (story), as has been previously mentioned, is the sequence of events that by their depiction in either a linear or cyclic model map out a sense of progression of time – which in historical terms is the 'fixed' set of chronological events. *Narrative discourse* (plot), on the other hand, is the various manners in which the narrative is articulated – which in historical terms are the 'malleable' interpretations of said historic events by historians. [128] Take, for instance, the American Revolution: the sequence of events, its narrative, always remains the same – there will always be a Stamp Act Crisis, a Boston Massacre, a Boston Tea Party, the presenting of the Declaration of Independence at the Philadelphia Statehouse, the Battle of Bunker Hill, and so on: However, the manner in which these events are depicted, its narrative discourse, can drastically change the meanings and interpretations of these events, creating in historical terms what is known as a historiography or paradigm – the emphasis on great human figures, the influence of particular strands of political ideology, and the role of economic or material interests are all but some examples of narrative discourses surrounding the American Revolution. As postmodernists point out regarding the problem with the multiplicity of interpretations: a close to faithful interpretation of the past 'as it truly was' becomes somewhat impossible when due to the fecundatory nature of narrative discourse an infinite number of interpretations are produced – as such, they argue that no interpretation can be

---

[126] Abbott, H. P. The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative, p. 42; Burger, A. A. Narratives, pp 161-162; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 332; & Wright, W. Sixguns & Society, p. 192.
[127] Loewen, J. W. Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), p. 19.
[128] Abbott, H. P. The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative, p. 17 & 19; Burroway, J. Stuckey-French, E. & N. Writing Fiction, p. 262; &, Howard, R. [Translator], Barthes, R. [Author], The Semiotic Challenge, p. 136.

considered the most 'Truthful', or equally, that every interpretation is inherently false due to the contextual misunderstanding and selective reading of said historical narratives. [129]

This subsection has highlighted some of the intrinsic epistemological conundrums associated with the narrative form and how it relates to the discipline of History. All histories are in fact narratives insofar that it is the narrative form which conveys historical knowledge to its audience, and that moreover History without the narrative form would simply cease to be History – instead consisting of little more than a worthless list of contentless and contextless actors, dates, and events. History and narrative are inseparable, and so too are there limitations – a point which is further recounted in future chapters of this thesis. A narrative is a platform which is used to communicate knowledge to its audience which is typically presented as the process of depicting a series of events in some manner of sequential order. [130] Narratives, by depicting a sequential series of events, (in either a linear or cyclical fashion), establish a sense of order which typically (but not always) encapsulates a 'Three Act Structure' which includes a beginning, a middle, and an end. [131] Despite depicting the world in a physical form (in books, film, theatre, and so on), narratives are not the same as the world as it exists or had existed. Rather, narratives are but abstractions and descriptions of the world as it is thought to be or have been. [132] Narratives by their physical nature cannot possibly encapsulate every atom of detail of the world that they sought to describe, instead, they comprise but a small orderly selection of the world at their author's discretion – the same, of course, applies to the discipline of History. [133] History cannot exist without the narrative form, and the narrative form cannot exist without language – its limitations as an episteme are inescapable, yet there is no foreseeable alternative to redress these shortcomings.

2.4.3: History, Hermeneutics, and Objectivity

One aspect of the historical discipline that deserves further explanation is the notion of historical objectivity. Can history be objective? What is historical objectivity? This subsection further expounds upon the so-called 'objectivity question' surrounding the historical discipline.

The idea of 'historical objectivity' is a complex and divisive subject, as its meaning has changed throughout the course of time. However, the notion of 'historical objectivity' as it is

---

[129] Rosenau, P. M. Post-Modernism and the Social Sciences: Insights, Inroads, and Intrusions, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 71 & 119.

[130] Abbott, H. P. The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative, p. 15 & 19; Burger, A. A. Narratives, p. 4; Howard, R. [Translator], Barthes, R. [Author], The Semiotic Challenge, p. 136; Munslow, A. Deconstructing History, p. 3 & 201; &, narrative, n. : Oxford English Dictionary.

[131] Abbott, H. P. The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative, p. 15 & 19; Appleby, J. Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. Telling the Truth About History, p. 231; Burger, A. A. Narratives, p. 4; Burroway, J. Stuckey-French, E. & N. Writing Fiction, p. 249; Lacey, N. Narrative and Genre, pp 13-14; Three-Act-Structure; &, Wright, W. Sixguns & Society, p. 186.

[132] Munslow, A. Deconstructing History, pp 37-38.

[133] Browning, G. K. Political Philosophy Now, p. 11; Burger, A. A. Narratives, p. 162; Lacey, N. Narrative and Genre, p. 77; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, pp 214-215; &, Rorty, R. Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity, p. 5.

most commonly known is perhaps best described by the American historian Peter Novick, who states that (emphasis added):

> "[historical objectivity is] …a commitment to the reality of the past, and to truth as correspondence to that reality; a sharp separation between knower and known, between fact and value, and, above all, between history and fiction. Historical facts are seen as prior to and independent of interpretation: the value of an interpretation is judged by how well it accounts for the facts; if contradicted by the facts, it must be abandoned. Truth is one, not perspectival. Whatever patterns exist in history are 'found,' not 'made'. Though successive generations of historians might, as their perspectives shifted, attribute different significance to events in the past, the meaning of those events was unchanging.
>
> The objective historian's role is that of a neutral, or disinterested, judge; it must never degenerate into that of advocate or, even worse, propagandist. The historian's conclusions are expected to display the standard judicial qualities of balance and even-handedness. As with the judiciary, these qualities are guarded by the insulation of the historical profession from social pressure or political influence, and by the individual historian avoiding partisanship or bias – not having any investment in arriving at one conclusion rather than another. Objectivity is held to be at grave risk when history is written for utilitarian purposes…" [134]

In other words, historical objectivity is the belief that there is a single and all-encompassing truth to the past, and that the historical facts and their meanings are forever fixed.

The idea of historical objectivity was popularised in the nineteenth-century by historians such as Leopold von Ranke and Henry Adams. Inspired by the advancement of the field of science at the time, these historians sought to impose a 'scientific' ethos to the discipline of history. As such, they argued, the historical discipline should be studied in the same manner as if it were a science. According to this ethos, only a strict and rigorous study of primary source material from a dispassionate 'neutral' position could achieve a sense of historical objectivity. In this sense, objective historians were slaves to primary sources, they would not challenge or ask questions of the sources (apart from the very issues raised by the sources themselves), and as a result the past would be written by historians in its own terms – to quote Ranke, "as it really was." [135]

In the twentieth-century, historians such as E. H. Carr and the Progressive school of thought re-described historical objectivity as being linked with progress and progressive values. According to this notion of progress, objectivity meant providing new insights with the emergence of the social sciences – distancing itself away from the traditional historiography that emphasised elites, towards a socio-economic model that emphasised the role of the masses. Objectivity and progress was also believed to be something defined (and redefined)

---

[134] Novick, P. *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp 1-2.

[135] Appleby, J. Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. Telling the Truth About History, p. 16; Burrow, J. A History of Histories, p. 450; Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, p. 17 & 230; Harrison, R., Jones, A. & Lambert, P. "Methodology: 'Scientific' history and the problem of objectivity", Making History: An Introduction to the history and practices of a discipline, (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 35; Iggers, G. G. "The Professionalization of Historical Studies", p. 226 & 232; Marwick, A. The New Nature of History, p. 79; Novick P. That Noble Dream, p. 28; &, Tosh, J. The Pursuit of History, p. 131.

by the continuous debate of future historians. [136] As E. H. Carr states: "Objectivity in history does not and cannot rest on some fixed and immovable standard of judgement existing here and now, but only on a standard which is laid up in the future and is evolved as the course of history advances." [137]

This adoption of an objective and scientific approach would in turn separate the historical discipline away from the roots of literature and philosophy. A division between history as an art, and history as a science, emerged and remains since. [138] This thesis, is an attempt at re-bridging this division, returning to and experimenting with its literary and philosophical roots.

As an aside, although the concept of historical objectivity as it is currently known is a relatively recent phenomenon, it could be argued that the historical divisions relating to the idea of what is 'historical objectivity' or 'true history' and how the historical discipline should best be presented, go right back to the time of its founding. This division, of course, arose between the differing approaches of the Ancient Greek historians Herodotus and Thucydides: Whilst Herodotus wrote broadly, Thucydides wrote specifically. Whilst Herodotus wrote his histories to entertain, Thucydides wrote to inform. Whilst Herodotus wrote of the Gods and human drama, Thucydides wrote of events, politics and power. Whilst Herodotus was relativist, Thucydides was elitist. [139] This is what could be considered an example of 'historical recurrence' within the historical discipline. The concept of historical recurrence will be detailed further in a later subsection of this chapter (see Subsection **2.4.4: Historical Recurrence** on page 52).

The idea of historical objectivity was challenged in the late-twentieth-century with the emergence of cultural (neo-progressive school of thought) history and postmodernist philosophy, but perhaps the biggest challenge to this notion of historical objectivity came from outside of these fields. The discipline of science itself was no longer being seen as the rigid, strict, and uncompromising servant to objectivity that it once was. In 1962, the publication of The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, by Thomas S. Kuhn, promoted the theory of paradigms as a force influencing scientific thought. A 'paradigm' put simply is a dominant model, perspective, or theory of thought (for instance, a historiography such as the Imperialist school of thought). According to Kuhn, when new paradigms are introduced, or old paradigms are reversed, a so-called 'paradigm shift' occurs. Kuhn's critics feared that science had become relativist. [140]

---

[136] Breisach, E. Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern [Third Edition], (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 330 & 335; &, Carr, E. H. What is History?, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 124.

[137] Carr, E. H. What is History?, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 124.

[138] Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, (London: Granta Books, 2000), p. 17; &, Tosh, J. The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods & New Directions in the Study of Modern History [2nd Edition], (London: Longman, 1992), pp 132-133.

[139] Breisach, E. Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern [Third Edition], (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp 14-18; Burrow, J. A History of Histories, p. 12, 20, 33, & 39; Kramer L. & Maza, S. "Introduction: The Cultural History of Historical Thought", p. 9; &, Murray, O. "Greek Historians", p. 219, 221, 225 & 229.

[140] Alder, K. "The History of Science", A Companion to Western Historical Thought, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp 308-310; Appleby, J. Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. Telling the Truth About History, pp 163-165, 244-245; Burrow, J. A History of Histories, p. 466, 498 & 499; Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, pp 42-44; &, Marwick, A. The New Nature of History, p. 133.

The postmodernist philosopher, Michel Foucault, also promoted a theory challenging the notion of historical objectivity, which was related but also separate to that of Thomas Kuhn's paradigms – what Foucault termed the 'episteme'. According to Foucault's theory, which was elaborated in his work The Archaeology of Knowledge, historical objectivity was:

> …produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power… 'Truth' is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it. A 'regime' of truth. [141]

Power determined what was historically objective. The systems of power determined the history that would be written in every epoch – the documents and texts produced were the products of the dominant power, rather than the outcome of individual thought. If one historical narrative became popular than another, it was not because of its historical objectivity, but because the adherents of the particular narrative had more power (in society, the historical profession, and so on) than the critics. [142]

Linked with Thomas Kuhn's conception of paradigms and Michel Foucault's theory of power as the driving forces behind history, is the conundrum created by the existence of competing historiographies and their narratives. The notion that there can be only one true objective narrative of the past is at odds with the plurality of competing historiographies that have developed over the centuries. History is (re)written generation after generation, for the specific demands of each generation in mind. As each new paradigm of historiography is written and replaces the old narratives, it consequently obscures the objective truth of the past. This problem is not only related to historiographies and narratives, as the historian Michael Roberts points out, that the 'multifarious' nature of contemporary empirical data further obscures the idea of an objective history. [143] This particular conundrum is depicted in the diagram on the following page (see **Fig 8: Objective History – The Ideal versus the Real**), and is also further developed in detail (with particular regards to the American Revolution) in a later chapter of this thesis (see Subsection **7.2: The Historiography of the American Revolution** on page 203).

---

[141] Novick, P. That Noble Dream, p. 536.
[142] Breisach, E. Historiography, p. 423; Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, pp 195-196; &, Novick, P. That Noble Dream, pp 535-536.
[143] Roberts, M. "Postmodernism and the linguistic turn", Making History: An Introduction to the history and practices of a discipline, (London: Routledge, 2004), pp 232-233.

Fig 8: Objective History – The Ideal versus the Real

The Ideal

A Historically Objective
Account of the American
Revolution

The Real

1st Generation Reverence of the Founding Fathers
Classical Republicanism Nostalgia Whig
Race Post-Modernism Sexual Minorities
Religion Mercantilism Racism
'God's divine plan' Neo-Whig 'Liberty versus Tyranny!'
Nationalist Diplomacy Propaganda Patriots
Sex A Historically Objective Women
Marxism Native Americans Culture
Philosophy Account of the American Myth
Slavery Revolution Lockean Liberalism
'Unscrupulous Devils' Neo-Progressive
Iconoclasm
Loyalists 'Socio-economic factors'
Conspiracies Gender Progressive
Minorities African-Americans
Manifest Destiny
'Great Misunderstanding' Ideology
Imperialist Rhetoric Tory 2nd Generation

   Post-modernists began to challenge the idea of historical objectivity with the so-called 'linguistic turn'. The linguistic turn (or the concept of poststructuralism) highlighted the instability of language as a medium to transfer knowledge – this set it apart from the notion of structuralism before it, which emphasised language as having a somewhat rigid orderliness. To put it simply, as all histories depend on language they are also subject to language's flaws. As language under the linguistic turn is seen as unreliable and unstable, so too history is affected in the same manner. History in this sense, becomes controlled by language, rather than language being used as a tool for historians. [144] Some historians disagree with the postmodernist assertion. Arthur Marwick, for instance, argues that language does not control historians to the degree postmodernist critics assert as historians can always control language in turn (so long as they are extremely careful). [145] But this notion is dubious, considering that one can no more control language – or even more so, control other persons'

---

[144] Breisach, E. Historiography, pp 422-424; Marwick, A. The New Nature of History, pp 11-12; &, Roberts, M. "Postmodernism and the linguistic turn", pp 228-229.
[145] Marwick, A. The New Nature of History, p. 12.

perception(s) of language – as one could control the tides of the sea as King Cnut once exemplified.

 The linguistic turn also challenged the traditional notions regarding the authority of historical sources, in particular with historical texts –both primary and secondary. The nineteenth-century conception of historical objectivity was driven, as the historian E. H. Carr describes it, by 'document fetishism'. A strict adherence and reverence of primary source materials was believed to be the key to unlocking the objective truths of the past. However, as Carr points out, the documents and texts are only as insightful as the authors who wrote them. Historical documents and texts are the product of their author's perspective, they are often edited, and they cannot contain the totality of the past – hence, documents and texts need to be contextualised, questioned and scrutinised. [146] Furthermore, the linguistic turn transformed the inherent value of historical documents and texts. Historical texts were no longer seen as capable of providing greater insights into the past, rather texts were believed to only provide insight to other texts' conception of the past. Historical documents and texts were now equal (and so, too, was the relationship between audience and historian), no one text (or interpretation) could be elevated above another – they became equally as 'true' or 'untrue' as each other, regardless of their content and the context within they were written. [147]

 The ideal role of an objective historian, it is argued, is somebody who does not make value judgements of the past. [148] However, the very act of writing history itself – the inclusion and exclusion of particular facts, the specific descriptive language adopted, what is or is not codified and remembered – is by its very nature a value judgement. [149] The very words we use to describe events. Even the fact that these events are remembered and are written (or recorded), shows a value judgement – that they are worthy of remembrance. Take, for instance, the history of the Boston Massacre. The very title used to describe what is remembered, the Boston 'Massacre' is a value judgement – it implies that: the persons who died were victims (they were in respects seen as morally good or innocent); the victims were massacred (they faced an overpowered response); the victims were martyred (for the ideals of the American Revolution); it was a deliberate and nefarious act enacted by the perpetrators (the British Redcoats); the persons responsible for conducting the act were morally at fault (it was an evil deed); and that, the event is significant enough to be remembered – this is expanded upon further in a future chapter of this thesis (again, see Subsection **7.2: The Historiography of the American Revolution** on page 203).

 Related to the above point, there is the added conundrum posed by the postmodernist philosopher, Richard Rorty, and his concept of 're-description'. Re-description is the process of re-defining language – adapting, changing, or imposing new meanings to old terms. Every generation (indeed, every individual), will re-describe terms to provide novel explanations to phenomena that best satisfy their needs and to replace unsatisfactory explanations of the past. [150] If a multitude of new (re-)descriptions are created, which in turn produces a multitude of

---

[146] Carr, E. H. What is History?, p. 10.
[147] Breisach, E. Historiography, p. 423.
[148] Novick, P. That Noble Dream, pp 1-2.
[149] Keane, J. "More theses on the philosophy of history", Meaning & Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 212.
[150] Rorty, R. Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity, pp 5-9; &, Topper, K. "Richard Rorty, Liberalism and the Politics of Redescription" The American Political Science Review, Vol. 89, No. 4, (December, 1995), p. 954.

(re-)interpretations, the 'objective truth' of the past becomes further obscured. Furthermore, the constant re-description of values inherently changes the meaning behind the past events – which again, alienates the audience further away from the reality of how things were during the past.

The idea of historical objectivity, therefore, has its share of problems. Most historians, however, typically ignore these philosophical problems and continue their work with a certain degree of complacency – at the very most they might acknowledge the problems that exist but do nothing to attempt to redress or resolve the issues. [151] This thesis, however, in the chapters which follow, attempts to redress these philosophical problems. Accordingly, one could argue that this thesis takes a hermeneutical approach to knowledge.

Hermeneutics is the study of the understanding of texts. Like the notion of 'historical objectivity', hermeneutics as a field of knowledge has adapted and changed over time. In the seventeenth- to nineteenth-centuries, the field of hermeneutics was chiefly concerned with the objective ('correct') interpretation of texts – believing that there was a proper method behind unlocking the truth within texts. Hermeneutics originally developed around the Bible, as an attempt to historicise the document, but was then later extended to other texts. Consequently, as the hermeneutic field developed into and beyond the twentieth-century, it began to move away from the rigid methodological pursuit of objectivity and instead embraced a more relativistic plurality of interpretations. [152]

Whilst epistemology attempts to guarantee a certainty of knowledge, and places said knowledge on a hierarchical scale (for example, as this chapter has depicted, the epistemes of nostalgia, memory, and history arranged on a scale from least reliable to most reliable) – Hermeneutics, on the other hand, rejects the notion of there being a guarantee of the certainty of knowledge, and considers the knowledge to be relative to the context of how it is interpreted or understood. [153] There are some critics who argue that, consequently, with its indefinite attitude towards interpretation hermeneutics as a field is "dangerously relativistic" and there are even some critics who have gone so far as to label hermeneutics as being "nihilistic". [154]

It may be true that the hermeneutical approach is nihilistic, but this is not necessarily a negative trait. Nihilism has distinctions of its own. On the one hand, there is the often commonly thought of 'negative nihilism' – the idea that: nothing matters, everything is rubbish (because it does not matter), why bother doing anything, and so on. But on the other hand, there is also 'positive nihilism' – the idea that: nothing matters, everything is great (because it does not matter), enjoy and experiment with what is there, and so on. To put it another way, for instance, it is the distinction between works of entertainment such as Hamlet and *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* – both are nihilistic, but the former is negative, and

---

[151] Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, pp 4-5.
[152] Appleby, J. Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. Telling the Truth About History, 45-48; Hoy, D. C. "Hermeneutics", Social Research, Vol. 47, No. 4, Philosophy: An Assessment, (Winter, 1980), p. 649; Marwick, A. The New Nature of History, p. 290; &, Verges, F. G. "Rorty and the New Hermeneutics", Philosophy, Vol. 62, No. 241, (July, 1987), p. 308.
[153] Hoy, D. C. "Hermeneutics", pp 657-658.
[154] Ibid, p. 666.

the latter positive in their outlooks. This thesis, therefore, embraces the positive nihilism of the hermeneutical approach.

2.4.4: Historical Recurrence

A peculiar facet of the philosophy of history and its historiography that deserves more examination is the concept of historical recurrence. The notion of historical recurrence, that 'history repeats itself', was an underlying presumption for much of historical thought in Western civilisation, even today this notion has become a vulgar cliché – 'those who fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it', 'the more things change, the more they stay the same', and so on. [155] This subsection begins by detailing the philosophical roots of historical recurrence in Western thought by examining the so-called cycles of political constitutions espoused by the Ancient Greeks, Plato and Polybius, it then provides an overview of some views related to the notion of historical recurrence as identified by the historian G. W. Trompf, before finally providing an example of historical recurrence relevant to this thesis to explain the notion of History as "philosophy teaching by examples".

The notion of historical recurrence in Western thought stemmed, of course, from the Ancient Greek tradition. Greek culture emphasised the majesty of cycles in everyday life, which included cycles of: day-into-night, spring-to-summer-to-autumn-to-winter, life-and-death, and so on. Perhaps the most important of these cycles, were the political cycles which depicted the recurring transition of political regimes and the rise and fall of civilisations:

In Plato's Republic, for instance, his utopian society which is ruled by an ideal aristocratic constitution is thought to decline as a result of the divisions between the auxiliaries (silver class) who orchestrate a coup against the philosopher kings (gold class) when they attempt to selfishly implement a policy regarding the right to private property ownership – a policy which went against Plato's ideals. The resulting coup creates a military junta ruled by the auxiliaries and driven by their sense of duty and honour, what Plato refers to as a timarchy. Eventually, as wealth begins to accumulate and garner a greater influence amongst the day-to-day machinations of society, the timarchy is replaced by an oligarchy. Wealth sunders society into two predominant economic classes, the rich and the poor, of whom the poor majority overthrow the rich minority and in their wake they establish a democratic constitution. Democracy within the society, however, is short-lived because of its anarchic and disorderly nature, which consequently ushers in a reign of tyranny under an absolute ruling despot. Eventually, the cycle of political constitutions begins anew when the tyrant becomes an enlightened despot, a philosopher king ruling through reason (see **Fig 9: Plato's Decline of Political Constitutions** on the next page). [156]

Fig 9: Plato's Decline of Political Constitutions

---

[155] Trompf, G. W. *The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought*, p. IX.
[156] Sayers, S. *Plato's Republic*, pp 136-138.
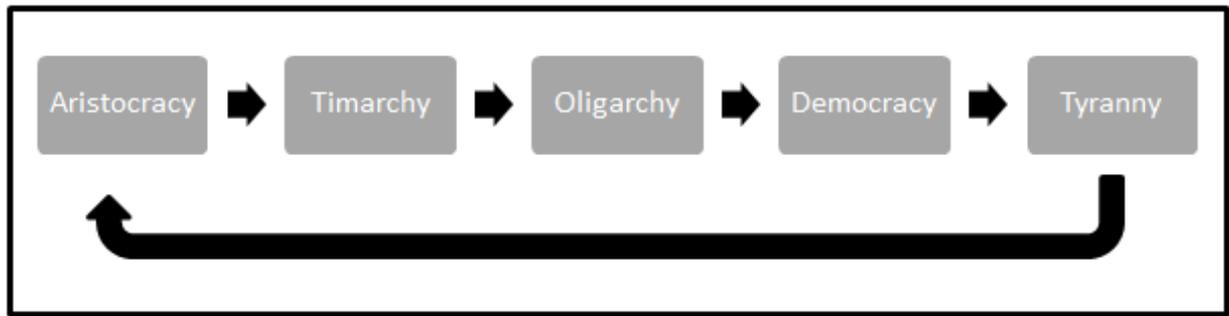
Centuries later, the Roman historian Polybius would famously popularise the idea of historical cycles of political constitutions based on the philosophical foundations laid by Plato – what Polybius termed the Anacyclõsis. [157] According to the Anacyclõsis: in the beginning mankind is divided and scattered by calamities such as famines, floods, and plagues, reducing them to an uncivilised level in what later philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes and John Locke would describe as the 'state of nature'; eventually, a single person is able to band together enough followers to establish a civilised society, becoming a monarch who rules in the benefit of their people, putting their needs and security above the ruler's private self-interest; over time, however, descendants of the monarchs become decadent, pursuing their own selfish interests at the expense of the people who they rule over, becoming tyrants and ruling in such a fashion; at some point, a conspiracy of aristocrats will overthrow the tyrant and establish their own rule in the interests of the people; once again, however, the descendants of the aristocrats, having no understandable notion of the ideals their forefathers had fought for, become oligarchs blindsided by their own avarice; accordingly, the oligarchs are in turn overthrown by the masses, who establish a democracy which once again intends to serve the public interest; but democracy, too, is soon replaced as the population resorts to mob rule to pursue policies which advantage their individual self-interests at the expense of wider society; finally, mob rule is put to an end as either a strong individual ruler seizes control, or society collapses and reverts back to state of nature, beginning the cycle anew (see **Fig 10: Polybius's Anacyclõsis** on the following page). [158]

---

[157] Trompf, G. W. The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought, p. 5.
[158] Taken from: Scott-Kilvert, I. [Translator], Polybius [Author], The Rise of the Roman Empire, (London: Penguin Books, 1979), pp 303-309; Trompf, G. W. The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought, pp 26-31; &, Waterfield, R. [Translator], Polybius [Author], The Histories, pp 373-378.

Fig 10: Polybius's Anacyclõsis
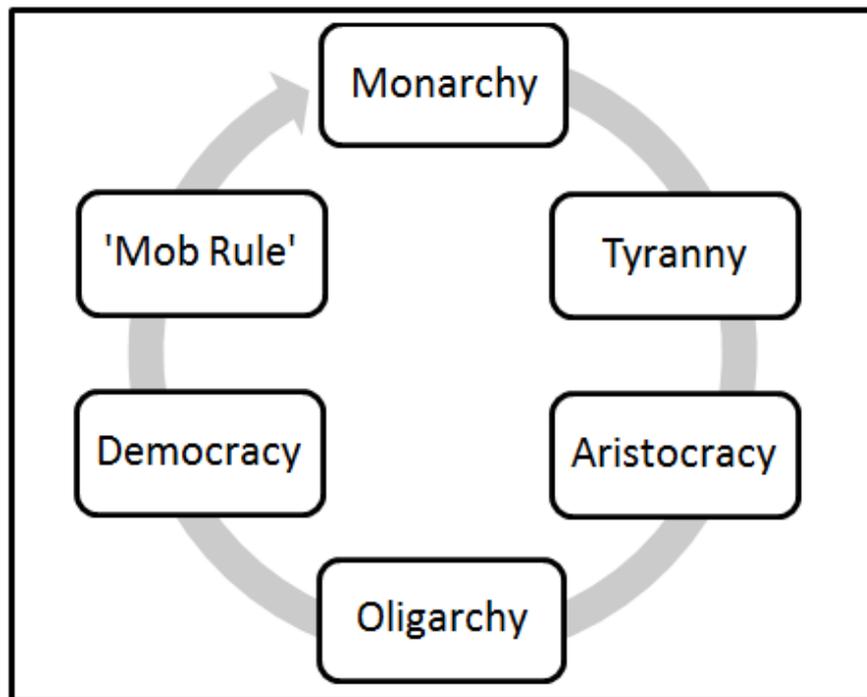
 Behind both conceptions of the cycles of political constitutions as described by Plato and Polybius was the notion of corruption or decay as the instigating factor behind the transition of ruling constitutions. For Plato, decay was the inevitable consequence of existing in the material ('sensible') world, whilst Polybius considered corruption as the result of the inherent strength or weakness of an individual's own morality – a virtuous adherence to the public interest, versus the sin of self-interest. [159] Theoretically it was believed, by Polybius and other political thinkers following him, that in order to break the natural cycle of political constitutions what was needed was a political body that was comprised of and contained an equal share of power between all three forms of government – Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy – otherwise known as a 'mixed constitution' or the 'separation of powers' theory. The equilibrium of power between the three separate factions of government was theoretically determined by the belief that each faction would act as a guard against the abuse or undue acquisition of power from one another, thereby making it the best form of government as corruption would theoretically be uprooted in one faction by the other separate factions. It was a theory which, of course, was famously touted by the Founding Fathers in their establishment of the government of the United States of America – and which is still worshipped to this very day in American school textbooks. [160]

 The cycles of political constitutions are one such example of historical recurrence in action. Its value lies upon the notion that History has the propensity to teach 'lessons' to those that

---

[159] Eckstein, A.M. Moral Vision in The Histories of Polybius; &, Sayers, S. *Plato's Republic*, p. 137.

[160] Beberman, D. J. The Classical Foundations of the American Constitution, pp 16 & 76-77; Loewen, J. W. Lies My Teacher Told Me, p. 215; &, Wood, G. S. The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1787, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1972), p. 151.

would pay attention to it is what underlies the concept of Historical recurrence. [161] Ironically, History has shown that successfully 'learning' said 'lessons' and exploiting such precedent of the past, however, is an entirely different matter, and at times has even backfired catastrophically. One such instance of the lessons of history 'backfiring' was what became known as the 'Munich Paradigm' which was used to justify the United States of America's disastrous military intervention in the Vietnam War during the sixties. [162] It is impossible to truly 'learn lessons' from the past, some historians argue, because no two aspects of time and space are ever exactly the same on an atomistic level and will never repeat. The intrinsic limitations of the narrative form which make it impossible to record every atom of detail of the past as well as to on the other hand produce an infinite amount of interpretations, add further weight to the assertion that no reliable 'lessons' can be learnt from History. [163] As a result of these shortcomings, those who attempt to exploit the past soon often discover, in the words of the historian Gordon S. Wood, that: "Insofar as it [History] teaches any lessons, it teaches only one big one: that nothing ever works quite the way its managers intended or expected." [164]

 Nevertheless, the concept of historical recurrence, as the historian G. W. Trompf notes in his seminal work, The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought, has many incarnations, including but not limited to what Trompf identifies as: the Cyclical View, in which it is believed that within history there are instances of recurring phenomena which follow a set sequence of order which in turn ultimately ends up repeating itself anew after the previous conditions responsible for initiating the cycle's sequence reappears; the Reciprocal View, which attests that particular events and phenomena are followed by consequences in a similar recurring manner, that for every action there is an equal reaction in kind; the Re-enactment

---

[161] Carr, E. H. What is History?, pp 60-62; Collingwood, R. G. The Idea of History, p. 23; Commager, H. S. "The American Enlightenment and the Ancient World", p. 5; Hobsbawm, E. J. On History, pp 32-34 & 51; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 40 & 46; &, Tosh, J. The Pursuit of History, p. 12.

[162] The Munich paradigm (sometimes referred to as the 'Munich analogy' and the 'Munich syndrome') was a theory popularised by the Swedish historian Göran Rystad which argued that one of the key underlying and motivating forces behind the decisions made by the chief policymakers that led the United States of America into intervening militarily in Vietnam was because of the so-called 'lessons' of the-then recent history. These 'lessons', of course, refer to what happened in 1938, in Munich – the policies of appeasement by European politicians, such as Neville Chamberlain, at the Munich conference which were believed to have futilely postponed an immediate conflict – having instead emboldened the Fascist dictator, Adolf Hitler – and inevitably led to the greater calamity of destruction that was the Second World War. The conclusion of this 'lesson' at the time, therefore, was that a pre-emptive military intervention would have prevented a greater conflict by debilitating Hitler's regime before it became a threat. The policymakers behind the United States of America during the sixties having likened Ho Chi Minh in their minds to an Asian Adolf Hitler, were guided by the philosophy of "No more Munichs!" believing that military intervention would put a halt to the threat of communism.
Baritz, L. Backfire: A History of How American Culture Led Us Into Vietnam and Made Us Fight the Way We Did, (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), p. 14; Goodwin, D. K. Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), pp 252-253; MacPherson, M. Long Time Passing: Vietnam and the Haunted Generation, (New York: Doubleday, 1993), p. 607; &, Rystad, G. "Images of the Past", To Reason Why: The Debate about the Causes of U.S. Involvement in the Vietnam War, (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing, 1990), p. 53 & 57.

[163] Carr, E. H. What is History?, pp 62-65; Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, pp 59-61; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, pp 214-216; Rosenau, P. M. Post-Modernism and the Social Sciences, p. 71; &, Tosh, J. The Pursuit of History, pp 16-17.

[164] Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past, p. 71.

View, in which actions throughout history are consciously imitated by later generations, which thereby causes an historical recurrence; and the View of Restoration/Renovation/Renaissance, which entails the belief that in some form or another historical phenomena which may be considered forgotten or obsolete has the chance to be revived and hence recur once more. [165] "The idea of exact recurrence…" G. W. Trompf stresses: "was rarely incorporated into any of these views, for in the main they simply presume the recurrence of sorts of events…" [166] Contextually, as it is often asserted by historians, no two moments of the past are ever exactly the same (atom-by-atom). Thereby it is seen as a futile endeavour, by many of the same historians, to attempt to use History as a magic ball to conjure specific predictions of the future. [167]

Nevertheless, finding similarities between the past and the present and using History as a guidebook for the future is part and parcel of human nature. The concept of historical recurrence is intrinsically tied up with the notion that permeated much of mankind's attitude towards the discipline of History throughout Western civilisation in the early centuries, the notion that History was "philosophy teaching by examples." This notion was most famously utilised by the eighteenth-century English historian, Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, who wrote extensively about the state of the British Empire in lieu of the familiar topic of the rise and fall of civilisation – comparing what was happening in Britain in his own time to that of the model of Ancient Rome found in the remembered histories of the age. [168] The following story, which came about through the research relating to the content of this chapter, should be taken as an example of 'philosophy teaching by examples':

As was previously mentioned in the first part of this chapter, the term 'Nostalgia' was coined from the mind of a Swiss physician and scholar, Johannes Hofer, in the pages of his Dissertatio Medica de Nostalgia (Medical Dissertation on Nostalgia), which was published in 1688. Hofer was inspired to invent the term nostalgia as a means to articulate a particular malaise he regarded as ubiquitous to the manner of the patients he examined, but which had no recognisable definition at the time. The phenomenon Hofer attempted to articulate was related to a rash of cases of extreme 'homesickness' experienced by his fellow countrymen. Hofer by studying his patients was able to identify a pattern of physical symptoms, including: the appearance of dejection, infrequent bouts of emotional instability, signs of bodily marasmus, an obstinate-mindedness towards the homeland, and, occasionally, the blossoming of suicidal tendencies – which he categorised as symptoms of that "homesickness as a disease", nostalgia. [169] Hofer's conceptualisation of nostalgia soon spread like proverbial wildfire across Europe and in the Americas; all manner of great medicinal minds of the time added to Hofer's thesis, and over time new symptoms of the so-called disease were observed

---

[165] Trompf, G. W. The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought, pp 2-3.
[166] Ibid, p. 3.
[167] Carr, E. H. What is History?, pp 62-63; Collingwood, R. G. [Author], Dray, W. H. & van der Dussen, W. J. [Editors], The Principles of History, p. 133; Tosh, J. The Pursuit of History, pp 16-17; &, Toynbee, A. J. A Study of History, p. 253.
[168] Commager, H. S. "The American Enlightenment and the Ancient World", p. 3; &, Kramnick, I. Bolingbroke and his Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 75.
[169] Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. 3; Davis, F. Yearning for Yesterday, pp 1-2; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 10; &, Matt, S. J. "You Can't Go Home Again", p. 470.

and added, as were its potential cures. Evidence of nostalgia's deadly effect on the human body was further reinforced with autopsy reports of victims having pus-ridden lungs, and in response to these cases, physicians subscribed a contrarious prescription of bleeding, leeches, opium, the company of women, the sound of cow bells and the like – too little to no effect. [170] Despite all the evidence pertaining to Hofer's conceptualisation of nostalgia, however, the disease itself was illusionary. Its symptoms were mistaken for those of other, now familiar diseases: gastroenteritis, meningitis, and tuberculosis. [171] Johannes Hofer's ideal of nostalgia had consequently superseded and blinded himself and the medicinal community of his age to the reality of the nature of disease.

A similar historical recurrence appeared centuries later within the humanities profession. The historian Arnold Toynbee had experienced his own nostalgia as he penned what became his magnum opus, A Study of History. Toynbee, like Johannes Hofer before him, was fixated by a kind of phenomena ubiquitous to the present in which he lived, and which consequently affected the past in which he studied. Writing at the cusp of the cold war, at a time already traumatised by two successively devastating world wars, Toynbee's mind concerned itself with the familiar notions of the nature of the rise and decline of civilisations – particularly that of the West. As the nature of his profession dictated, Toynbee looked to the past with the desire to find answers for his present. Having examined the past, Toynbee believed that he had discovered a universal pattern relating to the rise and fall of civilisations. In one such instance, he wrote:

The nature of the breakdowns of civilisations can be summed up in three points: a failure of creative power in the minority, an answering withdrawal of mimesis on the part of the majority and a consequent loss of social unity in the society as a whole. [172]

Toynbee applied his universal pattern to the histories of as many past civilisations as he could muster: from the Minoans, Hellenic and Western civilisations – to the Shang, Sinic and Chinese dynasties – as well as the Arabic, Aztec, Babylonian, Inca, Indic, and other such civilisations in-between. As he studied the past histories of these civilisations the pattern Toynbee contrived became evermore foreboding. All the evidence, he believed, justified his idea. But, like Hofer before him, Arnold Toynbee's ruminations proved illusionary. His ideal of a universal pattern of civilisations rising and falling had superseded reality, as the re-examination of the past by other historians introduced new knowledge that contradicted the nostalgia of Toynbee's thesis. [173]

This story shows an example of an historically recurring philosophical lesson – that being the cautionary tale of the power of ideas and its influence over humanity: In both instances, Johannes Hofer and Arnold Toynbee were infatuated with an idea (nostalgia, the rise and fall

---

[170] Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. 3; Davis, F. Yearning for Yesterday, p. XIV; &, Lowenthal, D. "Past Time, Present Place", p. 1-2.
[171] Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. 3; Davis, F. Yearning for Yesterday, p. 11; &, Lowenthal, D. "Past Time, Present Place", p. 2.
[172] Toynbee, A. J. A Study of History, p. 246.
[173] Gardener, D. Future Babble: Why Expert Predictions Fail and Why We Believe Them Anyway, (London: Virgin Books, 2011), pp 58-59 & 78-82.

of civilisations, and so on) which spurred their respective research forward, however, the ideas they had pursued in retrospect turned out to be little more than an illusion – to serve as a future warning to fellow scholars placed in the same predicament.

2.5: Conclusion

This chapter has explored the interrelated epistemology behind the discipline of History, the function of memory, and the phenomenon of nostalgia respectively. This concluding subsection attempts to relate what has been examined to the Tea Party movement.

Nostalgia is a peculiar phenomenon which some could argue has been a part of human nature since the time of the ancients, [174] but was only properly articulated at the advent of the early modern era due to the efforts and observations of the Swiss physician, Johannes Hofer. Hofer's medical definition of the distinctive malaise he observed and noted down in his *Dissertatio Medica de Nostalgia* (1688) – as being quite literally: "homesickness as a disease" – laid the foundation of what would become the conceptualisation of nostalgia. [175] Since Hofer's time, the phenomenon of nostalgia has transitioned from a physical to psychological affliction – no longer was it a sense of remorse for a lost place (home), but instead it became a sense of remorse for a lost time. [176] A universal malady, nostalgia is believed to be caused by: a perception of time being linear (rather than cyclical), a sense of disillusionment with the present, and an exposure to objects from the past. [177]

The Tea Party movement could be argued to be under the influence of a 'restorative' kind of nostalgia as defined by the sociologist Svetlana Boym. Restorative nostalgia, according to Boym, is a nostalgia that promotes amongst its adherents an underlying desire to both defend and if possible physically restore the past in the present – typical of emerging nationalisms around the world. [178] So, too, this peculiar phenomenon that is argued to be a motivating force behind the Tea Party movement can be defined in historical terms as 'archaism'. Archaism, according to the historian Arnold Toynbee is a utopian ideology which believes that the institutions and values of the past is a preferable state of being that should be ushered into the present (which is considered deficient). [179] Either definition sufficiently fits the early observations of the Tea Party movement described in the introduction of this chapter from authors such as Professor Jill Lepore, Theda Skocpol, and Vanessa Williamson. [180]

---

[174] Bonnett, A. *Left in the Past*, p. 19; &, Holland, T. *Rubicon*, p. 13.

[175] Bonnett, A. *Left in the Past*, p. 5; Boym, S. *The Future of Nostalgia*, p. 3; Davis, F. *Yearning for Yesterday*, p. 1; Lowenthal, D. *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 10; Matt, S. J. "You Can't Go Home Again", p. 470; nostalgia, n. : Oxford English Dictionary; nostos, n. : Oxford English Dictionary; &, -algia, comb. form : Oxford English Dictionary.

[176] Boym, S. *The Future of Nostalgia*, p. 11; Chase, M. & Shaw, C. "The Dimensions of Nostalgia", p. 1; Lowenthal, D. "Past Time, Present Place", p. 3; Lowenthal, D. *The Past is a Foreign Country*, pp 10-11; &, Matt, S. J. "You Can't Go Home Again", p. 470.

[177] Chase, M. & Shaw, C. "The Dimensions of Nostalgia, pp 2-4.

[178] Boym, S. *The Future of Nostalgia*, p. 41, 43 & 49.

[179] Toynbee, A. J. *A Study of History*, p. 431 & 933.

[180] Lepore, J. *The Whites of Their Eyes*, p. 15 & 97; &, Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*, p. 75.

Nostalgia is a kind of memory. Memories, of course, are the "acts of commemorating, recollecting and remembering a facet of the past: be it an event, object, person, place, or element of knowledge," and so on. [181] Memories are but mere impressions of the past, they do not recollect every atom of detail of the past, as they are stored in the mind and evoked with the assistance of imagination. [182] As an episteme, memory is situated amongst the lowest rungs of the epistemological hierarchy, and hence nostalgia, being an inferior kind of memory, is situated only slightly above that of imagination which, of course, is situated at the very bottom of the ladder. This, incidentally, is what distinguishes the somewhat 'reliable' and 'good' notion of memory from the decidedly 'unreliable' and 'bad' notion of nostalgia – as memory, theoretically, has some semblance of 'genuine' experience behind it, whilst nostalgia does not. [183]

Regardless of its epistemological shortcomings, memory nonetheless is important as it has the power to shape identities as well as to incite or indeed deter political action amongst individuals and the groups to which they belong in society – the so-called 'politics of memory' that lies hidden behind the process of recollection. The act of remembrance, in this sense, becomes in essence a struggle of power. [184] Related to this topic of power is the question of where memories originate from: memories, it appears, exist from either primary (autobiographical – internal) or secondary (collective – external) origins. [185] Perhaps the biggest influential force which has a determinant role in shaping memories is, of course, the mass media. The mass media both depicts the events of the world from the past as well as when they unfold, and in doing so: said events are entwined together by image and narrative produced by news anchors, documentarians, and journalists which in turn become associated and entwined with an individual's own memory of the events. [186] So, too, collective groups such as the Tea Party movement are instrumental in shaping and safeguarding memories shared by like-minded individuals – therefore, the best means of understanding said phenomenon is by attempting to examine their collective memory, or in other words, history.

History, then, is defined as a branch of knowledge that predominantly concerns itself with notable events that have taken place in the past, which usually consists of a codified (written) or un-codified (oral) record of said events fashioned in a chronological or thematic

---

[181] memory, n. : Oxford English Dictionary.

[182] Blamey, K. & Pellauer, D. [Translators], Ricoeur, P. [Author], Memory, History, Forgetting, p. 5; Olick, J. K. "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures", p. 340; &, Selby-Bigge, L. A. [Editor], Hume, D. [Author], Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding, pp 17-18.

[183] Blamey, K. & Pellauer, D. [Translators], Ricoeur, P. [Author], Memory, History, Forgetting, p. 5; Bonnett, A. Left in the Past, p. 2 & 43; &, Olick, J. K. The Politics of Regret, p. 97.

[184] Confino, A. "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method", The American Historical Review, Vol. 102, No. 5 (December, 1997), p. 1393; Deutsch, K. W. The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control, (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 129; &, Foucault, M. "Film in Popular Memory: An Interview with Michel Foucault", The Collective Memory Reader, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 253.

[185] Coser, L. A. [Translator], Halbwachs, M. [Author], On Collective Memory, p. 24; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 196; Olick, J. K. "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures", p. 335; &, Olick, J. K. Vinitzky-Seroussi, V. & Levy, D. [Editors], The Collective Memory Reader, p. 19.

[186] Black, J. Using History, p. 36; Chomsky, N. & Herman, E. S. Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media, (London: Vintage, 1994), p. 1; Foucault, M. "Film in Popular Memory", pp 252-253; &, Gardener, D. Risk: The Science and Politics of Fear, (London: Virgin Books, 2009), p. 188.

narrative. [187] However, it is important to distinguish the fact that what constitutes 'History' is not the same thing as what had constituted 'the past' – in essence, History is an abstraction of the past, and because of its limitations as a medium, History is not the past itself. This is in large part owing to the fact that the sum total of all the various interrelating actors, environments and stimuli which existed in the past can never be fully articulated in the historical record – due in part to its vast magnitude and sheer immensity, as well as to the fact that most of the information regarding the past was never recorded at all or that it had been lost (either accidently or purposefully) through the continuing passage of time. In this respect, History is but a reflection of what could have happened in the past using a pastiche of cobbled-together fragments of surviving relics and written sources from the past, as well as the historian's own ideological prejudices. [188] History therefore provides an impression of what is thought to have occurred in the past in a similar manner to that of the role played by the impressions made by the signet ring in Plato's metaphor of the wax tablet (as referred to back in the second paragraph of Subsection **2.3.2: Plato's Metaphor of the Wax Tablet**). However, like the wax engravings in the metaphor, it is all but an impression of the past – an abstraction. This notion is reflected by the works of historians such as Alan Munslow, who writes:

> History always comes to us at many removes from the actuality it claims to represent. Every historical interpretation is just one more in a long chain of interpretations, each one usually claiming to be closer to the reality of the past, but each one merely another re-inscription of the same events, with each successive description being the product of the historian's imposition… [189]

As well as Keith Jenkins, who argues that (emphasis added):

> History is one of a series of discourses about the world. These discourses do not create the world (that physical stuff on which we apparently live) but they do appropriate it and give it all the meanings it has... history is a discourse about, but categorically different from, the past… [190]

As a discipline, History is and has always been malleable: from the form of historical inquiry promoted by Herodotus to that promoted by Leopold von Ranke, from grand narratives to specialised monographs. The past is constantly reshaped by generation after generation from the perspective of the present – shaped to suit the needs of said generation. [191] The historian tempers with the past, changing its meaning from a multitude of angles, shaping it by purposefully selecting the facts they deem significant (and ignoring those they consider insignificant) to depict in their narratives. These historical facts are themselves governed by

---

[187] History, n. : Oxford English Dictionary.

[188] Appleby, J. Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. Telling the Truth About History, p. 234 & 253; Crane, S. A. "Language, Literary Studies, and Historical Thought", p. 319; Jenkins, K. Re-thinking History, p. 13; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, pp 214-215; Munslow, A. Deconstructing History, pp 37-38; &, Tosh, J. The Pursuit of History, p. 134.

[189] Munslow, A. Deconstructing History, pp 37-38.

[190] Jenkins, K. Re-thinking History, pp 6-7.

[191] Appleby, J. Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. Telling the Truth About History, p. 211; Funkenstein, A. "Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness", p. 9; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. XVI; Munslow, A. Deconstructing History, p. 1; Rosenau, P. M. Post-Modernism and the Social Sciences, p. 64; Tosh, J. The Pursuit of History, p. 150; &, Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past, p. 39.

an ever-changing consensus established by collective cliques of historians. [192] Or, to put it in more sympathetic terms, as Professor Jill Lepore claims: "History is an endlessly interesting argument… the telling of history is, by its very nature, controversial, contentious, and contested; it advances by debate." [193]

Because of its elasticity, History appears, as the postmodernists argue, to be a logical extension of collective memory. [194] History is the perception of the past from the angle of the present-day – what is sometimes described as 'presentism'. In other words, present-day experiences colour the perceptions of how the past is both examined and imagined by its audience and narrators (historians). This is significantly important to remember. History and the narrative discourses it produces are constantly being redrawn, reproduced, and reinterpreted by generation after successful generation in an infinite cycle. [195] There is then the danger that the famous expression that George Orwell popularised in his dystopian novel, 1984, becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy in that: "those who control the present control the past and those who control the past control the future." [196] Furthermore, as the 'lessons' of History resultantly change as flippantly with the attitudes of the present, it is little wonder that it has become a popular assertion that: "History is the western myth." [197] History is in this sense nostalgic in that it depicts an aspirational past which is orderly, logical and above-all purposeful – a perception from hindsight at odds, of course, with the reality faced by the ancestry at the time. The only way of resolving these problems, paradoxically, is to embrace them and realise that a single version of History is not the History of what actually happened, but a single perspective or narrative of what is believed to have been.

Understanding History's epistemological framework is important, as the Tea Party movement has exploited (and some may argue, is being exploited by) their country's history. According to its earliest observers, such as Professor Jill Lepore (emphasis added), the Tea Party movement's: "*...chief political asset was its name: the echo of the Revolution conferred* upon a scattered, diffuse, and confused movement a degree of legitimacy and the appearance, almost, of coherence..." [198] Therefore, in order to dispel the nostalgic historical myths promoted and perpetuated by the Tea Party movement (as well as to undermine their grasp over American history), the historiographical narratives that surround the American Revolution must be examined and demystified – this demystification is attempted in a future chapter of this thesis (see Subsection **7.4: The History of the American Revolution as a 'Noble Myth'** on page 228).

---

[192] Carr, E. H. What is History?, pp 4-5 & 97.
[193] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 47.
[194] Black, J. Using History, p. 9.
[195] Carr, E. H. What is History?, p. 36; Funkenstein, A. "Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness", p. 9; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. XXIII; Olick, J. K. The Politics of Regret, p. 8 & 56; Olick, J. K. & Robbins, J. "Social Memory Studies", p. 128; &, Schwartz, B. "Social Change and Collective Memory: The Democratisation of George Washington", American Sociological Review, Vol. 56, No. 2, (April, 1991), p. 221.
[196] Jenkins, K. Re-thinking History, p. 22.
[197] Rosenau, P. M. Post-Modernism and the Social Sciences, p. 62; &, Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past, p. 135.
[198] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 14.

3. What is the Tea Party?

3.1: Introduction

This chapter is intended to provide a brief overview of the Tea Party movement, and to place it within historical and political contexts of other American conservative movements. This chapter is meant to educate an audience who perhaps do not necessarily know what the Tea Party movement is before reading this thesis.

It begins with a brief overview of the Tea Party movement, who they are, where they came from, what they believe, and so on. The chapter then provides some political context regarding the Tea Party movement, beginning with political conservatism, it then details the social movement's relationship with the Republican Party, the John Birch Society (JBS) and the recent Alt-Right movement. It then finishes by historically contextualising the social movement, by detailing the Boston Tea Party of 1773 as well as the 'proto-Tea Party' movements throughout the history of the United States which also utilised the past (of the Boston Tea Party) for their political agenda.

This chapter uses a synthesis of Tea Party literature that was published early in the social movement's history. Over the last half-decade, a lot of academic (and non-academic) work has been published surrounding the Tea Party movement. The earliest published material (not including news articles or blogs) could be categorised and divided between supportive pro-Tea Party 'manifestos' and the seemingly sceptical anti-Tea Party academic observational works. The pro-Tea Party manifestos, for example, include: Dick Armey and Matt Kibbe's Give Us Liberty, Elizabeth Foley's The Tea Party: Three Principles, John M. O'Hara's A New American Tea Party, Mark Meckler and Jenny Beth Martin's Tea Party Patriots. Examples of anti-Tea Party academic texts, on the other hand, include: Anthony DiMaggio's The Rise of the Tea Party, Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto's *Change They Can't Believe In*, Professor Jill Lepore's The Whites of Their Eyes, Lawrence Rosenthal and Christine Trost's Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party, and Professor Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson's The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism.

3.2: The Tea Party Movement

The 'T.E.A.' in Tea Party is an acronym for "Taxed Enough Already." [199] This section begins with the social movement's origins: the 2008 Great Recession, the response by the Obama administration to the crisis, and the event known as the Santelli Rant which followed. Then, the demographic composition of the supporters of the social movement is addressed. Finally, this section concludes with the key principles of the social movement and other ideological facets their supporters adhere to.

3.2.1: The Great Recession, the Santelli Rant, and the Origins of the Tea Party Movement

This subsection details the origins of the Tea Party movement: From the emergence of the inciting event that was the Great Recession, the reactions towards it taken by the government of the United States of America, and then the reaction by a CNBC news co-anchor, Rick

---

[199] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 37.

Santelli, otherwise known as the Santelli Rant. This thesis does not attempt to argue whether or not the responses to the economic crisis as they were implemented at the time were beneficial to the United States of America as a whole, as up until the time of writing the effects of the Great Recession continue to persist.

The Great Recession essentially emerged from a mortgage-based tontine orchestrated by Wall Street that had been driven by financial instruments known as 'Collateralised Debt Obligations' (CDOs). A CDO essentially acts as a container of various assets (ranging from credit-card loans, to mortgages, including other CDOs) which each invest a share of their resources into a financial pool, which in theory was assuredly supposed to secure dividends to its investors as any faulty and unreliable assets within the CDO would be offset by its remaining successful assets. This device became the catalyst for the unscrupulous and predatory lending of mortgages throughout the United States of America during the advent of the twenty-first-century. [200] These mortgages were then implanted into the CDOs that were consequently insured and traded between investors and financial firms through a financial derivative called the 'Credit Default Swap' (CDS). Consequently, the CDOs which were by all means bad investments under the CDS were misappropriately labelled and sold as reliable and secure 'AAA-ranked' investments. Eventually, when it turned out that the issued mortgages could no longer be repaid, however, the value of the CDOs collapsed, and with it, the entire economic system. [201] The financial investors behind this scheme had gambled with their institutions' finances that they had no capable means of affording, just as had happened in a similar fashion centuries before with Alexander Fordyce and the gambling of his imaginary money on the stock of the East India Company, which is detailed further in a later subsection of this chapter below.

As a result of the unfolding financial crisis, the government of the United States of America began to implement a series of economic bailouts. From the beginning, under the George W. Bush administration in March, 2008, with the sale of Bear Stearns to JPMorgan & Chase that was insured by around $30 billion of public funding from the American taxpayer, to by the time of the Obama administration's Homeowner Affordability and Stability Plan (HASP) in February, 2009, the government of the United States of America had pledged to spend over $1.5 trillion of taxpayer's money to prop up the financial industry. [202] Of particular note was the Troubled Asset Relief Programme (TARP) which was established under the Emergency Economic Stabilisation Act (EESA) enacted by the Bush administration in October, 2008. TARP had earmarked $700 billion – but has as of writing spent only $475 billion of that funding – to pay for bailing out the financial industry, the automobile industry, as well as to reduce house foreclosures during the housing crisis. In the process TARP has spent a considerable amount of money on various financial investments including debt securities,

---

[200] How Wall Street Is Using the Bailout to Stage a Revolution | Political News | Rolling Stone, http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/how-wall-street-is-using-the-bailout-to-stage-a-revolution-20090402, (02/04/09); Taibbi, M. Griftopia, pp 82-87; &, The Financial Crisis Inquiry Report: Final Report of the National Commission on the Causes of the Financial and Economic Crisis in the United States, (Washington: 2011), pp 127-129.
[201] How Wall Street Is Using the Bailout to Stage a Revolution | Political News | Rolling Stone; Taibbi, M. Griftopia, pp 93-94 & 97; The Financial Crisis Inquiry Report, pp 132.
[202] O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, pp XI-XV.

loans, and stocks – including the bad investments which instigated the crisis in the first place. [203]

 Finally, on February 18th, 2009, the Obama administration announced its release of another financial stimulus programme, known as the HASP. The intended outcomes of the HASP programme were detailed in an online press release published alongside its announcement by the U.S. Department of the Treasury, which outlined the three key components of the policy as follows:

 1. The provision of low-cost mortgage refinancing, including the lowering of monthly payments, for up to five million 'responsible' homeowners whom were suffering from the fallen value of their households.

 2. The implementation of a $75 billion stimulus program intended to support up to four million at-risk homeowners from foreclosing on their houses.

 3. Promoting economic confidence in the Federal Home Loan and Mortgage Associations – Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac – to support the continuation of low mortgage rates. [204]

 To put HASP into perspective: HASP was an economic programme that was intended to support a proportion of otherwise 'responsible' American homeowners from running into unnecessary debt and losing their property due to the financial crisis. HASP was therefore never intended as a blanket bailout of every American household, and moreover, HASP was a stimulus program that was around one-tenth of the size of the George W. Bush administration's TARP – which critics of the Tea Party movement have righteously pointed out had chiefly bailed out the 'undeserving' institutions such as AIG and Goldman Sachs that are widely considered responsible for the crisis existing in the first place. [205] Nevertheless, it was this programme in particular which had metaphorically 'broken the camel's back' and incited Rick Santelli to publicly lash-out in the manner described further on in this subsection.

 The subsequent economic reactions taken by the government of the United States of America in response to the Great Recession would subsequently polarise the American public. Angered at the perceived ideological injustice of spending taxpayer money to bail out the irresponsible financial industry, a minority of Americans would articulate their discontent in the form of protest. These early 'proto-Tea Party' protests, organised by groups and individuals such as FedUpUSA and Keli Carendar are described in further detail in a future subsection of this chapter below.

 A future chapter of this thesis will go into more explicit detail regarding the event known as the Santelli Rant (see Subsections **4.2.2: The Rant** and **4.2.3: Post Rant** on pages 110 and 114), but for now, a quick summary will be given. On the morning of February 19th, 2009, CNBC's Squawk Box programme was discussing the HASP. CNBC co-anchor, Rick Santelli,

---

[203] About TARP, http://www.treasury.gov/initiatives/financial-stability/about-tarp/Pages/default.aspx#, (10/03/14); Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, p. 172; Jenkins, P. A History of the United States [4th Edition], (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 301; Taibbi, M. Griftopia, p. 18; &, Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 1132.

[204] Homeowner Affordability and Stability Plan Factsheet, http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/20092181117388144.aspx, (18/02/09).

[205] Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, p. 53; &, Taibbi, M. Griftopia, p. 18.

who stood amongst a small crowd on the floor of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange was agitated by the studio discussion. When the cameras focused on Santelli, he let out the following:

> "Listening to it? I've been just glued to it because Mr. Ross has nailed it. You know the government is promoting bad behaviour!"

> "How about this, President of the new administration? Why don't you put up a website to have people vote on the Internet as a referendum to see if we really want to subsidise the losers' mortgages!"

> "This is America! How many of you people want to pay for your neighbour's mortgage that has an extra bathroom and can't pay their bills? Raise your hand!"

> "President Obama, are you listening?!"

> "You know, Cuba used to have mansions and a relatively decent economy. They moved from the individual to the collective. Now they're driving '54 Chevys, maybe the last great car to come out of Detroit!"

> "We're thinking of having a Chicago Tea Party in July. All you capitalists that want to show up to Lake Michigan, I'm gonna start organising!"

> "I'll tell you what, if you read our Founding Fathers, people like Benjamin Franklin and Jefferson, what we're doing in this country now is making them roll over in their graves!" [206]

The Santelli Rant was replayed on various American media networks, from radio shows to television channels. It was presented by numerous media outlets as worthy of being news, drawing an audience. Footage of the Santelli Rant was also immediately uploaded to the Internet, where it became a viral sensation. [207] Soon after, on February 27th, 2009, the first Tea Party protests were organised across the United States of America with help from a coalition of conservative individuals and organisations. [208] The Tea Party movement was born.

3.2.2: The Tea Party Movement Organisations

Despite what its name implies, the Tea Party movement is not a singular unified social movement, rather, it is instead a coalition of multiple (sometimes competing) local and

---

[206] CN*BC's Rick Santelli's Chicago Tea Party* – YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=zp-Jw-5Kx8k, (19/02/09).

[207] Holiday, R. *Trust Me I'm Lying*, p. 67; Horwitz R. B. *America's Right*, p 158; Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, p. 226; Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, pp 120-121; Skocpol T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 7 & 129; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 33-34; Taibbi, M. Griftopia, p. 20; Trost, C. & Rosenthal, L. "The Rise of the Tea Party", p. 10; &, Zernike K. Boiling Mad, pp 20-25.

[208] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 27-29; Horwitz R. B. *America's Right*, p 158; Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, pp 226-228; Lo, C. Y. H. "Astroturf versus Grass Roots: Scenes from Early Tea Party Mobilisation", p. 100; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, pp 195-196; Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, p. 121; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, p. 34; Trost, C. & Rosenthal, L. "The Rise of the Tea Party", p. 10; &, Zernike K. Boiling Mad, pp 40-43.

national organisations. [209] This subsection details some of the key groups and organisations behind the Tea Party movement, but it primarily focuses on the role of one particularly important organisation, FreedomWorks.

 If ever the Tea Party movement had their variants of the Founding Fathers, among the most influential of these would be the brothers Charles and David Koch. It is now perhaps the worst kept secret that a considerable amount of financial, ideological, and organisational resources invested into the Tea Party movement passes from the beneficial hands of the Koch brothers and their subsidiaries. The secret was first broken by an American investigative journalist, Jane Mayer, in a highly influential article written for The New Yorker in late-August, 2010, aptly titled: "Covert Operations: The billionaire brothers who are waging a war against Obama." The article highlighted financial linkages between the Koch family and the Tea Party movement, which was mediated through a network of previously-established political action committees (PACs). [210] Since then, the Tea Party movement's organisational integrity as a social movement has been virulently attacked and questioned. Amongst the severest critics, Anthony DiMaggio describes the Tea Party movement as: "Astroturf to the core." [211] Rather than representing what would be considered a 'legitimate' and naturally growing 'grassroots' social movement premised upon a populist upsurge from the ground up – instead, critics to this day argue, the Tea Party movement was and is an artificial movement, manufactured by powerful corporate, media, and Republican Party interests who were and continue to be instrumental in setting the rhetorical tone and organisational structure of the movement from the top-down. [212]

 Such vitriolic claims of 'Astroturfing' by critics of the Tea Party movement, of course, did not go uncontested: Many supporters of the Tea Party movement rightfully resented such insinuations that their political cause – and by association, their identities as human beings – was in some fashion or another imposturous; if anything was imposturous, they retaliated, it was the organised political Left with their cabal of academics, interest groups, labour unions, and provocateurs. [213] Perhaps more convincing, was the counterargument by Republican Party Senator and Tea Party representative, Rand Paul, who pointed out that: "If the Tea Party was indeed 'Astroturf' and somehow completely manufactured… it would be a deception of epic proportions." [214] Indeed, such a sweeping generalisation of the Tea Party movement belies its true nature in favour of a seductive conspiracy.

 In 1984, Charles and David Koch co-founded the political organisation, Citizens for a Sound Economy (CSE), which campaigned for libertarian policies including the deregulation of

---

[209] Skocpol T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 84.
[210] *The Billionaire Koch Brothers' War Against Obama: The New* Yorker, http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/08/30/100830fa_fact_mayer, (30/08/10).
[211] DiMaggio, A. The Rise of the Tea Party, p. 229; &, Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, p. 10.
[212] Lo, C. Y. H. "Astroturf versus Grass Roots: Scenes from Early Tea Party Mobilization", pp 98-99; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, p. 143; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 4.
[213] *Peter Berkowitz: Why Liberals Don't Get* the Tea Party Movement – WSJ.com, http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748704631504575531913602803980.html, (16/10/10); &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 125.
[214] Paul, R. & Hunter, J. The Tea Party Goes To Washington, p. 14.

government controls over corporations and lowering taxation. However, in July, 2004, as a result of an internal power struggle, CSE dissolved into two sister organisations: Americans for Prosperity (AFP) and FreedomWorks respectively. [215] Citizens for a Sound Economy, Americans for Prosperity, and FreedomWorks are what the political scientist, Margaret Ann Latus, describes as ideological PACs, who, she explains: "favour policies or philosophies usually identified as liberal (progressive) or conservative in contemporary American politics…" and which: "seek to further 'selfless' causes (often described as 'the public interest'): defeating communism, promoting civil liberties, prohibiting abortions, preserving free enterprise, or protecting the environment." [216]

 Political action committees became a focal point of American politics ever since their legitimisation under the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) Amendments of 1974. Originally, FECA was intended to limit the influence of wealthy individual political campaign contributors – by restricting their expenditures to up to one-thousand-dollars per political candidate up to a maximum of twenty-five-thousand-dollars in total per election – to allow for groups of otherwise poor but likeminded people to pool their resources together – with an expenditure limit of up to five-thousand-dollars per political candidate with no overall limits on the total expenditure per election. Consequently, corporations and labour unions began to dominate the political landscape of the United States of America in large part because of the desirability and influence of PACs. [217] In the period between 1974 to the early nineties, the number of registered PACs has risen from 608 to over 4,500 and the campaign expenditures alongside have in this time also increased from twelve-and-a-half-million-dollars to upwards of one-hundred-and-fifty-million-dollars to political candidates. [218]

 FreedomWorks was at the forefront of the Tea Party movement since the outburst of Rick Santelli's infamous 'Rant' that was said to have incited the social movement into existence (see above). [219] Amongst many of the groups that have received considerable support from FreedomWorks, perhaps none have been more successful than the Tea Party Patriots. Co-founded in March, 2009, by Jenny Beth Martin, the Tea Party Patriots has garnered a considerable following as an organising body of local Tea Party movement groups. The Tea

---

[215] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, p. 25; Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, p. 79; Burghart, D. "View from the Top", p. 69; Disch, L. "The Tea Party: A 'White Citizenship' Movement?", p. 134; Kibbe, M. *Don't Hurt People and Don't Take Their Stuff*, p. 38; Lo, C. Y. H. "Astroturf versus Grass Roots", p. 100; Schulman, D. Sons of Wichita, pp 266-271; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 35.
[216] Latus, M. A. "Assessing Ideological PACs: From Outrage to Understanding", Money and Politics in the United States: Financing Elections in the 1980s, (New Jersey: Chatham House Publishers, 1984), pp 142-143.
[217] Alexander, H. E. Financing Politics: Money, Elections and Political Reform [3rd Edition], (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1984), p. 15, 31 & 79; Malbin, M. J. "Looking Back at the Future of Campaign Finance Reform: Interest Groups and American Elections", Money and Politics in the United States: Financing Elections in the 1980s, (New Jersey: Chatham House Publishers, 1984), p. 234; Sabato, L. J. PAC Power: Inside the World of Political Action Committees, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), p. 29; Sorauf, F. J. "Political Action Committees in American Politics: An Overview", Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Political Action Committees: What Price PACs?, (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1984), pp 33-36; &, Williams, D. K. *God's Own Party*, p. 168.
[218] Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Political Action Committees: What Price PACs?, p. 3; &, Stern P. M. Still The Best Congress Money Can Buy, (Washington: Regnery Gateway, 1992), p. 45.
[219] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 27-29; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, pp 195-196; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, pp 40-41.

Party Patriots promote the three key principles of 'free markets', 'fiscal responsibility', and 'constitutionally limited government' (explained in a later chapter of this thesis) which were endorsed by FreedomWorks and often support emerging FreedomWorks political campaigns whilst touting the veneer of independence. [220]

Besides FreedomWorks and its affiliated groups, the Tea Party movement is also supported by other organisations including: the American Family Association, the Faith and Freedom Coalition, Our Country Deserves Better, Resistnet, the Tea Party Express, Tea Party Nation, and WallBuilders. [221] These organisations (along with FreedomWorks) help organise the numerous bulk of so-called Local Tea Party Chapters who are composed of the rank-and-file supporters of the social movement.

In a similar fashion to that of another historical conservative organisation, the JBS, the Tea Party movement has adopted the chapter system as the cornerstone of its organisational structure (as detailed on the ninth paragraph of Subsection **3.4.3: The John Birch Society**). Theoretically, the chapter hierarchy of the Tea Party movement should work as follows: Chapter Leaders, sometimes referred to as the chairman/woman or president of the Tea Party group, serves as both the head organiser responsible for the key decision-making and fund-raising processes, as well as act as the public face of said group. Communication Directors, or press officers, as the name implies are responsible for all internal and external communications of the Tea Party group, as such they are tasked with the production, proliferation and sustainment of articles, editorials, Emails, letters, press releases and websites – including the use of third-party blogs, instant messaging feeds, social networking, and video hosting sites that are utilised by the Tea Party group. Legislative Liaisons, whose responsibility entails the tracking of contemporary political and legislative issues at federal, state, and local levels: in addition it is their duty to keep the Tea Party group informed of such matters, to provide advice on which policies to attack or support, and if possible to lobby their government representatives on behalf of their group. Membership Directors, or group coordinators, are tasked with recruiting and retaining members by building and organising strong peer-to-peer networks with the local community. Social Directors, or event planners, are responsible for organising various events held by the Tea Party group for the members of the group, such as: holding barbeques or outings to restaurants, hosting film nights, and other such soirées. Finally, the Members, who are expected to participate in various meetings and protests that are arranged by the local Chapter Leader and Social Director (see **Fig 11: Tea Party movement Chapter System** on the following page). [222]

---

[220] Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, pp 92-93; Burghart, D. "View from the Top", pp 71-72 & 80-82; DiMaggio, A. The Rise of the Tea Party, p. 55; Lo, C. Y. H. "Astroturf versus Grass Roots", pp 114-115; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 108-110; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 43.
[221] Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, pp 63-81; &, Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 47-48.
[222] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 185-187.

Fig 11: Tea Party movement Chapter System
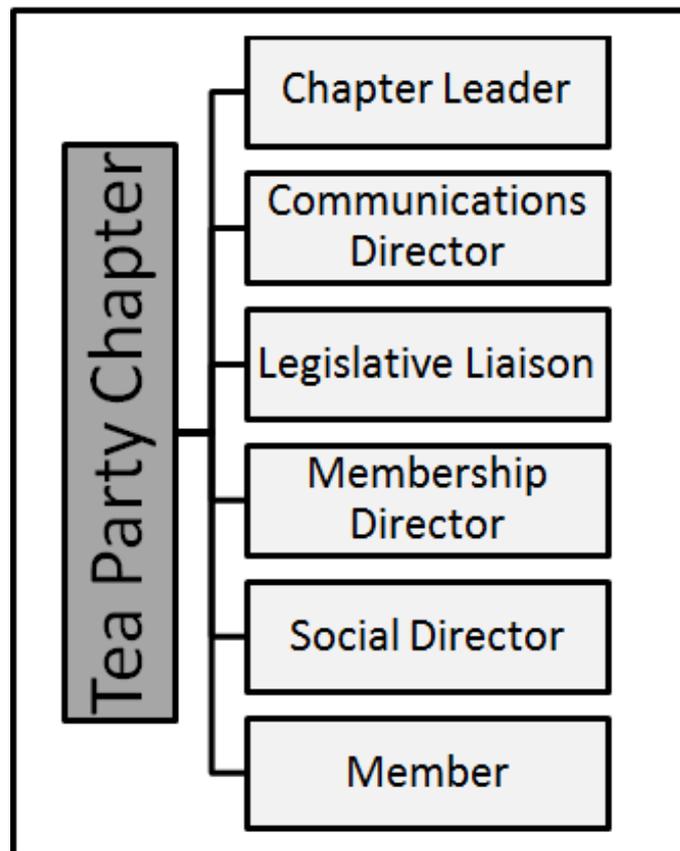
 In practice, however, the Tea Party movement chapter hierarchy fails to precisely reflect its theory. Often, and especially in small Tea Party groups, the Chapter Leader also fulfils the roles of the Communications and Membership Directors, the Communication Directors also fulfil the responsibilities of Social Directors, and so on. It is also in dispute, according to observers such as Anthony Dimaggio, as to whether these Tea Party chapters are capable of hosting regular local meetings, let alone organising mass protests without external support from groups such as FreedomWorks. Nevertheless, the chapter system allows for the deceptive outside perception that the Tea Party movement is larger and more pervasive than it actually is. [223] In addition, such an open-door system also allows for extremists from organisations such as the Oath Keepers to infiltrate and sponsor the Tea Party movement – and in doing so, they have the ability to push the social movement further in their political direction. The Oath Keepers, as an aside, are an organisation composed of former military and ex-law enforcement personnel who have pledged themselves to honouring and upholding what they consider to be the values of the Constitution of the United States of America. Members of the Oath Keepers see themselves as the bulwarks against conspiratorial forces that they believe are labouring to enslave their fellow citizens. Infamously, Oath Keepers are

---

[223] DiMaggio, A. The Rise of the Tea Party, pp 46-49; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 130-133; &, Trost, C. & Rosenthal, L. "The Rise of the Tea Party", p. 15.

known to have outspokenly announced that their members would violently resist the orders of the President if it conflicted with their interpretation of the Constitution. [224]

One of the significant tools that FreedomWorks has newly developed to support both their direction and organisation of the Tea Party movement is a website aptly named as, FreedomConnector. FreedomConnector is a social network which allows its users to create personal accounts with which they can upload a personal biography as well as photographic images of themselves, similar in style to that of other popular social networks such as Facebook and Myspace. Like most other social networks, FreedomConnector encourages its users to 'create connections' (or in other words, 'add friends') between accounts that share similar facets such as geography, hobbies, interests, and so on. However, unlike other social networks which encourage networking, the purpose of FreedomConnector is intended to encourage political action such as by coordinating protests or hosting events across the United States of America under the Tea Party movement banner. FreedomWorks also uses the FreedomConnector website to upload political material to its users in the form of documents, podcasts, and surveys – the material in some instances is collaborated with conservative and libertarian thinktanks such as the CATO Institute. [225]

Like other social networking websites, FreedomConnector enacts the latest marketing ploy used to attract and ensnare an attentive audience of Tea Party members – what is known as 'gamification'. [226] Gamification, in theory, is the process of turning a participant's otherwise mundane or forgettable tasks into 'interesting' and 'fun' activities which are cynically rewarded akin to a virtual Skinner box. [227] FreedomConnector utilises gamification for its website in the following manner: Every time a user logs into their account (once per twenty-four-hours of a day), they will earn a five 'experience points' that are tallied up altogether in an 'experience bar' which, once filled, will 'level up' the user's FreedomConnector profile account. As users successfully fill-up the experience bar and 'level up', a new experience bar emerges (usually bigger than the last), making it more and more time-consuming to reach the next level – thereby encouraging users to continue using the website by setting them further reachable goals to strive for. FreedomConnector also rewards its users with virtual badges in exchange for the completion of some ancillary task such as creating or responding to a discussion post on the message boards, 'connecting' with another user account, and

[224] Barkun, M. A Culture of Conspiracy, p. 186; Burghart, D. "View from the Top", p. 77; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 33-34; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 5, 148, & 187.
[225] FreedomConnector, http://connect.freedomworks.org/, (20/01/12).
[226] A decent broad generalisation of the theory of gamification, although not related to the Tea Party movement, can be found in the following video.
Errant Signal – Gamification – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pWfMjQKXZXk, (27/05/12).
[227] A Skinner Box was a device used in an experiment by psychologist B. F. Skinner. The Skinner Box typically had a lever attached to a food tray that would either drop food randomly into the box or every time the test animals pulled the lever purposefully – the device was used to uncover the secrets behind behavioural reinforcement. Skinner's experiment discovered that the test animals would exhibit repetitions of behaviour, such as either repeatedly pulling the lever or thrusting their heads in a corner, in the expectation that they would be rewarded with food – even if food was randomly dropped into the box.
Gardner, D. Future Babble, p. 78.

uploading a photograph onto the website (see **Fig 12: FreedomWorks Account Profile Gamification**).

