HOHONU

2015

Academic Journal

University of Hawai'i at Hilo

Hohonu is a publication funded by
University of Hawai'i at Hilo student fees.

All production and printing costs are administered by:
University of Hawai'i at Hilo
Board of Student Publications
200 W. Kāwili Street
Hilo, Hawai'i 96720-4091
Phone: (808) 933-8823
Web: www.uhh.hawaii.edu/campuscenter/bosp

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Letter from the Editor

A new year, a new Hohonu. This year, Hohonu was staffed with brand new members, including myself. We had the chance to get to know each other, as we got to know Hohonu. There is never a time of disappointment when a group of driven individuals work towards a common goal with passion and enthusiasm. Hohonu is, and will always be, the common goal within our team.

This year's issue of Hohonu would not have been possible without the incredible dedication to the journal by the 2014-2015 Hohonu staff: Asia Howe, Valentina Martinez, and Hannah Lipman, along with our faculty advisor Dr. Kirsten Mollegaard, who has gone above and beyond to make our achievement possible. I am sincerely thankful for all your hard work and endless support throughout the year. It was a challenging year, working to publish two publications in a single year. My staff and I experienced various challenges throughout the year; however with the help of the members of the Board of Student Publication (BøSP), Campus Center, and the numerous other CSO organizations, we were able to work together to make the 2015 issue worthwhile. Many thanks to the BøSP Chair Matthew Kalahiki for guiding the Hohonu staff, including myself, through the hardships endured during this long journey. Without your generous contribution, we would not be where we are today. We wish you the best of luck next year! I would also like to take this time to thank Destiny Rodrigues for organizing our finances and helping our staff members to be a part of Hohonu. I am incredibly thankful for Campus Center and the other CSO organizations for providing support and publicizing our journal around the UH Hilo Campus, and Erynn Tanimoto, Darin Igawa and Kelcie Valbuena of the Graphics Department for helping us with layout, printing, and putting the publication together. Hohonu would of not have been possible without your extensive effort. I would also like to congratulate Luana Zablan for the wonderful cover art design for this year's issue. Your talent and contribution were greatly appreciated. Most importantly, I would like to thank the authors who have submitted to the publication this year. Without your courage and determination, the volume 13 of Hohonu would not have been possible. We also thank you for your patience and understanding, as we are aware that there was a limited amount of time in which submissions were accepted this year.

Being a member of the Hohonu team is like being a part of a small, yet very close family. We began this journey together, and some day, I hope to look back with a smile at all of the wonderful experiences that we have had together as a team. Most importantly, I will forever remember the struggles we faced, the laughs we shared, and the endless efforts we provided towards publishing a journal worthwhile. On behalf of the Hohonu team, I would like to thank everyone who has contributed to the 2015 issue of Hohonu.

Please take the time to read and acknowledge the talent of these young authors. We hope that you enjoy this year's issue of Hohonu, and that hopefully you will learn something worth remembering for the rest of your life.
Franklin D. Roosevelt once stated, “Happiness lies in the joy of achievement and the thrill of creative effort,” and in Hohonu, happiness, we achieved.

About the Cover Artwork

“Kamali'i 'ike 'ole i ka helu po” (The child that does not count the phases of the moon), created by Luana Zablan, illustrates the moon cycle, which holds a great significance in Hawaiian culture. As a part of the daily life for the Hawaiian people, the phases of the moon were used to indicate tides and seasonal changes. These changes allowed the Hawaiian people to determine the appropriate time to fish and harvest their crops. Thus, for the Hawaiian people, the times their work did not begin with the rising sun but the moon.

Please take the time to enjoy the artwork. We are incredibly thankful for such a creative piece to represent this year's issue of Hohonu.

Dependent Women and the Male Gaze in Fictional Domestic Violence Films

Jessica Akiona
English 370
Spring 2014

Films that act as catalysts for social change and generators of compelling messages thrive within American media. Audiences enjoy watching heroes journey through various struggles and conquer people or things that hinder the main characters from achieving their respective personal goals. One favored theme within film is a woman who suffers from abuse inflicted by a male partner, while she prevails over her abused state and does not let this misfortune destroy her life, but rather lets it uplift her, resulting in more independence. One may watch films like *Enough* (2002) or *Sleeping with the Enemy* (1991) and consider the lead female characters as heroic and independent women who do not allow their abusive partners to hinder them in life any longer. However, while all of these characters seem to portray independence, they lack it; they are only capable of conquering their ex-husbands or ex-boyfriends through the help of another male character. When a film is directed, written, or produced by a male, the female characters are subject to the male gaze; thus, their role within the movie becomes passive and objectified, causing them to become heroes as delineated through their relationship with men.

Feminized male film genres are at the forefront of the male gaze and establish female characters as dependent on their male counterparts. Rikke Schubart, in her book, Super Bitches and Action Babes, first discusses the male film genre: "The term acknowledges two things: first, that films with female heroes are written by men, produced by men, directed by men, and intended for a male audience; second, that the 'heroic' nature of the protagonist in male film genres is mythologically, psychologically, and culturally designed to function as a role model of masculinity" (9). The female characters within male film genres are subject to the male gaze, written in accordance to the point of view of the male(s) behind the creation of these films. However, a male film genre is feminized when it is overrun by women (Schubart 10). When women invade a male film genre, they are still subject to the male gaze and while these films seemingly place women within positions of valor, their characters are still constructed around the men in the film. Schubart quotes Jeanine Basinger, stating that feminized male film genres allow "women a chance for freedom and heroism but also maintains a status quo in which the women themselves cannot, for example, win the war, only wait for the men to win it for them" (10). Consequently, women will appear as the heroes in these films, but only as defined by their interactions with the male characters.

When focusing on films with subjects such as women leaving situations of domestic abuse, these characters can stand out as inspirational role models, showing that it is possible to leave such dire circumstances. However, women in male film genres, especially fictional accounts focused on domestic violence, rarely escape their tragic state on their own. "They depend on men for education, help, fatherly advice, weapons instruction, and sensibility training" (Schubart 30). Sure, the women in these films are able to overcome their abused condition, but only with the help of men. These films belittle the notion that women can triumph solely on their own, but rather state that women can only gain peace and security if a man helps them. The male gaze thrives, for not only do the female characters receive help from men, but they also want it. Furthermore, beautiful actresses typically play these roles, existing as objects of desire and of the male gaze.

To comment further on the male gaze, Laura Mulvey, in her article, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," discusses the role of women in film as passive objects, lacking their own meaning due to the male gaze. The male gaze discusses Woman as an "image" and Man as the "bearer of the look" (Mulvey 837). Because of this, "pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy onto the female figure, which is styled accordingly" (Mulvey 837). Men want to be the savior, helping women in difficult situations; men want to be the reason why women can succeed—the reason specific meaning exists in women's lives. The woman's role in the film will be built around the perspective of the male writer, director, or producer. Mulvey states that "Woman then stands in patriarchal culture as a signifier for the male other, bound by a symbolic order in which the man can live out his phantasies and obsessions through linguistic command by imposing them on the silent image of Woman still tied to her place as bearer of meaning, not maker of meaning" (834). Taking this into consideration, the women in the films mentioned become heroes not because they create that image for themselves, but rather because the male characters within the film cast that connotation onto them, which ultimately stems from the creative male perspective behind the film.

The film, *Enough*, is directed by Michael Apted, most renowned for his affiliation with *The World is Not Enough* (1999), *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Voyage of the Dawn Treader* (2010), and *Nell* (1994). The film is also written by Nicholas Kazan, most recognized for his contribution to *Matilda* (1996). *Enough* follows the life of Slim (Jennifer Lopez), a wife and mother who is abused by her husband, Mitch (Billy Campbell). Slim decides to leave, but her crazy husband will not let her go without a fight. Slim is portrayed as a strong female lead. Not only does she leave her abusive situation, but she also takes physical control and beats Mitch just as he had beaten her, all in an attempt to gain her own sense

of control. The downside is that Slim fights back only because she receives help from three male characters in the film—a self-defense trainer (Bruce A. Young), her father, Jupiter (Fred Ward), and Joe (Dan Futterman), an old flame. Joe offers his apartment for her to hide out in and physical protection from the goons that go there looking for her. Jupiter sends Slim money after being threatened by Mitch's gang, and the self-defense trainer teaches her all the moves necessary for physical combat with Mitch that ultimately ends in his death through her act of self-defense. The only female supporter she has is Ginny (Juliette Lewis), but her help is quite different—she offers emotional support, suggesting that Slim should leave Mitch and later in the film, takes care of Gracie, Slim's daughter, while Slim physically prepares.

Another motion picture, *Sleeping with the Enemy*, is directed by Joseph Ruben, most recognized for his contribution to *The Good Son* (1993), *The Forgotten* (2004), and *Penthouse North* (2013). The film is also written by Ronald Bass, most renowned for his involvement with *My Best Friend's Wedding* (1997). This film focuses on Laura Burney (Julia Roberts), a wife of an abusive and controlling husband, Martin (Patrick Bergin), who portrays himself as the perfect man. She formulates a plan and runs away to Cedar Falls, Iowa, later meeting another man, Ben Woodward (Kevin Anderson), who stands as a vital role in her survival when her husband comes looking for her. Martin tracks her down and finds her and Ben at a local fair. Later at their home, they find Martin with a gun, threatening to kill Ben if he does not leave. Ben leaves; however, he soon reappears, attacking Martin, but Martin ultimately knocks Ben unconscious. Laura shoots Martin and he dies shortly after. Laura relies on Ben for emotional support and physical protection. Furthermore, Ben's distraction alone allows Laura to save herself—proving her dependence on men. Laura battles Martin, saving herself and Ben, not due to her own courage, but because she has a male protector by her side, allowing her to triumph and to be defined as a hero. Prior to this act of self-defense, Laura was alone, running away from Martin, not fighting back.

Both of these films are directed by men, thus subject to the male gaze. The director projects his perspective onto the actors/actresses, thus exposing the female characters to the male gaze of the male characters. The actors' and actresses' dispositions display either the power authority of males or the dependence of females. In *Enough*, this difference in gender can be seen in when the cook at the restaurant Slim works at says, "I love when you call me Big Poppa." Slim shows no disgust to the comment, nor confronts the cook about his belittling words. Additionally, when a raunchy male customer directs his gaze upon Slim and flirts with her, Mitch acts as her savior, while she stands in the line of Mitch's gaze as well. Interestingly, after this altercation, Slim is able to take a stand against the sleazy customer because she has Mitch as her support. In *Sleeping with the Enemy*, Martin directs his gaze upon Laura from a distance as he walks toward her on an empty beach where she sits, picking clams, as well as when he watches her getting ready for a party. At that same party, Martin's gaze lingers as he watches her converse with others. The gaze says, "I am in control of you. I am initiating this dynamic. You are under my spell," whether it leads to protecting a damsel in distress (Enough), making love (*Sleeping with the Enemy*) or abuse. Either way, as much as the female attempts to be in control, the male regulates the relationship, objectifying the woman and casting her as passive. The hero quality that Slim and Laura have is defined through their relationship with the men who come to their aid. These men are actually the heroes themselves—they save the woman from the rude man, they offer money, a home, and physical protection, and they offer knowledge to make it through the ordeal.

The female leads in each film, while seemingly stopping their abusers, are only capable of doing so with the help of men, whether it is financial or physical support, or acting as a diversion in order for the woman to triumph. This trend of inequality between genders is common in film. Jeff Smith, writer for Grand Rapids Institute for Information Democracy (GRIID), states in his article, "Normalizing Male Dominance: Gender Representation in 2012 Films," "In the few movies where we see strong lead female characters, we also see them having the support of at least one male who is involved in their situation in some way where the female ends up needing their help. We rarely see any breaks in stereotypical gender roles." Both Slim and Laura, strong female leads in their respective films, are actually quite dependent, relying on the men in their lives to help them through this difficult time in a variety of ways. In their article, "Gender Stereotypes: An Analysis of Popular Films and TV," Stacy Smith and Crystal Cook state, "Examining over 4,000 characters across 400 G, PG, PG-13, and R-rated movies, our data reveal two types of females frequent in film: the traditional and the hypersexual" (14). Slim and Laura are far from subservient in regards to their abusive spouses, however, they are very much the traditional woman – a nurturing mother who cares about her family first and foremost. Laura, in particular, is also cast as hypersexual by her male counterpart who constantly accuses her of casting her own gaze upon men.

This gendered binary opposition is eminent in both films. Anneke Smelik, in her article, "Feminist Film Theory," states, "The narrative structure of traditional cinema establishes the male character as active and powerful: he is the agent around whom the dramatic action unfolds and the look gets organized. The female character is passive and powerless: she is the object of desire for the male character(s)" (491). In reality, without the male characters, there would be no film. Who would the women run from if the plots were simply about their lives after escape? Where would the entertainment be in a film like that? In addition, who would offer her money, a home, or protection? Smelik goes on to discuss Teresa

de Lauretis' views, stating, "One of the functions of narrative … is to 'seduce' women into femininity with or without their consent. The female subject is made to desire femininity. This is a cruel and often coercive form of seduction" (496). When Mitch guards Slim from the customer, he places her in a weak role—feminine and lacking individual strength. In addition, Martin's soothing tone and considerate, yet a powerful personality places Laura within the realm of femininity and when he abuses her, that only causes her to sink further into a state of submission and objectivity.

There is a twist in feminized male film genres that inhibit women from enacting their fullest potential. *Sleeping with the Enemy* is based on a novel of the same name written by Nancy Price and was published in 1987. There are some differences between the film and the novel, especially in Roberts' character. The novel presents Laura as very cautious and secretive, making sure not to let anyone know whom she really is. However, the film portrays Laura as a naīve individual, removing her disguise upon entering Iowa, even though she never does so in the novel. Another point of interest is Ben, the "dream guy" who acts as her savior in the film. In the novel, Ben exhibits very similar unwelcoming characteristics as Martin. Finally, in the final moments of the film, Laura goes to a carnival with Ben, something she never did in the book, always being careful to never be seen with him in public. One can observe the character Price produced within her novel—a smart woman, maneuvering through various obstacles in an attempt to keep her identity hidden and herself safe. However, Ruben radiates his male ideology through the film, casting Laura as naīve, dependent, and weak.

The most shocking difference between the film and the novel is the ending. While Martin is shot and dies in Ruben's film, Price writes Martin's death as a suicide. Martin and Ben tussle, trying to get hold of Martin's pistol that Ben had in his possession. Various characters surround them, watching Martin grab hold of the gun when:

> "[f]or a second Martin shut his eyes, his pumpkin head swelling on its stem. He saw the police. He'd slapped a woman around and killed a man, and the pigs would be after him … A man sprawled in chrysanthemums … Sara [Laura] was falling and falling as thunder thudded down the sky now from stair to stair. Martin's head was a pumpkin blown up. It wobbled around on its little stem." (Price 307)

The novel's Martin has a psychological break, portraying him as a man on a rampage all to gain control of the woman he loves. Martin realizes that turning back is impossible and he decides his fate: "'They want it!' he sobbed in Sara's arms. His clever hands had the gun. They broke the pumpkin" (Price 307). While the movie implicates Martin's death as an act of self-defense by Laura, Price deemed him as the death of himself. Perhaps the film tried to emphasize Laura as a strong figure, taking control by holding the gun and pulling the trigger, whereas Price creates a realistic notion to a story of domestic violence—sometimes the woman is not the one to defeat the man; the man is the defeat of himself.

Enough is also based on a book titled Black and Blue written by Anna Quindlen in 1998. It is a rather loose adaptation, simply adopting the skeleton of the plot—a woman beaten by her husband decides to run away with her child and begin a new life in a new town. One difference includes Slim, receiving help from her friends and family in order to run away, whereas Beth Crenshaw (the mother in the novel) receives aid from individuals who support women escaping abusive situations, offering time and resources. In addition, rather than physically battling the abusive husband in the end as Slim did, Bobby (Beth's estranged husband), breaks into Beth's new home, strangles her until unconsciousness sets in and kidnaps their son, Robert. By the end of the novel Beth is left continuing her life with a new love, Mike, while constantly thinking about her son's safety. The novel portrays another realistic vision of domestic violence—the woman does not always lead a happy life after escape. For instance, Beth's new love is not idealized, she discusses Bobby as "[t]asty but dangerous. Mike Riordan was the least dangerous guy I'd ever known, and every time I thought to myself, well, Fran, he's just not your type, I had to remind myself that my type was the type who left marks" (Qindlen 213). A woman's life after domestic violence does not always have the picture perfect fairy-tale ending in which the abuser is gone forever and the mother can live in peace with her child(ren) and new significant other. Quindlen creates an ending that can be so unfortunately true—a woman forced to continue life without her child by her side because she is unable to stop her abuser.

Films focused on fictional accounts of domestic violence that exist as feminized male film genres emphasize the fact that it is possible to escape and conquer the men who abuse women and that it is possible to find a new love after a first attempt at it failed. However, these films also say that conquest only occurs when male help is utilized and that a new love interest is a necessity to start over. Additionally, the differences between the novels and their film adaptations further the notion that in these films, the male gaze connotes women as heroes through their relationships with the male characters, who technically rescue them in the end. The male character's actions are not the primary focus of each film. However, without those roles, the film would not emit the same effect. Without men, these films would simply follow a woman as she lives an ordinary life, going to work, taking care of her child, and possibly discussing her abuse to a therapist, family member, or friend. There would be no action, no suspense and no raw tension that many audiences want to see in a film. These pieces of literature focus on the inner emotions

and authenticity of a topic, whereas the films construct an entertaining plot, featuring male ideologies at work. These films do not allow women to fight back on their own and they do not suggest that women should rely on fellow females. Those who create these films shape them in a way that the male genre becomes feminized and the female characters are formed around the ideologies present in the minds of the males who write, edit, and direct these motion pictures. Instead of giving women a voice and acting as a catalyst for change, these films restrict society from a needed transformation.

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Edgar Allan Poe and His Refusal to Let Women Freely Indulge

Jessica Akiona
English 488B
Fall 2014

America is no stranger to alcohol. The early nineteenth century is well-known for an abundant consumption of liquor, however, both women and men had different experiences. Alcohol became very commonplace for men—a standard facet of everyday life, but for women, alcohol use was deplored. Edgar Allan Poe lived during the early nineteenth century, and the dramatic influence of alcohol can be detected through many of his written works. Many of Poe's pieces mirror nineteenth century American life flawlessly; stories such as "The Black Cat," "The Cask of Amontillado," "King Pest," and "The System of Dr. Tarr and Professor Fether," are indicators that men are never criticized for their excessive alcohol consumption, excusing them of their actions with the notion of perverseness, while women are denied any excuse at all, being disparaged for excessively indulging in alcohol.

Sociological criticism and feminist critique pave the way for understanding why aspects in society tend to insert themselves within literature. Kenneth Burke, in his article, "Literature as Equipment for Living," relates sociological criticism in literature to proverbs, for both are strategies for handling conditions and are representative and repetitive within a social structure, thus people create strategies or attitudes to deal with those issues (595). Sociological criticism defines complex and sophisticated works as tools to aid in the discovery of important facts regarding "literary organization;" furthermore, this criticism observes issues beyond literature, extending to life itself, "helping to take literature out of its separate bin and give it a place in a general 'sociological' picture" (Burke 594-95). By examining written works, readers can analyze and identify facets of literature and connect it to that "sociological" canvas, relating the work to its society. Sociological criticism seeks to remain timeless, allowing situations to transcend through time, making them understandable and relatable to a wide audience (Burke 596). Thus, literature is like a piece of equipment for living, in which authors suggest different ways to deal with society's issues.

Feminist criticism ties into sociological criticism because both discuss key issues in literature and delineate those matters through society itself. One way in which feminist criticism works is that it "examines the ways in which literature reinforces or undermines the economic, political, social, and psychological oppression of women" (Tyson 83). Feminist criticism identifies aspects in literature that discuss women and how those features are linked to their struggle in a patriarchal society. There are six premises that are utilized when critiquing literature, but those that apply to Poe's works focus on the social and psychological oppression of women due to patriarchy, the "otherness" of women, and gender issues that affect each part of "human production and experience" (Tyson 92). By utilizing these criticisms, Poe's works will prove to reflect society and life itself, in which women are oppressed and that the issue is ignored. It further highlights alcohol consumption and the condemnation cast onto women and the acceptance of male drinkers, justifying men's drunken wrongs through the notion of perverseness.

The early nineteenth century experienced an enormous amount of alcohol intake. Excessive use of alcohol was not, at the time, viewed as an addiction, but rather involved practical purposes. Pioneers in the Old West performed extremely physically demanding jobs; therefore, "[a]lcohol was consumed in large quantities to provide relaxation and a temporary escape from the harsh realities of living on the frontier" (Agnew 10). Because alcohol emits many chemical substances in the drinker's body, it was viewed as a fix-all that was capable of healing the drinker of any pains and ailments he/she faced. Many Americans also believed that alcohol, like whiskey, was required to provide the body with the vigor needed to complete those strenuous jobs and cure ailments such as sunstroke and hypothermia (Agnew 11). However, drinkers typically experienced sensations of power, so as they tried to increase euphoric sensations, they'd drink too much, resulting in impairment and aggression and ultimately led to altercations and gunfights in saloons (Agnew 25-6). Furthermore, according to Harry Gene Devine, temperance advocates became convinced that alcoholics were not immoral or savage, but ached with an "alcohol-induced disease" (Fisher 104). Alcohol thus became a type of medicine, healing men of their aching bodies and soothing their throbbing minds while feuds and mental maladies began to emerge.

Men weren't the only ones who indulged in alcohol. The American Temperance Society compiled data from the 1820s showing that "nine million women and children drank 12 million gallons of distilled spirits[;]" however, this did not nearly match the three million men drinking sixty million gallons (Rorabough 11). While there were a larger amount of female and children drinkers, the amount of alcohol intake was relatively low in comparison to a smaller amount of men, drinking 48 million more gallons. Thus, indicating a wider acceptance of male drinkers indulging in large amounts, while many women drank minute portions. Regardless of these numbers, women were expected to remain sober in order to maintain their required feminine characters, which may also indicate why there were so many who did drink, but drank very little. In The Alcoholic Republic, W.J Rorabough states, "The ideal of femininity did discourage tippling, for a woman was supposed to show restraint consistent with virtue, prudence consonant with delicacy, and a preference

for beverages agreeable to a fragile constitution" (12). This harsh necessity of feminine life suppressed women, leading them to other drugs with similar effects. Women began drinking alcohol-based medicines deemed "cordial or stomachic elixir[s,]" while remaining in the confinement of their homes in order to preserve their image projected by social expectations (Rorabough 12-13). The denial of women drinking alcohol in public disgraced those who did drink, and the same shame that existed in real life for female alcohol drinkers transmits into Poe's literature fiercely.

"The Black Cat" describes a tale of an imprisoned narrator, who, while under the influence of alcohol, kills his pet cat, Pluto, and later kills his wife. It is a significant story, supporting the belief that men are never criticized or condemned for their alcohol use, regardless of how tragic their offenses may be. The narrator first admits his alcoholism in the beginning of the story: "But my disease grew upon me—for what disease is like Alcohol!" (Poe 350). Through all of the narrator's savage acts, he justifies his actions with perverseness: "Perverseness is one of my primitive impulses of the human heartone of the indivisible primary faculties, or sentiments, which give direction to the character of Man ... It was the unfathomable longing of the soul to vex itself to offer violence to its own natureto do wrong for the wrong's sake only" (Poe 350). The narrator asserts that perverseness is an innate characteristic of man, justifying that his wrongs were committed solely because he knew they were wrong. This "deliberate seeking out of that which the narrator knows to be 'vile'" (Warner 81), is the narrator's excuse for the murders. However, alcohol truly sparks that "innate" behavior. Alcohol is a "destructive instrument, ravaging heart and intellect and leading to complete moral and psychological ruin" (Warner 82). The narrator in "The Black Cat" implies that alcohol is his disease, but perverseness overwhelms the tale, leaving readers to believe that the narrator's human nature created a slippery slope sending him from humanity, to alcohol, to crime, then to punishment—not his derangement or drunkenness. Thus, readers do not condemn the narrator, but rather condemn human weakness masked by perverseness for leading him on his destructive path. In reality, perverseness is a man's excuse to excessively drink and escape consequences.

Another perverse tale, "The Cask of Amontillado" describes Montresor, a man overly committed to his family's motto, "[N]o one offends me with impunity" (Poe 418). He seeks revenge on Fortunato for an unnamed wrong, luring his friend to a lavish wine-tasting as part of a trick in his murderous plot. Montresor convinces the reader that his crime is justified, for "[t]he thousand injuries of Fortunato I had borne as I best could, but when he ventured upon insult I vowed revenge" (Poe 415). Throughout the story, Montresor refers to Fortunato as his "friend," all while planning and executing his breathing burial as an act of revenge, a clear acknowledgement that his cruel deed is unlawful, but justifies it through perverseness. He is aware of his unlawful act, convincingly stricken by human nature; however, he is truly thrust into his act by alcohol: "The wine sparkled in his eyes and the bells jingled. My own fancy grew warm with the Medoc" (Poe 418). Both connoisseurs of fine wine, the two drank as friends would, devouring the liquid. Montresor's acknowledgement of his evil act becomes apparent toward the end of the story when a "succession of loud and shrill screams, bursting suddenly from the throat of the chained form, seemed to thrust me violently back. For a brief moment I hesitated, I trembled" (Poe 420). His hesitation indicates his wrongdoing, but he remembers his act of vengeance is the code of honor in his family, so he buries his friend alive. Perverseness is suggested to overwhelm him as he needed to live out his family's maxim, however, killing his friend and knowing it was wrong makes alcohol the true source of his impunity.

Next, "King Pest" highlights the ridicule and subjection that women face while consuming alcohol. Two sailors spend the night drinking in a desolate pub and decide to venture into the streets of London later finding themselves in an undertaker's building where people are found drinking in merriment. The six drinkers are described throughout the story, and here is where the women are cast as "other," while patriarchy ensues, offering the men miniscule critique. There are four men; King Pest is described as "emaciated" and his eyes "were glazed over with the fumes of intoxication," (Poe 152-3). The second man is described as "gouty" whose "cheeks reposed upon the shoulders of their owner, like two huge bladders of Oporto wine" (Poe 154). The third man is described as a man who convulses with tremors whenever alcohol sounded. The last man was never discussed in regards to his alcohol consumption. The characterizations of the men are general descriptions compared to the otherness of the women. The women in "King Pest" are physically hideous and drunk (Warner 73). The first is described as having "no right to complain of his unnatural emaciation. She was evidently in the last stage of dropsy [or unquenchable thirst]; and her figure resembled nearly that of the huge puncheon of October beer which stood, with the head driven in, close by her side" (Poe 153). The second woman was "trembling of her wasted fingers, in the livid hue of her lips, and in the slight hectic spot which tinged her otherwise leaden complexion, gave evident indications of a galloping consumption" (Poe 153-4). Through Poe's descriptions, women are described much harsher than their male counterparts. The features focused on of the men are cheeks or eyes or compelled convulsions that the character cannot control. As for the women, the commentary indicates that they are grotesque due to their alcohol consumption in comparison to men who are drunk, but distorted for other reasons. In addition, many saloons of the nineteenth century were also a primary target for men looking for willing women (Agnew 134). The women's modesty is questioned when

they are carried away to the sailors' ship, called the "Free and Easy," suggesting those women are just that. The two sailors are also distorted in size and shape, but are never belittled because they drink. Just as women were highly criticized for their "public indecency" of drinking, expected to maintain their femininity, the women in "King Pest" are mocked all the same.

The final story, "The System of Dr. Tarr and Professor Fether," follows a male narrator as he visits a mental institution to learn about the "system of soothing" (Poe, "They System"). While at the institution, he dines with Monsieur Maillard, the doctor, and the lunatics (patients), indulging in fine food and wine. All of the lunatics seem a bit mad, while the way in which the women are discussed indicates their otherness and the prevailing power of patriarchy, for they are seen as either ideal or lacking what is expected of their gender. The first female the narrator meets is the doctor's niece, a "most accomplished woman" (Poe, "The System"), who, when alcohol was served to the men, chose to delicately remove herself rather than revel in the drinka true "lady." As dinner ensued, once a woman decided to chime in, the host angrily reprimanded her: "Madame Joyeuse, I will thank you to behave yourself! You can either conduct yourself as a lady should do, or you can quit the table forthwith-take your choice" (Poe, "The System"). This drunken female acts as insane as the men; however, the host decides to only chide her. As the entire dinner falls apart, the narrator makes a comment on the same woman, pitying her for her deplorable behavior, but he never pities the men who circle around him in their lunacy: "Madame Joyeuse, I really could have wept for the poor lady, she appeared so terribly perplexed. All she did, however, was to stand up in a corner, by the fireplace, and sing out incessantly at the top of her voice, 'Cock-a-doodle-de-doooooh!'" (Poe, "The System"). Even though the men are acting just as manic as the woman, satiating themselves in wine, only the female is lectured and admonished. As Karen Weekes states in her article, "Poe's Feminine Ideal," "Once a woman steps out of the narrow boundaries of the stereotypical feminine role, she is reviled rather than revered" (154). These women are vilified, for they satisfy their thirst with liquor and abandon their expected feminine roles. Furthermore, a woman "who has the poor grace to show the ravages of disease is to be eschewed, as she is merely a token of inevitable decay without the redeeming virtue of impregnable beauty" (Weekes 154). Alcohol is the inflicting disease that allows patriarchy to rule over women and reject them as "other," for once she revokes her ideal feminine qualities, she is unable to redeem herself, falling further into contempt.

These analyses lead us to the question: Why are men allowed to drink, facing little to no ridicule if they commit unlawful acts, while women are belittled for merely reveling in liquor? Many may argue that this is a simple literary technique Poe implemented. Every work is subject to multiple interpretations, and because we are not privy to Poe's thoughts, it is up to critics to apply the foundation of their beliefs to these stories in an attempt to discover possible reasons behind certain aspects. For sociological criticism, the narrator in "The Black Cat" and Montresor revel in alcohol as males did in the 1800s. Not only was it typical of males to drink, but it was also usual to exude bad behavior while drinking – both of these factors are recognized in Poe's tales. In the last two stories, the women are portrayed as "other"; the men in those tales, delegates of patriarchy, jeer women who drink, while excusing men for their own drunken behaviour, a common facet of the 1800s. Just like many other writers at this time, "Poe could present women who drink more than an occasional sip only as comic or repulsive or both" (Warner 73). The western world is highly patriarchal; women faced much inequality throughout the centuries and still do, proving that gender issues transcend through time within one particular place. Women freely indulge today, however, there are still many unequal conditions between the two sexes, making these tales relatable and educational, showing us what was wrong in society, while shining light on possible inaccuracies today. Patriarchy oppressed women socially and psychologically, denying them rights that men had, clearly eminent in Poe's works. This gender issue induces different experiences with "human production and experience" (Tyson 92). The women in these tales are oppressed socially and psychologically as their alcohol consumption is chastised, forcing a different relationship with alcohol: women cannot drink merrily, and should expect ridicule if they do, while men can satisfy their thirst and escape punishment for executed crimes because of this unstable liquid.

Edgar Allan Poe provides multiple sketches of male and female characters consuming alcohol. Perverseness may not run rampant through all his works, nor will this finite characterization of these particular women; however, in the tales described above, we clearly see men granted the right to drink and act freely, while women who quench their thirst on such substances are scorned, dismantling their reputation. These works reflect Poe's society where alcohol was a man's drink, while women were expected to remain dainty and pure. Women are either ridiculed or suffer sad fates; men have all of the power and women are just along for the ride. Women are denied pure enjoyment in the drink, while alcohol allows men to be miscreants with no remorse who harbor only power and vigor and blame their illegal actions on perverseness. These issues are indicative of feminist and sociological criticism based on works such as these that undermine the oppression of women and reflect Poe's society, as well as being capable of transcending to modern day in which similar issues are still emblematic.

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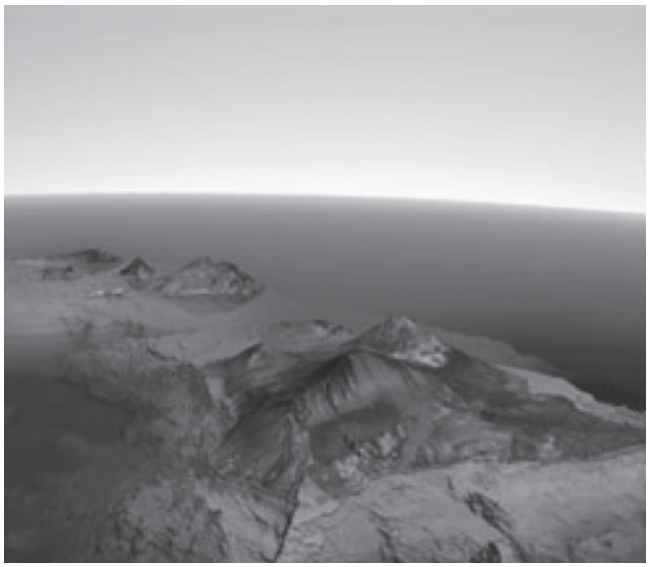
Wahi Pana O Hawai'i: Connection and (Re) Collection

Cletus Correia
History 390
Fall 2014



Historical study usually encompasses a holistic view of the past, taking into account persons, places, and events. Any or all of these can have varied effects upon the way the past is viewed and interpreted. Of the three, place is the most immutable; whereas events are condemned to the past and people have finite lifespans, place exists in all spheres of time—past, present, and future. While place transcends time, people and events come and go with its passage. A place may be revered and remembered due to the events that occurred there, or the people who lived there. Some places are more well-known or celebrated than others; these places are often protected, and sometimes even kept secret, being known only to a select few. Some exist in plain view and go unnoticed by people as they go about their busy existences. The stories they hold, however, are there for those who seek them.

Many cultures have places that they hold as special above others. Some places hold more spiritual and cultural meaning for Hawaiians than others, and these are the places they designate as wahi pana. Place is much more than a geographical location to Hawaiians; it provides them with their history, a sense of belonging, and a feeling of stability.[1] Some wahi pana are sacred due to religious reasons, as is the case of Mauna Kea; others are defined by individuals, events, or functions performed there.[2] Some wahi pana remain obscure; for instance, many are unaware that Mokuola is considered a sacred location. A wahi pana, nevertheless, is sacred to those who deem it as such; without people to revere and remember the past, wahi pana would not exist. Thus, people, specifically the kānaka maoli (Native Hawaiians) define the meaning and utilization of wahi pana.

The fact that wahi pana exists outside the periphery of time can be shown through a study of Hawaiian history. Storied places are often easy to recognize, and such awareness of them does not escape other cultures. Since the early days of contact between Westerners and the kānaka maoli, non-natives have tried to define and describe wahi pana according to their own traditions and knowledge. These efforts most often fell flat; the very different natures of the cultures involved prevents the accurate translation of the meaning of wahi pana and its significance to kānaka maoli. To complicate the matter, wahi pana are often associated with mo'olelo, or traditional oral histories—passed down over many generations and to kānaka maoli, they represent a direct link to the past, and a glimpse into the future. The mo'olelo, while sacred to Hawaiians, seemed to be merely mythology to the outsiders. Foreign writers often (mis)used mo'olelo, altering or belittling them in the retelling. The way the outsiders portrayed wahi pana and the mo'olelo associated with them effectively trivialized their meaning, thus alienating kānaka maoli from their past. This translation and reconstruction of the past "sanitized" Hawai'i in an effort to make her more appealing to the newcomer's tastes.[3]

A pertinent example of the abuse inflicted by outsiders to wahi pana would be that of Kilauea. The reports that the nineteenth-century foreign visitors penned regarding Kilauea and the goddess Pele showed a callous lack of cultural awareness. At the time, Kilauea was still an exposed lake of fire; the visitors often could not help themselves in likening the sight they beheld to the lake of fire depicted in the Christian Bible.[4] Foreign visitors often sought to remove the sacred nature of wahi pana and the mo'olelo associated with them; by doing so they placed their interpretations of nature and divinity on these places, and effectively separated kānaka maoli from them. By removing kānaka maoli from their narratives, foreigners inserted themselves where they did not belong, attempting to alter the meaning of wahi pana, such act often done in the hopes of material gain. The displacement of kānaka maoli from their history was only the beginning; they were soon to be displaced from their own land and self-governance.[5]

Historians must be careful when they discuss the culture of others. As historians, this can be a difficult thing to do because unlike anthropologists, they must report on the past from an external viewpoint, making it far too easy to fall back on personal experiences and biases. This conundrum often rears its head when outsiders attempt to preserve and interpret wahi pana. The example of Kilauea once again comes to mind, where the National Park Service of the United States administers and cares for this culturally significant wahi pana. A tension exists in the "park" between its cultural meanings to kānaka maoli and the interests of scientists and visitors. The scientific interest in Kilauea is understandable; it is

doubtful that kānaka maoli have any concerns with their wahi pana being studied and monitored, as long as it is done with the respect demanded of any visitor to such a sacred spot. The emphasis upon science by the National Park Service, however, negates any references to kānaka maoli, their moʻolelo, or the cultural importance of this wahi pana. Of course, there are signs posted with cultural information and some mentions of "Madame" Pele, but to many kānaka maoli, this comes off as lip service. No mention of how one should conduct themselves when visiting a wahi pana is to be found, save for signs warning not to remove any rocks. This in itself mocks Hawaiian culture because their visitors are warned that if they remove rocks, a curse will visit them.[6] Perhaps if visitors were informed of the sacred nature of Kilauea and its cultural meaning to kānaka maoli, they would leave the rocks undisturbed out of respect. This failure on the part of the National Park Service is indicative of their lack of cultural awareness—what is missing is a communitarian perspective, or a firm anchoring in indigenous understanding.[7]

In recent years, native and non-native historians that faithfully tell Hawaiian history have published many works. Unfortunately, many visitors have never read any of these books or journal articles. The average tourist is on vacation to relax and have a pleasurable time. Perhaps reading a book written by a kānaka maoli scholar such as Haunani Trask would be upsetting to them. This tension between entertainment and truth is a tightrope frequently walked by public historians.[8] This is especially the case when it comes to the representation of wahi pana and their moʻolelo. Using a sacred place as an entertainment source is in itself a bad idea. This is not to say that one cannot enjoy a visit to a wahi pana: A trip to Mokuola can be both refreshing and relaxing. Respecting the nature of the wahi pana is the important point, and this entails that the kānaka maoli culture is validated by the visitor.[9] This humble mindset, combined with a communitarian perspective, would go a long way in restoring pride in our wahi pana and the Hawaiian people. It is the duty of public historians to recognize the place of the kānaka maoli in their own land, and respectfully work with cultural practitioners in presenting wahi pana in their full context. In the case of wahi pana, entertainment must take the back seat in order to give the sacred nature of the site its proper merit.

Connecting to the past is important to kānaka maoli. Their understanding of the present and future is dictated by the lessons they learn from past experiences and human events. Their history belongs to them, and defines their very being.[10] While modern Western culture looks to the future as its guide, Hawaiians rely on their understanding of the historical past. This difference in worldview comes into play in the manner in which the opposing cultures view wahi pana. The Western view that the natural environment is to be controlled, dominated, and exploited is at odds with the Hawaiian understanding of how nature is spiritually connected to the individual. Scientists may see Mauna Kea as the perfect platform for viewing the stars while the kānaka maoli see this wahi pana as their ancestor Wākea, to be revered and cared for.[11] Thus, it can be said that for Hawaiians that the significance of a place is rooted in its relevance to their past, whereas the Western notion of progress determines the future of a place, based upon its perceived usefulness.

For visitors, wahi pana and their associated moʻolelo should be presented in a manner faithful to historical and cultural context. Tour companies should especially take the lead in protecting the sanctity of wahi pana, ensuring that visitors are informed of cultural protocol when visiting these sites, which may be appreciated by some visitors; after all, they may feel a special connection to the wahi pana they visit. Aiding tourists in understanding how they should behave while visiting wahi pana should be accompanied by the reasons for these protocols. Recognizing that wahi pana are not just storied places, but sacred ones, can enhance their visits and ease the minds of kānaka maoli.

When reflecting upon the wahi pana of Hawaiʻi, it can be easily understood why these places are special. Many wahi pana are places of great natural beauty and serenity. Kilauea is an imposing sight to behold, especially at night. The view from the lookout over Waipiʻo Valley is spectacular, and no tourist should go without seeing it. Nevertheless, to simply characterize wahi pana as historical sites or pretty places to look at is to negate their spiritual and cultural significance to the kānaka maoli. Treating them solely as tourist attractions or science experiments is even worse. Kānaka maoli are connected to the land, and wahi pana serve as reminders of this connection and define who they are as a people.[12] Their efforts at preserving and protecting these sites are to ensure their future. More than just features of a unique and beautiful landscape, wahi pana were designated as such by their ancestors. Whether they are historically or spiritually important, natural wonders or man-made, wahi pana only exist as long as they are defined by kānaka maoli as being such. Historians and others must recognize and celebrate the right of the Hawaiian people in designating, caring for, and protecting their wahi pana. The moʻolelo of each wahi pana must be preserved and passed down to be learned, loved, and unforgotten. Many wahi pana still exist that are lost, largely because people no longer remember them. People make wahi pana what they are, and it is people who need to remember and revere them. Upholding the spiritual and cultural values of these places is the most important gift one can leave behind.[13]

Notes

[1]Edward L. H. Kanahele, Foreword to *Ancient Sites of Hawai'i: Archaeological Places of Interest on the Big Island* by Van James (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1995), 6.

[2]Kanahele, Foreword to *Ancient Sites*, 6.

[3]Cristina Bacchilega, L*egendary Hawaii and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism* (Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 1.

[4]Houston Wood, *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawaii* (Boulder, Co: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 65.

[5]Bacchilega, *Legendary Hawaii*, 3.

[6]Wood, *Displacing Natives*, 75-76.

[7]David Welchman Gegeo, "Cultural Rupture and Indigeneity: The Challenge of (Re) visioning 'Place' in the Pacific." *The Contemporary Pacific*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Fall 2001), 492.

[8]William S. Pretzer, "At Historic Sites and Outdoor Museums: A High Performance Act." *In Public History: Essays from the Field,* Edited by James B. Gardner and Peter S. LaPaglia (Malabar, Fla.: Krieger Publishing Company, 2004), 257-258.

[9]Kanahele, Foreword to *Ancient Sites*, 7.

[10]Kanahele, Foreword to *Ancient Sites*, 6.

[11]Leslie Lang, and David A. Byrne. *Mauna Kea: A Guide to Hawaii's Sacred Mountain* (Honolulu, HI: Watermark Publishing, 2005), 24.

[12]Kanahele, Foreword to *Ancient Sites*, 6.

[13]Kanahele, Foreword to *Ancient Sites*, 7.

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The Role of Happiness in a Meaningful Life

Corey Edwards
Personal Essay
Fall 2014

It would be hard to give examples of a meaningful life without involving the idea of happiness, but just how important is a person's enduring happiness while deciding if a particular life was or is meaningful? In this essay I will use ideas of free will and positive moral codes to show that happiness is the *only* determining factor of a meaningful life. I have chosen the word "happiness" because of its vagueness. What makes someone happy is generally different for each individual—happiness may involve traveling the world to help people, collecting toy trains, diet and exercise, or anything else that gives someone pleasure. However, true authentic happiness for someone—happiness that gives meaning to the individual's life—cannot consist in inflicting harm or danger, except in very special circumstances. One may call my approach to the meaning of life hedonistic because of its emphasis on pleasure; but I would concede that it is not an example of *pure* hedonism.

Hedonistic thinkers argue that pleasure is the only fundamental good. A hedonist strives to maximize net pleasure. A dedicated contemporary hedonist philosopher, Michel Onfray, defines hedonism "as an introspective attitude to life based on taking pleasure yourself and pleasuring others, without harming yourself or anyone else" (Melville 2007). A few conceptions of hedonism (such as Onfray's) insist that the process of maximizing net pleasure cannot involve the harming of others; however, this is not exactly accurate. Killing an individual, for example, may occur in the process of self-defense (according to Onfray's standards, this act would be seen as murder). The moral code that is required to have a meaningful life in which I have suggested, is indeed formed out of personal happiness and pleasure and if some being was trying to take this life from me unjustly, I have the right to fight back. Similarly, the defense of my loved ones are likely always in my best interest and ultimately will result in happiness for those and myself I am defending.

I have stated in earlier essays that in my own life I refer to my 'happiness collection' a lot. These are all of my happy memories, some small and some large. This collection of memories gives my life meaning and quickly gets me over the bad things that get thrown my way. If I can provide one small memory to a person's own happiness collection (giving a child some necessities to live, or even a toy that will create a happy memory) then I believe that I am living a meaningful life. Several Hedonistic Utilitarians, such as Karl Popper 1945, have argued that reduction of pain should be seen as more important than increasing pleasure, sometimes in the belief that pain seems worse than an equivalent amount of pleasure is good for us. This is not a position that I hold as true. Living a life completely centered on avoiding pain is extremely unhealthy and will certainly provide for a less meaningful life. I strongly believe we must live by a positive moral code and still remain happy, to have a meaningful life.

The moral code one must follow in order to have a meaningful life excludes the harming of others (except in self-defense, the defense of a loved one, etc.). Any person, who is immoral in this aspect and finds happiness in the wrongful harming of others, cannot be living a meaningful life. However, someone who is immoral in other ways, can still have a meaningful life if their happiness comes from an activity, collection, duty, etc., that abides by the previously stated moral code.

Our time on this Earth is *all* that we have. Science does not currently acknowledge the existence of a soul; if one wishes to introduce one, they will need to provide strong evidence for it first. Without a soul, there is no reason to believe that we will continue to live even after all our organic processes have ceased. Our lives seem to be limited to how long our bodies continue to function. It would be foolish to rely upon some imagined *bonus round* of living in some otherworld, especially when doing so causes us to forget how precious, fleeting, and beautiful the real world is.

Lacking a reason to assume that we are immortal, we ought to live this life to the fullest rather than ungratefully throwing it away just because it is flawed. Anything bad that happens in our lives should not be looked upon as a setback, for only the good matters. I look at life through a specific lens: when something bad happens, we need to push through it and remember that in death these bad feelings die with us. Bad things only emotionally damage us and create setbacks for our perfectly happy lives. I have never been one to let deaths or separations from loved ones bother me for long. These are situations that time will cure. Instead, I remember the happiness that my loved ones have brought into my life, and I hope that I have done the same for theirs.

One common misconception of a meaningful life is that a person's achievements create a significant life (in a sense of personal significance, not significance to the rest of the world). A person's achievements do not always make them happy; take Robert Oppenheimer for example. Oppenheimer is known as "the father of the atomic bomb." The creation of the atomic bomb may seem like the grandest achievement within the scientific and military community; however, Oppenheimer was said to be unhappy with his contribution. I believe this illustrates well how one's achievement does not necessarily create a more meaningful life because it may not promote one's happiness.

Earlier in this paper I connected happiness to free will and I would like to expand now on this connection. We must live our lives according to our own free will.

I feel that anyone who is living his/her life according to another's will or God's will, probably cannot have a meaningful life.

Philosopher Richard Taylor writes about a similar idea by using the ancient Greek myth of Sisyphus. Sisyphus was punished by the gods who, for all of eternity, destined him to push a rock up a mountain; upon reaching the top, the rock would roll own again, leaving Sisyphus to start over. According to Taylor's essay in *The Meaning of Life* (Klemke and Cahn), Sisyphus is not living a meaningful life. Taylor justifies this by claiming that this endless repetition of the same task contributed to no greater goal or purpose and certainly did not make Sisyphus happy. Personally, I would add that Sisyphus could not have lived a meaningful life because the gods took away his free will.

Taylor later argues that all human life, as we know it is importantly like Sisyphus' life. Whether viewed from a very wide scope or at the level of a single individual, life is nothing but the succession of struggles and attempts that ultimately culminate in nothing significant—the only thing that endures is the repetition of the cycle. There is no end point toward which the struggles are directed that could confer meaning. In this way, Taylor thinks, our lives are meaningless. In a variation on the myth, Taylor conceives that Sisyphus may have enjoyed rolling stones. Knowing this we are then able to supposedly project meaning onto our own lives through embracing our struggles, even if they accomplish nothing lasting and fulfilling. I would argue that regardless of how happy Sisyphus was during this eternal life had no free will and he was still destined to never finish this task, which was imposed by the gods. Thus, Sisyphus' life in this scenario could never make for a meaningful one.

Now, let us postulate that the gods decide to give Sisyphus back his own free will and liberate him from the task of rolling the bolder up a hill. Sisyphus may decide that he really enjoyed the menial mission because it frees his mind to think about other things or is great for his upper body. If he decides to continue rolling the bolder up the hill because of these reasons that make him happy, then he is living a meaningful life.

I can anticipate an objection to my theory involving an individual's happiness in the things they do to please God. One may say that going to Church every Sunday, donating money to the church, and obeying God's law makes them happy. According to my criteria, this happiness may only appear to create a life worth living. However, I will argue that without the idea of God, those individuals may be doing other things to help better themselves and perhaps create a better world in the process.

One may also argue that doing these things for God is indeed their own free will. It is my understanding that the Christian God uses coercion (the act of persuading someone using threats) in demanding people to live and act according to His law. Therefore, I would suggest that if they accept this idea of God and God's will, these people are not acting of their own free will when they pursue their religious activities and shun premarital sex.

It may be easy for someone who shares my atheistic attitude to consider that life has no meaning; this objection may also be shared by a religious mind in regards to my thesis. One may say, "Well if there is no afterlife, what is the point?" I believe that the idea of life being meaningless without an afterlife is not suitable. The impression that we only have the years we spend on this Earth and nothing more, demonstrates our need to create a life worth living for mankind, not to give up and say that life is meaningless.

Adding to the list of anticipated objections, I acknowledge Robert Nozick's "experience-machine." In his thought experiment, Nozick asks us to envision that each individual has the option of plugging in to a bizarre machine that provides an amazing blend of life-long experiences. Importantly, this machine can provide these experiences in such a way that, once was plugged into the machine, no one can tell that their experiences are not real. Disregarding considerations about responsibilities to others and the problems that would arise if everyone plugged in, would you plug in to the machine for life? Opinions differ on what exactly about living in reality is so much better for us than the additional pleasure of living in the "experience machine." A common response that I have found to be accurate, which is also shared by many who have read Nozick, suggests that a life not lived in reality is pointless or meaningless. As I have stated earlier, humans almost certainly cannot live a meaningful life without being aware of their own free will. Along these lines, humans must also be able to change the path ahead of them at any time.

In conclusion to my blunt, yet seemingly simple answer to the question "what makes life meaningful?" I will reiterate that a life can only be deemed meaningful according to the individual happiness within the person's earthly lifetime. This happiness must also adhere to a set of good morals in which the harming of others does not coincide. Accomplishments do not make for a meaningful life unless they have truly made the person happy.

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Marquesan Adzes in Hawai‘i: Collections, Provenance, and Sourcing

Hattie Le‘a Wheeler Gerrish
Anthropology 484
Fall 2014

Abstract

In 1953, Jack and Leah Wheeler returned to Hawai'i with 13 adze heads and one stone pounder they had obtained during their travels in the Marquesas, Tuamotus, and Society Islands. The rather general provenance of these artifacts presents a challenge that illustrates the benefits of combining XRF with other sources of information, and the limits of current knowledge of Pacific geochemistry. EDXRF reveals that five of the artifacts are likely made of stone from the Eiao quarry, and the rest may represent five additional sources. Based on the Wheeler accounts, there is reason to think that three of these sources may be found in the Marquesas. Comparing the pounder to adze sources is probably not useful, given that stone used for pounders has different qualities.

Introduction

Over the last few years, geochemical sourcing of culturally used stone has emerged as a valuable analytical technique in Pacific archaeology. Researchers have used destructive wave length dispersive x-ray fluorescence (WDXRF) and non-destructive energy dispersive x-ray fluorescence (EDXRF) spectrometry to uncover the construction history of Nan Madol (McCoy & Athens 2012), rediscover long over-looked quarries (Mills & Lundblad 2014), define inter island group interaction spheres (Allen 2014), and examine patterns of intra island group exchange (Kahn et al 2013). XRF analysis is most useful when it is applied to artifacts with good provenance from quarries with well-known geochemical signatures. Archaeologists seldom are able to work with these ideal conditions, however. Many quarries have not yet been geochemically identified, and even known sources require thorough study to understand compositional complexity. In addition, many artifacts have poor provenance, among them those gathered from surface deposits, donated to museums, or held by private collectors. The origins of any artifact not obtained from an undisturbed context must be considered with the consideration that historical era travelers may have removed it from its original context. Linton (1923) tells of a German trading company that purchased “large numbers” of Marquesan pounders and then sold them all the way to Tahiti (77). Sinton and Sinoto (1997) discovered two artifacts that were a perfect match for a quarry on Kaho'olawe while analyzing specimens purportedly from the Eiao quarry, a major quarry in the Marquesas (202). Stone tools sourced to outside the Marquesas have never been found in the island group (Allen 2014:11), but this groundbreaking discovery was spoiled by the revelation that a yachtsman who had visited both places had donated the artifacts, and apparently mixed them up before doing so (202). Researchers with access to other sources of information can avoid possible pitfalls. Garanger (1967) laments, “What amount of dispersed artifacts were illegally exported by the numerous voyagers drawn by the mirage of the “South Seas” and now irrevocably lost to science?” (390). It is my intent to honor the wishes of my maternal grandparents, Jack and Leah Wheeler, that the artifacts they (legally) brought home to Hawai'i from the East Pacific not be “irrevocably lost to science.” I will attempt to source their stone artifacts, and discover what geochemistry can tell us of these tools of uncertain provenance. My experience strengthens my belief that combining non-destructive EDXRF with other sources of information such as oral history, written accounts, and morphological comparison, enhances the value of geochemical sourcing.