Fig 12: FreedomWorks Account Profile Gamification
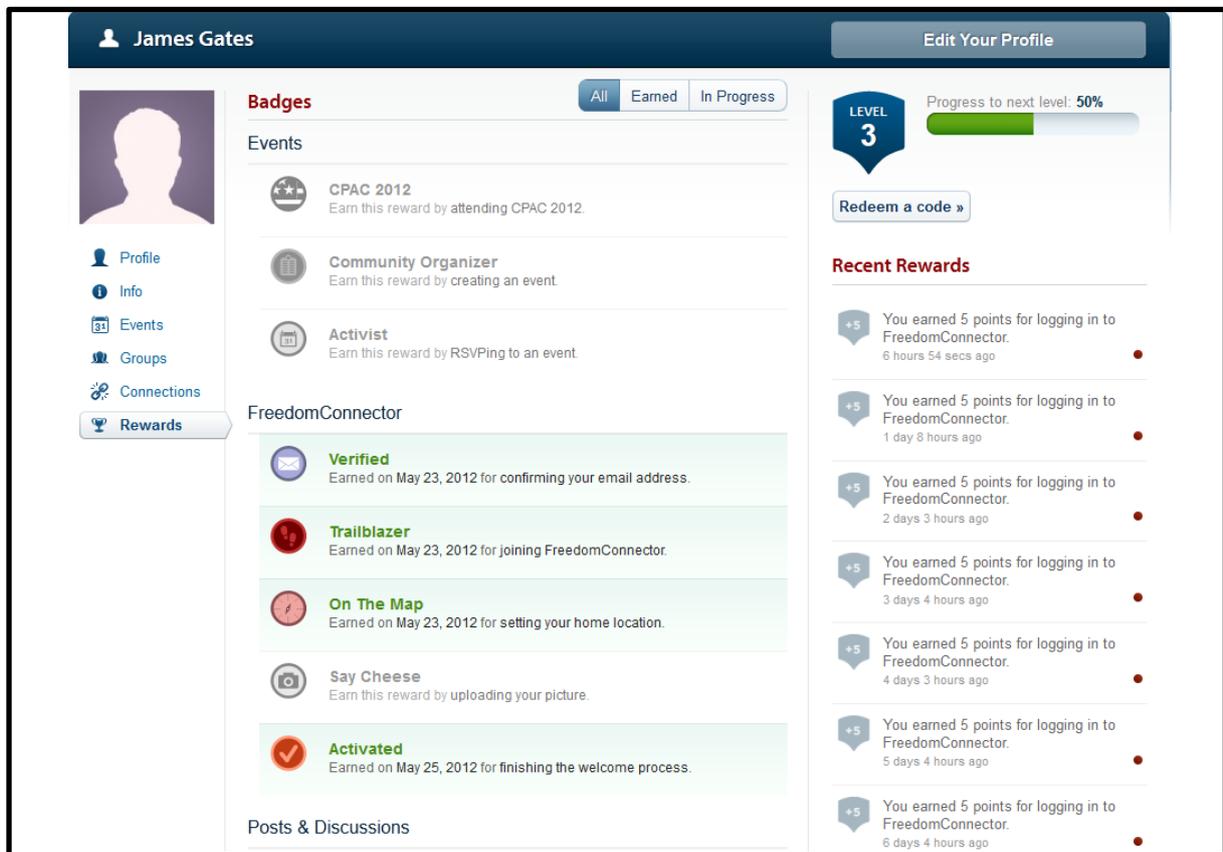
Ultimately, however, the badges, experience points, and levels gained by avid FreedomConnector users are completely worthless: A user account that has reached level sixteen, for instance, has no added privileges – such as, for instance, access to either 'extra' or 'restricted' content on the FreedomConnector website – from that of an account which is at level one; badges have no material value other than to decorate a user's membership page, and even so there really is no sense of value in collecting them as pretty much every task attributed to the badges aside from attending outside events is incredibly trivial to complete. But this is not to say that such items can be addictive to many users. Furthermore, despite FreedomConnector's exploitation of the latest marketing trends, the website itself has failed to capture and maintain a significant proportion of members of the Tea Party movement, who sign up and then loose interest in the website or use alternative website communities that are closer to their ideological interests.

FreedomWorks are also responsible for the hosting and organisation of so-called 'FreePAC' conference events across the United States of America during the run-up to the 2012 Presidential Election. These FreePAC events, which lasted for several hours, began with organisation workshops hosted by FreedomWorks staff that informed the audience of how to positively contribute towards their 'Get Out The Vote!' strategy during the 2012 Presidential

Election with step-by-step guides on door-to-door canvassing, phone-banks, and signs. [228] The second half of these conferences consisted of speeches that lasted between ten-to-fifteen minutes, by several conservative figureheads, including: Andrew Napolitano, Dana Loesch, Deneen Borelli, Jim Jordan, Matt Kibbe, Reverend Chris Bryant, and so on. These FreePAC events would always conclude with the celebrity headliner, Glenn Beck, who was usually given an hour on stage. Once again, however, the effectiveness of such events is brought into question as most audiences appear to have only shown up and struggled to keep interest throughout the course of the event for Glenn Beck's public appearance. [229] This concern is also relevant to other organised Tea Party movement events, such as with the infamous LibertyXPO and Symposium that was organised by Judsen Phillips and his organisation, Tea Party Nation, in the summer of 2010. The event itself, which garnered controversy over its high admittance fees, drew such small attendance that the organisers failed to raise the significant funds needed to cover the expenses of hosting the event in the first place. [230]

FreedomWorks has been at the forefront of the commercialisation of the Tea Party movement, which has been greatly facilitated by the organisational structure they established. Members of the Tea Party movement who signed up to FreedomConnector or Tea Party Patriots and other-such affiliate email-lists are bombarded daily by pleas to donate money towards various political campaigns, candidates, events, organisations, projects, and so on – from between the cost of five to upwards of hundreds of dollars. Tea Party movement-related merchandise, such as beer mats, bumper stickers, key rings, magnets, mugs, and T-shirts are also sold at exorbitant prices to raise funds for the organisation (see **Fig 13: FreedomWorks Commercialisation of the Tea Party movement** on the next page). In some instances, FreedomWorks and its affiliates also promote third-party products which in some manner or another are ideologically related, such as with the trilogy of *Atlas Shrugged* movies, as well as with a cell phone company, Eos Mobile, which touts itself as: "a cell phone company founded by conservatives, for conservatives." – With the caveat, of course, that a proportion of the money goes into Tea Party movement-affiliated political campaigns.

Fig 13: FreedomWorks Commercialisation of the Tea Party movement

---

[228] FreePAC, http://freepac.com/, (02/11/12).
[229] Recordings of the FreePAC events can be found at:
FreedomWorks @ Ustream.TV - . Free. TV Shows, LIVE Video Chat Rooms,
http://www.ustream.tv/user/freedomworks, (15/09/12).
[230] Burghart, D. "View from the Top", p. 78; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. *Crashing the Tea Party*, pp 136-138; &, *Tea Party "Liberty XPO" Fail | Mother Jones*, http://www.motherjones.com/mojo/2010/09/tea-party-liberty-xpo-fail, (10/09/10).

Despite its impressive structure and image of unison, the FreedomWorks organisation has succumbed to similar internal power struggles as experienced by its predecessor, CSE. [231] On September 4th, 2012, Dick Armey attempted to stage a coup at the FreedomWorks Washington headquarters. Armey, who was accompanied by an armed aide, escorted several FreedomWorks employees (including Matt Kibbe) out of the building, suspending them from their jobs. According to Dick Armey, the coup was sparked by disagreements over the ethics of hosting FreePAC events with steep admission fees (some as high as nine-hundred-dollars) as well as using organisation funds for (conservative) celebrity endorsements – which Armey argues was ineffectual. After six days, Armey rescinded his coup after having negotiated an eight-million-dollar severance package and the ousted employees were returned. [232] This phenomenon of internal power struggles, it should be noted, recurs throughout the Tea Party movement.

3.2.3: Tea Party Membership Demographics

The Tea Party movement, despite its organisational size and scope, is composed of a rather limited representative demographic, as the following paragraphs below show:

In their book, Mad As Hell, Scott Rasmussen and Douglas Schoen state that the Tea Party movement embodies "a cross section of America." Citing a CNN poll taken on February 15th, 2010, they describe the Tea Party movement as being: eighty percent white (twelve percent minorities), sixty percent male (forty percent female), forty-one percent aged fifty

---

[231] Schulman, D. Sons of Wichita, p. 270.

[232] *EXCLUSIVE: Dick Armey Dishes On FreedomWorks' Deals With B*eck & Limbaugh | Blog | Media Matters For America, http://mediamatters.org/blog/2013/01/04/exclusive-dick-armey-dishes-on-freedomworks-dea/192036, (04/01/13); FreedomWorks tea party group nearly falls apart in fight between old and new guard – The Washington Post, http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/freedomworks-tea-party-group-nearly-falls-apart-in-fight-between-old-and-new-guard/2012/12/25/dd095b68-4545-11e2-8061-253bccfc7532_story.html, (26/12/12); &, Kibbe, M. *Don't Hurt People and Don't Take Their Stuff*, pp 229-230.

and over (forty percent middle-aged between thirty and forty-nine), seventy-seven percent ideologically conservative (three percent ideologically liberal), fifty-two percent Independent affiliation (forty-four percent Republican Party affiliation), and sixty-eight percent religiously Protestant (nine percent religiously non-affiliated or atheist). [233] These statistics, it could be argued, hardly depict a representative "cross section" of modern America as Rasmussen and Schoen seem to believe.

Kate Zernike, in her book Boiling Mad, cites a New York Times/CBS News poll from April, 2010, and describes supporters of the Tea Party movement as being:

Almost uniformly white, they were disproportionately older than the general public, more likely to have a college or advanced degree, and more likely to describe themselves as fairly or very well off. [234]

Similarly, in their book *Change They Can't Believe In*, Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto also describe Tea Party movement's supporters as being: overwhelmingly white, male, Protestant, and relatively financially secure. [235]

In Crashing the Tea Party, Paul Street and Anthony DiMaggio also cite the aforementioned CNN and CBS News polls. However, they also conducted observational research of the Tea Party movement in Chicago. According to their findings, they describe members of the social movement as being: predominantly male (although a significant female presence exists), over forty years of age, seemingly middle- and upper-middle-class (articulate and well dressed), affiliated with the Republican Party (as part of their identity or voting pattern), and religious ("God-fearing"). [236]

The Tea Party movement, then, are best described as a movement comprised of predominantly white, male, elderly, conservative, religious, and middle-class members. [237] It should be noted, however, that the above description is not (and can not be) wholly representative of the entire Tea Party movement given its size and scope. There are, of course, outlying examples of African-American, Latino and young members of the Tea Party movement who fit outside the general composition consensus. Furthermore, as Professor Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson point out in their book, the demographic configuration of the modern Tea Party is not unique to that specific social movement, and can just as easily describe that of other conservative groups and peoples. [238] What distinguishes the members of the Tea Party movement from other conservatives, therefore, is the ideological principles they endorse.

---

[233] Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, pp 156-160.
[234] Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 6.
[235] Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 15 & 68.
[236] Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 47-50.
[237] Distrust, Discontent, Anger and Partisan Rancor: The People and Their Government, (Washington: Pew Research Center, 2010), pp 68-69; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 15, 68 & 85; Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, pp 157-158; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 23-27;Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 47-50; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, pp 6-7.
[238] Skocpol T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 26.

3.2.4: Tea Party Principles

The Tea Party movement, from its earliest inception, has purported itself as a movement that is driven by ideas and principles – as opposed to any leaders. [239] This subsection intends to provide a brief overview of the social movement's key driving principles and other ideological features.

Before examining the ideological principles behind the Tea Party movement, however, it first seems relevant to understand how the Tea Party movement are depicted by those outside the social movement, as well as how the members of the Tea Party movement depict themselves along the political spectrum. Typically, the Tea Party movement has been depicted as an ideologically conservative and populist social movement, situated to the far-Right of the political spectrum, by most outside observers (see **Fig 14: Political Spectrum**). To some observers, the Tea Party movement represents an extreme, incoherent, and at times radical reactionary movement bordering on authoritarianism. [240]

Fig 14: Political Spectrum
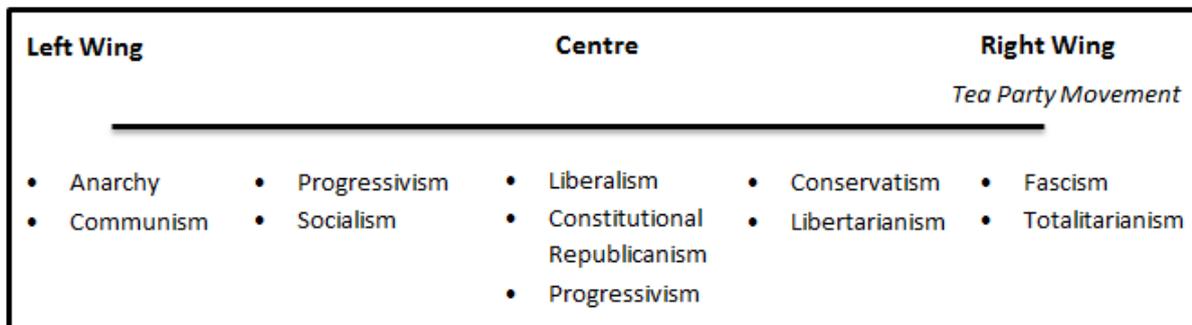
However, the adherents of the Tea Party movement themselves reject this particular academic portrayal of their social movement and the political spectrum – unsurprisingly, perhaps, as the Tea Party movement has frequently portrayed themselves and have been portrayed by others as inherently suspicious of academia. Members of the Tea Party movement often portray themselves both online and in their own minds as politically belonging to the centre-Right, and moreover, amongst the Tea Party movement online circles, the term 'radical' is often used in an ironic, jokingly, and sometimes self-deprecating manner (see **Fig 15: Political Spectrum According to the Tea Party Phenomenon** below). The

---

[239] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, p. 65 & 123; Declaration of Tea Party Independence, (Washington: 2010); Kibbe, M. Hostile Takeover, p. 175; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 1; Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective", p. 26; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 4.

[240] Daily Kos: Tea Party At Nuremburg: Umberto Eco on UrFascism, http://www.dailykos.com/story/2010/02/06/834468/-Tea-Party-At-Nuremberg-Umberto-Eco-on-UrFascism, (06/02/10); Disch, L. "The Tea Party: A 'White Citizenship' Movement?", p. 134 & 136; Distrust, Discontent, Anger and Partisan Rancor: The People and Their Government | Pew Research Center for the People and the Press; Fallin, A. Grana, R. & Glantz, S. A. "To Quarterback Behind the Scenes, Third Party Efforts': The Tobacco Industry and theTea Party", p. 1; Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, p. 158; Lo, C. Y. H. "Astroturf versus Grass Roots", p. 100; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 126; Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective", p. 27; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 26 & 81; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, p. VIII, 10, & 47; *The Tea Party is not new, or coherent. It's merely old whine in new bottles | Gary Younge | Comment* is free | The Guardian, http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/cifamerica/2010/nov/07/tea-party-old-whine-new-bottles, (07/11/10); &, Trost, C. & Rosenthal, L. "The Rise of the Tea Party", p. 1, 7, & 14.

members and sympathisers of the Tea Party movement therefore consider the social movement and its associated values in question as being (in a political sense): the default, the mainstream, the moderates, the status quo, and so on. This point is further reinforced by the Tea Party movement's incessant attempts at adopting the history of the American Revolution as a means to reinforce their ideological assertions. [241]

Fig 15: Political Spectrum According to the Tea Party Phenomenon
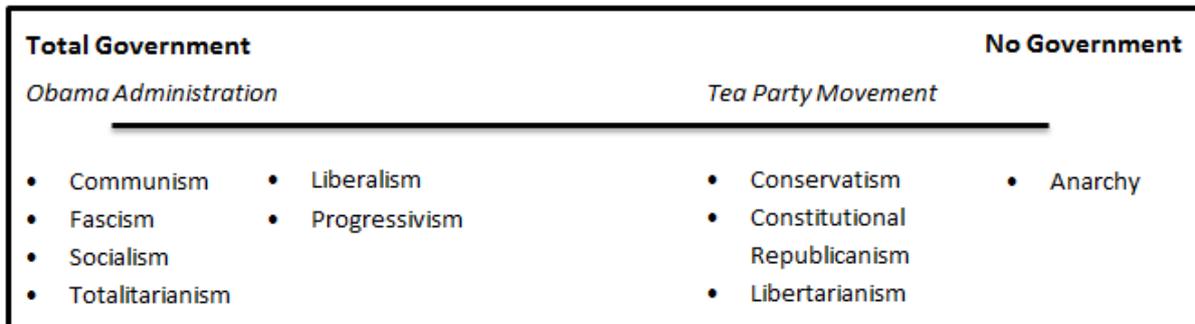
 This peculiarly reactionary reinterpretation of the political spectrum as shown above is not unique to the Tea Party movement. Right-wing thinkers such as W. Cleon Skousen, Garry Allen, and (more recently) Jonah Goldberg, argue that the political spectrum itself has been carelessly misinterpreted (because, they infer, of those in academia and on the political Left). Instead, they assert, the political spectrum should be reinterpreted to highlight political power – between 'total government' on the one side and 'no government' on the opposite pole – rather than the presumed situating of political parties – between communism on the far-Left and fascism on the far-Right of each spectrum – as they conclude that ultimately both communism and fascism are identical (totalitarian) in practice. [242] Coincidently, this line of reasoning explains the seemingly "ignorant" and "incomprehensible" claims that the Tea Party movement have famously deployed, such as that President Barack Obama is a communist, socialist, fascist (see **Fig 16: Tea Party Political Protest Sign** on the following page). [243]

---

[241] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, p. 66; Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, pp 14-15; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 23; O'Donnell, C. *Trouble Maker: Let's Do What It Takes to Make America Great Again,* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2011), pp 281-282; O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, p. 204; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 52.

[242] Allen, G. None Dare Call It Conspiracy, (California: Concord Press, 1973), pp 32-34; Goldberg, J. Liberal Fascism: The Secret History of the Left From Mussolini to the Politics of Meaning, (London: Penguin, 2009), p. 7; Overview of America 2 of 4 – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MW6AKVyi6As&list=PLE160244C426B9094, (19/12/07); &, Skousen, W. C. The Five Thousand Year Leap: The 28 Great Ideas That Are Changing the World, (Washington: National Center for Constitutional Studies, 1987), pp 9-14.

[243] Berlet, C. "Reforming Populist Resentments in the Tea Party Movement", Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 47.

Fig 16: Tea Party Political Protest Sign

 The Tea Party movement is a social movement which is centred (for the most part) on the three key principles of: individual liberty (free markets), fiscal responsibility, and constitutionally limited government. [244] These three key principles, where they came from and what they mean, will be described in greater detail in a later chapter of this thesis – wherein they will also be analysed and compared with the ideological principles and values behind the American Revolution (an analysis of the three key principles can be found in Subsection **6.2: Ideological Principles behind the Tea Party Movement** on pages 169 through to 183).

 It should be noted that the three key principles shown above are not the only important principles which motivate supporters of the Tea Party movement. The three key principles of individual liberty (free markets), fiscal responsibility, and constitutionally limited government were officially codified on January 23rd, 2010, with the Declaration of Tea Party Independence which was then popularised by FreedomWorks and other affiliated Tea Party supporters. [245] However, there are also other principles which are considered just as important as the by local Tea Party movement groups. Elizabeth Foley, in her book The Tea Party: Three Principles, lists 'U.S. sovereignty' as being a key motivating principle behind the social movement. According to Foley, the principle of 'U.S. sovereignty' relates to enforcing and securing the United States of America's borders (immigration with Mexico) as

---

[244] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 66-69 & 123; Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, p. 17 & 30; Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, p. 235; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 22; O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, p. 24; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 1; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 43.

[245] Burghart, D. "View from the Top", p. 72; *Tea Party activists circulate 'declaration of independence' and* distance selves from Republicans | The Daily Caller, http://dailycaller.com/2010/02/24/tea-party-activists-circulate-declaration-of-independence-and-distance-selves-from-republicans/, (24/02/10); &, The Other Tea Party Convention: Activists Meet in DC – Chris Good, http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2010/01/the-other-tea-party-convention-activists-meet-in-dc/34150/, (25/01/10).

well as defending the country's legal independence from foreign nations and supranational organisations such as the United Nations (international law). [246]

Besides the key principles that are said to be the driving force behind the Tea Party movement, there are other ideological facets that members of the social movement embody. One common facet shared by members of the Tea Party movement is their distaste and distrust of government. Members of the social movement support measures which cut spending (on welfare) as well as deregulate business, home, and property laws. [247]

Despite their distaste of government intervention in their personal lives, it has been noted by various observers that many of the Tea Party movement's adherents hypocritically have no problem with government intervening with the personal lives (and issues) of those they do not sympathise with culturally and ideologically. [248] Take, for example, a Pew Research Center poll regarding Religion and Public Life that was taken from August, 2010, through to February, 2011, cited by David Brody in his book, The Teavangelicals. The poll claimed that over half of Tea Party supporters believe that abortion should be illegal in all or most cases (fifty-nine percent), as well as that a considerable majority also opposed same sex marriage (sixty-four percent). [249]

Another ideological facet embodied by members of the Tea Party movement is conspiracism. Again, the topic of conspiracism will be described in further detail in a later chapter of this thesis (see Subsection **6.3.2: Conspiracism** on page 192). However, one such common conspiracy theory of note which has been popularised by the Tea Party movement is the so-called 'Birtherism conspiracy' surrounding President Obama. 'Birthers' believe that President Barack Obama is not an American citizen – asserting that he was not born in the United States – and therefore is illegible to be President of the country. They over-emphasise Obama's middle name, 'Hussain', as evidence of his foreignness, believing that he was born in Kenya as a Muslim. Obama's official Hawaiian birth certificate was released in April, 2011, nevertheless it did not hinder the conspiracy that had already been built up. [250]

Finally, there is also evidence that supporters of the Tea Party movement exhibit signs of authoritarianism. To be clear, authoritarianism is in this instance meant to refer to a state of mind – not, on the other hand, authoritarianism as referring to a political system of government. In this context, authoritarianism or an authoritarian mind-set is described by the American psychologist, Bob Altemeyer, as having the following features: compartmentalised thinking, dogmatism, double-standards, ethnocentrism, fear, hostility, lack of critical thinking, prejudice, self-righteousness, and, of course, submission to authority. [251]

---

[246] Foley, E. P. The Tea Party, p. xiv & 76.

[247] Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 81.

[248] Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective", p. 38; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 81; &, Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, p. 67.

[249] Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, pp 17-18.

[250] Burghart, D. "View from the Top: Report on Six National Tea Party Organisations", Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), pp 67-68; Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, pp 166-167; Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 98; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. Change They *Can't Believe In*, p. 8, 197, & 200; Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, p. 167; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 78; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, p. 76, 80, & 95; Trost, C. & Rosenthal, L. "The Rise of the Tea Party", p. 9; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 51.

[251] Altemeyer, B. "Comment on the Tea Party Movement", (20th April, 2010), pp 4-8.

Authoritarianism in this context can also be exemplified by the Tea Party movement supporter's use of violence. Numerous violent incidents involving members of the Tea Party movement have been documented over the years. In March, 2010, Tea Party movement protesters reportedly spat on and violently verbally harassed three Democratic Party representatives on Capitol Hill. In another instance, an innocent family had their gas line sabotaged after their address was published by a local Tea Party group who mistook them as an Obamacare proponent. [252] Similar incidents are also noted in greater detail in a future chapter of this thesis (see the first paragraph of Subsection **6.3.1: Authoritarianism**).

3.3: The Tea Party Movement in Political Context

This section will attempt to politically contextualise the Tea Party movement in relation to the philosophy of conservatism, as well as that of the Republican Party of the United States, the JBS, and the Alt-Right movement.

3.3.1: Conservatism

> Most scholars admit that the actual political origin [of conservatism] dates, more precisely, from the early 1800s in America, as an epithet implying a low or moderate estimate of a state of affairs. [253]

> ---

The Tea Party movement is regarded as a conservative movement by many of its adherents and detractors, but what exactly is conservatism? Attempting to succinctly define the political ideology of conservatism is difficult as it has many various interpretations (such as between America and Europe) which have developed and evolved throughout history. Furthermore, it should be noted that there are no definitive sets of ideas or principles to which all proponents of conservatism endorse or indeed adhere to in practice. [254]

Typically, however, conservatism is a term which is commonly associated with the notions of conservation and tradition. In other words, what could be called 'traditional conservatism' is a type of conservatism which seeks to both preserve and privilege past customs and conventions of the political community. It is the type of conservatism popularised by the eighteenth-century British political philosopher, Edmund Burke, whose writings were a reaction against the French Revolution. This type of European conservatism emphasised the role of the state as an organic communal enterprise which developed naturally (slowly) after years of tradition and practice. It is opposed to immediate radical change which it considers to be dangerous and irrational – a sentiment which was influenced by the experience of the French Revolution. [255] Traditional American conservatism, on the other hand, stems from the country's founding documents – the Constitution of the United States of America and the

---

[252] Idaho tea party activist/GOP leader arrested for assault with a deadly weapon | ThinkProgress; Packer, G. The Unwinding, p. 319; Right-Wing Harassment *Strategy Against Dems Detailed In Memo: 'Yell,' 'Stand Up And Shout Out,' 'Rattle Him' | ThinkProgress*; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 32; &, Tea Party protesters reportedly spit on one lawmaker, *call others 'fa–ot' and 'ni–er' | ThinkProgress*.
[253] Vincent, A. Modern Political Ideologies, p. 55.
[254] Ibid, p. 56.
[255] Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, p. 8; Vincent, A. Modern Political Ideologies, p. 55 & 63.

Declaration of Independence – and instead champions individualism as opposed to the community. [256] Jean Hardisty describes this type of conservatism as:

> Classical [Traditional, American] conservatism favours respect for the authority of limited government, reverence for the church as an institution, support for the nuclear family, and strict adherence to free-market economic principles. It views the individual as the most important unit in society. [257]

Although the concept of 'traditional conservatism' was popularised by thinkers such as Burke and his ilk during the French Revolution, it should be noted that conservatism as a concept has existed throughout history since the time of Plato. [258]

Besides the traditional type of conservatism, there are several other types of conservatism which have been classified by academics such as Andrew Vincent and Robert Horwitz. These other types of conservatism refer to different developments and phases of conservatism throughout history. Some of these types of conservatism have unique facets, whilst some features may overlap with one another.

One type of conservatism which differs from traditional conservatism is what is known as 'romantic conservatism'. This type of conservatism emerged in Europe as a reaction against industrialisation, the influence of which was seen as alienating, immoral and inhuman to contemporary society. Romantic conservatism was popularised by British thinkers such as T. S. Eliot, whose works elicited a return to a much simpler, idyllic, and moral time – which typically was exemplified by the pastoral rural countryside with its old community and customs. This type of conservatism, in other words, was a nostalgic kind of conservatism which wanted to harken back to an imagined time, in a similar fashion to that of Svetlana Boym's concept of 'restorative nostalgia' detailed in the previous chapter. [259]

Another type of conservatism which emerged in the United States during the mid-twentieth-century was known as 'Fusionism'. According to Sara Diamond:

> Fusionism, simply put, was the historical juncture at which right-wing activists and intellectuals focused, diversely, on the libertarian, moral-traditionalist, and emerging anti-Communist strains of conservative ideology, recognised their common causes and philosophies, and began to fuse their practical agendas. [260]

Fusionism attempted to strike a balance between libertarianism and traditionalism, albeit not without some conflict between the two groups. Fusionism was united against the New Deal order at home and Communism abroad – the welfare state was seen as undermining the moral fabric of American society, making the population weak and submissive in the face of their Communist opponents. Fusionism was popularised by thinkers such as Frank Meyer and William F. Buckley, Jr. Buckley, who founded and edited the National Review magazine in 1955 and would host the television show Firing Line in 1966, became the 'respectful' face of American conservatism over the decades, due to his celebrity. [261]

---

[256] Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, p. 38.
[257] Hardisty, J. Mobilizing Resentment, p. 33.
[258] Vincent, A. Modern Political Ideologies, pp 58-59.
[259] Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. 41; &, Vincent, Modern Political Ideologies, p. 63.
[260] Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, p. 29.
[261] Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, pp 29-31; &, Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, pp 37-41.

The New Right is another type of conservatism which is more modern and distinctively American. The New Right, according to Andrew Vincent, is "an amalgam of traditional liberal conservatism, Austrian liberal economic theory (Ludwig von Mises and Fredrich Hayek), extreme libertarianism (anarcho-capitalism) and crude populism." It is a type of conservatism which grew out of the disillusionment with the managing of Keynesian economics, the nationalisation of infrastructure and industry, and the growth of the welfare state that had occurred after World War Two during the late-twentieth-century. The New Right abhors state bureaucracy, central planning, high taxation, public spending and welfare systems. They instead champion deregulation, the free market, privatisation, and tax cuts. The New Right also promotes values such as anti-Communism, nativism and nationalism, as well as a stronger adherence to Christianity in cultural affairs. [262]

In his book, Professor Robert Horwitz invents a type of conservatism which he terms 'Anti-establishment conservatism'. According to Horwitz, this new type of conservatism is "principled to the point of being dogmatic, fundamentalist in style and inclination, apocalyptic in rhetoric, anti-establishment conservatism brooks no compromise." and that, "virtually everything to anti-establishment conservatives – facts, science, expertise – is politics: that is, unsettled, untrue, and open to contestation." Whereas other types of conservatism at least attempted to preserve or work within the establishment (state apparatus), anti-establishment conservatism, as its name implies, seeks to tear down (or reduce as much as possible) the establishment instead. This type of conservatism, Horwitz argues, originated with the campaign of Barry Goldwater during the Presidential Election of 1964 and is currently embodied by the Tea Party movement. [263]

Observers of the Tea Party movement are somewhat divided as to whether the social movement fits into the conservative political tradition:

In their book, The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, Professor Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson assert that the Tea Party movement is a "part of a long-standing conservative tradition." A tradition of conservatism which is influenced by (and has adopted from) the rhetoric of previous Republican Party presidential administrations such as Nixon's "silent majority" or Reagan's "welfare queen" (see Subsection **3.3.2: The Republican Party**). However, Skocpol and Williamson also make note that the Tea Party movement is very much also a product of its time – the result of, and reaction to, the Obama administration. [264]

On the other hand, observers such as Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto argue that the Tea Party movement is not a part of the conservative tradition, for the simple reason that they [Tea Party movement] do not 'conserve'. According to Parker and Barreto, the Tea Party movement's willingness to promote demagoguery, reform policies that reward their prejudices at the expense of social cohesion, and risk economic stability, runs counter to the values of traditional conservatism which are concerned with preserving and maintaining the order of "a free and stable society." [265]

[262] Vincent, A. Modern Political Ideologies, pp 66-67.
[263] Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, pp 2-3 & 9-11.
[264] Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 81-82.
[265] Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, pp 41-42.

The Tea Party movement, it could be argued, is a blend of anti-establishment, romantic, and New Right conservatism. It has the facets of romantic conservatism, in particular, the nostalgic longing of the past – In this instance, of the American Revolution. The Tea Party movement also embodies the values of the New Right conservatism, with its focus on cutting government spending and taxes, as well as its anti-Communist, Libertarian, and Nationalist values. Finally, the social movement also embraces the dogmatic and uncompromising ideological fundamentalism of anti-establishment conservatism.

3.3.2: The Republican Party

The modern Republican Party is a conservative (Right-wing) political party. Like most conservative parties, it embraces patriotic and nationalist totems as part of its political aesthetic – defending (or at least paying lip-service to) traditional culture, customs, and religious issues. It supports fiscally conservative policies – cutting taxes and reducing government spending. The Republican Party is often considered a stooge to big business interests, more so then the Democratic Party which also has its corporate interests. [266] This subsection is not intended to be a complete history of the United States' Republican Party, rather, it intends to contextualise how the Tea Party movement has interacted with (and in the process, influenced) the political party in its short history.

In the prologue to Give Us Liberty, Dick Armey muses on what he considers to be the three conservative revolutions in his lifetime which inspired him to become involved in politics. These revolutions being: the Barry Goldwater Presidential Campaign of 1964, the presidency of Ronald Reagan during the eighties, and the Contract with America in 1994. [267]

Barry Goldwater, an Arizonan Senator, was nominated as the presidential candidate of the Republican Party for the 1964 Presidential Election. His nomination was secured with the help of the JBS, the National Review, and other grassroots conservative activists. [268] Goldwater was a staunch libertarian and fervent anti-Communist, but it was his outspoken attitude which made him a radical outsider compared to other politicians who shared similar sentiments. He had voted against the 1964 Civil Rights Act – in contrast to a majority of his fellow Republicans who voted in favour of the legislation – arguing that the desegregation of public facilities was 'unconstitutional' and a tyrannical expansion of federal power. Goldwater also rejected the Truman Doctrine of foreign policy which he lambasted in his publication, Why Not Victory? Peaceful coexistence with Communist regimes was unacceptable in Goldwater's view, and the United States was duty-bound to use its military might (including the deployment of nuclear weapons) to roll back Communism across the world. [269]

Lyndon B. Johnson won the Presidential Election of 1964 with over sixty percent of the popular vote, which to this day, is the largest vote share earned in the political history of the United States. The Goldwater campaign was scuppered because Barry Goldwater was increasingly considered too extreme a candidate to become President in the minds of many

---

[266] Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 100-102.
[267] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 1-5.
[268] Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 225; Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective", p. 30
[269] Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, p. 63; Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, pp 33-34; Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective", p. 40; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 437.

Americans. Goldwater's association with the JBS, his segregationist stance, and his uncompromising militarism as an avowed anti-Communist sapped his campaign's support from moderate conservatives and average Americans alike. [270]

Professor Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson highlight in their book, that for many of the members of the Tea Party movement they had interviewed, the Goldwater campaign was their first or earliest political experience. [271] The Goldwater campaign, Sara Diamond argues, was a success in so much that it provided a 'training ground' for conservative youths (Young Americans for Freedom) who would contribute to the emerging New Right movements and organisations decades later, as well as it opening up the Republican Party's nominating procedures to the anti-Communist, anti-Civil Rights and libertarian conservative activists. [272] The Goldwater defeat, as Robert Horwitz points out, laid the foundation of what would later become the anti-establishment conservative victories in the eighties. [273]

One of those victories, of course, was the election of President Ronald Reagan in 1980. As it so happened, Ronald Reagan was a volunteer coordinator for Barry Goldwater's presidential campaign in California. On October 27th, 1964, Reagan delivered a televised speech, "Rendezvous with Destiny", which propelled his political career amongst conservatives. The speech, which promoted the conservative ideals of increasing military strength, reducing the size and scope of government, and encouraging free market economics. These ideals would serve as a blueprint for the Reagan administration decades later. [274]

The Reagan administration was responsible for bringing Christian Evangelicals into the Republican Party fold. Christian Evangelicals before this time mostly stayed away from politics, they believed that the world was inherently evil and that only a separation from it would lead to salvation according to the premillennial doctrines. But premillennialism gave way to postmillennialism, and the Christian Evangelicals now saw it as their duty to intervene in the world. This ideological shift was instigated by preachers such as Billy Graham, Jerry Falwell and Tim LaHaye, who argued that unless Christians engaged in politics, they would lose their religious and moral freedoms. The Reagan administration endorsed anti-abortion policies and supported prayer in public schools – however these policies were resisted by the Democrats, which frustrated the Christian Evangelicals. [275]

The Reagan administration, despite portraying itself as an ally of Civil Rights, implemented many policies which defunded and hobbled the enforcement of Affirmative Action. The Reagan administration would support apartheid in South Africa, provided tax exemption for segregated private academies in the Southern United States, and implemented policies which promoted 'states rights'. The administration also opposed school busing, demonised the poor minorities by promoting the 'welfare queen' smear, and failed to recognise Martin Luther

---

[270] Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, pp 62-65; Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, pp 49-51; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 438.
[271] Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 41, 78, 81 & 82.
[272] Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, p. 65.
[273] Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, p. 51.
[274] Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, p. 62.
[275] Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, pp 233-237; Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, pp 100-102; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, pp 512-513.

King's Day as a holiday. Jean Hardisty argues in her book, Mobilizing Resentment, that these actions exemplify the 'new racism' of the Republican Party which continues to this day. [276]

In the Tea Party movement's earliest political manifestos, plans to co-opt and infiltrate the Republican Party were brazenly published. In Give Us Liberty, Dick Armey and Matt Kibbe have a chapter entitled 'Why we must take over the Republican Party' in which they argue that in order for the Tea Party movement to be an effective and influential force in American politics the movement would have to join an already established political party – as opposed to becoming an independent third party. The Republican Party, they argue, is the preferable party to co-opt as they "embraced a national vision for America based on the principles of individual liberty and government restraint…" – Whereas the Democratic Party, they argue, had already been taken over by progressives who they describe as "a coalition of special interests that want something from government. They want a program, an earmark, a regulation, favoured treatment, or, if possible, a handout." [277]

The 2010 Midterm Election was one such opportunity the Tea Party movement seized to infiltrate the Republican Party. The Election was a victory for the Republican Party. [278] According to Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto, around seventy percent of Tea Party supporters voted Republican during the 2010 Midterm Election, and they were more likely to vote Republican than any other group of voters (including moderate conservatives). This high level of voting turnout was not just a reaction against President Obama and the Democrat Party, it also was a means for the Tea Party movement to influence the future of the Republican Party by promoting Tea Party delegates ahead of the moderates who were less sympathetic to the social movement's political platform. [279] These 'moderate' Republican Party politicians and supporters are mockingly derided by members of the Tea Party movement as 'RINOs' – an acronym for "Republicans In Name Only." [280]

The narrative that the Tea Party movement had a significant influence in shaping a Republican Party victory during the 2010 Midterm Election, it should be noted, has come under some scepticism. Professor Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson, for instance, highlight an investigation by Amy Gardner for the Washington Post in which Gadner and her team interviewed leaders of over six hundred local Tea Party chapters. The investigation uncovered that many of the Tea Party groups that were interviewed had less than fifty members, were short on finances, had no official candidate endorsements, and were not that involved in local canvassing activities to get-out-the-vote. The idea that these desperate groups could have such an influence over the 2010 Midterm Election was questionable. Skocpol and Williamson themselves, however, believe that the sceptics are wrong to underestimate the influence the Tea Party movement had in revitalising the Republican Party image after it had been tarnished by the W. Bush administration and the subsequent defeat of John McCain during the 2008 Presidential Election. [281]

---

[276] Hardisty, J. Mobilizing Resentment, pp 148-149.
[277] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 120-143.
[278] Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 157.
[279] Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, pp 232-233.
[280] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, p. 126; Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, p. 179; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 164; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 103.
[281] Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 158-163.

Nevertheless, the 2010 Midterm Election helped establish the Tea Party Caucus wing of the Republican Party, which included people such as: Anna Little, Christine O'Donnell, Joe Miller, Joe Wilson, Kristi Noem, Michele Bachmann, Mike Lee, Pete Sessions, Ted Cruz, and Rand Paul. [282] Since then, as Professor Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson point out, the Republican Party has increasingly moved further to the Right – setting an uncooperative and uncompromising political culture within the Party. [283]

The government shutdown of October, 2013, is an example of just how serious an influence the Tea Party movement has become in driving Republican Party policies. The event, which began on October 1st, 2013, lasted for a brief period of around two weeks in which the federal government of the United States of America was forced to temporarily shut down all of its 'non-essential' public services. This led to: the closing of numerous public parks, monuments, and museums; the delay of processing visa and passport applications; a halt to welfare payments; and finally, in the process, leaving eight-hundred-thousand government employees without work and those remaining in work unpaid. [284] The event was primarily orchestrated by FreedomWorks who had lobbied alongside a coalition of likeminded conservative organisations including: Citizens United, Concerned Women for America, the National Taxpayers Union, the Tea Party Patriots, and the Traditional Values Coalition, to name but a few. [285] The so-called 'coalition letter' warned that:

> The current continuing resolution (CR) [the federal budget] funding the government expires on March 27, setting up an opportunity for Congress and President Obama to honor the bi-partisan sequester savings already agreed upon. It also presents an opportunity to achieve even more savings by defunding and stopping the implementation of Obamacare, which the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) recently reported will force 7 million Americans out of their existing health insurance…

> …On October 1, 2013, open enrollment begins for the federally backed health care exchanges. On January 1, 2014, new money from Washington will begin flowing to states and individuals, all but ensuring that these new entitlements will become a permanent fixture of life in America. The window of opportunity to stop the implementation of these massive new subsidies is closing. [286]

Following on from its dire warnings, the coalition letter later laid out its 'Blueprint to Defunding Obamacare' which included measures such as:

---

[282] DiMaggio, A. The Rise of the Tea Party, p. 57.
[283] Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 155-163.
[284] BBC News – US begins government shutdown as budget deadline passes; The US power failure: 800,000 face weeks of unpaid lay-offs as Republicans and Democrats force partial shutdown of government over Obamacare – Americas – World – The Independent; &, US shutdown: a new guide for non-Americans | World news | The Guardian.
[285] Coalition Letter: Congress Must Honor Sequester Savings and Defund ObamaCare Before It Is Too Late | FreedomWorks, http://www.freedomworks.org/blog/ryanriebe/joint-letter-on-sequester-savings, (14/02/13).
[286] Ibid.

Conservatives should not approve a CR [federal budget] unless it defunds Obamacare. This includes Obamacare's unworkable exchanges, unsustainable Medicaid expansion, and attack on life and religious liberty. [287]

Consequently, the Tea Party affiliated Republican Congressmen, Senators Mike Lee (Utah) and Ted Cruz (Texas), carried out these plans in late September with a marathon twenty-one-hour anti-Obamacare tirade on the floor of the Lower House which in turn filibustered the passage of federal government funding leading to the 'government shutdown'. After only a few days, however, the very same politicians would later turn the very incident they had manufactured into an attack against President Barack Obama and his administration for the shutdown of key public spaces (noticeably war memorials) in Washington (see **Fig 17: Ted Cruz at Government Shutdown Protest**). [288] Even so, it should also be noted that the Tea Party movement lost considerable amounts of sympathy from the American populace as a result of the shutdown according to Pew Research Center polling data taken shortly after the event. [289]

Fig 17: Ted Cruz at Government Shutdown Protest

---

[287] Ibid.

[288] BBC News – Senator Ted Cruz ends marathon speech against 'Obamacare', http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-24270591, (25/09/13); Sarah Palin and Ted Cruz lead shutdown protest at war memorial | World news | theguardian.com, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/13/sarah-palin-ted-cruz-veterans-shutdown, (13/10/13); Ted Cruz pulls all-nighter as marathon anti-Obamacare speech churns on | World news | The Guardian, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/25/ted-cruz-marathon-speech-obamacare, (25/09/13); &, Ted Cruz reads 'Green Eggs and Ham' during Obamacare 'filibuster' | The Raw Story, http://www.rawstory.com/rs/2013/09/24/ted-cruz-reads-green-eggs-and-ham-during-obamacare-filibuster/, (24/09/13).

[289] *Tea Party's Image T*urns More Negative | Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, http://www.people-press.org/2013/10/16/tea-partys-image-turns-more-negative/, (16/10/13).

The Tea Party movement is as much a product of the Republican Party as the modern Republican Party is a product of the Tea Party movement's infiltration. Indeed, Paul Street and Anthony DiMaggio argue throughout their book, Crashing the Tea Party, that the Tea Party movement was a ruse to rejuvenate the Republican Party after the 2008 Presidential Election. [290] The infiltration of the Republican Party by the Tea Party movement, it should also be noted, does not absolve the political party of its past sins – indeed, as this subsection has highlighted, the Republican Party has encouraged regressive policies without the influence of the Tea Party movement for decades.

3.3.3: The John Birch Society

This subsection examines the emergence of the JBS, the symbolic history behind the organisation's name, its ideological values, its organisational structure, the organisation's rise and fall during the sixties, and finally its present-day incarnation.

The JBS was founded during the conclusion of a two-day-long summit organised by Robert Welch, a retired American confectionary manufacturer, at Indianapolis between December 8th and 9th, 1958. The summit, which was hosted inside a mock-Tudor estate on Washington Boulevard, was attended by eleven prominent Americans from the National Association of Manufacturers, including: T. Coleman Andrews, William Grede, W. B. McMillan, Colonel Laurence Bunker, Professor Revilo Oliver, and, of course, Fred C. Koch (father to Charles and David). By the end of the summit, Fred Koch became a committed member of the JBS who would later serve on the JBS Council and Executive Committee. Fred Koch, during his time as a JBS member, had: converted his basement study within his Wichita estate to hold local JBS meetings, predominantly funded JBS activities around Kansas, and later published an anti-communist text entitled, A Businessman Looks at Communism, which thanks to the support of the JBS was said to have sold two-and-a-half million copies. [291] Fred Koch would later introduce his children to the JBS during the sixties, wherein they also became fully-fledged members of the organisation. [292]

During the 1958 summit, Welch outlined within his presentation what he believed to be the sinister communist conspiracy to undermine Western civilisation – a conspiracy spanning, he argued, as far back as Ancient Rome and which was currently infiltrating all institutions of the United States of America. By the end of the first day, Robert Welch propositioned his audience with a solution to the communist conspiracy: a movement devoted to fighting communism using many of the same tactics deployed by communist cells, which by the next day was given its name, the JBS. [293]

---

[290] Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, p. 9, 10, 19, 47, 54, 64, 72, & 161.

[291] Broyles, J. A. The John Birch Society, p. 7, 51, & 52; Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, p. xi, 32, & 49; Fred Koch – The John Birch Society; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 26 & 163; Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective", p. 30; Schulman, D. Sons of Wichita, pp 40-49; &, Skocpol, T. & Williamso, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 102.

[292] Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, p. XI; New Documents Prove Charles Koch Was John Birch Society Member During Civil Rights Movement | Crooks and Liars, http://crooksandliars.com/2014/07/new-documents-prove-charles-koch-was-john, (10/07/14); &, Schulman, D. Sons of Wichita, p. 49.

[293] Broyles, J. A. The John Birch Society, p. 7; Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, p. 32; Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, p. 53; McGirr, L. Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right, (Oxford: Princeton

The JBS owed its name in honour of an American Baptist missionary that became somewhat of a folk legend during and after the Second World War. During the forties, John Birch was serving his religious mission whilst being stationed in China as a Christian missionary as part of the Worlds' Fundamentalist Baptist Missionary Fellowship. Within the first few months that he had been stationed in the country, John Birch soon found himself embroiled by the declaration of war between Japan and the United States of America in December, 1941, and subsequently fled from the portion of China densely occupied by Japanese forces. In April, 1942, John Birch came into contact with Colonel Doolittle and a few of his fellow crewmen, along with several other American pilots that had crash-landed in China after having returned from recently bombing the city of Tokyo – John Birch helped organise the exodus of the airmen from China, and was later hired by the 14th Air Force because of his services. Now working as a forward intelligence gatherer for the United States of America's Army, Captain John Birch was tasked with the duty of reporting by radio the movements of Japanese troops and supplies within China back to his American headquarters, until Japan's surrender on V-J Day, 1945. Several days later, on August 25th, 1945, Captain John Birch alongside a voluntary squad consisting of American, Chinese-Nationalist, and Korean soldiers was tasked with a special mission – the details of which still remain a secret – which took them on a journey across China by railway handcar, until they were stopped by a small force of Chinese-Communists on the outskirts of Hsuchow. What exactly happened which triggered the following events to occur is not entirely known or remembered, however what is known – in no small thanks to the witness testimonies of his surviving men who had been held captive and later released – is that Captain John Birch was killed in action, shot and bayonetted to death by Chinese-Communists amongst the outbreak of a skirmish between the two forces. Captain John Birch's death at the hands of Chinese-Communists had turned the man into an American martyr – Robert Welch, it was said, often opined that John Birch was "the first casualty of World War Three." [294]

The JBS, owing to its adopted history, is stringently anti-communist. Believing that communism is: "Satanic debasement of both man and his universe…" that: "communism is as utterly incompatible with all religion as it is contemptuous of all morality and destructive of all freedom." [295] that communists: "seek, always and everywhere, to bring about more government, less individual responsibility, and a completely amoral world…" [296] and that: "the continued coexistence of communism and Christian-style civilisation on one planet is impossible." [297] Moreover, the JBS believes wholeheartedly that the United States of America

University Press, 2002), pp 75-76; Mulloy, D. J. The World of the John Birch Society: Conspiracy, Conservatism, and the Cold War, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014), pp 8-9; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 26; Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective", p. 30; &, Schulman, D. Sons of Wichita, pp 40-45.

[294] Broyles, J. A. The John Birch Society, pp 24-25; Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, pp 32-33; Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, p. 53; John Birch – The John Birch Society, http://www.jbs.org/john-birch, (04/11/13); McGirr, L. Suburban Warriors, p. 76; Mulloy, D. J. The World of the John Birch Society, pp 7-8; &, Schulman, D. Sons of Wichita, p. 45.

[295] "'Beliefs and Principals of the John Birch Society' Congressional Record, 87th Cong., 2d Sess., June 12th, 1962", Extremism in America: A Reader, (New York: New York University Press, 1995), p. 106.

[296] Ibid, p. 110.

[297] Ibid, p. 106.

is entangled amidst a vast communist conspiracy in which undercover subversives are operating across all levels of American civil-society – from local school teachers, all the way to the office of the Whitehouse. [298] In one infamous incident of JBS history, Robert Welch accused President Dwight D. Eisenhower of being 'sympathetic to ultimate Communist aims' after his intervention at Little Rock High School as well as support for a nuclear test ban – These accusations were at first written as a private letter in which was later published in book form as The Politician, in 1963. [299] Similarly, the JBS also considered the Civil Rights movement was also deemed as part of a communist conspiracy to undermine and overthrow the United States of America, establishing counter-campaigns such as the Truth About Civil Turmoil (TACT) committees in retaliation. [300] Conspiracism was so engrained within the JBS, that it was codified in the organisation's eighth principal, which reads:

> We believe that for any people eternal vigilance is the price of liberty far more as against the insidious encroachment of internal tyranny than against the danger of subjugation from the outside or from the prospect of any sharp and decisive revolution. in a republic we must constantly seek to elect and to keep in power a government we can trust, manned by the people we can trust, maintaining a currency we can trust, and working for the purposes we can trust (none of which we have today)... [301]

Members of the JBS, according to studies conducted during its prime, obtained the following qualities: Members of the JBS were typically young, upper-middle-class, Protestant, politically sympathetic to Republican Party, highly educated in science, technology, and mathematics (STEM) fields as opposed to the arts and humanities, and were employed in high-status as well as high-income occupations. The highest concentration of JBS members were, unsurprisingly, situated in the Southern and Western States. [302]

At the height of its popularity, the JBS boasted an estimated total of between sixty- to eighty-thousand members (although some argue the figure was much higher – to around a hundred-thousand) across the United States of America. [303] The JBS, during this height, was able to raise an estimated annual income of one-point-three-million dollars through membership

---

[298] Broyles, J. A. The John Birch Society, pp 5-6 & 113-118; Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, p. 148; Hofstadter, R. The Paranoid Style in American Politics, p. 27; &, Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. Change They Can't Believe In, p. 31.

[299] Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, p. 54 & 77; Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, p. 43; Mulloy, D. J. The World of the John Birch Society, p. 1; &, Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective", p. 30.

[300] Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, pp 101-106; Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, p. 148; &, Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective", p. 30.

[301] "'Beliefs and Principals of the John Birch Society' Congressional Record, 87th Cong., 2d Sess., June 12th, 1962", p. 109.

[302] Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, p. 55; &, Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, pp 26-27.

[303] Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, p. 47; Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, p. 51; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 26; Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective", p. 30; &, Westin, A. F. "The John Birch Society: 'Radical Right' and 'Extreme Left' in the Political Context of Post World War II (1962)", The Radical Right: The New American Right, Expanded and Updated, (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1963), p. 202.

subscriptions alone, and the organisation could apparently afford to pay its full-time staff twelve-thousand dollars a week (over half-a-million dollars a year) for their services. [304]

New members of the JBS were initially introduced, organised, and vetted into local 'Chapters' via so-called local 'Chapter Leaders', before being indoctrinated with the reading of the JBS Blue Book. These JBS Chapters ranged in size of between ten to twenty members and rarely exceeded the latter figure, oftentimes Robert Welch (with the help of his staff) would split a JBS Chapter into two, if it was starting to become too large. [305] Such tactics, according to Richard Hofstadter, is the equivalent of emulating that of their arch-nemesis 'Communist cells' in what he describes as the "fundamental paradox of the paranoid style – imitation of the enemy." [306] The JBS Chapters were run by their individual Chapter Leaders, who were tasked with staying in regular contact with Chapter members, organising Chapter meetings and other similar collective events, and to collect the monthly JBS membership dues from the Chapter members (a minimum per year from male and female members of twenty-four and twelve dollars respectively, or a single deposit of just over two-thousand dollars for lifetime membership). In turn, the JBS hired paid staff called 'Co-ordinators' to supervise the Chapter Leaders from JBS headquarters situated in Belmont, Massachusetts. Helping to lead the organisation, above the Co-ordinators, were the twenty-six members of the National Council (of which five members also served as Welch's personal Executive Committee), alongside the original founders of the JBS that were present at the Indianapolis summit (see **Fig 18: John Birch Society Hierarchy Diagram** below). [307] As has already been noted in a previous subsection of this chapter, the Tea Party movement's organisational structure, the chapter system, is based off of this very JBS model (as referred to previously in the eighth paragraph of Subsection, **3.2.2: The Tea Party Movement Organisations**).

Fig 18: John Birch Society Hierarchy Diagram

---

[304] Westin, A. F. "The John Birch Society", p. 202.

[305] Broyles, J. A. The John Birch Society, pp 44-45; Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, p. IX; McGirr, L. Suburban Warriors, p. 78; &, Mulloy, D. J. The World of the John Birch Society, p. 10.

[306] Hofstadter, R. The Paranoid Style in American Politics, p. 33.

[307] Broyles, J. A. The John Birch Society, pp 44-45; Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, p. IX; &, Forster, A. & Epstein, B. R. Danger on the Right: The Attitudes, Personne, and Influence of the Radical Right and Extreme Conservatives, (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 22.
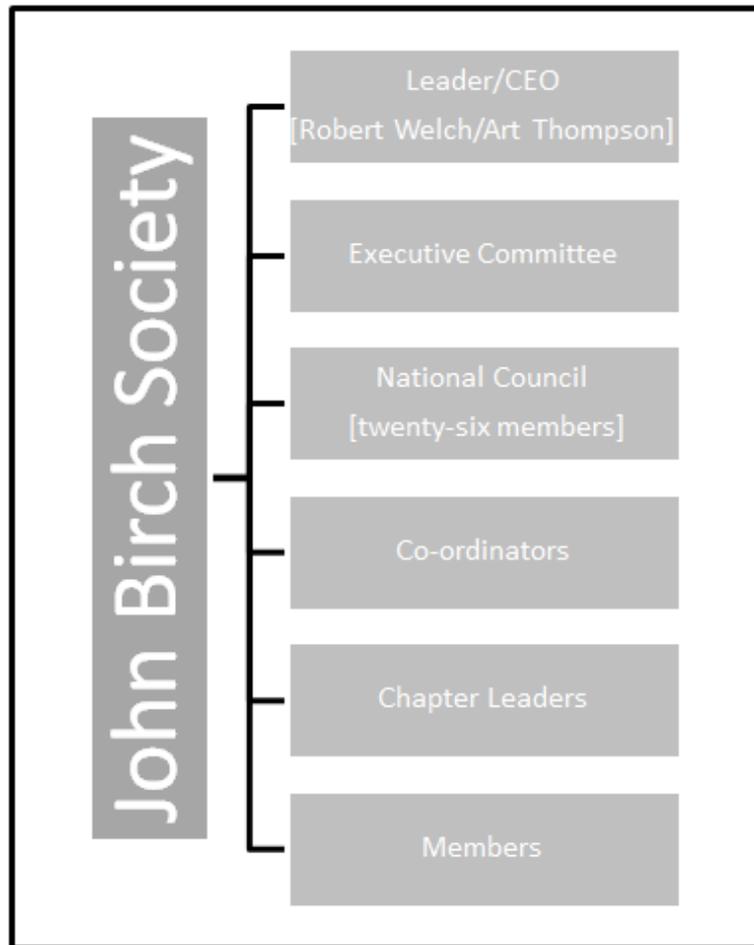
Whilst he was still alive, Robert Welch was the de facto leader at the top of the JBS hierarchy. [308] Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein succinctly summarised the nature of Welch's leadership style with the phrase: "Welch is the Birch Society and the Society is Welch." [309] However, to his frustration and despite all of his efforts, Robert Welch could not totally control every member of the JBS – just as the Koch brothers and FreedomWorks cannot control every member of the Tea Party movement. In some instances, this resulted in some ambitious and idealistic members of the JBS conducting unauthorised media interviews, in others it resulted in members with extremely militant and at times anti-Semitic views being vetted into the JBS (a consequence of the organisation's structure and lack of background checks) who would later cause further embarrassment to (as well as tarnish the reputation of) the organisation. Regardless of the instance, Welch's reactions to any perceived insubordination was dealt with overbearing swiftness. On one occasion, Robert Welch visited the home of one insubordinate, and after having been wined and dined by his hosts, he quickly turned to yelling them out. [310]

J. Allen Broyles, who wrote extensively on the JBS, describes the experiences of a former JBS member, Bud Lanker. According to Lanker, members of the JBS who attended local

---

[308] Bell, D. "The Dispossessed (1962)", The Radical Right: The New American Right, Expanded and Updated, (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1963), p. 4; &, Forster, A. & Epstein, B. R. Danger on the Right, p. 22.
[309] Forster, A. & Epstein, B. R. Danger on the Right, p. 41.
[310] Broyles, J. A. The John Birch Society, pp 84-85; &, Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, p. 56 & 61.

chapter meetings were expected to read and listen to the monthly Bulletins written by Robert Welch that would inform and instruct JBS members to write letters to congressmen, senators, and other public figures regarding current issues of the day. Lanker described the activity as 'dull', and 'purposeless', and furthermore had severe doubts as to the effectiveness of such tactics in the fight against global communism. [311]

The unrelenting controversy surrounding the JBS eventually led to the organisation's demise in both credibility and popularity amongst the general public of the United States of America. Of particular importance, was the public denouncement of the JBS by the prominent American conservative intellectual, William F. Buckley, Jr. Buckley, in the pages of the National Review (a conservative magazine he founded and edited), lambasted the JBS for its conspiratorial anti-establishment fervour which oftentimes contradicted the anti-communist agenda – for instance, when Robert Welch and the JBS famously spoke out against the Vietnam War [312] as they believed that the communists within the American government wanted the United States of America to intervene as part of their plot to promote communism by undermining western civilisation on the world stage. Consequently, Buckley's efforts drove a schism between mainstream conservatism and what was considered as the radical far-right ideology of the JBS. [313] The American historian, Lisa McGirr, argues that the JBS declined in the late sixties after it failed to raise significant funding to support the organisation's operations and structure. Furthermore, McGirr asserts that Welch's obsessive top-down controlling of the JBS ultimately strangled any grassroots motivation within the organisation to adapt and evolve their political agenda to contend with contemporary issues. [314]

The JBS still exists to this date, and has adapted to the twenty-first-century with its own website on the Internet. The JBS website, like many others of its kind, serves as a political news blog with articles, event timetables, forums, and other materials for its audience to spread the JBS agenda and connect members of the organisation with one another. Every week, the current leader of the JBS, Art Thompson, produces a fifteen-to-twenty minute video essay which encompasses current events such as climate change, terrorism, the economy, President Obama, and so on – these videos, of course, depict how these (and other) current events are linked to a vast communist conspiracy to undermine the United States of America. [315] These videos serve as a modern replacement to the monthly Bulletins read in local chapter meetings described by former JBS member Bud Lanker. [316]

As this chapter has previously shown, the modern Tea Party movement has significant ties to the JBS. In many respects, the JBS was a precursor to the Tea Party movement, a point which has been raised (if not fully expanded upon) by previous observers such as Professor Theda

---

[311] Broyles, J. A. The John Birch Society, pp 84-85.
[312] **4.2.1: Trauma of Foreign War – Tet, Monongahela, Teutoburg, Iraq**.
[313] Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, pp 151-152; Durham, M. The Christian Right, the Far Right and the Boundaries of American Conservatism, (New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 123; &, Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, p. 43.
[314] McGirr, L. Suburban Warriors, p. 221; &, Mulloy, D. J. The World of the John Birch Society, p. 185.
[315] The John Birch Society, http://www.jbs.org/, (04/11/13).
[316] Broyles, J. A. The John Birch Society, pp 84-85.

Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson as well as Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto. Of particular significance, are the links between the Koch family and both organisations. As has previously been detailed throughout this chapter, the Kochs were instrumental in the establishment (and funding) of both the JBS and Tea Party movements (as well as other political action committees and thinktanks) – the purpose of which, of course, was to push the Koch's political agenda of small government and low taxes. [317]

Both the JBS and Tea Party movement are demographically predominantly represented and supported by white, male, Protestant, middle-class, educated members. [318] Indeed, it is also not an uncommon occurrence to find that many former (younger) JBS members in the past have in later years latched onto the Tea Party movement. In their book, The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, Professor Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson stumble upon an interviewee from Virginia who declared himself: "a Bircher." [319] This could be the result of the shared distrust of government and other conservative ideological values of both organisations (such as the adoption of conspiracism). [320] However, this could also be the result of the somewhat 'open-door' organisational structure of the Tea Party movement itself (as was discussed earlier in the ninth paragraph of Subsection **3.2.2: The Tea Party movement Organisations**).

Another important issue between the JBS and Tea Party movement is the aforementioned organisational structure both organisations adopted. The chapter system which was inspired by the tactics of Communist cells (see **Fig 11: Tea Party movement Chapter System** on page 70), was used by both the JBS and Tea Party movement as a means to project their organisations' strength and popularity as being far greater than it was in reality. [321] However, an important distinction which separates both organisations is the role of leadership and its impact – Robert Welch's overbearing micromanaging, which some argue hindered the success of the JBS, as opposed to the somewhat laissez-faire approach adopted by the Kochs in regards to the management of chapters of the Tea Party movement, which also had its own problems (as previously detailed on the ninth paragraph of Subsection **3.2.2: The Tea Party Movement Organisations**). [322]

---

[317] Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, p. 79; Burghart, D. "View from the Top", p. 69; Disch, L. "The Tea Party: A 'White Citizenship' Movement?", p. 134; Lo, C. Y. H. "Astroturf versus Grass Roots", p. 100; Schulman, D. Sons of Wichita, pp 266-271; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 102-104; &, *The Billionaire Koch Brothers' War Against Obama: The New Yorker*.

[318] Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, p. 55; Distrust, Discontent, Anger and Partisan Rancor, pp 68-69; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 15, 26, 27, 68, & 85; Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, pp 156-160; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 23-28; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 6.

[319] Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 28, 33, & 78.

[320] Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, pp 252-255.

[321] DiMaggio, A. The Rise of the Tea Party, pp 46-49; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 130-133; Hofstadter, R. The Paranoid Style in American Politics, p. 33; &, Trost, C. & Rosenthal, L. "The Rise of the Tea Party", p. 15.

[322] McGirr, L. *Suburban Warriors*, p. 221; &, Mulloy, D. J. *The World of the John Birch Society*, p. 185

3.3.4: The Alt-Right

It now seems appropriate to discuss the most relevant development of conservative politics, the so-called 'Alt-Right movement'. This subsection will attempt to detail what exactly the Alt-Right movement is, what they believe, as well as to compare it in relation to the Tea Party movement.

The Alt-Right came into the media spotlight during and after the 2016 Presidential Election. However, they have seemingly existed beforehand in one form or another across the Internet under previous names such as 'Neo-Reactionaries' and the 'Dark Enlightenment'. [323] The Alt-Right movement is described by Angela Nagle in her latest book, Kill All Normies, as being a coalition of various disparate elements which seemingly at-first had developed independently from one another, before merging together under the banner of the social movement – from Internet Trolls, Men's Rights Activists (MRA), to dyed-in-the-wool Neo-Nazis. [324] Whereas the Tea Party movement had adopted a chapter system to help manage and organise its supporters (as was detailed previously in the eighth paragraph of Subsection **3.2.2: The Tea Party movement Organisations**), the Alt-Right on the other hand appears to be more autonomous and less hierarchical – that is, apart from the 'celebrities' (such as, Richard Spencer, Stefan Molyneux, and so on) and aforementioned existing groups (Neo-Nazi gangs) who help organise Alt-Right events and rallies.

The demographics of the Alt-Right are significantly younger, less religious (sceptic), and mostly male-orientated compared to other conservative demographics – particularly compared to that of the Tea Party movement (as previously shown in Subsection **3.2.3: The Tea Party Membership Demographics**). Adherents of the Alt-Right movement are likely to be middle-class but not necessarily well-educated, and consequently, are involved with so-called 'geek' or 'nerd' culture(s) such as board games, comics, and videogames – as such, terms like 'man-children' or 'fail-sons' are apt descriptions of typical members of the Alt-Right. Due to their lifestyle, members of the Alt-Right are mostly politically libertarian. [325]

The political agenda of the Alt-Right movement is described by Angela Nagle as being:

> …preoccupied with IQ, European demographic and civilizational decline, cultural decadence, cultural Marxism, anti-egalitarianism and Islamification but most importantly, as the name suggests, with creating an alternative to the right-wing conservative establishment, who they dismiss as 'cuckservatives' for their soft Christian passivity and for metaphorically cuckholding their womenfolk/nation/race to the non-white foreign invader. [326]

This description of the Alt-Right (particularly the latter half), it could be argued, fits with Robert Horwitz's concept of 'anti-establishment conservatism', as described in a previous subsection of this chapter. The Alt-Right, according to Nagle, has also co-opted the so-called 'politics of transgression' that originally emerged from the (political Left) counterculture

---

[323] PYF Dark Enlightenment Thinker – The Something Awful Forums,
http://forums.somethingawful.com/showthread.php?threadid=3653939, (29/07/14).
[324] Nagle, A. Kill All Normies: The online culture wars from Tumblr and 4chan to the alt-right and Trump, (Winchester: Zero Books, 2017), p. 12 & 19.
[325] Nagle, A. Kill All Normies; &, PYF Dark Enlightenment Thinker – The Something Awful Forums.
[326] Nagle, A. Kill All Normies, p. 12.

movement in the sixties – In a similar fashion to how another past conservative organisation, the JBS, had co-opted the organisational tactics of Communist cells as described by Richard Hofstadter. [327]

The Alt-Right are seemingly more extreme than the Tea Party movement, as they openly tout white supremacy as opposed to hiding it behind euphemisms. Furthermore, adherents of the Alt-Right are more likely to confront their opponents using harassment, offensive (racially-charged) slurs, and at times, violent physical assaults. [328] Nevertheless, the Tea Party movement is just as dangerous, if not more so, than the Alt-Right, given their aforementioned influence over the Republican Party (as discussed earlier in Subsection **3.3.2: The Republican Party**). One could argue that the extremism of the Alt-Right movement is, for instance, an unintended legacy of the Tea Party movement and its influence over American politics which has consequently shifted the Overton window further to the Right in such a short space of a few years.

3.4: The Tea Party Movement in Historical Context

This section is intended to provide a background historical context behind the modern Tea Party movement. It details the original historical event, the Boston Tea Party of 1773, from which the Tea Party movement derives most of its identity, as well as the financial crisis of 2008 which triggered the emergence of the modern Tea Party movement, and finally, the proto-Tea Party protests which emerged shortly after.

3.4.1: The Boston Tea Party (1773)

KING GEORGE THE THIRD SENT OUT A DECREE,
IN SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY THREE,
THAT THREE PENCE ON EVERY POUND OF TEA…

T-A-X
'TWAS ENOUGH TO VEX
THE SOULS OF THE MEN OF BOSTON TOWN,
TO READ THIS UNDER THE SEAL OF THE CROWN…

AND SO 'TWAS DECIDED TO LAY AN EMBARGO
ON VESSELS THAT BROUGHT OVER TEA AS THEIR CARGO,
FOR IF ONCE THEY WERE LANDED, THEN TROUBLE WOULD FOLLOW,
AND NEITHER THE TAX NOR THE TEA WOULD THEY SWALLOW!

DECLARING WITH WAR-WHOOPS OF SAVAGE DELIGHT,
"BOSTON HARBOUR SHALL FURNISH THE TEA-POT TO-NIGHT"…

INDIGNANTLY SEIZING THE BOXES OF TEA,
AND MANY A CHEST

---

[327] Hofstadter, R. The Paranoid Style in American Politics: and Other Essays, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966), p. 33; &, Nagle, A. Kill All Normies: The online culture wars from Tumblr and 4chan to the alt-right and Trump, (Winchester: Zero Books, 2017), p. 57.
[328] Nagle, A. Kill All Normies, pp 118-119

 Now would be a good time to examine the historic event from which the modern Tea Party movement derives its name – the Boston Tea Party of 1773. When one nostalgically recollects the Boston Tea Party, the abridged narrative that most commonly enters the mind is reminiscent of the children's rhyme shown above, images of colonists dressed as Native Americans with feathers in their hair and soot mark 'war paint' on their faces, waving hatchets in the air with which they would smash open the tea crates before pouring it into Boston Harbour, all the whilst the cry of "No taxation without representation!" echoes in the background. This subsection, however, details the Boston Tea Party as it historically happened: Starting with a brief overview of the context behind the event, then detailing the event itself, before finally summarising its aftermath.

 The Boston Tea Party took place in the context of a financial crisis not too dissimilar from the Great Recession centuries later. This crisis was precipitated by the value of East India Company stocks which had suddenly collapsed in lieu of a series of disastrous setbacks in Bengal, but which ultimately reached its crescendo in 1772. Alexander Fordyce, a Scottish investor and speculator, gambled more money than the bank that he worked for could afford on the Company stock, when the stocks collapsed, so too did a series of banks that had also leveraged their fortunes onto the East India Company along with it – the repercussions were felt globally, going so far as to effect the American colonies by restricting the lending of loans in a society which for the longest time was struggling to hold onto specie. A year later, the East India Company was facing certain terminal decline. Years of short-sighted mismanagement and rampant embezzlement by its officials had left the Company almost bankrupt, without the means of securing a loan from creditors, whilst its commercial products remained unsold and rotting in British warehouses. [330]

 In response to the looming crisis overshadowing the East India Company, the British Parliament, whose ministers' interests were tied to the Company, [331] set about devising a policy that would assuredly turn the Company a profit – what could effectively be described as a bailout – The Tea Act of 1773. The Tea Act gave the British East India Company de facto monopoly rights to export and sell tea to the North American colonies: the Company would sell its tea through a specified cabal of 'consignees' in the colonies, who would then sell it to retailers. This allowed the Company to significantly undercut the price of tea below

---

[329] McVickar, H. W. & Pollard, J. The Boston Tea Party: December 1773, (New York: Dodd Mead & Company, 1882).

[330] Brogan, H. The Longman History of the United States of America, (New York: Longman, 1985), p. 161; Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots: The Boston Tea Party & the Making of America, (London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp 10-13; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty: An American History [Seagull 3rd Edition], (London: W. W. Norton & Co., 2012), p. 188; Griswold, W. S. The Boston Tea Party 16 December 1773: The Night the Revolution Began, (Kent: Abacus Press, 1973), p. 7; Miller, J. C. Origins of the American Revolution, (London: Faber & Faber, 1955), pp 239; &, Ward, H. M. The American Revolution: Nationhood Achieved 1763-1788, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), p. 44.

[331] Under the Dividend Act of 1767, Parliament received an annual revenue of £400 thousand from the East India Company.
Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots, p. 14; Miller, J. C. Origins of the American Revolution, p. 240; &, Ward, H. M. The American Revolution, p. 44.

the rates of their competitors, the Dutch tea smugglers, whilst the Townshend duty on tea – which remained in effect even after the Act had been repealed in 1770 – would funnel money back to Britain. Unsurprisingly, news of the Tea Act was met with derision in the North American colonies. Many merchants (both illicit and legitimate) were agitated by the monopolisation of the tea trade for obvious reasons, they despised the anti-competitiveness of the policy which had the possibility to ruin entire fortunes, made especially vexing with the perception that the policy was unashamedly rewarding of nepotism towards the British establishment, and moreover they feared that the Tea Act could set a precedent with which other commodities could become monopolies in a similar fashion. The other strain of contention was caused by the remaining Townshend duty on the tea, a tax that was imposed without the consent of the American colonists, which was perceived to have threatened the power of colonial assemblies against the British government – hence the famous rallying cry of "no taxation without representation!" In order to deal with these inconveniences, the patriots organised and enforced a boycott of East India Company tea. [332]

The discontent surrounding the Tea Act came to a head in the city of Boston, when the tea ship called the Dartmouth landed in port in late November, 1773, followed soon after by the Beaver and the Eleanor, each with their complement of East India Company tea. The city had known of the ships' voyage across the Atlantic since mid-October as a militant group known as the 'Loyal Nine' of the Sons of Liberty had in the meantime helped publish a series of violent harassments in the Boston Gazette and County Journal against the tea consignees – five men, of whom three were familial relations of Boston's loathed Governor, Thomas Hutchinson, and the other two being his close associates. [333] The ship which was now docked at Griffin's Wharf in Boston Harbour had a deadline of twenty days to pay its custom duties and unload its cargo – an impossibility owing to the Sons of Liberty physically impeding such efforts – or else have the goods seized by the customs authorities. The only probable alternative, of having the tea sent back to England, was out of the question, as the man required to authorise such an act, Governor Thomas Hutchinson, refused to do so out of spite of the idea to make concessions to his rivals. If the patriots did not act in time, then their worst fears would be seen to be realised. [334]

The destruction of the tea in Boston Harbour began, as the story goes, with the adjourning of a mass meeting at the Old South Church on December 16th, 1773, the night before the deadline. More than five thousand Bostonians had gathered throughout the day to hear of what would become of the tea still aboard the three ships docked at Griffin's Wharf. When

---

[332] Alden, J. R. A History of the American Revolution, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), p. 138; Beacroft, B. W. & Smale, M. A. The Making of America: From Wilderness to World Power, (London: Longman, 1972), pp 38-39; Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States: A Study in American Civilisation, (Forgotten Books, 2012), pp 92-93; Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots, pp 2-3; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 188-189; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty: American History 1607-1992 [2nd Edition], (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 43; Miller, J. C. Origins of the American Revolution, pp 239-242; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, (London: Penguin Books, 2010), p. 60; &, Stauber, L. G. The American Revolution: A Grand Mistake, (New York: Prometheus Books, 2010), pp 150-152.
[333] Alden, J. R. A History of the American Revolution, p. 138; Brogan, H. The Longman History of the United States of America, p. 163; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, (London: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 90; &, Griswold, W. S. The Boston Tea Party 16 December 1773, pp 9-12 & 16-19.
[334] Brogan, H. The Longman History of the United States of America, p. 163; Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots, pp 97-98; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 231; Unger, H. G. American Tempest: How the Boston Tea Party Sparked a Revolution, (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2011), p. 164; &, Ward, H. M. The American Revolution, pp 45-46.