Background: The Wheelers

Jack (1919-2008) and Leah (b.1922) shared a lifelong love of the Pacific and sailing. They married in 1946, after both serving in World War II. In 1950, they completed their first boat, a 34-foot ketch, the Gemini, and outfitted her for their first long-distance voyage in 1952. On November 19, the Wheelers arrived in the Marquesas, where they stayed until spring 1953. Next, they sailed through the Tuamotus, and on to the Society Islands where they stayed through the summer. Upon leaving Tahiti on October 16th, their manifest listed 12 stone adze heads and one poi pounder evaluated to have “no value.” A hafted adze with an elaborately carved handle is presumed to be among the six carved wood items mentioned on the manifest. Their voyage has been reconstructed from their collected letters, which give an in depth account of their experiences, including stories about how they obtained several of the adze heads and the pounder. Their information suggests that the Wheelers obtained most or all of their artifacts in the Marquesas, so my research has focused on this island group, although I have considered the material culture of the Tuamotus and Society Islands as well.

Background: Archaeology of Marquesas

This study benefits both from recent XRF studies, and from descriptions of material culture created by 20th century ethnologists and archaeologists. Written accounts about the culture of Te Fenua Enata, henceforth called the Marquesas by Westerners, began with a tragic encounter in 1595. The accuracy and completeness of these early accounts naturally varies, but some writings like the journal of Robarts (1974), who spent years among the people, offer some interesting detail. Robarts is one of the first to describe how the people “beat the food on a shallow trough” with “a stone

in the shape of a hand bell" (274). Early 20th century anthropologists like Brigham (1902) and Buck (1927) focused on describing and categorizing material culture. To Linton's (1923) credit, he based his classification of adzes on information given him by cultural descendants. Suggs (1960, 1961) derived a culture history of the Marquesas from his excavations, and Kellum (1966) attempted to improve the typology of Marquesan adzes, but archaeologists' interest in description based research diminished soon after. Although the limits of typology are now appreciated, descriptive works proved useful for the present study. XRF sourcing has greatly improved our understanding of the composition of select quarries in recent years, yet even at a prominent fine-grained basalt source like Eiao, our information is based on relatively few studies. Only 23 samples of Eiao stone had been analyzed prior to the Charleux et al (2014) study, and the team discovered a second geochemical signature while analyzing over 200 samples from the quarry (75).

Methods

The fourteen artifacts were weighed, photographed, and given designations. The adze heads were numbered 1-12, but all adzes bearing a label penciled onto the stone will henceforth be referred to as Ua Huka 1-3, and Ua Pou 1. The pounder and hafted adze will be referred to as Pounder and Hafted Adze. These designations reflect the form only and are not an evaluation of function. Distinguishing characteristics and factors that might interfere with EDXRF analysis such as patination or the possible presence of crayon were noted.

Geochemistry was obtained with a Thermo Noran QuanX TM EDXRF at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo. Each artifact was run under vacuum at a medium count-rate with four sets of operating systems as follows: high Zb at 50k with a thick Cu filter and 150 seconds live time, mid Za at 16 kw with a thin Pd filter for 200 seconds live time, mid Zc at 28 kw with a thick Pd filter and 200 seconds live time, and low Za with no filter at 6 kw for 300 seconds live time. The spectrometer analyzed 22 major and trace elements. The artifacts were not cleaned or treated in any way before analysis, but Adze 2 was cleaned and analyzed for a second time.

The results were compared to data from previous studies on adze grade basalt from several island groups. Most if not all of the Eiao data came from fresh cut samples, to avoid the effects of weathering (Charleux et al 2014:78). The other comparison samples came from Kamaka and Agatautai islands in Mangareva, and Mo'orea, Ra'iatea and Tahiti within the Society Islands.

Results and Discussion: Information from Wheeler Letters

In an interview, Leah says she remembers bringing back "lots" of adzes from the Marquesas, but Westerners had visited Tahiti more, and they were "all traded out" of readily available artifacts. This last remark agrees with Garanger's statement that, "This interest in curiosities and it is a very old one explains in large part why artifacts in the Society Islands are now so rare on the surface" (1967:390). The Tuamotus were less visited, Leah says. She felt uncomfortable taking the adzes because she thought they should be "catalogued and preserved." But people continuously proffered the adzes as trade items, and so she and Jack accepted a number of them, though they apparently turned some down. Jack was irked that his friends at home assumed he had brought "trinkets" to trade with the "natives", when in fact their trade goods were worth "a lot of dough."

The Wheeler letters only mention receiving the pounder and four adzes on Tahu Ata, Nuku Hiva, and Huapu. Three more adzes are marked as being from Ua Huka, and one is marked as Ua Pou. It appears, therefore, that the Wheelers obtained at least eight adzes and the pounder in the Marquesas. Before leaving the island group, Jack wrote "We have stone adze heads from each island." The Wheelers visited at least six islands: Tahu Ata, Nuku Hiva, Huapu, Ua Huka, Ua Pou, and Fatu Hiva. The letters make no mention of receiving adzes or other artifacts in the Tuamotus or Society Islands. It is possible that all the artifacts were obtained in the Marquesas, or that a minimum of the Pounder, the Hafted Adze, and seven adze heads, four of which can be identified, came from the Marquesas, and the remaining five adze heads came from elsewhere.

Results and Discussion: Preliminary EDXRF Results

It would be expected that some of the artifacts would be sourced to Eiao, since Eiao stone artifacts are fairly common on Nuku Hiva (Rolett et al 1997:146), and possibly the other Maquesan islands as well. Furthermore, even artifacts from the Tuamotus or Society Islands could be Eiao stone, since the quarry has the largest known distribution of any in the Pacific, and Eiao adzes have been found in the Tuamotus and Society Islands (Allen 2014:10-13). The Tuamotus lack basalt, so any adze found there would be imported. Besides Eiao, stone from the Cook and Society island groups have also been found in the atoll archipelago (Emory 1975:99-100). The Society Islands have several adze quarries of their own (Kahn et al 2013:1194).

The spectrometer results do not show a clear dominance of Eiao stone in the Wheeler asemblage, however. Only five specimens, Hafted Adze, Ua Huka 1, and Adzes 2, 9, and 10 are good matches for the main Eiao group. Adzes 10, 9, and 2 could not be linked to the Marquesas by information from the Wheelers, so this finding confirms the minimum number of Marquesan adzes at eight. It does not appear that any of the adzes are Society Islands stone. The artifacts form six groups on the basis of strontium-zirconium, termed Groups 1-6, from lowest strontium values to highest. (Figure 1) Adze 8 and Ua Huka 2 form Group 1, and resemble several samples from Mangareva. Group 2 consists of Adzes 3, 4, and Ua Pou, and Group 3 is Ua Huka 3. Group 4,

Adzes 1 and 6, have strontium values similar to Eiao, but higher zirconium values. Group 5 consists of the five Eiao matches. Group 6 is the Pounder, which has a far greater strontium value than the main Eiao group. The groups are the same for strontium-niobium, with the exception that Group 2 merges with Group 3.

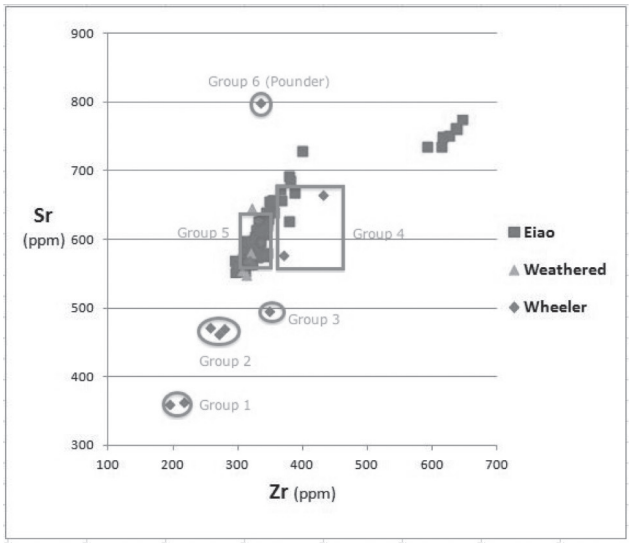

Figure 1: Wheeler Groups outlined in red

The results suggest that the Wheeler artifacts come from five to six sources. As the Charleux et al (2014) study showed distinct sources could be found in close proximity. Assuming that Ua Huka 1-3 and Ua Pou 1 are made of Marquesan stone, then it is possible that Groups 1-3 represent Marquesan sources. This conclusion would raise the minimum total of Marquesan adzes to eleven. Groups 4 and 6 could be other Marquesan sources, or non-Marquesan sources. Of course the resemblance between Marquesan adzes like Ua Pou and an unidentified adze like Adze 4 could be a coincidence. But it is not unlikely that some or all of the non-Eiao groups represent Marquesan sources, since people were known to work stone from Nuku Hiva and probably other islands besides Eiao (Charleux et al 2014:80).

The Wheeler results appear to be affected by weathering and contamination. The majority of the artifacts exceed most of the reference samples for zinc, copper, and lead. Adze 2, which already had the lowest lead value, decreased after it was cleaned, but it was still well above the other Eiao samples, in a range not unusual for Mo'orea. Strontium has an inverse relationship with the other metals. It is unclear whether the elevated metals have lowered strontium values, but the majority of the artifacts are on the low end of the Eiao range, or below it completely. Weathering and patination interferes with the measurement of SiO2, making it appear artificially low. All the Wheeler artifacts except Adzes 6 and 10 show lower SiO2 values than the fresh cut Eiao or other reference samples. To control for weathering, the Wheeler artifacts were compared to four samples of Eiao stone, analyzed using the same methods. Both the artifacts and the weathered samples show lower yttrium values than most of the reference samples. One of the weathered Eiao samples even dropped out of the Eiao range. This is another sign of weathering, because yttrium migrates with time, lowering surface values (Mills Interview 2014).

Comparison of EDXRF Results with Wheeler and Other Information

The letters describe the Hafted Adze, one of the Eiao matches. Jack wrote, "for Christmas, Mrs. MacKittrick gave Leah a (sic) adze with carved handle and ancient stone blade" (Jan. 3, 1953). Leah called it "a carved hatchet with stone head" (Dec. 31, 1952). This was on Nuku Hiva, and the MacKittricks were English shopkeepers. Eiao stone is not unusual on Nuku Hiva, and the island once served as a distribution center for stone from Eiao, according to oral history (Charleux et al 2014:86). The head is set at a greater than 90-degree angle with the handle, unusual for an adze, and the tool may not have been used as an adze (Linton 1923:69).

Comparison of adze morphology may help refine the possibilities. None of the adzes resemble Society Islands adzes, which are usually fully ground (Kellum 1966:16-17) and may have distinct shouldered tangs (Oliver 1974:136-137). It is interesting to note that both the adzes of Group 4, the group with the weakest link to the Marquesas, resemble Tuamotuan adzes. Adze 1 is like the one pictured by Emory (1975) in 80.b., and Adze 6 looks like 80.c. (101), or 82.c. (103). Morphology alone is often not sufficient to provenance an artifact, however. In this case, both adzes look slightly less like Marquesan forms (Suggs 1961:107; Linton 1923:63), but the Marquesas cannot be ruled out. Anyone who employs typology must remember that individual variation, damage, and rejuvenation may cause a stone tool to change type.

Morphology was helpful, though, for unraveling the mystery of the Pounder. Evidence from the Wheeler letters, morphology, and oral history link the Pounder to the Marquesas, not Mo'orea as geochemistry would suggest. On Fatu Hiva, Jack wrote, "We got an ancient rock which resembles a poi pounder (Feb. 28, 1953). Leah says a man sold them "a pounder of stone, maybe a poi pounder" (Feb. 25, 1953). The morphology is uniquely Marquesan (Brigham 1902:370; Linton 1923: 83-84). The Pounder's knob is divided into two lobes by a groove down the center, and each lobe is carved symmetrically with facial features in low relief. Only Maquesan pounders bear anthropomorphic knobs. Also of interest is Jack and Leah's shared observation that the Pounder was "much smaller" than a poi pounder, and "might have been to pound herbs and stuff for medicine" (Feb. 28, 1953). Suggs claims that "two trends are noticeable in the prehistoric poi pounders of the Marquesas: a gradual increase in size continuing to the

present, and a trend towards highly polished finishes." He reported that these changes led his informants "to state that a given archaeological pounder is useless as a poi pounder because it is too small... according to these modern standards [they] are actually medicine pounders" (1961:102). Suggs believes the conical pounder was the first to be carved with a double head, and the Wheeler Pounder is much more like a short necked, rough finished conical pounder, than the more recent "tiki headed" pounders with their polished finish, long necks, and high relief features (1961.) Finally, it is probably not useful to compare a pounder to adze quality sources, because fine-grained basalt is unlikely to be used for pounders. Linton's informants, who still made pounders, reported that Ua Huka and Ua Pou have the best stone for pounders, and this stone was traded throughout the islands (1923:77).

Conclusion

EDXRF was helpful for provenancing three adze heads that could not have been securely assigned provenance by other methods. Geochemistry connects five adzes to Eiao; only two of them had been previously identified as Marquesan. On the basis of adzes labeled as Marquesan, three more groups, one of which has geochemistry similar to sources in Mangareva, could tentatively be assigned to unknown Marquesan sources. The Wheeler letters confirm the Hafted Adze as Marquesan, and also link the Pounder, which has geochemistry similar to Mo'orea, to the island group. The distinctive morphology of the Pounder supports Marquesan provenance. It was not possible to suggest a provenance for the remaining group by morphology, geochemistry, or information from the letters. This study has increased the number of adzes identified as Marquean from five to eight, and possibly eleven. None of the adzes exhibited geochemistry typical of the Society Islands, potentially eliminating the island group as a possible source for these artifacts. Some of the Wheeler artifacts are visibly patinated, and all show chemical evidence of weathering. Cleaning the artifacts and repeating analysis may refine the results. Further EDXRF study of alternative Marquesan quarries and sources of pounder quality stone is needed to test these conclusions.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Leah Wheeler for giving me access to her letters and collection, Dr. Grant Gerrish for assisting me with the graphs, and Dr. Peter Mills for training me in the use of UH Hilo's EDXRF and helping me interpret the results. All errors are mine alone.

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Of Manly Mice and *Mausy* Men

Karl Hennen
English 300
Spring 2013

The representation of the planet's animals in literature mirrors their incredible diversity off of the page. In both oral and written storytelling traditions, allegories equating beasts with man known as animal fables have offered commentary regarding the latter's behavior, ideologies, and foibles. Across other mediums, various fauna fulfill entertaining, pedagogical or symbolic roles. Such possibilities for employing the non-human and the motivations for doing so are seemingly endless. Art Spiegelman, author of the Pulitzer prize-winning *Maus*, understood the value of having animal-like entities featured in his graphic novel. This paper will attempt to explore the different roles that the mouse specifically occupies in select narratives, including Spiegelman's text. After discussing cultural depictions of mythical and folkloric mice, it shall distinguish the animal from metaphor as it pertains to Spiegelman's *Maus*, and whether this signification is a successful literary device for his Holocaust memoir.

Although mice have often served as heroic protagonists in contemporary fiction, the rodent has also made morally questionable appearances in traditional animal fables of world cultures. One of the oldest known myths about the mouse comes from Ancient Egypt. Except when they were appropriated for medicinal uses, Warren Dawson writes rodents exemplified ill omens and opposition against Rē, the sun god (Dawson 227). Egyptian folk literature where mice inhabited antagonistic roles included the *Book of the Dead* and the Calendar of the Lucky and Unlucky Days (227). In the above texts, the mouse is an abomination or harbinger of misfortune to avoid, even by sight. According to Dawson, "the destructive habits of the mouse brought it into [disfavor], and indeed in the East it was a symbol of pestilence," when not pardoned by the rays of the sun (Dawson 227). The iconic Aesop's Fables were believed to partly originate from Egypt. The fables adapted Egyptian folktales' representations of mice, causing the animal to assume a more commendable status. One story credited to Aesop sees a lion sparing a mouse from its initial clutches. As fate or luck would have it, the rodent returns the lion's life-saving gesture when it nibbles through a hunter's trap the lion is later caught in. Most translations of the fable have the mouse paying off its obligations with a deed of equal generosity, while a Greek version emphasizes reversals of fortune (Dawson 230). The mouse of this story, regardless of adaptation, is a helper figure, but additional fables by Aesop convey the same mammal as alternatively crafty, humorous, or shortsighted (Dawson 230).

Within other cultural texts, the portrayal of mice is similarly ambivalent. Some folk literature might suggest rodents are greedy, but there exist constructions which offer more numinous interpretations. Balinese mouse-fables, for example, regard mice as supernatural beings. In fact, J. Hooykaas observes, "in pre-Muslim and pre-Hindu Sulawesi (Celebes) mice were still considered as divine ancestors, sometimes even as the bringers of rice from heaven" (Hooykaas 279). This, interestingly, runs parallel to Scandinavian and Teutonic ideas that the mouse was linked to souls of the recently deceased; they "could be the vehicle of the soul …or… the soul could assume the form of a mouse" (Dawson 243). If one considers the connection between mice and ghosts, the rodents in Art Spiegelman's *Maus* acquire a further layer of significance as spiritual windows to such past events as the Holocaust. Some illustrations from Bali show the mouse being a kind of devil and malevolent entity as well—or guilty by association with such figures (Hooykaas 280). Likewise, animal fables from India shun the mouse. Mice in these stories are negatively equated with betrayal or unwelcomed company. In a variation on a cautionary tale attributed to Aesop about inter-special relationships, a frog tied to its mouse friend's paw is victim to a crow, which carries off the rodent (Dawson 233). More positive folkloric representations indicate mice could be sincere, resourceful allies to other animal races—even worthy protagonists in their own right.

Whether or not historical Nazism drew upon past images of the antagonized mouse, its propaganda demonized Jewish culture and ethnicity, as well as the animal species, by suggesting that Jews and rats were equal pests. Like certain species in cultural fables suffering for their association with the mouse, it could be argued that Hitler's regime viewed the presence of Jewish people as having a similar, negative influence on those outside their culture. Nazi ideology often symbolized the Jews with rodents and characterized them as disease-ridden, unhygienic, and destructive to any flourishing society, let alone Germany. Caricatures were regularly disseminated from "Goebbels's *Reichsministry* and Julius Streicher's venomous weekly *Der Sturmer*—the anti-Semitic broadsheets and editorial cartoons [which depicted] Jews as hook-nosed, beady-eyed *Untermenschen*, creatures whose ferret faces and rodent snouts marked them as human vermin" (Thomas Doherty 74). A further instance of the Nazi Party's anti-Semitism included the nationalist film *Der ewige Jude*, which "[cross-cut] between rabbinical ghetto dwellers and swarming sewer rats" (Doherty 74).

A scene from Art Spiegelman's *Maus* involving rats frightening Vladek and his wife conveys how the graphic novel's rodent figures occupy two roles, one being where the former are literal animals. Spiegelman's narrative describes Mrs. Motonowa—a Polish black market seller—agreeing to hide the Jewish couple from Germans within her cellar while her husband is away. Anja, however, is disturbed by the presence of

rats, which Vladek reassuringly lies are "just mice" (Art Spiegelman 147). Miles Orvell remarks the "large, ugly rodents" of the basement contrast "the mice-Jews ... [whose] postures and expressions [suggest] vividly and movingly their human feeling," a kind of humanity that may hitherto have been taken for granted by the reader (Orvell 121). The terrifying nature of the rodent as a real animal, thus, is as credible as the emotions of the distraught Jews. According to Richard DeAngelis, Vladek comforting Anja with the notion they are different as *mice* from the rats, which are "Othered" regardless of their species' resemblance, possibly echoes "the Aryan view that European Jews, despite their outward similarity to other Europeans, still posed an inherent threat to non-Jews" (DeAngelis 231). No matter the manner in which the scene is read, however, there is no denying the personality and visual discrepancies between the couple and impish-looking rat. The literal rodent in *Maus* belongs to a threateningly intrusive category, which, Steve Baker posits, "not only upsets the consistency of [its] fragile [narrative] but also throws [its] main (animal) characters into a state of panic or terror" (Baker 149). It forces the audience to question if Vladek and his wife are genuine mice. Put in another way, the rat is highlighted for its ability to challenge *Maus*' diegetic logic and consistency, compensating for the real animal void that the figurative mice-Jews do not fill (Baker 139).

Source: *Maus*: A Survivor's Tale by Art Spiegelman

When *Maus*' rodents are not genuine animals, their role is to become representatives of past and contemporary Jewish racial identity. *Maus* readers soon understand the narrative is not about real mice when they behave, dress, and speak in anthropomorphic fashions. Furthermore, as Vladek describes his experiences within Nazi-occupied Poland, mice come to stand not for *all* humans, but specific constructions of a culture based on ethnic characteristics. Such a metaphor partly reflects, as this paper earlier discussed, the Reich's discourse in treating Jews as subhuman. In addition to caricaturing what originally were distortions themselves, revealing their absurdity, Spiegelman's mice reference the"Nazi racist theory that reduced the whole nation to one anonymous mass" (Stanislav Kolár 90). The rodents within *Maus* are largely devoid of individual characteristics. When Vladek's story is told, with the exception of himself, the other Jew-mice lack visual distinctiveness; they all possess blank faces, lined uniforms, and similar physiques once they are transported to Auschwitz. DeAngelis notes that during these instances, the mouse-animal itself becomes an absent referent, or "subject whose identity becomes lost in a one-sided metaphorical comparison meant to illustrate the condition of another" (DeAngelis 232). Most readers of *Maus* will forget the book is about cats and mice, and translate the different species into human beings. Just as "substituting mice heads for human ones ... [allowed Nazi] death camp guards to look at their charges as animals," the mouse *animal* becomes ignored for the signified Jewish population (DeAngelis 233). The process of making Jews absent referents, where their humanity was invisible under Germany's propaganda, is paralleled when Spiegelman's mice are one-way mirrors into not bestial, but *human*, nature.

The mouse as metaphor offers further comment on the hierarchy present between German and Jewish people during the war, Nazi experimentation, and Spiegelman's own artistry. As the Jews *were* disenfranchised victims of genocide, the helplessness associated with mice holds water in allegorically conveying their situation. Orvell writes that by doing this, "Spiegelman [represents] the world in the simplified but starkly authentic way the victims of the Nazis experienced it: the Jews were like mice to the terrifying cats of the Nazis" (Orvell 121). At one point in *Maus*, Vladek mentions visiting Josef Mengele (Spiegelman 218). Here, the mouse metaphor allows the doctor's human experimentations with animal testing to be regarded on equal footing. Even Zyklon B, the gas used in German concentration camps for killing prisoners thought unfit by the Reich, was initially tested on rodents (DeAngelis 238). As DeAngelis thus contends, Spiegelman's "depiction of Jews as mice reflects the Nazi view of both as disposable tools to be expended in the pursuit of scientific knowledge" (DeAngelis 238). Another potential rationale behind the author's figurative mice is that they represent Spiegelman acknowledging his artistic background. Within *Maus*, Vladek compares his son favorably to Walt Disney, although he can't remember the latter's name (Spiegelman 135). The animal imagery symbolizing a people rich in cultural identity but without voice contrasts with Mickey Mouse, a global icon less defined beyond his commercial, entertainment value. *Maus*' rodents can possibly be read, therefore, as Spiegelman's answers not only to Nazi propaganda, but the United States' animation legacy as well. Because

Spiegelman counts Aesop's fables, Kafka's "Josephine the Singer, or the Mouse Folk", and Herriman's *Krazy Kat* among his influences, his mice may additionally serve to pay homage to such animal precedents (Jake Jakaitis et al. 144).

Art Spiegelman actively questions the representations of his rodents, whether as literal animals or metaphoric for the Jewish population, and his indeterminacy of meaning is exactly what renders the mouse a powerful literary device in *Maus*. When this is combined with stereotypes and unconventionalities, the author creates a multidimensional beast fable and Holocaust narrative. The reader might be tempted to generalize the Jew-mice as victims since Spiegelman is equating them with animals traditionally pigeonholed as vulnerable. Indeed, *Maus* appears to run the same risk of essentialism. Many scholars of *Maus*, however, focus on Spiegelman breaking away from these assumptions. According to Michael Staub, "the inconsistencies of identity are *Maus*'s point" and cites a "portrait of a Jewish mouse ... [having] a tail in one frame and none in another," as one example (Staub 38). He goes on to describe how the abovementioned scene involving Vladek, Anja, and the rat illustrates how the author's "talking animals have no consciousness of themselves as not humans ... [calling] attention to the ways in which identities are frequently in the…eye of the beholder" (Staub 38). Likewise, Alison Mandaville believes the same capricious nature of Spiegelman's artistic choices of mice, with or without tails, parallels "the arbitrariness of the racial or ethnic constructions by the Nazis" (Mandaville 230). Such artistic incongruity proposes that there is no essential, self-evident core in ethnicity as Nazi propaganda may have otherwise insisted. The author's further portrayal of ethnic groups as cartoon stereotypes can only render individuals acting contrary to them all the more startling. Andrea Loewenstein, a professor teaching at Medgar Evers College, remarks that while Vladek exhibits some Jewish male stereotypes, "he is a character, despite and possibly because of his mouse guise, for whom [her] students have strong feelings [and is] someone they can identify with" in a text that sensitizes to readers about their generalizations and how such ideas are formed (Loewenstein 400). More than a mouse, Artie's father is a human being with qualities and flaws. He may be a miser, occasional racist and troublesome parent, but he is also resourceful, heroic, and exceptionally compassionate to such friends in need as Mandelbaum—to whom he is a helpful figure akin to the "good mice" in fables—during the war.

The characters within *Maus* are mouse-like men and women where the animal fable tradition helps challenge the aesthetics of Nazi ideological representation. Folkloric mice were culturally depicted in both positive and negative lights, and it could be argued that this ambivalence is reflected when Spiegelman appropriates the creature and paints it via a love-hate manner. Terry Barr, a professor who lectures on the Holocaust with *Maus*, opines the antagonized imagery of Jews from German propaganda during World War II allows Spiegelman to illustrate stereotypes, defy them, and make anthropomorphic characters sympathetic while simultaneously gifting them with more dimensions than their beastial appearances may suggest (Stephen Tabachnick 76). The rodents in the author's story do not merely represent Jewish identity or stereotypes, however: they illustrate Spiegelman's conflict with his artistic decisions, some of which are deliberately contradictory to show the arbitrariness of Nazism, and diegetic constructedness. They suggest that, "while Spiegelman-as-artist addresses the issue of visual representation by drawing historical human groups as animals…Art-as-represented-artist wrestles with the more abstract issues of representation all ethnographers face" (Rosemary Hathaway 256). Far from vermin—a socially and not biologically constructed term—to readers, just as the Jewish people were anything but animals, *Maus*' mice are complex, beyond simple categorization. The rodent is a successful device in Spiegelman's Holocaust narrative for deconstructing Nazi ideology and showing its limited representation by defying bestial essentialism. Manly mice or *Maus*-y men? The Jewish stars of the author's "tail" are both—and everything more.