Captain Francis Rotch of the Dartmouth returned to the church in the late-evening, having failed to secure permission to return his cargo back to England from Governor Hutchinson, Sam Adams famously concluded the meeting with the statement: "This meeting can do nothing further to save the country." Adams's statement was replied with a bellowing war-whoop from amongst the crowd, which in turn signalled the arrival of a band of men vainly disguised as 'Mohawk' Indians outside the front of the church who hollered in kind, before they began marching towards Griffin's Wharf. "Boston Harbour a tea-pot tonight!" was shouted from the crowd at the Old South Church which now spilled into the streets trailing behind the band of Mohawks as they marched towards the Harbour and watched the iconic scenes which followed. A group of around a hundred Mohawks boarded the three vessels and began to diligently in an organised and silent fashion hoist the tea from the cargo holds onto the decks wherein it would be smashed open by hatchet and poured overboard. As this scene unfolded for three hours into the night a few patriotic Mohawks stood guard on the docks and in rowboats to prevent attempts at salvaging the dumped tea. By the end of the night three hundred and forty chests of tea, valued at the time to be worth around £10 thousand, had been dumped into Boston Harbour. [335]

The day after the event at Boston Harbour, Paul Revere immediately set off on horseback to New York and Philadelphia to spread the news of what happened across the colonies. [336] As news spread of the Boston Tea Party, so too were other 'Tea Parties' spurred on across the North American colonies: In Philadelphia, a ship called the Polly loaded with twice as much tea as was in Boston had arrived within the city limits and anchored itself off Gloucester Point the day after Christmas, a crowd of around eight thousand inhabitants gathered at the Philadelphia State House to confront the ship's captain, Samuel Ayres, successfully threatening to repeat the scene that took place at Boston, as well as to tar and feather Ayres to make an example out of him, and just as soon as it had arrived, the Polly, along with its cargo intact, sailed back to England on December 28th. In New York, in early March, 1774, a tea ship was boarded and its contents dumped overboard in a similar fashion to that of what had happened in Boston, the empty tea chests were then ceremoniously paraded and finally burnt in the middle of an open field. Two other tea ships which arrived a month later (April) in Annapolis, Maryland, and in Greenwich, New Jersey, were both set on fire by the patriot mob – destroying thousands of pounds of tea in the process. [337] In Charleston, South Carolina, the situation was markedly less violent: the London had successfully loaded its cargo into the customhouse to the dismay of the patriots in early December, 1773, but owing to the circumstances none of the consignees were willing to pay the custom duties, thereby leaving

---

[335] Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, p. 93; Brogan, H. The Longman History of the United States of America, pp 163-164; Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots, pp 1-2 & 115-130; Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776: A British-American Dialogue on the Coming of the American Revolution, (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1976), pp 179-180; Cumming, W. P. & Rankin, H. The Fate of a Nation: The American Revolution Through Contemporary Eyes, (London: Phaidon Press, 1975), p. 28; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, p. 189; Griswold, W. S. The Boston Tea Party 16 December 1773, pp 90-106; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 43; Stauber, L. G. The American Revolution, p. 153; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 129; &, Unger, H. G. American Tempest, pp 164-166.
[336] Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots, p. 164; Raphael, R. Founders: The People Who Brought You a Nation, (London: The New Press, 2010), p. 127; &, Unger, H. G. American Tempest, p. 172.
[337] Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots, p. 165; Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776, p. 181; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, p. 91; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 43; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, pp 228-229; Raphael, R. Founders, pp 127-128; &, Unger, H. G. American Tempest, pp 174-175.

the tea locked away within the Charleston warehouses – only to be eventually sold, as some accounts attest, during the War of Independence to pay for the patriot's military costs. [338]

Yet, not all news of the Boston Tea Party as it was spread was greeted with jubilation by the revolutionary patriots: Benjamin Franklin and George Washington, for instance, were aghast at the destruction of the tea and strongly urged that the East India Company be compensated for its vandalised property. [339] What would, however, unite the patriots was the subsequent reaction taken by the British. Rumours of the destruction of the tea in Boston reached England on January 19th, 1774, which was confirmed by the arrival of an official report of the incident commissioned by Governor Thomas Hutchinson a week later. The news of the destruction of the tea at Boston was, of course, not taken lightly by the British establishment who considered it as an egregious insult to their authority – one of many since the Stamp Act crisis of 1765. King George III and his ministers in Parliament believed that the only means to reassert their authority over the colonies was to make an example out of the city of Boston for their insolent behaviour. [340] What resulted was a series of measures collectively known as the Coercive Acts, [341] which would ultimately set into motion the climax of the American Revolution – the American War for Independence and eventually the establishment of the United States of America.

These historical events would centuries later be evoked in Rick Santelli's Rant and adorned as a label by the conservative social movement that emerged soon after. As Professor Jill Lepore remarked in The Whites of Their Eyes: "From the start, the Tea Party's chief political asset was its name…" which, she pointed out, provided the emerging political phenomenon with an astute analogy, that: "rejecting the bailout is like dumping the tea." [342] Indeed, the analogy evoked would become embedded amongst the consciousness of the American population as the events which unfolded appeared to strike an eerie, if nostalgic, parallel to that of the historical narrative. In examining the historical event, what is significant is the fact that the Boston Tea Party of 1773 was the result of a 'principled' stand regarding political

---

[338] Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots, p. 165; Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776, p. 181; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 43; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, p. 229; Raphael, R. Founders, pp 128-129; Stauber, L. G. The American Revolution, p. 153; &, Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 129.
[339] Chernow, R. Washington, p. 166; &, Debunking Boston Tea Party Myths, http://www.historynet.com/debunking-boston-tea-party-myths.htm, (01/04/10).
[340] Greene, J. P. Understanding the American Revolution: Issues and Actors, (Virginia: The University Press of Virginia, 1995), p. 63; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 43; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, p. 233; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 61; Stauber, L. G. The American Revolution, pp 153-154; &, Ward, H. M. The American Revolution, p. 47.
[341] The Coercive Acts (also known as the Intolerable Acts) were a collection of laws passed by Parliament in early 1774. Out of these Acts, the most intolerable measures included; the enforced closure of Boston's port to trade (the Port Act) which effectively starved the city's population, the imposition of British Redcoats to be lodged in the private properties of the Bostonians (the Quartering Act), and above all, Parliament's reshaping of the charter of Massachusetts that exercised and protected more than ever the power of the British Empire over colonial affairs (the Administration of Justice Act and the Massachusetts Government Act) which the colonists feared could become a measure which would at a later time be applied to their charters.
Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, pp 93-95; Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776, pp 201-203; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, p. 105; Cumming, W. P. & Rankin, H. The Fate of a Nation, pp 30-31; Draper, T. A Struggle for Power: The American Revolution, (London: Abacus, 1997), p. 417; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 43; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, pp 233-237; Miller, J. C. Origins of the American Revolution, pp 262-263; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 61.
[342] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 14.

representation within the North American colonies related to how taxation should be implemented – hence, 'No taxation without representation'. But importantly, it was not incited on the basis of high taxation – as under the Tea Act the East India Company's tea would be far cheaper than the illicit Dutch smuggled tea. [343] How the nostalgic historical iconography and the narrative of the Boston Tea Party of 1773 were adopted by various political actors throughout the history of the United States of America will be developed further in a following subsection.

3.4.2: Proto-Tea Party Protests

The moniker of the Boston Tea Party of 1773 has been adopted by numerous groups for political purposes throughout the history of American politics. The idea of adopting the history, imagery, rhetoric, or indeed theme of the Boston Tea Party of 1773 in the pursuit of contemporary political agendas and struggles has in many respects weighed heavily amongst the collective memory of the American people. It is in a sense, as the following paragraphs will evidence, a historically recurring American tradition:

 This tradition, of course, began during the nineteenth-century. During this time in the United States of America, both the anti-abolitionist and abolitionist slavery movements as well as the early trade unionists that had emerged, had each in their own manner adopted the coveted mantle of the Boston Tea Party to justify their particular use of physical violence against property (and in some cases, men) in pursuit of their political struggle against their opponents. So too, around the same period, the suffragette movement in the United States of America had sanctified their political struggle with the sacred mantra of the Boston Tea Party: 'No taxation without representation'. [344]

 The twentieth-century also had its share of divergent political interests which had scrambled to claim a share of the inheritance of the authority embodied within the vestiges of the Boston Tea Party: In the early-half of the century, extreme-right vigilante groups including the Black Legion, Ku Klux Klan, and the Knights of Mary Phagan used the Boston Tea Party as vindication for their violent tactics against their victims. During the bicentennial anniversary of the 1970s, the pageantry of the Boston Tea Party was mobilised by the political left: comprised by a coalition of the anti-[Vietnam] war movement, environmentalists, and Jeremy Rifkin's Peoples Bicentennial Commission. Together at Boston Harbour, close to what was the former site of Griffin's Wharf, these three forces re-enacted the ceremonial 'dumping of the tea' in protest against the Nixon administration and what they saw as corporate corruption amongst the oil industry and their government, iconically represented by the 'tea crates' that they dumped being substituted with three empty oil drums with the labels 'Exxon' and 'Gulf Oil'. A couple of decades later, the regalia Boston Tea Party had changed hands once again, held by the familiar hands of conservative and libertarian anti-tax activists who dumped

---

[343] Debunking Boston Tea Party Myths.
[344] Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots, pp 216-217; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 32-33; Teed Off – Backstory with the American History Guys, http://backstoryradio.org/shows/teed-off-the-tea-party-then-and-now/, (21/05/10); &, Young, A. F. The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), pp 145-154.

copies of the federal tax code into Boston Harbour and posted tea bags to their Congress representatives in protest. [345]

The advent of the twenty-first-century showed no signs of relinquishing the tradition of treating the Boston Tea Party as a political hand-me-down. In 2002, the Tobacco Industry working alongside the political action committee, Citizens for a Sound Economy, attempted but failed to incite an anti-tax Tea Party movement. [346] As recently as 2007, during the run-up to the Presidential Election of 2008, the Boston Tea Party meme was adopted by the outspokenly libertarian Ron Paul and his third-party presidential campaign bid. Paul had organised a Tea Party-styled fundraiser on the anniversary of the historic event, raising a ground-breaking $6.01 million in the span of a single day. [347]

It now seems relevant to document what could be considered the 'proto-Tea Parties' which emerged in reaction to the economic response taken by the government of the United States of America in lieu of the 2008 Great Recession. These 'proto-Tea Parties' had taken place months prior to Rick Santelli's Rant on February 19th, 2009, and the emergence of what would later become the modern Tea Party movement.

What could be considered the very earliest proto-Tea Parties protests were orchestrated in early 2008 by a group known as FedUpUSA. Composed of a sizable number of American business and financial personnel that had originally congregated on the Market Ticker Forums (tickerforum.org), FedUpUSA had first protested in New York City against the announced merger of the Bear Stearns investment firm with the bank of JPMorgan & Chase as early as April 25th, 2008. [348] "Basically, everybody in America paid $300 to JPMorgan to buy Bear Stearns… it's taxation without representation, isn't that why we had the Revolution?" [349] remarked one protestor holding a sign which read: 'Your Congressman <u>Did Not Get To Vote</u> On The Bear Stearns Bailout'. Several other smartly-dressed and mild-mannered protestors waved plain signs which read: '[Ben] Bernanke Cut 300 Points & All I Got Was This Lousy Food And Energy Inflation', 'Ben [Bernanke] Stop Cutting And Start Regulating', 'Socialism For Wall Street & Capitalism For Main Street?', and 'Wall Street Makes Their Own Bets – Wall Street Can Pay Their Own Debts'. [350] FedUpUSA firmly pinned much of their anger and discontent surrounding the global financial crisis, in rhetoric reminiscent to that of classical writers bemoaning the state of their own times, towards what

[345] Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots, pp 231-232; Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 84; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, p. 33; Young, A. F. The Shoemaker and the Tea Party, pp 195-196; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, (New York: HarperCollins, 2003), p. 562.

[346] Fallin, A. Grana, R. & Glantz, S. A. "To Quarterback Behind the Scenes, Third Party Efforts': The Tobacco Industry and the Tea Party", Tobacco Control, (20th February, 2013), p. 3.

[347] O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, p. 38; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 194; Paul, R. & Hunter, J. The Tea Party Goes To Washington, (New York: Center Street, 2011), pp 5-6; Ron Paul: Tea Party 07 – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DKZmIzEMUN8, (11/11/07); &, Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 35-36.

[348] About Us | FedUpUSA, http://www.fedupusa.org/about-us/, (29/06/11); Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, p. 35; How the Tea Party movement began | World news | theguardian.com; & Trost, C. & Rosenthal, L. "The Rise of the Tea Party", Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 19 n22.

[349] FedUpUSA Protest New York City April 25, 2008 – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5aWng1lHr-E, (17/09/13).

[350] Ibid.

they described as the 'corruption' emanating from Wall Street and subsequently the veneration of the United States of America, stating on their website that (emphasis added):

> Huge corporations, international banks, power brokers on Wall Street, foreign governments, media giants – the real self-appointed ruling class – their lobbyists write the bills, the congressmen work as scripted front men for tainted legislation and then they vote as they're told. This country was founded as a representative republic, but *'We The People' are no longer represented*. There is no more 'equal justice under the law' – there are laws written to favour the elite who pay the congressmen to write them and there are 'exemptions' to most laws to allow for the criminal activity of the elite. Until the rule of law is restored, the financial crisis will not end. The financial crisis is but a symptom of a disease that is terminal for the Republic. [351]

FedUpUSA would organise another proto-Tea Party campaign, on February 1st, 2009, encouraging the American people to send teabags to their representatives in Congress as a defying message to the Wall Street bailouts. [352]

The second significant (but by no means only other) documented proto-Tea Party protest had occurred only three days prior to Rick Santelli's Rant, on February 16th, 2009. Organised by a conservative blogger under the online pseudonym Liberty Belle, Keli Carendar, the so-called 'Anti-Porkulus' [353] protest which had taken place in Seattle, Washington, was a far more visceral affair to that of the protests conducted by FedUpUSA months earlier. Directed against the Obama administration's American Recovery and Reinvestment Act [354] Carendar's protest drew a small crowd of around a hundred-and-twenty persons, who, in keeping with the theme of the protest: wore plastic pig noses, waved signs depicting various images of pigs with statements which read 'Obama'$ Porkulu$ Wear$ Lip$tick', [355] and later dined on a donation of barbequed pulled pork. [356]

---

[351] About Us | FedUpUSA.

[352] Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, p. 36; How the Tea Party movement began | World news | theguardian.com; &, Trost, C. & Rosenthal, L. "The Rise of the Tea Party", p. 10.

[353] The term 'Porkulus' comes from a combination of two phrases; 'pork barrel spending' and 'stimulus spending'. Therefore to be 'Anti-Porkulus' is to protest against government spending.
Lo, C. Y. H. "Astroturf versus Grass Roots: Scenes from Early Tea Party Mobilisation", Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 126 n62.

[354] The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (2009) was a stimulus package that intended to spend at the time of its introduction $787 billion (now $840 billion) on government programmes to the American people, including but not limited to; agriculture, education, emergency services (including FEMA), energy, health services (including Medicare/Medicaid), housing, scientific research and development, tax cuts, and welfare programmes.
Breakdown of Funding,
http://www.recovery.gov/arra/Transparency/fundingoverview/Pages/fundingbreakdown.aspx, (05/04/14).

[355] A reference to the semi-familiar expression; "to put lipstick on a pig". A phrase which was once famously said by Barack Obama during the run-up to the 2008 Presidential Election, believed to have referenced his political opponent's choice of vice-presidential candidate, Sarah Palin.
BBC NEWS | World | Americas | Obama's 'lipstick' reference,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/7608738.stm, (10/09/08).

[356] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 16-17; Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, p. 36; Lo, C. Y. H. "Astroturf versus Grass Roots: Scenes from Early Tea Party Mobilisation", p. 110; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 8; Michelle Malkin | >> Rebel Yell: Taxpayers Revolt Against Gimme-Mania, http://michellemalkin.com/2009/02/20/rebel-yell-taxpayers-revolt-against-gimme-mania/, (20/02/09); Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, p. 120; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad: Inside Tea Party America, (New York: Times Books, 2010), pp 13-19.

The first wave of coordinated Tea Party movement protests that emerged after the Santelli Rant would blend the previously mentioned proto-Tea Party protest styles together. The vehement theatre of Keli Carendar's 'Anti-Porkulus' protest framed in the impassioned adopted historical rhetoric of FedUpUSA. Uncovering said proto-protests lays to rest the nostalgic myth that the Tea Party movement began with Rick Santelli's Rant, including the assertion that: "What Rick Santelli did was give the discontent a name, and a bit of imagery." [357] The idea of adopting the pageantry of the Boston Tea Party to protest against the economic policies enacted by the government of the United States of America had been circling the consciousness of the American public weeks (arguably years) prior to February 19th, 2009, in due part to the efforts of FedUpUSA. Furthermore, as this subsection has illuminated, adopting the regalia of the Boston Tea Party for political causes has been a long tradition in the collective memory of the United States of America. It is perhaps more accurate, then, to describe the role played by Rick Santelli in ushering the Tea Party movement as a conduit for the discontent surrounding his environment.

3.5: Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the Tea Party movement, its origins, organisation, principles, supporters, historical context, and relationship with the Republican Party, the Alt-Right, and other historical conservative organisations.

The Tea Party movement is an anti-establishment, romantic, New Right conservative social movement. It is a movement composed primarily of white, male, elderly, conservative, religious, and middle-class Americans. [358] What separates members of the Tea Party movement from other conservative organisations is their adherence to a unique set of principles, the three key principles of: individual liberty (free markets), fiscal responsibility, and constitutionally limited government. [359]

The Tea Party movement emerged after the Great Recession of 2008. On February 19th, 2009, a news anchor by the name of Rick Santelli gave an impromptu rant on the floor of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange. The Santelli Rant, as it became known, was uploaded to the Internet and became a viral sensation. [360] Weeks later, the first Tea Party protests were organised by a coalition of conservative individuals and organisations across the United

---

[357] Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 20.

[358] Distrust, Discontent, Anger and Partisan Rancor: The People and Their Government, (Washington: Pew Research Center, 2010), pp 68-69; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 15, 68 & 85; Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, pp 157-158; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 23-27;Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 47-50; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, pp 6-7.

[359] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 66-69 & 123; Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, p. 17 & 30; Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, p. 235; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 22; O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, p. 24; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 1; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 43.

[360] Holiday, R. *Trust Me I'm Lying*, p. 67; Horwitz R. B. *America's Right*, p 158; Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, p. 226; Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, pp 120-121; Skocpol T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 7 & 129; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 33-34; Taibbi, M. Griftopia, p. 20; Trost, C. & Rosenthal, L. "The Rise of the Tea Party", p. 10; &, Zernike K. Boiling Mad, pp 20-25.

States of America. [361] This event will be analysed in further detail in the next chapter of this thesis (Chapter **4. The Santelli Myth**).

 The Tea Party movement is supported by a coalition of (sometimes competing) local and national conservative organisations. [362] One of the most influential organisations that coordinates Tea Party groups, policies, and protests is the ideological PAC, FreedomWorks. FreedomWorks was instrumental in organising the first Tea Party protests after the Santelli Rant. [363] They also influenced the ideological principles behind the social movement and supported numerous local and national Tea Party groups and organisations such as the Tea Party Patriots. [364] FreedomWorks has also turned the Tea Party movement into a lucrative money raising venture – with its conferences, donation drives, and merchandise. The money raised by the conservative organisation (and others), in a similar fashion to the JBS decades earlier, was invested in long-term strategies intended to shape the cultural landscape of the United States of America – into various media endorsements such as book publications, radio programmes, films, and recently, of course, towards the platform of the Internet – of which the money raised by these products is then funnelled back into the organisations to be used for political campaigning and lobbying. [365]

 Local Tea Party movement groups are organised under chapter system. The chapter system, which was pioneered by the JBS decades earlier, gives the impression that the social movement is larger and more pervasive than it actually is. [366] Whereas the JBS was controlled to a fanatical degree by Robert Welch, the Tea Party movement is instead relatively uncontrollable – which allows for extremist elements to infiltrate the social movement. [367]

 The Tea Party movement, as this chapter has shown, has been shaped by history and continues to shape future conservative political movements. The modern Tea Party movement is not the first (nor, perhaps, will it be the last) political movement that has

[361] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 27-29; Horwitz R. B. *America's Right*, p 158; Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, pp 226-228; Lo, C. Y. H. "Astroturf versus Grass Roots: Scenes from Early Tea Party Mobilisation", p. 100; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, pp 195-196; Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, p. 121; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, p. 34; Trost, C. & Rosenthal, L. "The Rise of the Tea Party", p. 10; &, Zernike K. Boiling Mad, pp 40-43.

[362] Skocpol T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 84.

[363] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 27-29; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, pp 195-196; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, pp 40-41.

[364] Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, pp 92-93; Burghart, D. "View from the Top", pp 71-72 & 80-82; DiMaggio, A. The Rise of the Tea Party, p. 55; Lo, C. Y. H. "Astroturf versus Grass Roots", pp 114-115; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 108-110; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 43.

[365] Broyles, J. A. The John Birch Society, pp 69-71; Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, p. 54; EXCLUSIVE: Dick *Armey Dishes On FreedomWorks' Deals With Beck & Limbaugh | Blog | Media Matters For America*; FreedomConnector; FreePAC; Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective", pp 31-32; &, Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 48-49.

[366] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 185-187; DiMaggio, A. The Rise of the Tea Party, pp 46-49; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 130-133; &, Trost, C. & Rosenthal, L. "The Rise of the Tea Party", p. 15.

[367] Bell, D. "The Dispossessed (1962)", The Radical Right: The New American Right, Expanded and Updated, (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1963), p. 4; Broyles, J. A. The John Birch Society, pp 84-85; Burghart, D. "View from the Top", p. 77; Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, p. 56 & 61; Forster, A. & Epstein, B. R. Danger on the Right, p. 22; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 33-34; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 5, 148, & 187.

adopted and exploited the history of the Boston Tea Party of 1773. [368] The JBS, in particular, has been a considerable influence over the Tea Party movement's organisational structure – this is, of course, due to the Koch connection between the JBS and the PACs supporting the Tea Party movement. [369] The Tea Party movement also, it could be argued, is instrumental in shaping the Republican Party as well as the recent Alt-Right movement, by setting an ever-increasingly uncompromising and fundamentalist tone in American politics.

---

[368] Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots, pp 216-217 & 231-232; Fallin, A. Grana, R. & Glantz, S. A. "To Quarterback Behind the Scenes, Third Party Efforts': The Tobacco Industry and the Tea Party", Tobacco Control, (20th February, 2013), p. 3; Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 84; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 32-36; Teed Off – Backstory with the American History Guys, http://backstoryradio.org/shows/teed-off-the-tea-party-then-and-now/, (21/05/10); Young, A. F. The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), pp 145-154 & 195-196; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, (New York: HarperCollins, 2003), p. 562.

[369] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 185-187; New Documents Prove Charles Koch Was John Birch Society Member During Civil Rights Movement | Crooks and Liars; &, Schulman, D. Sons of Wichita, p. 49.

4. The Santelli Myth

4.1: Introduction

> I don't have to tell you things are bad, everybody knows things are bad. It's a depression. Everybody's out of work, or scared of losing their job. The dollar buys a nickel's worth. Banks are going bust. Shopkeepers keep a gun under the counter. Punks are running wild in the street, and there is nobody anywhere that seems to know what to do. We know our air is unfit to breathe, and our food is unfit to eat…

> …We know things are bad, worse than bad. They're crazy…

> …Well I'm not going to leave you alone. I want you to get mad… I don't know what to do about the depression and the inflation and the Russians and the crime in the street – all I know is that first *you've got to get mad*, you've got to say: "I'm a human being god damn it, my life has value!" So I want you to get up now. I want all of you to get up out of your chairs. I want you to get up right now and go to the window, open it, and stick your out head and yell: "*I'm as mad as hell, and I'm not going to take this anymore!*" [370]

This chapter is an examination of an important event in the history of the Tea Party movement which is widely taken for granted as being responsible for the social movement's origin, an event known as the Santelli Rant. Although such a topic has frequently appeared in published literature surrounding the Tea Party movement, it is for the most part only briefly touched upon as an event which had happened with little critical examination as to why. This chapter, therefore, makes an original contribution by embracing as much information related to the Santelli Rant, with the specific intention to explain and understand how such an event occurred as it did. It will accomplish this task, by embracing a linear narrative style of contemporary History. This chapter will start with a detailed overview of the event in question including its depiction in the published literature, it will then attempt to explain why such an event occurred as it had at the time.

This chapter is a re-examination of the Santelli Rant, which is divided into three major sections. It begins by examining the literary context behind the Santelli Rant, how the event is portrayed in published material and why it matters. It then describes the Santelli Rant as it happened in the manner it happened. Before finally detailing the immediate reactions ('post-Rant') taken by various actors responsible for the Tea Party movement's mobilisation and organisation – which include the media, FreedomWorks and a selection of individuals.

4.2: Overview of the Santelli Rant

This section is intended to provide an overview of the Santelli Rant which had occurred on February 19th, 2009. It begins with some literary context, detailing how the event is depicted

---

[370] Lumet, S. Network, (Warner Bros., 1977).

within the literature surrounding the Tea Party movement, before describing the event itself as it happened.

4.2.1: Literary Context

In a previous chapter of this thesis, the historical context regarding the 2008 Great Recession and the emergence of the 'proto-Tea Party movements' was addressed and would prove useful for this chapter. This subsection, however, intends to provide some literary context regarding the presentation of the Santelli Rant in published material relating to the Tea Party movement.

One facet of the contemporary Zeitgeist of 'declinism' overshadowing the United States of America, the malaise that urges the American population to seek refuge in the nostalgia of the past, is related to a similar sense of 'declinism' believed to be afflicting the present-day mass media. Regardless of political affinities, the American Zeitgeist finds itself agitated and anxious at what they perceive as the on-going signs of crumbling disrepair eroding away at the pillar of the 'Fourth Estate' of their country: the perception of declining standards of investigative journalism, anxieties around the influence of monopolising corporations over media outlets, and so on. Once again, this notion is given credence from the plethora of recently published literature encompassing these very issues regarding contemporary journalism and the mass media. [371-372] The Santelli Rant is one such example of an event which epitomises this Zeitgeist, as this thesis argues that only by historically contextualising this event, will it become apparent that the forces which allowed such an event to exist be understood properly.

To this day, the emergence of the Tea Party movement on the political stage of the United States of America remains a vehemently disputed subject. In tracing back the recent history of the United States of America, the traditional consensus within most of the published literature surrounding the Tea Party movement asserts that were the consequence of an event described as 'The Santelli Rant'. The Santelli Rant is believed to have given rise to the Tea Party movement, having provided the social movement with an impetus to coordinate the first

---

[371] For seemingly neutral and 'insider' examples of the anxieties surrounding modern journalism and the mass media, see the following texts.
Davies, N. Flat Earth News, (London: Vintage, 2009); Edwards, D. & Cromwell, D. Guardians of Power: The Myth of the Liberal Media, (London: Pluto Press, 2006); Gardener, D. Risk: The Science and Politics of Fear; Holiday, R. *Trust Me I'm Lying: Confessions of a Media Manipulator*, (New York: Portfolio/Penguin, 2012); Kitty, A. *Don't Believe It!: Ho*w Lies Becomes News, (New York: Disinformation Books, 2005); &, Kovach, B. & Rosenstiel, T. The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect, (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2007).

[372] For more polemical examples on both sides of the ideological political spectrum, see the following texts.
Cohen, E. D. & Fraser, B. W. The Last Days of Democracy: How Big Media and Power-Hungry Government Are Turning America into a Dictatorship, (New York: Prometheus Books, 2007); Groseclose, T. Left Turn: How Liberal Media Bias Distorts the American Mind, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2011); Kitty, A. & Greenwald, R. *Outfoxed: Rupert Murdoch's War on Journalism*, (New York: Disinformation Books, 2005); Sherman, G. The Loudest Man in the Room: How the Brilliant, Bombastic Roger Ailes Built Fox News – and Divided a Country, (New York: Random House, 2014); &, Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party: Mass Media and the Campaign to Remake American Politics, (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2011).

nationwide protests across the United States of America in late February, 2009. [373] Consequently, the Santelli Rant as it is depicted in the published literature surrounding the Tea Party movement is seemingly taken for granted, perhaps due to hindsight, as the de facto origin narrative to explain the emergence of the Tea Party movement – making it susceptible to nostalgia.

Typically, the Santelli Rant is depicted in the following ways:

Propagandist sources of the Tea Party movement, for instance, depict and emphasise the Santelli Rant as an inevitable incident in which Rick Santelli's words majestically swept across the United States of America as a kind of heroic rallying call to arms. [374] Tea Party Patriots Jenny Beth Martin and Mark Meckler, describe the Santelli Rant in a revelatory, almost mythical manner, by stating:

> Threatened, angry, helpless, and alone, we wondered why no one else seemed to share our feelings. Why did America seem like a "sleeping giant"?
>
> Then one man, Rick Santelli, spoke out. From his heart. Without fear. Without a plan. With no idea what his words would unleash. His words spread across the country. Millions of Americans heard his call: a call for a new American Tea Party.
>
> And the sleeping giant woke up. [375]

Academic sources, on the other hand, which attempt to remain neutral and objective, will for the most part depict the Santelli Rant as simply a curiosity which had happened. [376] In

---

[373] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty: A Tea Party Manifesto, (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010), pp 19-20; BBC News – What exactly is the Tea Party?, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-11317202, (16/09/10); Brody, D. The Teavangelicals: The Inside Story of how The Evangelicals and The Tea Party are Taking Back America, (Michigan: Zondervan, 2012), pp 36-37; DiMaggio, A. The Rise of the Tea Party: Political Discontent and Corporate Media in the Age of Obama, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011), p. 32; Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right: Anti-*Establishment Conservatism From Goldwater to the Tea Party, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), p. 158; How the Tea Party movement began | World news | theguardian.com, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/oct/05/us-midterm-elections-2010-tea-party-movement, (05/10/10); Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty: The Ideological Origins of the Tea Party Movement, (New York: HarperCollins, 2012), p. 225; Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 3; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots: The Second American Revolution, (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 2012), pp 8-9; Morris, D. & McGann, E. Revolt!: How to Defeat Obama and Repeal His Socialist Programs – A Patriots Guide, (New York: HarperCollins, 2011), pp 293-294; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't* Believe In: The Tea Party and Reactionary Politics in America, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013) p. 195; Pearlman, S. The Palin Effect: Money, Sex and Class in the New American Politics, (London: Biteback Publishing, 2012), pp 195-197; Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell: How the Tea Party Movement is Fundamentally Remaking Our Two-Party System, (New York: HarperCollins, 2010), pp 120-121; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 7-8; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 33-34; Taibbi, M. Griftopia, p. 17; &, Trost, C. & Rosenthal, L. "Introduction: The Rise of the Tea Party", p. 10.
[374] John M. O'Hara, for instance, likens the Santelli Rant to (in his opinion) the pinnacle monologue from the Ayn Rand's novel, Atlas Shrugged – albeit a speech which is "thankfully" much shorter in length than Galt's philosophical dictum.
O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party: The Counterrevolution Against Bailouts, Handouts, Reckless Spending, and More Taxes, (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), p. 1.
[375] Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, pp 14-15.
[376] Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, p. 158; Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 3; &, Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, pp 120-121.

contrast, detractory sources concerning the Tea Party movement depict and emphasise the Santelli Rant as a kind of conspiracy by sinister corporate interests, highlighting the background machinations which occurred after it had been broadcast. [377] In most instances, however, the event is summarised within the space of a few paragraphs to a couple of pages.

The Santelli Rant is itself often presented within published works as divorced from its contemporary context – with dissected and plucked quotations, the deployment of proper spelling and grammar, and neatly arranged in orderly paragraphs. It becomes an abstraction of the 'true' event. Sometimes, to help make sense of this complex event, the Santelli Rant is portrayed as a script. Take, for instance, Matt Taibbi's depiction of the Santelli Rant in his book, Griftopia, which states:

> JOE KERNEN: Hey Rick, how about the notion that, Wilbur pointed out, you can go down to two percent on the mortgage…
>
> RICK SANTELLI: You could go down to minus two percent. They can't afford the house.
>
> KERNEN: … and still have forty percent, and still have forty percent not be able to do it. So why are they in the house? Why are we trying to keep them in the house?
>
> REBECCA QUIICK: Wow. Wilbur, you get people fired up.
>
> SANTELLI: We're thinking of having a Chicago Tea Party in July. All you capitalists that want to show up to Lake Michigan, I'm gonna start organising. [378]

The presentation of the Santelli Rant has a dramatic impact on the audiences' perception of the event itself. In essence, by presenting the Santelli Rant as previously shown above (and in an earlier chapter of this thesis), it creates a legitimising effect for the event itself – thereby creating the Santelli Myth, the idea that one man sparked a political revolution. The following subsections of this chapter will attempt to dispel this myth, starting with an accurate portrayal of the event as it happened.

4.2.2: The Rant

This section is a detailed description of the Santelli Rant as it had occurred on the morning of February 19th, 2009. The entire following description has been transcribed from an uploaded online copy of the video footage originally broadcast by CNBC which is reflected in the stream of consciousness style of writing. [379] The intention of this section is to attempt to provide the most realistic depiction of the Rant as it happened without dissecting the content

---

[377] *Exposing The Rightwing PR Machine Is CNBC's Rick Santelli Sucking Koch?* – By Mark Ames and Yasha Lavine – The eXiled, http://exiledonline.com/exposing-the-familiar-rightwing-pr-machine-is-cnbcs-rick-santelli-sucking-koch/, (27/02/09); &, Taibbi, M. Griftopia, pp 17-22.
[378] Taibbi, M. Griftopia, p. 20.
[379] *CNBC's Rick Santelli's Chicago Tea Party* – YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=zp-Jw-5Kx8k, (19/02/09).

of Rick Santelli's rhetoric from the context of his surroundings – as is, unfortunately, so-often the case in the literature surrounding the Tea Party movement.

On the morning of February 19th, 2009, news of President Barack Obama's latest stimulus programme, the HASP, was the focal topic of an earlier studio discussion between CNBC Squawk Box anchors: Joe Kernen, Carl Quintanilla, and Rebecca Quick, alongside guest-commentator Wilber Ross, a billionaire investor and the head of his own financial investment company, WL Ross & Co. At ten minutes past eight o'clock (US Eastern Time), studio anchor Rebecca Quick began introducing the two guests onto the show; from outside CNBC Squawk Box the studio, CNBC co-anchor Rick Santelli and independent talking-head Jason Roney, of the financial investment and trading firm, Sharmac Capital, awaited from separate places around the trading room floor of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, linked together via camera feed. Addressing Santelli in regards to the debated news of the new economic stimulus program, Quick inquired: "Rick have you been listening to this conversation?"

Appearing physically agitated on camera whilst standing amongst a small group of stock traders glued to their computer monitors, Rick Santelli then began his now famous rant, replying to his studio co-anchor in a theatrical tone: "Listening to it? I've been just glued to it because Mr. Ross has nailed it. You know the government is promoting bad behaviour…" he continued: "…because we certainly don't want to put stimulus forth, and give people a whopping eight or ten dollars in their cheque and think that they ought to save it." Santelli then remarked: "And in terms of modifications I'll tell you what I have an idea…" pausing for a moment: "You know, the new [Obama] administration's big on computers and technology. How about this, President of the new administration?" he rhetorically inquired, before quickly retorting: "Why don't you put up a website to have people vote on the Internet as a referendum to see if we really want to subsidise the losers' mortgages!" he bellowed, before concluding: "Or would we like to at least buy cars and buy houses in foreclosure and give them to people that might have a chance to actually prosper down the road, and reward people that could carry the water instead of drink the water?"

Rick Santelli then turned his back to the camera as he addressed the small crowd of financial traders around him: "This is America!" he exclaimed: "How many of you people want to pay for your neighbour's mortgage that has an extra bathroom and can't pay their bills? Raise their hand!" he exclaimed. The crowd jeered and booed. "President Obama are you listening?!" retorted Santelli. At that moment, one floor trader close to Rick Santelli approached him, attempting to speak into his microphone: "How about we all stop paying our mortgage. It's a moral hazard!" [380] he proclaimed, before eventually returning to his work

---

[380] A 'moral hazard' is an economic premise which proposes that an individual's otherwise rational survivalist behaviour and decision-making actions will, depending upon particular circumstances, change to become more attentive to risk-taking. For instance, a common example of a moral hazard is with regards to insurance: individuals with no insurance (and hence have severe penalties to incur if something disastrous happens) are said to take more precautions and actions intended to reduce the risk of calamity – whereas those with insurance are seemingly more likely to take less precautions and ergo more risk (as they believe that they have little to lose which is furthermore reinforced by the confident notion that any losses they do incur will be assuredly compensated) and are consequently more likely to experience calamity (according to this theory) due to their own negligence.

station. "This is like mob rule here, I'm getting scared" chuckled studio anchor Joe Kernen as he watched and listened to the television feed of the Chicago trading floor erupt in cheers after the previous comment. "Don't get scared Joe!" replied Santelli as he pointed directly at the camera. It was then at this moment that Rick Santelli went into overdrive, he continued: "You know Cuba used to have mansions and a relatively decent economy. They moved from the individual to the collective. Now they're driving '54 Chevys, maybe the last great car to come out of Detroit!" To which Kernen quickly responded: "They're driving them on water, too, which is a little strange to watch…" before attempting to change the discussion: "Hey Rick, how about the notion that, Wilber pointed out, you can go down to two percent on the mortgage…" when Santelli interrupted with: "You could go down to minus-two percent. They can't afford the house." Before Kernen finished his sentence with: "…and still have forty percent, and still have forty percent not be able to do it. So why are they in the house? Why are we trying to keep them in the house?" To which Rick Santelli, hands waving wildly, replied: "I know Mr. Summers is a great economist, but boy, I'd love the answer to that one." The floor of the mercantile exchange then erupted with faint cheers, clapping, and one or two yells of "Yeah!" from the small crowd of traders around Santelli. Studio co-anchor Rebecca Quick, reacting to the traders' responses, commented: "Wow. Wilber, you get people fired up."

 Studio anchor Joe Kernen, still attempting to keep the unravelling show professional, began to switch towards his shied away guest speaker, having barely uttered the words: "Jason. Jason you wanna…" before being interrupted yet again by Rick Santelli, who then uttered the fateful words of: "We're thinking of having a Chicago Tea Party in July. All you capitalists that want to show up to Lake Michigan, I'm gonna start organising." Kernen, bemused upon hearing Santelli's words, restricted himself to quiet chuckling, turning his head away from the camera, before clearing his throat. "What are you dumping in this time?" questioned co-anchor Rebecca Quick as the floor of the mercantile exchange once again erupted in hands clapping, cheers, and jubilant whistling, to which Santelli replied: "I think we're gonna be dumping in some derivative securities. What do you think about that?" Another studio anchor, Carl Quintanilla, piped up with a jokey comment: "Mayor Daley is marshalling the police right now…" as Kernen, speaking of Rick Santelli, interjected with the word; "rabble-rouser." Quintanilla finishing his sentence with: "…the National Guard."

 For a short time afterward, the atmosphere on camera calmed down. Jason Roney, the marginalised guest, was able to briefly say his piece concerning the marketplace and how government influences the points of stocks increasing or decreasing, and so on. Possibly in an attempt to recapitalise on the previous minutes of excitement, the producers encouraged the studio anchors to exchange some more banter with Rick Santelli. A jovial comment was made referring to a potential new career in politics for Santelli to opportunely pursue, to which he strenuously replied: "Do you think I want to take a shower every hour? The last place I'm ever going to live or work is [Washington] D.C.!"

Moral Hazard | Economics Help, http://www.economicshelp.org/blog/105/economics/what-is-moral-hazard/, (20/02/13).

In a last-ditch attempt to rekindle the moment, Rebecca Quick asked Santelli: "Hey Rick can you do that one more time? Just get the mob behind you again. I loved it!" with Carl Quintanilla adding: "And have the camera pull way out" – as the camera on the mercantile exchange floor slowly zoomed out. "I think... You can't just do that at will, can you Rick? I mean you are going to have to say something." Joe Kernen stated. "Yeah, do it at will – we'll see!" added Quick. Santelli replied: "Listen all I know is, is that there is only about five percent of the floor population here right now, and I talk loud enough they can all hear me. So if you want to ask them anything let me know. These guys are pretty straightforward, and my guess is a pretty good statistical cross-section of America. The Silent Majority!" On the camera feed, a stock trader could be seen jubilantly raising both his hands in the air as Rick Santelli finished his statement. "Not-so silent majority." The studio anchors had playfully retorted.

 Inquiring for the final time, Rebecca Quick asked Santelli: "So Rick are they [the traders on the floor] opposed to the housing thing, to the stimulus package, to everything out there?" Rick Santelli, calmly replied: "You know, they're pretty much of the notion that you can't buy your way into prosperity." His voice becoming more agitated as he continued: "And if the multiplier that all of these Washington economists are selling us is over one, that we never have to worry about the economy again!" he exclaimed with both his hands raised in a similar exclamatory fashion, before concluding: "The government should spend a trillion dollars an hour because we'll get one-point-five trillion back!" having finally shrugged his shoulders suggestively. Studio guest Wilber Ross, who had up until that point remained silent throughout the ordeal, commented with a final jest, stating: "Rick I congratulate you on your new incarnation as a revolutionary leader!" And with those words the Santelli Rant was over.

 The Santelli Rant is, according to the traditional narrative surrounding it, the preliminary mobilising force that had established the Tea Party movement. However, by examining the Rant as it contextually had happened in isolation, problems with this nostalgic narrative begin to emerge: Firstly, from a purely logistical standpoint, the Santelli Rant, as it was first broadcasted live on CNBC, could have only have reached a specified audience of so few television listeners at the time, [381] which of course, contradicts the resulting protest scenes of the Tea Party movement that emerged weeks later. Furthermore, comparing Rick Santelli's pronouncements of his "thinking of organising a Chicago Tea Party protest in July" also contradicts the prescience of the protests emerging in late February. From the above description of the Santelli Rant, it should be made abundantly clear that during the unfolding of Rick Santelli's outburst on live television nobody involved at the time was aware, or indeed of the opinion, that what they had just witnessed would sow the beginnings of a serious political movement – this belief was later developed in hindsight, in part due to subsequent rearranging interpretations by the mass media immediately after the event, and also through force of habit as later observers of the Tea Party movement had to address the fundamental conundrum of where such a phenomenon had come from – creating an origin myth in the process. In order to address some of these issues raised the following section

---

[381] Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, pp 224-225.

examines the immediate aftermath of the Santelli Rant and how it was consequently utilised to mobilise the Tea Party movement as they are known today.

4.2.3: Post Rant

This collection of subsections details the events which occurred immediately after the Santelli Rant had been first broadcast on CNBC and how it was subsequently manipulated by a multitude of autonomous and cooperative forces, consequently leading only a few weeks later to the mobilisation and emergence of the first Tea Party movement protests across the United States of America. It begins with an examination of the mainstream media's immediate response to the Santelli Rant incident and how it became a 'newsworthy' story, following this, the simultaneous roles played by the conservative organisation FreedomWorks, as well as a number of privately motivated individuals in mobilising the first coordinated Tea Party protests which emerged on February 27th, 2009, will conclude this final part of the Santelli Rant chapter.

4.2.3.1: The Media Response

This subsection describes how the news media network of the United States of America reacted to the publication of the Santelli Rant and how their reinterpretations of the event shaped the narrative of the news story into a mobilising force. It begins with CNBC's uploading onto their website of footage of the Rant, from which it would spread across the far-reaches of the Internet, in no small part due to the efforts of conservative news aggregation websites such as The Drudge Report, eventually it was subsequently adopted by the mainstream media, including most notably the conservative media including Fox News and The Rush Limbaugh Show, wherein it was broadcast to a much wider audience.

Immediately after Rick Santelli had finished his on-air Rant, the producers of Squawk Box at CNBC promptly edited and uploaded the video footage of the Santelli Rant on the Internet. CNBC's website added a dedicated webpage, which they linked and promoted on their homepage, under the heading: "Angry? Join Rick Santelli's Chicago Tea Party!" (See **Fig 19: CNBC's Rick Santelli Rant Webpage** on the next page). The webpage included an embedded video and a written synopsis of the events that had just unfolded moments ago. [382] Alongside the webpage, CNBC had also included an online poll, which asked its web audience: "Would you want to join Rick Santelli's Chicago Tea Party?" By the end of the day, the embedded video of the Santelli Rant had accumulated a viewership more than a million unique visitors to the webpage – making it the most popular video content on CNBC's entire website. The online poll which had accompanied the webpage had also by the end of February 19th, according to some accounts, received an overwhelming response of positive supporters. [383] Throughout the course of the rest of the day, the CNBC television channel replayed highlights of the Santelli Rant during brief intervals of news coverage, an act of immodest self-promotion which caught the attention of the wider media community.

---

[382] *Angry? Join Rick Santelli's Chicago Tea Party*!, http://www.cnbc.com/id/29283225, (19/02/09).
[383] Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, p. 226.

**Fig 19: CNBC's Rick Santelli Rant Webpage**

CNBC's self-promotion of the Santelli Rant on their television network and online website had soon drawn the attention of the vast multitude of online news aggregation websites. News aggregation websites are online platforms which (as their name implies), collect together (usually with the help of computer algorithms) a sum total of news stories that have been produced and published (by various outside journalists and media outlets), which is then subsequently assembled together in one place (typically on the front page of the news aggregate website). Rather than produce original journalistic or media content of their own, news aggregation websites simply highlight and link published news stories as they constantly appear and are updated within the span of a twenty-four hour cycle. In this sense, news aggregation websites operate as a kind of device which provides extra publicity for news stories to their web audience. [384] The rampant popularity of CNBC's newly established webpage was in part driven by the work of these news aggregation websites, such as The Drudge Report and Huffington Post, which had quickly noticed the Santelli Rant as a 'newsworthy' story and subsequently began promoting it into their respective audience's consciousness. The Drudge Report, a notably popular conservative website, was one of the first aggregate platforms to promote CNBC's coverage of the Santelli Rant (see **Fig 20: The Drudge Report Coverage of the Santelli Rant** on the following page). Links to CNBC's webpage and online poll were uploaded to the front and centre on the top of *Drudge's* homepage alongside an animated image of a red siren, where it would draw the most attention from the web audience for the couple of days it remained as a 'newsworthy' story. Likewise the Huffington Post, an equally popular but politically liberal news aggregate website, had during the course of the day uploaded a blog post by Jason Linkins, under the mocking heading: "Rick Santelli's Revolution: CNBC Reporter Freaks Out, Wants To Be Che Guevara" Not only did the blog draw attention, of course, to the Santelli Rant itself – having included within its content links to CNBC's webpage as well as an embedded copy of

---

[384] Kovach, B. & Rosenstiel, T. The Elements of Journalism, p. X & 47.

the uploaded footage – but it was also drawing attention to the gathering attention that was being drawn by The Drudge Report about the Santelli Rant. [385] Like an Ouroboros, the online media was trapped in a cycle of reporting on the Santelli Rant because the Santelli Rant was being reported by online media, and in the process, the Santelli Rant drew attention because attention was being drawn to it. Consequently, this in turn would draw the attention of the mass media in the United States of America.

Fig 20: The Drudge Report Coverage of the Santelli Rant
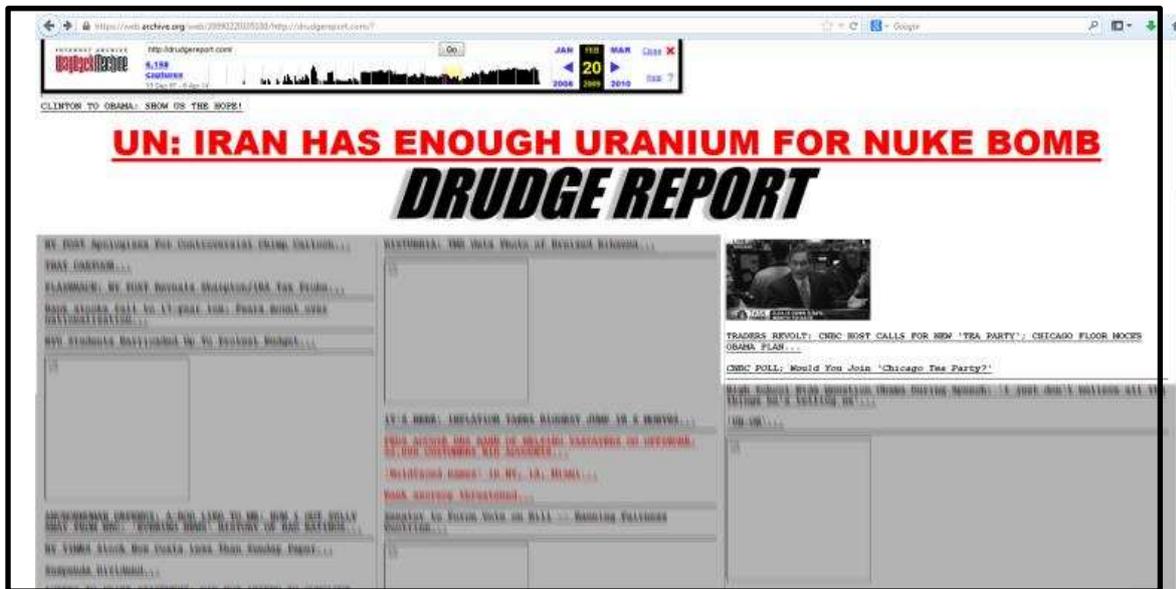
 Before carrying on, now would be a good moment to contextualise the present dynamics of the news media industry to attempt to explain why the media acted in the manner described above. As was noted in the introduction of this chapter, there is a widely held perception in contemporary American society that the fourth estate of their country is in a condition of insurmountable irreversible decline. In essence, it has become a struggle between the so-called 'ideal' and 'corporate' values of journalism – as highlighted in the following paragraphs:

 The 'ideal values' of news journalism, as its name suggests, are the idealistic, objective, and professional values that is believed to best produce or at least represent the pinnacle achievements of the journalistic profession. These 'ideal' values are most often nostalgically embodied in the ground-breaking exposé of the Watergate Scandal by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein during the seventies: in which their professional use of investigative journalism surrounding a subsequent attempted burglary at the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee (situated in the Watergate apartment complex in Washington, D.C.) had uncovered corruption at the very top of the political hierarchy in the United States of America. Piece by piece, Woodward and Bernstein were able to link the

---

[385] Holiday, R. *Trust Me I'm Lying*, p. 67; Rick *Santelli's Revolution: CNBC Reporter Freaks Out, Wants To Be* Che Guevara (VIDEO), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/02/19/rick-santellis-revolution_n_168286.html, (19/02/09); &, Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 7 & 129.

arrested burglars to President Richard Nixon and the White House administration, in the process they unearthed a hidden truth behind the machinations of contemporary American politics at the time, and consequently their journalism would ultimately lead to President Nixon resigning his post under the weight of intense public scrutiny. [386] Watergate became the nostalgic ideal, an aspiration for future journalists to strive for – the idea that journalists had a public sense of duty to enlighten the public, to root out corruption and hold those responsible to account in the often hidden halls of power in society – even to this day.

 Contextually, however, Watergate and the aspirational ideals it produced was by all accounts an anomaly in the history of journalism in the United States of America. Indeed, even authors who lived through the event such as Noam Chomsky and Howard Zinn, both on the radical political left, raised serious doubts concerning Watergate's ground-breaking paradigm shift in the profession of journalism. The authors opined that similar (and at times, worse) scandals such as had happened to the Democratic National Committee were commonplace amongst radical leftist organisations who received zero attention from the mainstream media. [387] This leads on to the contemporary concerns regarding the influence of the so-called 'corporate values'.

 These apprehensions surrounding the media stem, for the most part, since the mid-twentieth-century – beginning in the sixties, onwards – when the news media industry in the United States of America (and the rest of the world) began to be incrementally consolidated by large conglomerate corporations. [388] The professional journalist Ben H. Bagdikian famously illuminated such fears of corporate ownership of the American news media in his work published in the eighties, The Media Monopoly, in which he documented the decline of independently owned media outlets from around fifty major corporations in 1981 to about thirty in the span of five years later. [389] During the Santelli Rant, this figure of corporate ownership decreased further to the startling figure of around six-to-ten major media conglomerates (which continues to decrease further still as of writing). [390] Following the corporate consolidation of the news media, the priorities of news production transitioned towards maximising profitability, which critics argue has in the process severely damaged the journalistic craft. As corporations took over the American newsrooms in the pursuit of profit they began to fundamentally restructure the media outlets, which included such actions as:

---

[386] Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 1014-1016; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 563; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 1060-1062; &, Zinn, H. A People's History of the United States, p. 542-545.

[387] Chomsky, N. & Herman, E. S. Manufacturing Consent, pp 299-300; &, Zinn, H. A People's History of the United States, pp 554-555.

[388] Bagdikian, B. H. The Media Monopoly, pp 4-12; Chomsky, N. & Herman, E. S. Manufacturing Consent, p. 8; Chomsky, N. Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies, (London: Pluto Press, 1989), p. 8; Edwards, D. & Cromwell, D. Guardians of Power, p. 10; Klinenburg, E. "News production in a Digital Age", Annals of the American academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 597, (January, 2005), p. 50; &, Miller, R. A. "The Frankenstein Syndrome: The Creation of Mega-Media Conglomerates and Ethical Modelling in Journalism", Journal of Business Ethics, Vol. 36, No. ½, Seventh Annual International Conference Promoting Business Ethics, (March, 2002), p. 105.

[389] Bagdikian, B. H. The Media Monopoly, p. IX, 4, & 21; &, Miller, R. A. "The Frankenstein Syndrome", p. 105.

[390] Miller, R. A. "The Frankenstein Syndrome", p. 105; &, Ownership Chart: The Big Six | Free Press, http://www.freepress.net/ownership/chart/main, (29/01/14).

firing the majority of their salaried employees until only a small overburdened cadre of professional journalists remained, imposing a new cultural regimen, [391] and limiting, if not outright prohibiting, the expenditure of company funding towards investigation. [392] These changes, argue many observers of the news media industry, have had detrimental effect on the contemporary quality of journalistic production, which the Veteran British journalist, Nick Davies, derogatively describes as 'churnalism'. Churnalism, according to Davies, is the product of overburdened journalists of news media outlets whom are pressured by strict deadlines and a severe lack of investigative funding. As a result of these pressures, rather than pursuing original news stories, these journalists instead recycle news stories which already exist without verifying their credibility. The purpose of churnalism is to both reduce the costs of journalism by running easy, quick, and 'safe' stories to publish, whilst at the same time increasing revenue for the news outlet by focusing on stories which are guaranteed to be popular, either by 'giving what the audience wants' or through exploiting controversy such as with moral panics. [393]

 These corporate pressures surrounding the news media industry have only intensified with the advent of the Internet. Traditional media outlets and professional journalists now find themselves competing with amateur blogs and so-called 'citizen journalists' to produce content on an ever-updating medium which has significantly depreciated the value of the written word. In order to turn a profit in the new Internet economy, content producers (of any stripe) are at the mercy of advertisers who generate revenue as their webpages are browsed by unique visitors. [394] As such a system has developed, however, it has brought with it more complications which affect journalistic standards as Ryan Holiday points out: "advertisers can't differentiate between the types of impressions an ad does on a site." adding that: "A pursuing reader is no better than an accidental reader. An article that provides worthwhile advice is no more valuable than one instantly forgotten." [395] the quality of the content (including news stories) hosted on the Internet, therefore, is irrelevant to the potential of how profitable it is – and as such is the case with such a system, profitability is intrinsically linked to popularity. Ironically, the very same forces of advertising which Ben Bagdikian had

---

[391] This facet of contemporary news journalism is best exemplified with the recent testimony of an ex-tabloid journalist, Richard Peppiatt, speaking at the Leveson inquiry, wherein he stated that (emphasis added):

> "The newspaper appoints itself moral arbiter, and it is your job to stamp their worldview on all the journalism you do. If a scientist announces their research has found ecstasy to be safer than alcohol, as a tabloid reporter I know my job is to portray this man as a quack, and his methods flawed. If a judge passes down a community sentence to a controversial offender, I know my job is to make them appear lily-livered and out-of-touch. Positive peer reviews are ignored; sentencing guidelines are buried. The ideological imperative comes before the journalistic one – drugs are always bad, British justice is always soft."

Leveson inquiry seminar – as it happened | Media | guardian.co.uk, http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/blog/2011/oct/06/leveson-inquiry-phone-hacking-live?newsfeed=true, (16/10/11).
[392] Klinenburg, E. "News production in a Digital Age", pp 53-54, 56-57, & 60-62.
[393] Davies, N. Flat Earth News, pp 114-154.
[394] Holiday, R. *Trust Me I'm Lying*, pp 32-33.
[395] Ibid, p. 33.

warned of stifling the standards of news journalism in The Media Monopoly three decades earlier has recurred once more on the medium of the Internet. [396]

 Carrying on, then, the mainstream news media were soon adopting the Santelli Rant as part of their news story line-up as it traversed the Internet. It was at this moment when the narrative of the Santelli Rant began to emerge as the various news media outlets now had to justify their promotion of the story to their audience. Hours after CNBC had originally broadcast the incident at the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, Sean Hannity and the Fox News Network replayed footage of Rick Santelli's Rant on their programme. [397] Perhaps the most influential media figure who would shape the Santelli Rant narrative towards a wide audience, was the conservative talk radio host – the self-proclaimed 'America's Anchor-man' – Rush Limbaugh. Limbaugh, on February 19th, 2009, devoted a sizable segment of his daily afternoon programme, The Rush Limbaugh Show, discussing the Santelli Rant as follows:

 "Earlier this morning, on the CNBC…" Limbaugh began: "Reporter Rick Santelli, reporting from the Chicago Board of Trade…" briefly pausing for dramatic tension: "I don't even need to describe this for you. I'm just going to let you hear the audio sound bites." he declared, before playing an edited clip of Rick Santelli bemoaning the what he described as the 'bad behaviour' promoted by the American government, finishing with the rallying clip of Santelli questioning the Chicago traders to raise their hands if they wanted to pay for their neighbour's mortgage. "That's CNBC this morning, Rick Santelli on the floor at the Chicago Board of Trade." Limbaugh stated, adding: "Now these are people with 'skin' in the game Obama said: 'Everybody's got to pay taxes because everybody has to have skin in the game.'" before suddenly exclaiming: "Well this is talking truth to welfare! This is talking truth to immorality! The market votes every day, and it is speaking everyday by going down! This is a huge court! This is what Americans are thinking! This is reality!" concluding with the inciting statement: "This is the pulse of revolutions starting today!" [398]

 With that final statement, Rush Limbaugh had transformed the Santelli Rant from an unassuming and arguably farcical incident, into a serious revolutionary call to action – a narrative which would subsequently become the de facto narrative recollected in hindsight. Limbaugh's radio show was broadcast across more than six hundred syndicated radio stations throughout the United States of America, reaching the ears of at least a million-and-a-half listeners (or, according to Rush Limbaugh and his ilk, an inflated figure reaching to the tens of millions) at the time. [399] Once again, in order to dispel any notions of media conspiracism surrounding the Santelli Rant, it should be pointed out that Rush Limbaugh's actions were the

---

[396] Bagdikian, B. H. The Media Monopoly, pp 125-130 & 176.

[397] Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 23.

[398] Transcribed from an uploaded video recording of The Rush Limbaugh Show originally broadcast on February 19th, 2009.
Rush Limbaugh – Obama Slammed by CNBC Rick Santelli – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a7RAAMUnfrM, (19/02/09).

[399] Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, p. 193; *Limbaugh's Audience Size? It's Largely* Up in the Air, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/03/06/AR2009030603435.html, (07/03/09); Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 8; &, *Rush Limbaugh's Audience May be So Much Smaller Than You Think* – Business Insider, http://www.businessinsider.com/rush-limbaughs-audience-may-be-so-much-smaller-than-you-think-2012-3, (13/03/12).

result of his profession as a shock-jock entertainer, whose business depends upon rallying publicity by promoting controversial and inflammatory opinions. Limbaugh himself admitted that: "All I'm trying to do is to grab people's attention for what I say… the bottom line is for them [audience] to get the message." in an openly honest early career-building televised interview, wherein he further explained that most of his economic success as a radio talk show host is primarily driven through inciting anger amongst his audience, stating that: "We have people who are on the radio and TV… who are there for one reason only: and that is to make you mad. And the formula for making you, the viewer or listener, mad hasn't changed a bit – yet people keep falling for it." [400] It was business as usual.

To appreciate the media's influence and subsequent response to the Santelli Rant, it is finally worth examining the events immediately following February 19th, 2009. By this moment the Santelli Rant had snowballed into its own newsworthy story, which would only spiral further out of control as time progressed. The very next day, on February 20th, 2009, at a regularly scheduled White House press conference, President Barack Obama's Press Secretary, Robert Gibbs, received queries from members of the mainstream press regarding the administration's opinion of the Santelli Rant. [401] Gibbs replied (perhaps foolishly in hindsight) in the following manner:

"Let's go through this," Robert Gibbs began stating: "because I do think this is very important. And I've watched Mr. Santelli on cable the past twenty-four hours or so." Gibbs then changed the tone of his response: "*I'm not entirely sure* where Mr. Santelli lives, or in what house he lives," he playfully jeered, visibly wiping his tongue across his teeth, before continuing in a serious tone: "but the American people are struggling every day to meet their mortgage, stay in their job, pay their bills, to send their kids to school, and to hope that they don't get sick or that somebody they care for gets sick and sends them into bankruptcy." Pausing for a brief moment, Gibbs concluded his opening statement with the repudiating comment: "I think we left a few months ago the adage that if it was good for a derivatives trader that it was good for Main Street. I think the verdict is in on that."

Robert Gibbs then started to explain the intentions of the HASP: "Here's what this plan will do; for the very first time, this plan helps those who have acted responsibly, played by the rules, and made their mortgage payments. This will help people who aren't in trouble yet keep from getting in trouble." emphasising: "You can't stay in this program unless you continue to make mortgage payments. *That's important for Mr.* Santelli and millions of Americans to understand." He continued: "Here's what this plan *won't* do: It won't help somebody trying to flip a house, it won't bail out an investor looking to make a quick buck, it won't help speculators that were betting on a risky market, and it is not going to help a lender

---

[400] The quotes by Rush Limbaugh that were taken from an early televised interview were transcribed from the following video.
Rush Limbaugh – How Talk Radio Works – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ELRmgJw8muw, (24/11/08).
[401] Briefing by White House Press Secretary Robert Gibbs, 2/20/2009 |The White House, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Briefing-by-White-House-Press-Secretary-Robert-Gibbs-2-20-2009, (20/02/09); O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, pp 52-54; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 7; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 21.

who knowingly made a bad loan." Gibbs then repeated himself, highlighting once again the good intentions of the HASP: "Mr. Santelli has argued, I think quite wrongly, that this plan won't help everyone. This plan will help, by the money that's invested in Freddie and Fannie… will drive down mortgage rates for millions of Americans… This plan helps people that have been playing by the rules but can't get refinancing, get that refinancing so their home doesn't become foreclosed on." adding: "And Mr. Santelli might also know that if you live in a home that's near one that's been foreclosed, your home value has likely dropped about nine percent, which for the average home is about $20,000."

 Concluding his thoughts on the Santelli matter, Robert Gibbs scoffed: "Now, every day when I come out here, I spend a little time reading, studying on the issues, asking people who are smarter than I am questions about those issues. I would encourage him to read the President's plan and understand that it will help millions of people, many of whom he knows." Finishing his statement on an upbeat note, Gibbs continued in a semi-patronising tone: "I'd be more than happy to have him come here and read it. I'd be happy to buy him a cup of coffee…" having paused as a journalist in the room sniggered, he then bluntly stated; "decaf." which erupted the room in laughter. But then, Gibbs carried on the ostentatious parade: "Let me do this, too. This is a copy of the President's Home[owner] Affordability Plan." whilst dangling a copy of the document in front of his audience: "It's available on the White House website, and I would encourage him: download it, hit print, and begin to read it." A few minutes later, after having responded to a follow-up question on the same topic which was answered in kind, Robert Gibbs remarked: "*I also think it's tremendously* important that for people who rant on cable television to be responsible and understand what *it is they're talking about*. I feel assured that Mr. Santelli doesn't know what he's talking about." [402-403]

 Rather than neutering the Santelli Rant, instead the response by Robert Gibbs at the press conference only sought to further secure it in the limelight as well as consequently prolong its lifeline. In other words, Gibbs was inadvertently feeding the beast – instead of starving the beast. Rick Santelli was immediately interviewed to provide a response to the press conference by the divergent media outlets that could lay their hands on him, including CNBC's Larry Kudlow on The Kudlow Report and MSNBC's Hardball with Chris Matthews, both having provided the now famed anchor with a mixed reception. The mainstream media were quick to turn the comments made by Gibbs into a rhetorical Manichean battle between the White House and Rick Santelli – between the establishment and the vox populi. In some instances, especially amongst conservative circles, Rick Santelli was portrayed as a victim having been seemingly singled out and 'attacked' by the White

[402] *Gibbs Responds to CNBC's Rick Santelli* – Video – NYTimes.com, http://www.nytimes.com/video/us/politics/1194838016231/gibbs-responds-to-cnbc-s-rick-santelli.html, (20/02/09).
[403] Briefing by White House Press Secretary Robert Gibbs, 2/20/2009 |The White House.

House (and the liberal media) for his honest beliefs, which simultaneously transformed him into a martyr-like figure of free speech. [404]

The events that have been covered are but a cross-section of the media response to the events that unfolded on the Chicago Mercantile Exchange on February 19th, 2009. Described in the words of Ryan Holiday as: "a mildly awkward news segment that should have been forgotten," [405] the Santelli Rant was nevertheless promoted by the American news media – due to contextual economic and technological pressures – as a newsworthy story worthy of their audience's attention. From that point, the Santelli Rant had become firmly etched into the American consciousness, and the atmosphere of incitement that it had subsequently created amongst the politically conservative proportion of the American population, now had the opportunity to be exploited by forces outside of the media.

3.2.3.2: The Role of Conservative Interests

This subsection details the role of one distinctive conservative political action committee, FreedomWorks, had co-opted news of the Santelli Rant to suit their political agendas, spurring them to take action which would ultimately lead to the emergence of the first coordinated Tea Party protests across the United States of America before the end of February.

The libertarian-leaning political action committee FreedomWorks was one of the earliest political organisations to successfully adopt the Santelli Rant and mould it for their own purposes. As an organisation, FreedomWorks had for a long time campaigned against the economic policies of the Obama administration prior to the outbreak of the Santelli Rant: A good week before Rick Santelli erupted on the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, on February 10th, 2009, a woman by the name of Mary Rakovich was courted by FreedomWorks to host a protest outside an Obama rally taking place at Fort Myers, Florida. Rakovich and her husband, alongside one other protester that randomly showed up, held signs bemoaning the stimulus programme enacted by the government. The protest was hardly newsworthy, but it received some favourable coverage from Fox News at the time. [406] On February 18th, 2009, FreedomWorks uploaded a blog written by their then-chairman Dick Armey lambasting Obama's HASP on their website. In rhetoric similar to what would be exclaimed by Rick Santelli the next day, Dick Armey described HASP as being: "both immoral and wrongheaded." HASP, Armey argued, was: "Punishing the responsible majority to reward the irresponsible bankers and those who borrowed more than they could afford..."

---

[404] *CNBC's Rick Santelli vs. White House's Ro*bert Gibbs – Washington Wire – WSJ, http://blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2009/02/20/cnbcs-rick-santelli-vs-white-houses-robert-gibbs/, (20/02/09); Nightly News: White House takes a swipe at housing plan rant, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/21134540/vp/29307564#29307564, (20/02/09); Rick Santelli Responds to Whitehouse Mouthpiece Robert Gi*bbs on CNBC's Kudlow* – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LPUo3HgZk-M, (21/02/09); Santelli vs. White House, http://video.cnbc.com/gallery/?video=1041887644&play=1, (20/02/09); &, *White House objects to 'rant' on its* housing plan | Fox News, http://www.foxnews.com/wires/2009Feb20/0,4670,ObamaFightingBack,00.html, (20/02/09).
[405] Holiday, R. *Trust Me I'm Lying*, p. 67.
[406] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 11-15; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 19 & 23.

concluding that: "It is simply another taxpayer-funded handout that rewards the most reckless and least worthy." [407]

As news of the Santelli Rant broke on the morning of February 19th, 2009, FreedomWorks immediately leapt into action. FreedomWorks began by embedding an uploaded video of the Santelli Rant on their organisation's homepage under the heading: 'RICK SANTELLI TELLS IT LIKE IT IS'. They then sought about establishing a dedicated website, IAmWithRick.com, from which they provided information and tools for their web audience to organise protests against the financial bailouts. Within a few days of its creation, both websites had accumulated tens of thousands of curious visitors, a few of whom were eager enough to start organising as FreedomWorks had hoped. Encouraged by the response to their websites, FreedomWorks became evermore committed to encouraging the organisation of Tea Party-style protests (see **Fig 21: FreedomWorks Homepage** on the following page). In the following few days leading up to February 27th, 2009, FreedomWorks had established a digital network of activists across the United States who they could coordinate via email lists. [408] FreedomWorks also expanded their influence through the circulation of a digital list of pointers to help organise protests that were displayed on sympathetic third-party websites. The list, created by their campaign director, Brendan Steinhauser, encouraged its audience to:

1. **Pick a location**, date and time in your town. I'd suggest Main Street at an intersection with lots of traffic.

2. **Tell your friends**, family, co-workers and everyone else you know about the protest. Build an RSVP email list so that you can provide quick updates if something changes. You should also create a Facebook group so that the group can communicate with one another.

3. **Make 5-10 signs** with legible slogans that send a clear message to the public and the media. Write in BIG LETTERS.

4. **Call your local talk radio hosts** and ask them to announce the location, date and time on the air for a few days leading up to the protest. Send a letter to the editor of your local newspaper announcing the protest. Email the bloggers in your area and ask them to post a notice about the protest.

5. **Write a press release** and email, mail and fax copies to the local TV stations, radio stations and newspapers. Call the reporters that cover local events or politics and leave messages on their voice mail.

6. **On the day of your protest**, show up with your group, be loud, visible, happy and engage the public. Wave your signs, make lots of noise and move around to get attention. If reporters interview you, give them some good sound bytes for their stories. Stay on message and keep your answers short and coherent.

7. **Bring sign-in sheets** to capture the names, emails and phone numbers of everyone who attends the protest and/or says that they support what you are doing. You will

---

[407] *FreedomWorks Opposes President Obama's Mortgage and Banking Bailout | FreedomWorks*, https://web.archive.org/web/20090219072441/http://www.freedomworks.org/press-releases/freedomworks-opposes-president-obamas-mortgage-and, (17/01/13).
[408] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 27-29; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, pp 195-196; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, pp 40-41.

then have a big list of people that can plan the next, much bigger and louder, event. Also bring hand-outs with one page of quick facts about why you are protesting in the first place.

 8. Add your pictures, video and an after-action report to your Facebook group, and send this stuff to the bloggers and reporters that you originally contacted. Ask them to post the photos, story and video.

 9. Thank everyone who attended via email and phone, and set up a meeting to plan your next event. Now you have a list of people in your community that can help make the next protest huge. Encourage everyone to commit to bring at least one friend to the next protest.

 10. Organize a carpool and go find a friend in your neighbouring town or county and help them organise a protest there. You and your people are now veterans and should be able to keep the momentum going around your area. [409]

Fig 21: FreedomWorks Homepage

 Although FreedomWorks certainly played a valuable role in mobilising what would become regarded as the first orchestrated protests of Tea Party movement, they nevertheless required the support and conviction of the American public to host and participate in protests of their very own accord. The following subsection details the actions taken by a few of the individual actors in this regard.

3.2.3.3: The Role of Conservative Individuals

 This subsection describes the role played by a few notable American individuals who, having been inspired by the Santelli Rant and its depiction in the media, had begun to

---

[409] New American Tea Party, https://web.archive.org/web/20090226050856/http://newamericanteaparty.com/, (10/04/14).

coordinate the very first protests of the Tea Party movement. It details the actions taken in conjunction with the major conservative organisations and media outlets that used the Santelli Rant as a springboard to mobilise and launch the first protests of the Tea Party movement. In particular, this subsection examines three of the perhaps most notable individuals to have organised the nationwide protests: J. P. Freire, Michael Patrick Leahy, and Jenny Beth Martin – all of whom at one point or another coordinated simultaneously with each other as well as with the previously mentioned media and organisational actors in the subsection above.

Before going on to describe the actions undertaken by a cross-section of important individuals that were instrumental in mobilising the Tea Party movement in lieu of the Santelli Rant, however, it is important to first examine what exactly was or could be considered 'inspirational' about the Rant and the rhetoric used by Rick Santelli amongst a particular proportion of the American public. Something about the language or the themes used by Rick Santelli during his Rant had obviously appealed and agitated a tiny proportion of those listening to him to mobilise, sympathise, and take action into their own hands which is therefore worth examining in itself.

If there was one statement within the Santelli Rant deserving of critical attention, it was the moment when Rick Santelli referred to those who: "carry the water instead of drink the water." [410] In this instance, it could be argued that Santelli was drawing upon familiar rhetoric of a nostalgic kind, especially amongst libertarian circles. When John M. O'Hara, a Tea Party movement proponent, recounted the Santelli Rant a year after it had happened, he remarked: "It was like a scene from *Atlas Shrugged*, except, thankfully, the monologues were shorter." [411] Indeed, the language used by Rick Santelli during his rant in many respects mimics the cautionary fables espoused in the literature of Ayn Rand. In her novels, Rand often portrayed a subset of people she termed 'looters', 'moochers', and 'parasites', who were the primary antagonists and villains of her work. These sorts of people, Rand argued, were the cause of civilisation's decline as they enslaved, imitated, and robbed from the people and protagonists who produced and created the wealth in society – the Randian heroes, the captains of industry. [412] When Santelli made his statement, he was tapping into the sentiments endorsed by Ayn Rand, and consequently mobilised Americans who sympathised with said notions.

However, according to critics of the Tea Party movement, Rick Santelli's statement regarding 'water carriers' and 'water drinkers' is argued to be an example of what is termed 'dog-whistle language'. Put simply, dog-whistle language consists of words and phrases that contain hidden meanings and messages amongst particular social groups, which to those outside the social group these words and phrases may on the surface appear benign or

---

[410] *CNBC's Rick Santelli's Chicago Tea Party* – YouTube.
[411] O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, p. 1.
[412] Brandon, B. "Ayn Rand and the Trucker", The Great Divide: Second Thoughts on the American Dream, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), p. 158; Kibbe, M. *Hostile Takeover: Resisting Centralised Government's Stranglehold on America*, (New York: HarperCollins, 2012), p. 239; &, Rand, A. "The Objectivist Ethics", The Virtue of Selfishness: A New Concept of Egoism, (New York: Signet, 1964), p. 25 & 39.

nonsensical. [413] Dog-whistle language was popularised in the United States of America by the Republican Party and their policy during the civil rights era known as the 'Southern Strategy'. This strategy and dog-whistle language is best elaborated by the infamous quote by the Republican Party political campaign consultant, Lee Atwater:

> You start out in 1954 by saying, "Nigger, nigger, nigger." By 1968 you can't say "nigger" – that hurts you, backfires. So you say stuff like, uh, forced busing, states' rights, and all that stuff, and you're getting so abstract. Now, you're talking about cutting taxes, and all these things you're talking about are totally economic things and a by-product of them is, blacks get hurt worse than whites… "We want to cut this," is much more abstract than even the busing thing, uh, and a hell of a lot more abstract than "Nigger, nigger." [414]

When Rick Santelli referred to the bailout of the "losers' mortgages", following this line of logic, he was alluding to the very connotations of dog-whistle language described in the above quote. Stereotypically, the words and phrases such as was used by Santelli, including more notable terms such as Ronald Reagan's 'Welfare Queen', often and implicitly depict poor ethnic minorities who are thereby evoked in the public's consciousness whenever such words are heard – despite even the possibility that a majority of said 'losers' or indeed welfare recipients would be white of skin colour. [415] Matt Taibbi, a veteran observer of the Tea Party movement, distinctively elaborated this point when he stated: "Here was something that Middle America had no problem grasping: The financial crisis was caused by those lazy minorities next door who brought houses they couldn't afford – and now the government was going to bail them out." [416] Behind this notion, as Charles Postel points out, was the stoking of implicit anxieties revolving around 'redistribution of wealth' and 'reparations' taken from white middleclass households and distributed amongst minorities. [417] It is still to this day a haunting kind of nostalgia amongst the white population of the United States of America, dogged by the ugly history of race-relations since the time of Bacon's Rebellion. [418] What

---

[413] López I. H. Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[414] *Exclusive: Lee Atwater's Infamous 1981 Interview on the Southern Strategy | The Nation*, http://www.thenation.com/article/170841/exclusive-lee-atwaters-infamous-1981-interview-southern-strategy, (13/11/12); &, Exclusive: Lee Atwaters Infamous 1981 Interview on the Southern Strategy – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=X_8E3ENrKrQ, (13/11/12).

[415] Alexander, M. The New Jim Crow, p. 47; &, Hardisty, J. Mobilising Resentment: Conservative Resurgence from the John Birch Society to the Promise Keepers, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), pp 28-29.

[416] Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, p. 53.

[417] Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective", Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 41.

[418] Bacon's Rebellion (1675), considered to be the catalyst for the development of the system of slavery in North America, was a futile insurrection of indentured servants, poor whites, and slaves led by an overly ambitious Virginian property owner, Nathaniel Bacon. Spurned from his aspirations to seize land owned by Native Americans by the planter elite in Jamestown, Bacon retaliated by becoming a demagogue for the poor and set about attacking said elite with his coalition of rebels he could muster behind him. The insurrection was quashed, but the following actions taken by the Virginian elite would determine the course of race-relations in American society for centuries: The planter elite, in an effort to prevent future uprisings whilst securing their property, favoured the mass importation of African slaves, who were considered more controllable than that of English-speaking indentured servants and poor white counterparts; moreover the African-American slaves who had took part in Bacon's Rebellion were promptly and publicly made an example of in a severe fashion, in contrast, the

this resulted in, as Taibbi colourfully argued, was yet another example of: "classic race politics – the plantation owner keeping the seemingly inevitable pitchfork out of his abdomen by pitting poor whites against poor blacks." [419] Rick Santelli had in the process of acting as a conduit, channelled the legitimate anger and frustrations caused by the financial crisis away from those arguably most responsible, Wall Street, and towards those arguably least responsible who were in addition the victims of the crisis, the poor minorities. [420]

Both interpretations of Santelli's comments on the floor of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange explain to an extent why the Tea Party rallies that emerged would mobilise a particular kind of American demographic of predominantly white, middle-class, middle-aged-and-older persons with conservative- and libertarian-leaning political affinities. [421] These persons, Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto argue, were mobilised out of a sense of frustration regarding their cultural assumptions having been challenged by the response taken by the government of the United States of America. Behind this frustration, they add, is also a fear that their social position (and power) is under threat by the policies taken by the Obama administration. [422]

Returning to the role played by individuals that were motivated to act in lieu of the Santelli Rant. One such individual who was inspired by the Santelli Rant as it was broadcast was a man by the name of J. P. Freire:

J. P. Freire, who at the time happened to be the managing editor of the American Spectator magazine, was one of the first individuals that had decidedly seized the initiative to begin organising a Tea Party-styled protest before the excitement created by the Santelli Rant died down. Freire began in the late afternoon of February 19th, 2009, by phoning many of his conservative- and libertarian-leaning associates, including John M. O'Hara (who had worked for the American Spectator), to ruminate on the sentiments espoused by Rick Santelli earlier that day. Motivated by the like-minded responses to his phone conversations, Freire had within the following days begun to plan and organise for a Tea Party protest to take place in Washington, D. C. [423]

To help with the organisation of the protest, J. P. Freire established a website, NewAmericanTeaParty.com, [424] from which he publicised announcements including: contact

majority of poor whites that had participated in the insurrection were given political amnesty. Together, these actions would thereby foster divisions of privilege between the two races – fostering racism.
Alexander, M. The New Jim Crow, pp 24-25; &, Allen, T. W. The Invention of the White Race, Volume II: The Origin of Racial Oppression in Anglo-America, (London: Verso, 2012).

[419] Taibbi, M. Griftopia, p. 22.
[420] Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 53-54; &, Taibbi, M. Griftopia, p. 22.
[421] Distrust, Discontent, Anger and Partisan Rancor: The People and Their Government, (Washington: Pew Research Center, 2010), pp 68-69; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. Change They Can't Believe In, p. 15, 68 & 85; Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, pp 157-158; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 23-27;Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 47-50; & Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, pp 6-7.
[422] Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. Change They Can't Believe In, p. 39.
[423] O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, pp 4-6.
[424] J. P. Freire's website no longer exists at the time of writing. However, thanks to the Internet Archive website and their 'Wayback Machine' web service, Freire's website as it had existed in February, 2009, is still accessible to a limited degree.

details, organisational information, and requests for material support. In the process, Freire sought and obtained the support and sponsorship of the previously mentioned conservative organisations and media outlets. FreedomWorks supplied Freire's website with an encouraging list of information for his web audience to help plan and organise protests of their very own. On the morning of February 24th, Freire attended an interview to promote his website on Fox News, and then again, two days later, on Laura Ingraham's radio show – the combined publicity of which had inadvertently crashed the website under the sheer weight of curious web visitors. Alongside his dedicated website, J. P. Freire also created a Facebook account with which he could accrue support and disseminate news of his planned Tea Party protest to a much broader audience. But perhaps the most instrumental resource with which Freire had utilised to organise his Tea Party protest was the social networking platform Twitter, which he used to petition a group of prominent conservatives on the Internet – the so-called 'Top Conservatives on Twitter'. [425]

Founded by Michael Patrick Leahy in late November, 2008, the Top Conservatives on Twitter (#TCOT) was an online community of prominent American conservative figureheads that had accrued a substantial following on Twitter. #TCOT, being sympathetic to the idea of organising a Tea Party-styled protest as well as inspired by J. P. Freire's course of action, began to organise protests of their own to take place in conjunction with Freire's planned protest in Washington, the news of which they had spread to their network of followers on Twitter. Within the week leading up to the protests, Leahy coordinated a series of online conference calls amongst the #TCOT community, which he nostalgically described as tantamount to: "online versions of a New England town meeting." [426] In the lengthy online discussions that followed, the overall messaging of the protests – from signs to slogans – was debated in detail and revolved around the familiar mantras of cutting taxes, restricting government spending, limiting the size of government, and respecting the Constitution of the United States of America. Furthermore, the date of February 27th was finally set, from which the nationwide protests would emerge in a synchronised manner. [427]

Another individual of significant importance that was contacted by #TCOT was a woman by the name of Jenny Beth Martin. As the story is told, in late 2008 Martin and her family had to file for bankruptcy and lose their five-bedroom home in the wake of the financial crisis, subsequently working as a house cleaner during the morning of February 19th, 2009, Jenny Beth Martin heard Rick Santelli's Rant on the car radio and was inspired to take action. Scouring the Internet for more news surrounding Santelli's call to action, Martin participated in the #TCOT conference calls and had soon found herself at the forefront of organising a Tea Party protest of her own to take place at the Georgia State Capitol in Atlanta. Once again, like J. P. Freire, Martin had set up a specific Facebook account to accrue supporters and for

New American Tea Party.

[425] Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, p. 226; New American Tea Party; O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, pp 4-10; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 22.

[426] Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, p. 227.

[427] Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, pp 226-227; Lo, C. Y. H. "Astroturf versus Grass Roots", p. 100; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, pp 16-17; We Can Really Do This, http://www.breitbart.com/Big-Government/2012/04/24/we-can-really-do-this, (24/04/12); &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 22.

publicising her planned protest in Atlanta, as well as establishing a dedicated website – using a web hosting service called Ning – which would later become the platform for the Tea Party Patriots community. [428]

 By February 27th, 2009, the first Tea Party protests had erupted simultaneously across dozens of cities throughout the United States of America, just as planned. The conservative media, of course, devoted a sizable portion of their attention to the events as a fitting conclusion to the narrative of the Santelli Rant that they had fostered. Inspired by the overall response of the initial protests, however, those actors behind the scenes such as FreedomWorks and the #TCOT community set about to repeat their efforts. Setting their collective sights on organising hundreds of protests across the United States of America to take place on the far more symbolic date of April 15th, 2009 – the national 'Tax Day' wherein Americans are required to file their tax returns. [429] This was the beginnings of the Tea Party movement.

4.3: Conclusion

 The introduction of this chapter began with a quote from Sidney Lumet's nostalgic satirical film, Network, which when re-examined neatly summarises the key aspects surrounding the Santelli Rant. Indeed, Network is an eerily comforting mirror to the events of February 19th, 2009, which is perhaps why the traditional Santelli Rant narrative is taken for granted as it is, since it reassuringly taps into an audience's familiarity with narrative tropes: In the film, Howard Beale, a news anchor working for the fictional media outlet UBS, finds his professional career on the line as, in light of an onset economic crisis, his news programme haemorrhages viewing figures. In response to the threat of losing his career, Beale has a nervous breakdown live on-air, which ironically accumulates the much-needed ratings his programme required. UBS, in light of this revelation, cynically deploys Howard Beale in front of the cameras once again, in which Beale expounds the diatribe quoted in the beginning of this chapter – resulting, surprisingly, in the American people becoming mobilised by Beale's pronouncements, as they consequently stick their heads outside their windows and bellow out to the world in disjointed unison: "I'm mad as hell, and I'm not going to take this anymore!" [430] Rick Santelli, in this respect, is a mimic of Howard Beale. Indeed, if the rumours espoused by Mark Ames and Yasha Lavine are true, then Rick Santelli was, like his fictional counterpart, facing the prospect of losing his career at CNBC before he had his 'meltdown' on February 19th – which after the fact had ironically transformed Santelli's fortunes. [431] Since his on-air outburst, Rick Santelli has embraced, like Howard

---

[428] Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, pp 33-34; Burghart, D. "View from the Top: Report on Six National Tea Party Organisations", Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 80; Jenny Beth Martin: The head Tea Party Patriot | www.ajc.com, http://www.ajc.com/news/news/local-govt-politics/jenny-beth-martin-the-head-tea-party-patriot/nQfsP/, (09/05/10); Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, pp 1-4; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, pp 25-26.
[429] Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, p. 228; &, Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 3.
[430] Lumet, S. Network.
[431] *Exposing The Rightwing PR Machine Is CNBC's Rick Santelli Sucking Koch?* – By Mark Ames and Yasha Lavine – The eXiled.

Beale before him, his new persona as the 'mad prophet of the airwaves' – the 'firebrand' – desperately attempting once again to rekindle what had occurred on February 19th, 2009.

The film Network was also at times prophetic in its cynical depiction of the changes being undertaken within the news media industry. Of particular note, is Howard Beale's second titular outburst as the celebrity 'mad prophet of the airwaves', wherein he stated:

> "Right now, there is a whole and entire generation that never knew anything that didn't come out of this tube! This tube is the gospel, the ultimate revelation. This tube can make or break presidents, popes, prime ministers. This tube is the most awesome god damn force in the whole godless world. And woe is us if it ever falls into the hands of the wrong people!" [432]

Beale was, of course, referring to television, but as this chapter has shown, another kind of tube, the Internet, is equally as powerful as the quotation asserts. Indeed, without the Internet there would arguably be no Santelli Rant, and therefore, the forces which mobilised the Tea Party movement would have had a far harder time organising and coordinating protests for the social movement to even emerge and subsequently acquire the media recognition as it did.

In addition, examining the Santelli Rant narrative offered an opportunity to explore the history of journalism in the United States of America. It was from these historical investigations that an interesting facet opened up related to the notion of nostalgia and contemporary attitudes towards the media which are held by many idealists who are outspoken concerning the current state of the news media industry. The so-called contemporary struggle between the corporate values and the ideal values of news journalism: Between the idealistic values that promote journalism as an enlightening force that serves the public interest exemplified with the exposure of the Watergate scandal, [433] and the corporate values which are believed to represent to a large extent all that is considered 'problematic' or 'wrong' with the contemporary way in which the news media produces its content – from issues relating to deadline pressures to instances of top-down editorial censorship and the promotion of the ideological dogmas of their proprietors (regardless of political affinity) – and the content itself which is produced. [434]

As an aside, this chapter once-again illuminates some of the epistemological and methodological problems found with the historical discipline as already explained in previous chapters of this thesis (see Subsection **2.4.2: Narrative** on page 39 and Subsection **2.4.3: History, Hermeneutics, and Objectivity** on page 45). Despite attempting to provide the most detailed yet succinct description of the Santelli Rant as it had happened, nevertheless

---

[432] Lumet, S. Network.

[433] Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 1014-1016; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 563; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 1060-1062; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, p. 542-545.

[434] Cohen, E. D. & Fraser, B. W. The Last Days of Democracy; Davies, N. Flat Earth News; Edwards, D. & Cromwell, D. Guardians of Power; Groseclose, T. Left Turn; Holiday, R. *Trust Me I'm Lying*; Kitty, A. *Don't Believe It!*; Kitty, A. & Greenwald, R. Outfoxed; Kovach, B. & Rosenstiel, T. The Elements of Journalism; &, Sherman, G. The Loudest Man in the Room.

there are still parts of the narrative which are missing due to the lack of recorded information and indeed access to otherwise crucial information which is shielded from public view: for instance, this chapter could have added more details of the role of actors responsible for mobilising the Tea Party movement such as the Sam Adams Alliance and other individual actors from the #TCOT community. Moreover, the production of this chapter has highlighted the fact that even with the technological advances in archiving such as the Internet and even when events are established or prolonged because of said medium, a lot of crucial data (including digital data) about the recent past is nonetheless equally just as susceptible to being destroyed, inaccessible, or indeed lost as other physical historical sources: for instance, what was said at the private #TCOT conference calls remains secretive and it is doubtful that any of the content was recorded at the time when it had happened. As a result, the historical narrative surrounding #TCOT relies on generalisations – 'they did this, then this happened'.

Despite the attempts at presenting the Santelli Rant as it had happened as 'truthfully' or 'realistically' the way it unfolded at the time, by turning the four-minute incident into a descriptive stream of consciousness, the Santelli Rant event as depicted in this chapter still follows the 'three Act' narrative structure – set-up, confrontation, resolution. The narrative form and its limitations in reliably recollecting the past 'as it truly was', has therefore shown itself to be truly inescapable. Following on from this train of thought, the Santelli Rant as it is depicted in Tea Party movement-related literature draws upon the narrative fallacy of post hoc ergo propter hoc, or the notion that: "things that follow other things are caused by those things." [435] According to this logic: the Tea Party movement exists because of Rick Santelli's Rant which precipitated the first coordinated protests of said political phenomenon – therefore, Rick Santelli created the Tea Party movement. However, as this chapter has attempted to convey, the Santelli Rant was not some kind of predestined event at the time, nor was it indeed a result of some nebulous conservative conspiracy to establish what became the Tea Party movement – rather, it happened at the right time, with the right people, in the right conditions, at the right place.

The Santelli Rant is an important milestone in the history of the Tea Party movement as it essentially serves as an easy-to-digest origin myth for both insiders and outsiders of the social movement. Many of its narrative trappings are already familiar in the collective consciousness of the population – a story of the lone prophet who stands up to authority and in the process creates a popular movement. Furthermore, Rick Santelli's call for a Boston Tea Party-style protest against the Obama administration's HASP using evocative language to portray the economic policy as an undeserved taxpayer bailout, as this chapter has shown, tapped into the plethora of nostalgic narratives from the Boston Tea Party of 1773 to the works of Ayn Rand – nostalgic narratives which both promoted the belief that higher taxation was an injustice that had to be (in a Manichean sense) struggled against. Ultimately, however, it is just one story that attempts to answer the important questions of where and when and why the Tea Party movement emerged as they did. In the following chapter of this thesis, the origins of the Tea Party movement will be further contextualised by venturing deeper into the

---

[435] Abbott, H. P. The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative, p. 42.

past, in an attempt to address the latter question of why the social movement mobilised the way they did.

5. Nostalgic Origins

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the result of blending together the studying of the history of the United States of America as well as that of the Tea Party movement tied together with the epistemological components of collective memory, historical recurrence and nostalgia (see Subsections **2.2: Nostalgia**, **2.3.3: Halbwach's Conception of Collective Memory**, and **2.4.4: Historical Recurrence** respectively). This was done for the purposes of historically contextualising the emergence of the Tea Party movement following on from the conclusion of the previous chapter (see Subsection **4.3: Conclusion** in the previous three pages). Whereas the previous chapter examined what could be seen as the traditional origin narrative behind the Tea Party movement of the Santelli Rant and how the role of the contemporary mass media mobilised the first co-ordinated protests, this chapter, on the other hand, attempts to contextualise the underlying motivating historical phenomena behind the participants of the Tea Party movement. It does this by tapping into a nostalgic collective memory – specifically, a nostalgia driven from the Tea Party movement members' past experiences and the 'living memories' surrounding the period of the sixties. Whilst the previous chapter embraced a linear narrative style of History, this chapter instead embraces a cyclical narrative. As such, the repetition of similar phenomena throughout a key selection of past epochs will be highlighted throughout this chapter. This chapter argues that the experiences of the members of the Tea Party movement is an example of historical recurrence, as the experiences of their ancestors that had struggled during the American Revolution share similar facets to that of their own contemporary struggle.

The American historian, Professor Jill Lepore, argued that: "Behind the Tea Party's Revolution lay nostalgia for an imagined time – the 1950s, maybe, or the 1940s – less riven by strife, less troubled by conflict, less riddled with ambiguity, less divided by race." [436] But whereas Lepore asserted that the Tea Party movement's 'revolution': "had very little to do with anything that happened in the 1770s. But it did have a great deal to do with what happened in the 1970s…" [437] this chapter, on the other hand, will attempt to highlight some of the nostalgic connections between the lived experiences of members of the Tea Party movement in the twentieth-century, with that of their ancestors of the revolutionary generation during the eighteenth-century.

In the epistemological chapter of this thesis (Chapter **2. Nostalgia, Memory, History**), one of the key features said to develop nostalgia amongst and within a person or population was the experience of some kind of trauma (as previously stated in the tenth paragraph of Subsection **2.2.2: Features of Nostalgia**). By 'trauma', it is meant the experience or exposure of some kind of psychological and (but not necessarily) physical shock. [438] The 'shock' or 'trauma' may range from harrowing experiences including conflict, financial crises, and other such physically destructive phenomena – to experiences of disillusionment

---

[436] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 97.
[437] Ibid, p. 68.
[438] trauma, n. : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/205242, (24/03/15).

with the present state of affairs, a failure of expectations, or loss of presumed past privileges. [439] Nostalgia thereby develops as a compensatory measure – as a means to perhaps return to a period of the past unaffected by the trauma – and given the right stimuli can, according to Malcolm Chase and Christopher Shaw, be re-triggered. [440]

Following the underlying logic behind this thesis, it becomes apparent that in order to identify the traumatic experiences believed to have inculcated nostalgia amongst participants of the Tea Party movement by investigating their collective memory, first a reminder of the demographics of the participants of the social movement is needed. According to the demographic data which was conducted in the early years of the Tea Party movement's emergence, a predominant majority of its participants were white skinned, middle-aged to elderly, educated, middle class, religious, and overwhelmingly politically conservative (as previously mentioned in Subsection **3.2.3: Tea Party Membership Demographics** on page 74). Furthermore, the participants typically live in mostly rural and suburban American counties – particularly in areas which base the armed forces of the United States of America. [441] Therefore, in order to identify the underlying motivations behind the emergence of the Tea Party movement, the collective memory of the baby boomer generation must in turn be examined – meaning an examination of the history from which they experienced at a young but impressionable age, the period of the sixties.

This chapter is divided into several major sections which each examine a particular facet of the past as experienced by both the revolutionary generation of Americans during the period of the American Revolution in the eighteenth-century, as well as by their descendants who are currently a part of the Tea Party movement in contemporary America seeking to (re)create their own 'Tea Party Revolution'. These particular historical facets include: the trauma of foreign war which consequently ushered in a wave of cultural introspection, to the civil disobedience and trauma of economic uncertainty. Once again, it should be emphasised that the following subsections that detail historical events at considerable length (particularly that of Ancient Rome) is not a historical detour, but is meant to highlight an example of historical recurrence (cyclical history) through examining the collective memory of American ancestry. The purpose of this chapter is to show how both historical generations despite being centuries apart nevertheless do indeed share a similar collective memory which drove them towards taking up political action.

---

[439] Bonnett, A. Left in the Past, p. 34 & 44; Bonnet, A. "Radicalism is Nostalgia", p. 179; Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, (New York: Basic Books, 2001), p. 64; Chase, M. & Shaw, C. "The Dimensions of Nostalgia", p. 3 & 15; Davis, F. Yearning for Yesterday, p. 34; Lowenthal, D. "Nostalgia tells it like it wasn't", p. 21; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. XX; &, Plumb, J. H. The Death of the Past, p. 40.
[440] Chase, M. & Shaw, C. "The Dimensions of Nostalgia", p. 4.
[441] Disch, L. "The Tea Party: A 'White Citizenship' Movement?", Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 136; Distrust, Discontent, Anger and Partisan Rancor: The People and Their Government | Pew Research Center for the People and the Press; Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 95; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 15 & 68; Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell, pp 157-158; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 23-26; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, p. 9 & 50; &, Tea Party Mapped: How Big Is It and Where Is It Based? | The Rundown | PBS NewsHour | PBS, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/tea-party-how-big-is-it-and-where-is-it-based/, (21/04/10); &, Trost, C. & Rosenthal, L. "The Rise of the Tea Party", p. 14.

5.2: Prelude to Trauma – The Fifties

 The first part of this chapter is an examination of the collective 'living' memory of members of the Tea Party movement, which this thesis argues, consisted of a trauma which was inculcated throughout the sixties and had culminated in the year 1968. Before detailing the trauma experienced by the generation of Tea Partiers, however, first it seems important to detail the so-called status quo during the post-war period of the fifties– the period in which the baby boomer generation that would later comprise the Tea Party movement ignorantly experienced as children and thus shaped their nostalgic longings to this very day. The following subsection provides a brief overview of the so-called 'golden' period of the fifties: beginning with an overview of the American cultural climate during the fifties after the conclusion of the Second World War, the American family unit, and race relations, as well as uncovering the underside of the facets that would later be upturned by the traumatic decade following it.

 With the victorious conclusion of the Second World War, the United States of America was rejuvenated by a sweeping sense of optimism and self-confidence. American mythology became invigorated and was proliferated in and throughout popular culture: in literature, on the airwaves, on the silver screen and television sets across the United States of America. American values were most famously encapsulated in the fabled Western or 'Wild West' genre – promoting the image of both rugged and possessive individualism, eschewing the restrictive trappings of civilisation in favour of an unchecked wild sense of liberty, depicting violent conflict as heroic, and reinforcing the optimism of their being a vast frontier of wealth for the taking for those who look and work hard enough for it. [442] Of the most prominent myths in American culture, however, were those myths which distinguished the United States of America and its people as an exceptional, innocent, and above-all a (divinely) 'chosen' nation – what Richard T. Hughes in his book, Myths America Lives By, refers to as being: the myth of the Chosen People, the myth of the Innocent Nation, and the myth of the Christian Nation, respectively. [443] Paradoxically, however, in spite of the cultural values which promoted laissez-faire individualism, the United States of America's prosperity owed a great deal to the pre-war policies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, which had subsequently: enlarged the role of the federal government, regulated financial and industrial

---

[442] Hellmann, J. American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 71; &, Wright, W. Sixguns & Society, pp 4-5.
[443] These said myths, which collectively can be categorised under the notion of 'American Exceptionalism' are explained by Richard T. Hughes as follows: The Myth of the Chosen People, being perhaps the earliest American myth popularised by the reimagining of the Puritans flight across the Atlantic to North America and John Winthrop's famous sermon in 1630 that boasted that their colonial community would be seen 'as a city upon a hill' by others. The Myth of the Innocent Nation, an idea which came to fruition since the American Revolution but reached its zenith after the Second World War was the belief that Americans were inherently good and virtuous people (hence 'innocent') compared to their rivals (the British Empire, Nazi Germany, Communist Russia, and so on) who they denounced as inherently corrupt and evil. The Myth of the Christian Nation, being the belief which emerged as a consequence of the Second Great Awakening that the United States of America was in fact founded upon and was for the explicit purposes of promoting the Christian faith – tied in with this notion was the belief that God had 'chosen' the United States of America, having blessed it with resources and exceptional people.
Hughes, R. T. Myths America Lives By, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), pp 6-8.

workings, and established the foundations of the welfare state – a sentiment which, of course, is fervently contested by those on the far-right of the political spectrum, who in extreme circumstances regard the policies of the New Deal Order as a conspiracy to usher in communism in in the United States of America. [444]

It was during the fifties that the American household became synonymous with the nostalgic model of the suburban nuclear family – which was, of course, famously typified in the idyllic depictions of television sitcoms such as Leave it to Beaver. The fifties, according to the historian Tim Stanley, was an 'historical aberration' which saw the steadying decline of divorce rates, the sharp decline of the average age of marriage to that of twenty years, and a dramatic increase in childbirth in the United States of America. This was the supposed 'Golden Age' of the white American middle classes. The nuclear family model which was widely adopted by the American public, has been suggested as being as much a propagandist tool to separate the United States of America from their rival, the USSR, during the Cold War, with the abundance of available household appliances, coupled with the freedom for women to stay at home and raise their family whilst their husbands supported them on a single wage. This was what supposedly separated American capitalists from their Russian communist counterparts. [445]

Not everything, however, was as idyllic and picturesque as the espoused ideological optimism was to be believed. The United States of America at this time was a society still deeply divided by class, gender, geography and, of course, race:

Contrary to popular nostalgic recollections, the New Deal policies that had been implemented prior-to and after the Second World War did not alleviate poverty and provide the prosperity that it was believed it could accomplish for the majority of Americans – this was especially true in the Southern States, wherein the traditional agricultural economy was uprooted by New Deal policies and the industrial enterprises which followed, which was owed mostly to their poor implementation by its reluctant state politicians. Instead, as critics on the Left highlight, the New Deal policies failed sufficiently to support (or indeed in some cases cover at all) the African-American community and indeed other ethnic minorities than their white counterparts in the United States of America. Women too, critics argue, were ushered into their traditional gender roles by New Deal policies such as with the Aid to Families with Dependent Children programme. [446]

---

[444] Hacker, L. M. "The Third American Revolution", The New Deal: Revolution or Evolution?, (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1959), p. 2; Hofstadter, R. Anti-Intellectualism in American Life, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1964), p. 41; Hofstadter, R. The Paranoid Style in American Politics: and Other Essays, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966), p. 25; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 476; Lewis, P. Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks: the Vietnam Antiwar Movement as Myth and Memory, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2013), pp 142-143; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, pp 344-351; &, Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 858-859.
[445] Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 921-923; &, Stanley, T. "The Changing Face of the American Family", History Today, Vol. 62, Issue 11, (November, 2012), pp 11-12.
[446] Brinkley, A. "The New Deal in American Scholarship", The State of U.S. History, (New York: Berg, 2002), p. 120; Goodwin, D. K. Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, p. 217; Jones, L. W. Cold Rebellion: The South's Oligarchy in Revolt, (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1962), pp 27-28 & 48-49; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 475; Rieder, J. "The Rise of the 'Silent Majority'", The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 245; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 348;

The period of the fifties was not particularly great to women living in the United States of America: Women had little control over their bodies, were sexually objectified, and unable to express their sexuality to the same degree of their male counterparts. Even during the following decade, women in the workplace made up less than a third of the country's workforce, earned significantly less wages than their male counterparts, were railroaded into typically 'feminine' professions such as cleaners, nurses, receptionists, and so on, and fewer still held positions of seniority. The idyllic fifties household, too, was for some American women a prison. The feminist writer, Betty Friedan, likened it to a 'comfortable concentration camp' in The Feminist Mystique. Unable to sufficiently address these grievances within the political system, which despite the Suffrage movement was still considerably under-representative of women, the stage was being set for the emergence of Second Wave Feminism and the Women's Liberation Movement. [447]

The United States of America, of course, was a country built upon a strong linage of institutionalised discrimination against African-Americans spanning three centuries of its history – from slavery during the colonial period to modern Jim Crow laws. Despite having fought during the Second World War African-Americans were still harshly discriminated against in their day-to-day lives: they were forced to use segregated public transport, schools, drinking fountains, and other public facilities, they would have to bow their heads politely in the presence of a white (regardless of station) whilst walking along the street, they were exploited by what little employment they could find, they were prohibited from exercising their democratic right to vote by unreasonable poll taxes, and, of course, they were disallowed from entering or being served at particular diners, shops, theatres, and other public places. Racism was endemic throughout the United States of America and was not just a specific problem in the Southern States alone, contrary to how the mind's eye often nostalgically recollects this period. [448] The most iconic and haunting images of this time, of course, are those related to the segregation of American schools, such as is depicted in the iconic Norman Rockwell painting entitled The Problem We All Live With (see **Fig 22: Norman Rockwell's The Problem We All Live With** below). In Arkansas, Governor Orval E. Faubus deployed the National Guard to Little Rock High School in an attempt at stifling the Supreme Court's 1956 ruling of Brown v. Board of Education, which mandated the integration of African-Americans to public schools – dismantling school segregation. When the African-American children who enrolled at Little Rock on September 3rd, 1957, they were

---

Rozwenc, E. C. [Editor], The New Deal: Revolution or Evolution?, (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1959), p. VI; &, Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 839.

[447] Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 370; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, pp 584-585; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, pp 427-430; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 1042; &, Zinn, H. A People's History of the United States, pp 504-506.

[448] Brink, W. & Harris, L. The Negro Revolution in America: What Negroes Want; Why and How They Are Fighting; Whom they Support; What Whites Think of Them and Their Demands, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964), p. 51; Feagin, J. R. Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations [2nd Edition], (New York: Routledge, 2010); Jones, L. W. Cold Rebellion, p. 53; Lewis, A. Portrait of a Decade: The Second American Revolution, (New York: Random House, 1964), pp 3-5 & 128-130; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 839; &, U.S. Riot Commission Report What Happened? Why Did It Happen? What Can Be Done?: Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp 206-226.

met with hostile derision from a white mob who heckled: "N*****s get back to the jungle," as well as to one African-American child in particular, Elizabeth Eckford: "Tie her to the tree" and "lynch her." In response, President Dwight D. Eisenhower acted to enforce the Supreme Court's ruling, by sending paratroopers from other states to escort and protect the African-Americans enrolled at Little Rock, as well as to order that the National Guard in Arkansas be brought under federal control – actions which would begin to polarise the country. [449] Elsewhere, African-Americans were not as lucky to be protected by the government. In Mississippi, an African-American teenager by the name of Emmett Till was lynched by a white mob on the basis of a flimsy accusation that he was cat-calling a white woman. [450]

Fig 22: Norman Rockwell's The Problem We All Live With
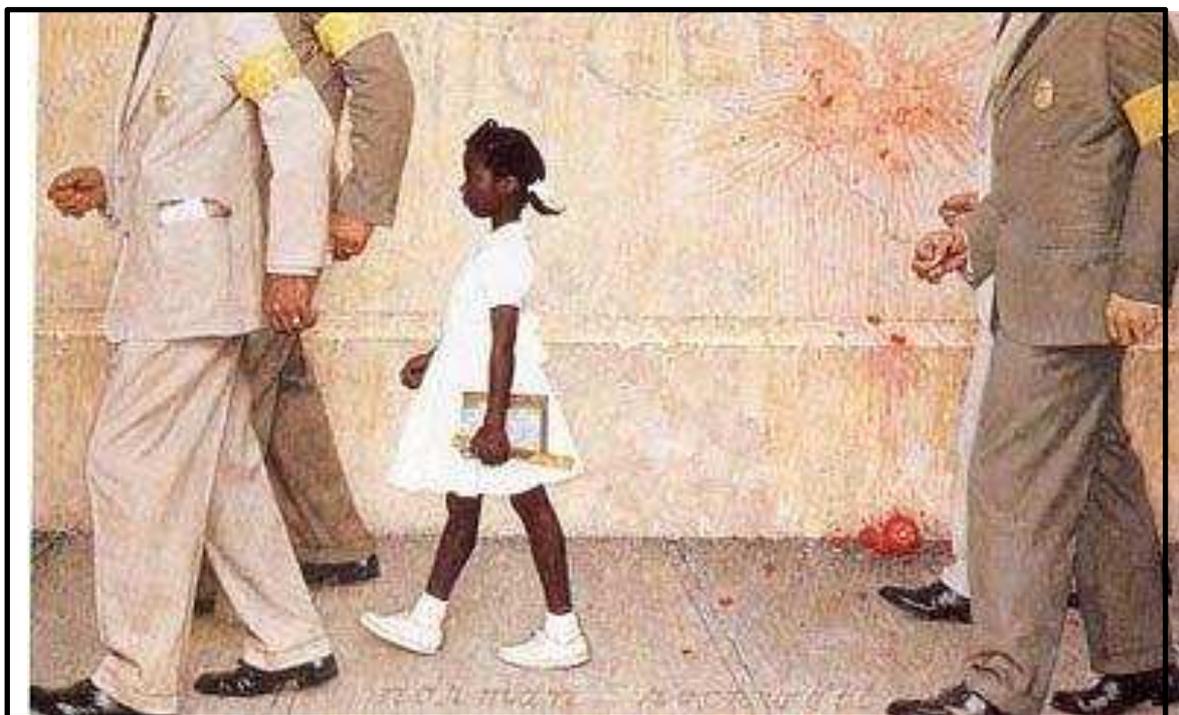
This subsection has highlighted what could be considered the 'cultural status quo' in the United States of America which would have been experienced by the baby boomer generation when they were children. This period of American history is nostalgically remembered as the 'golden age' of the post-war New Deal Order, or at least it was a golden age for the American white middle classes. The decade that would follow, the sixties, would radically challenge the consensus of the early post-war period of American society. The

---

[449] Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion: Right-wing Movements and Political Power in the United States, (New York: The Guilford Press, 1995), pp 82-83; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 950-952; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, pp 338-339; Jenkins, P. A History of the United States, p. 240; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, pp 535-536; Paterson, D. Willoughby, D. & S. Heinemann Advanced History: Civil Rights in the USA, 1863-1980, (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2001), pp 114-116; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, pp 413-414; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 999; &, Verney, K. Black Civil Rights in America, (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp 44-47.
[450] Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 338; Lewis, A. Portrait of a Decade, p. 210; &, Verney, K. Black Civil Rights in America, p. 48.

following subsections detail how this paradigm of the fifties was virulently overthrown as the United States of America was traumatised by foreign war, cultural succussion, civil disobedience, and economic uncertainty.

5.2.1: Trauma of Foreign War – Tet, Monongahela, Teutoburg, Iraq

 This subsection covers the trauma of foreign war which was inculcated in the minds of the generation of Americans of whom an influential proportion would comprise the backbone of the Tea Party movement decades later. In particular, it highlights the trauma of the Tet Offensive during the Vietnam War which undoubtedly resulted in the greatest knock-on cultural implications experienced by the United States of America in living memory – even more so, perhaps, than the recent history of the so-called 'War on Terror'. Trauma is a psychic condition which is: "caused by emotional shock the memory of which is repressed and remains unhealed" and: "may result in a behavioural disorder". [451] Nowhere throughout history does trauma thrive as much as it does than with violent conflict between states – lives are lost, landscapes ravaged, and horrors abound. This subsection compares the Vietnam War with two other historical conflicts that are linked together in the American collective memory – the disaster at the battle of Monongahela in the Ohio River Valley during the time of the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War), and the legendary Roman disaster which occurred in 9AD at a location in Germany known as the Teutoburg Forest. The Teutoburg Forest incident is detailed in this section as an example of the collective ('dead' or 'historical') memory shared by the generation of Americans who experienced the American Revolution and who were at the time engrossed with historical analogies that referenced the Ancient past which would influence the future direction of their struggle for independence. Once again, it must be stressed that this is not a historical detour, rather the purpose of detailing these events will become clearer over time. It compares the similarities shared by the conflicts, from beginnings to conclusions, to argue that the trauma caused by fighting a particular kind of foreign war is an example of an historical recurrence which follows a set pattern of actions – these actions, of course, being summarised at the end of this subsection. Moreover, this subsection argues that the trauma created by this particular facet of foreign war was in turn re-triggered by the recent Iraq invasion and subsequent occupation which unfolded from March 20th, 2003, onwards.

 The United States of America was compelled to intervene in the far East-Asian jungles of Vietnam, just as their predecessors the British Empire and Ancient Rome were compelled to intervene in the untamed forests of North America and Northern Europe centuries earlier, as a matter of national honour. At stake was the United States of America's 'credibility' [452] as an acting world superpower against their equivalent rival, the USSR, during a context wherein any capitulation on the world stage was seen as a major sign of weakness – a mentality which at the time was conveniently embodied in an address by Lyndon B. Johnson to the Associated Press on April 20th, 1964, wherein he stated that: "Surrender anywhere threatens defeat

[451] trauma, n. : Oxford English Dictionary.
[452] Allen, J. Vietnam: The (Last) War the U.S. Lost, (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2008), p. 39 & 41; &, Schell, J. The Time of Illusion, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), p. 10.

everywhere." [453] Behind this mentality lay the twin theories of the 'Munich Paradigm' and the 'Domino Theory' [454] in which it was believed that the entire Asian peninsula would become swept up by Soviet communism unless the United States of America and other allied capitalist nations would intervene forcefully. [455] So too, in the mid-eighteenth-century, another variant of the domino theory would incentivise the British Empire in intervening militarily in North America. Throughout the forests of the Ohio River Valley the French had begun constructing a chain of fortifications between Lake Erie and the Allegheny River, metal plates which warned Native Americans to stop interacting with the British were erected and nailed to trees, and a campaign of forceful expulsion of British traders and their Native American allies from the North American territories had begun in earnest. The British, in turn, responded in kind, by issuing a declaration calling for the peaceful expulsion of all French currently residing in the Ohio River Valley, citing a flimsy treaty that had been signed with the Iroquois as proof of British claims to the land. [456] Headed with the responsibility of expelling the French from the Ohio River Valley, was a young George Washington, who had been ordered by his superior, Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, to set up a base of operations on the forks of the Alleghenies and Monongahela rivers, as well as to issue the French with an ultimatum to peacefully remove themselves or be forcibly removed. [457] Across the Atlantic, beginning in 6AD, the Roman Empire found itself embroiled in another kind of domino theory – what became known as the Great Illyrian Revolt which hurriedly swept across the Balkans (Illyria). Led by Bato, the leader of the Daesitiates, the Great Illyrian Revolt was believed at the time to have threatened to overwhelm and overthrow Roman hegemony in Europe. It also went so far as to evoke the harrowing nostalgic memories of Hannibal's invasion of Italy in the late-third-century BCE in the minds of many

---

[453] Allen, J. Vietnam, p. 39.

[454] The Domino Theory was popularised after an answer given by President Dwight D. Eisenhower to an American reporter, Robert Richards, from the Copley Press during a press conference on April 7th, 1954. The reporter, who asked the President about the strategic importance of Indochina at the time when the French were losing control of Vietnam at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu, was replied in kind with what Eisenhower termed the "'falling domino' principle." This principle, Eisenhower explained, worked in theory as follows: "You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences." Eisenhower later exemplified his theory, stating that: "…when we come to the possible sequence of events, the loss of Indochina, of Burma, of Thailand, of the Peninsula, and Indonesia following…" Eisenhower, D.D. "Falling Dominoes", To Reason Why: The Debate about the Causes of U.S. Involvement in the Vietnam War, (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing, 1990), pp 30-31.

[455] Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 355; Kimball, J.P. "Introduction – An Argument without End", To Reason Why: The Debate about the Causes of U.S. Involvement in the Vietnam War, (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing, 1990), pp 6-7; Lewis, P. Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks, pp 57-58; Neale, J. The American War: Vietnam 1960-1975, (London: Bookmarks, 2001), pp 54-55; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 450.

[456] Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution: A New Look at the Past, (New York: Sterling Publishing, 2007), pp 34-35; Cave, A. A. The French and Indian War, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), pp 5-6; Chartrand, R. Tomahawk and Musket: French and Indian Raids in the Ohio Valley 1758, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2012), p. 10; Irving, W. Life of George Washington, Vol. 1: Early Life, Expeditions, and Campaigns, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1885), pp 33-37; &, Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 34.

[457] Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, p. 35; Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, p. 60; Chernow, R. Washington, p. 33; Raphael, R. Founders, pp 3-4; &, Unger, H. G. American Tempest, p. 27.

Romans, if it was not sufficiently dealt with in time. [458] The stages were set, ready to be ignited by an inciting incident, enflamed in controversy.

To set in motion their military intervention in Vietnam, the United States of America seized upon what became known as the Gulf of Tonkin Incident. In August, 1964, warships belonging to the United States of America were allegedly attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo-boats during a routine patrol in the Gulf of Tonkin off the coast of North Vietnam. At the time, the incident gave the United States of America all the excuses needed for intervention. In an almost unanimous action, Congress passed a resolution which gave President Lyndon Johnson the power to: "take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression in Southeast Asia." By the beginning of 1965, the United States of America had committed itself to a campaign of aerial assaults across Vietnam, and by the years end around 180,000 troops had been deployed to South Vietnam – a figure which would continue to rise as time permitted. Although what became known as the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was penned as a 'Policing Action' there could be no doubt that the United States of America was at this time fully engaged in a foreign war. [459] Centuries earlier, in the forests of what would later become the nation-state of Germany, an incident which became known as clades Lolliana would just like the Gulf of Tonkin Incident, provide the Roman Empire the excuse to intervene in Germany and to set into motion the disaster in the Teutoburg Forest: In the late summer of 17BCE, three German tribes bordering the Rhine River – the Sugambri, Tencteri, and Usipetes – rose up in revolt against the Romans. Whilst on patrol, the then Roman Governor of Gaul, Marcus Lollius, was ambushed by the marauding German tribes. The resulting skirmish culminated with the scandalous theft of the Roman Fifth Legion's Imperial Aquila – the golden Roman Eagle that sits atop a banner pole that hoists the standard (flag) of the Legion. The theft of such a symbol of Roman authority, which had belonged to a Legion established by 'the great' Julius Caesar, was at the time regarded as such a blemish to Rome's 'credibility' that it gave Emperor Augustus all the justification needed to crush the marauding tribes and establish a committed Roman foothold in Germany. [460] In the forests of the Ohio River Valley an altogether different controversy would spur Great Britain into intervening against the French in North America. On May 28th, 1754, what became known as the 'de Jumonville incident' ignited the Seven Years' War. It began when Ensign Joseph Coulon de Villiers, Sieur de Jumonville, a French diplomat who was camped out with a small entourage of soldiers in a secluded glen, was discovered several miles away from a young George Washington who had himself camped within the Great Meadows, and was still carrying out his mission from Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie. Fearing that the discovered French forces held hostile

[458] Murdoch, A. *Rome's Greatest Defeat: Massacre in the Teutoburg Forest*, (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2008), pp 44-46; Wilkes, J. The Illyrians, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995) p. 3 & 207; &, Woodman, A. J. [Editor], Velleius Paterculus: The Tiberian Narrative (2.94-131), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 153 & 188.
[459] Brogan, H. The Longman History of the United States of America, p. 674; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, p. 982; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 555; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 1025; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, pp 475-476.
[460] McNally, M. Teutoburg Forest AD 9: The destruction of Varus and his legions, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011), p. 10; &, Murdoch, A. *Rome's Greatest Defeat*, pp 21-28.

intentions, Washington along with his Virginian militiamen and Native American allies led by a man named Tanacharison (or the 'Half King', by the British) surrounded the French encampment. After a short skirmish that lasted no more than fifteen minutes and resulted in the death of ten or so Frenchmen, realising their predicament the French forces duly surrendered themselves to George Washington. What then transpired varies from account to account: According to the accounts promoted by the British, de Jumonville had been killed with a musket shot to the head during the initial skirmish, the recovered papers he had been carrying on his person happened to confirm the British suspicions that he and his forces were on a covert reconnoitre mission; the account promoted by the French, however, asserted that after the skirmish , de Jumonville read aloud an ultimatum to the British through an interpreter, before being unceremoniously shot, the Native Americans in turn it was said by some physically intervened to prevent further bloodshed; finally, another account of the incident which unfolded tells of Tanacharison (the 'Half King') splitting de Jumonville's head open with an axe as he was reading his ultimatum, which he then used to scalp the dead diplomat. [461] Regardless of what actually transpired, upon hearing the rumours of de Jumonville's death at the hands of the British the French retaliated in kind by attacking and seizing George Washington's Fort at the fork of the Alleghenies and Monongahela rivers, which they promptly renamed Fort Duquesne, before attacking Washington again later at his hastily erected headquarters of Fort Necessity. Washington was forced to surrender, and was eventually released back to the colony of Virginia under condition that he admit to the assassination of de Jumonville – Washington later admitted regretting having capitulated to this condition in retrospect. The British, fearing for the loss of their North American colonies because of this incident, quickly amassed and dispatched the largest army the continent had seen at the time. Led by General Edward Braddock, a thousand or so professional soldiers from the 44th and 48th Regiments of Foot alongside an artillery detachment and the aid of the provincial armies that were commanded by Massachusetts Lieutenant-Governor William Shirley and Colonel William Johnson from the colonies, these forces were ordered to retake Fort Duquesne from the French, before expelling the French entirely from North America. [462]

 From wooden forts to firebases, sword and musket to assault rifle, in every each instance the same recurrence of battle between conventional and guerrilla forces took place with similar results:

 On the afternoon of July 9th, 1755, General Braddock's expeditionary forces were ambushed in the forests of the Ohio River Valley, just a few miles away from their intended target of Fort Duquesne. The ambush, which was carried out by a small contingent of French troupes

---

[461] Chernow, R. Washington, pp 41-43; Irving, W. Life of George Washington, Vol. 1, p. 82-84; Martin, R. D. "Confrontation at the Monongahela: Climax of the French Drive into the Upper Ohio Region", Pennsylvania History, Vol. 37, No. 2, (April, 1970), p. 141; &, Raphael, R. Founders, p. 4.
[462] Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, p. 35; Brumwell, S. Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755-1763, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 15; Cassell, F. A. "The Braddock Expedition of 1755: Catastrophe in the Wilderness", Pennsylvania Legacies, Vol. 5, No. 1, (May, 2005), p. 13; Chartrand, R. Tomahawk and Musket, p. 14; Geiter, M. K. & Speck, W. A. Colonial America: From Jamestown to Yorktown, (Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan), p. 156; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 34; Martin, R. D. "Confrontation at the Monongahela", p. 145; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, pp 49-50.

de la marine, some Canadian militiamen, and a predominant force of their Native American allies – totalling around nine hundred in number altogether – was so severe and startling that it took the British by complete surprise to the catastrophic extent that no effective counter to the guerrilla attack could be made. The British, who showed little attempt at adapting to their new climate, were entirely unprepared for the North American style of warfare, having only the knowledge of the European conventions of warfare which provided to be much of a detriment in hindsight – As General Braddock marshalled his Redcoats into neatly regimented lines of platoons, adhering to European doctrine, it only made them ever more vulnerable to enemy fire. The British officers, who attempted to enforce order amongst the ranks in the midst of combat were easily spotted by their uniform and sniped at by the French, which caused more disarray amongst the regulars who shot wildly into the forests, which subsequently led to some soldiers in the front ranks being shot in the back by their comrades behind them. So, too, were the experienced Virginian militiamen who supported the British killed by their own allies in much the same manner, when they dispersed from formation and took cover amongst the trees to provide covering fire, to which the British officers misinterpreted such actions by the Virginians as being cowardly, near-mutinous, and deserving of execution. [463] The historian Harlow G. Unger describes how the situation unfolded at Monongahela as follows:

> Suddenly, the crackle of shots and blood-curdling whoops engulfed the woods just east of the French fort [Duquesne]. A mob of half-naked French and Indians materialised among the trees above the British right column, fired a staccato of shots, then disappeared into the forest. Dozens of British troops fell dead and wounded. Before stunned survivors could reform their lines to return fire, the French and Indians had vanished… Before they could turn, another band of Indians had emerged, fired, and vanished… They were everywhere, nowhere, never forming lines to fight by European rules of linear warfare.

> Confusion and terror gripped the British ranks… All-too-easy targets on the open ground, troops, officers, and horses toppled like toys. [George] Washington felt musket balls slice through his hat and uniform as he tried in vain to rally troops; shots felled two of his horses but left him uninjured, and he remounted horses of dead riders. Braddock was less fortunate. A ball shattered his arm, smashed through his rib cage and lodged in his lungs. One by one, other officers fell onto the blood-soaked ground as they tried to rally troops. The slaughter lasted three hours...

> As they ran out of ammunition, British survivors dropped their weapons, ran to the river and thrashed their way to safety on the opposite bank. Instead of pursuing, the Indians remained on the battleground, hopping about the dead and wounded – like vultures – plundering wagons and bodies, methodically scalping. Washington used his

---

[463] Brumwell, S. Redcoats, p. 16; Irving, W. Life of George Washington, Vol. 1, pp 137-140; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 51.

knowledge of the western wilderness to lead the three hundred-odd survivors back to the safety of British-held Fort Cumberland. [464]

As news of the disaster at Monongahela reached Braddock's second-in-command, Colonel Thomas Dunbar, the British were ordered to retreat and to destroy or bury any supplies which they could not take with them. At least one-thousand-and-five-hundred-odd British soldiers, including General Braddock, were killed at Monongahela – almost two-thirds of the entire expedition. Consequently, Dunbar's actions led to the exposure of the British North American frontier to marauding bands of Native Indians, displacing many colonists in the following years. [465]

Centuries earlier, in the forests of Lower Saxony, General Quintilius Varus and his Roman legions were unsuspectingly being led astray by their German guide, Arminius. The Romans were ambushed as they reached the northern foot of the Kalkriese Berg – a hundred-metre hill covered in forest – which was hemmed-in by the muddy streams of a large peat bog, with only a narrow sandy isthmus allowing for safe passage. [466] The historian, Peter S. Wells, describes the scenes which unfolded during the disaster as follows:

> The troops marched along this narrow isthmus through the passage, with the forested slopes close on their left and stands of willows and alders amid the reeds and sedges bordering the Great Bog on their right.
>
> Suddenly a chilling yell was heard as attackers on all sides fell upon the struggling Romans. Varus and his army were caught completely off guard and in the worst possible situation… The attackers darted from behind trees, hurling their spears at their victims. Stuck among the trees and ankle-deep in slippery mud, the Roman soldiers had neither room to manoeuvre nor the possibility of escape... When they realised that the Roman soldiers were unable to mount any effective defence, the attackers left the shelter of the surrounding trees and moved in with their swords, stabbing and slashing wildly, cutting down hundreds more victims. The Roman troops were thrown into chaos, as thousands lay dead or dying of their wounds on the muddy and now blood-soaked earth. [467]

As the Roman ranks thinned under the onslaught of the Germans and with little hope to escape capture from the battlefield, General Varus and his senior officers committed suicide – followed shortly thereafter by other Roman legionaries who also took their own lives or freely died at the hands of their enemies. The battle was over. The German barbarians then

---

[464] Unger, H. G. American Tempest, pp 30-31.

[465] Anderson, F. The War that made America: A short history of the French and Indian War, (London: Penguin Books, 2005), pp 72-73; Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, p. 125; Brumwell, S. Redcoats, p. 16; Cassell, F. A. "The Braddock Expedition of 1755", p. 15; Cave, A. A. The French and Indian War, p. 8 & 11; & Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 34.

[466] Bernario, H. W. "Teutoburg", The Classical World, Vol. 96, No. 4, (Summer, 2003), p. 403; Heather, P. The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History, (London: Pan Books, 2006), p. 47; &, Wells, P. S. The Battle that Stopped Rome: Emperor Augustus, Arminius, and the Slaughter of the Legions in the Teutoburg Forest, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003), p. 28.

[467] Wells, P. S. The Battle that Stopped Rome, pp 28-29.

began mopping-up: wounds were tended to, dead comrades were ceremoniously buried with weapons in hand, Roman prisoners were taken to be sacrificed in blood ritual to appease the pagan Gods, Varus's body was desecrated, and the three Roman Imperial Eagles were divided amongst the victorious tribes as spoils of war. [468]

So, too, in the jungles of Vietnam, United States of America found their military operations under near constant assault from the Viet Cong as they left the safety of their firebases. Just as with the military forces of both the British and Roman Empires, despite having the technological advantage, the military forces of the United States of America faced an enemy which utilised guerrilla tactics to devastating effect – plagued with unrelenting booby-traps and ambushes, the American military forces were always fighting on their adversaries' terms, their adopted military doctrine failing to achieve its expected ends. [469-470] The American journalist, Myra Macpherson, describes the typical scenes that unfolded during the course of the Vietnam War as follows:

> The patrol picked its way through jungle so thick that by noon it was dark. A dead, midnight kind of darkness. Fifty men threaded their way. The first ten began to cross a river. The soldier walking point touched something with his boot. It was not a twig, not a root, not a rock. It was a trip wire to oblivion. In an instant the wire triggered a huge, fifty-pound Chinese mine. There was an enormous roar, like the afterburner of a jet, as it exploded, instantly ripping the point man apart. Shrapnel flew for yards…

> [Resulting in]

---

[468] Murdoch, A. *Rome's Greatest Defeat*, pp 116-118.

[469] The American military strategists in Vietnam adopted a philosophy which was tantamount to a twisted version of Game Theory. Developed and promoted by the RAND Corporation, this military doctrine was best exemplified in the report penned by economists Charles Wolf and Nathan Leites, entitled, Rebellion and Authority. According to this philosophy, it was believed theoretically that both competitors in the Vietnam War were rational actors and that because of this assumption the intelligent use of coercion by one side would logically lead to the quick surrender of the other – that at some point the costs burdened by the level of coercion would become insurmountable by its victim, thereby forcing their surrender. The historian Doris Kearns Goodwin explained this philosophy in her own words, that: "the purpose of the bombs was not to hurt or destroy; that was a by-product. They were a means of bargaining without words." What this policy had resulted in practice, however, was an industrial-scale slaughter – American soldiers were under pressure to produce the maximum number of casualties, competitions to rack up the highest enemy combatant kill-counts were held, and fraudulent body counts were. As the saying went: "If it's dead, it's Viet Cong". Vietnamese civilians were caught in the crossfire, executed, entire cities and villages burnt to the ground – all because the philosophy dictated that: "It was necessary to destroy the city to save the city." as it was said from the words of one American artillery officer.
Allen, J. Vietnam, pp 47-50; Charlton, M. & Moncrieff, A. *Many Reasons Why: The American Involvement in Vietnam*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), p. 133; Goodwin, D. K. Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, p. 269; Hellmann, J. American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam, p. 89; Neale, J. The American War, p. 63; *Pandora's Box | thought maybe*, http://thoughtmaybe.com/pandoras-box/#top, (20/09/12); Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 456; &, Schultz, R. "Breaking the Will of the Enemy during the Vietnam War: The Operationalization of the Cost-Benefit Model of Counterinsurgency Warfare", Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 15, No. 2, (1978), pp 109-111 & 122-123.

[470] The historian Geoffrey Perret described the effectiveness of such guerrilla tactics employed by the Viet Cong with the following statement: "a dozen VC [Viet Cong] could kill or disable one hundred men in less than a minute and escape more or less unscathed."
Perret, G. A Country Made By War: From the Revolution to Vietnam – *the Story of America's Rise to Power*, (New York: Random House, 1989), p. 513.

…the face of one buddy disintegrating from the explosion; others walking their last steps and falling, bones sticking white out of flesh sheared off at the hips. Some bled to death, coating the ground and mud and leaves with their last moments of blood, before medevac choppers could come. Some were caught in the river… running red "like Campbell's tomato soup." Those that weren't hit screamed in panic. Those that were screamed in pain. [471]

But the turning point of the Vietnam War was the outbreak of what became known as the Tet Offensive, which began on January 31st, 1968 – the battle was named, of course, after the Vietnamese New Year's festival of Tet. During what was supposed to be a time of truce, the North Vietnamese National Liberation Front alongside Viet Cong forces launched an invasion into South Vietnam; striking at more than one hundred cities and towns including the South Vietnamese Capital of Saigon, its airport, the American embassy, and the presidential palace. [472] But for all of the early gains gotten by the North Vietnamese forces, by April the tides had turned, and the United States of America were soon able to repel the Viet Cong from the captured cities of Hue and Saigon. The North Vietnamese forces had suffered serious losses during the counterattack, not being able to fully recover their strength to achieve an outright victory – in May [1968] the Vietcong launched a final assault against South Vietnam in an attempt to renew the Tet Offensive, ultimately failing. Where the Tet Offensive had succeeded, however, was in swaying the public opinion of Americans when news of the fighting reached the homeland. [473]

 Once again, the aftermath of the conflicts followed a similar pattern of convergence, wherein news of the various military disasters reached the civilian populations of each civilisation:

 When news of the disaster at Teutoburg Forest had eventually reached Rome by messenger, already weeks past its conclusion, the civilisation fell into a state of hysteria: The slaughter of Varus and three entire Roman legions had once again reminded the Roman people of the dark nostalgic times when Rome's borders were insecure and its territory was summarily invaded by foreign marauders during the early-fourth-to-late-second-centuries BCE. Anti-German sentiment swept the Roman populace, as German immigrants were exiled from the city – including those serving as Emperor Augustus' personal guard. In response to this hysteria, Marshal Law was instated across the Roman Empire in an attempt to prevent potential uprisings amongst the provincial populations emboldened by news of Arminius' victory. [474] Having received news of Varus' defeat, as it is famously noted by his contemporary biographer, Emperor Augustus resided himself for months in his Imperial Palace; wherein it

---

[471] MacPherson, M. Long Time Passing: Vietnam and the Haunted Generation, (New York: Doubleday, 1993), p. 8.

[472] Baritz, L. Backfire, p. 179; Craig, C. & Logevall F. *America's Cold War: The Politics of Insecurity*, (London: Harvard University Press, 2012), pp 248-249; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 997-998; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 362; Neale, J. The American War, p. 93; Oberdorfer, D. Tet! The Turning Point in the Vietnam War, (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp 70-78 & 116; Perret, G. A Country Made By War, pp 516-517; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 458.

[473] Hellmann, J. American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam, p. 89; Perret, G. A Country Made By War, pp 516-517; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 458.

[474] Bernario, H. W. "Teutoburg", p. 404; McNally, M. Teutoburg Forest AD 9, p. 87; Murdoch, A. *Rome's Greatest Defeat*, p. 126; &, Wells, P. S. The Battle that Stopped Rome, p. 201.

is said that he wandered around the halls, barefoot and unshaven, distraughtly repeating to himself the phrase: "Quintili Vare, legiones redde!" – "Quintilius Varus, give me back my legions!" [475] In the short term, the Roman Empire never fully recovered from its symbolic defeat, and for a period of years following the death of Emperor Augustus the Empire no longer further expanded upon its borders across Asia, Africa, and Europe, but instead would contract towards the capital for its own protection. [476]

Centuries later, in the North American continent, the aftermath of the Battle of Monongahela began to reverberate across the British Empire. Braddock's defeat had left the Ohio border and the colonies bordering it vulnerable to retaliatory attacks from the French-allied Native Americans, who swept across the outlying colonial villages, burning, raping, kidnapping, scalping and killing those in their wake. Hysteria ravaged the colonists, which would decades later turn into resentment against their mother country, [477] and would, of course, be exploited by revolutionaries such as Thomas Paine in the lead-up to declaring American independence from Great Britain. [478] The British Empire, on the other hand, like their Roman forebears ceased their territorial expansion across North America, by implementing the Proclamation Act of 1763, which prohibited colonial expansion into Native American territory beyond the newly created boundaries of the 'Proclamation Line'. [479] The Act was intended as a

---

[475] Bernario, H. W. "Teutoburg", p. 404; &, Wells, P. S. The Battle that Stopped Rome, p. 202.

[476] McNally, M. Teutoburg Forest AD 9, p. 91; Murdoch, A. *Rome's Greatest Defeat*, pp 130-131; &, Wells, P. S. The Battle that Stopped Rome, p. 15.

[477] Anderson, F. The War that made America, pp 72-73; Brumwell, S. Redcoats, p. 16; Cave, A. A. The French and Indian War, p. 11; Chernow, R. Washington, p. 63; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, p. 44; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 97; &, Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 34.

[478] Thomas Paine famously exploited the underlying resentments towards the British Empire amongst the American colonists by evoking the traumatic nostalgic memories of the succession of proxy conflicts during the late-seventeenth-to-early-eighteenth-centuries between Great Britain and the European kingdoms in his famous pamphlet, Common Sense, wherein he wrote that (emphasis added);

> "We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was interest not attachment; that she did not protect us from our enemies on our account, but from her enemies on her own account, from those who had no quarrel with us on any other account, and who will always be our enemies on the same account. Let Britain waive her pretensions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependence, and we should be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. **The miseries of Hanover last war ought to warn us against connexions**… France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be our enemies as Americans, but as our being the subjects of Great Britain [Sic]."

Foot, M. [Editor], Paine, T. [Author], Rights of Man and Common Sense: with an introduction by Michael Foot, (London: Everyman's Library, 1994), p. 267.

[479] The Proclamation Act (1763) drew a boundary between the British North American colonies and the Native Indian territories across what was called the 'Proclamation Line' which expanded from Chaleur Bay, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, all the way down the crest of the Appalachian Mountains to the border between the colonies of Georgia and Florida. North American colonists were prohibited from crossing the boundaries west of the Appalachian Mountains and interacting with the Native Americans without permission from the British Crown – essentially prohibiting American colonists from trading material goods with Native Americans, buying up Native American land, and the building of new settlements. The Proclamation Act was enforced (poorly) with the deployment of British Redcoats along the frontier, tasked with destroying any outlying cabins and escorting their occupants beyond the border back to the colonies, which was not only unpopular for those at the receiving end of such actions but also it had the consequence of enflaming the ideological fears surrounding standing armies amongst the colonists. The Proclamation Act was so despised by the American revolutionaries that it was penned on the Declaration of Independence as one of the instigating grievances suffered by the colonists from the British Crown.

Alden, J. R. A History of the American Revolution, p. 52 & 57; Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, pp 8-9 & 42-43; Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, pp 80-81; Boorstin, D. J. The

precautionary reaction to protect the Empire's newly gained and pre-existing territorial acquisitions in North America by appeasing the Native Americans (at least, attempting to). The Native Americans had bested the British military with their unconventional tactics during the Battle of Monongahela, which was further compounded by the outbreak of Pontiac's Rebellion after the conclusion of the Seven Years' War. [480] But the Proclamation Act would instead only further exacerbate colonial resentment against the Empire.

Centuries later still, on the other hand, the news of the Tet Offensive was broadcast almost instantaneously into the homes of almost every American family, who nevertheless reacted in a similar fashion to as their ancestors had done. Images of the Tet Offensive shattered both the illusions and promises of American policymakers such as General Westmoreland that there was, inevitably: "light at the end of the tunnel…" The majority of the American public now saw the Vietnam War as an unwinnable quagmire in which no amount of American manpower and technological supremacy could stymie their enemy and at an already insurmountable cost if they could. In addition, any credence the American public once had for their authorities began to dissipate, creating what became known as President Lyndon Johnson's 'credibility gap' and plummeting his approval ratings to its lowest levels ever. [481] Like a modern Emperor Augustus, President Lyndon Johnson, in response to the calamity of the Vietnam War, skulked through the corridors of the White House in his dressing gown late at night – spurred on by his nightmares, [482] and forever later in life cursing that he had:

Americans: The National Experience, (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), p. 249; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, p. 15; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, p. 169; Geiter, M. K. & Speck, W. A. Colonial America, p. 185; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 38; Stauber, L. G. The American Revolution, pp 137-138; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 118; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, pp 59-60.

[480] Pontiac's Rebellion was a failed Native American insurrection led by Chief Pontiac of the Ottawa which began in May, 1763 and lasted until September of the following year. The Native Americans that joined the rebellion were successfully able to raid several forts and villages across the Ohio frontier, massacring their colonial garrisons, until they were eventually stopped at Fort Pitt by the British Army. In reaction to the response of the Rebellion, the policy makers of the British Empire were convinced that the North American colonies needed a permanent Redcoat presence and that a boundary between the colonies and Native American territories should be drawn up and adhered to (the Proclamation Line).
Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, pp 8-9 & 41-42; Beacroft, B. W. & Smale, M. A. The Making of America, p. 36; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 168-169; Osborn, W. M. The Wild Frontier: Atrocities During the American-Indian War From Jamestown Colony to Wounded Knee, (New York: Random House, 2001), pp 131-134; Stauber, L. G. The American Revolution, pp 134-135; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 118; Unger, H. G. American Tempest, p. 46; Ward, H. M. The American Revolution, p. 16; &, Zinn, H. A *People's History of the United States*, p. 87.

[481] Allen, J. Vietnam, pp 45-46; Baritz, L. Backfire, p. 179; Culbert, D. "Television's Visual Impact on Decision-Making in the USA, 1968: The Tet Offensive and Chicago's Democratic National Convention", Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 33, No. 3 (July, 1998), pp 420-422; Hellmann, J. American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam, p. 89; Oberdorfer, D. Tet!, p. VXI & 238; Perret, G. A Country Made By War, pp 516-517; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 458; &, Schweikart, L. & Allen, M. *A Patriot's History of the United States: From Columbus's Great Discovery to the War on Terror*, (New York, Sentinel, 2007), p. 694.

[482] President Lyndon Johnson's nightmares, it is said, revolved around his childhood fears of suffering from paralysis, brought about by his witnessing of a family member afflicted by stroke. In one particular recurring instance, Johnson dreamed that he was lying inside the paralysed body of former President Woodrow Wilson; all the while his presidential staff were busily fighting over how to redistribute his power amongst themselves. As a response to these nightmares, it is said, Johnson would roam the corridors of the White House clothed in his dressing gown, wandering up and down until he had discovered the portrait of the former President he had dreamed of, finally stroking its canvas for a sense of closure – that what he experienced was just a nightmare – before returning to sleep.

"…left the woman I really loved – the Great Society – in order to get involved with that bitch of a war on the other side of the world." [483] The United States of America, like the Empires preceding it, once again retreated from intervening militarily in foreign affairs as they had done with conventional armed forces. Instead, the United States of America would resort to pursuing a policy of supporting proxy authorities and armies (such as with the Muhadjideen in Afghanistan during the Soviet occupation of the country in the eighties) in their place, with a near limitless supply of information, financial, and material assets. This new direction of American foreign policy is what became known as 'Vietnam Syndrome' – a term intended to subtly describe the United States of America's reluctance to commit to direct foreign intervention – and almost half a century would pass before the policymakers in the United States of America would successfully attempt to overcome such a trauma. [484]

The trauma of foreign war would yet again be re-triggered in the minds of Americans, much more recently, with the conflict in Iraq. [485] Collective memories began to haunt their victims as once again the same historical pattern from the past recurred once more:

The United States of America yet again found itself in the position it had once been in decades previously, seemingly desperate to hold on to its 'credibility' as the world's sole superpower, but this time in the face of a new and frightful rising threat of what would become known as 'globalised terrorism'. On September 11th, 2001, four passenger airliners were hijacked by Islamic extremists and were subsequently flown into the twin towers of the New York World Trade Center, causing their eventual collapse, as well as levelling a side of the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. – with the exception of the fourth airliner, United Airlines Flight 93, which was crashed in a field near Pittsburgh, due to the noble efforts of its passengers against the hijackers. Thousands were dead, and retribution was just as swiftly desired from the traumatised nation – this is what began the so-called 'War on Terror', as it was termed by its chief architect, President George W. Bush. [486] The War on Terror would drive the United States of America to invade Saddam Hussein's Iraq – one of several countries including Cuba, Iran, Libya, North Korea, and Syria, which President Bush had dubbed belonging to the 'Axis of Evil' for supporting acts of terrorism, the term with which was coined during his 2002 State of the Union address.

Goodwin, D. K. Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, p. 342; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 459.

[483] Goodwin, D. K. Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, p. 251.

[484] Allen, J. Vietnam, p. 205; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 353; Lewis, P. Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks, p. 25; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, p. 619.

[485] The parallels between the wars in Iraq and Vietnam, or at the very least the question that these two conflicts share parallels, have often been in the collective consciousness as well as articulated through the medium of the mainstream media of the Western World for almost as long as the Iraq conflict began in 2003.
Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 380; &, Parallels Between Iraq War and Vietnam are Piling Up >> The Progress Report, http://www.progress.org/tpr/parallels-between-iraq-war-and-vietnam-war-are-piling-up/, (28/04/04).

[486] Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 1086-1089; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, pp 376-378; Keegan, J. The Iraq War: The 21-Day Conflict and its Aftermath, (London: Pimlico, 2005), p. 89; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, pp 557-561; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 1115-1116; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the Unite*d States, pp 677-678.

Once again, as had happened decades earlier with Vietnam, the American public was urged into the Iraq conflict under false pretences that became the inciting incident that led to war: In the early part of 2003, the then Secretary of State of the United States of America, Colin Powell, announced in front of the United Nations that Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime had been attempting to manufacture as well as keep hidden, weapons of mass destruction throughout the country, which it was said, posed a threat to the world outside of Iraq. Powell's speech at the United Nations was swiftly followed by President George W. Bush and the American Congress passing a resolution to invade Iraq, regardless of the United Nations' approval. The United States of America along with a cohort of coalition forces including the United Kingdom invaded Iraq in March – since that time not a single shred of evidence supporting Colin Powell's assertions at the United Nations that Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime harboured weapons of mass destruction has been proven. This incident, it is argued, was yet a modern incarnation of the 'Gulf of Tonkin incident' from decades past. [487]

Just as in the Vietnam War, the United States of America found itself resorting to a military doctrine which favoured the conventional notion of adhering to a supreme technological dominance of the battlefield – epitomised, of course, in the iconic sound bite, 'shock and awe'. Between the periods of March 20th to May 2nd, 2003, during the invasion of Iraq, the United States of America had used over fifty thousand explosive ordinances including aerial bombs and cruise missiles [488] – similar to how decades previously during the Vietnam War they dropped more tonnage of bombs than in the previous campaigns during the Second World War. [489] And just as before, the United States of America found itself battling with an ideologically driven unconventional guerrilla resistance force – with similar calamities. By the end of September, 2004, according to John Keegan, over a thousand American soldiers stationed in Iraq lost their lives from guerrilla insurgency attacks. The most iconic of these attacks being, of course, the use of roadside bombs and I.E.D.s – the casualties from which were repetitively shown inside the living rooms by the mainstream media. [490]

The generation of Americans which dominate the Tea Party movement that had witnessed (and a few that served in) the Vietnam War, who live in or near the garrison town communities across the United States of America, now witnessed their children and grandchildren serve in the modern 'Vietnam(s)' of Afghanistan and Iraq. [491] The trauma of a foreign war which had left a shocking impression on the baby boomer generation at their most impressionable age once again haunts them whilst they are beginning to enter their most vulnerable old age – hence their stubborn longing to return to a nostalgic and vainglorious sense of American military superiority in such a simplistic Manichean struggle against their perceived enemies. Iraq, it appears, has seemingly become a self-fulfilling prophesy – the

---

[487] Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, p. 1097; Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, pp 148-149; Keegan, J. The Iraq War, pp 99 -100; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 566.
[488] Klein, N. The Shock Doctrine, pp 331-332.
[489] Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, p. 984; Herring, G. C. "Forward", *Many Reasons Why: The American Involvement in Vietnam*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), p. VIII; Neale, J. The American War, p. 62; Oberdorfer, D. Tet!, pp 92-93; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United Stat*es, p. 478.
[490] Keegan, J. The Iraq War, p. 224.
[491] Tea Party Mapped: How Big Is It and Where Is It Based? | The Rundown | PBS NewsHour | PBS.

United States of America has failed to learn the lessons of Vietnam and has fully succumbed to its own 'syndrome'. [492]

 This subsection has outlined one example of a recurrent historical phenomenon which connects both the generation of revolutionary colonists and that of the Tea Party movement – the trauma of foreign war. The Vietnam War was for the Tea Party movement's generation the Monongahela moment of their ancestors during the American Revolution – which in both instances evoked in the collective memories of their respective adherents visions pertaining to the disaster at Teutoburg, and was revoked once again in more recent times with the invasion and occupation of Iraq after September 11th, 2001. The pattern or features of historical recurrence which was identified in this subsection proceeded as follows:

- A civilised-, great-, imperial-, or super-power of the period interferes militarily in the domestic affairs of a seemingly minor foreign country of its time.
- The civilisation goes to war on the basis of faulty intelligence or justification, often driven as a part of their 'credibility' or 'interest' being at stake.
- Despite having the greater military strength, tactics, and technology at their disposal, the civilisation in question nonetheless becomes the victim of their own hubris and is humiliated by enemy guerrilla forces. [493]

---

[492] The Tet Offensive once again pierces the American consciousness as in Iraq a new insurrection led by a force calling themselves Isis now expands across the country, capturing key cities and towns including Mosul. Just as the Tet Offensive spurred an existential crisis relating to American involvement in Vietnam, those that bear witness to the crisis in Iraq today once again are contemplating 'what have we been fighting for?'
Isis captures more Iraqi towns and border crossings | World News | The Guardian,
http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/22/isis-take-border-crossings-iraq-syria-jordan, (22/06/14); Isis insurgents seize control of Iraqi city of Mosul | World News | The Guardian,
http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/10/iraq-sunni-insurgents-islamic-militants-seize-control-mosul, (10/06/14); &, Whispers, regrets and re-deployment: 10 Iraq war veterans on the Isis effect | Comment is free | theguardian.com, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jun/17/iraq-war-veterans-isis-stories, (17/06/14).
[493] One of the moral stories which recurs throughout these conflicts that is argued to have been tied to every Empire's defeat at the hands of their opponent was the folly of these Empires in failing to respect or understand the foreign countries and peoples they fought against. At Teutoburg, the Romans (and especially General Quintillius Varus) had failed to realise the ambitions of the German tribes to seek independence from the Roman Empire, allowing for Arminius to lead them blindly into an ambush. So assuredly certain of the Germans' loyalty towards Rome and its Empire it was believed at the time, that when Varus was warned about Arminius's conspiracy by another Germanic chieftain, Segestes, he ignored them – believing they were a part of some petty intra-tribal squabble. At Monongahela, it was General Braddock's lack of respect towards both his allies and opponents in North America, which doomed his expedition in the Ohio River Valley. Whilst stationed at Fort Cumberland, before the disaster at Monongahela, General Edward Braddock was politely warned by Benjamin Franklin concerning the threat of Native Indian ambushes in the untamed forests, wherein it was said Braddock famously remarked: "these savages may be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon the king's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they would make any impression." In Vietnam, the United States of America would make the same mistakes of their ancestors, believing that their culture was not only superior but desirable amongst the foreign peoples they had come to occupy. The Americans, for instance, believed that all the people of Vietnam shared the same cultural values regarding capitalism, democracy, individualism, and liberty – which as it turned out, was not the case at all as, for example, the concept of individualism in Vietnamese society was at the time regarded as immoral and selfish, unlike in the United States of America wherein it was seen as empowering and virtuous. Such cultural misunderstandings also exacerbated friction between Americans and the Vietnamese, as in one such instance Vietnamese men who held hands together in an act friendship was commonly misinterpreted by American soldiers (who were hardly the most tolerant of persons at the time) as an open display of homosexuality – and who came to the bigoted conclusion that the reason why their Vietnamese allies were poor fighters was because they were homosexual. The

- Upon hearing news of their humiliation at the hands of their enemy, the civilisation and its population subsequently goes through an identity crisis/crisis of faith, and those in power consequently revise their foreign policy – usually to the ends of stopping their foreign expansion or relying on traditional military strategy.

It should be noted that these examples is not some precursor to imminent decline of a civilisation: The disaster at Teutoburg Forest was not the triumphant death knell of the Roman Empire, which would last for at least another four centuries (in the West); the disaster at Monongahela, despite its heavy cost, failed to remove the British from North America (the British, of course, would eventually achieve victory over the French and claim dominion over Canada); and the Vietnam War, also, did not diminish the status of the United States of America as a superpower in any real materialistic capacity – unlike, say, the USSR in Afghanistan. What this trauma did lead to, however, was a radical cultural succussion which is detailed in the following subsection.

5.2.2: Trauma of Cultural Succussion [494]

This subsection details the trauma experienced and perpetuated by the baby boomer generation related to a cultural shaking up of old traditional values in favour of new radical ideas. One important aspect which is said to trigger the phenomenon of nostalgia is a sense that the present is somehow deficient – certainly, this includes the trauma of having the once stable traditional values (and with them, privileges) of society being challenged and at times lost (as previously discussed in the latter half of Subsection **2.2.2: Features of Nostalgia**). Once again, what appears to be happening is yet another instance of historical recurrence, as similar historical conditions emerge which in turn produce similar, if not wholly the same, consequences (as was previously detailed in Subsection **2.4.4: Historical Recurrence**). This subsection begins with the resulting cultural fallout created by the Vietnam War, which was detailed in the previous subsection of this chapter, before addressing the other similar cultural shifts amongst both generations of American society from the eighteenth- to twentieth-centuries including issues related to sexuality.