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The Evolution of Female Writers: An Exploration of Their Issues and Concerns from the 19th Century to Today

Samantha Howell
English 351
Fall 2014

By the 19th century, "reform was an extremely influential aspect of journalism and urban life" (Lauter 2463), thus, women began to take larger roles in society and project their voices through their writings. Women writers have been subject to cruel and degrading remarks for centuries, even before Anne Bradstreet responded to the male suggestion that women are more suitable holding a "needle" than a "pen" (Lauter 439). Two centuries later, Nathaniel Hawthorne stated in his work *Mrs. Hutchinson* (1830): "The hastiest glace may show, how much of the texture and body of cisatlantic literature is the work of those slender fingers, from which only a light and fanciful embroidery has heretofore been required" (Lauter 2676). He suggests there was little to no change in the status of women writers since the 17th century. Sarah Willis Parton (Fanny Fern), through *Hints to Young Housewives* (1852) and *Independence* (1859), powerfully exerted her issues regarding gender inequality and freedom for women, (Lauter 2462) and through *Critics* (1854) and *Male Criticism on Ladies Books* (1857), she directly addresses the unjust and negative criticism that women writers received from male authors during her time (Lauter 2468). Women writers, such as Harriet Jacobs, often doubted themselves to express their struggles, subsequently forcing them to live in fear of their writing careers. Although women writers have gained more respect and acknowledgement since the 19th century, they still experience hardship against the disrespect they receive from male writers, readers, and critics.

Modern women writers face the challenge of being unaccepted in the literary world, often having to prove the worthiness and importance of their works, being categorized in ways different to men, and still have been subject to unethical remarks. Such struggles not only reside in women writers in America, but also in China and Greece, where the literary art still remains a male practice. Although women now have more freedom to write, many of their struggles are similar to those of the 19th century women writers.

Fanny Fern was an American novelist and columnist who attacked issues of women's rights, domesticity, and the male dominated society with humor. Fern was one of the most well known authors of the 19th century, and was the most highly paid author in America at the time (Samuels 28). She was also the first woman in America to consistently write a newspaper column, in her case, in The New York Ledger (Samuels 28). Originally, Fern hoped to launch her literary career through her brother, N.S. Willis; however he stated that her writing was too "vulgar" and suggested that she should continue with her needlework instead, similar to what Anne Bradstreet had discussed in the 17th century (Lauter 2462). Such a comment from her brother emphasizes the extent to which men controlled women, even within the boundary of family. Fern illustrates a great sense of wit in *Hints to Young Housewives* and Independence, satirically depicting gender inequality in society. In her work *Critics* and *Male Criticism on Ladies Books*, again, Fern satirically criticizes male critics and male authors.

In *Critics*, Fern exclaims: "I never knew an editor to nob his pen with a knife as sharp as his temper, and write a scathing criticism on a book, because the authoress had declined contributing to his paper" (Lauter 2467). Fern expresses her anger towards male editors and authors and their selfishness and total disregard for women writers, in addition to their unjust treatment of her. It is evident that in her time, men were in control of literary art and such insight on the struggles of women writers were highlighted. She closes *Critics* with a highly satirical statement: "A man never stoops to a meanness. There never was criticism yet, born of envy, or malice, or repulsed lose, or disappointed ambition. No—no" (Lauter 2467). Using humor to address serious social issues was a trademark in Fern's writing – a technique that was used consistently and effectively throughout Male Criticism on Ladies Books as well.

In *Male Criticism on Ladies Books*, Fern bombards the reader with a number of rhetorical questions regarding the "feminine novel" (Lauter 2468): "Granted that lady-novels are not all that they should be—is such shallow, unfair, wholesale, sneering criticism the way to reform them? Would it not be better and more manly to point out a better way kindly, justly, *and above all, respectfully*?" (Lauter 2469) Fern exclaims her wish for respect and further states that she has "had quite enough of this shallow criticism on lady-books" (Lauter 2469). Such an honest proposal had a great impact toward women writers and encouraged them to speak their mind publicly without hesitation.

Fanny Fern has been one of the most powerful female writers who address the issues of gender inequality; however Harriet Jacobs shines another light on the same issue—that of the relationship between a black female slave and white slave owners. Jacobs, in *Incidents of the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), recounts her experience as a slave, under her pseudonym Linda Brent, describing her struggles with sexual exploitation, mistreatment by her owners, and family relations. After her freedom had been established, Jacobs gained the ability to write (Lauter 2338). However, Jacobs struggled from doubt to retell her story to the public. Although women writers in the 19th century struggled to be taken seriously in the

literary world, as a black woman Jacobs not only faced criticism from men, but from the entire white population of readers. "In her desire to go public with the worst facts of slavery, she was exposing herself to possible censure form the very group of women least likely to have shared the same experience," states Glenna Matthews, author of *The Rise of Public Woman: Woman's Power and Woman's Place in the United States, 1630-1970* (1992) (83). Jacobs not only addresses issues of slavery, but also asserts the fact that a woman has the right to choose another man after being a victim of sexual harassment, which consequently places an emphasis on her courage (85). For most women writers at the time, the mere act of "picking up a pen" (85) held a great significance, but Jacobs challenged what was feared in order to reveal the corruption of the unjust world that she lived in. It can be suggested, however, that her taking up of a persona, Linda Brent, helped her achieve this.

Many women writers in the 19th century, including Fanny Fern and Harriet Jacobs felt it was necessary to publish their writings under their pseudonyms. While some male authors such as Jozef Korzeniowski (Joseph Conrad) and Eric Arthur Blair (George Orwell) also used pseudonyms, their use of a pseudonym was a form of artistic expression, rather than a tool to conceal their true identity from the male dominated literary world (Sanders). Fern used a different name as an effort to keep her identity anonymous while writing for the New York Ledger (Lauter 2462). Similarly, Jacobs used her pseudonym Linda Brent in *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* in order to recount her harsh experience as a slave without having to face her fear of criticism from the white population (Sanders). Although Parton and Jacobs used female pseudonyms in their publications, other authors in the 19th century and contemporary authors today make use pseudonyms as well.

While Fern and Jacobs used female pseudonyms, Mary Ann Evans (George Eliot), author of *Silly Novels by Lady Novelists* and Louisa May Alcott (A.M. Barnard), author of renowned novel *Little Women* (1880) felt the need to use male pseudonyms to attain recognition in the literary world (Sanders). Evans wrote *Silly Novels by Lady Novelists* under the name George Eliot in order to critique female novellas and to "distance herself from the female romance novelists of the time and to ensure that her works were taken seriously" (Sanders). Unlike Evans, Alcott did not publish *Little Women* under a pseudonym, but rather under her real name. Her articles and columns in the Atlantic Monthly during the 1860s, however, were published under her male pseudonym, A.M. Barnard (Sanders). Evans often wrote for the Atlantic Monthly under Barnard, or anonymously, in order to attract a wider audience and to avoid being targeted by male critics.

The use of male pseudonyms is common for contemporary women writers as well, such as for Alice Bradley Sheldon (James Tiptree) and Joanne Rowling (J.K. Rowling). Sheldon, author of *Star Songs of an Old Primate* (1978), wrote under the name James Triptree in order to publish her work in the male dominated literary genre of science fiction. Before her death in 1987, Sheldon expressed her reasons for choosing an alternative name: "A male name seemed like good camouflage. I had the feeling that a man would slip by less observed. I've had too many experiences in my life of being the first woman in some damned occupation" (Phillips 47). However, Joanne Rowling, author of the *Harry Potter* series, was urged to change her name to 'J.K.' Rowling by her publishers. The publishers claimed that Rowling would not attract enough young boys—who were the target audience—if they knew a woman had written the series. Although roughly two centuries have passed since the Victorian era, it is clear that women writers still struggle for recognition and acknowledgement, especially in the literary genres where men appear more dominant than women—such struggles are further described in an interview with Elizabeth Jane Howard.

Elizabeth Jane Howard, writer of the *Cazalet* tetralogy and winner of John Llewellyn Rhys Prize argues in The Telegraph: "I feel because we started writing novels really before men on the whole, they don't want us to even be good at that" (Silverman). Howard believes that male critics "scratch each other's backs," instead of allowing women writers to receive the proper respect and acknowledgement for the work they have produced (Silverman). Howard, being a writer herself, touches upon concerns of women writers as a whole, through her own experiences in the profession. Although it is evident that there has been significant change in men's perspective on women since the 19th century as Howard believes that "at higher levels, a talented male writer would have an easier journey than a talented female writer, who might very well get bad reviews. It depends enormously on who reviews the work," suggesting that although there has been improvement in the status of women writers since the 19th century, they still do not find complete freedom in taking part in an art that has been controlled by men and are still subject to discrimination (Silverman).

Even to this day, male writers in the literary world have forced women writers to stand in their shadows. Roxanne Gay, author of *Beyond the Measure of Men* has noticed that some light has shone the lack of acceptance of women writers, yet are still forced to "spend their valuable time demonstrating just how serious, pervasive, and far reaching this problem is instead of writing about more interesting topics." In a generation where women writers are flourishing by the minute and have the freedom to publish; the struggle of convincing the public (mostly the male audience) of the importance and credibility of their work still remains a reoccurring issue. Gay points to the unfortunate reality that even if women writers try to "prove" themselves with their work, they still remain unrecognized: "In the 2012 National Magazine Award finalists have been

announced and there were no women included in several categories—reporting, feature writing, profile writing, essays and criticism, and columns and commentary" (Gay). Even with the additional trouble women writers must face, their efforts often remain unappreciated and unnoticed.

Male criticism and the lack of gender equality in the literary world is not the only thing that women writers face in the 21st century. Within fiction, there is an arising category labeled as "women's fiction," which has been listed in a variety of online bookstores, such as Amazon. Author Nora Roberts defines "women's fiction" as "a story that centers on a woman or on primarily women's issues" (Craig). The category includes a variety of women writers from different time periods including Jane Austen, Louisa May Alcott, and Meg Wolitzer (Wolitzer). Meg Wolitzer, addresses the peculiarity of the unstable category in a New York Times article titled *The Second Shelf*. Wolitzer, author of *The Wife* (2003), points out the main problem in the category – that the "stylistic or thematic link" between the works of women (and some men) writers within the category is "hard to see" (Wolitzer). The category of "women's fiction" is not the only category women writers are fixated in – the emergence of the group "American Women Novelists" now categorizes the women authors themselves.

Online blogger Maria Popova states in her blog, *Explore*, that she "noticed something strange on Wikipedia." She noticed that over time, editors have been moving women novelists from the category of "American Novelists" to the subcategory of "American Women Novelists." Although at first glance, such action does not seem to show any type of discrimination against women writers—that is, if the subcategory of "American Women Novelists" is accompanied by another subcategory of "American Male Novelists." However, the subcategory appears specific to women novelists, the main category of "American Novelists" consists of men only. Although the intention may have been to create a less complicated category, because the subcategory isolates women novelists from the larger category, it creates an emphasis on the "other," in which the editors places the women novelists. The 19th century women writers and contemporary women writers in the 20th and 21st centuries share similar concerns regarding male criticism and the lack of recognition and respect they attain, but the growth of the media has introduced a much more complex issue for women writers—that of organization. Furthermore, similar concerns for women writers may be seen in Greek and Chinese culture as well.

Emmanuel Roidis, a Greek novelist and critic, once stated that women should write "about needlework and cooking" and when addressing social and political issues, they are portrayed as imitators of the male gender (Dyck). Due to such degrading claims, Greek women writers often doubted themselves, and even now, believe that calling themselves "women writers" would risk their reputation in society (Dyck). However, despite doubts and worries, women writers such as Margarita Karapanou addressed issues of censorship in Greek culture through her novel *Kassandra and the Wolf* (1976), where she parodied the tale of Little Red Riding Hood (Dyck). In Karapanou's novel, the protagonist, Kassandra suffers from a habit of stuttering, which represents the act of silencing Greek women writers and others who address concerns of women. However, Karapanou subsequently challenges this idea of silence and powerlessness of the Greek woman by allowing the protagonist to be understood by others despite her stutter. Through a parody of a classic tale, Karapanou was able to object to male criticism.

Similar to writing in modern Greek culture, writing in modern Chinese culture still remains a male practice. The novels written by Lu Yin and Chen Hengzhe explore the concerns of women writers and argue that women's writings in modern Chinese culture are perceived as an idea rather than a reality (Dooling). In addition, modern women writers remain at a similar status and gain minimal recognition as women writers in the imperial times. Amy Dooling, author of *Writing and Women in Modern China*, states that throughout the last few centuries, women writers "became a metaphor for China's Westernization, a literary theme, and a symbol to be invoked and pondered by a male literary subject, rather than an accepted reality within literary circles" (Dooling). Such an issue is a reoccurring concern for women writers in America and Greece, suggesting that women writers experience similar struggles in different continents around the world. However, like American women writers, women writers in China have been slowly taking over literature as centuries pass. The dedication that Chinese women writers exert towards their writing has made them more powerful in the world of literature.

Since the 19th century, issues concerning the status of women writers have changed in America. The success of women writers have increased and now, they do not face as much unjust gender based remarks regarding their writing. Women—and their voices – have emerged and been heard by the public with more recognition and success. However, the issue of gender inequality still remains in the literary world. Man still stands as the dominant figure, and woman is forced to "prove" her worthiness; such discrimination is not specific to American women writers. Elizabeth Meese, author of *Women and Writing: A Re/Turn* has stated, "the situation of women in the academy, as writers and teachers, has improved to the extent that enormous gap has been created, and that the historic anger of invisibility, oppression, inequity, and harassment still exists, but with less representation" (Meese). Thus, she suggests that the status of women in the literary world has improved since the 19th century, but there remain

countless issues that need to be addressed and changed. In a concluding note, I would like to share the wise advice of Eliza Leslie:

> "If she is a writer of fiction, and you presume to take the liberty of criticizing her works…refrain from urging that certain incidents are *improbable*, and certain characters *unnatural*. Of this it is impossible for you to judge, unless you could have lived the very same life that she has; known exactly the same people; and inhabited with her the same places." (Samuels 6)

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Embodying Hollywood's Hispanic Body: The Impact of the Male Gaze on Hispanic Women in Film

Hannah Lipman
English 499
Fall 2014

Hispanic women in Hollywood cinema have been represented by the false notion that they are hypersexual and have perfectly curvaceous bodies. The male gaze within these films is what has perpetuated this illusion. As Laura Mulvey explains, the male gaze functions in showing the women within the film "on two levels: as erotic object for the characters within the screen story, and as erotic object for the spectator within the auditorium" (Mulvey, 40). For Hollywood, white heterosexual middle class men use the gaze. This idea of objectifying women with a white male gaze shows how racism and patriarchy is part of the film industry. One way of gauging these gender biases is by using the "The Rule," other wise known as "Bechdel Test." Kirsten Møllegaard, an English professor at the University of Hawaii at Hilo, explains one of Alision Bechdel's 1985 comic strips called "The Rule," in which one characters tells her friend, 'I have this rule, see…I only go to a movie if it satisfies three basic requirements. One, it has to have at least two women in it…who, two, talk to each other about, three, something besides a man'" (Møllegaard 81). The "Bechdel Test" proves useful on a critical analysis of gender biases and the understanding of the male gaze.

Several Feminist Film Theorists such as, Laura Mulvey, Simone de Beauvoir, and Bell Hooks have looked at the effects of the male gaze on women in film. What is not discussed is the impact the white male gaze has had on Hispanic women in the film industry. The white male gaze towards Hispanic women situates the gaze toward the women in a sexual and racial objectification. The impact of the male gaze can be seen in the films *Frida* (2002), *Y tu Mamá También* (2001), *Woman on Top* (2000), and *American Beauty* (2002). This paper will look at the connection of the male gaze to patriarchy in the film industry. The text *From Bananas to Buttocks: The Latina Body In Popular Film and Culture,* edited by Myra Mendible, will be thoroughly discussed to provide evidence of the effects of the male gaze on the Hispanic women in film. The female body has been under the watchful eye of the male gaze in the film industry, but it is the Hispanic female body that has been its main target of sexualization for male pleasure.

Images of both the idealized and disabled Hispanic female bodies are represented dramatically in the films *Frida* and *Y tu Mamá También*. In Frida, Salma Hayek opens the film playing a young sexual Frida who desires to read, paint, and have as much sexual intimacies as possible with her boyfriend in her closet. At the beginning of this film, Frida is represented as full of life, with a body that is as youthful as the actress herself. Hayek's body seems to be a main focus in the opening of this film, with it being fully exposed and bent in imaginable ways during sex. Her body is presented as ideal, yet it also has another layer of meaning to it. The idea of "other" is fully actualized in the representation of her body at the same time. Isabel Molina Guzman, writer of *Salma Hayek's Frida*, explains:

> Since it is through women's bodies that the imagined nation is biologically reproduced and symbolically maintained, mainstream U.S. representations of sexuality are articulated through a complex matrix of nationality, race, class, and gender, predominately enacted through women's bodies. (118)

Frida's body along with Hayek's body is used to represent not only a young sexualized figure but also the form idealized as Hispanic. In the film, Frida's body goes through a series of changes, which are used to show the Hispanic body going from idealized to disabled. Frida is involved in a tragic trolley accident, which leaves her disabled for the rest of the film. Although this scene is historically accurate as far as the accident happening on a trolley in the busy streets of Mexico City, the use of Hayek's body being shown contorted and artfully sprinkled with gold flakes is not. The whole scene is shot from a crane that pulls the camera higher and higher to reveal the whole accident and Hayek's sexy, yet disturbing body. It is in this scene that the idealized and disabled Hispanic form is used to show Hayek's vivacious figure. Hayek's body becomes sexually disabled during this moment.

Throughout the rest of *Frida*, Hayek's body introduces the audience to a series of sexual partners from heterosexual to homosexual to possibly transsexual. Here is where the film is set up to attract the male audience and the conservative WASP's (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) for whom the film is a means of escaping the mundane life in the United States. Ron Briley speaks to this issue in his film critique of the scene where Frida dances the tango with photographer Tina Modotti (Ashley Judd). Briley critiques, saying, "Rather than presenting this provocative lesbian dance as the action of a woman who challenged sexual convention, Frida seems primarily motivated by the desire to gain the attention of Rivera (Alfred Molina), who is provided with the gift of the [male] gaze in this male fantasy" (Briley 76). Frida's sexual life does become fore-fronted in this film and it is weaved in between Frida's artwork and her hyper-Mexican lifestyle. As Guzman explains:

> Hayek functions as racial, sexual, transnational, and symbolic bridge between the representational politics of an exotic, ethnically ambiguous sexuality and a nationalistic, politicized sexuality

> that threatens to transgress normative definitions of [Hispanic] femininity and sexuality, as performed by Frida Kahlo. (118)

This seems like an awful lot to ask from just one person's body. Hayek represents a feminine masculinity paired with sexual deviance. These traits are embodied by her figure through hypersexual and passionate love scenes. This is where the film pulls away from presenting Frida in a historical context, and begins to focus on what Hayek has dealt with most of her Hollywood career; her curvaceous body. Guzman writes extensively about her body being the topic of discussion in Hollywood, rather than her performance (Guzman 119). Guzman observes, "The hypersexualization of Hayek's body through the racialized articulation of [Hispanic] identity within these Hollywood texts is not surprising" (Guzman 119). The female body is widely used as a commodity for film production and instills the use of the male gaze. In particular to Hayek's body, her character is used as a sexualized ethnic spectacle, which panders to the male gaze.

The issue of the "other" is also represented in *Frida*. In several different shots, Frida can be seen looked upon by WASP's or rich Hispanic women who are there strategically to show the opposition to Frida's vibrant sexual lifestyle. This is where Hayek's body is used in a performance of hypersexuality, which is opposite to her white heteronormative counterparts. The female Hispanic body is not just presented as "other" to white women, but to white men as well. This "other" affects the way in which men see Hispanic women in film and on the streets. The impact of the male gaze does not just stop in the theatres, but is weaved into the daily lifestyle of American society. Just as men gaze upon Hayek's body in the film, Hispanic women who roam the streets are gazed upon as sexual objects. This has a devastating impact on how women are treated. Jeremy Hawthorn, author of *Theories Of the Gaze*, puts it best by saying, "I will return to the idea of the camera as metaphor of rape…I want to draw attention to the fact that voyeuristic observation of a woman by a man is not just a convenient *metaphor* for physical violence such as rape; in the real world it is often *directly linked* to and even a *prelude* to such violence" (Hawthorn 512). The idea that the male gaze is a voyeuristic observation can be seen in *Frida* with shots of Hayek from windows or overheads, which produce the feeling of someone other than the audience watching Hayek's movements and body.

The male gaze also promotes the hypersexualization and stereotypes of the Hispanic female body. This in fact seems to help boost a fake multicultural Hollywood. These issues of hypersexuality and stereotypes of Hispanic women are not just represented in *Frida*, but also in *Y tu Mamá También*. In this film the body of Ana (Ana Lopez Mercado) is used as a means to an end. Her breasts are shown several times, as if this woman's body is the only focus of the film. This film is about the sexual exploration and the fine line between hetero/homosexuality of both Tenoch (Diego Luna) and Julio (Gael Garcia Bernal)—two young men seeking the company of this hypersexualized Hispanic woman. Mercado's body becomes the forefront of this film, but there is a sad undertone to her character. The moments when we see Mercado's character being spied on through window cracks by Tenoch and Julio as she cries is sobering and haunting. Her character is shown to have "cracks" in her personal life, which seems to be a reoccurring metaphor used in film to show the fragility and social downside of a promiscuous womanhood. Ana's emotional rollercoaster through the film gives her character a sense of something damaged or disabled. The audience does not find out till the end of the film that she has cancer and cannot have children. Ana is disabled from ever being able to produce a baby, and it is in the moments when she is playing with another character's children that the depression of this fact is written on her face. Mercado's acting capabilities, such as being able to convey in one glance the severity of living in a society where not being able to produce children renders you a broken woman, is overshadowed by the portrayal of her naked body. This re-instills the patriarchal values of society that if a woman is infertile, she is only worth having sex with.

The characterization of the good/bad girl complex in this film is another subject to be discussed. Molly Haskell, author of *From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women In the Movies*, makes it quite clear why this character attribute of good/bad girl works so well. Haskell says:

> The 'virgin' was a primal, positive figure, honored and exalted beyond any merits she possessed as a woman (and eventually made to pay for her 'superiority' in the professional virgins and teases of the fifties), while the 'whores', Americanized into the good-bad girl, was publicly castigated and cautioned against—and privately sought by men. (xiv)

It is the ending of this statement, which hits home for *Y tu Mamá También*. The film shows Tenoch and Julio berating and stalking/cornering Ana at a wedding, teasing her into liking their childish hormonal antics. It is as if because she plays along in the beginning with their silly boyish games of flirtation, that they compute her in their minds as the "whore," and inadvertently the film turns its focus towards a desire to share sexual intimacy with her. This battle of hormones and who can have sex with Ana first becomes the water that splits the rock between Tenoch and Julio. The male characters' behavior towards Ana is presented as being okay and natural, as if acting like a "caveman" is natural in the 21st century. Their *cavemantics* pays off and both get to sleep with Ana.

The battle of the stronger vs. the weaker sex is commenced in a role reversal in this film. Ana, Tenoch and Julio get overly intoxicated and find their way into a bedroom. They begin to have sexual intercourse, and Ana is shown giving oral sex to both Tenoch and Julio. The camera is clever in this scene. While Ana is giving oral sex, the camera zooms in to focus on Tenoch and Julio looking at each other in a romantic way. It is at this point that they kiss passionately. The scene ends in darkness and it is morning again. Both men are completely confused and scared of what happened last night, although no clues are given as to what happens. It is as if Tenoch and Julio do not know what actually occurred, but are mortified by the thought. It seems at this moment in the film that the view of focusing on Ana's body and sexuality becomes shifted to the focus of Tenoch and Julio. The questioning of their sexuality and manhood seems to be the focus of the rest of the film. Ana seems to disappear into the background. What this overall scene should be taken as is Ana's victory in the battle of the sexes. She uses her body and sexuality to push these two men to question their own sexuality. This of course pushes the boundaries of everyday patriarchal life. As Haskell states, "The yin and yangs of heterosexual romance, the power differential between the "stronger" and the "weaker" sex, are not just tricks of the movie propaganda; they have been articles of faith among writers through the ages" (Haskell xv). Here the female sex wins the battle and moves the battle of "stronger" versus "weaker" to a power struggle of sexuality. This being the most crucial and powerful point to the film gives a saddening understanding as to why Mercado's body might have been used so heavily in this film. Prior to this awakening moment, the female body and female promiscuity seemed to frame the screen, but it is now apparent that to get an audience dominated by WASPs to watch two men kiss, there would have to be a lot of breasts.

Frida and *Y tu Mamá También* are excellent films that show the sexual representation of women in film. Hayek and Mercado's bodies are viewed by the male gaze, which does not stop on screen. On several occasions like the Golden Globes for Academy Awards, these women can be seen parading around in lavish, tight, and revealing dresses that cling to every curve of their body. As they walk down the red carpet, flashes upon flashes of cameras taking pictures of these two women with entertainers critiquing how elegant, sexy, or revealing their dresses are for the audience. These women are conforming to the social and cultural American patriarchy just as the patriarchal sexual representation of them in film. The visual pleasure they produce is evidence that the male gaze is alive and thriving in Hollywood. As Mulvey says, "The cinema satisfies a primordial wish for pleasurable looking, but it also goes further, developing scopophilia in its narcissistic aspect. The conventions of mainstream film focus attention on the human form" (Mulvey, 8). Truly *Frida* and *Y tu Mamá También* were produced for mainstream cinema and the male audience's pleasure of naked women.

The sight of a woman's breasts or cleavage in film becomes a visual pleasure for the male audience. It is not that the sight of a female body is not meant for a woman to view, but that the way in which the female is produced in the film is constructed around the male gaze. This is highly apparent in the two films *Woman on Top* and *Real Women Have Curves*. Both films show the conformity to mainstream stereotypes about the idealized Hispanic body. In *Woman on Top*, Isabella (Penelope Cruz) is a vivacious, independent, tight dress wearing character, who has a TV show, called "Passion Food." Cruz, who plays Isabella, is representing a Brazilian woman who has moved to San Francisco after leaving her husband who cheated on her. Cruz's character is produced as incredibly attractive, and her cooking show, which is mostly watched by men who cannot get enough of her "plump as tomato" breasts, is used to keep this façade of the Hispanic idealized body alive. The way in which the male gaze is used in this film brings forth the racial stereotypes enforced upon Hispanic women in film. As Angharad Valdivia puts it, "Penelope Cruz make[s] sense in relation to…the history of gendered and racialized representation within the popular terrain of U.S. mainstream culture. Whereas 'blonde girl dressed in white usually signifies innocence and probity, just as dark haired women tend to signify danger and sexuality" (Valdivia 139). Cruz's tanned body and dark hair surely signify sex to the men with in *Woman on Top*. Cruz's character has so much fluidity and passion in this film that it falsely represents how women of the same style in public would be perceived. Sharon Smith, writer of the essay *The Images of Women In Film*, expresses her concerns about how women are not only represented in film, but also the impact it has on the actress off screen. Smith says:

> Naturally it is possible for a woman to enjoy watching films of explicit sex acts. But out of bed the [actress's] role will be the usual: bitch, nymph, housewife, whore, essentially passive, nothing any sane woman would want to identify with. And it is the female stars whose naked, silicone-stuffed body is plastered on billboards, not the male star…The intent nowadays is not to give a mixed audience an interesting study of male-female relationships, but to work out the neuroses of male filmmaker with an ever-increasing vengeance, aimed at titillating male audiences who have the same neuroses. And in men and boys who do not already have these prejudices—it creates them. (17)

Hollywood's patriarchal society has used the male gaze as a means to not just please a male audience, but to inadvertently mold the minds of young boys and girls. The male gaze is heavily focused in *Woman on Top*,

particularly at Cruz's swaying hips and "perfectly" sculpted legs as the actress walks up and down the hills of San Francisco. She endures catcalling and whistling from men, thus allowing young boys to believe that such behavior toward women is acceptable.