Televised images and written reports of American barbarism during the Vietnam War, as well as their humiliation at the hands of a seemingly inferior yet unscrupulous enemy, imprinted amongst the American population a meaningful desire for introspection as to the nature of their civilisation and the particular direction it was pursuing as a collective society. This introspection was no doubt provoked by Ho Chi Minh, who exploited the history of the American Revolution, comparing that historic struggle with his country's own, such as with the Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. [495] The historical

---

American forces failed to understand the people whose 'hearts and minds' eventually determined their ultimate fate in the Vietnam War.

Anderson, F. *The War that made America*, p. 69; Baritz, L. *Backfire*, pp 22-23; Chernow, R. *Washington*, p. 54; Goodwin, D. K. *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*, p. 268; Irving, W. *Life of George Washington*, Vol. 1, p. 119; Murdoch, A. *Rome's Greatest Defeat*, pp 100-101; &, Murphy, C. *Are We Rome?*, p. 127.

[494] Succussion is defined as, "the action of shaking or condition of being shaken, (especially with violence)." succussion, n. : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/193398, (25/03/16).

[495] On September 2nd, 1945, in front of a crowd gathered at the Ba Dinh Square in Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh presented the Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Its parallels to the famous

analogy that was pushed by Ho Chi Minh resonated with some sympathetic Americans at the time, when the bicentennial of their nation's founding was quickly approaching, and who quickly saw the United States of America's actions overseas as straying from its anti-imperialist historic image. [496] Domestically, with the emergence and proliferation of the civil rights movements throughout the United States of America, whose messages once again were given attention on the television screens, showed yet more American barbarism – between their fellow Americans (see future subsection of this chapter for more information). What resulted was a cultural introspection of American History which challenged the traditional values that had been dominating the American psyche.

 Trickle by trickle, throughout the sixties, the American public were fed numerous demystifying images and reports of atrocities committed by their fellow countrymen in Vietnam from their living rooms by the news media or through word-of-mouth from close relations returning from the conflict on a near semi-regular, daily basis. Such reports included: Vietnamese homes torched with zippo lighters, Vietnamese women raped, entire communities obliterated by air and artillery strikes, and so on. It was in stark contrast to the seemingly valiant struggles of their fathers' generation that had fought during the Second World War. [497] But perhaps the most infamous incident during the Vietnam War was the My Lai Massacre: On March 16th, 1968, Captain Ernest Medina and Lieutenant William L. Calley led their thirty-man platoon, Charlie Company, into the My Lai-4 province of the Vietnamese village of Son My – a notably hostile region which was nicknamed 'pinkville' by the American soldiers – resulting in the summary execution of around five hundred Vietnamese civilians. The barbarity was something akin to that of the eighteenth-century: women and children were raped in ditches before being shot, and old men were stabbed and scalped by bayonet. If not for the calls for an official inquiry filed by GI journalist Ronald Ridenhour, who had investigated the rumours of the incident, and the graphic photographs taken at the time by Sargent Ron Haeberle for Stars and Stripes that were eventually published in Life and Time magazine just little-over a year later, the My Lai Massacre would have remained unreported and eventually forgotten. [498] Vernado Simpson, a riflemen who

Declaration of Independence of the United States of America were almost verbatim: Beginning, of course with the famous phrase; "All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness…" Ho Chi Minh, once again repeating historical sentiments, then started to list the numerous grievances suffered by the Vietnamese at the hands of the French, stating that;

    "Nevertheless, for more than eighty years, the French imperialists, abusing the standard of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow citizens. Their acts are the opposite of the ideals of humanity and justice…

    In the field of politics, they deprived us of all liberties. They have enforced inhuman laws… they have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots; they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood."

Charlton, M. & Moncrieff, A. Many Reasons Why, p. 1; Logevall, F. Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam, (New York: Random House, 2012), pp 96-98; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 449; &, Zinn, H. A People's History of the United States, pp 469-470.

[496] Hellmann, J. American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam, p. 221.

[497] Berkowitz, E. D. Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p. 34; MacPherson, M. Long Time Passing, p. 50; &, Pandora's Box | thought maybe.

[498] Allen, J. Vietnam, p. 48; Berkowitz, E. D. Something Happened, p. 34; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 365; Loewen, J. W. Lies My Teacher Told Me, pp 245-246; Maclear, M. Vietnam:

participated in the massacre, would later describe the incident that unfolded in My Lai as: "just like the gas chambers – what Hitler did." Explaining the methodical nature of the atrocity as simply a case of: "You line up fifty people, women, old men, children, and just mow 'em down... We just rounded them up, me and a couple of guys, just put the M-16 on automatic, and just mowed 'em down." [499] The My Lai Massacre was the logical conclusion of the insurmountable frustrations experienced by American soldiers having to adapt to a guerrilla adversary – which often was neglected or not fully disclosed in the American news media portrayals of the time – which was intertwined with the newly adopted military doctrine that emphasised producing the maximum amount of casualties possible. [500]

If Americans could commit atrocities during times of war, it was feared, then they were no longer exceptional from the other countries which had an equally bloody history. Consequently, what the publication of the My Lai Massacre and the numerous other atrocities which permeated throughout the Vietnam War did was to shatter the idea of American innocence in the minds of a significant proportion of its population. In its turn, confidence in the American Creed diminished, resulting in the emergence of counter-cultural thinking. [501]

So, too, during and after the Seven Years' War – just as like their future descendants in the twentieth-century – the revolutionary generation would also begin to question the cultural authority of their mother country from which they had originated. Like with their descendants who were forced to come to terms with the horrors perpetrated by their fellow countrymen in Vietnam, the colonists of North America during the eighteenth-century found themselves exposed to the barbarities of the British Army in their own country: Colonists were exposed to the loutish and rowdy behaviour of the regular Redcoat soldier who would binge on alcohol, gamble, swear profusely, and incite physical confrontation in public, which, of course, offended the puritan sensibilities of the Americans who saw such conduct as uncivilised. Moreover, colonists were further disturbed and disgusted by their witnessing of the various brutal punishments inflicted by officers upon the regular Redcoats, who were beaten, whipped, flayed, and at times executed in public for their insubordination. [502] The early defeats of the British at the hands of the French during the Seven Years' War such as that of the Battle of Monongahela coinciding with the victories achieved by the participation of colonial troops such as at the Siege of Louisbourg also created further cultural distinctions between Empire and colony. The victories solidified amongst the North American colonists a sense of divine destiny as a people, which of course, fed into the so-called myth of the Chosen People. A cultural distinction grew between colony and mother country, ultimately

---

The Ten Thousand Day War, (London: Thames Methuen, 1989), pp 373-378; MacPherson, M. Long Time Passing, p. 487; Neale, J. The American War, pp102-104; & Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, pp 478-480.

[499] Neale, J. The American War, p. 103.

[500] Allen, J. Vietnam, pp 47-50; Charlton, M. & Moncrieff, A. Many Reasons Why, p. 133; Goodwin, D. K. Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, p. 269; Hellmann, J. American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam, p. 89; Neale, J. The American War, p. 63; Maclear, M. Vietnam, p. 373; &, *Pandora's Box* | thought maybe.

[501] Berkowitz, E. D. Something Happened, p. 34; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, pp 365-366; &, MacPherson, M. Long Time Passing, p. 487 & 500.

[502] Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, p. 7 & 90; Brogan, H. The Longman History of the United States of America, pp 129-130; Hudson, H. Revolution, (Warner Home Video, 1985); Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 50; &, Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 117.

dividing them in the following decades as the American Revolution took place: The British Empire was increasingly seen by the North American colonists as corrupt, decadent, and ungodly – the North American colonies as virtuous, frugal, and godly. It typified the belief that it was the beginnings of American ascendance and British decline as civilisations. [503]

One cultural division which was argued to have distinguished the change in cultural consensuses between the mother country and colony was in relation to the role of patriarchal paternalism. The British Empire, naturally, had paternal inclinations towards the North American colonies, referring to them during the troubles as petulant children that required the stern discipline of a doting parent. [504] Such sentiments, of course, were articulated in Robert Filmer's Patriarcha (1680), and the so-called concept of the 'divine right of Kings'. This notion, which advocated the authoritative supremacy of fatherhood by tracing the origins of power (derived from God), descended from the first man, Adam, and his surviving descendants the Kings of Europe, was regarded as the bedrock power of government by its Tory adherents in Great Britain. [505] According to the English historian, Peter Laslett:

> [Robert] Filmer inferred that God's meaning was to show that all other human beings were to be subordinated to this first human, Adam. Furthermore, since all these subsequent humans sprang from the same source, they were all naturally, psychologically, related to each other. By this God meant to show that the relationship between all human beings was to be naturalistic; it was a physical bond. Society was a family, and a family descended from one, single, male individual. [506]

Colonial society in North America was for a considerable time as strictly hierarchical as its European counterparts had been in the period. Colonists were accordingly born and bred into their social positions (but, it should be noted, they had more opportunity to rise in social status than their said counterparts in Europe), and were expected to follow certain societal duties or obligations reflected by the paternalistic notions articulated by Robert Filmer. [507] In particular was the paternalistic notion of noblesse oblige, which put simply was an aristocrat's duty or obligation to invest a proportion of their wealth amongst the community – John Hancock, for instance, spent his mercantile fortune on the upkeep of the Boston Common. [508]

---

[503] Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, p. 60; Degler, C. N. Out of Our Past: the Forces that Shaped Modern America [3rd Edition], (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1984), p. 76; &, Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 117.

[504] Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, pp 105-107; &, Wood, G. S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution, pp 43-49, 145-151, & 165.

[505] Laslett, P. [Editor], Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought: John Locke Two Treatises of Government [Student Edition], (Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 32; Laslett, P. [Editor], Patriarcha and Other Political Works of Sir Robert Filmer, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949), pp 11-12; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 106; Thomas, D. A. L. Locke: On Governement, (London: Routledge, 1995), pp 12-13; &, Wood, G. S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution, p. 161.

[506] Laslett, P. [Editor], Patriarcha and Other Political Works of Sir Robert Filmer, pp 11-12.

[507] Cogliano, F. D. Revolutionary America 1763-1815: A Political History [2nd Edition], (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 38; &, Wood, G. S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution, pp 22-23.

[508] Countryman, E. The American Revolution, p. 78; Lipset, S. M. American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997), p. 31; noblesse oblige, phr. and n. : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/127494, (10/08/12); &, Unger, H. G. American Tempest, p. 22.

This paternalistic hierarchical order, of course, was undermined in the colonies by the adoption of the philosophical writings of John Locke. Locke's Two Treatises of Government was a complete refutation of Robert Filmer's Patriarcha and the notion of a monarch whose God-given authority was absolute. These writings were later adopted, alongside the works of other Whig authors such as Algernon Sidney, as part of the foundational justification for the Whig's political ascension to power in England after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 (Locke's writings had, of course, been written years before the event in question), and which would consequently take cultural root within the North American colonies centuries later. [509]

The radical philosophy of John Locke reverberated across the North American colonies and fundamentally reshaped colonial society in unexpected ways. Indeed, the historians Gordon S. Wood and Richard Godbeer point to the weakening of paternal parental authority as cause for inciting a sexual revolution throughout the North American colonies: Attitudes towards sexual conduct and marital relationships within the North American colonies between people from outside localities and religious denominations were accordingly relaxed; and prosecutions for premarital sex, which had been traditionally treated as a punishable crime in previous periods, began to decline during the mid-to-late-eighteenth-century for lack of energy of enforcement. [510] Furthermore, historians such as Kenneth Lynn have argued that what distinguished Loyalists from Patriots during the American Revolution was the manner of family unit that had been raised under. David Lowenthal explains how the Patriots: "were reared on Lockean principles, their individuality respected, their autonomy nurtured, their spirit of liberty praised." whereas: "every important Loyalist was either raised by uncompromising patriarchs who brooked no opposition and demanded prolonged filial fealty or so lacked parental guidance that he never outgrew the need for authoritarian figures." [511]

So, too, during the sixties a variation of cultural patricide emerged from both sides of the political spectrum. [512] Baby boomers on both sides of the political spectrum rejected for various reasons the world which had been erected by their parents, grandparents, and the New Deal Order:

On the political left, of course, arose what became known as the counter culture movement. This youthful movement, which was partly spurred by the domestic experiences of the Vietnam War within the United States of America, produced an experimental paradigm of unrestrained cultural freedom that was inherently anti-authority and outright rejected the traditional behavioural attitudes and values of the past. From this movement arose the now

---

[509] Ingersoll, D. E., Matthews, R. K. & Davison, A. The Philosophic Roots of Modern Ideology: Liberalism, Communism, Fascism, Islamism [Third Edition], (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 2001), p. 32 & 50; Laslett, P. [Editor], Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought: John Locke Two Treatises of Government, pp 46-51; Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 106; Middleton, R. Colonial America, p. 364; Vincent, A. Modern Political Ideologies [2nd Edition], (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1995), pp 27-29; &, Wood, G. S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution, p. 156.
[510] Godbeer, R. Sexual Revolution in Early America, (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp 228-230; &, Wood, G. S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution, p. 147.
[511] Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 107.
[512] MacPherson, M. Long Time Passing, p. 44.

familiar hedonistic culture of "sex, drugs, and rock and roll." [513] The American historian, Eric Foner, describes the meaning behind the counter culture movement as follows:

> "To young dissenters, personal liberation represented a spirit of creative experimentation, a search for a way of life in which friendship and pleasure eclipsed the single-minded pursuit of wealth. It meant a release from bureaucratized education and work, repressive rules of personal behaviour, and, above all, a militarized state that, in the name of freedom, rained destruction to a faraway people." [514]

Feminism (second wave), too, began to emerge at this time, challenging the traditional order in its own sense: Groups such as the National Organisation for Women (NOW) campaigned for equal opportunities for women throughout the United States of America surrounding the institutions of education, employment, and politics. Awareness surrounding issues that adversely affected women, such as domestic abuse and rape, was highlighted. The traditional nuclear family unit that typified the fifties, it was argued, was a state-sanctioned tool of patriarchal control and oppression over women, and had to be either dramatically reformed or undermined. Women were only free, it was believed, so long as they held full control over their own bodies. [515] The struggle over the right to an abortion, for instance, which was later granted (but to this day is no less secure) in the now famous Roe v. Wade (1973) decision by the Supreme Court to overrule state laws which had previously prohibited abortion during the first three months of pregnancy, typified this feminist ideal. [516] Anxiety and fear surrounding this new culture of 'permissiveness' which continued long after the sixties grew amongst conservative circles that would later comprise the Tea Party movement. [517]

On the political right, on the other hand, the fictional works of Ayn Rand such as Anthem, Atlas Shrugged, the Fountainhead, and so on which at the time of their publication were publicly derided, nevertheless gained a taboo-inspired sense of popularity amongst youth. Rand's works were in a sense 'radical' as they ferociously railed against the altruistic and socialising principles behind the New Deal Order. [518] Yet, at the same time, they tapped into the as-then nostalgia at the time they were published of the traditionally perceived cultural American values recounted in a previous subsection of this chapter: For instance, the protagonists of Atlas Shrugged, the so-called 'Captains of Industry', focuses peculiarly on the institutions of the American mineral (steel), oil, and of course, railway magnates – all of which, coincidently, are iconic cultural symbols which synchronise with that of the nostalgic image of the American Wild West (the gold miners, the oil pioneers, the steam trains, and so on) in the collective consciousness. Consequently, children of the United States of America

---

[513] Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 985-987; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 359; &, Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 1040-1042.

[514] Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, p. 986.

[515] Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 987-990; Jenkins, P. A History of the United States, p. 258; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, pp 585-586; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, pp 427-433; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 1042-1043; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, pp 504-514.

[516] Jenkins, P. A History of the United States, p. 260; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 560; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, pp 482-486; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 1043; &, Williams, D. K. *God's Own Party*, pp 111-112 & 116-117.

[517] Crawford, A. *Thunder on the Right: The 'New Right' and the Politics of Resentment*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p. 145; Hardisty, J. Mobilising Resentment, p. 33 & 71; Horwitz, R. B. Ame*rica's Right*, p. 87; &, Jenkins, P. A History of the United States, pp 261-262.

[518] According to Ayn Rand, of course, it was the altruism of the New Deal Order that was in fact threatening the civilised world.
Rand, A. "The Objectivist Ethics", p. 39.

during this time that were or had later in life became politically conservative could rebel against their parents' politics of the New Deal Order whilst still adhering to American 'tradition' thanks to Rand. [519]

The trauma of cultural succession was re-triggered, of course, during the 2008 Presidential Election. Not only did the results of the election highlight a generational divide amongst the voting public, with approximately two-thirds of the twenty-three million young voters between eighteen to twenty-nine years of age voting for Barack Obama – and over half of elderly voters between the ages of forty-five onwards voting for John McCain. [520] But it is also argued that the candidates themselves, in an abstract sense, symbolically represented the cultural schism that had emerged since the sixties. John McCain, for instance, who in his lifetime had served during the Vietnam War, represented the traditional patriotic values of white conservative America – a baby boomer candidate who shared the same experiences and traumas of those who would later become members of the Tea Party movement. Barack Obama, on the other hand, represented the very outcome of the cultural succussion that had uprooted the traditional status quo of the United States of America – a young (comparatively), inclusive, and above-all optimistic candidate from a mixed heritage background. [521] The election of President Barack Obama, in this sense, was seen as the ultimate achievement as well as vindication of the 'permissive' progressive and civil rights cultures which continues to divide Americans as of writing, and which also helps to explain the particular spiteful attention the Tea Party movement attracts towards his personhood since their emergence in February, 2009. [522]

Just as the Vietnam War had shattered the myth of American innocence during war in its own time, so too, with the ongoing occupation of Iraq, would the myth of American innocence be re-shattered once more. In April, 2004, images of tortured Iraqis at the Abu Ghairab prison conducted by American soldiers scandalised the general public not just in the United States of America, but across the globe. [523] Lesser macabre travesties, such as American soldiers taunting Iraqi children by verbally and physically bullying them, and such as by throwing bottles of water at their heads from the back of their Humvees, were nonchalantly filmed and uploaded to YouTube – echoing similar travesties of Vietnam. [524]

---

[519] Kibbe, M. *Don't Hurt People and Don't Take Their Stuff: A Libertarian Manifesto*, (New York: William Morrow, 2014), pp 27-35.

[520] National Exit Polls – Election Center 2008 – Elections & Politics from CNN.com, http://edition.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls.main/, (20/11/08); Prevost, A. K. & Thurber, J. A. "A Perfect Campaign: The Role of Money, Organisation, and Strategy", The 2008 Presidential Elections: A Story in Four Acts, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 112; &, Shin, M. E. "The Victory of Barack Obama", The 2008 Presidential Elections: A Story in Four Acts, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 145.

[521] Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, pp 378-379; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, pp 568-570.

[522] DiMaggio, A. The Rise of the Tea Party, pp 50-51 & 75; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, pp 35-39; Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective: A Conservative Response to a Crisis of Political Economy", Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), pp 40-43; &, Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 77-78.

[523] Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 1122.

[524] The historian Johnathan Neale provides an illuminating account from an American Army combat engineer, who recounted how his fellow soldiers would act on occasion towards the local Vietnamese population:

But such acknowledgements of war atrocities, of course, reached its crescendo with the leaked reports of hitherto secret diplomatic cables over the Internet by the web-advocacy group, WikiLeaks, in 2010. These leaked cables, which included footage from an American attack helicopter firing upon innocent journalists who were mistakenly 'suspected' of being armed terrorists by the gunner and pilot of the aircraft. [525-526] Once again, as with the Vietnam War and the Seven Years' War, a generation of Americans are beginning to question their country's values based on an exposure to its contradictory and at times barbaric actions. [527]

In addition, a new sexual revolution that challenges the traditional paternal values of society has once again emerged within the United States of America. As the Pew Research Centre reports, young Americans ('Millennials') are more likely to praise the idea of 'parenthood' rather than the so-called traditional values of 'marriage'. Young Americans are also less likely, according to the Pew study, to subscribe to the traditional musings of a healthy family model consisting only of having both a male-sexed father and a female-sexed mother, and believe instead that the most satisfying marriage is an egalitarian one (whether heterosexual or homosexual) wherein both parents are given the freedom to work outside of the home if they so wish to choose – rather than that of the traditional model in which the typically female-sexed wife is left maintaining the household and looking after any children whilst the husband works outside of the home and provides an income for the family alone. [528] The so-called 'permissive' culture of the sixties appears positively quaint compared to the material and values that the younger generations have exposed experienced and proliferated within their lifetime, thanks in great part because of the Internet.

As this subsection has examined, the generations of Americans in both the eighteenth- and twentieth-centuries both share similar experiences and collective memories thereof of cultural succussion, which in turn provide motivation for their various political actions. The pattern or features of historical recurrence which was identified in this subsection proceeded as follows:

- News and exposure to the trauma of foreign war inevitably pricks at the identity and cultural values of a proportion of the population of a civilisation.
- In response, the 'traditional' cultural values are thereby re-examined by the affected population, who in turn critique and question the values.

"We threw full C-ration cans at kids on the side of the road. They'd be yelling out, 'Chop, chop; chop, chop', and they wanted food. They knew we carried C-rations. Well, just for a joke, these guys would take a full can… and throw it as hard as they could at a kid's head. I saw several kids' heads split wide open, knocked off the road, knocked into the tires of the vehicle behind."
Neale, J. The American War, p. 84.
[525] Roberts, A. "The Wikileaks Illusion", The Wilson Quarterly (1976-), Vol. 35, No. 3, (Summer, 2011), pp 16-18.
[526] For further and more specific information about the various diplomatic cables and the reports from the Iraq and Afghanistan occupations that were leaked by WikiLeaks, visit the Guardian newspaper website's dedicated hub of online articles.
WikiLeaks | Media | The Guardian, http://www.theguardian.com/media/wikileaks, (20/06/14).
[527] Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, pp 365-366; &, MacPherson, M. Long Time Passing, p. 487.
[528] *For Millennials, Parenthood Trumps Marriage | Pew Research Centre's Social & Demographic Trends* Project, http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/03/09/for-millennials-parenthood-trumps-marriage/, (09/03/11).

- Typically, this critical reflection upon the so-called traditional values of society leads to a distrust of traditional actors and institutions of authority. A so-called 'counter-culture' emerges.
- The 'traditional values' which are associated with authority frameworks, such as with the family hierarchy and human sexuality, are in turn challenged (leading to a 'sexual revolution').
- This counter-cultural phenomenon creates internal conflict (between supporters of 'traditional' and 'modern' values), thereby producing more trauma amongst the population of the civilisation.

The shattering of traditional values (and the social privileges that came with them) relating to the subjects of national honour, cultural values, and sexual permissiveness provide a recurrent theme of nostalgic trauma that has shaped the emergence of the Tea Party movement – mirroring that of the experiences shared by their eighteenth-century ancestors during the American Revolution. Indeed, as some observers of the Tea Party movement argue that one of the underlying driving forces behind members of the social movement is in relation to the loss of privileges experienced with the decline of traditional White Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture and the rise of multiculturalism and the progressive (liberal) state of thought that now dominates. [529] However, to fully appreciate just how traumatic the trauma of cultural succussion was, the trauma arising from the domestic civil disobedience which followed should also be taken into account as detailed in the continuing subsection.

5.2.3: Trauma of Domestic Civil Disobedience

This subsection details the trauma experienced related to civil disobedience against state authority within the United States of America. The act of civil disobedience, which involves violence against property and personhood, is by its very nature traumatic to those persons exposed to the incidents – either as participants or observers – as it unfolds. It is therefore necessary to examine this particular trauma as all too often these events are censored or otherwise repressed in the 'official' histories of remembrance but which nevertheless still persist in the collective memories of those affected by the incidents. This subsection links the similar incidences surrounding the emergence of civil disobedience in both the eighteenth- and twentieth-centuries across United States of America which in turn influenced the American and Tea Party movement's Revolutions.

The news of the Vietnam War spurred a proportion of American citizens to take resistive action against their government – what became known as the anti-war movement (as detailed in a previous subsection of this chapter). Of particular note, was the resistance towards the unpopular policy of the military draft, in which hundreds of thousands of young Americans protested by participating in various demonstrations, fleeing the United States of America to Canada or Europe, ceremoniously destroying their Draft cards in public, and chanting slogans

---

[529] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 97; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, pp 38-39, & 97; &, Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 7 & 32.

such as: "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh. The NLF are going to win." [530] So, too, during the eighteenth-century another such familiar phenomenon became a semi-common occurrence throughout the coastal settlements of the North American colonies. Under the authority of the British Crown, colonists were routinely conscripted into the service of the Royal Navy, an unpopular system commonly known as 'impressment'. Impressment was carried out by groups of official recruiters called 'press gangs', who randomly targeted able-bodied men and escorted them onto the nearest Royal Navy ship under the threat of violence – which eventually became symbolically equated as the 'tyranny' of the Crown in the minds of the revolutionaries. Those unfortunate enough to be drafted by the press gangs could face a minimum service of two years at sea (if they survived) in the harshest and most unpleasant conditions imaginable. Riots against the impressment of colonists erupted between the years 1765 to 1775 across the towns of Boston, Newport, New York, and Wilmington. [531]

Mob violence remained a constant feature within the eighteenth-century North American colonies. The Stamp Act Crisis saw vicious rioting in the city of Boston which resulted in the destruction of property of British officials. [532] Once again, in the city of Boston, on February 22nd, 1770, a known British customs informer, Ebenezer Richardson, was besieged inside his house after having been chased by a young mob who threw stones through his windows. In response, Richardson fired his rifle at the crowd, killing a young boy by the name of Christopher Seider/Snider/Sneider (spelling changes depending on source). [533] Such activities, which were predominantly enacted by the 'lower sort' of colonial society, divided opinions amongst the revolutionary Patriots. [534]

Centuries later, in Los Angeles, an otherwise routine drink-driving arrest in the Watts neighbourhood escalated into a race-riot that lasted several days. On the evening of August

---

[530] Allen, J. Vietnam, p. 74 & 117; Jenkins, P. A History of the United States, p. 247; Lewis, P. Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks: the Vietnam Antiwar Movement as Myth and Memory, pp 87-90; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 457; &, Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 1038-1039.

[531] Axelrod A. The Real History of the American Revolution, pp 57-58; Brogan, H. The Longman History of the United States of America, pp 129-130; Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, pp 194-195; Cave, A. A. The French and Indian War, p. 85; Heale, M. J. The American Revolution, (London: Methuen & Co., 1986), p. 20; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, p. 104; Rediker, M. "A Motley Crew of Rebels: Sailors, Slaves and the Coming of the American Revolution", The Transforming Hand of Revolution: Reconsidering the American Revolution as a Social Movement, (Virginia: The University Press of Virginia, 1996), p. 158; Stauber, L. G. The American Revolution, p. 238; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, pp 66-67.

[532] Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, pp 46-49; Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, pp 82-87; Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776, p. 47; Countryman, E. "Social Protest and the Revolutionary Movement, 1765-1776", A Companion to the American Revolution, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), pp 186-187; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, pp 88-89; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 176-177 & 180-184; Geiter, M. K. & Speck, W. A. Colonial America, pp 186-189; Jasanoff, M. *Liberty's Exiles: The Loss of America and the Remaking of the British Empire*, (London: Harper Press, 2011), p. 25; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 40; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, pp 80-81 & 92-96; Miller, J. C. Origins of the American Revolution, pp 97-98; Rakove, J. Revolutionaries, p. 20; Raphael, R. Founders, pp 32-35; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 58; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 120-122; Thomas, P. D. G. "The Stamp Act crisis and its repercussions, including the Quartering Act controversy", A Companion to the American Revolution, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), pp 123-127; &, Ward, H. M. The American Revolution, pp 34-37.

[533] Brogan, H. The Longman History of the United States of America, p. 156; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, p. 96; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, p. 208; Raphael, R. Founders, p. 85; &, Unger, H. G. American Tempest, pp 136-137.

[534] Debunking Boston Tea Party Myths.

11th, 1965, a twenty-one-year-old African-American by the name of Marquette Frye was pulled-over for driving erratically by a California Highway Patrol Officer, Lee Minikus. A crowd had already gathered to witness the unfolding spectacle as Frye was being arrested for driving whilst under the influence of alcohol and without a driving license for his vehicle, but then the situation deteriorated as Frye's mother arrived at the scene and accosted her son as he was being handcuffed. Embarrassed by his mother, Marquette Frye began to resist his arrest and was struck in the head by a police baton – Frye's family then reacted by attacking the police officers, as more Los Angeles police arrived to quell the situation the crowd that had gathered became more and more agitated until eventually rioting broke out. In the wake of the riots' aftermath: at least 3,500 participants of the riots had been arrested, with thousands of persons left injured, thirty-four others dead, and racking up around $40 million of property damage – said property, of which had predominantly belonged to white owners – in total. [535] The Watts Riots were a precursor to further civil unrest throughout the following years – the so-called 'long hot summers' which saw hundreds dead, thousands more wounded, and hundreds of billions of dollars of property damage. [536] In April, 1968, more than a hundred cities across the United States of America erupted in violence, as news of the assassination of Martin Luther King at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee, had spread. [537]

The violence of the mob came to its head, of course, during the eighteenth-century with the Boston Massacre, the details of which have been discussed at length in a later chapter of this thesis (see Subsection **7.2: The Historiography of the American Revolution** on page 203). The tragedy of the Boston Massacre was evoked in the collective consciousness of the American public centuries later when, on May 4th, 1970, four students were killed and several others left wounded in the university campus of Kent State, as they were fired upon by the panic-stricken National Guard of Ohio. Kent State, as it became known, triggered a wave of student insurrection across the United States of America leading to hundreds of strikes. [538]

Images of violent and destructive civil disobedience, from the anti-war to the civil rights movements, further entrenched the already-existing social schism amongst the American population. For the proportion of Americans that would later join or participate in the Tea Party movement, these incidences such as that of the Watts Riots, which had been at the

---

[535] Balko, R. Rise of the Warrior Cop, pp 51-52; Fraser, S. & Gerstle, G. [Editors],The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp 255-256; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 554; Paterson, D. Willoughby, D. & S. Heinemann Advanced History: Civil Rights in the USA, 1863-1980, p. 167; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 422; Tanenhaus, S. The Death of Conservatism, (New York: Random House, 2009), p. 69; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 1022-1023; Verney, K. Black Civil Rights in America, p. 61; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, p. 459.

[536] Goodwin, D. K. Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, p. 305; Jenkins, P. A History of the United States, p. 243; &, Verney, K. Black Civil Rights in America, p. 61.

[537] Balko, R. Rise of the Warrior Cop, pp 67-68; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, p. 998; Jenkins, P. A History of the United States, p. 243; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 554; Lewis, P. Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks, p. 163; Neale, J. The American War, p. 107; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 460; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 1030; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, pp 462-463.

[538] Allen, J. Vietnam, p. 166; Banks, J. & P. "Kent State: How the war in Vietnam became a war at home", Vietnam and the Antiwar Movement: An International Perspective, (Aldershot: Avebury, 1989), pp 68-69; Foner, E. The Story of American Freedom, p. 1012; MacPherson, M. Long Time Passing, p. 88; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 1049; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, p. 490.

forefront of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, were proof of the inability to resolve the social schisms through government intervention and were evidence of liberal ineptitude in uniting the country. Since then, the issue of government welfare (particularly towards the African-American community) has been seen by conservatives as having promoted the dependency, division, and poverty their country has suffered from. [539] This concept of welfare causing dependency and poverty is detailed further in a future chapter of this thesis (see the seventh to ninth paragraphs of Subsection **6.2.3: Fiscal Responsibility**).

The trauma of civil disobedience was retriggered since September 11th, 2001, and the rampant securitisation that emerged in the process. The law enforcement of the United States of America can be said to elicit a strikingly similar resemblance to that of the role employed by the British Redcoats two centuries earlier in American history. Since the sixties, law enforcement agencies and departments across the United States of America have developed a steady accumulative process of police militarisation, which has up to this point in time reached its logical zenith. As of writing, police departments across the United States of America have access to and utilise equipment commonly suited for military operations in their routine civic duties, including, but not limited to: M-16 assault rifles, smoke grenades, flak jackets, night-vision goggles, and armoured patrol vehicles with mounted armour-piercing .50-caliber machine guns. [540] So, too, since the events of September 11th, 2001, has the role of law enforcement shifted towards dealing with issues relating to counter-terrorist operations that has consequently resulted in similar grievances against the general public that typified the resentment against British Redcoats centuries earlier – Including, of course, stop-and-search protocols and surprise SWAT raids on private property. [541]

Take, for instance, one of the most traumatic events that signalled the beginning of the War of Independence, the raid on Cooper's Tavern which scandalised the North American colonies:

> The King's regular troops… fired more than one hundred bullets into the house where we dwell, through the doors, windows, etc. then a number of them entered the house where we and two aged gentlemen were, all unarmed. We escaped with our lives into the cellar. The two aged gentlemen were immediately most barbarously and inhumanely murdered by them, being stabbed through in many places, their heads mauled, skulls broke, and their brains beat out on the floor and walls of the house. [542]

Incidents such as the one depicted above are now commonplace throughout the United States of America. American investigative journalist, Radley Balko, exclaims: "For the last half of

---

[539] Fraser, S. & Gerstle, G. [Editors],The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980, pp 255-258; Goodwin, D. K. Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, p. 307; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 353; Rieder, J. "The Rise of the 'Silent Majority'", pp 255-258; &, Tanenhaus, S. The Death of Conservatism, pp 68-69.
[540] Balko, R. Rise of the Warrior Cop; &, War Gear Flows to Police Departments – NYTimes.com, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/09/us/war-gear-flows-to-police-departments.html?hp&_r=0, (09/06/14).
[541] Balko, R. Rise of the Warrior Cop.
[542] "An unsigned account of the raid on Cooper's Tavern by redcoats", The Fire of Liberty, (London: The Folio Society, 1983), p. 27.

2009, SWAT teams were deployed 804 times in the state of Maryland, or about 4.5 times a day." [543] These deployments, Balko explains, follow a familiar narrative:

> On the evening of July 29th, 2008, Cheye Calvo entered his home after walking the dogs, then went upstairs.
>
> The next thing Calvo remembers is the sound of his mother-in-law screaming. He ran to the window and saw heavily armed men clad in black rushing his front door. Next came the explosion. He'd later learn that this was when the police blew open his front door. Then there was gunfire. Then boots stomping the floor. Then more gunfire. [544]

Luckily, Cheye Calvo survived his interaction with the police, but many others are less fortunate. Rather than stifle such actions, the Obama administration has overseen a proliferation of such law enforcement tactics. [545]

The echo of the Boston Massacre still resonates in contemporary thought, with incidents such as have taken place in Ferguson, Missouri, and in Anaheim, California. In July, 2012, the Latino community of Anaheim rose up in protest against the public shooting of Manuel Angel Diaz, an unarmed man who ran away from police officers who accused him of acting suspiciously. The protests, which were attended by local residents and children, were dispersed by riot police who fired rubber bullets and unleashed police dogs into the crowd – on the premise given by officers at the scene, who claimed that the crowd had turned violent and were throwing bottles and rocks at the police. [546] Just as John Adams had described the crowd at the Boston Massacre as being composed of: "a motely rabble of saucy boys, negroes, and mulattoes, Irish teagues and outlandish jack tars." [547] so too, the contemporary second-class communities in the United States of America (Latinos) were predominantly affected by this event. The Tea Party movement, however, ignored the incident (unlike their ancestors, who knew how to properly exploit such tragedies for their political gain), which in retrospect had inadvertently cost them their movement's agenda to oust President Barack Obama from office during the 2012 Presidential Election (who famously won because of the minority vote). [548]

---

[543] Balko, R. Rise of the Warrior Cop, p. 319.
[544] Ibid, p. 310.
[545] Ibid, p. 301.
[546] Anaheim Police Open Fire on Innocent Men, Women, and Children, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lrB2ao5wN78, (26/07/12); Protests in Anaheim After Fatal Shooting – NYTimes.com, http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/07/24/protests-in-anaheim-after-fatal-shooting/, (24/07/12); &, Trash bins set on fire | diaz, patrols, - Anaheim shootings – The Orange County Register, http://www.ocregister.com/news/officers-364974-sunday-anaheim.html, (26/07/12).
[547] Zinn, H., *A People's History of the United States*, pp 66-67.
[548] Changing Face of America Helps Assure Obama Victory | Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, http://www.people-press.org/2012/11/07/changing-face-of-america-helps-assure-obama-victory/, (07/11/12); Liberal , gay and a mix of races – Obama's rainbow nation signals a new America | US news | The Observer, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/11/wake-up-republicans-michael-cohen, (11/11/12); &, *Mitt Romney blames election loss on 'gifts' Obama gave to minority groups | US news | theguardian.com*, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/14/romney-blames-election-loss-gifts, (14/11/12).

This subsection has detailed how the trauma of civil disobedience has influenced the emergence of the Tea Party movement. From a historical recurrence standpoint, the following pattern emerges:

The perception, as much as the reality, of systemic oppression from positions of authority (be it from the King, the police, politicians, society in general, or standing armies), inevitably leads to its resistance – often with violent consequences.

Both the revolutionary generation and the generation of Americans during the turbulent decade of the sixties (as part of the civil rights movement) were each in their own respects driven by an underlying anti-establishment fervour that was kindled by the constant overbearing discriminatory practices of those that wielded exclusive authoritative power that was believed to be detrimental to their various communities – The generation of Americans comprising the Tea Party movement, who were exposed to or had observed the ensuing chaos, were traumatised by the experiences which undermined the traditional order they had previously privileged under. The symbolic inauguration of President Barack Obama, coupled with emerging demographic shifts throughout the United States of America that further rebalanced American society, the fear of the negative experiences re-emerged. [549]

5.2.4: Trauma of Economic Uncertainty

This subsection details the trauma of economic uncertainty which occurred during the eighteenth- and twentieth-centuries. Paradoxically, despite its abundance of natural wealth, the inhabitants of North America have on numerous occasions been traumatised by the perception of economic uncertainty within their lifetimes. Such perceptions, regardless of credibility, nevertheless serve to agitate and incite political action.

After the conclusion of the Seven Years' War the North American colonies began to recede into an economic depression. The American colonies were abundantly rich in material resources but because of the British Empire's mercantilist policies they were increasingly poor in specie, which was being drained from the continent in taxation that was shipped back to Great Britain – even colonial attempts at remedying their predicament with the introduction of paper money was prohibited by the British with the imposition of the Currency Act of 1764. During the duration of the Seven Years' War, the economic prosperity of the North American colonies had improved as the British Empire invested large sums of money to support their military expeditions overseas, which would eventually find its way into the pockets of the colonial merchants. However, as soon as the Seven Years' War was over and the British Empire began either to disband or redeploy the majority of its military forces to protect the Appalachian frontier that was drawn up by the Proclamation Act, the supply of specie into North America stalled. [550] Moreover, many prominent colonists,

[549] Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, pp 378-379; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Be*lieve In, pp 157-158 & 191; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, pp 568-570.
[550] Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, p. 80; Bernstein, R. B. & Rice, K. S. Are We To Be A Nation?: The Making of the Constitution, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp 8-9; Bonwick, C. The American Revolution, (London: Macmillan, 1991), p. 71; Draper, T. A Struggle for Power, p. 171; Egnal,

particularly the commercial houses of Boston and the plantation families of Virginia, had accumulated considerable debts to their British creditors during their lifetime – all the while the economic depression hung over the colonies, depreciating the value of their land, the products they produced and sold (such as tobacco), and the little specie they had on hand to repay their debts back to the mother country. [551]

Take, for instance, the personal affairs of George Washington during the American Revolution. Washington, like many Virginian planter families of similar stature at the time, considered himself just as much an equal to the traditional English landed aristocracy across the Atlantic. Consequently, Washington and others like him spent extortionate amounts of money on their property which had to be decorated with the latest fashion(s) and furniture(s) from London – at one point, Washington even commissioned skilled artisans in London to create a signature coat of arms for his family in the same style as the English aristocrats in Britain. George Washington's excessive spending habits coupled with poor tobacco yields from his estate, of course, resulted in him going further into debt to his unpopular British merchant-creditor-agent, Robert Cary. [552]

What these economic conditions did was to create a prevalent but poisonous perception amongst the American colonists that the British Empire, particularly the insidious metropolitan merchants and ministers of London, was intending to reduce the colonists to a state of slavery through the process of impoverishing them. [553] Such fears, naturally, were ratcheted as the years went on by the policies enacted by the London Parliament such as the Stamp Act, the Townsend Acts, the Tea Act and so on – which cumulatively incited the colonists to take action under the familiar principle of 'no taxation without representation'. The British ministers in London, of course, disagreed with such sentiments: Lord North in particular exclaimed in front of his fellow associates in the Houses of Common around the time that taxation within the North American colonies was by his account fifty times per capita less burdensome for the average colonist then as it was for those in Great Britain; so too, the complaints regarding the lack of adequate representation for the North American colonies within the Parliament of Great Britain fell on deaf ears by the fact that at the time many Englishmen living in cities such as Birmingham and Manchester had no representatives

M. A Mighty Empire: The Origins of the American Revolution, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp 128-130; Frey, S. "Causes of the American Revolutions", A Companion to Colonial America, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp 511-512; Hacker, L. M. "A Marxist Conception of the American Revolution", The American Revolution: How Revolutionary was it? [4th Edition], (Florida: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1990), p. 56; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 38; Middleton, R. Colonial America, pp 216-217; Thomas, P. D. G. "The Grenville Program, 1763-1765", A Companion to the American Revolution, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), p. 119; &, Ward, H. M. The American Revolution, pp 12-13.

[551] Bernstein, R. B. & Rice, K. S. Are We To Be A Nation?, p. 9; Brown, R. D. [Editor], Major Problems in the Era of the American Revolution 1760-1791, (Lexington: D. C. Heath & Company, 1992), p. 2; Chernow, R. Washington, p. 107; Egnal, M. A Mighty Empire, p. 130; Hacker, L. M. "A Marxist Conception of the American Revolution", pp 49-50; &, Miller, J. C. Origins of the American Revolution, p. 88.

[552] Chernow, R. Washington, p. 107 & 147; Rakove, J. Revolutionaries, pp 13-14; &, Raphael, R. Founders, pp 7-8, 28, & 136-137.

[553] Bailyn, B. The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution [Enlarged Edition], (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), pp 100-101; Degler, C. N. Out of Our Past, p. 84; &, Frey, S. "Causes of the American Revolutions", pp 511-512.

in the Houses of Commons either. [554] It was this personalised perception of losing one's political influence and wealth, or so it is argued by some schools of thought, which ultimately polarised and eventually drove the American colonists to rebel against Great Britain at the time – effectively creating a new order that would in turn strengthen the wealth and political power of the colonists. This interpretation of the American Revolution is detailed further in a future chapter of this thesis (see Subsection **7.2.2.2: Progressive School of Thought** on page 215).

Centuries later, during the sixties, the long continuation of the Vietnam War had brought economic uncertainty to the United States of America. The financial cost of the War had by 1968 reached a figure of thirty-billion-dollars, which in turn created a monumental government deficit, and led to inflation. Around this time, so-called 'Wildcat' strikes were enacted by trade unions became commonplace – for instance, in 1966, the airlines of the United States of America were grounded to a halt because of five-week-long strikes that were organised by the International Association of Machinists. By the end of the sixties, inflation, job security, and social mobility became (and continued to be) evermore precarious. [555]

The trauma of economic uncertainty, of course, was re-triggered with the financial crisis which emerged in 2008. The economic recession affected many members of the Tea Party movement who lost (or at the very least risked) their homes, jobs, pensions, and savings. The co-founder of the Tea Party Patriots, Jenny Beth Martin, had famously lost her five-bedroom house as her family became bankrupt during the recession – and was inspired by the Santelli Rant to organise the first co-ordinated Tea Party movement protests against President Barack Obama's administration. [556] So too, another prominent Tea Party movement organiser by the name of Judsen Phillips, has also experienced financial difficulties such as bankruptcy as well as owing tens-of-thousands of dollars in taxes to the federal government. [557]

The experience and perception of economic uncertainty, as this subsection has examined, has been a powerful and traumatic motivator behind both the American Revolution during the eighteenth-century and the Tea Party movement in contemporary times. Just as the Founding Fathers such as George Washington owed debt to London creditors which fostered hostility towards authority, so too, members of the Tea Party movement such as Jenny Beth Martin through their own circumstances harbour similar resentments against a government which they believe has betrayed (and in some cases, enslaved) them.

5.3: Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to historically contextualise the emergence of the Tea Party movement by exploring the lived experiences of its members which has shaped the social

---

[554] Degler, C. N. Out of Our Past, p. 81 & 86; &, Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, p. 179.
[555] Allen, J. Vietnam, pp 74-75 & 151; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 365; Lewis, P. Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks, p. 111 & 147; &, Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 1054.
[556] Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, pp 33-34; Burghart, D. "View from the Top: Report on Six National Tea Party Organisations", p. 80; Jenny Beth Martin: The head Tea Party Patriot | www.ajc.com; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, pp 1-4; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, pp 25-26.
[557] Burghart, D. "View from the Top: Report on six National Tea Party Organisations", p. 77.

movement's collective memory and by adapting a cyclical narrative style. To many persons such an approach towards History may appear strange, as the historian, Arnold J. Toynbee, remarks: "To our western minds the cyclic view of history, if taken seriously, would reduce history to a tale told by an idiot, signifying nothing." [558] However, this approach nevertheless has uncovered facets of the past which have otherwise been ignored, forgotten, or neglected in the present consciousness. Whereas previous academics have attempted to separate the historical past from the Tea Party movement, by exposing the similarities the past becomes demystified and loses its nostalgic grasp over the people.

The emergence of the Tea Party movement is, this chapter argues, a reaction to the traumatic forces that its members experienced during the sixties. These traumas, in addition, were recently and most noticeably re-triggered with the symbolic result of the Presidential Election of the United States of America in 2008, the global financial crisis, and the continuation of the foreign conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. These events were traumatic in so much as it reminded members of the Tea Party movement of the calamities during the sixties, wherein foreign conflict in Vietnam, domestic countercultural activity, and financial crises divided the country – and worse, undermined and in some cases removed the privileges these people had as White Americans. The Tea Party movement, therefore, is a nostalgic reaction against this perceived loss of their country and traditional values. [559] Furthermore, the very same nostalgic reactions that motivate the Tea Party movement were experienced by the generation of revolutionary Patriots during the eighteenth-century. The American colonists were steeped in the nostalgic culture of Ancient Rome. The Roman histories and morality tales were proliferated through popular literature and theatre productions. The colonists saw and made historical references to what they believed was historically recurring phenomena which was being emulated throughout the colonies. Conflict, countercultural thinking, economic uncertainty, and so on laid the foundation for the American Revolution – Conflict, countercultural thinking, economic uncertainty, and so on laid the foundation of the Tea Party movement.

---

[558] Toynbee, A. J. "My view of History", Civilisation on Trial, (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 14.
[559] Crawford, A. Thunder on the Right, p. 148; Hardisty, J. Mobilising Resentment, pp 33-34; Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 97; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, pp 38-39, & 97; &, Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 7 & 32.

6. Nostalgic Principles

6.1: Introduction

> The reason for the success of the modern-day Tea Party movement is that our 'source code' is the same as America's. Our founding principles are the same as America's. These beliefs are in Americans' DNA; they are each American's birthright. And this source code is favoured by an overwhelming majority of American citizens. [560]

> ---

From its earliest inception, the Tea Party movement has always portrayed itself as a movement that is driven by ideas and principles – as opposed to any leaders. [561] In addition, the Tea Party movement also attests that the ideology and principles that they espouse are very much the same as that which their ancestors, including the Founding Fathers, fought for during the American Revolution. [562] This chapter attempts to answer the question: What, if any, similarities are there between the Tea Party movement and the generation who took part in the American Revolution?

This chapter details the political ideology and so-called driving principles behind the Tea Party movement alongside its acclaimed ancestral counterpart, the American Revolution, in an attempt to uncover the similarities and differences between the two. Beginning with a contextual comparison and examination of the Declaration of Independence alongside the Declaration of Tea Party Independence, the chapter then details the three major principles behind the Tea Party movement, and in the process, attempts to trace their historical and ideological roots. The second half of this chapter, on the other hand, details two further ideological aspects or 'styles' which significantly influence a proportion of members of the Tea Party movement: authoritarianism and conspiracism – comparing the aspects once again to that of their eighteenth-century ancestors during the American Revolution.

6.2: Ideological Principles behind the Tea Party Movement

The following subsections examine the so-called 'principles' behind the Tea Party movement as purported by their numerous political manifestos. Before detailing the principles behind the social movement, however, it is important to examine and uncover the context behind which these ideological values were publicly adopted. In addition, by comparing the context behind the principles of the Tea Party movement with that of their

---

[560] Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 23.
[561] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, p. 65 & 123; Declaration of Tea Party Independence, (Washington: 2010); Kibbe, M. Hostile Takeover, p. 175; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, p. 1; Postel, C. "The Tea Party in Historical Perspective", p. 26; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 4.
[562] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, p. 34; Borelli, D. Blacklash: How Obama and the Left are Driving Americans to the Government Plantation, (New York: Threshold, 2012), p. 211; Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, p. 245; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 23; &, O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, p. 24 & 204.

historical ancestors, the revolutionary Patriots of the eighteenth-century, a deeper understanding of the roots of the ideologies will be made clearer.

6.2.1: Declarations of Independence – The Fourth of July and The Twenty-Third of January

 Of all the most sacred relics that remain leftover from the American Revolution, none are perhaps so devotionally revered as that of the Declaration of Independence – aside from, of course, the Constitution of the United States of America. Entombed within its own personal shrine behind a bulletproof, bronze-framed, windowed reliquary, the Declaration sits securely nestled within the temple rotunda of the National Archives in Washington, D.C., where it remains on display for pilgrims of all creeds to pay their homage, alongside its sister scriptures – the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. The Declaration of Independence is commonly believed to reflect the Zeitgeist of the American Revolution. It has, in many respects become the embodiment of the American Creed [563] – which is tidily summed in its immortal preamble:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights: that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. [564]

 The history behind the Declaration of Independence, its origins, has over time become mythicized within the minds of the American people. No better representation of the nostalgic recollection of the *Declaration's* history is encapsulated than in that of the iconic painting created by the revolutionary artist, John Trumbull. [565] Trumbull's painting (see **Fig 23: John Trumbull's painting entitled Declaration of Independence** on the following page) perfectly forms the commonly recollected image within the mind's eye of the nature of the American Revolution in general, and in particular, of the significant unfolding of events believed to have historically taken place on July 4th, 1776. As a grand pictorial summarisation of the past, Trumbull's painting depicts a comforting image of a smartly-dressed clique of enlightened gentlemen, civilly crowded together inside a fancifully furnished assembly room, shown to be lacking in trepidation as the Declaration is ceremoniously presented by its authors in front of John Hancock, in anticipation of being unanimously adopted and signed. If the painting was audible, the sound of the Liberty Bell atop the steeple of the Philadelphia Statehouse could perhaps be heard ringing in the background, followed by the firing of

---

[563] Appleby, J. Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. Telling the Truth About History, p. 103; Bolla, P. The Fourth of July and the Founding of America, (London: Profile Books, 2007), p. 138; Hughes, R. T. Myths America Lives By, p. 2; Maier, P. American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence, (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), pp 213-214; &, Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past, p. 180.
[564] "The Declaration of Independence, (July 4th, 1776)", The Constitution of the United States of America: and Selected Writings of the Founding Fathers, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2012), p. 108.
[565] Bolla, P. The Fourth of July and the Founding of America, p. 1.

thirteen cannons, and alongside the jubilising cheers of an awaited crowd upon hearing the news of independence finally being declared. [566] The Fourth of July.

Fig 23: John Trumbull's painting entitled Declaration of Independence

 "It is very bad history… No scene such as you depict here ever took place!" scolded John Adams as he laid eyes upon the painting for the first time in front of John Trumbull – at least, that is what is depicted as having happened according to the contemporarily popular historical drama, Adams, produced by HBO. [567] Indeed, Trumbull's painting of the Declaration of Independence has been thoroughly debased by its critics over the centuries on account of the temerous inaccuracies on the part of the artist. No such scene as was depicted by Trumbull ever took place in the past. The assembly room was not crowded with the would-be signers of the Declaration sitting aloft magnanimously on fancy furniture, and there was certainly no ceremony neither involving the draftees of the Declaration presenting (nor indeed signing) their work to the Congress, all in a single day. [568]

 As far back as February, 1776, the North American colony of South Carolina, followed a month later by North Carolina, had advocated as well as drafted resolutions demanding independence from the British Empire. [569] However, it was on July 2nd, 1776, that the North American colonists had, in fact, officially declared its independence from the British Empire.

---

[566] Bolla, P. The Fourth of July and the Founding of America, pp 23-24; &, *What's Wrong With This Picture? :* The Colonial Williamsburg Official History & Citizenship Site, http://www.history.org/Foundation/journal/Winter11/painting.cfm, (18/12/11).

[567] HBO, John Adams, (HBO Studios, 2008).

[568] Maier, P. American Scripture, pp 181-182; &, *What's Wrong With This Picture? : The Colonial* Williamsburg Official History & Citizenship Site.

[569] Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, p. 105; Maier, P. American Scripture, p. 63; &, Zinn, H. A *People's History of the United States*, p. 71.

[570] On this day, the delegates at the Second Continental Congress from the thirteen colonies (with the exception of the delegates from New York, who had abstained from voting) finally ratified the resolution introduced by the Virginian delegate, Richard Henry Lee, a little under a month earlier in the same year, on June 7th, declaring:

> that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved. [571]

The Declaration of Independence was a product of the culmination of a decade-long ideological struggle that had swept across the North American colonies since the Stamp Act Crisis. The Declaration was a hodgepodge of intellectual sources, what Thomas Jefferson would in later recollection describe as representing: "the harmonising sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or the elementary books of public right, as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, etc." [572] Ultimately, however, the Declaration was propaganda. [573] The sixties radical, Saul Alinsky, pertinently describes the purpose behind document as follows:

> The Declaration of Independence, as a declaration of war, had to be what it was, a 100 per cent statement of the justice of the cause of the colonists and a 100 per cent denunciation of the role of the British government as evil and unjust. Our cause had to be all shining justice, allied with the angels; theirs had to be all evil, tied to the Devil; in no war has the enemy or the cause ever been grey. [574]

The declaration needed to serve as a tool for both recruiting sympathisers within and outside North America to fight on the side of the revolutionaries, whilst at the same time act as an insurance measure to stifle foreign attempts at invading the would-be independent new nation if the British were successfully defeated. Before the Declaration was published, the American revolutionaries (who at the time regarded themselves as inherently English) during the Stamp Act, Townsend Duties, and other such crises had mostly relied upon the rhetoric of the so-called 'Rights of Englishmen'. [575] The so-called 'Rights of Englishmen' were

[570] Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, p. 147; Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, p. 107; Bolla, P. The Fourth of July and the Founding of America, p. 14; Boorstin, D. J. The Americans, pp 377-378; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 47; Spaeth, H. J. & Smith, E. C. The Constitution of the United States [13th Edition], (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), p. 2; &, Unger, H. G. American Tempest, pp 227-228.

[571] Raphael, R. Founders, p. 248.

[572] Hamowy, R. "The Declaration of Independence", A Companion to the American Revolution, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), p. 259; &, Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past, p. 21.

[573] Alinsky, S. D. Rules For Radicals: A Pragmatic Primer for Realistic Radicals, (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), p. 28; Nye, R. B. & Morpurgo, J. E. A History of the United States Volume One: The Birth of the United States, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 216; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 66; &, Zinn, H. A People's History of the United States, pp 72-75.

[574] Alinsky, S. D. Rules For Radicals, p. 28.

[575] Adams, S. "The Rights of the Colonists as Men, (From the Committee of correspondence to the Boston town meeting, November 20th, 1772)", The Constitution of the United States of America: and Selected Writings of the Founding Fathers, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2012), pp 19-23; Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, pp 44-45; Brogan, H. The Longman History of the United States of America, pp 117-118;

described by Samuel Adams as being: "The absolute right of Englishmen and all freemen, in or out of civil society, are principally personal security [life], personal liberty, and private property." [576] But at this point, given that their opponents, the Loyalists, had a greater claim of defending English Rights by defending the actions of the British Empire and of the British Crown, a new universal rhetoric was needed. [577]

It should be noted, of course, that despite the propagandist universal rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence, at the time of its making, the values it purported were never intended (by its adherents) to be applied in any practical or indeed universal sense throughout North American colonial society. African-Americans, Native Americans, non-Christians, propertyless Whites, and of course, Women, were excluded from receiving the so-called 'equality' and 'liberty' afforded in the *Declaration's* preamble. [578] Ironically, modern misinterpretation has transformed the ignoble intentions behind the Declaration into something more representative of its rhetoric.

Centuries later, in a much less aggrandising affair, the Tea Party movement subconsciously re-enacted the motions of their ancestors. On the weekend beginning January 23rd, 2010, a delegation of sixty representatives of the Tea Party movement from across thirty States gathered in Washington D.C. to attend an exclusive summit. In a crowded meeting room in an inconspicuous office tower situated along the North Capital street, hosted and owned by FreedomWorks, the First 'Liberty Leadership Summit' became the site of the Tea Party movement's drafting and ratification of the Declaration of Tea Party Independence (see **Appendix B: The Tea Party Declaration of Independence (2010)** on page 244). [579]

The Declaration of Tea Party Independence, in homage to its ancestral counterpart, opens with a striking preamble intended to stir the American spirit coaxed within a familiar language that reads:

> As the course of human events winds its way through History, it has found some paths lead to Tyranny and some to Liberty. In seeking a path to Liberty, a great and powerful movement is now rising from every corner of our land. Created by the Will

---

Miller, J. C. Origins of the American Revolution, pp 122-123; &, Ward, H. M. The American Revolution, pp 9-10.

[576] Adams, S. "The Rights of the Colonists as Men, (From the Committee of correspondence to the Boston town meeting, November 20th, 1772)", p. 21.

[577] Douglass, E. P. Rebels and Democrats: The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule During the American Revolution, (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Inc., 1989), p. 7; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, p. 198; &, Nye, R. B. & Morpurgo, J. E. A History of the United States Volume One, p. 216.

[578] Alexander, M. The New Jim Crow, p. 26; Bailyn, B. The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, p. 246; Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots, p. 205; Feagin, J. R. Racist America, p. 47; Foner, E. The Story of American Freedom, pp 16-17; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 7; Greene, J. P. Understanding the American Revolution, p. 389; Jensen, M. "Democracy and the American Revolution", Huntington Library Quarterly, Vol. 20, No. 4, Early American History Number, (August, 1957), pp 325-326; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, pp 73-74 & 86-88.

[579] Burghart, D. "View from the Top", p. 72; *Tea Party activists circulate 'declaration of independence' and* distance selves from Republicans | The Daily Caller, http://dailycaller.com/2010/02/24/tea-party-activists-circulate-declaration-of-independence-and-distance-selves-from-republicans/, (24/02/10); &, The Other Tea Party Convention: Activists Meet in DC – Chris Good, http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2010/01/the-other-tea-party-convention-activists-meet-in-dc/34150/, (25/01/10).

of the American People, it rejects unconstitutional domination by the Government that is supposed to be its servant. This movement has arisen, in large part, because our elected officials have failed us.

For much of its history the United States has been a land of prosperity and liberty, sound policies such as fiscal responsibility, constitutionally limited government and a belief in the free market have safeguarded this condition. In recent years however, Congress, the President, the Federal Reserve Board and the Courts have replaced those practices with profligate government spending and expansion of the government power beyond what is constitutionally permissible. [580]

From this moment onwards, the Tea Party movement became a social movement centred (for the most part) on the three core principles of: individual liberty (free markets), fiscal responsibility, and constitutionally limited government. [581] These principles, of course, are detailed in the following subsections.

6.2.2: Individual Liberty

The first seemingly innocuous principle behind the Tea Party movement is the idea of individual liberty (or freedom). [582] The Tea Party movement fervently exclaims that their political actions are in the defence and/or pursuit of freedom – whether protesting against business regulations, education reform, government healthcare, or taxation and the IRS.

Liberty, of course, means many things to different individuals. The so-called 'liberty' espoused by the Tea Party movement, however, is a peculiar kind of liberty whose defining roots stem from the economic philosopher Fredrich A. Hayek and his famous treatises; The Road to Serfdom and The Constitution of Liberty. Fredrich Hayek defines his concept of 'liberty' by counterpoising it with the notion of 'coercion'. Liberty and freedom, under this definition, is described by Hayek as being: "[the] State in which a man is not subject to coercion by the arbitrary will of another or others." [583] Accordingly, Hayek argues that man is free only so far as on the conditions that (emphasis added):

> …if he is subject only to the same laws as all his fellow citizens, if he is immune from arbitrary confinement and free to choose his work, and if he is able to own and acquire property, no other men or group of men can coerce him to do their bidding. [584]

It is only through this latter condition, the so-called "system of private property," which Hayek believes, is the "most important guarantee of freedom." Freedom and liberty is

---

[580] Ibid.

[581] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 66-69 & 123; Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, p. 17 & 30; Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, p. 235; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 22; O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, p. 24; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. Change They Can't Believe In, p. 1; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 43.

[582] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, p. 65; &, O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, p. 24.

[583] Hayek, F. A. The Constitution of Liberty, (London: Routledge, 1960), p. 11.

[584] Ibid, p. 20.

safeguarded, in this respect, because of the multitude of independent owners of the means of production which allows for a situation in which: "individuals can decide what to do with ourselves." [585]

Liberty, in this sense (as described by Fredrich Hayek), is a liberty closely tied with the notion of possessive individualism and the capitalist free market. [586] Specifically, it is believed, that the only safeguard of liberty is through the delicate intricacies of the so-called 'invisible hand' of the free market, which acts as the chief arbiter of independent freedom. [587] Indeed, several Tea Party movement manifestos explicitly interchange the notion 'individual liberty' for 'free markets'. [588] "A free market is the economic consequence of personal liberty," argues Jenny Beth Martin and Mark Meckler of the Tea Party Patriots. [589] Such ideas, of course, were popularised by the author and objectivist, Ayn Rand, who argued throughout her voluminous works, that, "Those who advocate laissez-faire capitalism are the only advocates of man's rights." [590]

The belief that liberty is intrinsically tied to private property, of course, originates from a peculiar interpretation of the preamble of the Declaration of Independence. Specifically, it is in regards to the notion of "happiness". It is commonly assumed that the so-called 'happiness' which Thomas Jefferson wrote of was merely a stand-in for 'private property' – an assumption based on the similar writings found in the works of John Locke which spoke of: "life, liberty, and estate." [591] However, the term 'happiness' was in fact not intended to mean 'property' (if so, Jefferson would have used the term to begin with) but something else entirely altogether. Happiness, according to Jefferson, was: "in the lap and love of my family, in the society of my neighbours and my books, in the wholesome occupation of my forms and my affairs." [592] All these things, of course, surpass the materialism promoted by the Tea Party movement's interpretation that ties together 'happiness' with 'private property'.

The liberty espoused by the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century meant many different things: it not only meant the right to secure private property, but also the freedom to act unmolested, as well as to participate within the community – whether in civil (law), political (suffrage), or religious (from discrimination) grounds. This liberty, however, was not

---

[585] Hayek, F. A. The Road to Serfdom: with the Intellectuals and Socialism, (London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 2005), p. 41.
[586] DiMaggio, A. The Rise of the Tea Party, p. 10 & 13; Hardisty, J. Mobilising Resentment, p. 164; Horwitz, R. B. America's Right, p. 27; &, King, D. S. The New Right: Politics, Markets and Citizenship, (London: Macmillan Education, 1987), p. 31.
[587] Hardisty, J. Mobilising Resentment, p. 168; Horwitz, R. B. America's Right, p. 35; Thompson, M. J. The Politics of Inequality: A Political History of the Idea of Economic Inequality in America, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 159; &, Vincent, A. Modern Political Ideologies, p. 46.
[588] Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, p. 17; Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, p. 235; &, Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 22.
[589] Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 22.
[590] Rand, A. "Man's Rights", The Virtue of Selfishness: A New Concept of Egoism, (New York: Signet, 1964), p. 117.
[591] Foner, E. The Story of American Freedom, p. 20; Ingersoll, D. E., Matthews, R. K. & Davison, A. The Philosophic Roots of Modern Ideology, p. 96; &, Lewis, J. "Happiness", A Companion to the American Revolution, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), p. 656.
[592] Arendt, H. On Revolution, p. 120.

an entirely unrestricted or what could be considered anarchic sense of freedom. In fact, it was a sense of freedom much unlike the laissez-faire freedom espoused by Hayek, Rand, and the Tea Party movement. Licentiousness arising from too much unrestricted and above-all selfish or self-serving freedom was considered a mortal sin according to the adopted ideology of classical republicanism of the eighteenth-century. [593] Indeed, the idea that selfishness was an inherent form of corruption which led to polities becoming decadent and tyrannical, as well as paving the way towards the decay of civilisations, was a common theme amongst ancient political philosophers from Aristotle to Polybius. [594] In order to temper the calamities that arose from unrestricted freedom, the philosophy of classical republicanism placed an enhanced emphasis on the notion of serving the 'public good' (res publica) as a virtue. Public (or civic) virtue which included the practice of altruism, austerity, courage, fraternity, frugality, generosity, industry, justice, modesty, respectfulness, simplicity, temperance, wisdom, and above-all the sacrifice of selfish individual interests to the greater good of society. Freedom, in this sense, was a means to safeguard against corruption, injustice, and tyranny for the betterment of society ('the people') and not simply for the benefit (and expense) of one individual or another. [595]

 Furthermore, it should be noted, that the peculiar liberty espoused by Fredrich Hayek comes with its costs:

> Above all, however, we must recognise that we may be free and yet miserable. Liberty does not mean all good things or the absence of all evils. It is true that to be free may mean freedom to starve, to make costly mistakes, or to run mortal risks. [596]

Hayek's conceptualisation of liberty, therefore, is resonantly negative in its nature. So too, an integral facet that underpins the Tea Party movement's conception of liberty is the so-called notion of 'personal responsibility'. [597] According to Dick Armey and Matt Kibbe (FreedomWorks), individuals are only free so long as they are able to: "chase their dreams and be responsible for their own successes and failures." [598] This attitude also influences the sentiments held by the Tea Party movement surrounding government welfare, and their second major principle, fiscal responsibility, which is detailed further in the following subsection.

---

[593] Bonwick, C. The American Revolution, p. 53; &, Wood, G. S. The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1787, p. 23.

[594] Barker, E. [Translator], Aristotle [Author], The Politics of Aristotle, p. 112; Burrow, J. A History of Histories, pp 80-81 & 97; Heather, P. The Fall of the Roman Empire, p. 443; Jowett B. [Translator], Aristotle [Author], Politics: and the Athenian Constitution, (London: Oxford University Press, 1905), p. 115; Kramnick, I. "Ideological Background", pp 91-92; Scott-Kilvert, I. [Translator], Polybius [Author], The Rise of the Roman Empire, pp 307-309; Trompf, G. W. The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought, pp 26-31; &, Waterfield, R. [Translator], Polybius [Author], The Histories, pp 376-378.

[595] Barker, E. [Translator] Aristotle [Author], The Politics of Aristotle, p. 105 n2; Gould, P. "Virtue, Ideology, and the American Revolution", p. 565; Honohan, I. Civic Republicanism, p. 20 & 33; &, Shalhope, R. E. "Republicanism and Early American Historiography", The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. 39, No. 2, (April, 1982), p. 335.

[596] Hayek, F. A. The Constitution of Liberty, p. 18.

[597] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 67-68; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 40; &, O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, p. 232.

[598] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 67-68.

6.2.3: Fiscal Responsibility

The second domineering principle behind the Tea Party movement is the notion of 'fiscal responsibility'. The notion of 'fiscal responsibility' is yet another ambiguous principle which on the surface appears relatively benign but has specific connotations amongst members of the Tea Party movement. Fiscal responsibility, put simply, is the notion that government should restrict its spending of taxpayer money on what are considered to be 'wasteful' public services as well as an implementation of lowering the overall tax burden of all American citizens in the attempt to reduce the country's deficit. [599] As Tea Party Senator, Rand Paul elaborates: "Just as it is irresponsible for an individual to spend more than he takes in, it is just as irresponsible for the federal government to do the same." [600]

Fiscal responsibility is a principle which unites the divergent factions of evangelical Christians and secular Libertarians that compose the Tea Party movement together despite their wildly differing beliefs, morality and political values. Take for instance how fiscal responsibility appeals to both the Christian and Libertarian factions of the Tea Party movement as limiting the government expenditure on public services reduces taxes, which consequently affects programmes such as abortion which Libertarians would otherwise support but nevertheless will be continually restricted (to the moral benefit of the Christians). [601]

The principle of 'fiscal responsibility' espoused by the Tea Party movement is also tied with the previously mentioned notion of liberty and the later described concept of constitutionally limited government within this chapter. Jenny Beth Martin and Mark Meckler, co-founders of the Tea Party Patriots explain how the three principles complement each other as follows:

> When government spends your money against your will, it destroys your liberty to use your money however you see fit. A dollar is a unit of power. When you keep that dollar, you are keeping a unit of power that you earned. When you spend that dollar, you are exercising your right to spend your own money (power) according to your own will (liberty). When the government spends your money against your will, it is taking away your power and your liberty to direct your power to pursue your own happiness. [602]

Taxation in this instance is regarded in a similar libertarian fashion as an injustice – a kind of theft, for instance, which robs those who are taxed of their property and by extension, liberty. [603] As Dick Armey and Matt Kibbe argue in their Tea Party movement manifesto, Give Us

---

[599] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, p. 69; Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, pp 46-48; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 22 & 36; &, Paul, R. & Hunter, J. The Tea Party Goes To Washington, pp 220-221.
[600] Paul, R. & Hunter, J. The Tea Party Goes To Washington, p. 220.
[601] Berlet, C. "Reforming Populist Resentments in the Tea Party Movement", p. 51; &, Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, pp 22-23.
[602] Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 30.
[603] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, p. 69; Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, p. 53; Duncan, A. & Hobson, D. *Saturn's Children: How the State Devours Liberty, Property and Virtue*, (London: Politico's Publishing, 1998), p. 61; Hardisty, J. Mobilising Resentment, pp 172-173; Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, pp 174-175;

Liberty: "Higher taxes degrade our standard of living, leaving citizens with fewer choices and fewer dreams." [604]

As was mentioned in a previous chapter of this thesis, the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century were not opposed to government taxation altogether (see the final paragraph of Subsection **3.4.1: The Boston Tea Party (1773)**). Instead, as has been previously examined, they were motivated by a sense of injustice caused by an inherent lack of political representation regarding the collection and distribution of taxes within the North American colonies such as with the Grenville Acts, the Townsend Duties, and of course, the Tea Act. The rallying cry of the revolutionary Patriots was: "No Taxation Without Representation" – not simply: "No Taxation". [605]

Linked to this concept of fiscal responsibility, is the issues that are believed to arise that are related to the notion of 'dependency' – particularly, that of the issues regarding dependency on government welfare. According to Deneen Borelli, an African-American Tea Party movement spokesperson and sympathiser, the so-called culture of welfare dependency is argued to ultimately be responsible for the present-day problems surrounding the African-American community within the United States of America – from the breakdown of the so-called 'traditional nuclear family', to the imposition of illicit drugs, and of course, the seeming lack of an achievement or work ethic compared to other minorities (such as Asians). This notion of 'welfare dependency' is what Borelli and other African-American conservatives have described in a somewhat colourful term as 'the government plantation'. Rather than empowering the African-American community, they argue, the welfare state is instead enslaving them in an unescapable cycle of dependency and poverty. [606]

In her book, Blacklash, Deneen Borelli states the following about welfare:

> So let me make this clear: Welfare has consistently failed the black community.
>
> Welfare tells us we can get money for doing nothing, and individuals with low self-esteem, poor work ethics, and lack of motivation expect the government to take care of them. Welfare was instrumental in destroying the black family. Welfare is an incentive for women to keep pumping out babies – no worries about the father, just get another one to keep those kids coming. Welfare tells us we don't need a dad in the home, because Uncle Sam will provide us with all the welfare we need.
>
> Welfare keeps the black community down. It has unintended consequences that hurt black families and keep them in poverty. [607]

Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 30 & 36; &, Paul, R. & Hunter, J. The Tea Party Goes To Washington, p. 221.
[604] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, p. 69.
[605] Bailyn, B. The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, pp 209-214; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, pp 51-53; &, Debunking Boston Tea Party Myths.
[606] Borelli, D. Blacklash, p. 54 & 76; Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, p. 42; &, Disch, L. "The Tea Party: A 'White Citizenship' Movement?", pp 139-140.
[607] Borelli, D. Blacklash, pp 75-76.

Anxiety relating to this notion of 'dependency' can of course, be traced back to the ideals of classical republicanism that was adopted by the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century. According to the philosophy, the virtuous citizens of a republic were those who owned private property and therefore had the liberty (or privilege) of an independent life, whereas those who lacked their own private property or who were dependant on the property of others (including tenants, women, and so on) could not be trusted as citizens to make important political decisions as they had no means of autonomously supporting their own independence without the influence of others (such as their employer, husband, landlord, and so on). Coincidently, this explains the veritable shortcomings of the Declaration of Independence and its rhetoric of equality against the historical reality that emerged after the conclusion of the American Revolution – as the propertyless peoples of North American society (such as Native Americans, slaves, women, and so on), by virtue of being propertyless, were not considered citizens of the new republic and their inequalities according to this philosophy were therefore justified. [608]

As an aside, this very logic was also used by the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century and their later descendants to justify the institution of slavery within the United States of America. Just as the Roman Republic was founded on slavery, so too, slavery was regarded by its proponents as essential to safeguarding the liberty and property of the future citizens of the United States of America. Indeed, during the American War for Independence new recruits were lured in by the Patriot's promises – that provided they survived the war and won, they would be given at least forty acres of land and a slave. In addition, during the Paris peace talks of 1782, Henry Laurens insisted on implementing an additional clause forbidding the British from "carrying away any Negroes, or other property of the American inhabitants." on the following treaty. [609]

Nevertheless, it should also be noted, that the doctrine of classical republicanism considered extreme inequality of wealth as a grievous affront to the longevity and stability of the republic – as excessive wealth undermines political equality and allows for the corrupting influences of luxury to dissuade the rich members of society away from their duty towards the public good. The government, therefore, is under an obligation to redistribute (or limit) wealth to prevent – which, it could be argued, includes measures such as the implementation of taxation and a system of welfare. [610]

---

[608] Bonwick, C. The American Revolution, pp 52-53; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, p. 61; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, p. 148; Gould, P. "Virtue, Ideology, and the American Revolution", p. 565; Honohan, I. Civic Republicanism, p. 6 & 28; Kulikoff, A. "Was the American Revolution a Bourgeois Revolution?", The Transforming Hand of Revolution: Reconsidering the American Revolution as a Social Movement, (Virginia: The University Press of Virginia, 1996), p. 82 & 86; Wood, G. S. The Idea of America: Reflections on the Birth of the United States, (New York: The Penguin Press, 2011), p. 68; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United* States, pp 73-74.

[609] Foner, E. The Story of American Freedom, pp 32-33; Jasanoff, M. *Liberty's Exiles*, p. 88; Rakove, Revolutionaries, p. 239; Raphael, Founders, pp 402-403; Stauber, L. G. The American Revolution, p. 127; &, Wood, G. S. The Idea of America, p. 68.

[610] Honohan, I. Civic Republicanism, p. 6; &, Thompson, M. J. The Politics of Inequality, p. 39 & 58.