The male gaze molds the minds of young boys and the way they view women. This of course is evident in *Woman on Top*, but a female audience can also use the male gaze. In the film *Real Women Have Curves*, Ana Garcia (America Ferrera) is shown being criticized by Carmen (Lupe Ontiveros), her mother. Her mother is constantly telling Ana how she should act as a woman and look like a woman. Carmen focuses on Ana's weight, making it apparent that she is too fat to attract a good man. Ana's mother uses the male gaze by the way in which she coaches her daughters to appeal to men. The long-term effects of Carmen's overpowering opinions on beauty can be seen in Ana's older sister, Estela—a seamstress and pieceworker at the clothing factory her mother works for. Estela has been whipped by her mothers tongue and silenced along the way, showing the link between patriarchy and motherhood. Like Simone de Beauvoir is quoted saying in Sonia Kruks article, "One is not born a woman, one becomes one" (Kruks 91), her mother, who has followed the stereotypes perpetuated on women in a patriarchal society, has molded Estela into a woman.

The views of family and virginity also play a key role in this film. When Carmen is berating Ana about her weight or her need to be a virgin until marriage, she is imposing her family values on Ana. As Myra Mendible explains, "[Hispanic] bodies figure as both repositories of traditional 'family values' and the purveyors of modern consumerism" (Mendible 13). As Mendible points out, Carmen is not only instilling family values in Ana, but has fallen under the modern consumerism of the U.S., but also Ana does not fall for it. She finds her curves empowering and her boyfriend finds them sexy. Ana embodies her womanly curves through dance, song, and speaking her mind. Her character seems to bring to life a quote by Mendible from *Embodying Latinidad* as Mendible writes:

> "My body still responds to rhythmic beats like a reflex, despite my need to 'Americanize' and blend into my colleagues' more reserved social gatherings…even a simple act—dancing—is loaded with gendered, racialized baggage; in a single butt-shaking instant, this [Hispanic] body can resurrect a history of stereotypes, preconceptions, and prejudices" (20).

Ana uses her body as a self-expression of her views of womanhood and the idea that real women have curves, and are proud of them.

The generic framework of R*eal Women Have Curves* is the Hispanic melodrama. A great deal of emphasis is put on the "Olympian" temperament of Ana and Carmen. Both are highly melodramatic in their attempts to voice their opinions about women and family, and the struggle of mother-daughter relationship becomes dramatized. Ana Lopez, author of *Tears and Desire: Women and Melodrama in the "Old" Mexican Cinema,* explains that the "positioning of women" in melodramatic films perpetuates the ideas that women are dramatic and catty by nature (Lopez 255). Lopez looks at melodrama in context to history and the Hispanic society. In *Real Woman Have Curves*, the women are represented as gossiping mothers and catty daughters, excluding Ana. Her character is still dramatic—her passion is fueled by women's rights and the state of not being a perfect size two. The overall melodramatic feel this film gives off is of historical placement. As Lopez explains, "The rapid establishment of the specific [Hispanic]-American star system heavily dependent on radio and popular musical entertainers gave rise to melodramas," and today those older melodramas can be felt by the heightened family dilemma and the positioning of Hispanic women around gossiping (Lopez 255). Ana is shown engaging in family drama, while Carmen and other women are engaging in gossip and fostering Hispanic family values. The film is loaded with what Bell Hooks calls "cultural production;" producing a few women in society and the behaviors they enact in public and home, with the cultural values of a Hispanic community (Hooks 128).

Woman on Top and *Real Women Have Curves* show the orthodoxy of mainstream cinema and the stereotypes enlisted upon the idealized Hispanic body. Cruz's character embodies both the idealized and the hyper-sexualized Hispanic body, while Ferrera's character embodies an internalized self-view of the idealized Hispanic body. Both characters deal with the oppressiveness of other women's opinions and the male gaze. The two films deal with the idealized Hispanic body, and show the main characters being watched by gaze of a white male. This shows how Hollywood is producing films not only for a male gaze, but for a racial-gender group as well – the racial group being white middle class males.

The female body is viewed by a male gaze in the film industry, which has left Hollywood with a string of stereotypes revolving around the woman's body. The Hispanic woman body has been a focus of the male gaze since the early representation of Hispanics in Hollywood cinema. The male gaze has left the Hispanic body to be viewed for visual pleasure by men. The voyeurism entrenched in Hollywood towards Hispanic women has had unbelievably negative effects and has prolonged typecasting of Hispanic women. Molly Haskell says, "The big lie perpetrated on Western society is the idea of women's inferiority, a lie so deeply ingrained in our social behavior that merely to recognize it is to risk unraveling the entire fabric of civilization" (Haskell 1). The big lie perpetuated by Hollywood on the Hispanic woman's body being sexy, vivacious, perfectly curved, and temperamental, is a lie so deeply rooted in patriarchy,

that to begin to dig it up, one must get elbow deep in the misogynistic mud. The images of Hispanic women in the film industry today are anything but real. When will Hollywood learn that to pigeonhole one group of women is to pigeonhole all women?

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Black Women in American Literature: Slavery Through Slave Narratives and Contemporary Fiction

Ariel Moniz
English 351
Fall 2014

To the modern individual, slavery of any kind is an undeniable wrongdoing. Although enslavement has not been completely wiped from the earth, it is no longer widely justified on the surface level of our society; such as it was in early America. Slavery is nonetheless a subject that has been on the minds of countless people for millennia, and the United States of America was no exception. The most useful and thought-provoking aspect that rose from slavery in America was the slave narrative, which has been deemed "the genre that began the African-American literary tradition in prose" (Mobley 357).

Since the abolition of slavery and the thinning of the final generation of ex-slaves, slave narratives eventually stopped being produced, but the end of the slaves did not mean the end of their place in literature. There are several modern black female writers who carry on the tradition of analyzing slavery and making sure that it is not forgotten. Among these women are Toni Morrison, Alice Walker, and Octavia Butler, who have revived the slave tradition in their quest to reveal its dark underbelly and its continued effects on people.

Fictionalized slave tales can force the understanding of the history and institution of slavery in America, just as slave narratives were during their time. Fantasy can have the effect of revealing a topic in a way that opens it to a wider audience, which is what these authors use to keep the knowledge of slavery in the light and unburied by time. Their work is comparable to the slave narratives of black female slaves such as Harriet Jacob's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. All of these women have used their writing to touch upon many issues of slavery. Their works discuss the troubles experienced within slavery—jealous mistresses, sexual exploitation, intelligence as a blessing or curse, community, and motherhood – as well as those that extended past the abolition—continued servitude, the pains and rewards of remembering, and the search for self-worth—and even the issues faced and decisions made by black women in the process of writing and publication, such as linear versus cyclical narratives and audience.

In 1861, Harriet Jacobs published her life story under the title *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Andrews xxv). It was the first slave narrative by an African American woman, and also one of the longest and most detailed accounts of slavery at the time of its publication (Andrews xxv). Unfortunately, it was overshadowed by the Civil War and was not truly revived until the 1970s and '80s, when it became the most widely known African American woman's text from the 19th century (Andrews xxv). Jacobs, like most slave narratives, tells the story of her life in slavery and escape to freedom. Unlike most male slave narratives, she breaks the ideas of black women as defenseless and pathetic objects of lust (Andrews xvii). Instead, she uses her sexuality and intelligence to escape further exploitation by her masters, and obtains freedom, not just for herself, but also for her children (Andrews xxvi).

A central part of her narration resides with her sexual exploits with an unmarried white man, who she refers to as Mr. Sands. Throughout the narrative, she works hard to redeem herself by being a self-sacrificing mother (Andrews xxvii). Despite any regrets that she may or may not have had concerning her exploits with Mr. Sands, Jacobs was bound to meet the needs of a specific audience and was writing for a specific purpose. Most slave narratives before the Civil War were written with two goals: to help the individual assert their identity in the world and serve the purposes of the abolition movement. Jacobs' narrative was written to serve the same purpose, but was primarily focused on a particular audience: white women (MacKethan "Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs: American Slave Narrators"). In William L. Andrews' *Classic African American Women's Narratives,* he describes her desire to "forge a bond of sympathetic identification between white women of the North and 'slave mothers' of the South" (Andrews xxvi). Her narrative is considered a "domestic novel" since it was written by a woman, for women, with a focus on family, motherhood, female chastity, and domesticity. It is because of these standards that she had to narrow her experience to what would fit into the mold and be experienced comfortably by the feminine minds, which had exceedingly shallow knowledge of the "real South" (MacKethan "Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs: American Slave Narrators").

On top of the standards set for her narration due to her gender, there were also general guidelines for slave narratives that she had to meet to be published. The first of these was having a white person acknowledge her work and writing a piece—be it a letter, preface, or forward—for her narrative to "prove" that it was not a falsehood (MacKethan "Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs: American Slave Narrators"). This need arose from the deep belief at the time that blacks could not be trusted and only the approval of a white person—Lydia Maria Child in Jacobs' case—could assure readers that the work was not fictional and worth reading (Andrews xxv). Two other conventions of slave narratives were (1) a description of how the narrator learned to read and write and (2) a clear presentation of their Christianity. The latter was a part of why Jacobs stated her case carefully, especially concerning Mr. Sands and what shaped her narrative into the story of a self-sacrificing mother repentant for her sin, but persevering for the sake of her children's well-being and freedom (MacKethan

"Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs: American Slave Narrators.")

Many of the themes represented in *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* can also be found in the modern interpretations of slavery written by black women. Perhaps the most striking difference between the slave narratives and modern pieces concerning slavery is the matter of audience. While Jacobs had a specific audience and intention—to bring white women further into the sphere of the abolition movement—authors today have no specific agenda for their writing. They have no need to rely on a particular audience, at least not to the extent of hiding the truth for the sake of self-preservation—a way that African Americans had to during a time in which the world still believed them to be a sort of sub-species of human. For example, Jacobs had her narrative published under the false name "Linda Brent," to save herself and others in the narrative from the possible backlash of the piece, especially due to her recollections concerning female sexuality (Andrews xxvi). There was also the issue of not being "too upsetting" for the white audiences of the time, from whom the books were being written partly to gain support (Carmean 830). It was this sort of inevitable censorship that Toni Morrison, in her research for her novel, *Beloved*, was disappointed by. She believed that "the full, ugly truth" of slavery could not really come through slave narratives "because they were adjusted for nineteenth century abolitionist readers" (Carmean 83).

Toni Morrison's *Beloved* is described as a "modern day rendition of the nineteenth-century genre of the slave narrative" which covers many of the themes addressed in slave narratives such as *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, including the pains of motherhood, sexual exploitation, learning self-respect, the desperate escape to freedom, and the struggles faced even after "freedom" has been reached (Elbert 38). Morrison claimed to have written *Beloved* as a reactionary piece to the "'national amnesia' surrounding the details of slavery and its aftermath" (Carmean 81). She was concerned by the African Americans' reluctance to talk about slavery, "not the blacks, not the whites wanted to remember" (Carmean 81). This theme of remembrance is rooted deeply into her novel and branches throughout all of its characters. It is believed that Morrison originally looked to slave narratives, such as those by Jacobs and Douglass, for inspiration for her story (Snitow 358). Eventually, Morrison stumbled upon a newspaper article from 1855 about a runaway slave named Margaret Garner, who, partially due to the effects of the Fugitive Slave Law, killed her baby rather than give it to a life of slaverya horrific event that is mirrored in Morrison's novel (Snitow 359).

The novel starts some years after Sethe's escape from slavery, and opens on Sethe and her daughter, Denver, living in the decrepit home of the deceased Old Baby Sugg, which is possessed by the spirit of the baby, Beloved (Atwood 33). Although it is not quickly realized in the beginning of the book, it is eventually revealed that not long after Sethe's escape from slavery, she was faced with possibly seeing her children enslaved by the cruel slave owner who came looking for them. In a desperate attempt to assure the freedom of her children, she attempts to kill them, but only succeeds in killing one of them, a young, unnamed girl. This act of infanticide saves her other children and herself from slavery, but at the cost of losing of a part of her humanity and being completely ostracized by the community (Carmean 84).

It is this act of infanticide that primarily drives the story, each moment as entrenched in the pains of slavery and its aftermath as the next. The deceased baby becomes known as Beloved, because Sethe had wanted "Dearly Beloved" carved on the tombstone, but the payment for each word on the gravestone was ten minutes of sex with the engraver, and Sethe, in her grief-stricken and weakened state, could only manage payment for one word (Atwood 32). This is just one of many examples of how slaves were not truly free or happy, even after the Civil War and during the Reconstruction, and that black women especially were still submitted to many of the perils of a slavery-minded society (Atwood 32).

As Sethe killed Beloved to save her from the future perils of slavery, she raised her other daughter, Denver, by attempting to keep her from the past (Mobley 360). This is a theme that carries itself throughout the book, and reflects the ideas that Morrison felt were circulating in the modern world—the desire to forget something because of how horrific it was, rather than facing it. The characters in the novel are forced to face the past when Paul D, one of the other slaves who had tried to escape "Sweet Home" at the same time as Sethe but had been captured and resold into slavery, shows up at Sethe and Denver's home (Snitow 28). It is Paul D's presence and his ability to help Sethe move forward, that drives Beloved from a household phantom to become flesh and blood (Atwood 35).

Beloved physically manifests, and even though she originally appears innocent, it is soon realized that she has returned as an evil force (Snitow 28). Beloved becomes "a snare to catch her anguished, hungry mother's heart and keep her in the prison of guilt forever (Snitow 28). It is through Beloved that Sethe becomes a slave again, both to the sins of her past and her all-consuming love for Beloved (Carmean 90).

The curse of Beloved is lifted once Denver pulls away from the isolation and grief of her home life and reaches out for help from the community. The novel ends with all of the injured mothers of the black community exorcising the ghost of Beloved, who represents all the children lost in one way or another to the cruelties of slavery and its aftermath, from Sethe's home. By uniting in spiritual communion and song, they are able to come to terms with their guilt, and Sethe learns that she needs to replace her "mother love" with self-love and respect. It is once she does this that she is able to rediscover herself and her own power (Elbert 39).

Beloved is a story about trying to forget (Mobley 461). As stated in Karen Carmean's book, *Toni Morrison's World of Fiction,* "they must be willing to look back on their past experiences, however dreadful those might have been, so that a kind of purging, cathartic recovery can occur, a process of recovery ending in a fuller self-realization and a discovery of personal worth. It is then that the characters can feel truly free, escape their death-like obsessions, and reclaim their lives" (Carmean 86). As Morrison makes clear, forgetting does not erase the scars and wrongdoings of the past, but can become a new, darker form of oppression. She shows us the dangers of repressing our pasts and our identities, primarily through Sethe, who is unable to move forward because of her sorrow, guilt, and inability to face the truth of her past. She also makes it clear that the effects of slavery did not die with the Civil War. Both Sethe and Jacobs had to face the dangers of the Fugitive Slave Act, which allowed slave masters to pursue their escaped salves across state borders, into the North (Elbert 38).

Morrison, like Jacobs, also focuses on the ideas of family and motherhood. Jacobs and Sethe use their love in a sacrificial way, and place the value of their lives onto something other than themselves: their children (Carmean 82). Sethe sacrifices her role as a "loving" mother and a member of the community to save her child from the clutches of slavery. She becomes an outcast viewed as beast-like for her actions. She is also constantly haunted by the past and is essentially robbed of any hopes for a future.

Jacobs, on the other hand, lives her life on the basis of a future free of slavery for her children and aligns most of her actions as those of a mother working to free her children. After refusing to become a concubine for her master, Mr. Flint, she is sent to a plantation. When she discovers that her children are to be taken from the home of her grandmother, a free woman, and brought to the plantation, she decides to escape. She spends several years in a small crawlspace in her grandmother's attic, silently watching her children grow without her. She eventually escapes to the North, where she is reunited with her children, who have been bought and freed by their father, Mr. Sands (Yellin 23338). It may also be noted that as it was with Denver, Jacobs was not able to overcome slavery and escape until she reached out into her community and accepted the help of her grandmother.

Morrison's *Beloved* and Jacobs' *Incidents* mostly differ on their audience and their narration styles. Morrison, unlike Jacobs, does not write for a white audience and does not need to convince white readers of a slave's humanity. If anything, she invited black readers to reassess their pasts that may be "repressed, forgotten, or ignored" (Mobley 363). Also unlike *Incidents*, *Beloved* is not chronological, but jumps between past and present for the characters, highlighting their actions and the consequences, as well as reminding the reader that the past cannot be forgotten and will keep rearing its head to interrupt their present (Mobley 358). It also inverts the usual slave narrative style by having the escape to freedom precede the actual storyline's true slave period—that of Sethe to Beloved.

Toni Morrison touches upon some of the deepest and most disturbing elements of slavery and its possible effects on black women. Slavery is an institution that treats human beings as merchandise, not allowing the strong sense of family and community that humans so desperately need. As stated by Ann Snitow in her essay, "Beloved (1987)," "when strong, loving women would rather kill their babies than see them hauled back to slavery, the damage to every black that inherits that moment is a literal damage and not a metaphor" (Snitow 29). *Beloved* makes the grief of such an act and its causes palpable (Snitow 29). It is not until the reader is faced with Beloved, and not just her memory, that the decision and the reasons behind such an act take on their true weight. This is how she makes slavery "real" for the readers who do not view slavery as a memory of their own, but as a historical fact that can be much easier to repress and forget (Mobley 358).

The Color Purple by Alice Walker is a widely-known story about the occasionally terrible black female experience in America. Although not a slave in the conventional sense, Celie is trapped in her own belief that she is unworthy of love and is unable to stand up for herself as a wife, woman, or even as a human being. The novel captures her life and her "progression from sexually abused child to passive spouse to outspoken equal partner" (Kelly 75). Sexually abused by her father in childhood and told to keep it to herself, Celie grows up believing that she is not worthy of love and the understanding of others. This leads to her eventual marriage to a man that does not love her and takes what he wants from her as he pleases.

Celie lives a life of silent unhappiness until she meets Shug, an outspoken, sexual powerhouse of a woman, and a performer who has the full attention and heart of Celie's husband. Shug helps teach Celie to respect herself and that she can and deserves to be loved (Kelly 75). Shug uses her bisexuality to teach Celie that, "the ability to give and receive love is more important to one's growth than whom one loves" (Kelly 76). This lesson is a cornerstone to Celie's progression, as she had never known what it was like to be touched and loved, rather than manhandled and taken.

The Color Purple is an epistolary novel, a compilation of Celie's letters to God. She started the journal after her sexual abuse in childhood, when she was told that she'd better tell no one but God about her misfortunes or risk severe harm (Kelly 75). Celie's progression is also witnessed in the format of the letters. When she starts the journal, she does not sign her name, and prefers anonymity because she feels safer not truly claiming the life she lives as really her own (Kelly 75). As she grows into herself, she takes the step of signing the letters with her name, thereby taking credit for her

writing and her life (Kelly 77). Both *Incidents* and *The Color Purple* tell their stories through the eyes of the protagonists.

Both are chronological accounts in the lives of black women vying to free themselves from their oppressors. Both protagonists also prefer anonymity at some point in their writing. Celie starts her journal as an anonymous account to God. Jacobs also does not claim her experiences. It is clear that the population did not always embrace the black female voice. Fortunately for Celie, she does eventually claim her life and her account of it, whereas Jacobs published her account under the fake name Linda Brent, not yet willing to take her story unto herself.

At its core, *The Color Purple* is a story of a black woman in the early twentieth-century who eventually, after many trials, realizes self-hood (Kelly 75). It is through self-expression, in the form of her letters and female bonding, that allow Celie to embrace and love herself (Kelly 75). Although it is not a contemporary slave narrative of any kind, since the characters are not slaves, the novel also has many parallels with black female slave narratives such as *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl.* Though there is not really a strong sense of family in the novel—though Celie's love for her sister plays a somewhat large role throughout the book—there is the theme of female bonding. Whereas Shug helps Celie reach her own sort of freedom—selfhood—Jacobs' grandmother and aunt help her reach literal freedom in the North by hiding her and caring for her children. Without this sense of female bonding and community, both protagonists would have most likely remained in their chains.

There are also the very clear themes of oppression and sexual exploitation in both accounts. While the institution of slavery oppresses Jacobs, Celie is just as entrenched in the institution of marriage. There is a thin line between husband and master in *The Color Purple,* as Celie is so soft-spoken as to be almost slave-like, unable to talk back for fear of physical harm and trained to believe that she is indeed owned by her husband. Both also use their sexuality to pry themselves from their situations—Jacobs with Mr. Sands and Celie with Shug. In this way, they use their sexuality as a small step towards reclaiming themselves.

Like Toni Morrison's *Beloved*, Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* also touches upon the aftermath of slavery. Both Sethe and Celie live, at least part of their lives, free of the chains of slavery, but are still affected by the stigmas attached to slavery and therefore, to black women. Black women are still viewed as lowly beings, and often treated as such. In *Beloved*, Sethe is ostracized for her beastly act of infanticide and isolated like a caged animal in her own suffering and guilt. Celie is treated as an animal by her husband, who expects her to do all of the housework and give him sex whenever he pleases, but they share no higher "human" connection. Both become slaves to something else—Sethe to her demented love for her dead child and Celie to her husband and her own inability to claim herself as a human being.

The Color Purple is a strong and undying testament to the cruelties of not just slavery, but the ideas and constructs of it. This novel shows that the issues created by slavery are not over simply because slavery as a wide-spread institution has come to a close. Celie is still trapped in a world in which she is denied self-worth because of her skin tone and gender. Many of the trials that she faced—sexual abuse, lack of self-respect, and the belief that she is unworthy of love and respect—can still be seen today. It is this fact that may help the reader connect with her plights and realize that her story is not just a figment of the imagination or past, but can very well be real and current.

Kindred, by Octavia Butler is a science fiction/fantasy novel with the qualities of a historical slave narrative (Steinberg 467). The novel appears as "an inverse slave narrative," with Dana, the black female protagonist, being born into freedom and entering slavery on her twenty-sixth birthday in 1976, the bicentennial year of the United States' independence (Steinberg 467). It is on this birthday that Dana is somehow sent back in time to a plantation in the Antebellum South, where her slave-owning ancestor, Rufus, is in danger. Dana is sent back in time at random intervals to save the life of Rufus whenever it is necessary to assure her own existence in the future—a process that dictates the direction of the narrative.

Most slave narratives have a succession of moments that the author experiences and chronicles, including their awakening to their situation—the realization that they are in fact slaves and wish to be so no longer—incidents of brutality and inhumanity upon the slave population, and the escape attempt (Wood 88). *Kindred* has these moments, even though they are all somewhat inverted due to the nature of the story line. Dana experiences brutality in the form of her first whipping, an aborted escape attempt, the dangers of slave education, and the threat of rape (Wood 88).

Dana is also faced with the trope—such as Jacobs was—of the jealous mistress, Margaret, who at one point douses Dana with a pot of hot coffee (Steinberg 471). This is partially spurred by yet another theme of slave narratives, following the power or curse of intelligent and educated slaves. Dana is unable to turn to the other slaves on the planation and therefore the story lacks the theme of black community, because of her eloquent, educated speech. She is accused of impersonating whites, getting her labeled by some of the other slaves as a "white nigger" (Steinberg 471). Dana also writes, but must destroy all evidence so that it cannot be used to manipulate her (Steinberg 472). As Douglass implied, education could be a curse. Dana's literacy "becomes both an asset and a liability" (Steinberg 474). When Rufus learns about Dana's literary abilities, he uses it to his advantage, as he is not very educated himself, even though it puts his father, Tom Weylin, on edge and

makes Dana more of a target than a resource.

Dana also faces sexual exploitation, both in regard to herself and others. Rufus is in love with a slave named Alice, whose "body is at the disposal of her white master" (Wood 92). This situation is complicated by the fact that though Dana does not want to see the poor woman exploited in such a way, she believes that Alice may very well be her great-great-grandmother, and interjecting between her and Rufus' desires may lead to her never being born (Wood 92). Towards the end of the novel, Rufus' deranged, suppressed feelings of love, desire, and shame over Alice come to a head when he claims to have sent their children away, resulting in Alice committing suicide. It is at this point that Rufus turns his desires to Dana, whom he claims reminds him of Alice. In his attempt to rape her, Dana stabs him, ending her cycle of time travel. As she is finally transported back to her own time for good, Dana loses her arm where Rufus had gripped it. The author uses the loss of Dana's arm as a metaphor, for "Antebellum slavery did not leave people quite whole" (Steinberg 473). Thus, Dana loses a part of herself to the trials and cruelties of slavery, as all slaves and ex-slaves did.

Dana's reactions to all of the acts and the ways of life in the Antebellum South are received through the lens of a twentieth-century mind, not that of an actual slave woman of the time and place. Her feelings are also complicated by the fact that her tormentor, Rufus, is essential to her birth sometime in the future, making "the oppressor and the oppressed…tightly bound to one another" (Steinberg 468). As *Kindred* chronicles Dana's flight from Rufus, her white slave-owning ancestor in the distant past, it also parallels with her present. Butler makes it clear that the issues Dana faces are not left completely to the distant past, but echo even into her own "enlightened" time.

In *Kindred*, there are hints dropped that imply that Dana's marriage to a white man, Kevin, may be a much looser form of slavery for her as a black woman (Steinberg 468). The 1960s and '70s were a time of social upheaval, one of the primary issues being interracial marriage, which was still illegal in some southern states into the 1960s (Steinberg 468). This can be seen when Kevin implies that once married, Dana should give up her writing and edit his manuscripts instead (Steinberg 469). As stated by Marc Steinberg in his article "Inverting History in Octavia Butler's Postmodern Slave Narrative," "the Western marital contract posits woman as possession in terms largely of a man's notion that his wife's body is an extension of his own" (Steinberg 469). This comparison is emphasized when Kevin is accidentally dragged into the past with Dana, and has to pose as her master. This also sheds a little light on Jacobs' situation concerning Mr. Sands, as the interracial relationship of Dana and Kevin also comes under heavy scrutiny, which is socially damaging for Dana but not for Kevin.

Dana's time is also rife with other social issues, especially for black women, including the sexism of the Black Power movement and the racism of the Women's Liberation movement (Wood 91). It seemed that black women, although not necessarily in chains, were still at the bottom rung of society. There was still the undeniable devaluation of black femininity rampant in the United States, a devaluation that contrasted with the Antebellum South, and helps readers see how different and yet how similar some of the issues for black women really were (Wood 91). Butler uses the meshing of the timeline between the Antebellum South and the "modern" America to show that the past still has an affect on the present, and how Dana, as a black woman, is affected by both.

Like the conventional slave narrative, *Kindred* does in fact tell the story of the narrator's journey from slavery to freedom, just not in the conventional sense. Like *Beloved*, *Kindred* has a cyclical narrative rather than a linear one, like most slave narratives. The story is not told from birth to freedom, but rather jumps back and forth not simply between times, but entire lifetimes (Steinberg 472). Dana is also comparable to Jacobs. Jacobs' position as a somewhat privileged slave is comparable to Dana's knowledge of the future and her education. Dana is put in a place of relative safety due to her abilities and knowledge, not unlike Jacobs, who was allowed a relatively comfortable childhood and was saved from possible beatings under the eyes of Mr. Flint, her master and sexual oppressor (Wood 85). There are also slight references to Douglass's narrative, especially in the description of Rufus's plantation, which resembles Douglass's descriptions of his birthplace near Easton in Talbot County, where *Kindred* takes place (Wood 85).

In *Kindred*, Octavia Butler uses the "Antebellum slave narrative form as a background for exploring issues of literacy in opposition to the reality of possession, oppression, and violence" (Steinberg 467). As a woman who is aware of both the conventions concerning black women in the 19th and 20th centuries, Dana is surprisingly capable of understanding both points of view, which gives a reader a deeper look into the life of a slave as well. There are several points throughout the book in which Dana is awakened to the difficulties of resistance (Steinberg 468). When Dana lives the life of a slave woman, she gradually becomes aware of how easy it can be to become acclimated to slavery when its immense force is constantly pushed down upon you (Steinberg 468). This is an interesting theme that is not present in the other novels.

Whereas the narratives and novels earlier discussed focus on a progression from some form of slavery to freedom—sometimes with a detour in-between, such as the case of *Beloved* – no other narrator or protagonist has been quite as honest and eye-opening to the pressures of slavery in the way that Dana is. It is so very easy for the modern reader to say that they would

never allow themselves to live under slavery—they would run away, start a revolution, kill themselves—but Butler helps the reader realize that slavery was not just on the southern plantations in a distant time, but was a way of life and a national stigma that was not completely erased, even into the twentieth-century.

A main theme that affects all four women—Jacobs, Sethe, Celie, and Dana – is the threat of sexual exploitation, which was perhaps the primary form of oppression and danger for black women both in and out of the confines of slavery. If Sethe wants a gravestone for her dead baby she must be willing to have sex with the engraver. Celie has been raped most of her life, first by her father, and later by her husband, which has stunted her ability to receive or give love. To escape concubinage by her master, Mr. Flint, Jacobs had to give herself to another white man, tarnishing her "reputation" at a time when pregnancy out of wedlock was an abomination, and set a stake between her and her once loving grandmother. Dana must make the choice between being sexually overcome by her ancestor or ending the cycle with the possibility of ending her own existence. Rape is unfortunately a dire concern for all four women and "fear of rape is so habitual as to be common sense" (Abbandonato 1111). There is no doubt that out of any of the issues faced by women throughout history, it is rape that continues.

Literature has been one of the most useful tools in social change for most of mankind's history. Slave narratives were crucial to the black experience in America's slave era and were often used as tools of the abolition movement. These true accounts were written for a white abolitionist audience and had to meet certain guidelines to be published. Though the weight of these true accounts of slavery are not to be overlooked, slavery has become a topic also addressed in fiction, sometimes to a deeper effect.

Novels such as *Beloved, The Color Purple,* and *Kindred* use fiction to give us a deeper and possibly truer look into slavery. This is partially due to their freedom from a specific audience and much looser guidelines. These novels were also produced in an era in which a person, more specifically a black person, and most of all a black *woman*, did not have to be proven trustworthy by a third, *white* party. These authors were also able to see from a modern and past view of slavery, which may have given their work more depth, and gave them an insight into what is believed about slavery now compared to what actually was. Toni Morrison, Alice Walker, and Octavia Butler have all given contemporary readers a look into the lives of black women in the context of slave-driven America. They have done this in fiction as those like Jacobs did with their own life stories. These novels and narratives work together to give the modern world a sense of slavery's effects on the perspective of the black woman, both past and present.

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The End of Days: Tales of Apocalypse Across Time and Space

Ariel Moniz
English 302
Fall 2014

Since the beginning of mankind, there have been stories told of the end. These stories differ greatly across the globe, but almost every culture has some story to be told of the end of humanity. These myths most often follow one of two patterns: cyclical or linear. Cyclical stories of apocalypse are most often related to the mythology based origin tales of the culture, as the beginnings and ends of things are usually tied together. It is often believed that humanity has met an end before and was reborn and is bound to do again. Linear tales of apocalypse are often prophesized and state that there will be one end of the world after which there will be no return. Some of man's earliest tales tell of the end, or ends, of humanity in the same reverence and desire to know the unknown that can be found in origin tales and this desire can still be found today in all sorts of end of the world predictions and hysteria, proving that it is in human nature to want to know where we came from and where we are going.

One of the greatest universal themes amongst both cyclical and linear stories of apocalypse is that of the flood. Perhaps the best known of these stories is that of Noah in the Christian religion. There are multiple versions of the flood story in Mesopotamian mythology, which predate written history. Written in cuneiform, the "first" flood story of the region dates to 2,000 years before that in the Bible and is even 1,800 years older than *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, which is commonly known for being one of the first written stories of mankind (Newman 6). "The Myth of Atrahasis" as it is called, follows the same story line of that in the Bible, with a man, Atrahasis—later known as Utanapishtim, and equivalent with Noah—leading a group of survivors out of the first destruction of the world, a flood (Newman 5).

As with most flood myths, there is a direct connection to the origin tale of the culture. In the Mesopotamian myth, before mankind, there was a separation between the higher and lower gods. The higher gods would make the lower ones work for them, so they created humans to help carry the workload. They soon came to regret their decision, as the humans were often rowdy, loud, and quickly overpopulated. To be rid of their mistake, one of the higher gods, Enlil, sent a flood to wipe them out. He soon realized that even though it was quiet at last, they still needed people to work for them, so they allowed the few survivors to repopulate, with the promise that they would never repeat their act of massive destruction. To keep the humans in check, the gods gave them shorter lifespans and sent war, beasts, and diseases to ensure that they would not get out of hand again (Newman 8).

Greek mythology also has a flood myth, which ties to its origin story that in its way, tells the end of mankind. In *Works and Days*, Hesiod details the multiple creations and destructions of the races of man that have come before humanity as we know it today, a story many may know as "The Five Races." It begins with the Golden Race, followed in succession by a Silver Race, a Bronze Race, a Race of Heroes, and ends with the Iron Racethe one in which humanity currently resides (Buxton 54). There are a few accounts of the Greek myth concerning the creation of man, and in some of them it is said that Zeus sent a flood to destroy the Race of Bronze (Buxton 59).

As in both the Mesopotamian myth and the Biblical tale, the flood is sent by the Gods (or God), but there are survivors to the flood that are allowed to repopulate. In the Mesopotamian and the Biblical story, the human survivors build large arks in which they take animals with them to survive in the new world (Foster 26). In the Greek myth, it is only Deukalion and his wife, Pyrrha who survived the nine days and nights—compared to the Christians' forty—in a chest that he built. When the lands dried, Zeus allowed them to repopulate by throwing stones over their shoulders, which eventually became the glorious Race of Heroes (Buxton 58-59). In the other two myths, humans repopulate in the regular fashion.

As far as the Mesopotamians were concerned, the end of the world had already happened with the great deluge. There did not seem to be much mention of the world ending again, which is also true for the Greeks. For both cultures there did not seem to be an emphasis on the idea of another end, as the Gods had already taken their toll in the past. It is in this way that the Christian belief differs. God sent the flood and warned Noah so he could later assist in repopulating the earth and also promised never to do such a thing to mankind again, a promise he sealed with the gift of the rainbow. Despite this, the Christian religion tells of another end of the world, one that will be much more final and will leave no survivors.

The concept of a flood ending the world is not only for the past or just a bump in the road of a linear mythological timeline. The Hindu religion also has a story of a flood weaved into its cyclical tales of the end of the world. It is believed that we are in the fourth age of the world; each age being referred to as a *yuga*. Each end of the world is a Brahma day, called a *kalpa*, in which the world is created and destroyed (Michaels 300). Each Brahma day lasts about 4,320,000 years, further being divided into 1,000 *mahayuga*, which is made up of four *yuga*, with each *yuga* lasting 12,000 years (Newman 19).

The world is currently in the fourth age, *kaliyuga*, which is believed to have started on February 18, 3102 BC. Three others preceded this Day of Brahma. The first was *krtayuga*, a time when all beings were happy and

lived equally—not unlike the Golden Race of Greece. The next was called *tretayuga*, in which morals declined and mankind had to learn their duties and appeal to the gods (Michaels 300). Next came *dvaparayuga*, when humans became greedy and envious. The world is currently in *kaliyuga*, in which the rulers are known to be restless, there is much dishonesty and death, people take more than they give, power is short lived, money is too central, and bad character traits are rewarded rather than punished (Michaels 302).

It is believed that at the end of *kaliyuga*, a new avatar of the god Vishnu will appear as a white horse and save the good people from the end of days. The world will burn due to a 100-year drought and then it will rain for 100 years, creating a flood that will destroy the world (Michaels 302). After all of this, a new cycle will begin. Though cyclical in nature, the Hindu apocalypse myth has some connections to the linear tales of the Bible and the Greek flood myth. All tell the story of a flood that wipes out humanity, though in Hindu belief, it is set to happen in the distant future rather than having happened in the distant past. As far as the Christian belief goes, there is also a mention of a white horse appearing at the end of days in both apocalypse tales, one as the God of creation and destruction, Vishnu, and the other as an agent of God. The Hindu belief can also be compared to the Five Races in the Greek mythology. In both stories, there is a steady decline in the character and living of the human races as they are destroyed and regenerated. Though the Greek story does not tell exactly how the Race of Iron will end, the Hindu belief insists it will be in a great flood.

Undoubtedly, the best-known culture for its apocalyptic ideas more than anything else is that of the Mayans. They had a cyclical idea of the end of the world and believed that it had happened multiple times. Interestingly enough, they believed that the great flood ended the previous cycle of the world (which harkens back to the Greeks, Christianity, and the foretelling of the Hindus). The Mayans were diligent astrologers, and created multiple calendars from their studies. One of these calendars told the supposed date of the end of this cycle of the world to fall on December 21, 2012 (Newman 90). There is not much said beyond the date of the cycle's end. Rather than prophesize the possible ways in which the destruction may take place, the Mayans committed more of their time to blood sacrifice, which they believed kept the world from ending before the cycle was complete (Newman 94). In this way, they resemble the Egyptian culture.

The Egyptians did not necessarily believe in a predestined end of the world, even though it was believed that when the world did end, the god Nun—the primordial waters—would reclaim the earth. This alone sets them apart from many other belief systems. They believed that the world had once been balanced and this balance, *ma'at*, was disrupted when the god Seth killed his brother, Osiris (Newman 11). It was because of this act that the pharaohs—the only ones believed to have the ability to communicate with the Gods directly—had to make offerings on a daily basis to the sun god, Ra. If they did not, the gods could die, and balance would be lost forever, resulting in the end of the world. The Mayans did not believe that their gods could die, but also made scheduled sacrifices to stave off the end of days (Newman 11). The Greek culture was also heavily inlaid with ritual and customs, most of which revolved around the happiness of the gods. A lack of respect for the Gods, such as was committed by the Silver Race of Greek mythology, led to their destruction by Zeus (Buxton 54).

Another culture with a cyclical concept of the end of the world was that of the Hopis. The Hopi emergence story says that mankind is currently in its fourth world, such as the Hindu belief states that the world is in its fourth Day of Brahma. The people of the third world sent a bird into the sky to find an opening to a world above once the one in which they lived became too unlivable and corrupt (Newman 250). Again, there is a theme of humanity slowly falling apart due to its own evils. The story of the Hopis somewhat inverses this pattern, due to the fact that they are reaching out of their world to another one to become better, not because of an annihilation and revival on the part of the Gods, such as it was in "The Five Races of Man."

The people of the third world climbed a ladder into the sky and into the fourth world, but accidentally brought a witch with them. This was discovered through the death of the chief's child, as everyone knew that there would be no death and pain if there had been no evil brought up with them. As they are about to cast the witch back into the third world, the chief looks down and sees his deceased child far below. He decides not to close the hole, and so evil was allowed to come into the fourth world (Newman 251). There was no true description of how the world would end, but it was believed that it would be brought about by lack of respect for the planet (Newman 255).

More commonly expressed in religion than mythology is the idea of a linear state of the existence of the world: a beginning and an end without repetition. One mythology that did partake in the prophesizing of the end of days was that of the Norse. The Norse end of the world, Ragnarok, is complete chaos ended by a great battle between the gods and the giants. There are said to be several signs that Ragnarok is coming soon (McCoy "Ragnarok"). Midgard, one of the nine worlds of Norse mythology inhabited primarily by humans, will become gripped in three years of war, followed by three years of Fimulvetr, the winter of winters. It is told that there will be great suffering, incest and other sexual depravities as well as endless bloodbaths (Grossley-Holland 173). Not long thereafter, Loki and his son, the wolf Fenrir will both break the chains in which the Gods imprisoned them, and will begin Ragnarok. Loki will descend upon the earth on the ship Naglfar, "The Ship of the Dead,"

surrounded by giants (McCoy "Ragnarok"). When the guardian of the realms, Heimdall sees this coming, he will leave his mountain home, Himinbjorg, and blow the horn Gjall, warning the Gods that Ragnarok is finally upon them (Grossley-Holland 174).

After this, the wolf Skoll will rise and eat the sun, followed by his brother, Hati, who will destroy the moon. At this point the stars will vanish, and earthquakes and tidal waves will rock the earth as people begin to rise from the underworld (Grossley-Holland 173). The Gods will rise and battle the giants and the undead. Many of the gods will die in this battle and the earth will eventually sink into the sea (McCoy "Ragnarok"). This bares some similarities to the Egyptian belief that one day the primordial waters of the universe will consume the world again.

The earth is then reborn out of the ocean as a paradise in which the remaining gods who had survived the battle will reside (Grossley-Holland, 176). Two humans, Lif and Lifthrasir, who had hidden themselves in Yggdrasil, the tree that connects all of the nine worlds, will join them. The two go on to repopulate the earth (Grossley-Holland 176). This is comparable to the story of the Garden of Eden and its tenants, Adam and Eve, in the Christian belief, although obviously inversed in the sense that they appear after the end of our world and not at its origin. Lif and Lifthrasir can also be compared to the survivors of the floods, such as Deukalion, Pyrrha, Noah and his wife Naamah, all of whom are given the task of repopulating the earth.

Zoroastiranism is a religion that also ends the world in a great battle. This religion centers itself on the constant fight between good and evil. In the beginning of time, the god of light, Ohramzd created mankind to strengthen his power against the dark god, Ahiram (Newman 12). At the end of the world, the savior, Saoshyant, will rise and destroy the god of darkness and evil (Newman 17). This will take place in an epic battle; the victory of goodness will result in divine judgment and the reward of an eternal happiness (Amanat 2).

It is common in linear beliefs of the end of the world for saviors to appear, which help mankind overcome the great destruction and move into a different plane of existence. In the Zorotarian religion, that savior is Saoshyant, the accidental progeny of Zoroaster, the founder of Zorotarianism (Newman 17). In Hindu belief, Vishnu will return and save the good people on earth. Undoubtedly, the most well-known savior of end times is Jesus, who is destined to return to earth and save all of those who are deserving of Heaven. This act will be the break between the two ages of the world, the present era, overrun by evil and the presence of the Devil, and the "Triumph of God" (Brunel 86).

Despite the popularity of the belief in Jesus's Second Coming, there is some speculation as to exactly what occurs at the end of the world in Christian belief. There are many versions of the Bible, each lending itself a bit differently to what is said to happen at the end of days. In the New Testament, the prophecies of apocalypse appear in the Book of Revelations, supposedly written by the apostle John (Browne 55). The Old Testament also has its own version of the Book of Revelations, written by Daniel, who was said to have been a seer, prophet, and dream interpreter for the Babylonian court (Browne 58). There was also Paul, or Saul, who claimed to have had a vision from God and believed that the world would end in the first century (Browne 62-63). This can be compared to the many oracles of the Greek culture, perhaps most popularly the oracle of Delphi, to who people traveled far and wide to hear prophecies of the future.

Even though there is a lot of controversy concerning who wrote what and when, as well as what may actually happen at the end of days, there are a few things that can be surmised in general about the Christian idea of the end of the world. At the end, all "good" Christians will be lifted from the earth and saved for eternity by Jesus. This is referred to as the Rapture. There will also be an Antichrist, whose reign of earth will bring untold suffering in many forms. This time of suffering is referred to as the Tribulation and it is said that it will last for seven years. At the end of the Tribulation, there will be a massive battle between the Antichrist and Jesus, which is known as the battle of Armageddon. By the end of this battle, the Antichrist will be beaten and Christ will ensure that the world is rid of all evil, pain, and death (Browne 51-52).

The changes caused by time and expansion of the Christian religion created an atmosphere for the blending of cultural and religious beliefs. One of the most interesting of these is the Apocalypse of Peter, a text created in an attempt to convince pagans of the Christian ideas of the world's end (Newman 42). This was combined with the Greek oracles of Sibyl at the end of the second century. In the text, the earth is destroyed after the angel, Uriel, opens the gates of the underworld, releasing the dead as well as the giants of the Biblical flood and the Titans of Greek mythology. God will then come down to earth, followed by Christ, the angels, Moses, Abraham, and the Hebrew patriarchs. There will be a great judgment in which the good will be rewarded and the wicked will be persecuted (Newman 43).

In the Norse, Zoroastrian, and Christian beliefs, as well as the Apocalypse of Peter, it is believed that the world will end in a great battle. This contrasts greatly to the cyclical nature of the other mythologies, including the Greek, Mayan, Mesopotamian, Hindu, and Hopi, in which the end of the world has already happened and may or may not happen again. Common themes among the cyclical patterns of mythology are the flood and a steady decline in humanity. The Greek, Mayan, Mesopotamian, and Hindu beliefs all included a great flood that has happened or will happen, and the Norse and Egyptian mythologies claim that whenever the world does end, it will be swallowed by the universal sea. In the Greek, Hindu, Mesopotamian, and Hopi beliefs,

humanity is often its own undoing, although in the case of the Greeks and the Mesopotamians, the gods stepped in, whereas the Hindu and Hopi beliefs left the change from one world to the next to the simple passage of time or the people themselves.

Mankind's obsession with the end of the world has continued into the present day. There are endless ideas of how the world may come to an end. There are sets of environmental concerns, which have arisen in the past few centuries and have led to panic among some groups of people. The most obvious is the issue of climate change. Due to the dense pollution created by mankind, there is a fear of the earth being plunged into another ice age or becoming too hot to be habitable. There is also the fear of some external force affecting earth, such as a meteor, asteroid, or comet, which could create a horde of terrifying affects. Among these is the creation of massive dust clouds that could block out the sun, turning the earth very cold and lifeless. The force of another celestial body hitting earth could also trigger previously unseen tectonic/volcanic activity and tidal waves. It is believed that a meteor wiped out the dinosaurs, so the fear of a repeat of that scenario feels real to many people (Newman 287-288).

All of the possible effects of a collision between earth and a foreign body, including the tidal waves, earthquakes, and supervolcanoes that could consume the planet and pump the skies too full of ash for sunlight, could also be caused by the earth's own plates shifting without an external force (Newman 288).

In the past few years there has been a stirring in the media concerning solar flares and the possibility of the magnetic poles shifting. Solar flares are primarily feared for their radioactive properties and their possible ill effects on electronics. One of the most recent ones happened in 2003 and as the world has not noticed any changes that it may have contributed to, it is unlikely that another will destroy the planet (Newman 290). The magnetic poles are constantly shifting, and the main concern is that they will flip completely; leading to difficulty for migrating animals and anything else that relies on the magnetism of the planet (Newman 289-290). No one knows for certain if either of these things will end the world, but they are on the list of possibilities.

There is also a large host of concerns attributed to the selfishness or ignorance of humanity. Overpopulation, a great famine, mass pollution, and nuclear war have also been stirring the minds of people concerned about the end of days. Examples of how such ideas can grip the minds of the masses include Y2K and 2012. It was believed for some time that the start of the new millennium would create untold chaos due to a computer malfunction, stirring people into the belief that it would be the end of the world as they knew it (Newman 275). This can perhaps be contributed to the age-old concern that man has held for technology, especially apparent during the times of the Industrial Revolution and has carried on ever since. The same cannot be said for the near-hysteria that the world underwent as 2012 neared. Word about the Mayan calendar ending on December 21, 2012 got out and resulted in hordes of documentaries, academic articles, and news stories across America. This seems to lend itself to the fact that humans are drawn to the idea of the end.

The newest branch of the apocalyptic hysteria resides in a disease that may turn the living into the living dead. Stories of zombies have been around for ages, mentioned in ancient texts such as *The Epic of Gilgamesh* and the Norse myth of Ragnarok (the latter who sail on a ship out of the underworld) and became a focused concept in voodoo rituals. These zombies started as slave-like beings under the control of their creators (Skipp 10). The zombies that we know today are not created by a human or even a godly source, but by a disease. Diseases of all kinds have been a genuine fear of mankind, from the Black Death to the Spanish Influenza; millions if not billions have died in plagues that have swept across the globe. It seems that the zombie virus is no different in concept.

The myths and folktales of the past are the reality TV shows, webpages, and films of today. If there is a thought plaguing the general consciousness, it will appear on a screen somewhere and often, which also applies to the apocalypse. Today's media has latched on to the idea of the end of the world and has run with it in every direction possible. There are television shows such as *The World Without Us* and *Doomsday Preppers* in which ideas of how the world will end and what it will be like without humanity are given life. The latter series is a reality show, in which people called "preppers" share their ideas of how the world will end and the steps they are taking to prepare themselves. Most of them have hordes of weapons, stockpiled food, and often secluded bunkers and elaborate escape plans.

Hollywood has latched onto the revolving ideas of the end of the world, and has created massive amounts of post-apocalyptic experiences for the viewers of the modern age. As stated by Paul Harris in his article "Hollywood Searches for Escapism After the Apocalypse," "destroying the world has never been more in vogue" (Harris, "Hollywood Searches for Escapism After the Apocalypse"). There is an undeniable truth to that fact when one immerses him or her self in the films of today. *Armageddon* and *Melancholia* address the fears of a comet or planet hitting earth and ending all life. *The Day After Tomorrow, Interstellar,* and *After Earth* show us what it would be like if the world climate did change, either resulting in famine and drought, another ice age, or, as in the case of the latter two films, the total evacuation of the planet.

Films today also address age-old apocalyptic concerns, sometimes in a new way. In *This Is The End,* a group of comedians live out their last days after the Rapture. Though a heavy topic—full of death and demons—it is a comical film and brings a new light to the usually stuffy and terrifying views of the Christian

apocalypse. In the film *2012*, the earth is destroyed by every global catastrophe imaginable. This is a film that fed the dark part of humanity that enjoys seeing destruction.

Some of the most popular apocalypse stories of the modern age contain an element of the supernatural. For a while, a large concern was the invasion of aliens. *Independence Day, War of the Worlds, The Host* and *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* all portray the theme of an alien race invading our planet and either destroying mankind or worse, taking human bodies as their new homes. *The Watch* and *At World's End* also exploit this theme, but through the lens of comedy. This shows that the apocalypse is no longer as serious as it once was.

Lastly, by far the most popular theme of apocalypse today is that of the zombie plague. The modern zombie can be said to have started with *The Night of the Living Dead,* and has spread to *Dawn of the Dead, 28 Days Later, I am Legend, World War Z,* and again into a more comedic light with films such as *Shaun of the Dead, Warm Bodies,* and *Zombieland* (Skipp 12). One of the most popular television shows of all time is *The Walking Dead,* which follows the stories of a group of people trying to traverse a world stuffed with the flesh-eating living dead, while trying to hold on to their humanity. It is not much of a surprise that zombies have invaded the media; after all, what is more terrifying than dying? Supposedly being reanimated to feed upon the living.

Of course, one must wonder why the modern world holds such an obsession over its demise. Harris believes that tales of apocalypse is a type of catharsis, in which the viewers can be terrified and overwhelmed by the ideas of apocalypse on the screen, but go home relieved (Harris, "Hollywood Searches for Escapism After the Apocalypse"). Then one may ask "why now?" Perhaps it is not a matter of just now, as there have been tales of apocalypse across time, spread by numerous prophets and myths. Perhaps it is change, the most basic fear of mankind, which has spurred the obsession, as we live in a time of constant change now as the world folds in upon itself and spreads further across the globe in more ways than it ever has in the past (Harris, "Hollywood Searches for Escapism After the Apocalypse"). No matter what the cause, it is clear to see that "the apocalypse is in fashion," and it does not appear that it will be falling to the wayside any time soon (Harris, "Hollywood Searches for Escapism After the Apocalypse").

The most obvious difference between tales of apocalypse of the distant past and those that have risen in the modern world lies in the switch from mysticism to science. Where there were once rituals and ceremonious magic to put a hold on the end of days, there now needs to be an emphasis on recycling and otherwise shrinking our carbon footprint to keep the temperature of the earth in check. Instead of offerings in temples to win the favors of the gods, people need to get their vaccines and shop organically. Of course, there are the exceptions to the rule, as even the ideas of life and death are being molded into one stinking creature and the planets are all full of life bent on conquest. Either way, it seems that the focus has gone from the Gods to the planet and especially the role that humans actually play on it. Mankind will never stop dreaming up ways that the world may end. To us, as it is undeniable that we began somewhere, it should be just as much so that we will end.

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Immortal Affairs

Ariel Moniz
English 200D
Fall 2014

Vampires may very well be immortal. The question of if they exist in our physical world or not has no effect on their longevity and the role that they have played in literature and therefore, upon our society as a whole. Literature, especially fiction in all its forms, has evolved over time and across nations and so the vampire has inevitably followed. The legend of the vampire sprung from many sources across the globe spanning human history and so it continues to evolve, shifting to fit the anxieties and mysteries of the past and the future. There has been perhaps no creature as aided in world domination as the vampire, which has managed to make its way into every genre imaginable, from romance to biographies.

The concept of the vampire as we know it today has steadily evolved over time and place. Tales and ideas of vampirism can be found long before what we know as "literature" ever came into being. In her book *The Lure of the Vampire,* Milly Williamson insists that they are "personifications of their age…always changing so that their appeal is dramatically generational" (29). There are many ideas of why the vampire has persisted within the human psyche for so long. In *Vampire God: The Allure of the Undead in Western Culture,* Mary Y. Hallab states that, "the fascination of the vampire lies in his being both human and supernatural" (4). There is perhaps an element of truth to this, as we can see a similar undying fascination with zombies—creatures that are also both human and something completely out of the realm of the laws of nature as we know them.