6.2.4: Constitutionally Limited Government

The third major principle that underpins the Tea Party movement is the notion of 'constitutionally limited government'. Perhaps the most straightforward of the three principles, constitutionally limited government is exactly what it purports itself to be – that the powers and role of the government of the United States of America should be limited within the bounds set by the Constitution of the United States of America. [611] As with the previous principles behind the Tea Party movement, the notion of adhering to a constitutionally limited government once again taps into the nostalgic narratives of the American Revolution. As the American political scientist, Leland G. Stauber, elaborates:

> "the interactions that led to the American Revolution have left throughout the history of the United States a strong mental association of British authority – and governmental power per se – with 'tyranny'; for this basic reason, Americans have been celebrating 'liberty' ever since, and 'freedom' has been the master slogan of American politics." [612]

This particular peculiar attitude towards government, of course, is deeply rooted in the Libertarian tradition of political philosophy. The government's sole duty, according to this philosophy, is to protect individuals and their 'Rights' – nothing more. In practice, this means that the government operates on only a skeletal infrastructure – as it is believed that the more minimalist a government, the better such a political system operates – for the purpose of providing the barest security to its citizens. [613] Jean Hardisty explains this philosophy as follows:

> "Libertarians approach the state without ambivalence and without nuance. Because they see the freedom of the individual as the greatest good, they believe the state, which possesses the power to coerce and thus to limit individual freedom, should be minimal." [614]

Dick Armey and Matt Kibbe, on the other hand, explains it in even simpler terms (emphasis added): "The government should be concerned with protecting my liberty, not my liver." [615]

When the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century declared independence from the British Empire, they were specifically rebelling against a government that was believed to be synonymous with the whims of the British monarchy. Incidentally, this is why the Declaration of Independence puts a particular emphasis on blaming King George III for all of

---

[611] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 66-67; Foley, E. P. The Tea Party: Three Principles, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp 19-22; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 22; O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, p. 207; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 48; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 65.
[612] Stauber, L. G. The American Revolution, p. 129.
[613] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 66-67; Hardisty, J. Mobilising Resentment, p. 163;.Kibbe, M. *Don't Hurt People and Don't Take Their Stuff*, p. 8; O'Donnell, C. Trouble Maker, p. 288; &, Vincent, A. Modern Political Ideologies, p. 48.
[614] Hardisty, J. Mobilising Resentment, p. 163.
[615] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, p. 67.

the injustices suffered by the North American colonies, rather than Parliament. [616] Measures that were imposed upon the North American colonists such as impressment, the Proclamation Act, and the Quartering Acts, [617] were all examples of King George III's tyrannical machinations that arbitrarily robbed the colonists of their life, liberty, and property. Moreover, the revolutionary Patriots did not seek to remove government altogether, but to replace a system of government that they believed failed to sufficiently represent their local interests with another that would represent their interests. It should be noted, of course, that no such contemporary government regime that exists in the United States of America emulates the very model of government that the eighteenth-century revolutionaries had rebelled against.

Related to this notion of constitutionally limited government is, of course, the peculiar interpretation of the Constitution of the United States of America adopted and promoted by the Tea Party movement. Members of the Tea Party movement interpret the Constitution in what is referred to as an 'originalist' interpretation. The originalist (or 'originalism') school of thought was invented in the early seventies by the American Law Professor, Robert Bork. Put simply, this interpretation emphasises a strict literal adherence to the Constitution, which forbids the government from overstepping the boundaries laid out within the document as it was written in 1787. [618] This interpretation is fundamentally opposed to the so-called 'living' interpretation of the Constitution of the United States of America which allows for the flexibility of modern values to be authorised, expanded, and upheld by the Supreme Court – for instance, with decisions such as Brown v. Board of Education and Roe v. Wade – which its critics deride as being too 'subjective' an interpretation to govern stably. [619] Tea Party organiser, Michael Patrick Leahy, summarises how the current government of the United

---

[616] Alden, J. R. A History of the American Revolution, p. 242; Bolla, P. The Fourth of July and the Founding of America, p. 40; Miller, J. C. Origins of the American Revolution, pp 346-347; &, Spaeth, H. J. & Smith, E. C. The Constitution of the United States, pp 2-3.

[617] The Quartering Acts of 1765 and 1774 allowed for the British Army in the colonies of North America to seize unoccupied private property for the housing of troops if no sufficient accommodation in barracks were available. In practice, the act was used to commandeer barns, large familial estates, and taverns, to the irritation of their owners who were then burdened with provisioning the occupying tenants. The Quartering Acts stipulated that the British Redcoats quartered within private accommodation should be provisioned with: "fire, candles, vinegar, and salt, bedding utensils for dressing their victuals, and small beer or cider, not exceeding five pints, or half a pint of rum mixed with a quart of water, to each man, without paying anything for the same [Sic]." Those who supplied the provisions were supposed to be compensated by the colonial assemblies (rather than the British Army), but such measures were resisted on the grounds of being a 'stealth tax' to impoverish the North American colonists.

Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, p. 11, 48, & 69; Bailyn, B. The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, p. 119; Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, p. 83 & 94; Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776, p. 49; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, p. 51; Cumming, W. P. & Rankin, H. The Fate of a Nation, p. 18; Geiter, M. K. & Speck, W. A. Colonial America, pp 189-190; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 41 & 43; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, p. 237; Miller, J. C. Origins of the American Revolution, p. 262; Rakove, J. Revolutionaries, p. 46; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 120 & 130; &, Unger, H. G. American Tempest, p. 53.

[618] Gerstle, G. Liberty and Coercion: The Paradox of American Government from the Founding to the Present, (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp 321-322.

[619] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, p. 50; Foley, E. P. The Tea Party, pp 169-170 & 198-199; Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, pp 118-125; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 116-119; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, pp 7-8, 67-73.

States of America would change under the enforcement of an originalist interpretation of the Constitution, by stating:

> …federal departments and agencies whose functions are entirely without value, or even negative value since they disrupt effective private markets, will be eliminated. In this category we would place the Department of Education, the Department of Energy, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and numerous others…

> …defence expenditures, while not necessarily cut, will be exposed to higher scrutiny. But the standard ought not to be some artificial concept of "shared pain" across the various departments in the federal government. The standard ought to be what amount of money is required to maintain a defence capability in troops, equipment, and systems sufficient to honour the constitutional requirement of Article I, Section 8 to "maintain the common defence." [620]

This originalist interpretation of the founding documents has been described by the American historian, Professor Jill Lepore, as a kind of 'historical fundamentalism' in the same vein as religious fundamentalism. [621] The concept of historical fundamentalism is detailed further in a future chapter of this thesis (see Subsection **7.3: Historical Fundamentalism** on page 223). Ultimately, however, the interpretations adopted by members of the Tea Party movement regarding the Constitution of the United States of America are often merely an excuse used as means to justify their privately held beliefs. [622]

Attempting to examine every perceived principle espoused in the Constitution of the United States of America which is held by members of the Tea Party movement is in many respects a fool's errand given the multitude of diverse and at times contradictory value espoused. [623] However, what is important to examine is the supposed underlying nature of the Constitution which in turn addresses the question regarding the very limits on government that should be believed to be imposed. For members of the Tea Party movement, the nature of the Constitution, of course, is embodied in the Tenth Amendment which states: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." [624] This notion, also referred to as 'States Rights', argues that the federal government has no authority to establish new agencies or impose regulations on issues outside of the Constitution of the United States of America, and that the issues are best served by local state government. Once again, this notion if practised would: abolish the Federal Reserve, dissolve programmes including Social Security, and return federal-owned land (such as public parks) to the states. [625]

---

[620] Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, pp 254-255.
[621] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, pp 124-125.
[622] Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 49-50.
[623] Burghart, D. "View from the Top", p. 68; Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, p. 170; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 48-50; &, The Truth About the Tea Party | Politics News | Rolling Stone.
[624] The Constitution of the United States of America: and Selected Writings of the Founding Fathers, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2012), p. 817.
[625] Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, p. 117; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, pp 69-70.

When the Founding Fathers drafted the Constitution of the United States of America, they were attempting to establish (not limit) government power under the new revolutionary regime – this new regime, of course, was intended to be modelled as a republic and based (as was at the time as practicable as possible) on the ideological framework of classical republicanism. [626] The Constitution emerged as a reaction to the subsequent ineffectiveness of the Articles of Confederation [627] which began to unravel soon-after it had been ratified as the realities of governance began to weigh heavily on its threadbare jurisdiction. [628] The Constitution, therefore, was an attempt to safeguard the balance of political power that already existed amongst the colonies and as a result was the product of a multitude of political compromises – which coincidently, is why the often highlighted issues relating to slavery, female suffrage, and working class exploitation were never sufficiently addressed. [629] In addition, the very fact that the Founding Fathers had to on more than one occasion re-draft the Constitution of the United States of America as well as introduce the Bill of Rights and other such Amendments to the Constitution should dispel the myth that the document itself should be treated as fundamentally perfect and untouchable when it was established – it was always a flexible document, intended to suit the needs of its ever-changing people it was to serve, and not something sacrosanct. [630]

6.3: Ideological Styles behind the Tea Party Movement

The following subsections examine the underlying 'ideological styles' behind the Tea Party movement. Unlike the specific principles behind the social movement which have already been examined in the previous subsections, the so-called 'ideological styles' refer to a general set of behavioural attitudes that are present amongst members of the Tea Party movement.

---

[626] Austin, M. *That's Not What They Meant!: Reclaiming the Founding Fathers From America's Right Wing*, (New York: Prometheus Books, 2012), p. 89; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, p. 175; &, Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 70.

[627] The Articles of Confederation was the first written constitution of what would become the United States of America. Drafted in 1777 and ratified four years later during the War of American Independence, the Articles were a haberdash solution that would unite the States against the British Empire whilst protecting their individual sovereignty. The Articles only granted the government the ability to declare war and establish treaties with foreign governments – everything else, including the guarantee of individual rights and the raising revenue from taxation, needed the consent (and was the responsibility of) the States.
Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, pp 110-111; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, p. 249 & A-58; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, pp 130-131; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, pp 63-66; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, p. 618 & 623; Raphael, R. Founders, p. 302; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, p. 146, 169, & 179; &, Unger, H. G. American Tempest, p. 237.

[628] Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, pp 349-350; Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, pp 139-140; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 254-257; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 131; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, pp 68-70; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, pp 640-641; Raphael, R. Founders, p. 451; &, Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 184-187.

[629] Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, p. 352; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, pp 175-178; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 257-263; Jenkins, P. A History of the United States, pp 53-56; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, p. 669; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 188-191; &, Zinn, H. A *People's History of the United States*, pp 90-91 & 98-101.

[630] Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 268-272; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 196-197; &, Zinn, H. A *People's History of the United States*, p. 99.

6.3.1: Authoritarianism

Since they first emerged, the Tea Party movement has courted controversy over its particular actions on the political stage of the United States of America. As early as July, 2009, some elements of the Tea Party movement hung effigies of Democratic Party representatives outside of their private offices and during protests. In March, 2010, three Democratic Party representatives, Barney Frank, Emanuel Cleaver, and John Lewis, were reportedly spat on and violently verbally harassed by a gathering of Tea Party movement protesters on Capitol Hill. In one other instance, around the same time, a Virginian Tea Party movement group published what they believed to be the address of outspoken Obamacare proponent Tom Perriello, urging their audience to voice their discontent face-to-face, instead they had mistakenly divulged the address of Perriello's brother and his family, which resulted in an angry crowd and a sabotaged gas line outside of the brother's property. Numerous other isolated incidents involving individuals affiliated with the Tea Party movement resorting to physical violence against fellow citizens of the United States of America have also been reported. [631] Unsurprisingly, the Tea Party movement has been labelled by its critics as an extreme and in some cases authoritarian social movement (see **Fig 24: Tea Party movement as 'American Taliban' Internet Meme** on the next page). [632] This subsection details aspects of the Tea Party movement that highlights this authoritarianism. In particular, it examines an interesting event which took place over the Internet involving a recently established social network, the Tea Party Community.

Fig 24: Tea Party movement as 'American Taliban' Internet Meme

---

[631] Idaho tea party activist/GOP leader arrested for assault with a deadly weapon | ThinkProgress; Packer, G. The Unwinding, p. 319; Right-*Wing Harassment Strategy Against Dems Detailed In Memo: 'Yell,' 'Stand Up And Shout Out,' 'Rattle Him' | ThinkProgress*; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 32; &, Tea Party protesters report*edly spit on one lawmaker, call others 'fa–ot' and 'ni–er' | ThinkProgress*.

[632] Burghart, D. "View from the Top", pp 73-77 & 81-82; Daily Kos: Tea Party At Nuremburg: Umberto Eco on UrFascism; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In*, pp 91-92; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 32-34; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 85.
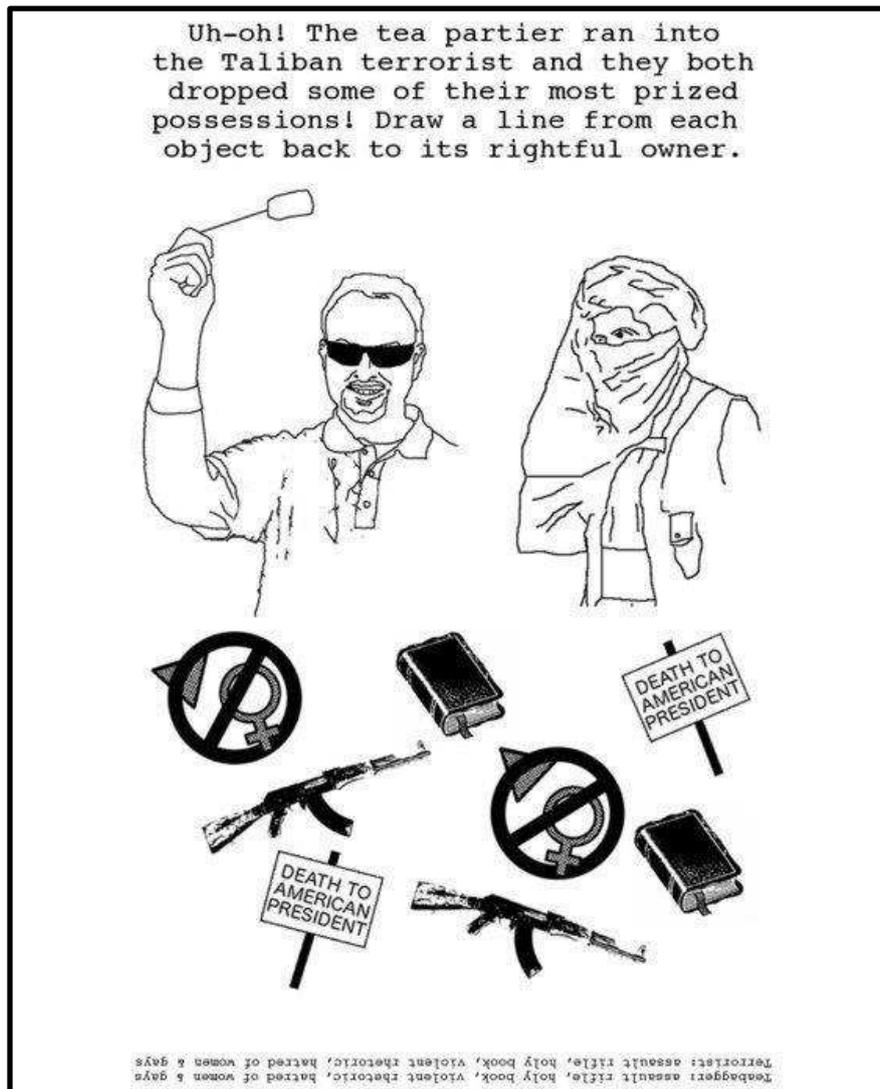
Before detailing an incident that highlights the authoritarian nature of the Tea Party movement, it seems to be a good idea to uncover what exactly it is meant by the term 'authoritarianism'. The American psychologist, Bob Altemeyer, describes authoritarian behaviour as adopting the following features, including: compartmentalised thinking, dogmatism, double-standards, ethnocentrism, fear, hostility, lack of critical thinking, prejudice, self-righteousness, and, of course, submission to authority. [633] These facets appeared in the following incident detailed below:

The Tea Party Community (TPC) social network website (see **Fig 25: The Tea Party Community Website** on the following page) was co-founded in November, 2012, by Ken Crow and the father-and-son family team – both named Tim Sealty (senior and junior, respectively). The Sealty family, who accordingly were the ones mostly responsible for the creation and maintenance of the TPC website, are an average middle-class self-employed small business-owning family working in the IT sector – their company, TLS Web Solutions. TLS Web Solutions is an online company which provides website design and development services to its clients. The company has had a history of having helped establish, according to

---

[633] Altemeyer, B. "Comment on the Tea Party Movement", (20th April, 2010), pp 4-8.

their portfolio, politically conservative websites such as: the Patriot Action Network, the Tea Party Tribune, and the United Border Coalition. [634] According to its founders, the TPC was intended as an alternative "safe haven for the conservative movement." The already-existing mainstream social networking websites on the Internet (such as Facebook), they attest, are 'too liberal' and have at times been 'oppressive' to conservative sensibilities – evidenced, they assert, by the experience of their conservative peers who were subjected to what they consider the censoring of conservative material and profiles, by both administrators and the peer-community, on the social networks. [635]

Fig 25: The Tea Party Community Website

It was when the Tea Party Community (TPC) officially became accessible to the online public in February, 2013, as the news media began to generate hype surrounding its launch, that problems really began to surface for the website and its conservative community. The TPC soon found itself under siege from persons outside the conservative community, what was known as the 'Trolls'. Trolls or Trolling is an Internet phenomenon wherein a 'troll' publicises incendiary comments and imagery in an attempt to get a reaction out of another community or individual – either in an effort to expose, harass, or offend the victim. [636]

The chaos which was unleashed by the 'Trolls' on the TPC included the following:

The mass proliferation of antagonising images utilised by the 'Trolls' ranging in scale from the seemingly 'irritating' and 'obnoxious' Internet memes and image-macros – to images representing Left-wing political information such as graphs and charts which highlighted the inequalities of wealth in the United States of America or tables filled with pro-Choice

---

[634] About page – TLS Web solutions, http://www.tlswebsolutions.com/about/, (24/02/13).
[635] Conservatives Launch Facebook Alternative | FOX News & Commentary: Todd Starnes, http://radio.foxnews.com/toddstarnes/top-stories/conservatives-launch-facebook-alternative.html, (31/01/13).
[636] Troll, v. : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/206615, (25/02/13).

information that contradicts the pro-Life agenda, and the uploading of ideologically Left-leaning political cartoons which poke fun at the Tea Party movement, Christianity, and conservatives in general – to the more 'offensive' images, usually depicting revered American and Christian symbols being defaced in some form or another, such as that of the image of the controversial 'Piss Christ' artwork by Andres Serrano, as well as such as one of a Bald Eagle (the national bird and patriotic symbol of the United States of America) eating from a garbage dump with comments above and below the picture which reads "I LOVE EATING TRASH JUST LIKE THE PEOPLE I REPRESENT" (see **Fig 26: Tea Party Community Trolling Image Example**).

Fig 26: Tea Party Community Trolling Image Example

 Some of the more committed trolls also created fake accounts with which they attempted to blend in with the wider TPC community, by mimicking conservative euphemisms and talking points. These trolls played a kind of game on the TPC wherein they would attempt to write the seemingly most extreme, offensive, conservative and outright fascist opinions that were then posted on other user's profile pages profiles, to see how far or how long they could survive before being caught out by the TPC's administrators and moderators who would ban their account – and in some cases, their IP address – if they were found to be trolling. In a lot of these cases the messages posted by the trolls were either copied from, or had in some form or another been inspired by, comments and messages from other conservative and far-right websites such as the Drudge Report, Fox Nation, and FreeRepublic. Some trolls even took to posting famous quotes from infamous people throughout history under a misattributed name: two such examples being: "'I have sworn to only live free. Even if I find bitter the taste of death, I don't want to die humiliated or deceived' – Henry Watkins Allen." a quote which originally stemmed from Osama bin Laden, and: "'As a Christian I have no duty to allow myself to be cheated, but I have the duty to be a fighter for truth and justice.' – Seth M.

Barton." which was in actuality a quote from Adolf Hitler. In many instances, the examples depicted and other suchlike comments received praise from the unsuspecting TPC community.

In more comedic instances, some 'Trolls' adopted the fake personalities of characters from popular film, literature, television, and videogame fiction. These fake profiles mimicked (or attempted to mimic as close as possible) the various attitudes, euphemisms, and speech impediments, of the fictional characters that they had adopted – including the outgiving of famous quotes. There were many diverse examples of such creative 'Trolling' on the TPC, including: an account under the name of a popular Marvel Comics super-villain, Victor von Doom or 'Doctor Doom'; an account for the fictional live-action British television character, Alan Partridge (see **Fig 27: Tea Party Community Troll Profile** below); and an account for the science-fiction villain, Darth Vader, from the Star Wars film franchise. Another creative troll profile of note was of a cat which simply commented and replied in "Meows."

Fig 27: Tea Party Community Troll Profile

At the very extreme end, however, a considerable minority of trolls resorted to posting images of graphic pornography on their profile pages and the pages of other members of the TPC, including examples such as: cartoon porn of anthropomorphic animals, bestiality porn, gay porn, and so on. Some trolls – thanks in great part to the poor and exploitable web design of the website – were able to modify their profile page to the extent that all background images and icons were of pornographic images (or other such 'offensive' images). The trolls would then send out 'friend' requests to random unsuspecting users on the TPC, who were

met with the 'offensive' images when checking to see the profile of those who had sent the 'friend' invite to their account. In the most extreme but isolated cases, pictures of mutilated women were posted.

After several months of trolling activity that gradually abated, the Tea Party Community social network soon dipped in popularity thereafter – In fact, according to site analytics, at the height of the trolling activity was coincidently the height of the TPC's popularity in terms of unique users on the website. However, what was particularly interesting about this peculiar incident involving the Tea Party Community social network was how the website administrators and moderators reacted in kind to the outside trolling. Unsurprisingly, of course, the troll accounts that had been discovered uploading the offensive images on the TPC were banned and in some cases also had their IP address blacklisted from the website to prevent the trolls from simply creating new accounts – for instance, account profiles with Arabic or middle-eastern sounding names were pre-emptively banned from the website almost as soon as they had been created. But then, the TPC authorities went one step further, and began to ban many of the so-called 'native' accounts – accounts which were created in good faith by legitimate members of the Tea Party movement, or indeed, by otherwise sympathetic conservative ideologues who joined the social network because of the conservative media. The administrators and moderators of the TPC had no discernible means to distinguish the legitimate 'native' user and that of the trolls, as a consequence of its own ideologically nurtured paranoia and moral monism. [637]

What had happened to the 'native' online community of the TPC was similar to an incident showcased by the documentary filmmaker Adam Curtis, in his titular documentary entitled, The Power of Nightmares. In his documentary, Curtis highlights a few examples that occurred during the nineties of authoritarian Islamist Revolutionary Groups in Algeria who attacked the Algerian state, as well as many innocent civilians in the process. Accordingly, these extremist groups justified their actions under the assumption that those they had attacked were in some form or another 'corrupt' and as such were not pure Muslims, which in turn reinforced their belief in the pursuit of violence against the Algerian population to pursue their political goals. This logic, Curtis remarks: "went completely out of control." The Algerian Islamist groups, Curtis states: "began to tear each other apart as they followed the logic that had driven their revolution to its ultimate and logical end. They started to kill each other." Adam Curtis concludes his documentary by mentioning how one of the Algerian Islamist Revolutionary Groups at the time, the GIA, had ended itself at the hands of a lone chicken farmer who had killed everybody who disagreed with him, aside from his chickens. [638]

---

[637] For further information about the trolling activity on the Tea Party Community social network, and the TPC's reaction, see the following online forum thread.
[SOROSCREW] Tea Party Launches Facebook-clone: Because Social Media has a Liberal Bias – The Something Awful Forums.
[638] The Power of Nightmares | thought maybe, http://thoughtmaybe.com/the-power-of-nightmares/#top, (23/09/12).

What had happened at the Tea Party Community social network is similar to numerous other Tea Party movement affiliated online communities. In particular, members of the Tea Party movement often refer to those they scorn with the politically-charged term, 'Traitors'. Unsurprisingly, of course, this term is commonly used in reference to their ideological and political opponents, such as with: President Barack Obama ('Traitor in Chief'), Hillary Clinton, the Democratic Party, Jane Fonda, Liberals, and so on. However, interestingly, this term is also used against their fellow supporters and sympathisers, including; Michelle Bachman, Sarah Palin, Scott Brown, the Republican Party (specifically, those they call 'Republicans in Name Only' – 'RINOs'), and so on. The American sociologist, Alan Crawford, explains the reasoning behind this peculiar phenomenon as follows:

> "The New Right divides people into Good Guys and Bad Guys. It has a hero complex and a villain complex. Yesterday's Good Guy may become today's Bad Guy. The New Right imposes severe standards and thus is often disillusioned. Failure to live up to these severe standards is considered betrayal, and meets with hostility bordering on hatred." [639]

In other words, any notion of compromise in terms of ideological principle or political policy within the sphere of American politics is therefore interpreted by those members of the Tea Party movement afflicted with this mind-set, as a grave betrayal of their values. [640] Consequently, this process enables the more extremist behaviour and values to survive, as the compromising moderates are ostracised from the Tea Party movement. It is an uncompromising attitude best exemplified by the objectivist author and philosopher, Ayn Rand, who states:

> "There can be no compromise between freedom and government controls; to accept 'just a few controls' is to surrender the principle of inalienable individual rights and to substitute for it the principle of the government's unlimited, arbitrary power, thus delivering oneself into gradual enslavement…
> There can be no compromise on moral principles." [641]

It should be noted, however, that the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century, too, were equally, if not even more, authoritarian during their political struggle as the Tea Party movement are in their own time. Even before the outbreak of the War of Independence, the revolutionary generation were engaged in activities which included public displays of violence against Loyalist persons and their property:

During the Stamp Act crisis – in which the British Empire attempted to impose a stamp duty tax on various colonial products (such as on gaming dice, legal papers, newspapers, pamphlets, and so on) which affected all levels of colonial society – Sam Adams and the Patriotic organisation calling themselves the Sons of Liberty orchestrated a prolonged campaign of harassment against the British Stamp Distributors tasked with enforcing the Act. In Boston, the Sons of Liberty (also known as the 'Loyal Nine') incited a riot with the help of

---

[639] Crawford, A. Thunder on the Right, p. 112.
[640] Ibid, p. 113.
[641] Rand, A. "Doesn't Life Require Compromise?", The Virtue of Selfishness: A New Concept of Egoism, (New York: Signet, 1964), pp 79-81.

the local North and South End gang leader, Ebenezer MacIntosh, against the Massachusetts Stamp Distributer, Andrew Oliver. An effigy of Andrew Oliver was found hanging from a tree since the early morning of August 14th, 1765, which was then later paraded through the streets by MacIntosh and his mob as they marched to Andrew Oliver's dock on Kilby Street. The revolutionary mob tore down the buildings owned by Oliver at the docks, before then moving on to Oliver's estate, whereby they publicly beheaded and burned his effigy. The mob proceeded to destroy Andrew Oliver's property, smashing windows and furniture, whilst Oliver slipped away and hid himself in a neighbouring house. A week or so later, on August 26th, a similar incident befell Governor Thomas Hutchinson, whose private estate was almost levelled to its foundations by the mob. [642]

Throughout the North American colonies, the Patriots of the revolutionary generation imposed oaths of loyalty amongst the colonial population, which discarded the authority of the British Crown in favour of an allegiance towards the individual States. Colonists that either publicly resisted (Loyalists) or who showed less than enthusiastic support for the Patriotic cause would oftentimes find themselves: being publicly ostracised and at times exiled from their local community, their personage being physically attacked in organised public displays of mob violence (such as tarring and feathering, scalping, and so on), being forcibly evicted from their homes, having their property seized and redistributed to Patriot supporters (if it was not destroyed first), and in some cases, killed. [643] The British historian, Maya Jasanoff, describes one such violent incident against a Loyalist by the name of Thomas Brown by the Patriots as follows:

> He [Thomas Brown] is tossed to the ground, his arms lashed around the trunk of a tree. He sees his bare legs splayed out in front of him, funny-looking foreign things, and he sees hot brown pitch poured over them, scalding, clinging to his skin. Under his feet the men pile up kindling and set it alight. The flame catches the tar, sears his flesh. His feet are on fire, two of his toes charred into stubs. The attackers seize his broken head by the hair and pull it out in clumps. Knives take care of the rest, cutting off strips of scalp, making the blood run down over his ears, face and neck. Half scalped, skull fractured, lamed, slashed and battered, Thomas Brown – remarkably – survives. [644]

---

[642] Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, pp 46-49; Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, pp 82-87; Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776, p. 47; Countryman, E. "Social Protest and the Revolutionary Movement, 1765-1776", pp 186-187; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, pp 88-89; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 176-177 & 180-184; Geiter, M. K. & Speck, W. A. Colonial America, pp 186-189; Jasanoff, M. *Liberty's Exiles*, p. 25; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 40; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, pp 80-81 & 92-96; Miller, J. C. Origins of the American Revolution, pp 97-98; Rakove, J. Revolutionaries, p. 20; Raphael, R. Founders, pp 32-35; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 58; Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 120-122; Thomas, P. D. G. "The Stamp Act crisis and its repercussions", pp 123-127; &, Ward, H. M. The American Revolution, pp 34-37.
[643] Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, p. 91; Bailyn, B. The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, p. 302; Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States, pp 111-112; Bernstein, R. B. & Rice, K. S. Are We To Be A Nation?, p. 74; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 128; Jasanoff, M. Libe*rty's Exiles*, p. 28; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 48; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, pp 565-569; Unger, H. G. American Tempest, pp 237-238; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, p. 84.
[644] Jasanoff, M. *Liberty's Exiles*, p. 22.

What made these acts all the more horrifying, was the fact that the North American colonial Loyalists, aside from of course their views regarding the authority of the British Crown, were in many respects more culturally similar to that of their Patriotic counterparts then they were to that of the culture of Great Britain at the time. [645]

Even after the American War of Independence was concluded with the mass expulsion of British Loyalists from the North American colonies, new ideological divisions emerged amongst the Patriots: between Federalists and Anti-Federalists, and later between Federalists and Republicans, who both struggled against one another to define the meaning behind the American Revolution, and consequently, the future direction of the United States of America. [646]

Over time, however, and in large part owing to the contribution of the Whig historians, these acts of authoritarianism displayed by the Patriots of the revolutionary generation faded from the popular memory. [647] This historiography of the American Revolution is detailed further in a future chapter of this thesis (as described in Subsection **7.2.1: Early Historiography of the American Revolution** on page 205). This is what the Neo-Progressive American historian, Howard Zinn, refers to so succinctly as: "the myth of the [American] Revolution" – that myth being, of course: "that it was on behalf of a united people." [648]

This subsection has detailed various incidences of what could be considered authoritarian behaviour enacted by both the Tea Party movement and their eighteenth-century ancestors from the revolutionary generation. The following subsection details an equally important ideological mind-set held by both the revolutionary generation and a significant proportion of members of the Tea Party movement – conspiracism.

6.3.2: Conspiracism

Conspiracism is another important ideological element which both the Tea Party movement and the revolutionary generation share in common which deserves further examination. Beginning with a definition of conspiracism, this subsection examines the role of conspiracy theories throughout the political history of the United States of America from the American Revolution to the Tea Party movement.

---

[645] Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, p. 128; Jasanoff, M. *Liberty's Exiles*, p. 24; &, Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, p. 564 & 569.

[646] Austin, M. *That's Not What They Meant!*, pp 25-32; Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, pp 139-141; Jasanoff, M. *Liberty's Exiles*, p. 318; Jenkins, P. A History of the United States, pp 62-66; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, p. 81; Kammen, M. "The American Revolution in National Tradition", Tradition, Conflict, and Modernisation: Perspectives on the American Revolution, (New York: Academic Press, 1977), p. 18 & 38; &, Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, pp 94-95.

[647] The historian Herbert Butterfield, explains this peculiar loss of uncomfortable historic memory, as:
> "…the tendency in many historians to write on the side of Protestants and Whigs, to praise revolutions provided they have been successful, to emphasise certain principles of progress in the past and to produce a story which is the ratification if not the glorification of the present."

Butterfield, H. The Whig Interpretation of History, (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1965), p. V.

[648] Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, p. 70.

The terms 'conspiracy' and 'conspiracism' may at first be mistakenly interpreted as one in the same, however, both terms themselves have vastly different definitions and therefore must be distinguished from one another to avoid future confusion. Taken from the twin Latin words; con, meaning 'with', and spirare, meaning 'to breathe' – conspiracy, according to this etymology, is the act of 'breathing together', or in other words, to 'whisper with others'. [649] The term conspiracy is defined as the action of: "an agreement between two or more persons to do something criminal, illegal, or reprehensible (especially in relation to treason, sedition, or murder)." [650] A 'conspiracy' or indeed the 'act of conspiring', therefore, is considered a very real phenomenon which exists and that has moreover been fervently documented throughout human history. Take, for instance, the multitude of criminal conspiracy cases involving the act(s) of: assassinations, bribery, coups, price-fixing, terrorism, trafficking, and so on. [651] 'Conspiracism', on the other hand, is the belief in what is called a 'conspiracy theory'. A 'conspiracy theory' is the notion or perception (as in, a poorly- or indeed un-evidenced belief) that the significant events throughout human history (as well as and including up to the present day) have been orchestrated or plotted by a secretive and often alien (as in, an outsider or foreign) group of actors whose machinations often result in enriching the conspiring group at the expense of others. [652] It is this seemingly ubiquitous latter term, conspiracism, which concerns the rest of the subsection.

 Conspiracism, like nostalgia, has no ideological boundaries – those on the political Left are just as susceptible to conspiracism as those on the political Right. Furthermore, as with nostalgia, conspiracism is believed to be the consequence of a heightened sense of anxiety related to the trappings of modern living and the chaotic uncertainty and disempowerment it brings. [653] Conspiracism provides respite to this anxiety by assuring its adherents that the present is an accounted, constructed, orderly and somewhat purposeful existence. It also shifts the burden of personal responsibility away from the conspiracist and onto an impersonal diabolical cabal for any of their [conspiracist's] individual failures and foibles within their lifetime. [654] It can therefore be said that conspiracism rejects contingency – the notion that events may happen by accident or circumstance. The American conspiracist, Gary

---

[649] Coady, D. "An Introduction to the Philosophical Debate about Conspiracy Theories", Conspiracy Theories: The Philosophical Debate, (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), p. 1.
[650] conspiracy, n. : Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/39766, (05/02/14).
[651] Aaronovitch, D. Voodoo Histories, p. 4; &, Pipes, D. Conspiracy: How the Paranoid Style Flourishes and where it comes from, (New York: The Free Press, 1997), pp 20-21.
[652] For similar definitions, see the following texts.
Aaronovitch, D. Voodoo Histories, pp 4-5; Coady, D. "An Introduction to the Philosophical Debate about Conspiracy Theories", p. 1; Pigden, C. "Complots of Mischief", Conspiracy Theories: The Philosophical Debate, (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), p. 157; &, Pipes, D. Conspiracy, pp 20-21.
[653] Barkun, M. A Culture of Conspiracy, p. 2; Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. 43; Knight, P. "Introduction: A Nation of conspiracy Theorists", Conspiracy Nation: the Politics of Paranoia in Postwar America, (New York: New York University Press, 2002), p. 10; Paranoia and the Roots of Conspiracy Theories | Psychology Today, http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/the-narcissus-in-all-us/200809/paranoia-and-the-roots-conspiracy-theories, (11/09/08); Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. Change They Can't Believe In, pp 32-33; &, Pipes, D. Conspiracy, p. 157.
[654] Barkun, M. A Culture of Conspiracy, pp 3-4; Paranoia and the Roots of Conspiracy Theories | Psychology Today; &, Willman, S. "Spinning Paranoia: The Ideologies of Conspiracy and Contingency in Postmodern Culture", Conspiracy Nation: the Politics of Paranoia in Postwar America, (New York: New York University Press, 2002), p. 22.

Allen, in his famous text entitled None Dare Call It Conspiracy, argues that: "Politicians and 'intellectuals' are attracted to the concept that events are propelled by some mysterious tide of history or happen by accident. By this reasoning they have to escape blame when things go wrong." [655] Consequently, the world and its history are thereby devolved into a simplistic Manichaean struggle – between good conspiracists and evil conspirators – under the conspiracist world-view. [656] These features are but a selection of what make the phenomenon of conspiracism desirable.

Whereas in recent times conspiracism has become synonymous with quackery, three centuries ago it was rather the opposite. The belief that conspiracies influenced world affairs was reflective of an Enlightenment philosophical assertion that *man was proprietor of man's domain* – as opposed to the pre-Enlightenment philosophical ruminations that world affairs were the result of God's providence (divine intervention) and the religiously moralistic notions of sin and punishment (just world theory). Conspiracism as an extension of the Enlightenment was seen as something to be revered. [657] The eighteenth-century adopted a newfound fondness of conspiracism by delving into the past, uncovering lessons for their own time inspired by the tales of ancient authors such as Cato, Cicero, and Sallust. One of the most famous of these tales was Catiline's conspiracy. [658] John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon were two of the most renowned eighteenth-century English coffeehouse pamphleteers who dispensed these historic tales in their works such as *Cato's Letters*, which eventually found an acceptive audience across the Atlantic who would use these ancient antecedents to justify the American Revolution. [659] Since then, and in part because of the popularity of the Internet, conspiracism has become an industry unto itself in the United States of America. So-called

---

[655] Allen, G. None Dare Call It Conspiracy, p. 12.

[656] Barkun, M. A Culture of Conspiracy, p. 3; &, Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, p. 43; &, Hofstadter, R. The Paranoid Style in American Politics, p. 29.

[657] Wood, G. S. The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1787, p. 40; &, Wood, G. S. The Idea of America, p. 92.

[658] Lucius Sergius Catilina (108-62 BCE), known as Catiline, was an ambitious Ancient Roman aristocrat from an old (but not prestigious) patrician family. In an attempt to restore honour to his family line, Catiline stood in the 66BCE elections for the position of a consul within the city of Rome. Catiline's ambition went unfulfilled, however, when he was denied consulship by Tullus – which resulted in the so-called 'first Catilinarian conspiracy'. The first Catilinarian conspiracy, it was said, involved a plot to publicly assassinate the newly elected consuls in the early months of 65BCE, but was postponed and eventually abandoned due to its discovery. A year later (64BCE), Catiline once again stood for consulship, but was defeated by his rival, Cicero, who accused Catiline of orchestrating the first Catilinarian conspiracy. In 63BCE, yet again, the same events unfolded – with Catiline unsuccessfully standing for consulship by being upstaged by Cicero. Consequently, Catiline fled from Rome and instigated an armed rebellion with the help of his right-hand-man, Manlius, against the Roman Republic. Catiline and his co-conspirators were eventually crushed in battle against the Roman Army, and Cicero, who played a central role in uncovering and undermining the conspiracies earned his moniker as 'father of the fatherland' of Rome.
Batstone, W. W. [Translator], Sallust [Author], *Catiline's Conspiracy, The Jugurthine War, Histories*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp XIX-XX; Catiline -- Britannica Online Encyclopaedia, http://original.search.eb.com/eb/article-9021829, (04/11/12); &, Phillips, E. J. "Catiline's Conspiracy", *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 25, H. 4 (4th Quarter, 1976), pp 442-443.

[659] Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776, p. 58; Degler, C. N. Out of Our Past, p. 78; Hamowy, R. "Introduction", *Cato's Letters or Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious, and Other Important Subjects* [Volume 1], (Indiana: Liberty Fund, 1995), p. XXXVI; Heale, M. J. The American Revolution, p. 17; Jacobson, D. L. [Editor], The English Libertarian Heritage: From the Writings of John Trenchard and Thomas *Gordon in The Independent Whig and Cato's Letters*, (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1965), p. XXIII; &, Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, pp 38-39.

'conspiracy entrepreneurs' such as Alex Jones, David Ike, and Glenn Beck have built multi-million-dollar careers (and private companies) promoting conspiracy theories to an overeager audience. [660]

There are a considerable number of members of the Tea Party movement who embody the seemingly unique American tradition of what Richard Hofstadter had termed, the 'paranoid style'. The 'paranoid style' is explained by Hofstadter as follows:

> "In the paranoid style, as I conceive it, the feeling of persecution is central, and it is indeed systemised in grandiose theories of conspiracy. But there is a vital difference between the paranoid spokesman in politics and the clinical paranoiac: although they both tend to be overheated, oversuspicious, overaggressive, grandiose, and apocalyptic in expression, the clinical paranoid sees the hostile and conspiratorial world in which he feels himself to be living as directed specifically against him; whereas the spokesman of the paranoid style finds it directed against a nation, a culture, a way of life whose fate affects not himself alone but millions of others. His sense that his political passions are unselfish and patriotic, in fact, goes far to intensify his feeling of righteousness and his moral indignation." [661]

According to Hofstadter, throughout the history of the United States of America a peculiar strand of anti-intellectual, conspiratorial, Manichean, and 'pseudo-conservative' state of mind recurs – marked by a crippling sense of belief that their country is vulnerable from insidious conspiracies. [662] But what is more interesting, is how the Tea Party movement's 'paranoid style' has unearthed the seemingly buried and forgotten conspiracism of their ancestors. Indeed, the nostalgia surrounding the American Revolution that resonates in the mind's eye – that it was a principled Revolution of enlightened ideals conducted between civilised gentlemen – has masked and obscured the irrational conspiracy theories believed by many of the Patriots at the time.

Conspiratorial fears surrounding the imposition of so-called 'standing armies' [663] has remained a constant throughout the history of the United States of America. The revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century North American colonies, who were immersed in the cultural precedents of antiquity, took heed of the leftover historical and political writings of their Roman and European forebears and became well-versed in the timorous warnings against the imposition of standing armies on home soil. [664] Perhaps the most significant author at the time, whose works influenced the conspiratorial mind-set of the

---

[660] Alex Jones: Conspiracy Inc. – Salon.com, http://www.salon.com/2013/05/02/alex_jones_conspiracy_inc/, (02/05/13); Barkun, M. A Culture of Conspiracy, p. 20; &, Pipes, D. Conspiracy, p. 16.
[661] Hofstadter, R. The Paranoid Style in American Politics, p. 4.
[662] Barkun, M. A Culture of Conspiracy, pp 8-9; Hofstadter, R. The Paranoid Style in American Politics; Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right*, p. 164; Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Be*lieve In, p. 22; &, Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 78.
[663] 'Standing Armies', according to the historian Bernard Bailyn:
> "…were not national guards, protecting the people. They were janissary troops, palace guards, predatory mercenaries loyal to the power source – the Crown, the executive, the President, anyone in authority to whom they were loyal or who would pay them."
Bailyn, B. The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, p. 339.
[664] Bailyn, B. The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, pp 61-63, 112-120, & 357; Balko, R. Rise of the Warrior Cop, p. XI; Bederman, D. J. The Classical Foundations of the American Constitution, p. 45; Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776, p. 58; &, Miller, J. C. Origins of the American Revolution, pp 122-125.

revolutionary generation, of course, was John Trenchard. Prior to his collaborative work on *Cato's Letters* alongside Thomas Gordon, John Trenchard wrote a number of independent pamphlets related to the topic of standing armies, entitled, An Argument, shewing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with a Free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy (1697) and A Short History of Standing Armies in England (1698). [665]

Both pamphlets warned of the potential despotisms of standing armies imposed upon a country, and how only the 'Rights of Englishmen' provided a safeguard against such impositions. [666] By evoking the histories of Matho and Spendius at Carthage, Julius Caesar after having crossed the Rubicon, the rule of King Richard II of England, Philippe de Commines under the auspices of King Louis XI of France, and Edmund Ludlow's posthumous Memoirs relating to the English civil War, John Trenchard demonstrated to his audience the potential consequences of standing armies. [667] Furthermore, Trenchard's pamphlets listed the number of so-called 'lesser inconveniences' brought about by the imposition of standing armies, including facets such as:

> …frequent Quarrels, Murder, and Robberies; the Destruction of all the Game in the Country; the Quartering upon Publick, and sometimes private Houses; the Influencing Elections of Parliament, by an artificial Distribution of Quarters; the rendering so many Men useless to Labour, and almost Propogation, together with a much greater Destruction of them, by taking them from a labourious Way of Living, to a loose idle Life; and besides this, the Insolence of the Officers, and the Debaucheries that are committed both by them, and their Soldiers in all the Towns they come in, to the Ruin of Multitudes of Women, Dishonour of their Families, and ill Example to others; and a numerous Train of Mischiefs besides, almost endless to enumerate… [Sic] [668]

Inspired by their European predecessors, the North American revolutionary generation colonists would themselves contribute to the conspiracism surrounding the fear of standing armies with their own contemporary tracts. One such popular tract was written by John

---

[665] Full copies of these pamphlets written by John Trenchard can be accessed online.
Online Library of Liberty – Trenchard a Short History of Standing Armies in England. Anno 1698, http://oll.libertyfund.org/?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=2315&chapter=220990&layout=html&Itemid=27, (12/08/13); &, Online Library of Liberty – Trenchard: An Argument, shewing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with a Free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. Anno 1697, http://oll.libertyfund.org/?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=2315&chapter=220983&layout=html&Itemid=27, (12/08/13).
[666] John Trenchard writes:
   "And if we enquire how these unhappy Nations have lost that precious Jewel Liberty, and we as yet preserved it, we shall find their Miseries and our Happiness proceed from this, That their Necessities or Indiscretion have permitted a Standing Army to be kept amongst them, and our Situation rather than our Prudence, hath as yet defended us from it… [Sic]"
Online Library of Liberty – Trenchard: An Argument, shewing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with a Free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. Anno 1697.
[667] Online Library of Liberty – Trenchard a Short History of Standing Armies in England. Anno 1698; &, Online Library of Liberty – Trenchard: An Argument, shewing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with a Free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. Anno 1697.
[668] Online Library of Liberty – Trenchard: An Argument, shewing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with a Free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. Anno 1697.

Dickenson, in his ninth letter of the series of Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies (1767-1768). Under the anonymous moniker 'A Farmer', Dickenson laid out the revolutionary generation's quintessential conspiracism by tying together various links between sinister metropolitan machinations, the introduction of the specie-draining Townshend Acts, the proliferation of unaccountable crown bureaucrats, and the imposition of standing armies in the North American colonies. Dickenson wrote:

> …but here, the time may come, when we may have to contend with the designs of the crown, and of a mighty kingdom. What then must be our chance, when the laws of life and death are to be spoken by judges totally dependent on that crown, and that kingdom – sent over perhaps from thence – filled with British prejudices – and backed by a STANDING army – supported out of OUR OWN pockets, to "assert and maintain" OUR OWN "dependence and obedience"? [Sic] [669]

Such designs, Dickinson argued, had but one fateful conclusion – enslavement. Continuing further into his ninth letter, he argues:

> Is it possible to form an idea of a slavery more complete, more miserable, more disgraceful, than that of a people, where justice is administered, government exercised, and a standing army maintained, AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PEOPLE, and yet WITHOUT THE LEAST DEPENDENCE UPON THEM? If we can find no relief from this infamous situation, it will be fortunate for us, if Mr. Greenville, setting his fertile fancy again at work, can as by one exertion of it he has stripped us of our property and liberty, by another deprive us of so much of our understanding; that, unconscious of what we have been or are, and ungoaded by tormenting reflections, we may bow down our necks, with all the stupid serenity of servitude, to any drudgery, which our lords and masters shall please to command. [Sic] [670]

The revolutionary generation not only drew upon the past for their ruminations regarding standing armies, they also looked across the Atlantic which provided ample then-present-day examples. Hearsay and rumours reached the North American colonists telling of numerous horror stories emanating from the rest of the civilised world – from locations such as: Austria, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, India, Persia, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey, and so on – wherein the population of the countries were impoverished and subjugated under tyrannical regimes which shunned the idea of liberty (through the use, of course, of standing armies). As was also detailed in a previous chapter of this thesis, the revolutionary generation of the North American colonies soon experienced the tyranny of life inflicted under the authority of standing armies first-hand (as shown in the second paragraph of Subsection **5.2.3: Trauma of Domestic Civil Disobedience**). Collected together, these writings, rumours, and experiences were what spurred the American Revolution into action. [671]

---

[669] Frohnen, B. [Editor], The American Republic: Primary Sources, (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2002), p. 151.
[670] Ibid, p. 153.
[671] Bailyn, B. The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, p. 63; Bederman, D. J. The Classical Foundations of the American Constitution, p. 45; Butler, J. "Was There a Revolutionary Millennium?", Major Problems in the Era of the American Revolution 1760-1791, (Lexington: D. C. Heath & Company, 1992), p.

Indeed, so important was this conspiratorial fear of the imposition of standing armies that it was included and immortalised as one of the major grievances levied against King George III within the Declaration of Independence. That particular grievance in question being: "He [King George III] has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures." [672] In addition, after the American Revolution had concluded, the Constitution of the United States of America was drafted with the peculiarly specific prohibitions regarding the raising of standing armies by the States during peacetime (and even when necessitated), as well as the implementation of a limited timeframe for the standing armies to exist for up to a maximum of two years, which were included in Article I Section VIII and Article I Section X respectfully. [673]

The conspiratorial fear of standing armies was resurrected on the eve of the United States of America's bicentenary, when during his resignation speech President Dwight D. Eisenhower ushered in the turbulent decade of the 1960s with a forewarning to the American people of the dangers posed by the so-called 'Military-Industrial Complex' – echoing John Trenchard's sentiments centuries earlier. [674] The so-called 'New World Order' as it is most commonly known, modernised the very antiquated fears of standing armies, by ushering suspicion towards both the Federal government and the United Nations within the United States of America. According to this conspiratorial theory: a sinister cabal of 'Insiders' (also referred to as the 'Money Power') have infiltrated the corridors of power with the sole intention of 'selling out' their country – which, depending on the narrative told of the conspiracy, is either executed willingly or unwillingly – in favour of establishing a 'one-world government' in its place. Vitally important to this conspiracy theory is the belief that some form of military occupation (in other words, a standing army) will be implemented on American soil, either from an invading foreign army – such as the former USSR (who operate under the banner of the United Nations) – or from within the already-existing government infrastructure which is later subverted – such as with the increasing militarisation of the police, and with the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). [675] In The Iron Curtain Over America, the conspiracist John Beaty warns his American audience of the creeping subversion of their country's sovereignty by the United Nations; citing an article written by John Jay Daly for the National Republic (1951), in which the United Nations "took over Culver City,

368; Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776, p. 58; Degler, C. N. Out of Our Past, p. 78; Foner, E. The Story of American Freedom, p. 13; Gould, P. "Virtue, Ideology, and the American Revolution", p. 565; Hamowy, R. "Introduction", p. XXXVI; Heale, M. J. The American Revolution, pp 13-14 & 17; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, pp 38-39; McFerran, W. L. Birth of the Republic: The Origin of the United States, (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2009), p. 57; Shalhope, R. E. "Republicanism", A Companion to the American Revolution, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), p. 669; Wood, G. S. The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1787, p. 40; Wood, G. S. The Idea of America, pp 105-106; &, Unger, H. G. American Tempest, pp 73-74.
[672] The Constitution of the United States of America: and Selected Writings of the Founding Fathers, p. 109.
[673] Ibid, pp 807-808.
[674] Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, p. 954; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 407; &, Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America, pp 1000-1001.
[675] Barkun, M. A Culture of Conspiracy, pp 39-40; Berlet, C. "Reframing Populist Resentments in the Tea Party Movement", Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 53; Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion, p. 148; Durham, M. The Christian Right, the Far Right and the Boundaries of American Conservatism, p. 132; &, Pipes, D. Conspiracy, pp 7-8.

Huntington Park, Inglewood, Hawthorne, and Compton, California." The occupying forces flew the United Nations flag, whilst: "throwing the mayor of the city in jail and locking up the chief of police…" Beaty concludes with the following sentiment: "The present location of the UN Headquarters not only within the United States but in our most alien-infested great city would make easy any outside interference intended to break down local sovereignty in this country." [676]

 The Tea Party movement carries on the conspiracist tradition, igniting many conspiracies ranging from the familiar fears of standing armies and the imposition of the 'New World Order', to more modern conspiracies revolving around climate change and the heritage of the President, which they passionately believe is undermining their country's security and stature as a superpower to the point of decline.

 One prominent conspiracy which for a time had circulated around the Tea Party movement's online forums was with regards to a plot uncovered by an independent radio host, John Moore, on his aptly-titled 'The John Moore Show' for RBN radio. John Moore began his morning radio show with the impending news that: "I got word over the weekend that twenty Spetznatz troops were going to be in a counter-terrorist training operation in Denver airport beginning May 21st [2012]." He continued: "That's expanded now – that twenty is actually two-hundred." Moore then explained that the foreign soldiers would be stationed in and around numerous military bases and installations throughout the United States of America, and that their deployment was one which would be permanent. Moore then exclaimed: "I now know, and this is coming from… from CIA headquarters, that the true number of Spetznatz coming into the United States in the next seven months will be somewhere between thirty-thousand and one-hundred-thousand Spetznatz troops." He later explained: "They're what we call the advance party – to prepare the way for the large numbers that are coming later in the year." What, exactly, was the purpose of the deployment of this foreign army on American soil? According to John Moore, it could mean one thing – tyranny. "I really am very concerned," he stated: "that they are here to be used against American citizens, to establish a control over American citizens, to be used for weapons confiscation and things of that nature." [677] But what made this so-called news of foreign soldiers on American soil as being particularly insidious to John Moore, was his assertions that:

> "If a Spetznatz soldier was standing in the supermarket or sitting on a bus, you wouldn't know it. He would speak English as good as you do. He would be wearing American clothes. There's no way in God's green earth that you could tell that the man in Wal-Mart was Spetznatz paratrooper. No way. That's how good they are." [678]

But Moore's fantasies, predictably, never bore fruit – the so-called machinations of the secretive Spetznatz army were never enacted upon as Moore had feared. There is no evidence

---

[676] Beaty, J. *The Iron Curtain Over America*, (Dallas: Wilkinson Publishing Company, 1952), p. 223.
[677] Transcribed from an uploaded YouTube video of a recording of 'The John Moore Show'. Taken from: 30,000 – 100,000 Russian Troops Scheduled within next 7 Months – May 2nd 2012 – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yY4s4SfgEEM&feature=player_embedded, (02/05/12).
[678] Ibid.

whatsoever to support the hyperbolic machinations of scale concocted by John Moore during his radio show – aside from Moore's assertions. It may have been true, to some extent, that the Russian government had sent perhaps one or two Spetznatz 'ambassadors' to the military bases of the United States of America (under intense surveillance, no doubt) for the purposes of exchanging counter-terrorism training between the two countries – which, of course, would be only natural in the contemporary climate – given that both factions have a well-documented history of combating organised terrorism (both foreign and domestic). But to successfully engineer a plan such as conceived by Moore? Impossible.

More recently, the Tea Party movement has developed an infatuation with conspiracies revolving around climate change and the United Nation's so-called 'Agenda 21'. Agenda 21 was developed as an environmental programme intended to promote sustainable development and reduce pollution across the globe by the United Nations during the 1992 'Earth Summit' held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil – Agenda 21 is a purely voluntary commitment on behalf of the countries and local governments that have adopted the programme that has absolutely no legal binding or indeed capable means of being enforced by the United Nations. [679] However, the Tea Party movement believes that the imposition of such environmental commitments are in violation of the sovereignty of the United States of America, as well as it being at odds with American's highly-regarded individual property rights, and go as far as to argue that adherence to such commitments will adversely affect the quality of life and living conditions within their country to 'pre-civilised' levels. [680]

This subsection has detailed the role of conspiracism in the history of the United States of America from the time of the American Revolution to the present Tea Party movement. Conspiracism, as this subsection has shown, is an ideological facet that is shared in common between the contemporary Tea Party movement and their ancestors the revolutionary generation – which was seemingly obscured by the nostalgia surrounding the American Revolution. Indeed, it can be argued that the conspiracism evoked by the Tea Party movement is somewhat nostalgic – given the narrative similarities of the conspiracies both groups share together. Furthermore, like the concept of nostalgia, the phenomena of conspiracism is said to affect those people who are often disaffected in life, being equally frustrated and vulnerable by contemporary society and the chaotic changes it brings. [681] This thesis has already documented the similarities of experiences between both groups in the previous chapter to support this assertion (Chapter **5. Nostalgic Origins**).

---

[679] FAQ: ICLEI, the United Nations, and Agenda 21 – Local Governments for Sustainability USA, http://www.icleiusa.org/about-iclei/faqs/faq-iclei-the-united-nations-and-agenda-21#what-is-agenda-21, (02/02/14).
[680] Schweikart, L. What Would the Found*ers Say? A Patriot's Answers to America's Most Pressing Problems*, (New York: Sentinel, 2011), p. 68; &, Tea Party Activists Fight Agenda 21, Seeing Threatening U.N. Plot, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/10/15/agenda-21-tea-party_n_1965893.html, (15/10/12).
[681] Aaronovitch, D. Voodoo Histories, p. 326; Hofstadter, R. The Paranoid Style in American Politics, p. 4, 23, & 58; Knight, P. "Introduction: A Nation of conspiracy Theorists", p. 10; Paranoia and the Roots of Conspiracy Theories | Psychology Today; &, Pipes, D. Conspiracy, p. 2.

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the seemingly counterintuitive nature of the ideology behind the Tea Party movement and has exposed the shortcomings of the social movement's nostalgic adaptation of the past to suit their agenda. The original Declaration of Independence was signed in a location which (at least symbolically) represented the ideals of representative governance, whereas, the Tea Party Declaration of Independence that was to be drafted centuries later (in an attempted bid to evoke and exploit the past) took place in a location synonymous with faceless unrepresentative modern corporatism. So, too, on the surface it appears as if the ideological principles espoused by the Tea Party movement are in keeping with that of their ancestors during the eighteenth-century. Indeed, the idea that "many late twentieth-century conservatives in fact were eighteenth-century liberals…" has been argued by academics such as the American historian, Gary Gerstle. [682] However, when investigated closely, the underlying intention, interpretation, and implication of the historical principles could not be further from those espoused by the modern Tea Party movement.

The major problem regarding the political ideology of the Tea Party movement is that in many respects it is a fool's errand to compare and contrast the principles espoused by the modern social movement with that of the so-called political philosophy by their ancestors. All too often, the academics that pursue such avenues result in accidently attributing underserved credibility to the political views of movements such as the Tea Party movement by mistakenly tracing the ideological roots of their political agenda back to more revered thinkers from the past. The reality of where these political views actually emerge from, however, is an altogether different affair, as the American historian, Gordon S. Wood, explains:

> "Intellectual activity in a culture is not a one-way flow between the great minds and passive recipients; it is a discourse, a complex marketplace – like conglomeration of intellectual exchanges involving many participants all trying to manipulate the ideas available to them in order to explain, justify, lay blame for, or otherwise make sense of what is happening around them. Everyone, not just the great minds, participates in this complicated process." [683]

Political ideas, then, such as those espoused by and which motivate both the members of the Tea Party movement and the revolutionary Patriots of the eighteenth-century are more likely to stem from less than academic foundations. Around the time of the American Revolution, antiquity was the popular culture of the period: for instance, theatrical productions of Joseph Addison's Cato: A Tragedy in Five Acts that revolved the life of Cato the Younger were especially popular in transmitting the values of classical republicanism. [684] So, too, conspiracy theories have been disseminated amongst the general populace through modern popular culture – from various films and television series including the X-Files, to videogames such as Deus Ex, which in their own respects depict conspiracist concepts such

---

[682] Gerstle, G. Liberty and Coercion, p. 312.
[683] Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past, p. 20.
[684] Murphy, C. Are We Rome?, pp 36-37.

as the New World Order. [685] The political ideology that underlines the Tea Party movement, therefore, is more likely to stem from the works of Ayn Rand – works which are by their very nature distorted, fictional, and nostalgic – then it is from the historical documents of John Locke and other political philosophers that their ancestors had used during their struggles.

In addition, this chapter has highlighted how ideological states of mind such as authoritarianism and conspiracism, although considered separate and unique facets in their own right, nevertheless both complement one another. [686] So too, the very same ideological states of mind, as it has been explained throughout this chapter, encouraged the American Revolution to unfold in the manner with which it did – An example of historical recurrence, which consequently demystifies the nostalgic myth surrounding the historic event, that purported that the American Revolution unfolded as a civilised dispute between two intellectual forces, or at least as it is so commonly depicted in the mind's eye. Furthermore, this chapter has uncovered that the members composing the Tea Party movement – and arguably any other political movement for that matter – are drawn in from widely varying and at times contradictory interests (such as with conservative Christianity and Libertarianism). Just as historians argue that the American Revolution should be seen as a series of 'parallel revolutions,' [687] so too, should the Tea Party movement be seen in the same light.

---

[685] Barkun, M. A Culture of Conspiracy, p. 230.

[686] The scholar, Michael Barkun, explains how mediums such as the Internet help to solidify such ideological mind-sets, by stating that:

"…both the conspiracism and the fears are amplified by the Internet, whose websites provide the counter-narrative. These same websites also give the impression that even the most isolated lone wolf is, in fact, a 'warrior' in an immense virtual army of likeminded souls, implying that if he or she were to act alone, somehow that lone act of violence would be supported by invisible forces the Internet seems to provide. It is, of course, in almost every case a completely spurious assurance, yet it can whisper a dangerous siren song to militia groups, cells, and lone wolves."

Barkun, M. A Culture of Conspiracy, p. 205.

[687] Frey, S. "Causes of the American Revolutions", p. 524.

7. 'One Continued Lye…'

7.1: Introduction

The Tea Party movement's adoption of their country's founding history has been identified as one of their strongest assets as a social movement, and has been a central theme throughout this thesis. As has been previously mentioned throughout this thesis, the American historian and early observer of the Tea Party movement, Professor Jill Lepore, has argued in good faith that (emphasis added):

> "*From the start, the Tea Party's chief political asset was its name: t*he echo of the Revolution conferred upon a scattered, diffuse, and confused movement a degree of legitimacy and the appearance, almost, of coherence. Aside from the name and the costume, the Tea Party offered an analogy: rejecting the bailout is like dumping the tea; health care reform is like the Tea Act; our struggle is like theirs." [688]

In the epistemological chapter of this thesis, the underlying foundations of historical knowledge and its power as an academic field was examined. The role of narratives, it was asserted, was of particular importance and interest throughout this thesis. This chapter sets out to examine the Tea Party movement's relationship with History – through cataloguing their particular interpretation of the American Revolution in relation to those historiographies (narratives) of the past, as well as by examining how history is utilised by members of the Tea Party movement to justify their political ideology. It ends with an experimental attempt at re-contextualising the information uncovered in this chapter through a more philosophical lens.

It should be noted that this chapter employs numerous quotations from the various historiographical traditions of the history of the American Revolution. The purpose of this exercise is to highlight to the audience the various distinctions in narratives, styles, tones, and voices that compose the historiography of the American Revolution – thereby showing how these distinctions can radically transform the meaning of a single historical event. This exercise is also a means to reinforce the argument made earlier on in this thesis, that there is no one true objective narrative of history. These quotes will be presented to the extent that they were originally written and will therefore for the most part not be edited – or in some cases they will be edited as little as possible.

7.2: The Historiography of the American Revolution

This section briefly details the historiography developed throughout the past two centuries amongst academic circles to be used as a means to contextualise the Tea Party movement's adoption and reinterpretation of the founding history of the United States of America, the American Revolution.

---

[688] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 14.

The following subsections utilise the event of the Boston Massacre as a template example to highlight the various ways in which the historical narrative of a single event can radically change its underlying meaning depending on the generation of historians that write about it. This is done in order to appreciate the fact that there is no single all-encompassing 'Truth' to History as touched upon early on in this thesis in the epistemological chapter. [689]

It should be noted, however, that this subsection does not cover every single example of all the various historiographies of the American Revolution which exist throughout the entire history of the United States of America, but rather, it provides a sample selection of those narratives which are of particular interest for the purposes of this thesis and in relation to the Tea Party movement. [690] The historiographies chosen to be examined within this chapter are depicted in the diagram on the following page (see **Fig 28: Diagram of the American Revolution Historiography**). [691]

---

[689] Appleby, J. Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. Telling the Truth About History, pp 163-164; Carr, E. H. What is History?, pp 16-18 & 64-65; Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, p. 1, 3 & 15; Harrison, R. Jones, A. & Lambert, P. "The Primacy of Political History", Making History: An Introduction to the history and practices of a discipline, (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 51; Jenkins, K. Re-thinking History, p. 24; Munslow, A. "Preface", Re-thinking History, (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. XI; Newman, S. P. "Writing the History of the American Revolution", The State of U.S. History, (New York: Berg, 2002), p. 32; Rosenau, P. M. Post-Modernism and the Social Sciences, pp 63-67; &, Tosh, J. The Pursuit of History, p. 20.

[690] For an extended bibliographical reading list of various historiographical interpretations of the American Revolution, see the following texts.
Billias, G. A. [Editor], The American Revolution: How Revolutionary was it? [4th Edition], (Florida: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1990); Brown, R. M. & Fehrenbacher, D. E. [Editors], Tradition, Conflict, and Modernisation: Perspectives on the American Revolution, (New York: Academic Press, 1977); Greene, J. P. [Editor], The Reinterpretation of the American Revolution 1763-1789, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1979); &, Wright, E. [Editor], Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966), pp 52-59.

[691] Wright, E. [Editor], Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, p. 15.

Fig 28: Diagram of the American Revolution Historiography
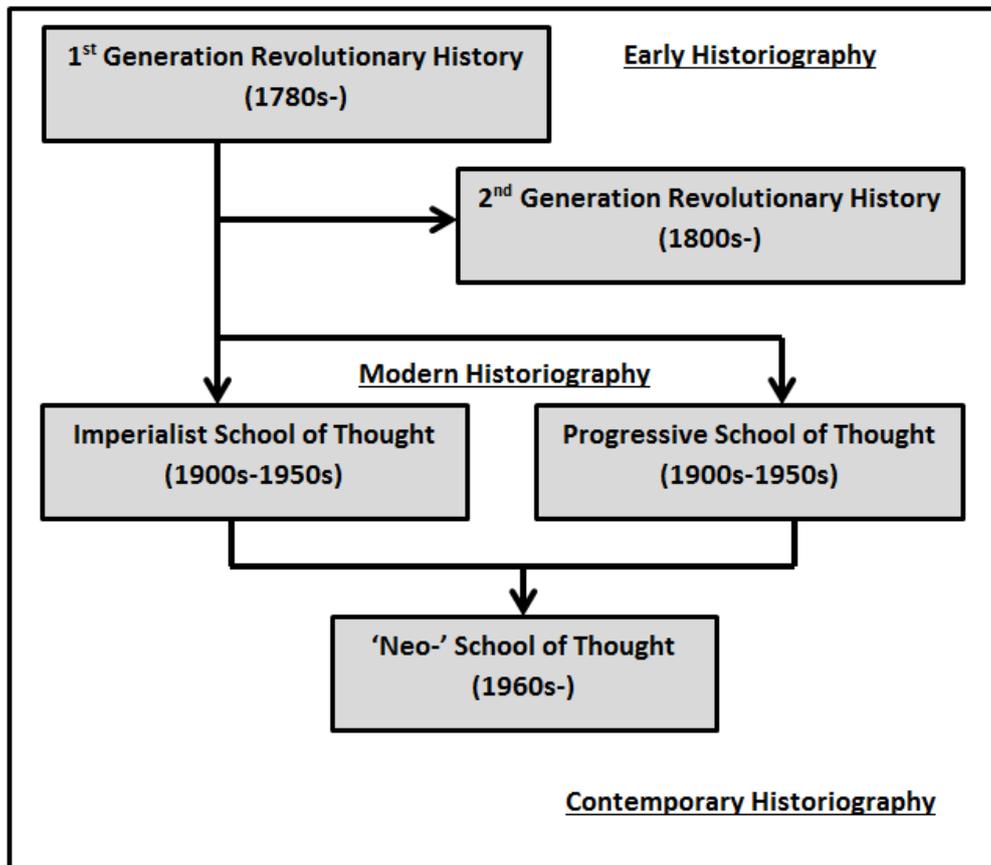
7.2.1: Early Historiography of the American Revolution

 The following subsections detail the various earliest interpretations of the American Revolution produced and popularised in the late-eighteenth-to-early-nineteenth-century – specifically, the aptly named first and second generation(s) of American Revolution historiography.

 Before the smoke had lifted from the Battle of Yorktown and the ink had dried on the Treaty of Paris, the histories surrounding the American Revolution were already being written. These histories, given the particular time in which they were written, were not written by what would be considered 'professional historians' that sought to be objective and scientific. Instead, these histories were ascribed from the quills of the clergymen, to the writing-pens of the numerous gentle-men and -women of the privileged patricianate classes both inside and outside of American society – The early historiographical works that these authors produced were pieced together from the personal diaries, letters, memories, and sermons that they had oft written or remembered at the time. It should also be noted, that these early historiographies of the American Revolution were all produced from oral testimonies at such a time when the so-called 'living memory' of those who had experienced the historic event(s) first-hand, or those with memories of older relatives that had experienced them, still existed and produced raw reactions within the consciousness of society at that time. Consequently, such historical narratives that were produced during this period contained a lot of emotional,

polemical, and other suchlike content which was primarily the result of these said historians meaning and wanting to justify the actions and outcomes of the American Revolution as it had happened. [692]

7.2.1.1: First Generation

 The first generation of American Revolution historiography was written around the late-eighteenth-century and during the events as they were continually unfolding, and is divided into two major polemical strands, Whig and Loyalist. Each interpretative strand of the first generation of American Revolution historiography was written in a style more akin to that of chroniclers making note of the phenomenon they observed, commenting on the situation with the intention to justify what was happening or had happened at the time. [693]

 The first and most famous strand of what is known as the first generation of American Revolution historiography is what is called the Whig (or Patriotic) interpretation. This interpretation of the American Revolution, of course, was written from the perspective of those that had supported the revolutionaries' struggle for American independence against the British Empire. The American Revolution was depicted by this particular school of historians as tantamount to a Manichean struggle between the patriotic forces fighting to defend their heritable 'Rights of Englishmen' against the tyrannical King George III and the machinations of his cronies that sought to enslave the American colonies. In other words, the overarching narrative of the Whig interpretation of the American Revolution could be neatly summed up with the phrase: "Liberty against Tyranny!" [694]

 Perhaps the most famous depiction of the Boston Massacre which to this very day is etched into the mind's eye is the propagandistic print produced by the Bostonian silversmith and patriot Paul Revere, entitled, The Bloody Massacre perpetuated in King Street Boston on March 5th by a party of the 29th Regiment (see **Fig 29: Paul Revere's The Bloody Massacre perpetuated in King Street Boston on March 5th by a party of the 29th Regiment** on page 208). Revere describes the event of the Boston Massacre with the following poetic prose:

> "Unhappy Boston! See thy Sons deplore,
> Thy hallow'd Walks besmear'd with guiltless Gore:
> While faithless P[resto]n and his savage Bands
> With murd'rous rancour stretch their bloody Hands;
> Like fierce Barbarians grinning o'er their Prey
> Approve the Carnage, and enjoy the Day.

---

[692] Gerber, S. D. "Whatever happened to the Declaration of Independence? A Commentary on the Republican Revisionism in the Political Thought of the American Revolution", Polity, Vol. 26, No. 2, (Winter, 1993), pp 207-208; &, Harrison, R. Jones, A. & Lambert, P. "The Institutionalisation and Organisation of History", p. 20.
[693] Wright, E. [Editor], Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, p. 15.
[694] Brown, R. D. [Editor], Major Problems in the Era of the American Revolution 1760-1791, p. 1; Gerber, S. D. "Whatever happened to the Declaration of Independence?", p. 207; Greene, J. P. [Editor], The Reinterpretation of the American Revolution 1763-1789, p. 3; &, Wright, E. [Editor], Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, p. 15.

If scalding drops from Rage from Anguish Wrung
If speechless Sorrows lab'ring for a Tongue,
Or if a Weeping World can ought appease
The plaintive Ghosts of Victims such as these;
The Patriot's copious Tears for each are shed,
A glorious Tribute which embalms the Dead.

But know, Fate summons to that awful Goal,
Where Justice strips the murd'rer of his Soul:
Should venal C[our]ts the scandal of the Land,
Snatch the relentless Villain from her Hand,
Keen Execrations on this plate inscrib'd,
Shall reach a Judge who never can be brib'd." [695]

Like most other Whig histories of the American Revolution, Paul Revere's print of the Boston Massacre is pure propaganda intended to justify (and stoke) colonial rebellion against the British Crown and its adjuncts. This point is clearly illustrated by Revere's numerous 'artistic licenses' that were made to his print, such as with the calculated positioning of Captain Preston with his arm raised in such a way as to evoke the belief that the incident that took place was ordered deliberately, alongside the gory remains of the unfortunate Bostonians, who are all depicted as respectable, well-dressed, white-skinned, and unarmed – thereby enhancing its emotional effect by playing upon the Manichean narrative trope of 'good versus evil'. [696]

---

[695] **Fig 29: Paul Revere's The Bloody Massacre perpetuated in King Street Boston on March 5th by a party of the 29th Regiment.**

[696] Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776, p. 142; Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty, pp 41-42; Kellogg L. P. "The Paul Revere Print of the Boston Massacre", The Wisconsin Magazine of History, Vol. 1, No. 4, (June, 1918), p. 386; Raphael, R. Founders, p. 89; Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, p. 60; &,Wood, G. S. The Idea of America, p. 31.

Fig 29: Paul Revere's The Bloody Massacre perpetuated in King Street Boston on March 5th by a party of the 29th Regiment

The second strand of what is considered the first generation of American Revolution historiography is what is termed the Loyalist (or Tory) interpretation. This interpretation of the American Revolution, as its name of course suggests, is from the perspective of those who supported the British Empire against the colonial rebellion. The American Revolution was depicted by this particular strand of historiography as being the result of an insidious rebellion (caused by conspiratorial forces) and focused primarily on attempting to make sense of who, how, and why was to blame for the British Empire losing its grasp over the North American colonies. [697]

---

[697] Bailyn, B. The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, pp 150-151; Billias, G. A. [Editor], The American Revolution: How Revolutionary was it?, p. 2; Maier, P. American Scripture, p. 25; Wood, G. S. The Idea of America, p. 88; &, Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past, p. 70.

The following Loyalist narrative of the Boston Massacre is taken from an article written a month after the event, by none other than Captain Preston, and published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Captain Preston frames the events that took place on King Street as follows:

It is a matter of too great notoriety to need proofs, that the arrival of his majesty's troops in Boston was extremely obnoxious to its inhabitants...

On the 2d instant, two of the 29th going through one Gray's Rope Walk, the rope-makers insultingly asked them if they would empty a vault. This unfortunately had the desired effect by provoking the soldiers, and from words they went to blows. Both parties suffered in this affray, and finally, the soldiers retired to their quarters. The insolence, as well as utter hatred of the inhabitants to the troops increased daily.

On Monday night about eight o'clock, two soldiers were attacked and beat. About nine some of the guard informed me, the town inhabitants were assembling to attack the troops, and that the bells were ringing as a signal, and not for fire, and the Beacon intended to be fired to bring in the distant people of the country. Being captain of the day, I repaired immediately to the main guard. In my way, I saw the people in great commotion. In a few minutes about 100 people passed and went toward the custom-house, where the King's money is lodged. They immediately surrounded the sentinel posted there, and with clubs and other weapons threatened to execute their vengeance on him. A Townsman assured me he heard the mob declare they would murder him. I fearing their plundering the King's chest, immediately sent a non-commissioned officer and 12 men to protect both the sentinel and the King's money, and very soon followed myself, to prevent disorder. The troops rushed thro' the people, and, by charging their bayonets in half circle, kept them at a distance. So far was I from intending death, that the troops went to the spot where the unhappy affair took place without loading their pieces.