In Matthew Beresford's *From Demons to Dracula: The Creation of the Modern Vampire Myth,* he also acknowledges that the vampire as we know it has drastically changed over time and attributes its persistence in our world to the feature that seems to unify all versions of the vampire as we know it: fear (12). Although not all vampires are as "scary" as they once were, they still breed fear, especially that of death and its ambiguously captivating antithesis, immortality. Mary Y. Hallab attributes this ongoing fascination with the vampire to people's inability to accept death (4). It is death's finality that many people have a hard time facing head-on. There is something both terrifying and soothing about a loved one being able to return from the grave. Perhaps part of the fear of this scenario is based on the guilt that one experiences from not being able to come to terms with such a basic cosmic force. This may prove true ten-fold in today's society, in which it is a common belief that one can prevent death as long as they know how (Hallab 6).

Vampires help bridge that in-between space of life and death that causes humans so much anxiety. Hallab takes a deeper look into this essential "otherness" of vampires that makes them so enthralling. "The vampire has mythical significance as an in-between creature of this and the 'other' world, hinting to us that such a world might exist, for the very reason that the vampire refuses to go there" (6). The concepts of life and death are eternal, as they represent an inescapable cycle that all mere mortals must pass through. The vampire's ability to be the proverbial clog in such a cosmic wheel is unlikely to lose its ability to grasp the minds of humanity any time soon.

Vampirism and its common attributes go very far back, to before there was the word "vampire," which compacted the characteristics that we currently know so well into one being. Many mythologies carry figures with vampiric traits. Kali is a blood-drinking mother goddess in the Hindu religion while Yama is the Tibetan lord of Death (Twitchell 7). In Egyptian mythology, there is a warrior goddess named Sekhmet who drinks blood (Skal 12). It is clear that these connections have been made on the basis of two of the currently most observed traits of vampire kind: immortality and a thirst for blood. Vampirism has even been harkened to resemble the Greek myth of Hades and Persephone, due to its underlying dark, sexual themes and otherworldliness (Hallab 6).

Mythology steadily worked its way into folklore, where the vampire took more of a solid form, but still varied greatly across cultures. A vampire could be virtually anything, and be created by an absurd variation of things, and therefore, could be extinguished in just as many ways. In Greece, there was a creature called the *lamia*, which was a female demon who drank the blood of children (Skal 12). These demons later became more popularly referred to as succubae, female demons that drained the life force of men through sex. This belief followed the Greek culture to Rome, where *lamia*, also known as *striges* or *mormos*, was believed to be followers of the dark idol Hecate, goddess of witches (Beresford 20). The *labartu* of Babylonia and the *aswang* of the Philippines also drank the blood of children (Beresford 20). In mythology, and in the dawn of folklore as we know it, vampires were mainly of a demonic nature. James B. Twitchell defines them as "a demonic spirit in a human body who nocturnally attacks the living, a destroyer of others, a preserver of himself" (7).

Even though some of these vampiric creatures were of a demonic origin, there were many things that mortals could do to become, willingly or not, one of the undead. Most of these had to do with the church, which used local superstitions of all kinds as the groundwork to suit their ideas of morality (Twitchell 14). Examples of these included not being buried in unconsecrated ground, which could be a result of committing suicide, dying unbaptized, or being excommunicated (Twitchell 9). Copulating with a demon, being born as the seventh child of the same sex, being born on Christmas, or even being born with abnormal teeth were also signs that you

may be, or become, a vampire (Twitchell 9). These are only a few of the endless possibilities that folklore tied to the curse of vampirism. It is clear to see that most of these "signs" of evil were raised by the church and the age-old issue of social peculiarity (Twitchell 9). Of course, some tales did extend beyond "explainable" reasoning, such as what may be considered one of the oddest concepts concerning vampires, which was the belief that even fruit, in particular, watermelons and pumpkins—could in fact become vampires (Beresford 10).

Folklore was not able to specifically define the vampire, because it was based in varying cultural beliefs and superstitions. These were somewhat bridged by Christianity, solidifying the themes of blood and immortality (Twitchell 13). This was perhaps the reason why vampires were often closely related with a large host of other "evil" beings, including witches, werewolves, and ghosts (Hallab 1). Some believed that those who were werewolves in life became vampires when they died (Beresford 25). There can be an etymological connection made between the Turkish word for witch, *uber* and the Slavic *upir* or *upyr*, which lent itself later to the word as we know it today, *vamyr*, or more commonly, *vampire* (Beresford 8). Perhaps the most important defining feature of the vampire of folklore is the fact that they were most often peasants, something that changed dramatically as they made the leap to modern literature (Skal 22).

In *The Vampire in Nineteenth Century English Literature,* Carol A. Senf states that, "initial changes in the folklore vampire came during the Enlightenment" (144). The Enlightenment was a period that began in the seventeenth century and continued to the end of the eighteenth century. Also known as "The Age of Reason," it was a time when people began to think of things "rationally," and became focused on explaining the world around them. The first documented case of an individual being accused of vampirism occurred in 1727 in Serbia. A returning soldier named Arnold Paole claimed to have been harassed by a Turkish vampire (Skal 26). In 1746, the biblical scholar, Augustine Calmet was appointed to investigate the legitimacy of the accounts of vampires that were beginning to pile up. His studies were published and became very popular in Western Europe. It is believed that his work became a great source for the Romantic writers, such as Bryon and Stoker (Hallab 8). By the end of the eighteenth century, the English vampire was defined as a "devil's spirit which had possessed the body and trapped the soul of a dead sinner" (Twitchell 8). By the turn of the eighteenth into the nineteenth century, the vampire had made its way into the "cultural mainstream," and began its work at attracting the attentions of some of the best-known writers, artists, and thinkers of the time (Senf 164).

In James B. Twitchell's *The Living Dead: A Study of the Vampire in Romantic Literature,* he describes vampires as "one of the major mythic figures bequeathed to us by the English Romantics," and as "probably the most enduring and prolific myth figure we have" (Twitchell ix). From the way that the vampire has transcended the centuries, this is surely not far off. Perhaps the most significant change that took place over the eighteenth to the nineteenth century concerning the vampire in literature was the change from "bloated peasant" to the "suave aristocrat" (Hallab 7). Vampires went from being superstitious explanations of things such as the sometimes startling stages of decomposition and premature burial, to creatures that lived in the minds and works of writers and thinkers, taking on metaphoric importance and allowing people to really "meet" the creature that had so long been on the outskirts of human knowledge.

Carol A. Senf states that, "the literary vampire originated during a period when Romantic literature emphasized the power of the individual" (144). This changed the background of the vampire from a pawn in the battle between God and Satan and gave vampires individualized and personalized issues, making them appear somewhat more human than they previously had (Williamson 31). This finally brought the definition of the vampire more clearly to "a human that does not die" (Hallab 10).

Matthew Beresford attributes the engraining of the vampire into literature to four main texts: *The Vampyre* (1819) by John Polidori, *Varney, The Vampire* (1845-1847) by James Malcolm Rymer, *Carmilla* (1871) by Sheridan Le Fanu, and *Dracula* (1879) by Bram Stoker (Beresford 115). *The Vampyre* is often considered the first vampire story in which the vampire appears as an aristocratic figure (Beresford 116). The story is known to be very macabre and fitting with the style of the time, for the vampire is the victor, after killing many innocents (Beresford 119). *Varney, The Vampire* is occasionally acknowledged as "creating" the horror genre. It used many folkloric elements of vampirism, but also added the theme of sexuality (Beresford 121). It was with Varney that the bite of a vampire took on a sexual meaning in literature. In this story it became a metaphor for sexual intercourse or rape (Beresford 122). Despite this, Varney was also the vampire to first openly regret his vampirism, which was a big step in the evolution of the vampire myth because it created a sense of sympathy in the reader, something that would become central to the vampire in later literature (Beresford 123).

Carmilla is blatantly known for infusing the vampire subgenre with the theme of lesbianism, and is often described as combining the sexuality of *Varney, The Vampire* with the horror of *Dracula* (Beresford 125). This story also took a turn by portraying the vampire as a young, innocent girl who is somewhat unaware of her vampirism for part of the book (Beresford 125). Until this point, vampires—at least from folklore through the Romantic period—had been predominantly male. In *Carmilla*, the victim is a young girl who is bitten not by a masculine agent of darkness who slips into the shadows of her room and ravishes her with his sparkling teeth, but a woman who does just the same (Beresford 126).

Undoubtedly, the most famous piece of vampire literature is Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. It eclipsed practically every tale of vampirism before it (Williamson 5). As was the case with *Carmilla*, *Dracula* was published in the midst of the Victorian era right after the decline of the Romantic period of literature. It was at this point in time that the vampire really began to build momentum, as the Victorian era was known for its preoccupation with the idea of death (Senf 145), and sexual repression (Williamson 3). *Dracula* is credited with allowing nineteenth century readers and writers to explore forbidden topics, such as sex and immortality, while pretending to be frightened and taken aback (Hallab 3). People have also been able to read into Dracula in many different ways, deriving all sorts of conclusion from it, from a denouncement of the tyranny of patriarchy, to an underhanded comment on the corrupt powers of the aristocracy or bourgeois capitalists (Hallab 2). Despite its possible "deeper meanings," Dracula has changed the way that people viewed vampires. Also an aristocratic figure, like *The Vampyre,* Dracula was a figure of frightening power.

The nineteenth century was known for vampires of an evil nature. They killed those whom they victimized (Senf 145) and none were heroes (Senf 151). Even their sexuality did not stem from a place of romance, but from a time when eroticism was still part of the underbelly of the literary scene (Senf 152). In the twentieth century, everything changed for the vampire. Tales of vampires went from meager handfuls to bucket loads over the last century. Everyone wanted a vampire of their own, as it was a creature human enough to personalize and transcend genres, but also supernatural enough to entertain them endlessly.

Undoubtedly, the most important theme instilled in the realm of the twentieth century vampire was sympathy. Modern Western culture still often pictures the vampire as an aristocratic, seductive male, complete with sharp teeth and trailing a cloak of some sort (Beresford 8). As stated by Milly Williamson, "the twentieth century produced a new generation of morally ambiguous, sympathetic vampires who lure audiences with the pathos of their predicament and their painful awareness of "outsiderdom" (29). This new breed of vampire was then distinguishable from its ancestors by two main things: sympathy and identification (29).

There is no clearer case of this than Anne Rice's *Interview with a Vampire* (1976). In this book, the first of many in a series revolving around the lives and deaths of several vampire characters, the main character is Louis, who is made into a vampire by a very well-to-do, remorseless individual named Lestat. Louis comes to regret his vampiric nature, and spends a good deal of his immortal life pining for absolution from his sins and trying to come to terms with what he is and what it means for the existence of his soul.

The twentieth century brought up many new kinds of vampires, but as before, many of them followed a certain set of guidelines. The last century's vampires became more attractive than their ancestors, and although their newfound sexuality was not removed, it achieved new heights (Senf 10). The twentieth century vampire does not kill its victims, which adds to its sympathetic nature. This has made it no more than a misunderstood outsider, with whom many can actually identify (Senf 142). They have even become, as Williamson puts it, "an image of emulation, a glamorous outsider" (Williamson 1).

One can clearly see this idea of the "glamourous outsider" presented in Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight* series. In this young adult romance series, a teenage woman named Bella Swan falls in love with a handsome and wealthy vampire outcast who yearns to drink her blood, but refrains from drinking blood from any humans, subsisting on the blood of animals instead. This makes his character sympathetic, as he is not harming anyone; however, his desire for her blood adds an element of strange romance to their tale. The vampire, Edward Cullen, also falls into the aristocratic white male theme so popular in twentieth century vampire literature, but brings it into a context more suited to the young adult genre. Perhaps the element of the *Twilight* series that breaks the typical vampire mold is the stress on abstinence, the antithesis of most other vampire literature of its time.

Williamson also states that, "the vampire offers a way of inhabiting difference with pride, for embracing defiantly an identity that the world at large sees as 'other'" (Williamson 1). Perhaps in the time of folklore, social peculiarity was looked down upon, but the twentieth century stood far apart from such a time. In a world that is steadily becoming uniform, peculiarity is now held in high regard. People now *want* to be different, at least to an extent.

This need to be different has also affected vampire literature. The twentieth century watched a dark rose bloom, full of petals, all signifying a new breed of vampire that would stalk literature for years to come. There are simply too many examples of vampires in literature to pin down what may be viewed as the "essentials," so the focus will be on some of the texts that have most recently been brought to my attention. They are: "Dracula's Guest" by Bram Stoker, "Shambleau" by C.L Moore, and "Nunc Dimittis" by Tanith Lee.

"Dracula's Guest" was originally set to be the opening chapter for *Dracula*, but was removed before publication. This short story follows a British man on his way through Munich; it suddenly takes a dark turn as the man decides to take a walk through the woods, despite the coach driver's pleads to remain on course to the next town. As he tries to leave the coachman, the latter lurches the coach forward, his explanation being "Buried him—him what killed themselves" (Stoker, "Dracula's Guest"). This clearly harkens to the folklore of a previous time, which Stoker relies on in his story. The British man is inevitably attacked by a woman rising

out of her tomb and is ironically saved by a large wolf, which howls to lead a hunting party to the wounded man before it disappears into the night. This story combined older elements of folklore—suicides at crossroads and vampires being able to change form, with newer conventions of the time, such as female vampires and the suggestion that Dracula may not be as "evil" as he is later portrayed in the novel.

"Shambleau" is perhaps the oddest vampire adaption of its time. Published in 1933, it combines science fiction, the western, and ancient mythology to create a vampiric creature unlike any before it. The creature called "the Shambleau" is essentially an alien-creature who feeds on the sexual energy of men, like a succubus. "These things – they've been existence for countless ages. No one knows when or where they first appeared" (Moore, "Shambleau"). It seems as if the author is harkening to the vampire myth as a whole. The most interesting thing about this story may be that the author took things further by combining this idea of a sexual vampire with ancient Greek mythology, and one of its best-known characters, Medusa the gorgon.

A bit more traditional, but still taking its own rights with the "traditional" vampire themes is Tanith Lee's "Nunc Dimittis." This is a story about a female vampire of a very regal status, who takes in young male servants to be her companions. Lee plays on the traditional ideas of immortality by allowing her vampire to age slowly when she does not feed, and is instead regenerated to youth when she takes on a new partner who, at the same time, takes on the ability to live an unusually long life beside her. Once she drinks from her new "lover," "her face, powdered by the lampshine, was young, was full of vitality, serene vivacity and loveliness. Everything had come back to her. She was reborn" (Lee, "Nunc Dimittis"). There is a sense of romance to this that is both macabre and touching. Lee's vampire also wears silver, a deadly metal to vampires, and is referred to as a distant relative of Dracula himself. Her vampire embodies the nineteenth century ideas of vampirism while simultaneously turning them into something suited for a new century of vampire literature.

"The vampire's most human quality—its infinite adaptability to people, place, and time—is a major reason for its persistence" (Hallab 5). This has surely been proven true in the past two or three centuries of the vampire's existence in literature. They have gone from ruddy peasants returning from the grave to feast on their loved ones to sexy, suave aristocrats that we would not mind going to the grave with. They have been monsters and they have been people, hated, feared, sympathized, loved, lusted for; they have transcended the human-supernatural chasm that has caused our specie much anxiety. We fear them, we pity them, and we envy them, and somehow in their inhumanness, they remind us just how human we are.

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Searching for Moral Lessons in "Rapunzel"

Kara Nelson
English 345
Summer 2014

The Grimms' fairy tale "Rapunzel" does not portray the stereotypical evil stepmother, perfect prince, or immediate fairytale wedding. Hence, when adapted into various mediums, such as the movies *Tangled* and *Barbie as Rapunzel* or the graphic novel *Rapunzel's Revenge,* the story is often misinterpreted and reinvented since the world no longer values the tale's implied morality and coming-of-age issues. While Bettelheim's Freudian approach to fairy tales has been widely criticized, he and many others, especially Sheldon Cashdan, illustrate that fairy tales can hold deeper moral lessons. Rather than bypassing possible morality lessons in modern adaptations of the tale or cheapening it by victimizing Rapunzel and vilifying Mother Gothel, "Rapunzel" should be viewed as an important story portraying complex issues of morality, growing up, and parenting.

Undoubtedly, fairy tales could potentially be important for children and their moral development, but the issue is greatly contested. Bruno Bettelheim's *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* proclaims that fairy tales provide a child with "a moral education, which subtly, and by implication only, conveys to him the advantage of moral behavior" (5). In an essay contained in his book *Breaking the Magic Spell,* Jack Zipes argues that Bettelheim shows "betrayal of the radical essence of Freudianism" and "corruption of the literary meaning of the folk tale" and calls his therapeutic methods "authoritarian and unscientific," although Zipes admits fairy tales are valuable in the "socialization process" ("On the Use" 164, 160). Maria Tartar also faults Bettelheim's "interpretations," noting readers with dissimilar cultural values would have alterative viewpoints ("Preface" xxiii). She believes Bettelheim "endows children with a power over the text that they do not in reality possess," and that not helping child readers can constitute "neglect" (Tartar, "Wilhelm Grimm" 77-78). But, rather than becoming bogged down by arguments about the validity of Freudian psychoanalysis, Rose Oliver redirects our attention to uncovering moral meanings, since he believes it is hard to argue for or against an "unconscious" reading of fairy tales and claims "perhaps it is more pertinent to ask what universal values they serve" (86).

Aside from Bettelheim, Michael Hornyansky also notes fairy tales allow children to absorb lessons without knowing it (131). An excellent contemporary position, made by Dr. Sheldon Cashdan in his book *The Witch Must Die: How Fairy Tales Shape Our Lives*, is that fairy tales "offer us a means of addressing psychological conflicts" (ix). Cashdan wrote his book from the "theme" of "'the seven deadly sins of childhood'" (ix). He claims, "Every major fairy tale is unique in that it addresses a specific failing or unhealthy predisposition in the self" (Cashdan 13). He also believes in the rewards of teachers and parents "subtly" having children see a fairy tale's "underlying sin" (Cashdan 15). In Cashdan's theory, the witch in these stories dies to "ensure that bad parts of the self are eradicated and that good parts of the self prevail" (35). Finally, Cashdan believes adult ties to fairy tales result from childhood experiences with them, since "it is in childhood that the seeds of virtue are sown" (20). In order to understand certain complex tales such as "Rapunzel," it is believed that a symbolic, historical, or psychoanalytic analysis is not enough—these tales must also be viewed from a didactic or moral viewpoint.

Indeed, "Rapunzel" addresses many moral issues. Zipes claims "Rapunzel" is not meant to be "didactic," but that it has "the initiation of a virgin, who must learn hard lessons when she defies her maternal protectress" ("Witch as Fairy" 78). However, Cashdan believes "Rapunzel" is about "premature sexuality," that is, "precocious sexuality" (155, 266). This makes sense, since Rapunzel has twins in the Grimm's version before getting validly married (Grimm 36-38). Since Rapunzel was taken to the tower at twelve, Bettelheim argues the story is about "a pubertal girl and ...a jealous mother who tries to prevent her from gaining independence" (17). Dr. Cashdan and Kay Stone also highlight Rapunzel's puberty and the tower's purpose in protecting her virginity, with Stone adding that the tower might protect her from female "competition" or perhaps indicates the masculine response to the "threat of female sexuality" (Cashdan 157; Stone 46-47). Rapunzel receives "disfigurement and banishment" and exile, as "punishment for her sexual recklessness" (Cashdan 159). Cashdan believes her and the prince's sufferings illustrate "the seriousness with which premature sex is treated in fairy tales" (159). While Bettelheim suggests her children occur solely from love, since a marriage doesn't take place and there is no allusion to sex, Kay Stone acknowledges the children as actual (not symbolic) children, which is why "translations" exclude her babies (Bettelheim 113-114; Stone 46). Cashdan also asserts they do have sex (158). As Maria Tartar relays, the Grimms' first edition of *Nursery and Household Tales* has Rapunzel say, "Tell me, Godmother, why my clothes are so tight and why they don't fit me any longer" (qtd. in "Sex and Violence" 18). Sexuality is often considered inappropriate for children, but due to the sexual revolution, there is more sexual freedom today. Hence, adaptations are at an impasse and thus avoid controversy by removing the children altogether. However, if presented true to the Grimm version, "Rapunzel" may serve as a warning against premarital sex or, at bare minimum, premature sex.

"Rapunzel" also concerns overall maturity, a message which adaptations present as independence desired by a girl unjustly wronged. One of Bettelheim's

most important insights about Rapunzel is that she and her lover "act immaturely" (149). Bettelheim points out that the prince "spies" and "sneaks" around rather than speaking with Gothel, and that Rapunzel "also cheats" by not being forthright with Gothel (149). Because of this, Bettelheim remarks, their happiness is delayed and "a period of trial and tribulation, of inner growth through misfortune" occurs (149). Moreover, the fact that both Rapunzel and the prince stay in their wretched conditions instead of actively attempting to find each other indicates their immaturity, although, their tribulations presumably allow them to become mature adults (Bettelheim 150). Overall, although the young couple was placed in a difficult situation, some of their trials are the direct result of their rashness and immaturity.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty of "Rapunzel" and its adaptations occurs in what this essay calls the "Gothel problem," where Rapunzel's surrogate mother is often demonized and even punished with death. In the Grimm version, Rapunzel is compensation for her father's theft from Gothel's garden and she locks Rapunzel away in a tower (Grimm 34-35). She also uses terroristic threatening against the prince, cuts Rapunzel's hair, and banishes Rapunzel (Grimm 36-37). If anything, Gothel could symbolize the fine line between protective and over-protective parents. Bettelheim addresses Gothel's role in the story: "Having acted foolishly and selfishly, the sorceress loses out—but since she acted from too much love for Rapunzel and not out of wickedness, no harm befalls her" (149). For, he notes, all she does is "gloat" over the prince, and his "tragedy is the result of his own doing" (Bettelheim 149). Cashdan interprets the exchange as Gothel "mocks him and issues a curse," quoting her as telling him, "The cat has got her, and will scratch out your eyes as well" (Grimm, qtd in 159). He says, "The curse is fulfilled when the prince leaps from the tower in despair and is blinded by thorns" (Cashdan 159). Whether the prince was cursed or not, the Grimms are ambiguous, only writing Gothel has "an angry, poisonous look in her eye," and that the prince jumps from the tower "in his despair" (Grimm 37). But, regardless of whether she curses the prince or not, Gothel does not fit the prototype of a villain or even an evil stepmother and her fate is unknown. Cashdan asserts that unlike Snow White's stepmother, Gothel "is not evil through and through" and "wants to protect Rapunzel," so killing Gothel "would be tantamount to destroying parts of the self charged with safeguarding one's sexual well-being" (Cashdan 160). So, Gothel may actually symbolize the need to control our sexual impulses. Cashdan also cites the importance of protecting children from "prematurely engaging in sex," but notes the folly of "an all-out attack on sex," stating "we cannot lock children in their rooms to protect them from sexual perils" (Cashdan 162). In this sense, Gothel could symbolize how parents can be too protective, a sobering reminder to parents reading the tale to their children. The solution to worldly peril is proper education and cultivation of morals, not keeping a child hidden away in ignorance. She could also serve as the example of the loving but harsh parent, too consumed by personal beliefs to realize the need to forgive children after they make mistakes instead of disowning them. Zipes claims that after the prince "seduces Rapunzel," Gothel "justifiably punishes both the maiden and the prince," and Zipes seems to hint that the story's happy ending is "an apparent mercy shown by the old woman/witch/mistress of the forest, who remains alive and powerful" ("Witch as Fairy," 78). Perhaps Zipes is onto something since the witch doesn't die in the Grimm story, the situation begs the question: if Gothel were totally evil, would she not exact further revenge upon Rapunzel and the prince (Grimm 37-38)?

The "Gothel problem" is exacerbated in today's media. Stone notes that Disney's film versions of *Sleeping Beauty, Cinderella,* and *Snow White* all support "the already popular stereotype of the innocent beauty victimized by the wicked villainess" (44). This is a theme that is somewhat reinforced by *Tangled*. Zipes criticizes this film, noting that *Tangled*'s "major conflict is between a pouting adolescent princess and a witch," and that "Disney films tend to demonize older women and infantilize young women" ("They'll huff," n.p.). He says, "gone are any hints that Rapunzel might reflect a deeper meaning and history: the initiation ritual of young girls led by older wise women who keep them in isolation in order to protect them" ("They'll huff" n.p.). Instead of receiving Rapunzel as compensation for theft, in *Tangled* Gothel is a greedy woman obsessed with youth, staying young through the use of a magical flower (Grimm 33-34; Greno and Howard, *Tangled*). When the flower is used to save Rapunzel's mother's life, Rapunzel's uncut hair gains magical properties, so Gothel kidnaps Rapunzel (Greno and Howard, *Tangled*). Gothel also stabs Flynn (Rapunzel's rescuer), mortally wounding him (Greno and Howard, *Tangled*). When Flynn cuts Rapunzel's hair, Gothel's power is broken, causing her to hyper-age, and Rapunzel's pet chameleon helps trip Gothel out of the tower's window and she becomes dust when she hits the ground (Greno and Howard, *Tangled*). Hence, the movie makes Gothel a vicious, selfish woman bent on keeping her source of youth no matter what the cost to other human beings, and Rapunzel a victim with untainted innocence.

In *Barbie as Rapunzel,* the story is altered just as much, if not more so, than its successor *Tangled*. Rapunzel lives in a villa and for sneaking off to explore a local village and meeting a guy, she is imprisoned in the tower (Hurley, *Barbie*). All alterations and talking dragons aside, the tale also demonizes Gothel. Rapunzel, daughter of a King, was taken by Gothel because Gothel believed the King had loved and rejected her, so she viewed Rapunzel as what should have been hers (Hurley, *Barbie*). Rapunzel gives Gothel a chance to redeem herself, but Gothel's desire for revenge cannot be appeased, so Gothel ends up in the tower trapped by her own curse that was originally intended to keep

Rapunzel locked away forever (Hurley, *Barbie*).

Since she is a morally ambiguous, conflicted character, Gothel can be troublesome in adaptations of "Rapunzel." Cookie-cutter fairy tale films require the stereotyped "good guy" and "bad guy" with clear morals portrayed. Perhaps Gothel is vilified partly because young children need polarized rather than realistic "ambivalent" characters (Bettelheim 9). Even in mediums presumably intended for a slightly older audience, Gothel can still be demonized. In Shannon and Dean Hale's graphic novel *Rapunzel's Revenge,* Gothel is a witch with the ability to make vegetation grow or die, a tyrannical woman building an "empire" in a Western-setting through taxation and slavery, and Rapunzel is determined to free her mother and stop Gothel's reign of terror using her long braids of hair as weapons and the help her new friend Jack (4-144). Rapunzel, imprisoned in a tree tower for four years, escapes after Gothel leaves her there to "rot" once her hair has magically grown long enough to escape (Hale and Hale 23-35). At one point, Gothel is called a "Small-time greedy lucky crazy hack-witch" (Hale and Hale 82). Rapunzel claims Gothel would "keep hurting people and ending families" (Hale and Hale 99). Gothel also attempts to have her henchman kill Jack (Hale and Hale 130-132). When evidently ready to hurt or kill Rapunzel, Jack pushes Gothel into a forming tree, presumably killing her (Hale and Hale 138-140).