The mob still increased, and were more outrageous, striking bludgeons one against another, and calling out, "Come on, you Rascals, you bloody backs, you lobster scoundrels; fire if you dare; G-d damn you, fire and be damned; we know you dare not"; and much more such language was used. They advanced to the points of the bayonets, struck some of them, and even the muzzles of the pieces, and seemed to be endeavouring to close with the soldiers. Some well-behaved persons asked me if their guns were charged? I replied, yes. If I intended to order the men to fire? I answered no. while I was speaking, a soldier having received a severe blow, with a stick, instantly fired. On reprimanding him, I was struck with a club on my arm, so violent a blow, that it had fallen on my head, probably it would have destroyed me. A general attack was then made on the men by heaving clubs, and snow balls, by which all our lives were in imminent danger; some persons from behind called out, "Damn your bloods, why don't you fire?" Instantly three or four of the soldiers fired, one after another, and directly after, three more in the same confusion and hurry.

The mob then ran away, except three unhappy men who instantly expired… the whole of this melancholy affair was transacted in almost 20 minutes… [698]

Loyalist narratives of the Boston Massacre, such as with the excerpt above, portray the Boston crowd as an anti-social unruly mob, whose unjustifiable actions thereby portray the Redcoats and their subsequent actions in a sympathetic light. Preston, throughout his article, blames the escalation of force that occurred on King Street on the inciting mob that resorted to both verbal and physical violence first.

Both interpretive strands of the first generation of American Revolutionary historiography would continue to influence future historiographies in their respective countries. [699] Take, for example, the British historian Lawrence James, whose historical text, The Rise and Fall of the British Empire, published in the late-twentieth-century, nonetheless exposes its Loyalist heritage by portraying the Boston Massacre as follows:

> Faced with continual assaults on its authority, the [British] government turned in 1770 to that most foolhardy of all policies, selective and limited coercion. A small garrison was stationed in Boston to uphold a hard-pressed administration, and keep the peace in what was the most intractable town in America. The force proved not enough to cow the Bostonians, but more than enough to stiffen their resolve and swell the numbers of the rest of the dissident colonists. The shooting of some civilians after a scuffle at the end of December, known as the 'Boston Massacre', gave the Americans their first martyrs and a propaganda coup. [700]

In the United States of America, of course, it was the Whig strand which became the dominant interpretative narrative strain of the American Revolution adopted by its future generations of historiographies. This was to be expected, of course, as the historian Herbert Butterfield notes that such historiographies appeal to its audience by tying together the (Whig) Revolution with a comforting narrative of determinative human progress. [701] The productive outcome of this historiographical paradigm is detailed in the following subsection, with what became known as the Nationalist tradition of the second generation of American Revolution historiography.

7.2.1.2: Second Generation (Nationalist)

The second generation of American Revolution historiography was written at the onset of the nineteenth-century, as the United States of America was newly developing into its own independent nation. In the process, a large wave of nationalist historical narratives were produced by a new generation of American historians attempting to further justify and secure the direction(s) taken by their new nation since the American Revolution's end. As such, the authors of this second generation of American Revolution historiography were of the

---

[698] "'Historical Chronicle', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. XL (April, 1770), p. 189", The American Revolution Through British Eyes, (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), pp 34-36.
[699] Alden, J. R. A History of the American Revolution, p. XV.
[700] James, L. The Rise and Fall of the British Empire, (London: Abacus, 1998), p. 103.
[701] Butterfield, H. The Whig Interpretation of History, p. V.

disposition to establish grand (romantic) narratives that emphasised the divine intervention of God in influencing the establishment of the United States of America as a uniquely exceptional new nation, and which once again relied upon the oral testimonies of those that had survived the past events that their histories would immortalise. Stylistically, these narratives typically utilised dense and detailed sweeping descriptions hosted in large paragraphs. [702]

George Bancroft and his famous History of the United States of America, is perhaps the historian of his era which best epitomises the second generation's nationalist historiographical tradition of the American Revolution. [703] Bancroft wrote the following lengthy and descriptive excerpt of the Boston Massacre in his, which begins as follows:

> Just before nine, as an officer crossed King street, now State street, a barbers lad cried after him: "There goes a mean fellow who hath not paid my master for dressing his hair;" on which the sentinel, stationed at the westerly end of the custom house, on the corner of King street and Exchange lane, left his post, and with his musket gave the boy a stroke on the head that made him stagger and cry for pain.
>
> The street soon became clear, and nobody troubled the sentry, when a party of soldiers issued violently from the main guard, their arms glittering in the moonlight, and passed on, hallooing: "Where are they? Where are they? Let them come." Presently twelve or fifteen more, uttering the same cries, rushed from the south into King street, and so by way of Cornhill, toward Murray's barracks. "Pray, soldiers, spare my life," cried a boy of twelve, whom they met. "No, no, I'll kill you all," answered one of them, and with his cutlass knocked him down. They abused and insulted several persons at their doors and others in the street, "running about like madmen in a fury," crying, "Fire!" which seemed their watchword, and "Where are they? Knock them down." Their outrageous behaviour occasioned the ringing of the bell at the head of King Street.
>
> The citizens, whom the alarm set in motion, came out with canes and clubs, and, partly by the courage of Crispus Attucks, a mulatto of nearly fifty years old, and some others, partly by the interference of well-disposed officers, the fray at the barracks was soon over. Of the citizens, the prudent shouted, "Home! Home!" others, it was said, called out, "Huzza for the main guard! There is the nest;" but the main guard was not molested the whole evening.

---

[702] Billias, G. A. [Editor], The American Revolution: How Revolutionary was it?, pp 2-3; Brown, R. D. [Editor], Major Problems in the Era of the American Revolution 1760-1791, p. 1; Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, p. 15; Gerber, S. D. "Whatever happened to the Declaration of Independence?", pp 207-208; Greene, J. P. [Editor], The Reinterpretation of the American Revolution 1763-1789, pp 3-4; Harrison, R. Jones, A. & Lambert, P. "The Primacy of Political History", p. 48; &, Kammen, M. "The American Revolution in National Tradition", pp 24-27.

[703] Billias, G. A. [Editor], The American Revolution: How Revolutionary was it?, pp 2-3; Greene, J. P. [Editor], The Reinterpretation of the American Revolution 1763-1789, pp 3-4; &, Plumb, J. H. The Death of the Past, p. 72.

A body of soldiers came up Royal Exchange lane, crying, "Where are the cowards?" and, brandishing their arms, passed through King street. From ten to twenty boys came after them, asking, "Where are they? Where are they?" "There is the soldier who knocked me down," said the barber's boy, and they began pushing one another toward the sentinel. He loaded and primed his musket. "The lobster is going to fire," cried a boy. Waving his piece about, the sentinel pulled the trigger. "If you fire, you must die for it," said Henry Knox, who was passing by. "I don't care," replied the sentry; "if they touch me, I'll fire." "Fire!" shouted the boys, for they were persuaded he could not do it without leave from a civil officer, and a young fellow spoke out, "We will knock him down for snapping," while they whistled through their fingers and huzzaed. "Stand off!" said the sentry, and shouted aloud, "Turn out, main guard!" "They are killing the sentinel," reported a servant from the custom-house, running to the main guard. "Turn out! Why don't you turn out?" cried Preston, who was captain of the day to the guard. "He appeared in a great flutter of spirits," and "spoke to them roughly." A party of six, two of whom, Kilori and Montgomery, had been worsted at the [Gray's] rope-walk, formed with a corporal in front and Preston following. With bayonets fixed, they "rushed through the people" upon the trot, cursing them, and pushing them as they went along. They found about ten persons round the sentry, while about fifty or sixty came down with them. "For God's sake," said Knox, holding Preston by the coat, "take your men back again; if they fire, your life must answer the consequences." "I know what I am about," said he hastily, and much agitated. None pressed on them or provoked them, till they began loading, when a party of about twelve in number, with sticks in their hands, moved from the middle of the street where they had been standing, gave three cheers, and passed along the front of the soldiers, whose muskets some of them struck as they went by. "You are cowardly rascals," they said, "for bringing arms against naked men." "Lay aside your guns, and we are ready for you." "Are the soldiers loaded?" inquired Palmes of Preston. "Yes" he answered, "with powder and ball." "Are they going to fire upon the inhabitants?" asked Theodore Bliss. "They cannot, without my orders," replied Preston; while "the town-born" called out, "Come on, you rascals, you bloody backs, you lobster scoundrels, fire, if you dare. We know you dare not." Just then Montgomery received a blow from a stick which had hit his musket, and the word "Fire!" being given by Preston, he steeped a little on one side, and shot Attucks, who at the time was quietly leaning on a long stick. The people immediately began to move off. "Don't fire!" said Langford, the watchmen, to Kilroi, looking him full in the face; but yet he did so, and Samuel Gray, who was standing next Langford, with his hands in his bosom, fell lifeless. The rest fired slowly and in succession on the people, who were dispersing. One aimed deliberately at a boy, who was running in a zigzag line for safety. Montgomery then pushed at Palmes to stab him; on which the latter knocked his gun out of his hand, and, levelling a blow at him, hit Preston. Three persons were killed, among them Attucks the mulatto; eight were wounded, two of them mortally. Of the eleven, not more than one had any share in the disturbance.

> When the men returned to take up the dead, the infuriated soldiers prepared to fire again, but were checked by Preston, while the twenty-ninth regiment appeared under arms in King street. "This is our time," cried soldiers of the fourteenth, and dogs were never seen more greedy for their prey.
>
> The bells rung in all the churches; the town drums beat. "To arms! To arms!" was the cry. All the sons of Boston came forth, nearly distracted by the sight of the dead bodies, and of blood, which ran plentifully in the street, and was imprinted in all directions by foot-tracks on the snow. "Our hearts," says Warren, "beat to arms, almost resolved by one stroke to avenge the death of our slaughtered brethren;" but, self-possessed, they demanded justice according to the law. [704]

George Bancroft's quoted excerpt is steeply entrenched in the Whig tradition of American Revolution historiography given its evocative and incendiary description of the British Redcoats and their actions. Bancroft's description of the Boston Massacre is as richly detailed with emotive words to the same extent as the iconic image of Paul Revere's print was graphic. Unsurprisingly, the British Redcoats are once again portrayed as unscrupulous tyrants. However, what distinguishes the nationalist historiographies from their Whig counterparts is the heroification of key members of the Boston crowd – such as with Crispus Attucks, who is depicted as a somewhat courageous and inspirational figure.

The Nationalist tradition, whilst popular in its own time, would nevertheless fall out of fashion in the future, wherein it would find itself being challenged by new interpretive strands of historiography that emerged at a time when the discipline of History was itself evolving.

7.2.2: Modern Historiography

This subsection details the modern historiography of the American Revolution which emerged alongside the advent of the twentieth-century. This is the period wherein the historians writing about the events of the American Revolution can no longer rely upon the so-called 'living memory' encapsulated in the oral testimony of those who had experienced the events first hand, or from those who knew in their lifetime the others that had – Instead, these following generations of historiography now relied upon the so-called 'dead memory' that was conjured from previously classified archives and other such written documents that had survived. This particular period of modern historiographical writing was at a time wherein the discipline of History was itself attempting to redefine itself as a more objective, rational, and scientific profession – taking inspiration from the development of the so-called 'social-sciences' such as sociology. Consequently, the grand, mythical, romantic, and simplistic narratives of the past were (theoretically) dispensed with and replaced by complex

---

[704] Bancroft, G. History of the United States of America: from the discovery of the continent [Volume Three], (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1891), pp 372-375.

socio-economic monographs. Now, historians of American Revolutionary historiography were (in theory) academic 'professionals' who were appropriately dedicated to their craft. [705]

The traditional Whig interpretation of the American Revolution which dominated the historiographies had by the turn of the twentieth-century fallen out of fashion – in part because of its oversaturation in American culture, as well as because of the contemporary climate which opened new avenues of historical research. In its place emerged two unique interpretations of American Revolution historiography: the Imperialist school of thought, and the Progressive school of thought.

7.2.2.1: Imperialist School of Thought

The Imperialist school of thought was, it could be argued, as much a product of the First World War which by its contextual necessity needed to foster reconciliation between Great Britain and the United States of America, as it was a reaction against the oversaturation of Whig narratives that came before it. Enough time had passed for emotions to settle, and for American historians to begin analysing newly rediscovered sources from British archives which until-then had been closed-off. As such, the Imperialist interpretation promoted a more Loyalist interpretive perception of the American Revolution, but one which was uniquely toothless. The American Revolution, according to the Imperial school of thought, was the result of a series of bureaucratic blunders and cultural misunderstandings on both sides of the conflict, which were exacerbated by the slow dissemination of information across the Atlantic Ocean. In essence, the American Revolution as it unfolded is depicted as an accident, with no clear faction bearing responsibility, in narratives of this historiographical interpretation. [706]

The following excerpt of the Boston Massacre which has been chosen to reflect the Imperialist interpretation of American Revolutionary historiography is taken from the Robert J. Chaffin. Chaffin describes the events of March 5th, 1770, as follows:

> Like many March evenings in New England, it was clear but cold and crisp that night of the 5th. Snow and ice clung stubbornly to the shaded and protected cobblestones, the last evidence of a hard winter. With disquieting suddenness the meeting-house bells began to ring, bringing the curious into the streets. Standing in King Street with their backs pressed against the customs house, Captain Thomas Preston and a small contingent of soldiers faced a milling, taunting crowd. "Fire, damn you! Fire!" someone shouted. Those in the rear pressed the front of the mob towards the pointed bayonets. A stick flew out of the darkness, striking the gun barrel of Private Hugh Montgomery. He stepped back, or slipped on the icy street, and fired his weapon.

---

[705] Appleby, J. Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. Telling the Truth About History, pp 5-6; Collingwood, R. G. [Author], Dray, W. H. & van der Dussen, W. J. [Editors], The Principles of History, p. 6 & 11; Harrison, R., Jones, A. & Lambert, P. "The Primacy of Political History", pp 48-50; Southgate, B. Postmodenism in History, pp 29-31; &, Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past, p. 7 & 41.

[706] Brown, R. D. [Editor], Major Problems in the Era of the American Revolution 1760-1791, p. 2; &, Harrison, R. "The 'New Social History' in America", Making History: An Introduction to the history and practices of a discipline, (London: Routledge, 2004), pp 109-110.

Knocked to the ground, he screamed to the other soldiers, "Fire! Fire!" Panicked by now, the troopers followed Montgomery's example and shot point-blank into the mass of bodies. The solid mass flew apart as the mob shoved and pushed and trampled to escape the line of fire. Within seconds King Street was deserted except for the soldiers, the wounded, and the dead. Three were killed outright, two lay mortally wounded, and six others were less seriously wounded. The meeting-house bells continued to chime and were soon supported by the staccato drum beat of the call to arms... [707]

The ambiguity reflected in Robert Chaffin's description regarding how or why the events of the Boston Massacre unfolded is typical of Imperialist historiographies and their tempering of the American Revolution to cool the hostilities between Britain and the United States of America. This point is emphasised with the passage that depicts Private Hugh Montgomery having accidently slipped on the icy streets resulting in him unwillingly firing his rifle in the air, which then unfortunately triggered a cacophony of actions that ultimately led to the maiming of the Boston crowd. The distant and unemotional tone deployed by Chaffin adds further weight in the eyes of its audience to the narrative argument that the Boston Massacre was the result of a series of uncalculated chaotic events, caused in equal parts by nature (the icy pavement) and unintentional human error (a series of unfortunate accidents) – no antagonist is to blame to point fingers at.

7.2.2.2: Progressive School of Thought

The progressive historiographical interpretation of the American Revolution had first arisen at a time when a new-found awareness of socio-economic forces became increasingly fashionable to the generation of academics emerging from the advent of the twentieth-century. The progressive school of thought sought to uncover the materialistic – rather than idealistic – factors which were believed to have influenced the outbreak and progression of the American Revolution, focusing particularly on the class and economic relationships within North American colonial society. Narratives of the American Revolution that were produced by the progressive interpretation, therefore, typically revolved around conflicts between collective groups – not only between the colonial city-based patrician and the metropolitan-based British merchants, but also the struggles between the tempered colonial establishment and the radical working class over the direction the American Revolution was heading. [708]

---

[707] Chaffin, R. J. "The Townshend Acts Crisis, 1767-1770", A Companion to the American Revolution, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), pp 146-147.
[708] Brown, R. D. [Editor], Major Problems in the Era of the American Revolution 1760-1791, p. 2; Ernst, J. ""Ideology" and an Economic Interpretation of the Revolution", The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism, (Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976), p. 164; Gerber, S. D. "Whatever happened to the Declaration of Independence?", p. 208; Greene, J. P. [Editor], The Reinterpretation of the American Revolution 1763-1789, p. 8; Harrison, R., Jones, A. & Lambert, P. "The Primacy of Political History", pp 49-50; Wood, G. S. The Idea of America, p. 6; &, Wood, G. S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution, p. 4.

The quintessential historian that exemplified the progressive school of thought was, of course, Charles Beard, and his famous work entitled An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution, published in 1913. In his work, Beard uncovered the economic incentives held by the drafters behind the Constitution of the United States of America. Although his work has been challenged with recent scholarship, Beard nevertheless laid the foundation of what would later inspire the counter-cultural narratives surrounding the American Revolution with his iconoclastic perspective. [709]

7.2.3: Contemporary Historiography

The following subsections detail the most recent popular strains of American Revolution historiographies in the present time of writing. These historiographies, in many respects, can be considered incarnations of previous schools of thought that have been previously mentioned throughout this chapter. Every one of these new historiographies, it could be argued, emerged during (or as a response to) the turbulent decade of the sixties, which consequently ushered in new paradigms of thought that challenged the traditional status quo of American values. These historiographies are the Neo-Whig (or Republican Synthesis) school of thought, the Neo-Progressive school of thought, and finally, the Tea Party *movement's interpretation* of the American Revolution.

7.2.3.1: Neo-Whig School of Thought

The Neo-Whig (or 'Republican Synthesis') school of thought, as its name suggests, is a somewhat of a repeat of the Whig tradition of American Revolution historiography. Like its historiographical namesake, the Neo-Whig school of thought once again emphasises the importance of the role of political ideas in shaping the American Revolution – with a particular focus on the idea of classical republicanism relating to concepts such as liberty and virtue in shaping radical eighteenth-century political thought. [710]

The following excerpt of the Boston Massacre, written by Thaddeus Russell, highlights the Neo-Whig narrative interpretive focus below:

> The culture of pleasure and freedom was dangerous not just to American revolutionaries but also to anyone interested in maintaining social order. The British army learned this lesson in Boston on March 5th, 1770, the night the American Revolution began.
>
> When the drunkards in the taverns heard the church bells ringing, they put down their cups and rushed into the streets. The mob grabbed sticks, rocks, and chunks of ice and ran atop the cobblestones to King Street. There they saw young boys cursing and

---

[709] Brown, R. D. [Editor], Major Problems in the Era of the American Revolution 1760-1791, p. 465; Wood, G. S. The Idea of America, pp 6-7; &, Zinn, H. *A People's* History of the United States, pp 90-91.

[710] Appleby, J. "Liberalism and the American Revolution", The New England Quarterly, Vol. 49, No. 1, (March, 1976), p. 4; Billias, G. A. [Editor], The American Revolution: How Revolutionary was it?, pp 6-7; Brown, R. D. [Editor], Major Problems in the Era of the American Revolution 1760-1791, p. 3; Gerber, S. D. "Whatever happened to the Declaration of Independence?", p. 209; Gould, P. "Virtue, Ideology, and the American Revolution", pp 564-565; &, Wood, G. S. The Idea of America, p. 37.

hurling snowballs and horse manure at a column of British soldiers who were standing guard with muskets and bayonets in front of the customhouse. The troops had been in Boston for nearly two years to protect custom officers who were being harassed, beaten, and tarred and feathered for bringing British goods into the colonies. Many of the seven hundred soldiers stationed in the city were being quartered in the homes and taverns of Bostonians, and fights broke out nearly every day over their presence in the city. But on March 5th, the rowdy libertines who made up much of the city's population were ready for a bigger fight. They called the soldiers "sons of bitches", "bastards", and "cunts". The heckling and pelting increased as more and more of the taverngoers arrived. When the crowd became a seething, intoxicated mob of several hundred, one man stepped forward, swung his club, and levelled one of the soldiers. Shots exploded into the crowd. Eleven men fell. Five died. [711]

Russell's excerpt starts by highlighting the importance of the role of ideas in shaping the course of the American Revolution's direction – it was, according to the narrative, the colonist's love for liberty (evidenced by their libertine behaviour) which drove the conflict between the colonists and the British Empire attempting to rule over them. The anti-authoritarian nature of the North American colonists that was spurred by the adoption of classical republican ideals that the Neo-Whig historians argue were so important, were what is argued by the historiographical school of thought to have incited the crowds as they confronted the British Redcoats. [712]

7.2.3.2: Neo-Progressive School of Thought

The so-called Neo-progressive school of thought is, as its name suggests, a second re-treading of the first progressive school of thought that had emerged at the beginnings of the twentieth-century. This particular interpretation once again focuses on the socio-economic underpinnings of North American colonial society and its influence over the direction of the American Revolution. What separates the Neo-progressive school of thought from its namesake predecessor, however, is its far greater emphasis on the perspectives and roles played by minorities (African-Americans, Native Americans, and women) during the American Revolution, which for the most part had either been forgotten or ignored by (as well as had in turn challenged) the traditional White Anglo-centric and European narratives of the past. The inspiration for writing these new narratives from the previously untapped perspectives was driven by the turbulent decade of the sixties and its impact over the United States of America which, as a previous chapter in this thesis had shown, dramatically

---

[711] Russell, T. A Renegade History of the United States: How Drunks, Delinquents and other Outcasts made America, (London: Simon & Schuster, 2010), p. 20.

[712] Appleby, J. "Republicanism and Ideology", American Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 4, Republicanism in the History and Historiography of the United States, (Autumn, 1985), p. 461; Appleby, J. "Republicanism in Old and New Contexts", The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. 43, No. 1, (January, 1986), p. 25; Degler, C. N. Out of Our Past, p. 78; Gould, P. "Virtue, Ideology, and the American Revolution", p. 565; &, Wood, G. S. The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1787, pp 21-23.

uprooted the ideological foundations of the country and created a cultural schism (or 'culture war') between its citizens. [713]

 To exemplify the Neo-progressive narrative interpretation of the American Revolution, an extract describing the Boston Massacre has been taken from *A People's History of the United States*, written by Howard Zinn, below:

> On March 5th, 1770, grievances of ropemakers against British soldiers taking their jobs led to a fight. A crowd gathered in front of the custom-house and began provoking the soldiers, who fired and killed first Crispus Attucks, a mulatto worker, then others. This became known as the Boston Massacre. Feelings against the British mounted quickly… The crowd at the Massacre was described by John Adams, defence attorney for the British soldiers, as "a motely rabble of saucy boys, negroes, and mulattoes, Irish teagues and outlandish jack tars."

> Impressment was the background of the Massacre. There had been impressment riots through the 1760s in New York and in Newport, Rhode Island, where 500 seamen, boys, and Negroes rioted after five weeks of impressment by the British. Six weeks before the Boston Massacre, there was a battle in New York of seamen against British soldiers taking their jobs, and one seaman was killed. [714]

 Zinn's excerpt begins, much like that of the progressive narratives shown before it, once again by contextualising the economic preconditions that led to the Boston Massacre unfolding – by highlighting the conflict between the working class Bostonians and British Redcoats over access to low-skilled employment which led to the incident at Gray's ropewalk. [715] However, Zinn also emphasises the role of race in his extract, by noting the important roles played by people of colour defending their freedom against agents of British impressment into the Royal Navy as well as highlighting Crispus Attuck's heritage and levitating his actions as somewhat heroic. The final facet of the extract, which also distinguishes Howard Zinn's narrative of the Boston Massacre as being a Neo-progressive interpretation (rather than simply a progressive interpretation), is the iconoclastic tone taken

---

[713] Harrison, R. "The 'New Social History' in America", pp 112-113; &, Wood, G. S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution, p. 4.

[714] Zinn, H., *A People's History of the United States*, pp 66-67.

[715] The incident at Gray's Ropewalk occurred in the city of Boston on March 2nd, 1770. According to accounts of this event; a band of British Redcoats looking for a secondary source of off-duty income approached Samuel Gray's Ropewalk at the south end of Boston. Upon enquiring for a position to work, it is said, the Redcoats were rebuffed with a derogatory comment from one of the Boston labourers, remarking that they [Redcoats] should 'empty the toilets' – fighting broke out soon after, initially lasting for a couple of hours. Brawls between Bostonians and groups of Redcoats erupted and dispersed in varying intervals throughout the following three days, as gangs of young Bostonians provoked the Redcoats with taunting and thrown missiles (with glass bottles, oysters, snowballs, stones, and so on). The incident at Gray's Ropewalk was just one of a multitude of similar incidents which would lead to conflict between the lowering sorts of the North American colonies and the servants of the British Empire who were of the same socio-economic background.

"'Historical Chronicle', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. XL (April, 1770), p. 189", p. 35; Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution, pp 58-59; Bancroft, G. History of the United States of America: from the discovery of the continent [Volume Three], pp 371-372; Countryman, E. The American Revolution, p. 96; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, p. 186; Unger, H. G. American Tempest, p. 139; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, p. 66.

in depicting one of the American Revolution's 'Founding Father', John Adams, by highlighting his outspoken opinions of the Boston crowd in a negative light.

7.2.3.3: Tea Party Movement's Interpretation

The Tea Party movement is, like the generations before them, developing their own historiography of the American Revolution that fits in line with the needs of their cultural and political ideology. Authors of this conception of American Revolution historiography (and their quality) range from so-called 'professional' conservative historians such as David Barton, Larry Schweikart, and Warren L. McFerran, to so-called conservative 'celebrities' such as Glenn Beck and Rush Limbuagh, who are responsible for a plethora of literature of varying quality of calibre which are all fervently consumed by the members of the Tea Party movement. [716]

It is unsurprising that the Tea Party movement's historiography concerning the American Revolution (and the history of the United States of America in general) reflects the social movement's staunchly conservative ideology. Firstly, the Tea Party movement's interpretation intentionally undermines the contributions of the Progressive and Neo-Progressive schools of thought in highlighting the role of working class and minority participation towards the American Revolution. This is best exemplified by Warren L. McFerran's statement concerning his interpretation of the nature of the American Revolution, wherein he states:

> "The American patriots who masterminded the American Revolution were staunchly middle class in their origins and values. They were not anarchists bent on undermining law and order. On the contrary, they were the defenders of the law who sought only to maintain its supremacy over government as well as citizen. They did not seek to redistribute wealth, but only to preserve the right in property.
>
> Stated differently, the American Revolution was exclusively a political revolution, standing in sharp contrast with the numerous leftist revolutions that are also social in nature. "[717]

Secondly, and equally important in distinguishing the Tea Party movement's interpretation, is the over-emphasis of the role of religion (specifically, Christianity) in the shaping of the American Revolution. Examples of this interpretive strain include historians such as David Barton, whose organisation and website (WallBuilders) promotes the idea of an Evangelical Christian ideology at the centre of the United States of America's founding by tapping into previously mentioned cultural myths of the Chosen People and the Christian Nation. [718]

---

[716] Limbaugh, R. Rush Revere and the Brave Pilgrims, (New York: Threshold, 2013); Limbaugh, R. Rush Revere and the First Patriots, (New York: Threshold, 2014); McFerran, W. L. Birth of the Republic; Schweikart, L. & Allen, M. *A Patriot's History of the United States*; &, Schweikart, L. What Would the Founders Say?.

[717] McFerran, W. L. Birth of the Republic, p. 48.

[718] Austin, M. *That's Not Wha*t They Meant!, p. 53; Brody, D. The Teavangelicals, pp 72-74; Hughes, R. T. Myths America Lives By, pp 6-8; &, Montgomery, P. "The Tea Party and the Religious Right Movements:

Related to this point, is the flagrant deification of the Founding Fathers, who are often depicted as omniscient political architects whose homogenous actions and decisions laid the framework for a utopian polity – which, adherents to this idea argue, has not yet been achieved (or has over time become corrupted) due to a lack of adherence to their values in the present. [719]

The following excerpts of the Boston Massacre that have been used to exemplify the Tea Party movement's historiography are taken from two sources: the first, Larry Schweikart and Michael Allen's historical textbook, *A Patriot's History of the United States* and the second, Rush Limbaugh's historical children's storybook, Rush Revere and the First Patriots. Beginning with the more academic of the two sources, Schweikart and Allen describe the Boston Massacre as follows:

> Whereas New York had borne the brunt of England's initial policies, Boston rapidly became the center of revolutionary ferment and British repercussions. Britain transferred four regiments of troops from Halifax to Boston, stationing them directly within the city in a defiant symbol of occupation. Bostonians reacted angrily to the presence of "redcoats" and "lobsterbacks," whereas the soldiers treated citizens rudely and competed with them for off-hour work. Tensions heightened until on March 5, 1770, a street fight erupted between a mob of seventy or so workers at a shipyard and a handful of British sentries. Snowballs gave way to gunfire from the surrounded and terrified soldiers, leaving five colonists dead and six wounded. American polemicists, especially Sam Adams, lost no time in labelling this the Boston Massacre. Local juries thought otherwise, finding the soldiers guilty of relatively minor offenses, not murder, thanks in part to the skilful legal defense of John Adams. [720]

Within the front pages of Rush Revere and the First Patriots, however, is a modern homage to the iconic Paul Revere print of the Boston Massacre, featuring the titular Rush Revere and his pet time-travelling horse, Liberty (see **Fig 30: Rush Revere and the Boston Massacre** on page 222). [721] The author, Rush Limbaugh provides a more creatively descriptive depiction of the Boston Massacre, which begins:

> "I wish I could take all of you back to Boston on March fifth of 1770," I said. "You'll need to use your imaginations for this. If it helps to close your eyes, please do. Daydream, if you will, to March fifth, 1770. You're in Boston, Massachusetts. It is evening and the moon is full. You're on King street in front of the Customs Office. Street lanterns dimly light the way as you walk along the cobblestone. Eighteenth-century brick buildings and –"
>
> Suddenly, the walls of the classroom started to spin. I leaned back onto the teacher's desk for fear that I might topple over. Was I spinning or was the room spinning? I

Frenemies with Benefits", Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), pp 254-255.

[719] Skousen, W. C. The Five Thousand Year Leap.

[720] Schweikart, L. & Allen, M. *A Patriot's History of the United States*, pp 65-66.

[721] Limbaugh, R. Rush Revere and the First Patriots, pp X-XI.

wasn't sure. The students seemed to notice it as well. A gold and purple swirling pattern raced along the walls and encircled us until the walls completely vanished and the Bostonian scene I had just described appeared all around us…

…None of it was real but the virtual experience made us feel like we were actually there. Unbelievable! I decided to make the most of the situation and continued with my storytelling.

"Suddenly, you find yourself with a mob of people who start to throw snow, ice, and rocks at the British soldiers standing in front of the Customs Office," I said.

Sure enough, as I described the scene a large mob of colonists appeared to the right of us. To the left appeared a small group of British soldiers. A colonist stood only a few yards away from me and threw a chunk of ice. It hurtled directly at me on its way toward the soldiers. Instinctively, I winced and flinched right before the ice hit me in the side of the face. But, surprisingly, the ice chunk went right through my head and continued forward, hitting the chest of a British soldier. I had forgotten this was just a simulation…

I continued with my narration and shouted, "The Redcoats tried to keep order and stop the colonists from demonstrating against the Townsend Acts. However, the soldiers were forbidden to shoot anyone unless they had an order from a civil magistrate who was like a judge. The Americans and Patriots knew this so they kept trash-talking and taunting the British troops. Confusion and chaos only increased when the bells began to ring from the nearby Old Brick Church."

Again, the literal sound of church bells rang through my ears as the chaos continued all around us. I knew the bell was normally used as a fire alarm in eighteenth-century Boston so it wasn't surprising when people started shouting, "Where's the fire?"

I continued: "The large, angry crowd pressed in on the nine British soldiers, who were desperately outnumbered. Suddenly, one of the British soldiers is knocked down by something hitting his head and someone yells, 'Fire!'"

The sound of gunshots ripped through the air and suddenly, the classroom walls returned as the sights and sounds of 1770 Boston vanished like a magical act. [722]

---

[722] Ibid, pp 149-152.

Fig 30: Rush Revere and the Boston Massacre
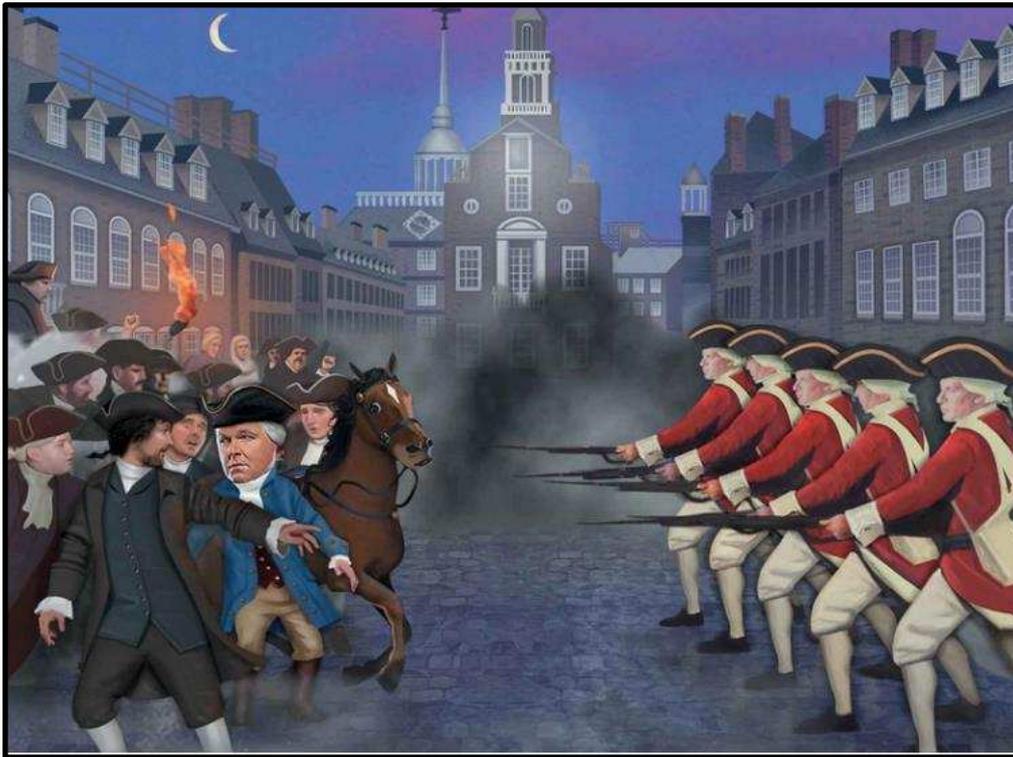
 What is noticeable about the Tea Party movement's historiographical excerpts of the Boston Massacre is the severe obfuscation of historical detail and the apparent vagueness of the description of the event compared to the previous historiographical texts examined. According to this interpretation, the Boston Massacre was simply 'an event which had happened' – presented as a nostalgic caricature of events stripped of its underlying cultural and political significance that had previously been extrapolated by earlier historiographies.

 Unsurprisingly, the Tea Party movement's depiction of the Founding Fathers, particularly that of John Adams's legal talent, is nothing short of glorifying – whilst in contrast, the Boston crowd, which was of course composed of the underprivileged in colonial society, is depicted as an unruly mob. Furthermore, in both accounts, there is a distinct lack of the role played by Crispus Attucks and indeed the 'lower sort' (Irish, sailors, working class, and so on) of Boston during the depiction and description of how the Boston Massacre event unfolded. This lack of inclusion, given the context of the social movement, could be interpreted as the result of either: reactionary whitewashing at its worst (against, of course, the Neo-Progressive school of thought from the sixties which emphasised the contributions of minorities), or poor scholarship at best.

 The Tea Party movement's adopted historiography, from the excerpts examined, follows in the same tradition as that of the Whig, Nationalist, and Neo-Whig interpretations that have preceded it. However, what distinguishes the Tea Party movement's historiographical interpretation is the blatant and exploitative contemporary politicisation of past events, which in turn rejects the academic historical consensus for no other reason than to prove their ideological agenda. The Tea Party movement's historiography is reminiscent of that of a

nostalgic dream: it highlights only the most general pleasurable imprints of the past whilst cautiously avoiding the nightmares, meandering from one threadbare location to the next, in the end signifying nothing.

7.3: Historical Fundamentalism

 This section of the chapter concerns itself with the Tea Party movement's attitudes towards the discipline of History in a more general sense. Using the epistemological framework previously established in an earlier chapter of this thesis (Chapter **2. Nostalgia, Memory, History**), the Tea Party movement's relationship with History will be examined.

 In order to understand the Tea Party movement's relationship with History, once again a comparison with the JBS is needed. Specifically, it is with regards to the organisation's ninth principle, which states that:

> We believe that in a general way history repeats itself. For any combination of causes, similar to an earlier combination of causes, will lead as a rule to a combination of results somewhat similar to the one produced before. And history is simply a series of causes which produced results, and so on around cycles as clearly discernible as any of the dozens that take place elsewhere in the physical and biological sciences… And in the John Birch Society our sense of gratitude and responsibility (to God and to the noble men of the past), for what we have inherited makes us determined to exert our influence, labour, and sacrifice for changes which we think will constitute improvement. [723]

 This particular attitude towards the discipline of History, the belief in historical recurrence and that History is a kind of 'philosophy teaching by examples' has been previously mentioned in earlier chapters of this thesis. Importantly, however, this attitude towards History is the same attitude that was popular amongst the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century (as detailed in paragraphs eight to ten of Subsection **2.4.1: What is History?**). The Tea Party movement, by adopting the history of the American Revolution is in effect emulating the very same state of mind of their ancestors. Take, for instance, the following:

 Throughout the research process of thesis, the contextual Zeitgeist that had recurrently haunted the population of the United States of America (and indeed much of the Western world) was related to a strong sense of perception that their country is undergoing a terminable process of decline – A phenomenon, which has been termed 'declinism' by authors such as Josef Joffe. [724] It should be no surprise, then, that such anxieties are similarly shared by members of the Tea Party movement. On various Tea Party phenomenon online discussion boards, the current state of the United States of America is often likened to the collapse of the Roman Empire in discussions on subjects ranging from immigration to youth

---

[723] "'Beliefs and Principles of the John Birch Society' Congressional Record, 87th Cong., 2d Sess., June 12th, 1962.", p. 109.

[724] Joffe, J. *The Myth of America's Decline: Politics, Economics, and a Half Century of False Prophecies*, (New York: Liveright Publishing, 2014), p. 2.

culture. That comparisons are drawn between the United States of America to that of Ancient Rome is nothing particularly special or unique in itself, nor the specific topic relating to the decline of said civilisations. Indeed, many authors outside of the Tea Party movement have made similar comparisons between the fate of the Roman Empire and the future of the so-called American Empire since the United States of America was first founded – in great part, of course, because the Founding Fathers modelled their so-called New Republic on the historical precedents of antiquity. [725] However, what is interesting about the Tea Party movement's historical comparisons of Ancient Rome to that of the state of their country, is the particular lessons that they draw and emphasise from the story of its collapse – In other words, using History as a kind of 'philosophy teaching by examples'.

The Tea Party movement oftentimes evokes the 'decline and fall' narrative in order to reinforce their conservative worldview. When an issue regarding immigration (or the Mexican border) becomes a forum topic, members of the Tea Party movement resort to conjuring the hysterical 'barbarians at the gates' analogies to justify their fear and resentment of the influx of Hispanic people (and their culture) into the United States of America. [726] When news articles describe young Americans (and popular culture in general) engaging in adolescent behaviour of a sexual nature, members of the Tea Party movement remind themselves "Roman society became totally degenerate before Rome, the exceptional empire fell." [727]

---

[725] Bederman, D. J. The Classical Foundations of the American Constitution; Goldsworthy, A. The Fall of the West: The Slow Death of the Roman Superpower, (London: Phoenix, 2010), pp 3-4; Jonathan Freedland: Rome, *AD... Rome, DC? | World News | TheGuardian*, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/sep/18/usa.comment, (18/09/02); Murphy, C. Are We Rome?, pp 5-6.

[726] The 'barbarian at the gates' interpretation of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, put simply, argues that the (Western) Roman Empire collapsed when the city of Rome was sacked by the Goths in 410 AD under the command of Alaric. In 376 AD the Huns invaded Eastern and Western Europe, displacing the barbarian tribes (the Alans, Franks, Goths, Visigoths, and so on) in the process, who consequently crossed the Rhine-Danube borders en-mass to re-settle into Roman territory. The Roman Empire was unable to assimilate such vast numbers of foreign immigrants, who held onto their divisive culture which resulted in numerous armed quarrels between them and the Roman Army. However, contrary to popular assumptions, many barbarians proudly integrated or sought to integrate into the Roman Empire and adapt Roman customs as their own – in other words, they did not intend to destroy Roman civilisation, but emulate it. After the sack of Rome in 410 AD, the Roman Empire became a hollow shell of its former self, until eventually the last (Western) Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was retired by the German King Odoacer in 476 AD – signalling the end of Roman civilisation and the beginning of the 'Dark Ages'.
Baker, S. Ancient Rome: The Rise and Fall of an Empire, (London: BBC Books, 2006), pp 304-312; Goffart, W. *Rome's Fall and After*, (London: The Humbledon Press, 1989), p. 34; Goldsworthy, A. The Fall of the West, pp 246-254 & 301-302; Haywood, R. M. *The Myth of Rome's Fall*, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1962), p. 2; Heather, P. The Fall of the Roman Empire, p. XI & 472; Jones, P. Veni Vidi Vici, pp 325-327 & 339-341; &, Kagan, D. "Introduction", The End of the Roman Empire: Decline or Transformation [2nd Edition], (Massachusetts: D.C. Heath & Company, 1978), p. VIII.

[727] The belief that Ancient Rome fell because of moral decline is as old as the Roman Empire itself. Several contemporary authors of the Roman period including Cicero, Livy, Polybius, and Sallust, had each in their own words opined of the role that extravagant wealth was affecting the traditional Roman values that they believed created and safeguarded their civilisation. Many of these authors complained of the cultural neurosis of the younger aristocratic Roman generations, who they considered immature, shallow, and vain of character as a result of their decadent lifestyles. So, too, the proliferation of Germanic barbarian culture into the Roman Empire was seen as weakening Roman culture in turn, cementing further decline. Ultimately, however, it was

As an aside, it should also be pointed out once again that the Tea Party movement is not the only political movement that uses (and abuses) historical narratives that further and suit their ideological agenda. Take, for example, the following incident involving the Alt-Right movement.

On August 3rd, 2016, an Alt-Right 'Internet Intellectual' by the name of Stefan Molyneux uploaded a two-and-a-half-hours-long video on his YouTube channel entitled: The Truth About The Fall of Rome: Modern Parallels. In his video, Molyneux argued that Ancient Roman civilisation collapsed under the combined weight of the welfare state, government bureaucracy, high taxation, immigration, and women's liberation. Molyneux compared the Ancient Roman grain dole to that of the modern welfare state, he likened Roman slave labour and the invading barbarian tribes to that of modern immigration to Western countries from the Middle East, and he posited that modern feminism will bring about a decline of modern Western civilisation similar to that which was described by Ancient Roman contemporaries who lamented the decline of traditional Roman women's roles during their lifetimes. [728]

For the sake of brevity this thesis will not begin to debunk Stefan Molyneux's historical arguments point-for-point in detail, however, it will highlight some of the counter-arguments made by an online critic – a YouTuber by the name of Shaun – who uploaded an hour-long video in response to the video uploaded by Molyneux. In his video, for instance, Shaun points out that the Ancient Roman grain dole was the result of a grain subsidy that was originally introduced in 123BCE which then later became free grain in 58BCE, whereas the Western Roman Empire fell in 476AD. If Molyneux's assertion that this grain dole significantly contributed to Ancient Rome's decline, Shaun remarks: "It took kind of a long time to kick in" – about five-hundred-years-long or so. Shaun also highlights the historical necessity of the implementation of the grain dole in preventing incidents such as food riots and mass starvation to arise, which he points out, would have significantly contributed to a decline in security and stability of Ancient Roman civilisation. [729]

Back on topic, however, the Tea Party movement does not agree with any and every historical interpretation that enters their purview. In March, 2014, NASA co-sponsored a study conducted by the University of Maryland entitled, Human and Nature Dynamics (HANDY): Modeling Inequality and Use of resources in the Collapse or Sustainability of Societies. The study, which used a series of mathematical formulas that was then applied to a number of model simulations (including varying gaps of inequality amongst the population) and a series of theoretical dilemmas (such as increasing the scarcity of material resources), examined the possibility of societal collapse through a mathematical drawing upon the historical precedents of the rise and fall of complex ancient civilisations including, of course,

---

the vice of selfishness – as opposed to public virtue, or the values of res publica – which was believed to have caused decline and ruin.

Arragon, R. F. "History and the Fall of Rome", Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 1, No. 2, (June, 1932), p. 150; Eckstein, A.M. Moral Vision in The Histories of Polybius, p. 119 & 142; Goldsworthy, A. The Fall of the West, pp 16-17, 418, & 422-423; Haywood, R. M. The Myth of Rome's Fall, p. 2; Mackay, C. S. The Breakdown of the Roman Republic: From Oligarchy to Empire, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp 2-4; &, Wood, G. S. The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1787, p. 35.

[728] See: The Truth About The Fall of Rome: Modern Parallels – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qh7rdCYCQ_U, (03/08/16).

[729] See: Stefan Molyneux's Fall of Rome – A Response – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BHV3Y_p2llo, (30/10/16).

the Ancient Roman example. The results of this study, which were leaked by the mainstream media prior to its official publication, suggested that the complex model of modern civilisation was inherently fragile and had the increased likelihood of collapsing in future decades due to a number of variables including what the researchers describe as the "over-exploitation of natural resources and strong economic stratification." [730] The results of this study conform to previous historical interpretations of the decline and fall of Ancient Rome, which emphasised the role of socio-economic inequality and climatic crisis as major causes of Roman ruin. [731] The Tea Party movement rejected outright the conclusions of this study.

 The incident involving the Tea Party movement's reaction to the NASA-sponsored study is evidence of a broader example of what the American historian, Professor Jill Lepore, defines as 'historical fundamentalism'. "Historical fundamentalism," according to Lepore:

> "…is marked by the belief that a particular and quite narrowly defined past – "the founding" – is ageless and sacred and to be worshipped; that certain historical texts – "the founding documents" – are to be read in the same spirit with which religious fundamentalists read, for instance, the Ten Commandments; that the Founding Fathers were divinely inspired; that the academic study of history (whose standards of evidence and methods of analysis are based on scepticism) is a conspiracy and, furthermore, blasphemy; and that political arguments grounded in appeals to the founding documents, as sacred texts, and to the Founding Fathers, as prophets, are therefore incontrovertible." [732]

---

[730] Motesharrei, S. Rivas, J. & Kalnay E. Human and Nature Dynamics (HANDY): Modeling Inequality and Use of resources in the Collapse or Sustainability of Societies, (University of Maryland, 2014), pp 2-4 & 22-23; &, Nasa-*funded study: industrial civilisation headed for 'irreversible collapse'? | Nafeez Ahmed | Environment |* theguardian.com, http://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2014/mar/14/nasa-civilisation-irreversible-collapse-study-scientists, (26/03/14).

[731] These historical interpretations are what are described as the theories of 'climatic crisis' and 'financial crises'. In terms of climatic crisis, it is argued that climatic change relating to decreasing rainfall around the world led to famine and the displacement of hungry peoples that added pressure to the Roman Empire administrative infrastructure which struggled to cope with the burden. In terms of financial crisis leading to the collapse of the Roman civilisation; during the third-century Rome had become bankrupt, and the failure to sufficiently address the situation in the following century with currency inflation coupled with the extravagant administrative costs of the bureaucracy and military, consequently fostered resentment amongst the Roman taxpayers against the state. In another instance, the vast inequality of wealth between the rich and poor polarised Roman society, those rich enough to live on country estates outside of Rome began to seclude themselves from the Roman economy by building self-sufficient industry and hiring slave labour, as it soon became apparent that the Roman Empire could no longer serve the private interests of these rich landowners alliances were instead made with the local barbarian kings in its place, resulting in Rome collapsing from lack of tax and trade. Boak, A. E. R. "Manpower Shortage and the Fall of Rome", The End of the Roman Empire: Decline or Transformation [2nd Edition], (Massachusetts: D.C. Heath & Company, 1978), pp 39-40; Brunt, P. A. "The Fall of the Roman Republic" The Fall of the Roman Republic: and Related Essays, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 73; Grant, M. The Fall of the Roman Empire, (London: Phoenix Giant, 1997), pp 54-57; Haywood, R. M. *The Myth of Rome's Fall*, pp 103-104; Heather, P. The Fall of the Roman Empire, pp 434-435; Lintott, A. W. "Imperial Expansion and Moral Decline in the Roman Republic", *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 21, H. 4 (4th Quarter, 1972), p. 626; Mackay, C. S. The Breakdown of the Roman Republic, p. 3; Piganiol, A. "The Causes of the Fall of the Roman Empire", The Journal of General Education, Vol. 5, No. 1, (October, 1950), pp 62-66; Walbank, F. W. The Decline of the Roman Empire in the West, p. 36, 41, & 51; &, Westermann, W. L. "The Economic Basis of the Decline of Ancient Culture", The End of the Roman Empire: Decline or Transformation [2nd Edition], (Massachusetts: D.C. Heath & Company, 1978), pp 52-70.

[732] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 16.

As it turns out, this notion can also applied outside of the historical topic of American Revolution, to any historical subject.

The sheer volume of historical theories regarding the decline and fall of the Roman Empire that have been written could fill an entire library. Indeed, there are so many variants that to take each and every example as absolute becomes an exercise in folly. In 1984, a German historian by the name of A. Demandt published an article entitled *Der Fall Roms: Die Auflösung der römischen Reiches im Urteil der Nachwelt*, which listed over two hundred unique (and at times contradictory) specific explanations for the decline of the Roman Empire. Examples from this list included factors such as: the abolition of gods, agrarian slavery, anarchy, the attack of the Huns, barbarisation, capitalism, Christianity, communism, despotism, epidemics, excessive freedom, female emancipation, Hellenization, hothouse culture, hubris, imperialism, impoverishment, individualism, intellectualism, irrationality, lead poisoning, luxury, militarism, moral decline, moral idealism, nationalism (of Rome's subjects), pacifism, plague, plutocracy, polytheism, rationalism, socialism (of the state), soil exhaustion, taxation, terrorism, totalitarianism, underdevelopment, and the villa economy. [733] In fact, the very notion that the Roman civilisation had collapsed after having declined is also in some historical circles up for debate or in dispute. These historians who reject the 'decline and fall' narrative are of the belief that the Roman civilisation 'transitioned' from one system of government to another altogether, arguing that the idea of Roman civilisation having collapsed or indeed declined is folly considering that the Roman Empire itself was a series of complex administrative and cultural relationships that held together a diverse collection of people – some of which, of course, continue to survive in the present because of the leftover relics and historical texts, which coincidently are in turn celebrated, evoked, and mimicked by other nations such as the United States of America. [734]

Once again, it should be highlighted that what is truly worth noticing is how the various historical narratives of the past are adapted and exploited to suit whichever ideological agenda is prescient at the moment – whether it be by the Alt-Right movement, the JBS, the Tea Party movement, or indeed, any other political movements regardless of political affiliation. By examining the particular historiographies and narratives of History that these movements promote, one can detect the subconscious underpinnings that motivate its adherents. For example, the Tea Party movement clearly has anxieties surrounding traditional American identity (as in, the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant identity) and it being challenged by modern non-White culture and immigration which allows them to latch onto the 'Barbarians at the Gate' narrative – the Alt-Right movement, on the other hand, promotes the narratives pertaining to 'decadence and moral decline' which highlights the (more personable) anxieties surrounding modern sexual (homosexual/transsexual/and so on) as well

---

[733] An English translation of Demandt's *Der Fall Roms: Die Auflösung der römischen Reiches im Urteil der Nachwelt* can be found online, which lists the two-hundred-and-ten explanations for the decline of Ancient Rome.
210 Reasons for the decline of the Roman Empire, http://www.utexas.edu/courses/rome/210reasons.html, (08/05/13).
[734] Kagan, D. "Introduction", pp VIII-IX.

as women's liberation and its knock-on effects on the perceived (lost) privileges of heterosexual men.

Furthermore, by exploiting the historical narratives of the past, these movements are in essence able to legitimise these subconscious motivations to an outside audience who may be ignorant or unfamiliar with the content, thereby creating an exploitable myth of their own. For instance, being able to hide racist and sexist motives under the guise of 'Objective History'. However, as this thesis has attempted to point out, these myths can easily be dispelled so long as the audience engages with actual academic education and research surrounding the discipline of History – or indeed, as well as other disciplines which may also be similarly exploited by these movements, like the Sciences.

7.4: The History of the American Revolution as a 'Noble Myth'

This subsection attempts to re-contextualise what has been discussed throughout this chapter in relation to the historiography of the American Revolution and the Tea Party movement from a more philosophical standpoint.

In Plato's Republic, Socrates postulates that for a harmonious polity to develop there needed to be "some magnificent myth that would in itself carry conviction to our whole community," such a myth, he added, would function as: "a fairy story like those the poets tell and have persuaded people to believe about the sort of thing that happened 'once upon a time', but never does now and is not likely to." [735] This is what is often referred to as the 'noble lie' – a lie intended for the mutual good of mankind – whose quality is to inspire and represent the ideal, if not the reality, of what an individual, community, or polity wishes themselves to be. This quality, in turn, functions to unite a diverse community under a single banner by providing them with a shared heritage tied together in the narrative of the magnificent myth. [736] In the United States of America, this 'noble lie' became the history of the American Revolution.

The mythification of the American Revolution began as soon about as the colonist's long and at times brutal struggle against the British Empire had ended. With the establishment of the New Republic (the United States of America) what was so desperately needed was the creation of a new kind of citizen to maintain and protect it – and to achieve this aim the multitude of diverse African and European immigrants leftover from the Revolution had to be assimilated. To quote Eric Hobsbawm: "Americans had to be made." [737] Having severed the bonds from the European motherland, and without the privilege of centuries of natural heritage on the North American continent, a series of 'noble lies' had to be invented with the closest history on hand: The 'American Creed' [738] had to be ripped from the pages of the Bill

---

[735] Plato, The Republic, (London: Penguin Classics, 2007), pp 115-116.
[736] Reeve, C. D. C. "Plato", Political Thinkers: From Socrates to the Present, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 63; &, Plato, The Republic, p. 112.
[737] Hobsbawm, E. "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914", The Invention of Tradition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 279.
[738] The 'American Creed' is described by Seymour Martin Lipset as the five principles of; "liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism, and laissez-faire."
Lipset, S. M. American Exceptionalism, p. 19.

of Rights, the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence; [739] Traditions had to be invented, founded on the popular (if not real) recollections of historic events, most notably the Fourth of July celebrations and the public holiday of Thanksgiving; [740] A new civic-religion of American Exceptionalism had to be inculcated, ordained by the Christian religion; [741] And so on. As the polity of the United States of America transitioned with the successive generations of its citizens, so too, did the stories that remembered the American Revolution change and develop alongside them. The narratives of the Revolution, as with all histories, were remembered and forgotten pertaining to the necessities and whims of its audience at that time. [742] What remained a constant, however, was the 'noble lie' buried underneath the forest of pages – the idea of a United States.

 This myth, however, was temporarily dispelled during the mid-twentieth-century. Those that were for the longest time an ignored, oppressed, and stigmatised, lot in the American polity, were finally presented with an ample opportunity to articulate and disseminate their disillusionment with the magnificent myths that they believed bore no relation to the realities that they and their ancestors experienced. [743] Consequently, by ridding these 'noble lies' from their histories, so too, did the harmony dissolve throughout the polity of the United States of America. Henceforth the American polity was split – its identity and purpose became amnesic and schizophrenic. [744] Just as before, the narratives of the American Revolution changed to suit the audiences who would listen to them. New myths were developed.

 Today, the Tea Party movement is once again re-mythologizing the American Revolution, just as their ancestors did before them, as a reaction to their experience of witnessing the breakdown of the American polity – as has already been discussed in another chapter of this thesis (Chapter **5. Nostalgic Origins**). The Tea Party movement's adoption and interpretation of the American Revolution is indeed nostalgic, and for good reason. They are desperately attempting to recall the patriotic myths which they sincerely believe had both held together and made their country prosperous – no different from any another generation of historians before them. But nevertheless, their conjuring of the nostalgic history does nothing but produce poor imitations of what came before it.

 If there is one utmost important lesson to be learnt from the history of the American Revolution, it is the following: What were at the time the numerous ideological expectations of civic republicanism that had once unified the various pillars of colonial society against the

---

[739] Hughes, R. T. Myths America Lives By, p. 2; &, Wood, G. S. The Purpose of the Past, p. 180.
[740] Bolla, P. The Fourth of July and the Founding of America; &, Hobsbawm, E. "Mass-Producing Traditions", pp 279-280.
[741] Hughes, R. T. Myths America Lives By, p. 6.
[742] This is referring to the notion that the histories of the past are produced in the present pertaining to the needs of the present at the time – thereby history adopts a malleable quality.
Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 216; Olick, J. K. & Robbins, J. "Social Memory Studies", p. 128; &, Tosh, J. The Pursuit of History, p. 150.
[743] Hughes, R. T. Myths America Lives By, p. 45.
[744] The struggles of the civil rights, counter-culture, feminist and the backlash of the conservatism – what became the 'Culture Wars' – are what is referred to here.
Black, J. Using History, p. 124; Foner, E. Give Me Liberty, pp 985-998; Gringrich, N. To Renew America, (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), p. 30; &, Hunter, J. D. Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America, (New York: Basic Books, 1991).

British Crown (from the white colonial aristocracy, to the white colonial working classes, to colonial women, and so on), had in the end, ultimately failed to completely satisfy the expectations of the persons that had held them in such high esteem. In effect, the New Republic which emerged from the American Revolution did little to nothing to properly address the grievances of those who fought for its establishment. [745] Nowhere was this sentiment best exemplified then with the letters from Mary Steveson Hewson, writing to her son in England in 1795, about her experiences of life in the New Republic, and complaining that: "when people boast that in their nation all men are free and equal they think only of their own class…" and that: "perhaps the government of this country is as good as any, but I question whether the people are happier under it than under any other." [746] No doubt, members of the Tea Party movement who are similarly blindsided by their ideological principles should take note of this forewarning from their ancestors, lest they be exploited by the very same historical forces they attempt to exploit.

It is only by acknowledging the existence of these so-called nostalgic myths of the past – in this case, of the American Revolution (but also of any other historical subject) – that the spells they evoke over the population can be broken. To quote the French post-modernist philosopher, Roland Barthes:

> "It thus appears that it is extremely difficult to vanquish myth from the inside: for the very effort one makes in order to escape its stranglehold becomes in its turn the prey of myth: myth can always, as a last resort, signify the resistance which is brought to bear against it. Truth to tell, the best weapon against myth is perhaps to mythify it in its turn, and to produce an artificial myth: and this reconstituted myth will in fact be a mythology." [747]

By breaking these myths of the past, the mythology surrounding the Tea Party movement also breaks – thereby undermining their influence and power in turn. This strategy is preferable to the likes of academics such as Professor Jill Lepore, who instead had attempted to separate the History of the American Revolution from the Tea Party movement – in a vain attempt to protect the former from the latter. [748]That strategy of separation, as promoted by Lepore, failed – instead, it only added to the myth surrounding the American Revolution as that past revolution had to be seen as legitimised in comparison to a somewhat illegitimate present-day revolution of a reactionary conservative social movement (who, consequently, were unaffected by this process).

7.5: Conclusion

History, as this chapter has attempted to point out, is not a single 'fixed' truth but rather a plethora of narratives from a multitude of perspectives that at times are even contradictory. The Boston Massacre as an historical event, for instance, highlights the very plurality of

---

[745] Appleby, J. "Republicanism in Old and New Contexts", p. 25; Wood, G. S. The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1787, p. 73; &, Wood, G. S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution, pp 252-253.
[746] Kulikoff, A. "Was the American Revolution a Bourgeois Revolution?", pp 58-59.
[747] Barthes, R. Mythologies, (London: Vintage Books, 1993), p. 135.
[748] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes.

perspectives a single incident from the past can evoke – even to the extent, it should be noted, that the very eyewitness statements from the preceding trial of Captain Preston and the Redcoats that were recorded, were themselves at many times contradictory. [749] In addition, this chapter has also highlighted with its expressive use of historical source quotes the ever-changing presentation of the past which encapsulates a striking resemblance to Maurice Halbwachs's conception of the Imago – wherein, over time, details of past events become more and more generalised (as previously referred to in the third paragraph of Subsection **2.3.1.2: Halbwachs's Conception of Collective Memory**).

What also should become apparent throughout this chapter is how history is often inherently politicised. Once again, the Boston Massacre when stripped of its political significance becomes an absurd tragedy which erupted from a dispute over the payment of a wig-piece between one apprentice and a Redcoat which irrationally escalated to its fateful conclusion. [750] Indeed, it is only after-the-fact that an historic event has happened – which at the time as it unfolded was seemingly chaotic, confusing, and irrational to those who experienced it – that the past incidences are transformed into an orderly, (somewhat) understandable, and above-all meaningful incident worthy of remembrance. Moreover, by examining how collective groups (as well as individuals) remember and utilise these said historical narratives – by their emphasising of some particular facts or theories over those of others – can their hidden anxieties or beliefs that they harbour in the present be unveiled.

The Tea Party movement, as this chapter has examined, views the discipline of History as a kind of 'philosophy teaching by examples' (as detailed in the eighth paragraph of Subsection **2.4.4: Historical Recurrence**) – a notion, it should be noted, that was shared by their ancestors during the eighteenth-century as well as more contemporary far-Right organisations, including the JBS . However, this does not diminish the credibility of such philosophical attitudes towards the discipline of History, as what distinguishes the Tea Party movement's adaptation of this concept is their specific stringent historical interpretation of the past. In other words, what Professor Jill Lepore has termed, the Tea Party movement's 'historical fundamentalism'. [751]

The members of the Tea Party movement are 'historical fundamentalists', therefore, in the sense that they fail to adapt and update their historical understanding of the past and instead cling vehemently to the historiographies they either learnt or were exposed to during their youth which in some cases have been disproven or outdated with the emergence of new facts and perspectives in academia. In this sense they are nostalgic – clinging to what they understood from a younger time of their lives, a nostalgic education. Consequently, as the American sociologists Professor Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson put it: "For Tea Partiers, history is a tool for battle, not a subject for university seminar musings…" [752] A

---

[749] Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776, p. 142; HBO, John Adams; &, Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, p. 212.
[750] Bancroft, G. History of the United States of America: from the discovery of the continent [Volume Three], p. 372; Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause, p. 210; & Unger, H. G. American Tempest, p. 139.
[751] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 16.
[752] Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 50.

statement not so dissimilar, peculiarly, from what was written of their ancestors by the historian, Henry Steele Commager, who stated: "The Americans [revolutionary Patriots] contributed nothing… They were borrowers and exploiters; they used the ancient world as they used history in general, to justify their conduct and to illuminate their character." [753]

Finally, it is only by acknowledging the fact that numerous narrative variations of the American Revolution exist (and that there is no single 'Truth' to its history), that the so-called origin myth (which is exploited by the Tea Party movement) of the American Revolution can be exposed. [754] By exposing the nostalgic origin myth of the American Revolution, the power behind the Tea Party movement as a legitimate political entity in the long-lined history of the United States of America can therefore be exposed, debunked, and discredited. [755]

---

[753] Commager, H. S. "The American Enlightenment and the Ancient World", p. 11.

[754] The historian Esmond Wright succinctly summarises this position with the following statement, which reads:
    "Many historians and commentators have taken it to be their task to establish a body of agreed interpretation about the causes and significance of the Revolution. But a revolution is in itself a denial of consensus. It is possible to list a chronological list indicating the stages of development of the Revolution, although even about that there can be endless debate over selection, omission, and emphasis. But at no point since 1774 has there been agreement on either the 'facts' of the Revolution or on its 'causes': everything has depended on the background and standpoint of the teller of the tale… The historiography of the Revolution abounds in gossip, opinion, and the proving of a multitude of contradictory theses. It was so from the start. "
Wright, E. [Editor], Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, p. 15.

[755] Barthes, R. Mythologies, p. 135.

8. Conclusion

This final chapter will summarise the main points of this thesis. Before detailing the major contributions of this thesis, however, some miscellaneous findings (in no particular order) will first be addressed:

Firstly, this thesis has highlighted the exploitation of History as a powerful political tool. A tool which, has the ability to usher in facets of the past (both positive and negative) into the present.

Secondly, this thesis has shown how History is a plurality of divergent narratives, and not simply a single 'objective' narrative. That there is no single 'Truth' of History (as has been exemplified in Subsections **2.4.3: History, Hermeneutics, and Objectivity** and **7.2: The Historiography of the American Revolution**).

Thirdly, this thesis has uncovered that the evocation of certain historical narratives by a person or group – narratives which they find poignant enough to use as historical analogies for contemporary issues – can also provide an important insight into their political values (for example, as with paragraphs five through eleven in Subsection **7.3: Historical Fundamentalism**).

Fourthly, this thesis has highlighted the role of the Internet in organising social movements. The adoption of social media platforms (FreedomConnector) and gamification as a means of recruiting, shaping, and retaining supporters (as was shown in the latter half of Subsection **3.2.2: The Tea Party Movement Organisations**). It also has shown how the Tea Party movement has reacted to online outsiders who interacted with them and the consequences that emerged, as seen with the TPC (as depicted in the first half of Subsection **6.3.1: Authoritarianism**).

Finally, this thesis has shown how the presentation of words – and not just the language or words themselves – used to depict information can have a serious impact on the way in which information is remembered. The misrepresentation of information caused by the mode in which it is presented can lead to the emergence of myths – as was detailed in a previous chapter of this thesis (as stated in the last paragraphs of Subsection **4.2.1: Literary Context** with regards to the Santelli Rant 'myth').

8.1: The Tea Party Movement and Nostalgia

This thesis has shown the influence of nostalgia in shaping the development of the Tea Party movement. Nostalgia, as this thesis has highlighted, is a phenomenon which elicits a sentimental longing for the past – but not the past as it was, rather, as it is imagined – within an individual or collective (as was defined in Subsection **2.2: Nostalgia**). The Tea Party movement's nostalgia, as this thesis has identified, is what the sociologist Svetlana Boym describes as a 'restorative' kind of nostalgia – meaning, that its adherents have an underlying desire to physically return to the past (if it were possible) by intentionally evoking the past in the present. [756] However, by evoking the past into the present, as has also been pointed out

---

[756] Boym, S. *The Future of Nostalgia*, p. 41, 43 & 49.

throughout this thesis, the Tea Party movement had ushered in not the idyllic inspirational past – but instead, had ended up repeating many of the forgotten mistakes of the past.

The contemporary cultural Zeitgeist of declinism, the belief that the United States of America was in terminal decline as opposed to its past glory days, was a serious influence in triggering the nostalgia amongst supporters of the Tea Party movement. The collective memory experiences of members of the Tea Party movement, the traumas they faced relating to economic uncertainty, foreign war, domestic civil disobedience and cultural succussion which were reignited by the War in Iraq, the Great Recession of 2008, and the emergence of President Barack Obama, triggered their nostalgic backlash (as was mentioned throughout Chapter **5. Nostalgic Origins**).

The organisational structure of the modern Tea Party movement, this thesis has uncovered, is strongly influenced by the JBS (as previously detailed in Subsections **3.2.2: The Tea Party Movement Organisations** and **3.3.3: The John Birch Society**). This revelation is perhaps unsurprising, considering that the key organisational influencers of the Tea Party movement, the Koch brothers, had historical ties with the JBS in the past. [757] Of particular note, however, is the chapter system that both organisations adopted. The chapter system creates an impression that the organisation utilising it has a far greater influence and physical presence than it does in reality. One drawback of this organisational system, as was highlighted in this thesis, is the lack of control over individual members who may act independently on their own initiative and thereby embarrass the organisations they represent if they are unfortunate enough. [758]

The Tea Party movement's relationship with the Republican Party of the United States of America also highlights nostalgic elements. For instance, many supporters of the social movement, including the likes of Dick Armey, were inspired to engage with politics for the first time because of Barry Goldwater's presidential campaign of 1964. [759] The Republican Party, as this thesis argues, is as much an influence in the development of the Tea Party movement, as the social movement is an influence over the political party's actions in recent times (as shown in the latter half of Subsection **3.3.2: The Republican Party**).

8.2: The Tea Party Movement and the American Revolution – A Historical Recurrence?

This thesis has highlighted throughout numerous chapters the historical similarities between the Tea Party movement and the historical generation behind the American Revolution. Whereas previous academics such as Professor Jill Lepore have attempted to separate the modern Tea Party movement from the history of the American Revolution as a means of safeguarding the latter against the corruptions of the former. [760] This thesis, on the other hand, instead embraces and highlights the similarities between the two groups. The purpose of this exercise was to demystify the American Revolution and thereby undermine the Tea Party

---

[757] Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, p. XI; New Documents Prove Charles Koch Was John Birch Society Member During Civil Rights Movement | Crooks and Liars; &, Schulman, D. Sons of Wichita, p. 49.

[758] Broyles, J. A. The John Birch Society, pp 84-85; Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag, p. 56 & 61; Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, pp 33-34; &, Zernike, K. Boiling Mad, p. 5, 148, & 187.

[759] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, pp 1-5; &, Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, p. 41, 78, 81 & 82.

[760] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes.

movement's control and influence over History – following the reasoning of the philosopher, Roland Barthes, that in order to successfully demystify myth is to mythify it in its turn. [761]

The modern Tea Party movement was not the first political movement to adapt and adorn the regalia of the Boston Tea Party of 1773 for their own agenda (as previously detailed in Subsection **3.4.2: Proto-Tea Party Protests**). The so-called 'proto-Tea Party movements' which emerged over the centuries across the United States of America included: the abolitionist and anti-abolitionist slavery movements, anti-war and counter-culture movements, the suffragette movement, trade union movements, and white supremacist movements. [762] The exploitation of history as a political tool, therefore, is not unique to the modern Tea Party movement.

The Tea Party movement has always purported itself as following the blueprint of principles set down by their ancestors during the American Revolution. [763] This thesis has shown that the three key principles behind the Tea Party movement – individual liberty, fiscal responsibility, and constitutionally limited government – are superficially similar (in name, but not spirit) to the values behind the American Revolution. The ideological driving force behind the American Revolution, according to the Neo-Whig school of thought, was classical republicanism – a philosophy which emphasised public virtue (altruism, austerity, courage, fraternity, frugality, generosity, industry, justice, modesty, respectfulness, simplicity, temperance, wisdom, and above-all the sacrifice of selfish individual interests to the greater good of society). [764] The principles behind the Tea Party movement, on the other hand, are influenced by the more modern inspirations such as: the philosophy of libertarianism, the laissez-faire economics of Fredrich A. Hayek, and the fictional works of Ayn Rand – which emphasised selfishness (as was shown in Subsections **6.2.2: Individual Liberty** and **6.2.3: Fiscal Responsibility** respectively).

One could argue, however, that the nostalgia of Ancient Rome which lay behind the revolutionary generation's notion of classical republicanism as a driving force behind their revolution, is similar to that of how the modern Tea Party movement is driven by a nostalgic reimagining of the American Revolution.

Both the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century and members of the modern Tea Party movement share a similar mental disposition towards conspiracism. This similarity is particularly important, as apart from the Neo-Whig school of thought, the fact that the American Revolution was in part driven by the Patriot's conspiracist mentality which increased tensions between the colonies and motherland is mostly forgotten or ignored by most historical narratives (as was detailed in first half of Subsection **6.3.2: Conspiracism**).

[761] Barthes, R. Mythologies, (London: Vintage Books, 1993), p. 135.

[762] Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots, pp 216-217 & 231-232; Fallin, A. Grana, R. & Glantz, S. A. "To Quarterback Behind the Scenes, Third Party Efforts': The Tobacco Industry and the Tea Party", p. 3; Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 84; Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party, pp 32-36; Teed Off – Backstory with the American History Guys; Young, A. F. The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution, pp 145-154 & 195-196; &, Zinn, H. *A People's History* of the United States, p. 562.

[763] Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty, p. 34; Borelli, D. Blacklash: How Obama and the Left are Driving Americans to the Government Plantation, p. 211; Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty, p. 245; Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots, p. 23; &, O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party, p. 24 & 204.

[764] Barker, E. [Translator] Aristotle [Author], The Politics of Aristotle, p. 105 n2; Gould, P. "Virtue, Ideology, and the American Revolution", p. 565; Honohan, I. Civic Republicanism, p. 20 & 33; &, Shalhope, R. E. "Republicanism and Early American Historiography", p. 335.

So, too, the fact that the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century also at times exhibited authoritarian tendencies (similar to their descendants centuries later) during the American Revolution is often overlooked by most historiographies (as had been described in the last eight paragraphs of Subsection **6.3.1: Authoritarianism**).

Members of the Tea Party movement also share similar collective memory experiences to that of their historical ancestors of the American Revolution. Both the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century and the generation of supporters of the modern Tea Party movement had experienced the combined traumas of economic uncertainty, domestic civil disobedience, foreign wars, and cultural succussion within their lifetimes. These collective memory experiences spurred the revolutions of the two respective groups, albeit in diverging ways. The American Revolution was a radical revolution which broke away from the traditional values of the British Empire – Whereas, on the other hand, the Tea Party movement's revolution is a conservative backlash against the radical progressive change of modernity (as shown in the latter half of Subsection **5.2.2: Trauma of Cultural Succussion**).

Another similarity between the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century and modern members of the Tea Party movement is their attitude towards History. Both groups consider History as a kind of 'philosophy teaching by examples'. The Tea Party movement, as was shown in the previous chapter of this thesis, has used the history of the 'decline and fall of Ancient Rome' as justification for their anti-immigration and anti-progressive cultural critique stances (as was referred to in the first couple of paragraphs of Subsection **7.3: Historical Fundamentalism**). So, too, the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth-century used history as a kind of 'philosophy teaching by examples' to justify their revolution against the British by comparing the actions of the Empire and their use of standing armies in the colonies to other past foreign tyrannies who did the same across the world. [765] One difference in attitude, however, between the members of the Tea Party movement from their ancestors, is their exhibition of historical fundamentalism. Historical fundamentalism was first coined by Professor Jill Lepore to describe the Tea Party movement's relationship with the history of the American Revolution. [766] This thesis has shown, however, that the Tea Party movement's historical fundamentalism expands further than just the history of the American Revolution – indeed, all historical subjects are treated with the same fundamentalist zeal by the supporters of the social movement.

Finally, this thesis has uncovered the origins of the Tea Party movement's historiography. This thesis has shown how previous generations of American Revolution historiography, particularly the Whig, Nationalist, and Progressive schools of thought, have each influenced the social movement's (re)interpretation of the past in different ways – either by embracing (or rejecting) the particular paradigms which align (or do not align) with their beliefs (as was argued in the last paragraph of Subsection **7.2.3.3: Tea Party Movement's Interpretation**).

---

[765] Bailyn, B. The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, pp 61-63, 112-120, & 357; Balko, R. Rise of the Warrior Cop, p. XI; Bederman, D. J. The Classical Foundations of the American Constitution, p. 45; Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776, p. 58; &, Miller, J. C. Origins of the American Revolution, pp 122-125.
[766] Lepore, J. The Whites of Their Eyes, p. 16.

8.3: Further Research

Throughout the course of the production of this thesis there have been multiple avenues of potentially interesting research directions which due to lack of time and resources unfortunately. This subsection details some of the key avenues of ideas related to this research thesis which hopefully will provide a springboard for further future academic research.

Firstly, there are areas of this thesis which could be expanded upon in greater detail with extra research:

- The first issue or topic that could be examined in greater detail is in relation to the notion and philosophy of historical recurrence in Western thought. For instance, reading up on the works of Niccolo Machiavelli, his Discourses on Livy, and Friedrich Nietzsche's concept of 'eternal recurrence' expounded upon in his works including The Gay Science and Thus Spoke Zarathustra.

- Another topic of note to consider researching in much further detail is the relationship between nostalgia and American education. This topic would not only be focusing on the various textbooks relating to historical curriculum and its depictions of the American Revolution that were instilled into the minds of the generation that would later comprise the Tea Party movement – but it would also investigate the role of systemic corporate punishment as well as unique such as the Accelerated Christian Education (A.C.E.) and other such home-schooling American education programmes, a breeding-ground for the ideological fundamentalism and authoritarian mentalities shared by members of the Tea Party movement.

- The research of this thesis could further be expanded upon by examining other periods of the history of the United States of America that also has an arguably significant influence over the Tea Party movement other than the American Revolution – specifically, that of the role of the American Civil War. For instance, by comparing the Tea Parties ideology with Lewis W. Jones conception of THE SOUTHERNER in his text entitled, Cold *Rebellion: The South's Oligarchy in Rev*olt. [767]

---

[767] For those unfamiliar with the concept of THE SOUTHERNER, Lewis L. Jones remarks that:

"The SOUTHERNER is not just a person who lives in a specific region of the United States. He uncovers before the statue of Jefferson Davis at Montgomery, and on the portico of the state Capitol, there bows reverently over the bronze star embedded in the floor, to mark the spot where Davis took the oath of office as 'President of the Confederate States of America'. He celebrates Decoration Day and the birthdays of Robert E. Lee and Nathan Bedford Forrest. On these holidays he hoists the flag of the short-lived Confederacy. He has reservations about "one nation indivisible" for which the stars and stripes wave. He is not a Southerner; he prides himself on being THE SOUTHERNER…

The SOUTHERNER is fanatically committed to an ideology designed to preserve the SOLID SOUTH. The ideology, stripped of double-talk, is simple. Its doctrine is white supremacy – control of the economy and the government by white men, some white men. It limits 'white' to mean those who share its beliefs and condone its methods of acquiring and maintaining power...

Then, there are the various research opportunities available:

- Although this thesis has focused primarily on the conservative Tea Party movement and their unique relationship with American History, this research could equally be applied to their political opposites. For instance, by examining contemporary Left-wing and Liberal exploitations of the past in a similar vein to that of the Tea Party movement, using as a starting point the work of Naomi Wolf's Give Me Liberty: A Handbook for American Revolutionaries. The recent emergence of the Alt-Right also provides new opportunities to examine how nostalgia influences an altogether different generation of reactionary conservatives and their social movement.

- Furthermore, this thesis's topic of nostalgia, history and its role in contemporary politics can also be applied to other countries outside of the United States of America. Indeed, it could be applied to say the Conservative Coalition government in Great Britain and David Cameron's nostalgic evoking of Victorian values with 'The Big Society', or with the nostalgic attitudes and historic image of the United Kingdom espoused by the English Tea Party phenomenon equivalent – UKIP. Or, in another somewhat related instance, by comparing the so-called 'Information Revolution' which has seen in present times the rise of automation and the electronic enclosure of the digital commons on the Internet with, of course, its predecessor the Industrial Revolution and the early modern enclosures of public land as well as the rise and regulation of the printing press.

As this subsection has shown, the Tea Party movement and their relationship with nostalgia offers many opportunities for further research. This thesis has contributed by examining the role of history and nostalgia, in the process it has analysed and uncovered the ideological and systemic factors shaping the social movement. However, with the emergence of the Alt-Right and the rise of President Donald Trump in recent months, more research and study will be

---

THE SOUTHERNERS are not simply different in inconsequential characteristics, such as speech, habits, and personality. Their ideology gives them a mission. This mission is to subvert American institutions.

Like other subversive minorities, THE SOUTHERNERS dislike being identified as such. They insist that they are people of a faith that deserves and claims the protection of the authority they would destroy. THE SOUTHERNERS are especially vulnerable in this effrontery since it is a historical fact that they have attempted to overthrow the government of the United States by force of arms. They refuse to deny that they reject the principles and practices of democratic government. They have been consistent in holding our democratic institutions in contempt and in boldly defying the federal authority. They do not accept the democratic creed and they show abhorrence for democratic ways…

THE SOUTHERNERS, as champions of States' rights, enjoy the company of fellow-travellers. On the States' rights rostrum, the would-be exploiters of the nation's reserves of natural resources join the would-be exploiters of the nation's reserves of human resources. THE SOUTHERNERS as a subversive minority have survived owing to the support that they have received from special interest allies. The tide-lands oil interests, the natural gas interests, the electrical power interests, the timber and grasslands interests ally themselves to the cheap-labour interests in a spirited revival, spreading the gospel of States' rights."

Therefore, as can be seen, the ideological qualities of THE SOUTHERNER share much in common with Tea Party movement.
Jones, L. W. Cold Rebellion, pp 69-72.

needed to understand the contemporary cultural divisions across the United States of America and how nostalgia contributes to this modern malaise.

9. Appendix

These appendixes are important historical and political documents which have been referred to in the thesis. All documents are presented as they were found written, therefore expect to find issues such as: Americanised vocabulary, archaic language, emphasis of words, and in some cases, spelling mistakes.

Appendix A: The Declaration of Independence (1776) [768]

The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness: that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the government: that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments, long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

---

[768] "The Declaration of Independence, (July 4th, 1776)", pp 108-112.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalisation of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent, of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretend legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule in these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilised nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing declaration was, by order of congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK

New Hampshire
Josiah Bartlett
William Whipple
Matthew Thornton

Massachusetts Bay
Samuel Adams
John Adams
Robert Treat Paine
Elbridge Gerry

Rhode Island, & c.
Stephen Hopkins
William Ellery

Connecticut
Roger Sherman
Samuel Huntingdon
William Williams
Oliver Wolcott

New York
William Floyd
Philip Livingston
Francis Lewis
Lewis Morris

New Jersey
Richard Stockton
John Witherspoon
Francis Hopkinson
John Hart
Abraham Clark

Pennsylvania
Robert Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benjamin Franklin
John Morton
George Clymer
James Smith
George Taylor
James Wilson
George Ross

Delaware
Cesar Rodney
George Read
Thomas M'Kean

Maryland
Samuel Chase
William Paca
Thomas Stone
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton

Virginia
George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Thomas Jefferson
Benjamin Harrison
Thomas Nelson, Jr.
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton

North Carolina
William Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn

South Carolina
Edward Rutledge
Thomas Heyward, Jr.
Thomas Lynch, Jr.
Arthur Middleton

Georgia
Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
George Walton

Appendix B: The Tea Party Declaration of Independence (2010) [769]

I. As the course of human events winds its way through History, it has found some paths lead to Tyranny and some to Liberty. In seeking a path to Liberty, a great and powerful movement is now rising from every corner of our land. Created by the Will of the American People, it rejects unconstitutional domination by the Government that is supposed to be its servant. This movement has arisen, in large part, because our elected officials have failed us.

For much of its history the United States has been a land of prosperity and liberty, sound policies such as fiscal responsibility, constitutionally limited government and a belief in the free market have safeguarded this condition. In recent years however, Congress, the President, the Federal Reserve Board and the Courts have replaced those practices with profligate government spending and expansion of the government power beyond what is constitutionally permissible.

This course, if not reversed, can only lead to economic collapse and tyranny.

Therefore, Individuals acting through the Tea Party Movement, seek to restore the policies, which are proven to safeguard liberty and prosperity for all. We will organize, demonstrate and vote until this restoration has been achieved. We will stay focused on this goal and remain INDEPENDENT from any persons or political parties who seek to distract us from this end.

Many seek to define this Movement, to use it, to lead it, to co-opt it, to channel it, to control it, to defeat it.

WE WILL NOT LET THIS HAPPEN.

The Tea Party Movement is in agreement with our Founders that the government that governs least governs best. We believe that Capitalism – NOT GOVERNMENT – is essential to the creation of wealth and a vastly reduced government provides the foundation for a thriving Capitalist system.

The Tea Party Movement of America embraces and serves people of all races, creeds, religions, and political affiliations, and we declare ourselves to be independent of all those forces that seek to manipulate our actions or control our destiny.

II. We Declare ourselves INDEPENDENT of the Democrat Party and its power drunk junta in Washington DC, which is currently seeking to impose a Socialist agenda on our Republic.

We reject arrogant Left-wing politicians who furtively hide from public scrutiny, as they cut corrupt deals loaded with earmarks and pork in order to produce 2000 page pieces of legislation so purposely incomprehensible, they do not even bother to read them before foisting them upon us.

---

[769] Declaration of Tea Party Independence.

We reject the endless creation of myriad federal government agencies that drown free enterprise and local control in the swarms of education, energy, ecology, and commerce bureaucrats who style themselves "czars" sent to harass us. We reject the creation of federal government regulations and agencies which demand the States pay for unfunded Federal mandates.

We reject a Democrat Party which refuses to give credence to our demands for just redress of grievances and which insults and seeks to demonize our legal right to peacefully protest the unjust laws it inflicts upon us.

We reject a profligate Government that is spending TRILLIONS of dollars on worthless socialist schemes designed to bankrupt us and put the American people in a position of dependence on the State, as peasants begging for their very sustenance from self-styled "educated classes" and so-called "experts".

We reject a foreign policy which bows and scrapes and apologizes before the world for America.

We reject an Attorney General of the United States who offers succor and rights to vicious terrorist murderers and seeks to protect them with a mock civilian trial when such enemy combatants, captured on the field of battle, should be tried in secure military courts.

We reject the claims of an un-elected Federal Judiciary to violate the separation of powers by demanding its decisions be enforced by the other coequal branches of government, regardless of how unconstitutional the other branches of government may think those decisions are.

We reject all acts that ignore or diminish the 2nd and 10th Amendments to the US Constitution and we seek to have all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution to be reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

III. We Declare ourselves INDEPENDENT of the Republican Party, which has in the past manipulated its Conservative Base to win election after election and which then betrays everything that Base fought for and believed.

We reject the idea that the electoral goals of the Republican Party are identical to the goals of the Tea Party Movement or that this Movement is an adjunct to the Republican Party.

We reject the Republican Party professionals who now seek to use the Tea Party Movement for their corrupt and narrow political purposes.

We acknowledge that standing on our principles does not mean throwing out our common sense; we will NOT abandon our principles in the name of a non-existent bipartisanship or a misguided devotion to an illusion of "pragmatism", which disguises a desire to betray us in its name.

We reject the scare tactics of the Republican Party, which seeks to herd us into voting for candidates who supposedly represent the "lesser of two evils" in the name of fealty to the principle of small government and then having to suffer such candidates as they betray that

principle. We are not well served by parasites whose livelihoods depend on the very State whose power to reward or sanction we elected them to limit and proscribe.

We insist that the Tea Party Movement does NOT consider the election of Republicans in and of itself to be necessarily beneficial to our goals.

We demand the Republican Party understand that we reject its attempts to co-opt us.

WE WILL WORK AGAINST THEM when they oppose our views by trying to force Republicans In Name Only (RINO) on us. When Republicans are in accord with their Conservative Base as well as the Independent voters who align with it, IT WINS; when they are NOT in accord with the Conservative Base and the Independent voters who align with it, IT LOSES.

We reject RINO money; we reject RINO "advice"; we reject RINO "professional experience"; we reject RINO "progressivism"; we reject RINO support of Big Government; we reject RINO back room deal making; we reject RINO pork spending; we reject false

RINO professions of Conservative views and we reject the RINO's statist subversion of the principles of small government for which the Republican Party is supposed to stand.

Republican Party attempts to ignore the will of the Base, as it did in 1976, 1992, 1996, 2006 and 2008, resulted in disaster; when it embraces the will of the Base, as it did in 1980, 1984 and 1994, it wins historic victories.

We demand the Republican Party recognize that while the Tea Party Movement cannot guarantee their aid will help them win elections, it is very likely WE CAN MAKE THEM LOSE if they are disdainful of our goals.

IV. We Declare ourselves INDEPENDENT of the Media, which has proved itself to be anything BUT a fair and balanced enterprise and which focuses more on entertainment, fear mongering and shock value than investigation and unbiased fact.

We reject the fiction that an unbiased media still exists; there is friendly media and there is unfriendly ENE-media. The Tea Party Movement refuses to give false credence to the self-aggrandizing, self-deluding lie that ANY PART of the Fourth Estate is free of the self-serving agendas of those who own them.

V. We Declare ourselves INDEPENDENT of self-styled "leaders" who claim to speak for the Tea Party Movement. This movement is not a brand name to be used to sell product; nor is it a logo to be used to justify profiting off its name.

We reject those who seek to personally capitalize on our popularity and momentum by trying to associate with our cause.

We reject the idea that the Tea Party Movement is "led" by anyone other than the millions of average citizens who make it up. The Tea Party Movement understands that as a Free People, we need to SAVE OURSELVES, BY OURSELVES, FOR OURSELVES.

The Tea Party Movement is not "led." The Tea Party Movement LEADS.

VI. We are united in our common belief in Fiscal Responsibility, Constitutionally Limited Government and Free Markets. This threefold purpose is the source of our unity in the Tea Party Movement.

We reject the idea that the Tea Party Movement must all be unanimous in our specific policy views in order to win. We recognize that the current situation requires we come together in confederation to achieve the MANY MUTUAL GOALS we all seek to accomplish.

We recognize that the current situation requires that we concentrate on the many things we have in common rather than those few things about which we may disagree.

We are the Tea Party Movement of America and we believe in American Exceptionalism.

We believe that American Exceptionalism is found in its devotion to the cause of Liberty.

We believe that Liberty is based in rational self-interest, in freedom of thought, in free markets, free association, free speech, a free press and the ability granted us under the Constitution TO DIRECT OUR OWN AFFAIRS FREE OF THE DICTATES OF AN EVER EXPANDING FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WHICH IS AS VORACIOUS IN ITS DESIRE FOR POWER AS IT IS INCOMPETENT AND DANGEROUS IN ITS EXERCISE.

We believe that either fate or history has chosen this Country to be a beacon of freedom and prosperity to the whole world because of America's belief in and vigorous defense of political and economic Liberty. The United States has been the instrument of Liberty against the many tyrannies that have threatened the people of this world.

The Tea Party Movement rejects the idea that America has to apologize to a far guiltier world that has been largely unappreciative of the sacrifices made on their behalf by the brave and noble members of our Armed Forces, whose sacrifice and patriotic service in our defense makes all else possible.

The Tea Party Movement rejects the imposition of "transformational change" performed on our Nation by smug elites who call themselves the "educated class".

The Tea Party Movement understands that our Nation is NOT the same thing as our government and that America is much more than simply a militarily and economically powerful State.

The Tea Party Movement sees America as something exceptional, as something unique, as something that came into existence to fulfill the hope of all previous generations that longed for freedom.

It came into existence because it is more than simply a country with land and population and riches and armaments. America came into existence because LIBERTY is an eternal concept in the mind of both God AND Man.

The United States of America came into existence because Mankind needs freedom the same way it needs food and air and property and security and love.

And what is freedom other than the RIGHT to be free of the tyranny of Government and the elitist, self-styled aristocrats who seek to run it at our expense and to our detriment?

The Tea Party Movement will fight this danger to our Liberty as long as its members have breath in their bodies.

When America didn't exist men and women were compelled to invent it, BECAUSE MANKIND CANNOT EXIST WITHOUT FREEDOM AND STILL BE FULLY HUMAN.

To this goal we mutually pledge to each other, as our Founding Fathers did over two centuries ago, our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

February 24, 2010

10. Bibliography

 The content, data, and ideas for this thesis are drawn from various multiple- and inter-disciplinary sources. Because this work is multidisciplinary in nature many of the sources that in other contexts would be considered secondary sources have served as primary sources and are labelled with a [P] – Primary sources include material such as core philosophical texts, such as the works of Plato for instance, and historical texts which were written at the time that the historical events took place, such as with Thomas Paine's pamphlet, Common Sense. Some Tea Party movement literature, particularly the manifestos that are written by supporters of the social movement, are also considered primary sources for the same reasons.

10.1: Articles

"Twenty Questions for Charles Koch", American Journal of Business, Vol. 24, No. 1, (Spring, 2009), pp 15-18.

Altemeyer, B. "Comment on the Tea Party Movement", (20th April, 2010), pp 1-15.

Appleby, J. "Liberalism and the American Revolution", The New England Quarterly, Vol. 49, No. 1, (March, 1976), pp 3-26.

_____. "Republicanism and Ideology", American Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 4, Republicanism in the History and Historiography of the United States, (Autumn, 1985), pp 461-473.

_____. "Republicanism in Old and New Contexts", The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. 43, No. 1, (January, 1986), pp 20-34.

Arragon, R. F. "History and the Fall of Rome", Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 1, No. 2, (June, 1932), pp 145-154.

Bagdikian, B. H. "Future News in a Future Society", Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Third Series, Vol. 83, (1971), pp 109-120.

Bell, D. S. A. "Mythscapes: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity", The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 54, No. 1, (March, 2003), pp 63-81.

Bernario, H. W. "Teutoburg", The Classical World, Vol. 96, No. 4, (Summer, 2003), pp 397-406.

Berry, J. & Moryson, F. "Narrative of Bacon's Rebellion", The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 4, No. 2, (October, 1896), pp 117-154.

Cassell, F. A. "The Braddock Expedition of 1755: Catastrophe in the Wilderness", Pennsylvania Legacies, Vol. 5, No. 1, (May, 2005), pp 11-15.

Commager, H. S. "The American Enlightenment and the Ancient World: A Study in Paradox", Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Third Series, Vol.83, (1971), pp 3-15.

Confino, A. "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method", The American Historical Review, Vol. 102, No. 5 (December, 1997), pp 1386-1403.

Diers, M. Girst, T. & Moltke, D. "Warburg and the Warburgian Tradition of Cultural History", New German Critique, No. 65, (Spring-Summer, 1995), pp 59-73.

Fallin, A. Grana, R. & Glantz, S. A. "To Quarterback Behind the Scenes, Third Party Efforts': The Tobacco Industry and theTea Party", Tobacco Control, (20th February, 2013), pp 1-10.

Forster, K. W. "Aby Warburg's History of Art: Collective Memory and the Social Mediation of Images", Daedalus, Vol. 105, No. 1, (Winter, 1976), pp 169-176.

Funkenstein, A. "Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness", History and Memory, Vol. 1, No. 1, (Spring-Summer, 1989), pp 5-26.

Gedi, N. & Elam, Y. "Collective Memory – What is it?", History and Memory, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring, 1996), pp 30-50.

Gerber, S. D. "Whatever happened to the Declaration of Independence? A Commentary on the Republican Revisionism in the Political Thought of the American Revolution", Polity, Vol. 26, No. 2, (Winter, 1993), pp 207-231.

Gould, P. "Virtue, Ideology, and the American Revolution: The Legacy of the Republican Synthesis", American Literary History, Vol. 5, No. 3, Eighteenth-Century American Cultural Studies, (Autumn, 1993), pp 564-577.

Green, A. "Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates", Oral History, Vol. 32, No. 2, Memory and Society, (Autumn, 2004), pp 35-44.

Hoy, D. C. "Hermeneutics", Social Research, Vol. 47, No. 4, Philosophy: An Assessment, (Winter, 1980), pp 649-671.

Jensen, M. "Democracy and the American Revolution", Huntington Library Quarterly, Vol. 20, No. 4, Early American History Number, (August, 1957), pp 321-341.

Kansteiner, W. "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies", History and Theory, Vol. 41, No. 2, (May, 2002), pp 179-197.

Kellogg L. P. "The Paul Revere Print of the Boston Massacre", The Wisconsin Magazine of History, Vol. 1, No. 4, (June, 1918), pp 377-387.

Kerber, L. K. "The Republican Ideology of the Revolutionary Generation", American Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 4, Republicanism in the History and Historiography of the United States, (Autumn, 1985), pp 474-495.

Klinenberg, E. "News production in a Digital Age", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 597, (January, 2005), pp 48-64.

Lebow, R. N. "The Future of Memory", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 617, The Politics of History in Comparative Perspective, (May, 2008), pp 25-41.

Lintott, A. W. "Imperial Expansion and Moral Decline in the Roman Republic", Historia: Zeitsc*hrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 21, H. 4 (4th Quarter, 1972), pp 626-638.

Lowenthal, D. "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory", Geographical Review, Vol. 65, No. 1, (January, 1975), pp 1-36.

Martin, R. D. "Confrontation at the Monongahela: Climax of the French Drive into the Upper Ohio Region", Pennsylvania History, Vol. 37, No. 2, (April, 1970), pp 133-150.

Matt, S. J. "You Can't Go Home Again: Homesickness and Nostalgia in U.S. History", The Journal of American History, Vol. 94, No. 2, (September, 2007), pp 469-497.

McCartney, E. S. "The Gold-Digging Ants", The Classical Journal, Vol. 49, No. 5, (February, 1954), p. 234.

Miller, R. A. "The Frankenstein Syndrome: The Creation of Mega-Media Conglomerates and Ethical Modelling in Journalism", Journal of Business Ethics, Vol. 36, No. ½, Seventh Annual International Conference Promoting Business Ethics, (March, 2002), pp 105-110.

Morris, R. B. "Ending the American Revolution: Lessons for Our Time", Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 6, No. 4, Special Issue on Peace Research in History, (1969), pp 349-357. [P]

Motesharrei, S. Rivas, J. & Kalnay E. Human and Nature Dynamics (HANDY): Modeling Inequality and Use of resources in the Collapse or Sustainability of Societies, (University of Maryland, 2014), pp 1-27.

Olick, J. K. "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures", Sociological Theory, Vol. 17, No. 3 (November, 1999), pp 333-348.

____. & Robbins, J. "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices", Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 24 (1998), pp 105-140.

Phillips, E. J. "Catiline's Conspiracy", *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 25, H. 4 (4th Quarter, 1976), pp 441-448.

Piganiol, A. "The Causes of the Fall of the Roman Empire", The Journal of General Education, Vol. 5, No. 1, (October, 1950), pp 62-69.

Regenos, G. W. "A Note on Herodotus III, 102", The Classical Journal, Vol. 34, No. 7, (April, 1939), pp 425-426.

Roberts, A. "The Wikileaks Illusion", The Wilson Quarterly (1976-), Vol. 35, No. 3, (Summer, 2011), pp 16-21.

Schultz, R. "Breaking the Will of the Enemy during the Vietnam War: The Operationalization of the Cost-Benefit Model of Counterinsurgency Warfare", Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 15, No. 2, (1978), pp 109-129.

Shalhope, R. E. "Republicanism and Early American Historiography", The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. 39, No. 2, (April, 1982), pp 334-356.

Stanley, T. "The Changing Face of the American Family", History Today, Vol. 62, Issue 11, (November, 2012), pp 10-15.

Topper, K. "Richard Rorty, Liberalism and the Politics of Redescription" The American Political Science Review, Vol. 89, No. 4, (December, 1995), pp 954-965.

Verges, F. G. "Rorty and the New Hermeneutics", Philosophy, Vol. 62, No. 241, (July, 1987), pp 307-323.

Wardman, A. E. "Myth in Greek Historiography", *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 9, H. 4, (October, 1960), pp 403-413.

10.2: Books

Declaration of Tea Party Independence, (Washington: 2010). [P]

Report of the Twentieth Century fund Task Force on Political Action Committees: What Price PACs?, (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1984).

The Constitution of the United States of America: and Selected Writings of the Founding Fathers, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2012). [P]

The Financial Crisis Inquiry Report: Final Report of the National Commission on the Causes of the Financial and Economic Crisis in the United States, (Washington: 2011). [P]

U.S. Riot Commission Report What Happened? Why Did It Happen? What Can Be Done?: Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (New York: Bantam Books, 1968). [P]

Aaronovitch, D. Voodoo Histories: How Conspiracy Theory has Shaped Modern History, (London: Vintage, 2010).

Abbott, H. P. The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative [2nd Edition], (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Alden, J. R. A History of the American Revolution, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969).

Alexander, H. E. Financing Politics: Money, Elections and Political Reform [3rd Edition], (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1984).

Alexander, M. The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness, (New York: The New Press, 2010).

Alinsky, S. D. Rules For Radicals: A Pragmatic Primer for Realistic Radicals, (New York: Vintage Books, 1971).

Ali, T. The Obama Syndrome: Surrender at Home, War Abroad, (London: Verso, 2010).

Allan, S. [Editor], Issues in Cultural and Media Studies: News Culture [2nd Edition], (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2004).

Allen, G. None Dare Call It Conspiracy, (California: Concord Press, 1973). [P]

Allen, J. Vietnam: The (Last) War the U.S. Lost, (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2008).

Allen, T. W. The Invention of the White Race, Volume II: The Origin of Racial Oppression in Anglo-America, (London: Verso, 2012).

Anderson, F. The War that made America: A short history of the French and Indian War, (London: Penguin Books, 2005).

Ankersmit, F. Meaning, Truth, and Reference in Historical Representation, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2012).

____. & Hans Kellner [Editors], A New Philosophy of History, (London: Reaktion Books, 1995).

Appleby, J. Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. Telling the Truth About History, (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995).

Arendt, H. On Revolution, (London: Penguin Books, 2006).

Armey, D. & Kibbe, M. Give Us Liberty: A Tea Party Manifesto, (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010). [P]

Austin, M. *That's Not What They Meant!: Reclaiming the Founding Fathers From America's* Right Wing, (New York: Prometheus Books, 2012).

Axelrod, A. The Real History of the American Revolution: A New Look at the Past, (New York: Sterling Publishing, 2007).

Ayer, A. J. & Williams, B. [Editors], Crombie, I. M. [Author], *An Examination of Plato's* Doctrines: Volume II Plato on Knowledge and Reality, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963).

Bagdikian, B. H. The Media Monopoly [2nd Edition], (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987).

Bailyn, B. The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution [Enlarged Edition], (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).

____. & Hench, J. B. [Editors], The Press & the American Revolution, (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1980).

Baritz, L. Backfire: A History of How American Culture Led Us Into Vietnam and Made Us Fight the Way We Did, (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Barker, E. [Translator], Aristotle [Author], The Politics of Aristotle, (London: Oxford University Press, 1946). [P]

Barkun, M. A Culture of Conspiracy: Apocalyptic Visions in Contemporary America [2nd Edition], (Berkley: University of California Press, 2013).

Barthes, R. Mythologies, (London: Vintage Books, 1993).

Baker, S. Ancient Rome: The Rise and Fall of an Empire, (London: BBC Books, 2006).

Balko, R. *Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarisation of America's Police Forces*, (New York: PublicAffairs, 2013).

Bancroft, G. History of the United States of America: from the discovery of the continent [Volume Three], (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1891).

Batstone, W. W. [Translator], Sallust [Author], *Catiline's Conspiracy, The Jugurthine War,* Histories, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). [P]

Beacroft, B. W. & Smale, M. A. The Making of America: From Wilderness to World Power, (London: Longman, 1972).

Beard, C. A. & M. R. History of the United States: A Study in American Civilisation, (Forgotten Books, 2012).

Beaty, J. The Iron Curtain Over America, (Dallas: Wilkinson Publishing Company, 1952). [P]

Bederman, D. J. The Classical Foundations of the American Constitution: Prevailing Wisdom, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Bell, D. [Editor], The Radical Right: The New American Right, Expanded and Updated, (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1963).

Bennington, G. & Massumi, B. [Translators], Lyotard, J. F. [Author], The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

Berkowitz, E. D. Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

Bernstein, R. B. & Rice, K. S. Are We To Be A Nation?: The Making of the Constitution, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

Billias, G. A. [Editor], The American Revolution: How Revolutionary was it? [4th Edition], (Florida: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1990).

Black, J. Using History, (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005).

Blamey, K. & Pellauer, D. [Translators], Ricoeur, P. [Author], Memory, History, Forgetting, (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).

Blum W. Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II, (London: Zed Books, 2003).

Boardman, J. Griffin J. & Murray O. [Editors], The Oxford History of the Classical World, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Bolla, P. The Fourth of July and the Founding of America, (London: Profile Books, 2007).

Bonnett, A. Left in the Past: Radicalism and the Politics of Nostalgia, (London: Continuum International Publishing, 2010).

Bonwick, C. The American Revolution, (London: Macmillan, 1991).

Boorstin, D. J. The Americans: The National Experience, (London: Phoenix Press, 2000).

Borelli, D. Blacklash: How Obama and the Left are Driving Americans to the Government Plantation, (New York: Threshold, 2012). [P]

Boucher, D. & Kelly, P. [Editors], Political Thinkers: From Socrates to the Present, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Bouza, T. The Decline and Fall of the American Empire: Corruption, Decadence, and the American Dream, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1996).

Boym, S. The Future of Nostalgia, (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

Breisach, E. Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern [Third Edition], (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

Breitbart, A. Righteous Indignation: Excuse Me While I Save the World!, (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 2012).

Brewer, R. Your PhD Thesis: How to Plan, Draft, Revise, and Edit your Thesis, (Abergele: Studymates, 2007).

Brink, W. & Harris, L. The Negro Revolution in America: What Negroes Want; Why and How They Are Fighting; Whom they Support; What Whites Think of Them and Their Demands, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964). [P]

Brody, D. The Teavangelicals: The Inside Story of how The Evangelicals and The Tea Party are Taking Back America, (Michigan: Zondervan, 2012).

Brogan, H. The Longman History of the United States of America, (New York: Longman, 1985).

Brown, R. D. [Editor], Major Problems in the Era of the American Revolution 1760-1791, (Lexington: D. C. Heath & Company, 1992).

Brown, R. M. & Fehrenbacher, D. E. [Editors], Tradition, Conflict, and Modernisation: Perspectives on the American Revolution, (New York: Academic Press, 1977).

Browning, G. K. Political Philosophy Now: Lyotard and the End of Grand Narratives, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000).

Broyles, J. A. The John Birch Society: Anatomy of a Protest, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

Brumwell, S. Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755-1763, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Brunt, P. A. The Fall of the Roman Republic: and Related Essays, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

Burger, A. A. Narratives: in Popular Culture, Media, and Everyday Life, (London: SAGE, 1997).

Burrow, J. A History of Histories: Epics, Chronicles, Romances, and Inquiries from Herodotus and Thucydides to the Twentieth Century, (London: Penguin, 2009).

Burroway, J. Stuckey-French, E. & N. Writing Fiction: A Guide to Narrative Craft [8th Edition], (London: Longman, 2011).

Carp, B. L. Defiance of the Patriots: The Boston Tea Party & the Making of America, (London: Yale University Press, 2011).

Carr, E. H. What is History?, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

Cave, A. A. The French and Indian War, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004).

Charlton, M. & Moncrieff, A. Many Reasons Why: The American Involvement in Vietnam, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989).

Chartrand, R. Tomahawk and Musket: French and Indian Raids in the Ohio Valley 1758, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2012).

Chernow, R. Washington: A Life, (London: Penguin Books, 2011).

Chomsky, N. & Herman, E. S. Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media, (London: Vintage, 1994).

____. Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies, (London: Pluto Press, 1989).

Christie, I. R. & Labaree, B. W. Empire or Independence 1760-1776: A British-American Dialogue on the Coming of the American Revolution, (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1976).

Christie, N. The Fall of the Western Roman Empire: An Archaeological & Historical Perspective, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011).

Cody, D. [Editor], Conspiracy Theories: The Philosophical Debate, (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2006).

Coffin, C. Historical Discourse: The Language of Time, Cause and Evaluation, (London: Continuum, 2006).

Cogliano, F. D. Revolutionary America 1763-1815: A Political History [2nd Edition], (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Cohen, E. D. & Fraser, B. W. The Last Days of Democracy: How Big Media and Power-Hungry Government Are Turning America into a Dictatorship, (New York: Prometheus Books, 2007).

Cohen, G. A. *Karl Marx's Theory of Histor*y: A Defence, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

Cohler, A. M. Miller, B. C. & Stone, H. S. [Translators], Montesquieu [Author], The Spirit of the Laws, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). [P]

Collingwood, R. G. The Idea of History, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

____. [Author], Dray, W. H. & van der Dussen, W. J. [Editors], The Principles of History: and other writings in philosophy of history, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Conner, C. Wrapped in the Flag: What I learne*d growing up in America's radical right, how* I escaped, and why my story matters today, (Boston: Beacon Press, 2013).

Coser, L. A. [Translator], Halbwachs, M. [Author], On Collective Memory, (London: University of Chicago Press, 1992). [P]

Countryman, E. The American Revolution, (London: Penguin Books, 1987).

Craig, C. & Logevall F. *America's Cold War: The Politics of Insecurity*, (London: Harvard University Press, 2012).

Crawford, A. *Thunder on the Right: The 'New Right' and the Politics of Resentment*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980).

Cumming, W. P. & Rankin, H. The Fate of a Nation: The American Revolution Through Contemporary Eyes, (London: Phaidon Press, 1975).

Davies, N. Flat Earth News, (London: Vintage, 2009).

Davis, F. Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia, (New York: The Free Press, 1979).

De Sélincourt, A. [Translator], Herodotus [Author], The Histories, (London: Penguin Books, 2003). [P]

Degler, C. N. Out of Our Past: the Forces that Shaped Modern America [3rd Edition], (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1984).

Deutsch, K. W. The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control, (New York: The Free Press, 1966).

Diamond, S. Roads to Dominion: Right-wing Movements and Political Power in the United States, (New York: The Guilford Press, 1995).

DiClerico, R. D. & Hammock, A. S. [Editors], Points of View: Readings in American Government and Politics [9th Edition], (New York: Mc Graw Hill, 2004).

DiMaggio, A. The Rise of the Tea Party: Political Discontent and Corporate Media in the Age of Obama, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011).

Douglass, E. P. Rebels and Democrats: The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule During the American Revolution, (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Inc., 1989).

Draper, T. A Struggle for Power: The American Revolution, (London: Abacus, 1997).

Duff, T. *Plutarch's Lives: Exploring Virtue and Vice*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Dumbrell, J. [Editor], Vietnam and the Antiwar Movement: An International Perspective, (Aldershot: Avebury, 1989).

Duncan, A. & Hobson, D. *Saturn's Children: How the State Devours Liberty, Property and Virtue*, (London: Politico's Publishing, 1998).

Durham, M. The Christian Right, the Far Right and the Boundaries of American Conservatism, (New York: Manchester University Press, 2000).

Eckstein, A.M. Moral Vision in The Histories of Polybius, (California: University of California Press, 1995).

Edwards, D. & Cromwell, D. Guardians of Power: The Myth of the Liberal Media, (London: Pluto Press, 2006).

Egnal, M. A Mighty Empire: The Origins of the American Revolution, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988).

Evans, R. J. In Defence of History, (London: Granta Books, 2000).

Farah, J. The Tea Party Manifesto: A Vision for an American Rebirth, (Washington: WND Books, 2010). [P]

Feagin, J. R. Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations [2nd Edition], (New York: Routledge, 2010).

Ferguson, N. Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire, (London: Penguin Books, 2005).

Fitzgerald, R. [Translator], Homer [Author], The Iliad, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). [P]

Foley, E. P. The Tea Party: Three Principles, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Foner, E. Give Me Liberty: An American History [Seagull 3rd Edition], (London: W. W. Norton & Co., 2012).

____. The Story of American Freedom, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1998).

Foot, M. [Editor], Paine, T. [Author], Rights of Man and Common Sense: with an introduction by Michael Foot, (London: Everyman's Library, 1994). [P]

Forster, A. & Epstein, B. R. Danger on the Right: The Attitudes, Personne, and Influence of the Radical Right and Extreme Conservatives, (New York: Random House, 1964).

Fox, R. L. & Ramos, J. M. [Editors], iPolitics: Citizens, Elections, and Governing in the New Media Era, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Fraser, S. & Gerstle, G. [Editors],The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

Frohnen, B. [Editor], The American Republic: Primary Sources, (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2002). [P]

Gardener, D. Future Babble: Why Expert Predictions Fail and Why We Believe Them Anyway, (London: Virgin Books, 2011).

____. Risk: The Science and Politics of Fear, (London: Virgin Books, 2009).

Geiter, M. K. & Speck, W. A. Colonial America: From Jamestown to Yorktown, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

Gerstle, G. Liberty and Coercion: The Paradox of American Government from the Founding to the Present, (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015).

Gilbert, N. [Editor], Researching Social Life [3rd Edition], (London: SAGE, 2008).

Goffart, W. *Rome's Fall and After*, (London: The Humbledon Press, 1989).

Goldberg, J. Liberal Fascism: The Secret History of the Left From Mussolini to the Politics of Meaning, (London: Penguin, 2009).

Goldsworthy, A. The Fall of the West: The Slow Death of the Roman Superpower, (London: Phoenix, 2010).

Goodwin, D. K. Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).

Grant, M. The Fall of the Roman Empire, (London: Phoenix Giant, 1997).

____. The World of Rome, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1960).

Grant, S-M. A Concise History of the United States of America, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Greene, J. P. Understanding the American Revolution: Issues and Actors, (Virginia: The University Press of Virginia, 1995).

____. [Editor], The Reinterpretation of the American Revolution 1763-1789, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1979).

____. & Pole, J. R. [Editors], A Companion to the American Revolution, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004).

Gringrich, N. To Renew America, (New York: HarperCollins, 1995).

Griswold, W. S. The Boston Tea Party 16 December 1773: The Night the Revolution Began, (Kent: Abacus Press, 1973).

Groseclose, T. Left Turn: How Liberal Media Bias Distorts the American Mind, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2011).

Hamowy, R. [Editor], Trenchard, J. & Gordon, T. [Authors], *Cato's Letters or Essays on* Liberty, Civil and Religious, and Other Important Subjects [Volume 1], (Indiana: Liberty Fund, 1995). [P]

Hardisty, J. Mobilising Resentment: Conservative Resurgence from the John Birch Society to the Promise Keepers, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999).

Harrison, L. Political Research: An Introduction, (Oxon: Routledge, 2001).

Hayek, F. A. The Constitution of Liberty, (London: Routledge, 1960).

____. The Road to Serfdom: with the Intellectuals and Socialism, (London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 2005).

Haywood, R. M. *The Myth of Rome's Fall*, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1962).

Heale, M. J. The American Revolution, (London: Methuen & Co., 1986).

Heather, P. The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History, (London: Pan Books, 2006).

Hegel, G. W. F. The Philosophy of History, (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2004). [P]

Hellmann, J. American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

Hobsbawm, E. J. Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality [2nd Edition], (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

____. On History, (London: Abacus, 1998).

____. & Ranger, T. The Invention of Tradition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Hoffman, R. & Albert, P. J. [Editors], The Transforming Hand of Revolution: Reconsidering the American Revolution as a Social Movement, (Virginia: The University Press of Virginia, 1996).

Hofstadter, R. Anti-Intellectualism in American Life, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1964).

____. The American Political Tradition: And the Men Who Made It, (New York: Vintage Books, 1974).

____. The Paranoid Style in American Politics: and Other Essays, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966).

Holiday, R. *Trust Me I'm Lying: Confessions of a Media Manipulator*, (New York: Portfolio/Penguin, 2012).

Horwitz, R. B. *America's Right: Anti-*Establishment Conservatism From Goldwater to the Tea Party, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).

Holland, T. Rubicon: The Triumph and Tragedy of the Roman Republic, (London: Abacus, 2004).

Honohan, I. Civic Republicanism, (London: Routledge, 2002).

Howard, R. [Translator], Barthes, R. [Author], The Semiotic Challenge, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

Huffington, A. Third World America: How Our Politicians Are Abandoning The Average Citizen, (London: Collins, 2011).

Hughes, R. T. Myths America Lives By, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

Hunter, J. D. Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America, (New York: Basic Books, 1991).

Ingersoll, D. E., Matthews, R. K. & Davison, A. The Philosophic Roots of Modern Ideology: Liberalism, Communism, Fascism, Islamism [Third Edition], (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 2001).

Irving, W. Life of George Washington, Vol. 1: Early Life, Expeditions, and Campaigns, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1885).

Jackman, S. W. Man of Mercury: An Appreciation of the Mind of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965).

Jacobson, D. L. [Editor], The English Libertarian Heritage: From the Writings of John *Trenchard and Thomas Gordon in The Independent Whig and Cato's Letters*, (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1965).

James, L. The Rise and Fall of the British Empire, (London: Abacus, 1998).

Jasanoff, M. *Liberty's Exiles: The Loss of America and the Remaking of the British Empire*, (London: Harper Press, 2011).

Jenkins, K. Re-thinking History, (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Jenkins, P. A History of the United States [4th Edition], (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Joffe, J. *The Myth of America's Decline: Politics, Economics, and a Half Century of False* Prophecies, (New York: Liveright Publishing, 2014).

Jones, E. & Vassallo, S. [Editors], The 2008 Presidential Elections: A Story in Four Acts, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Jones, L. W. *Cold Rebellion: The South's Oligarchy in Revolt*, (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1962).

Jones, M. A. The Limits of Liberty: American History 1607-1992 [2nd Edition], (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Jones, P. Veni Vidi Vici: Everything you ever wanted to know about the Romans but were afraid to ask, (London: Atlantic Books, 2013).

Jowett B. [Translator], Aristotle [Author], Politics: and the Athenian Constitution, (London: Oxford University Press, 1905). [P]

Kagan, D. [Editor], The End of the Roman Empire: Decline or Transformation [2nd Edition], (Massachusetts: D.C. Heath & Company, 1978).

Kallich, M. & Macleish, A. [Editors], The American Revolution Through British Eyes, (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

Keegan, J. The Iraq War: The 21-Day Conflict and its Aftermath, (London: Pimlico, 2005).

Kernell, S. & Smith, S. S. [Editors], Principles and Practice of American Politics: Classic and Contemporary Readings [2nd Edition], (Washington: CQ Press, 2004).

Kibbe, M. *Don't Hurt People and Don't Take Their Stuff: A Libertarian Manifesto*, (New York: William Morrow, 2014).

____. *Hostile Takeover: Resisting Centralised Government's Stranglehold on* America, (New York: HarperCollins, 2012).

Kimball, J. P. To Reason Why: The Debate about the Causes of U.S. Involvement in the Vietnam War, (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing, 1990).

King, D. S. The New Right: Politics, Markets and Citizenship, (London: Macmillan Education, 1987).

Kitty, A. *Don't Believe It!: How Lies B*ecomes News, (New York: Disinformation Books, 2005).

____. & Greenwald, R. *Outfoxed: Rupert Murdoch's War on Journalism*, (New York: Disinformation Books, 2005).

Klein, N. The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism, (London: Penguin Books, 2008).

Knight, P. [Editor], Conspiracy Nation: the Politics of Paranoia in Postwar America, (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

Kovach, B. & Rosenstiel, T. The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect, (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2007).

Kramer, L. & Maza, S. [Editors], A Companion to Western Historical Thought, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006).

Kramnick, I. Bolingbroke and his Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

Kymlicka, W. Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction [2nd Edition], (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Lacey, N. Narrative and Genre: Key Concepts in Media Studies, (New York: Palgrave, 2000).

Lacey, W. K. & Wilson, B. W. J. G. Res Publica: Roman Politics and Society according to Cicero, (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1978).

Lambert, P. & Schofield, P. [Editors], Making History: An Introduction to the history and practices of a discipline, (London: Routledge, 2004).

Laslett, P. [Editor], Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought: John Locke Two Treatises of Government [Student Edition], (Cambridge University Press, 1988). [P]

____. [Editor], Patriarcha and Other Political Works of Sir Robert Filmer, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949). [P]

Leahy, M. P. Covenant of Liberty: The Ideological Origins of the Tea Party Movement, (New York: HarperCollins, 2012).

Lentin, A. & Norman, B. [Editors], Gibbon, E. [Author], The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: 28 Selected Chapters, (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, 1998).

Lepore, J. *The Whites of Their Eyes: The Tea Party's Revolution and the Battle over American History*, (Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Lewis, A. Portrait of a Decade: The Second American Revolution, (New York: Random House, 1964).

Lewis, P. Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks: the Vietnam Antiwar Movement as Myth and Memory, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2013).

Limbaugh, R. Rush Revere and the Brave Pilgrims, (New York: Threshold, 2013). [P]

_____. Rush Revere and the First Patriots, (New York: Threshold, 2014). [P]

Lippmann, W. Public Opinion, (California: BN Publishing, 2007).

Lipset, S. M. American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997).

Loewen, J. W. Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

Logevall, F. *Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam*, (New York: Random House, 2012).

López I. H. Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Lovejoy, A. O. The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea, (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966).

Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Luce, E. Time To Start Thinking: America and the Spectre of Decline, (London: Abacus, 2013).

Mackay, C. S. The Breakdown of the Roman Republic: From Oligarchy to Empire, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Maclear, M. Vietnam: The Ten Thousand Day War, (London: Thames Methuen, 1989).

MacPherson, M. Long Time Passing: Vietnam and the Haunted Generation, (New York: Doubleday, 1993).

Maddow, R. Drift: The Unmooring of American Military Power, (New York: Broadway Books, 2013).

Maier, P. American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence, (New York: Vintage Books, 1998).

Malbin, M. J. [Editor], Money and Politics in the United States: Financing Elections in the 1980s, (New Jersey: Chatham House Publishers, 1984).

Marsden, L. *For God's Sake: The Christian Right and US Foreign Policy*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Marwick, A. The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language, (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001).

Marx, K. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, (Rockville: Serenity Publishers, 2009).

McFerran, W. L. Birth of the Republic: The Origin of the United States, (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2009).

McGirr, L. Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right, (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002).

McNair, B. The Sociology of Journalism, (London: Arnold, 1998).

McNally, M. Teutoburg Forest AD 9: The destruction of Varus and his legions, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011).

McNeill, P. & Chapman, S. Research Methods [3rd Edition], (London: Routledge, 2005).

McVickar, H. W. & Pollard, J. The Boston Tea Party: December 1773, (New York: Dodd Mead & Company, 1882).

Meckler, M. & Martin, J. B. Tea Party Patriots: The Second American Revolution, (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 2012). [P]

Middlekauff, R. The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Middleton, R. Colonial America: A History, 1565-1776 [3rd Edition], (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002).

Miller, J. C. Origins of the American Revolution, (London: Faber & Faber, 1955).

Morris, D. & McGann, E. Revolt!: How to Defeat Obama and Repeal His Socialist Programs – A Patriots Guide, (New York: HarperCollins, 2011).

Mott, F. L. American Journalism A History: 1690-1960 [3rd Edition], (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1962).

Mulloy, D. J. The World of the John Birch Society: Conspiracy, Conservatism, and the Cold War, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014).

Munslow, A. Deconstructing History [2nd Edition], (London: Routledge, 2006).

Murdoch, A. *Rome's Greatest Defeat: Massacre in the Teutoburg Forest*, (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2008).

Murphy, C. Are We Rome?: The Fall of an Empire and the Fate of America, (New York: Mariner Books, 2008).

Nagle, A. Kill All Normies: The online culture wars from Tumblr and 4chan to the alt-right and Trump, (Winchester: Zero Books, 2017).

Neale, J. The American War: Vietnam 1960-1975, (London: Bookmarks, 2001).

Novick, P. That Noble D*ream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical* Profession, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Nye, R. B. & Morpurgo, J. E. A History of the United States Volume One: The Birth of the United States, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964).

O'Donnell, C. *Trouble Maker: Let's Do What It Takes to Make America Great Again*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2011).

O'Hara, J. M. A New American Tea Party: The Counterrevolution Against Bailouts, Handouts, Reckless Spending, and More Taxes, (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2010). [P]

Oberdorfer, D. Tet! The Turning Point in the Vietnam War, (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Olick, J. K. The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility, (Oxon: Routledge, 2007).

____. Vinitzky-Seroussi, V. & Levy, D. [Editors], The Collective Memory Reader, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Olson, A. G. Making the Empire Work: London and American Interest Groups 1690-1790, (London: Harvard University Press, 1992).

Osborn, W. M. The Wild Frontier: Atrocities During the American-Indian War From Jamestown Colony to Wounded Knee, (New York: Random House, 2001).

Packer, G. The Unwinding: An Inner History of the New America, (London: Faber & Faber, 2013).

Palast, G. The Best Democracy Money Can Buy: An Investigative Reporter Exposes the Truth About Globalisation, Corporate Cons and High-Finance Fraudsters, (London: Robinson, 2003).

Parker, C. S. & Barreto, M. A. *Change They Can't Believe In: The Tea Party and* Reactionary Politics in America, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

Paterson, D. Willoughby, D. & S. Heinemann Advanced History: Civil Rights in the USA, 1863-1980, (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2001).

Paul, R. & Hunter, J. The Tea Party Goes To Washington, (New York: Center Street, 2011).

Pearlman, S. The Palin Effect: Money, Sex and Class in the New American Politics, (London: Biteback Publishing, 2012).

Perret, G. A Country Made By War: From the Revolution to Vietnam – *the Story of America's* Rise to Power, (New York: Random House, 1989).

Pipes, D. Conspiracy: How the Paranoid Style Flourishes and where it comes from, (New York: The Free Press, 1997).

Plato, Phaedrus, (London: Penguin Classics, 2005). [P]

_____. Theaetetus, (London: Penguin Books, 1987). [P]

_____. The Republic, (London: Penguin Classics, 2007). [P]

Plumb, J. H. The Death of the Past, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973).

Prell, M. *Underdogma: How America's Enemies Use Our Love for the Underdog to Trash* American Power, (Dallas: BenBella Books, 2011).

Pugh, J. [Editor], What is Radical Politics Today?, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Rakove, J. Revolutionaries: Inventing An American Nation, (London: Vintage Books, 2011).

Rand, A. The Virtue of Selfishness: A New Concept of Egoism, (New York: Signet, 1964).

Raphael, R. Founders: The People Who Brought You a Nation, (London: The New Press, 2010).

Rasmussen, S. & Schoen, D. Mad As Hell: How the Tea Party Movement is Fundamentally Remaking Our Two-Party System, (New York: HarperCollins, 2010).

Reynolds, D. America, Empire of Liberty, (London: Penguin Books, 2010).

Richter, M. The Political Theory of Montesquieu, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

Rorty, R. Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Rosenau, P. M. Post-Modernism and the Social Sciences: Insights, Inroads, and Intrusions, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992).

Rosenthal, L. & Trost, C. [Editors], Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

Rozwenc, E. C. [Editor], The New Deal: Revolution or Evolution?, (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1959).

Russell, T. A Renegade History of the United States: How Drunks, Delinquents and other Outcasts made America, (London: Simon & Schuster, 2010).

Sabato, L. J. PAC Power: Inside the World of Political Action Committees, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984).

Sargent, L. T. [Editor], Extremism in America: A Reader, (New York: New York University Press, 1995).

Sayers, S. *Plato's Republic: An Introduc*tion, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999).

Schell, J. The Time of Illusion, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976).

Schulman, D. *Sons of Wichita: How the Koch Brothers Became America's Most Powerful* and Private Dynasty, (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 2014).

Schweikart, L. & Allen, M. *A Patriot's History of the United States: From Columbus's Great* Discovery to the War on Terror, (New York: Sentinel, 2004).

____. *What Would the Founders Say? A Patriot's Answers to America's Most Pressing* Problems, (New York: Sentinel, 2011).

Scott-Kilvert, I. [Translator], Polybius [Author], The Rise of the Roman Empire, (London: Penguin Books, 1979). [P]

Selby-Bigge, L. A. [Editor], Hume, D. [Author], Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals [3rd Edition], (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975). [P]

Shaw, C. & Chase, M. [Editors], The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989).

Sherman, G. The Loudest Man in the Room: How the Brilliant, Bombastic Roger Ailes Built Fox News – and Divided a Country, (New York: Random House, 2014).

Short, A. The Origins of the Vietnam War, (Harlow: Longman, 2001).

Skocpol, T. & Williamson, V. The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Skousen, W. C. The Five Thousand Year Leap: The 28 Great Ideas That Are Changing the World, (Washington: National Center for Constitutional Studies, 1987). [P]

Slotkin, R. Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860, (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1974).

Smith, H. Who Stole the American Dream?, (New York: Random House, 2013).

Southgate, B. Postmodenism in History: Fear or Freedom?, (London: Routledge, 2003).

Spaeth, H. J. & Smith, E. C. The Constitution of the United States [13th Edition], (New York: HarperCollins, 1991).

Stauber, L. G. The American Revolution: A Grand Mistake, (New York: Prometheus Books, 2010).

Stern P. M. Still The Best Congress Money Can Buy, (Washington: Regnery Gateway, 1992).

Stokes, M. [Editor], The State of U.S. History, (New York: Berg, 2002).

Street, P. & DiMaggio, A. Crashing the Tea Party: Mass Media and the Campaign to Remake American Politics, (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2011).

Taibbi, M. Griftopia: Bubble Machines, Vampire Squids, and the Long Con that is Breaking America, (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2010).

Tanenhaus, S. The Death of Conservatism, (New York: Random House, 2009).

Taylor, A. American Colonies: The Settling of North America, (London: Penguin Books, 2002).

Terkel, S. The Great Divide: Second Thoughts on the American Dream, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988).

Thomas, D. A. L. Locke: On Governement, (London: Routledge, 1995).

Thompson, M. J. The Politics of Inequality: A Political History of the Idea of Economic Inequality in America, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

Tindall, G. B. & Shi, D. E. America: A Narrative History [Brief 8th Edition], (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010).

Tosh, J. The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods & New Directions in the Study of Modern History [2nd Edition], (London: Longman, 1992).

Toynbee, A. J. A Study of History, (London: Oxford University Press, 1960).

___. Civilisation on Trial, (London: Oxford University Press, 1949).

Trompf, G. W. The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought: From Antiquity to the Reformation, (California: University of California Press, 1979).

Tully, J. [Editor], Meaning & Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988).

Unger, H. G. American Tempest: How the Boston Tea Party Sparked a Revolution, (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2011).

Verney, K. Black Civil Rights in America, (New York: Routledge, 2000).

Vickers, D. [Editor], A Companion to Colonial America, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006).

Vidal, G. The Decline and Fall of the American Empire, (Chicago: Odonian Press, 2000).

Vincent, A. Modern Political Ideologies [2nd Edition], (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1995).

Walbank, F. W. The Decline of the Roman Empire in the West, (London: Cobbett Press, 1946).

Walliman, N. Your Research Project [2nd Edition], (London: SAGE, 2006).

Ward, H. M. The American Revolution: Nationhood Achieved 1763-1788, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

Ward-Perkins, B. The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilisation, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Waterfield, R. [Translator], Polybius [Author], The Histories, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). [P]

Wells, H. G. A Short History of the World, (London: C. A. Watts & Co., 1946).

Wells, P. S. The Battle that Stopped Rome: Emperor Augustus, Arminius, and the Slaughter of the Legions in the Teutoburg Forest, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003).

Wilkes, J. The Illyrians, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995).

Williams, D. K. *God's Own P*arty: The Making of the Christian Right, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Williams, W. A. The Contours of American History, (London: Verso, 2011).

Wisker, G. The Postgraduate Research Handbook [2nd Edition], (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Wright, E. [Editor], Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966).

____. [Editor], The Fire of Liberty, (London: The Folio Society, 1983).

Wright, W. Sixguns & Society: A Structural Study of the Western, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

Wood, H. H. & Byatt, A. S. [Editors], Memory: An Anthology, (London: Chatto & Windus, 2008).

Wood, G. S. The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1787, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1972).

____. The Idea of America: Reflections on the Birth of the United States, (New York: The Penguin Press, 2011).

____. The Purpose of the Past: Reflections on the uses of History, (London: Penguin Books, 2009).

____. The Radicalism of the American Revolution, (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).

Woodman, A. J. [Editor], Velleius Paterculus: The Tiberian Narrative (2.94-131), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). [P]

Wootton, D. [Editor], Modern Political Thought: Readings from Machiavelli to Nietzsche, (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 1996).

Young, A. F. [Editor], The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism, (Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976).

____. The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999).

Zernike, K. Boiling Mad: Inside Tea Party America, (New York: Times Books, 2010).

Zinn, H. *A People's History of the United States*, (New York: HarperCollins, 2003).

10.3: Film

Emmerich, R. The Patriot, (Columbia Pictures, 2000).

HBO, John Adams, (HBO Studios, 2008).

Hudson, H. Revolution, (Warner Home Video, 1985).

Lumet, S. Network, (Warner Bros., 1977).

The History Channel, America: The Story of Us [Season 1], (A&E Home Video, 2010).

10.4: Websites

01/13/2000: KOCH INDUSTRIES TO PAY RECORD FINE FOR OIL SPILLS IN SIX STATES,
http://yosemite.epa.gov/opa/admpress.nsf/2000+press+releases/981d17e5ab07246f85256865 00621079?opendocument, (13/01/00). [P]

12/22/00: U.S. ANNOUNCES CLEAN AIR SETTLEMENT WITH KOCH PETROLEUM GROUP,
http://yosemite.epa.gov/opa/admpress.nsf/016bcfb1deb9fecd85256aca005d74df/2cb511cef35 4d7d0852569bd00779f13?OpenDocument, (22/12/00). [P]

210 Reasons for the decline of the Roman Empire,
http://www.utexas.edu/courses/rome/210reasons.html, (08/05/13).

[SOROSCREW]Tea Party Launches Facebook-clone: Because Social Media has a Liberal Bias – The Something Awful Forums, http://forums.somethingawful.com/showthread.php?threadid=3531828&userid=0&perpage=40&pagenumber=1, (23/02/13).

About TARP, http://www.treasury.gov/initiatives/financial-stability/about-tarp/Pages/default.aspx#, (10/03/14).

Alex Jones: Conspiracy Inc. – Salon.com, http://www.salon.com/2013/05/02/alex_jones_conspiracy_inc/, (02/05/13).

America's Largest Private Companies List – Forbes, http://www.forbes.com/largest-private-companies/list/, (26/01/14).

BBC News – Senator Ted Cruz ends marathon speech against 'Obamacare', http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-24270591, (25/09/13).

BBC News – US begins government shutdown as budget deadline passes, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-24343698, (01/10/13).

BBC News – What exactly is the Tea Party?, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-11317202, (16/09/10).

Big Brothers: Thought Control at Koch | The Nation, http://www.thenation.com/article/160062/big-brothers-thought-control-koch#, (20/04/11).

Billionaire Koch brothers in the dock over trades with Iran – Americas – World – The Independent, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/billionaire-koch-brothers-in-the-dock-over-trades-with-iran-2365181.html, (04/10/11).

Breakdown of Funding, http://www.recovery.gov/arra/Transparency/fundingoverview/Pages/fundingbreakdown.aspx, (05/04/14).

Briefing by White House Press Secretary Robert Gibbs, 2/20/2009 |The White House, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Briefing-by-White-House-Press-Secretary-Robert-Gibbs-2-20-2009, (20/02/09). [P]

Changing Face of America Helps Assure Obama Victory | Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, http://www.people-press.org/2012/11/07/changing-face-of-america-helps-assure-obama-victory/, (07/11/12).

Charles and David Koch: The billionaire brothers 'trying to buy America' – Americas – World – The Independent, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/charles-and-david-koch-the-billionaire-brothers-trying-to-buy-america-9100238.html, (31/01/14).

CNBC's Rick Santelli's Chicago Tea Party – YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=zp-Jw-5Kx8k, (19/02/09). [P]

CNBC's Rick Santelli vs. White House's Robert Gibbs – Washington Wire – WSJ, http://blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2009/02/20/cnbcs-rick-santelli-vs-white-houses-robert-gibbs/, (20/02/09).

Coalition Letter: Congress Must Honor Sequester Savings and Defund ObamaCare Before It Is Too Late | FreedomWorks, http://www.freedomworks.org/blog/ryanriebe/joint-letter-on-sequester-savings, (14/02/13). [P]

Conservatives Launch Facebook Alternative | FOX News & Commentary: Todd Starnes, http://radio.foxnews.com/toddstarnes/top-stories/conservatives-launch-facebook-alternative.html, (31/01/13).

Daily Kos: Tea Party At Nuremburg: Umberto Eco on UrFascism, http://www.dailykos.com/story/2010/02/06/834468/-Tea-Party-At-Nuremberg-Umberto-Eco-on-UrFascism, (06/02/10).

Debunking Boston Tea Party Myths, http://www.historynet.com/debunking-boston-tea-party-myths.htm, (01/04/10).

Dishonest Fox Chart Overstates Comparison Of Welfare To Full-Time Work By 500 Percent | Blog | Media Matters for America, http://mediamatters.org/blog/2013/10/28/dishonest-fox-chart-overstates-comparison-of-we/196618, (28/10/13).

Distrust, Discontent, Anger and Partisan Rancor: The People and Their Government | Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, http://www.people-press.org/2010/04/18/distrust-discontent-anger-and-partisan-rancor/, (18/04/10).

Episode 65 – No Future feat. Adam Curtis (12/12/16) by Chapo Trap House | Free Listening on Soundcloud, http://soundcloud.com/chapo-trap-house/episode-65-no-future-feat-adam-curtis-121216, (12/12/16).

EXCLUSIVE: Dick Armey Dishes On FreedomWorks' Deals With Beck & Limbaugh | Blog | Media Matters For America, http://mediamatters.org/blog/2013/01/04/exclusive-dick-armey-dishes-on-freedomworks-dea/192036, (04/01/13).

Exclusive: Lee Atwater's Infamous 1981 Interview on the Southern Strategy | The Nation, http://www.thenation.com/article/170841/exclusive-lee-atwaters-infamous-1981-interview-southern-strategy, (13/11/12).

Exclusive: Lee Atwaters Infamous 1981 Interview on the Southern Strategy – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=X_8E3ENrKrQ, (13/11/12).

Exposing The Rightwing PR Machine Is CNBC's Rick Santelli Sucking Koch? – By Mark Ames and Yasha Lavine – The eXiled, http://exiledonline.com/exposing-the-familiar-rightwing-pr-machine-is-cnbcs-rick-santelli-sucking-koch/, (27/02/09).

FAQ: ICLEI, the United Nations, and Agenda 21 – Local Governments for Sustainability USA, http://www.icleiusa.org/about-iclei/faqs/faq-iclei-the-united-nations-and-agenda-21#what-is-agenda-21, (02/02/14).

FedUpUSA Protest New York City April 25, 2008 – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5aWng1lHr-E, (17/09/13).

Flint Hills Resources, http://www.fhr.com/default.aspx, (20/02/14).

Food stamp abuser: Don't blame me blame government!, http://video.foxnews.com/v/3276348027001/food-stamp-abuser-dont-blame-me-blame-government/#sp=show-clips&v=3276348027001, (01/03/14).

For Millennials, Parenthood Trumps Marriage | Pew Research Ce*ntre's Social & Demographic Trends Project*, http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/03/09/for-millennials-parenthood-trumps-marriage/, (09/03/11).

Fox Accuses Obama Of Creating Dependency With Bush-Era Program | Blog | Media Matters for America, http://mediamatters.org/blog/2013/04/26/fox-accuses-obama-of-creating-dependency-with-b/193805, (26/04/13).

Fox Hypes Minimal Improper Spending To Demonise Welfare | Blog | Media Matters for America, http://mediamatters.org/blog/2013/05/29/fox-hypes-minimal-improper-spending-to-demonize/194253, (29/05/13).

Fred Koch – The John Birch Society, http://www.jbs.org/fred-koch, (04/11/13).

FreedomConnector, http://connect.freedomworks.org/, (20/01/12).

FreedomWorks @ Ustream.TV - . Free. TV Shows, LIVE Video Chat Rooms, http://www.ustream.tv/user/freedomworks, (15/09/12). [P]

FreedomWorks Opposes President Obama's Mortgage and Banking Bailout | FreedomWorks, https://web.archive.org/web/20090219072441/http://www.freedomworks.org/press-releases/freedomworks-opposes-president-obamas-mortgage-and, (17/01/13). [P]

FreedomWorks tea party group nearly falls apart in fight between old and new guard – The Washington Post, http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/freedomworks-tea-party-group-nearly-falls-apart-in-fight-between-old-and-new-guard/2012/12/25/dd095b68-4545-11e2-8061-253bccfc7532_story.html, (26/12/12).

FreePAC, http://freepac.com/, (09/09/12). [P]

From Promoting Acid Rain to Climate Denial*: Over 20 Years of David Koch's Polluter Front* Groups | ThinkProgress, http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2010/04/01/174612/koch-pollution-astroturf-2deca/#, (01/04/10).

Georgia-Pacific, http://www.gp.com/, (20/02/14).

Gibbs Responds to CNBC's Rick Santelli – Video – NYTimes.com, http://www.nytimes.com/video/us/politics/1194838016231/gibbs-responds-to-cnbc-s-rick-santelli.html, (20/02/09). [P]

Government handouts killing America's work ethic?, http://video.foxnews.com/v/2640569211001/government-handouts-killing-americas-work-ethic/#sp=show-clips&v=2640569211001, (31/08/13).

Government Spending Details: Federal State Local for 2013 – Charts, http://www.usgovernmentspending.com/year_spending_2013USbn_15bs2n_3031_051#usgs302, (20/02/14).

How the Tea Party movement began | World news | theguardian.com, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/oct/05/us-midterm-elections-2010-tea-party-movement, (05/10/10).

Idaho tea party activist/GOP leader arrested for assault with a deadly weapon | ThinkProgress, http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2009/08/21/57290/idaho-deadly-weapon/, (21/07/09).

Inside the $400-million political network backed by the Kochs – The Washington Post, http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-the-koch-backed-political-donor-network/2014/01/05/94719296-7661-11e3-b1c5-739e63e9c9a7_graphic.html, (05/01/14).

Inside the Koch Empire: How the Brothers Plan to Reshape America – Forbes, http://www.forbes.com/sites/danielfisher/2012/12/05/inside-the-koch-empire-how-the-brothers-plan-to-reshape-america/, (05/12/12).

Internet Archive: Digital Library of Free Books, Movies, Music & Wayback Machine, https://archive.org/, (10/04/14).

Isis captures more Iraqi towns and border crossings | World News | The Guardian, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/22/isis-take-border-crossings-iraq-syria-jordan, (22/06/14).

Isis insurgents seize control of Iraqi city of Mosul | World News | The Guardian, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/10/iraq-sunni-insurgents-islamic-militants-seize-control-mosul, (10/06/14).

Jenny Beth Martin: The head Tea Party Patriot | www.ajc.com, http://www.ajc.com/news/news/local-govt-politics/jenny-beth-martin-the-head-tea-party-patriot/nQfsP/, (09/05/10).

Jonat*han Freedland: Rome, AD... Rome, DC? | World News | TheGuardian*, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/sep/18/usa.comment, (18/09/02).

Koch-backed political network, built to shield donors, raised $400 million in 2012 elections – The Washington Post, http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/koch-backed-political-

network-built-to-shield-donors-raised-400-million-in-2012-elections/2014/01/05/9e7cfd9a-719b-11e3-9389-09ef9944065e_story.html, (05/01/14).

Koch Brothers Flout Law Getting Richer With Secret Iran Sales – Bloomberg, http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-10-02/koch-brothers-flout-law-getting-richer-with-secret-iran-sales.html, (03/10/11).

Koch Carbon – Who We Are, http://www.kochcarbon.com/, (20/02/14).

Koch Industries, Inc., http://www.kochind.com/About_Koch/default.aspx, (20/02/14).

Koch Industries on the Forbes America's Largest Private Companies List, http://www.forbes.com/companies/koch-industries/, (26/01/14).

Koch Pipeline Company, L.P. | Homepage, http://kochpipeline.com/, (21/02/14).

Liberal , gay and a mix of races – Obama's rainbow nation signals a new America | US news | The Observer, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/11/wake-up-republicans-michael-cohen, (11/11/12).

Limbaugh's Audience Size? It's Largely Up in the Air, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/03/06/AR2009030603435.html, (07/03/09).

Medicaid Fraud: Who's in on the Act and How They're Getting Away with it | Fox Business, http://www.foxbusiness.com/personal-finance/2014/02/28/medicaid-fraud-whos-in-on-act-and-how-theyre-getting-away-with-it/, (28/02/14).

Michelle Malkin | >> Rebel Yell: Taxpayers Revolt Against Gimme-Mania, http://michellemalkin.com/2009/02/20/rebel-yell-taxpayers-revolt-against-gimme-mania/, (20/02/09).

Mitt Romney blam*es election loss on 'gifts' Obama gave to minority groups | US news |* theguardian.com, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/14/romney-blames-election-loss-gifts, (14/11/12).

Molex | Connectors, Interconnects and Cable Assemblies, http://www.molex.com/molex/index.jsp, (20/02/14).

Moral Hazard | Economics Help, http://www.economicshelp.org/blog/105/economics/what-is-moral-hazard/, (20/02/13).

More Now See Failure Than Success in Iraq, Afghanistan | Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, http://www.people-press.org/2014/01/30/more-now-see-failure-than-success-in-iraq-afghanistan/, (30/01/14).

Nasa-*funded study: industrial civilisation headed for 'irreversible collapse'? | Nafeez Ahmed* | Environment | theguardian.com, http://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2014/mar/14/nasa-civilisation-irreversible-collapse-study-scientists, (26/03/14).

National Exit Polls – Election Center 2008 – Elections & Politics from CNN.com, http://edition.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls.main/, (20/11/08).

New American Tea Party, https://web.archive.org/web/20090226050856/http://newamericanteaparty.com/, (10/04/14). [P]

New Documents Prove Charles Koch Was John Birch Society Member During Civil Rights Movement | Crooks and Liars, http://crooksandliars.com/2014/07/new-documents-prove-charles-koch-was-john, (10/07/14).

Nightly News: White House takes a swipe at housing plan rant, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/21134540/vp/29307564#29307564, (20/02/09).

Online Library of Liberty – Trenchard: An Argument, shewing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with a Free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. Anno 1697, http://oll.libertyfund.org/?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=2315&chapter=220983&layout=html&Itemid=27, (12/08/13). [P]

Online Library of Liberty – Trenchard a Short History of Standing Armies in England. Anno 1698, http://oll.libertyfund.org/?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=2315&chapter=220990&layout=html&Itemid=27, (12/08/13). [P]

Ownership Chart: The Big Six | Free Press, http://www.freepress.net/ownership/chart/main, (29/01/14).

Pandora's Box | thought maybe, http://thoughtmaybe.com/pandoras-box/#top, (20/09/12).

Parallels Between Iraq War and Vietnam are Piling Up >> The Progress Report, http://www.progress.org/tpr/parallels-between-iraq-war-and-vietnam-war-are-piling-up/, (28/04/04).

Paranoia and the Roots of Conspiracy Theories | Psychology Today, http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/the-narcissus-in-all-us/200809/paranoia-and-the-roots-conspiracy-theories, (11/09/08).

PYF Dark Enlightenment Thinker – The Something Awful Forums, http://forums.somethingawful.com/showthread.php?threadid=3653939, (29/07/14).

Rick Santelli Responds to Whitehouse Mouthpiece Robert Gibbs on CNBC's Kudlow – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LPUo3HgZk-M, (21/02/09).

Right-Wing Harassment Strategy Against Dems Detailed In Memo: 'Yell,' 'Stand Up And Shout Out,' 'Rattle Him' | ThinkProgress, http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2009/07/31/53761/recess-harassment-memo/, (31/07/09).

Rush Limbaugh's Audience May be So Much Smaller Than You Think – Business Insider, http://www.businessinsider.com/rush-limbaughs-audience-may-be-so-much-smaller-than-you-think-2012-3, (13/03/12).

Rush Limbaugh – How Talk Radio Works – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ELRmgJw8muw, (24/11/08). [P]

Rush Limbaugh – Obama Slammed by CNBC Rick Santelli – YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a7RAAMUnfrM, (19/02/09). [P]

Santelli vs. White House, http://video.cnbc.com/gallery/?video=1041887644&play=1, (20/02/09).

Sarah Palin and Ted Cruz lead shutdown protest at war memorial | World news | theguardian.com, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/13/sarah-palin-ted-cruz-veterans-shutdown, (13/10/13).

Tea Party Activists Fight Agenda 21, Seeing Threatening U.N. Plot, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/10/15/agenda-21-tea-party_n_1965893.html, (15/10/12).

Tea Party "Liberty XPO" Fail | Mother Jones, http://www.motherjones.com/mojo/2010/09/tea-party-liberty-xpo-fail, (10/09/10).

Tea Party Mapped: How Big Is It and Where Is It Based? | The Rundown | PBS NewsHour | PBS, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/tea-party-how-big-is-it-and-where-is-it-based/, (21/04/10).

Tea Party protesters reportedly spi*t on one lawmaker, call others 'fa–ot' and 'ni–er' |* ThinkProgress, http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2010/03/20/87763/tea-party-spit/, (20/03/10).

*Tea Party's Image Turns M*ore Negative | Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, http://www.people-press.org/2013/10/16/tea-partys-image-turns-more-negative/, (16/10/13).

Teed Off – Backstory with the American History Guys, http://backstoryradio.org/shows/teed-off-the-tea-party-then-and-now/, (21/05/10).

Ted Cruz pulls all-nighter as marathon anti-Obamacare speech churns on | World news | The Guardian, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/25/ted-cruz-marathon-speech-obamacare, (25/09/13).

Ted Cruz r*eads 'Green Eggs and Ham' during Obamacare 'filibuster' | The Raw Story*, http://www.rawstory.com/rs/2013/09/24/ted-cruz-reads-green-eggs-and-ham-during-obamacare-filibuster/, (24/09/13).

The Billionaire Koch Brothers' War Against Obama: The New Yorker, http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/08/30/100830fa_fact_mayer, (30/08/10).

The John Birch Society, http://www.jbs.org/, (04/11/13).

The Koch Brothers Exposed | Julian Brookes | Political News | Rolling Stone, http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/blogs/national-affairs/the-koch-brothers-exposed-20120420, (20/04/12).

The Kochs vs. Cato: The New Yorker, http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/newsdesk/2012/03/the-kochs-vs-cato.html, (01/03/12).

The Power of Nightmares | thought maybe, http://thoughtmaybe.com/the-power-of-nightmares/#top, (23/09/12).

The Tea Party is not new, or coherent. It's merely old whine in new bottles | Gary Younge | Comment is free | The Guardian, http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/cifamerica/2010/nov/07/tea-party-old-whine-new-bottles, (07/11/10).

The Truth About the Tea Party | Politics News | Rolling Stone, http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/matt-taibbi-on-the-tea-party-20100928, (28/09/10).

The US power failure: 800,000 face weeks of unpaid lay-offs as Republicans and Democrats force partial shutdown of government over Obamacare – Americas – World – The Independent, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/the-us-power-failure-800000-face-weeks-of-unpaid-layoffs-as-republicans-and-democrats-force-partial-shutdown-of-government-over-obamacare-8852115.html, (02/10/13).

Three-Act-Structure, http://www.indiana.edu/~audioweb/T206/three-act.html, (20/04/12).

US shutdown: a new guide for non-Americans | World news | The Guardian, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/30/us-shutdown-explainer-non-americans, (01/10/13).

War Gear Flows to Police Departments – NYTimes.com, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/09/us/war-gear-flows-to-police-departments.html?hp&_r=0, (09/06/14).

We Can Really Do This, http://www.breitbart.com/Big-Government/2012/04/24/we-can-really-do-this, (24/04/12).

What's Wrong With This Picture? : The Colonial Williamsburg Official History & Citizenship Site, http://www.history.org/Foundation/journal/Winter11/painting.cfm, (18/12/11).

Whispers, regrets and re-deployment: 10 Iraq war veterans on the Isis effect | Comment is free | theguardian.com, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jun/17/iraq-war-veterans-isis-stories, (17/06/14).

White House objects to 'rant' on its housing plan | Fox News, http://www.foxnews.com/wires/2009Feb20/0,4670,ObamaFightingBack,00.html, (20/02/09).

WikiLeaks | Media | The Guardian, http://www.theguardian.com/media/wikileaks, (20/06/14).

11. Index