To the essayist's knowledge, one of the closest film adaptations to the Grimm's tale is the 1983 *Shelley Duvall's Faerie Tale Theatre* film *Rapunzel*. Gothel locks Rapunzel in the tower because "you can't trust men" and to prevent a man from separating them (Cates, *Rapunzel*). The story keeps important elements of the original tale, notably; the prince finding Rapunzel, their plan to escape using braided silk skeins, Rapunzel's desert banishment, the prince's blindness, and Rapunzel's twins (Cates, *Rapunzel*). However, some alterations again demonize Gothel and obscure the warnings against premarital sex. The "witch" causes Rapunzel's mother to long for rampion, she wants to find the man lurking around the tower (the prince) in order to put out his eyes and make brain soup, and she directly causes the prince to fall from the tower (Cates, *Rapunzel*). The Prince suggests talking to the witch about his love but Rapunzel says, "She'd kill you—or worse" (Cates, *Rapunzel*). Also, Rapunzel and the Prince "exchanged their vows" in the tower and "considered themselves husband and wife" after that (Cates, *Rapunzel*). This makes the prince seem more honorable and attempts to absolve any moral ambiguity surrounding their sexual relations (Cates, *Rapunzel*). The tale's ending adds that Gothel died from "a hardened heart" (Cates, *Rapunzel*). While a less egregious adaptation, *Rapunzel* still cannot completely resolve the complex and troubling aspects of the Grimm version, which perhaps explains why Gothel is the movie's villain and why the film explicitly portrays Rapunzel and the prince as a married couple.

Rather than bypassing possible morality lessons in modern adaptations of the tale, or cheapening it by victimizing Rapunzel and vilifying Mother Gothel, "Rapunzel" should be viewed as an important story portraying to adults and children complex issues of morality, growing up, and parenting. As demonstrated, from a moral interpretation, "Rapunzel" may serve as a double-warning against premature or premarital sex and parental over-protectiveness. Moreover, all the characters make mistakes, which is why they suffer various losses. Although she displays some cruelty, Gothel is a complex villain, neither totally good nor truly evil. But due to changed societal norms and beliefs, adaptations of "Rapunzel" tend to demonize Gothel and victimize Rapunzel. Today, more than ever, an honest assessment of the tale's many possible interpretations and its multi-faceted characters is needed to better understand "Rapunzel" from an unstereotyped perspective—otherwise, we risk being just as blind as the prince before he finds Rapunzel.

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American Idol: American Pop Culture and Soft Power in Cold War Europe

Rochelle Nowaki
History 470
Fall 2014

During the period of the Cold War, the influence of American popular culture in Eastern European nations was profound despite the tightly controlled program of censorship of oppressive regimes. The infusion of U.S. propaganda through music, art, dance, and motion pictures reinforced American patriotism and spread the sunny images of freedom, choice, wealth, abundance, and opportunity across distant political borders. These repetitive messages provided fuel for sparking dissent within the black market audience of oppressed people who desired the liberties and freedoms portrayed in American media. In the last seventy years, the tenacious marketing of American culture was deployed as a transforming catalyst of change to provoke social movements, instigate challenges to Communist ideology, and encourage the destabilization of Communism.

Psychological warfare was a strategic tool of U.S. foreign policy implemented during the Truman Administration to drop propaganda across Communist borders and incite dissent in Eastern Europe. Psywarfare was a complementary, non-military action program to assist Containment policies that disseminated American culture through popular media: music, movies, books, and art. The concept included the distribution of American policy and information through unofficial modes such as advertisements, magazines and artworks along with disparaging news about Communist activities abroad. These methods would expand to a promotion and marketing of American culture, known as Americanization, whose beginnings originated through industrialization in the early twentieth century. Europeans held a fascination with American culture, industry, technology, and traditions, which appealed to the egos of the newly rich industrialists and upper crust classes. "The wealth generated by the industrial revolution created a strong sense of noblesse oblige" that members of the elite classes "agreed that their nation's status as a world power entailed global responsibilities" of serving as a model for developing nations and spreading American-ness around the world.[1]

Humanitarian projects during World War II accomplished beneficial efforts in regions targeted for vital resource pools or strategic geographic sites. The Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA) implemented medical projects to "combat diseases such as malaria, dysentery, and tuberculosis" and the Institute for Inter-American Affairs was responsible for improving medical services through coordinated efforts with local health ministries to "improve sanitation and sewage, develop preventive medicine programs" and construction of hospitals and public health centers. These two efforts fostered goodwill in these regions and "reflected the idealistic, as well as pragmatic, side of the wartime Good Neighbor policy."[2] Post-war humanitarian projects were built upon the experiences of the CIAA and IIAA and driven by the goals of U.S. foreign policy.

The Office of War Information (OWI) was created to implement psywarfare through untraditional methods by wielding soft power and marketing America "through a Marshall Plan in the field of ideas."[3] The "OWI censored the press and churned out posters, magazines, comic books, films, and cartoons to undermine enemy morale and sell the war and U.S. war aims to allies and neutrals,"[4] in an effort to appeal to the social and emotional needs and win the hearts and minds of citizens in Communist regions. Plans included providing literature, academic information, music, and arts to combat Communist ideology. Implementation of these efforts would also provide literacy, improve intelligence, and mental fortitude to maintain a constant conflict and undermine Communist influences.

Part of this effort included book distribution programs that were funded to promote literacy, covertly through the CIA. The initial program was designed as a distribution through the mail. Flyers contained carefully devised book choices to push western ideology, democratic notions, and American ideals and were deployed into Eastern Europe via balloons. The Congress for Cultural Freedom was another program deployed by the CIA to "organize and fund such events as art exhibits, literary symposia, and tours by the Yale Glee Club" with monies distributed by the Ford Foundation, Time, Incorporated, and the Rockefeller Foundation.[5]

Broadcast programs of American music, news, and information over Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were instrumental in keeping America consciously present and maintaining an active disturbing role in Communist environments. Misinformation and rumor-mongering were also deployed as tactics to create doubt and resistance to Communist protocols using "émigré broadcasters to beam...bare-knuckled propaganda denouncing the evils of Soviet imperialism, mocking Communism through satirical skits, and using American popular culture, especially jazz, to subvert East European youth."[6] These programs were implemented in the hopes that citizens living under non-free states would find impetus for voicing or demonstrating dissatisfaction with their current political system.

Generation Teen

Postwar American culture was the perfect setting for creation of the teenager demographic, a new social standing within middle-class that reaped the freedoms and benefits of wealth and opportunity that resulted from America's thriving economy. "The teenage world became American...a never-ending and yet happy-ending advertisement for the American way-of-life

and for American goods."[7] The younger generation in European nations could identify with American Teens over common personal struggles that arise with maturity: communication frustration with older generations, developing self-identity, and adjustment to social customs within their peer groups. They were fascinated with the trends and interests of young Americans who enjoyed leisure, freer lifestyles, and desired the new youth culture. American teen life was an aspiration for youth who sought to find their place on the cool kids' table. "Abundance brought the fruition of American consumer culture" and with the advent of disposable income, the teenage demography became an influential market over which U.S. foreign policy propaganda would wave a mighty wand.[8]

Teen-oriented publications were prime tools for disseminating American pop culture to masses abroad. They provided visual examples of the new consumerism that fueled a desire to have the same freedoms and choices and material goods as the American teens depicted. Coupled with radio broadcasts over Voice of America and Radio Free Europe that pushed a "Top 40"-type music format, the marketing of American culture was formulated to perpetuate American values and lifestyle subconsciously influencing the innocent youth abroad towards a more liberated position.

Stilyagi

The Stilyagi movement started underground after World War II when returning soldiers found adjustment to rigid Soviet life difficult after exposure to foreign culture abroad. It was initially rooted in youth culture and the search for self-identity, defying the older generations, and manifested as a fashion-oriented movement inspired by 1940s Western cinema and music. Exposure to American culture in Europe was inevitable because U.S. studios now dominated the film industry. Jazz and rock and roll were popular U.S. imports and although deemed subversive material by Communist cultural authorities, youth everywhere and indeed, the Stilyagi, had much material to draw upon for inspiration. They were considered a "serious challenge to Soviet ideology, not because they were numerous or powerful but because they were the first manifestation of a new phenomenon for which the country was ideologically unprepared."[9]

The rise of Stilyagi in 1956 "coincided with a renewed surge of urbanization...and with the reduction of the working day from eight to six hours for sixteen to eighteen year olds."[10] Western haircuts and vibrant, American style clothing allowed the style hunters and trendsetter to symbolically express their individuality and expand their youthful rebellion into a form of political and social dissent. Stilyagi wielded style as a weapon against government oppression.

By the 1950s, foreigners visiting the Soviet Union were the primary source of Stilyagi inspiration, importing magazines, newspapers, and music "intended as gifts for friends."[11] These items became gold in the Soviet black market. Clever individuals began engraving old X-ray films, "the cheapest and most readily available source of necessary plastic," reproducing the smuggled, outlawed music onto plates depicting broken bones and vertebrae, nicknamed "bones" or "ribs," and sold the low-quality bootlegs for "a ruble or a ruble and a half."[12] The 'records on bones' were produced on "simple technology available in street-corner booths where homesick soldiers could record messages to their mothers" and soon "hijacked to produce millions of cheap copies of 'Rock Around the Clock' and "music taped from Western radio stations."[13]

Chubby Checker's "Let's Twist Again" was the impetus for the explosion of black-market bones and Komsomol patrols tasked with confiscating the music were forced to aim their focus on major bootleg profiteers instead of the mass numbers of kids who bought them. The risks involved in purchasing the bones was high, with some instances resulting in a seven-year stay in the Gulag[14] and "the sound quality was terrible, but the X-ray records felt like the real thing to rock-starved kids who could hear 'See You Later, Alligator' on a shadowy image of some babushka's lungs."[15] Bootleg and black-market music played a vital role in providing these audiences with affirmation of ideas they shared with open societies but were unable to express freely. Sarajevo musician Goran Bregovic posed this as one of the reasons for rock 'n' roll's influence on young generations when he stated:

> Rock 'n' roll in communist countries has much more importance than rock 'n' roll in the West. We can't have any alternative parties or any alternative organized politics. So there are not too many places where you can gather large groups of people and communicate ideas, which are not official. Rock 'n' roll is one of the most important vehicles for helping people in communist countries to think in a different way.[16]

Furthermore, the collective appreciation of western music was an act of rebellion that openly drew ire from Soviet leaders. Nikita Kruschev attended one performance by the Benny Goodman Orchestra who embarked on a five-city tour in 1962. It was alleged that "despite Kruschev's distaste for jazz" his attendance was marked in his joining of the applause.[17] The Goodman Orchestra's tour was the first American band to perform on Soviet soil in thirty years and its outstanding success was a sign that cultural freedoms were slowly emerging.

Roots of Rebellion in Music

The connection these rebellious youth had to rock 'n' roll and rhythm and jazz, came from the origins of the music itself and their creation in the African American community, a unique blend of African folk style within the traditional framework of European music. These unique styles reflected the emotions and desire

for freedom from suppression and racism experienced by generations of Americans who were discriminated and treated as sub-human because of their skin color. Popular acceptance of these genres across the United States was mixed because of the racial link to its black roots; any outward acceptance of the music would equate tolerance. Still, jazz and rock and roll were emerging as the popular trends in music.

Among the younger generations, rock 'n' roll and jazz were enthusiastically embraced and especially in Soviet nations, music audiences found parallels in their political systems and social oppression, and the music's vibrant roots. "This new generation, having lost faith in the Soviet leadership, sought out new leaders and, as in the West, many turned to rock musicians for spiritual guidance in a society widely perceived as lacking in morality."[18] The music's popularity in the East also drew criticism of the U.S. and its problem with racism. African American musicians who were discriminated and not allowed liberty and freedoms in the Jim Crow South enjoyed free travel and activities abroad. Diplomatic affairs between the U.S. and Soviet Union at the height of the Cold War were tinged with veiled references to American racism and the criticism of treatment of Communist citizens. Dean Acheson strongly suggested the U.S. "must address the issue of racial injustice to deprive the Communists of 'the most effective kind of ammunition for their propaganda warfare' and eliminate a 'source of constant embarrassment to this government in the day-to-day conduct of its foreign relations."[19]

The King Visits Germany

Elvis Presley proved to be an international ambassador of American culture when he served for two years in Germany with the armored tank division of the U.S. Army in 1958. The King of rock 'n roll was sent to help shore up defenses against the Soviet buildup during the Berlin Crisis and his international celebrity presence proved to be a disturbing factor for keeping American culture out of the East. Presley's charisma and overt sexuality grated against Communist conservatives. His performances were deemed so unsettling that references to his concerts in a 1956 Der Spiegel article commented that "American youths at Presley concerts were dancing by themselves 'like haunted medicine men of a jungle tribe governed only by musicrock 'n' roll."[20]

The young generation further pushed definitions of social norms and gender roles through their musical preferences with growing open rebellion. Presley fan clubs often formed in state-run youth clubs and "in at least thirteen East German cities and towns, "Presley admirers," aged sixteen to twenty-one, had formed gangs of fifteen to twenty, among them girls."[21] Presley's female fan-base demonstrated a loyalty to their idol that troubled the older generations. "In spite of, or perhaps because of, the negative reporting about American and German female rock 'n' roll fans, and in spite of the negative reactions of numerous parents, many German girls made it publicly known that they liked Elvis" and further, "East Berlin girls stated their support for Presley by wearing his name on the back of their jeans."[22]

Clearly, American culture, deployed through the King of rock 'n' roll, had a profound effect upon German teens, influencing their definitions of social and gender roles and providing examples of un-German behavior to admire. German authorities declared the "rock 'n' roll atmosphere caused by the United States responsible for rowdiness, the formation of cliques, rape, and "perverted behavior" in the East."[23] The purported improper female behavior was equated with the image of western, American woman. The challenge to gender roles in new demonstrations of female assertiveness were likely born from the teen rebellion, but also arose as counterpart with the rise in feminism in the United States.

In the German Democratic Republic (GDR), "a report submitted to the secretariat in December 1959, covered incidents ranging from rock 'n' roll protests to robberies to illegal trips to West Germany" allegedly to gather with other rebels.[24] The response by German authorities on both sides included increased policing of the youth clubs, imprisonment for juvenile delinquency and rebellious activities, and directing "the police, the Interior Ministry, and the Ministry for People's Education, to take measures to better detect and act upon rowdy behavior."[25] Control over this rebellious generation seemed to shift from strict reinforcing of prohibitions on outlawed behaviors to an acknowledgement that rock 'n' roll was there to stay. Management of rebel youth activity and prevention of delinquency and petty crimes was more efficient in the locations they occupied.

Collaborative events by musicians and social activists grew in popularity in the United States during the 1960s with the Civil Rights movement. Like-minded Americans gathered to celebrate shared values and political views. The anti-war, anti-Vietnam climate was an umbrella environment that allowed for the gathering of different social groups including counterculture-hippies, students, Vietnam Veterans, feminists, minority groups and others who were angry at the long and ill-fated war. A cultural milestone for the Peace movement was the Woodstock Music and Art Fair of 1969 was billed as "3 Days of Peace and Music." Over 300,000 festivalgoers gathered to celebrate life in music, peace, love and harmony, as a demonstration of their shared ideology. Undoubtedly, the Woodstock effect was observed abroad in other ethnic forms.

Singing Revolution

The Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, lost their independence in 1939 through Soviet invasion following the non-aggression agreement with Germany, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which divided the geographic buffer zone into corresponding spheres of influence. The installation of Communist leaders in each nation through rigged elections in 1940

was soon followed by annexation into the Soviet Union.

Estonia's Song Festival was first organized in 1869 as a national unification event in Tallinn. The Estonian tradition of song and music was historically integral to building and reinforcing solidarity of the people and as a social display of their national pride. Laulupidu gained considerable cultural acknowledgement as a social protest activity during the fight for independence of the Baltic States. The "Singing Revolution" of the late 1980s in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania demonstrated resistance against the Russian regime. Mass demonstrations were organized in Tallinn, in 1988, where they gathered initially to sing songs of Estonian national pride and patriotism, music that was outlawed by Soviet occupation.

Summer music festivals were transformed into political protest events where, initially, tens of thousands of Estonians and soon after, hundreds of thousands of Estonians united in song to openly demonstrate their desire for independence. At Laulupidu, in September 1988, over 300,000 Estonians gathered to demonstrate and collectively demand sovereignty from the USSR, sparking a movement towards independence.[26] The movement gained more political sway as the Soviet Union weakened and in 1991, Estonians finally won independence.

The Estonian festival has been held every five years with ever increasing attendance; in recent decades, Laulupidu gained recognition by drawing top international talent, choirs, and singing groups who were invited to audition to live audiences of over 100,000 people. The festival's importance in Estonian history, culture, and traditions was apparent at the 2009 during 25th Anniversary celebration event that was noted for participation by over 34,000 singers.[27]

U.S. policies enacted programs and campaigns to wield American soft power during the Cold War era around the globe. The resulting effects of these influences are found today in the global presence of American popular culture in music, art, clothing and language. No longer are top Hollywood box office stars considered only American celebrities but instead, they find larger, influential fan-bases abroad. The various international subgenres of rap and hip-hop music remain proof of the connection to and influence of social and political themes reflected in the music's black American roots and the influence of American-created Music Television (MTV). Basketball, a modern, American-invented sport, is now a popular activity in countless countries around the world. In many ways, technology has been a tool for furthering the influence of American soft power. The prevalence and popularity of teenage trends almost undeniably originate in the United States, and today, ideas disseminate via Internet and social media like viral epidemics. Technological advances of the last five decades have linked distant people together and created a global community that reacts and communicates as if physical distance were irrelevant. These connections foster further cross-cultural exchanges and change the manner of doing diplomatic work.

The global community is also indicative of the interwoven relationships between nations and powerful non-governmental organizations, which are often global corporations who are no longer centrally established in the United States. Economic agendas and responses to foreign market demands are now chief concerns in foreign policy dealings and diplomacy between nations with prime investments in these corporations. American soft power wields a significant power today but the global market interests of the multi-national corporations are undoubtedly growing much more influential in policy making. It remains unclear how the influence of American soft power during the Cold war era will inform and dictate future international relations in a shrinking global community. However, the imprint of Americanization and American popular culture is undoubtedly awesome.

Notes

[1]George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 342.

[2]George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 557.

[3]A. Ross Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: The CIA Years and Beyond,* (Chicago: Stanford University Press, 2010): 4.

[4]George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 542.

[5]George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 649.

[6]George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 649.

[7]Reinhold Wagnleitner, "American Cultural Diplomacy, The Cinema, and The Cold War in Central Europe," *Hollywood in Europe: Experiences of a Cultural Hegemony,* edited by Ellwood, David W., and Rob Kroes, (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994): 206.

[8]George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 654.

[9]Hilary Pilkington, *Russia's Youth and its Culture: A nation's constructors and constructed,* (New York: Routledge, 1994): 67.

[10]Hilary Pilkington, *Russia's Youth and its Culture: A nation's constructors and constructed,* (New York: Routledge, 1994): 67.

[11]*Soviet Youth Culture,* edited by Jim Riordan. (London: The Macmillan Press, 1989): 47.

[12]*Soviet Youth Culture,* edited by Jim Riordan. (London: The Macmillan Press, 1989): 47.

[13]Leslie Woodhead, *How the Beatles Rocked the Kremlin: The Untold Story of a Noisy Revolution,* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013): 63.

[14]*Gulag* refers to the "Main Administration of Camps (responsible for management of the labour camps)" according to Gregory L. Freeze in Russia: A History. Popular use of the term is in reference to a bitterly cold, prison work camp in the farthest reaches of Siberia.

[15]Leslie Woodhead, *How the Beatles Rocked the Kremlin: The Untold Story of a Noisy Revolution,* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013): 64.

[16]Sabrina Petra Ramet, "Rock: The Music of Revolution (and Political Conformity" in *Rocking the State: Rock Music and Politics in Eastern Europe and Russia,* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994): 5.

[17]Leslie Woodhead, *How the Beatles Rocked the Kremlin: The Untold Story of a Noisy Revolution,* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013): 64-5.

[18]*Soviet Youth Culture,* edited by Jim Riordan. (London: The Macmillan Press, 1989): 50.

[19]George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 656.

[20]Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany,* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2000): 170.

[21]Uta G. Poiger, J*azz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany,* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2000): 199.

[22]Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany,* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2000): 180-1.

[23]Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany,* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2000): 199.

[24]Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany,* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2000): 198.

[25]Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany,* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2000): 200.

[26]"Estonian Song and Dance Celebration," *XXVI Laulu-Ja XIX Tantsupidu: Aja Puudutus Puudutuse Aeg!,* accessed October 7, 2014, http://2014.laulupidu.ee/.

[27]"Estonian Song and Dance Celebration," *XXVI Laulu-Ja XIX Tantsupidu: Aja Puudutus Puudutuse Aeg!,* accessed October 7, 2014, http://2014.laulupidu.ee/.

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Nachthexen: Soviet Female Pilots in WWII

Rochelle Nowaki
History 152
Spring 2014

The Nazi invasion of Operation Barbarossa across the western border transformed Russian soil into a front row battlefield. Combat facilitated and ushered in a reluctant acceptance of women in military, based more upon practicality and necessity than for equality; every able-bodied Soviet was expected to fight to defend their motherland. The world witnessed how these loyal Soviet women served on the front lines and excelled in specialized duties that were formerly inaccessible. The famed all-female, Soviet Fighter Pilot Regiments exemplified this. The impact of modern warfare catalyzed changes in both the Soviet attitudes towards women and gender roles shaped by Communism.

In 1917, Russia was the first country to declare legal equality for women, which allowed them to enter military service. Women were inherently equal in both rights and responsibilities as a Russian citizen as social equality was a fundamental part of the Communist ideology. However, ideology was not always exhibited in practice. "Military service and, indeed, war with the exception of the more traditional female support roles were again considered outside the scope of women's affairs."[1] They were allowed to enlist as volunteers but were dissuaded from service despite universal military service laws of 1925 and 1939. In spite of this, one key mission by government led to progress in feminism.

Aviation was anticipated to be Russia's vital system for transportation in the future and the government formulated projects to prepare and train pilots, navigators, mechanics, and support crew. "Air transport was viewed as essential in such a vast and rugged country, and efforts were made to heighten public awareness and enthusiasm for aviation."[2] The grand government campaign increased public interest and awareness in aviation as a future strength for Russia and subsequently, there was increased interest in aviation related fields such as engineering, mechanics, geological surveying, and cartography. Young, female university students were a prime source for recruitment in these fields as well.

Approximately 400,000 women fought for the Red Army on the front lines of the 800,000 who volunteered for service during World War II. Combat training, including "instruction in mortars, light and heavy machine guns, or automatic rifles," was given to a third of the women and "another three hundred thousand served in the AA units and performed all functions in the batteries, including firing the guns."[3] Gender did not limit these women from gaining the necessary skills to function in combat.

At the time of the Great Patriotic War, women were expected to exemplify the maternal role by protecting and nurturing children and supporting their husbands or brothers who fought to defend Mother Russia against Nazi Germany. Every "Good Russian Woman" was also expected to strive to be a Good Communist, embodying "the self-sacrificing and courageous traits of a warrior, defending her country as she would her own child."[4]

The strong tide of nationalism that grew during the early years of World War II prompted many young Russian women to seek military service because they identified with the Communist ideology of patriotism. There was no question whether they, as women, should do anything, but rather a question asking what exactly they could do for their country. AA gunner K.S. Tikohonovich stated, "'We' and 'Motherland' meant the same thing for us" when prompted for the reason "why she had volunteered for such dangerous and 'unwomanly' work."[5]

Many used their service as a means to fulfill their pilot ambitions but some were equally propelled by more personal reasons for their service. Nadezhda "Nadya" Popova, a female pilot with the 588th Night Bombers Regiment, requested a position at the frontline to seek revenge for her brother's death. In addition, fighter ace, Lidiya Litvyak, hoped for family redemption by proving herself in air combat. In 1937, her father had been among the thousands imprisoned and killed for undisclosed reasons and Litvyak believed her efforts in combat could "erase his status as an enemy of the people."[6]

Patriotism is evident in a letter written by Ekaterina "Katya" Budanova to her sister Olechka where she revealed, "I am now devoting my entire life to the struggle against the vile Nazi creatures...I am not afraid to die but I don't want to die...If I am fated to perish, my death will cost the enemy dearly. My dear winged "Yak" is a good machine and our lives are inseparably bound up together; if the need arises, we shall both die like heroes."[7] Budanova was killed in action on July 19, 1943, in a skirmish with three Messerschmitts, but had already achieved fighter ace status with a reported six independent combat kills.

Organizations that provided flight training and combat skills of marksmanship, defense and chemical warfare were established through the military and other programs to prepare young Communists. The Osoaviakhim, the Society for Cooperation in Defense and Aviation-Chemical Development, was a paramilitary organization founded in 1927 to provide such training and, by 1935, had developed a network of over 150 air clubs to teach and train pilots.[8] Women interested in aviation sought training through this unique opportunity.

"Officially, young Soviet women were encouraged to participate in all facets of Osoaviakhim training. However, many women encountered obstacles when attempting to get into flight training."[9] Marina

Chechneva, later awarded with the Hero of the Soviet Union for her night bomber pilot service, was one of the many who faced such opposition. She recollected, "Aviation is not a woman's affair' they declared repeatedly, and tried in every way possible to dissuade young women from joining the air club."[10] Valentine Pavlovna Chuayeva sought military service to avenge her father's death: "I wanted to fight, to take revenge, to shoot."[11] Her request for a combat assignment was denied after she was advised that, "Telephone operator was the most vital work she could do."[12] These were common scenarios the young women faced when they inquired about service or special training and still, they persisted to seek opportunities to utilize and improve upon their skills. In response to the chauvinist remark, Chuayeva made her affront evident when "she retorted that telephone receivers did not shoot."[13]

Marina Raskova was one of the young women who pursued her ambitions of becoming a pilot. In childhood, she was an aspiring opera singer until an illness at the age of fifteen had set her on another path. Raskova studied chemistry, engineering, and navigation instead and became the first woman to earn a professional USSR air navigator diploma in 1934. She was an instructor at the N. Ye. Zhukovsky Air Force Engineering Academy in Moscow, where she initially faced discrimination from male military officers in the classroom. Her skill, intelligence, and performance as an instructor quickly changed the male students' opinions. Soon afterwards, the Academy sent her to flight instruction at the Central Flying Club in Moscow.[14] Raskova had obtained her pilot's license a year after passing the navigator's examination, and by 1935, she had taken her first independent flight.

By 1938, Raskova established several world records in long-distance non-stop flights. She was referred as the "Russian Amelia Earhart" for her piloting achievements, including a six thousand kilometer flight from Moscow to the Soviet Far East in the *Rodina*. Together with co-pilots Valentina Grizodubova and Paulina Osipenko, the flight from Moscow to the Sea of Okhotsk took twenty-six hours and twenty-nine minutes to complete in September 1938. The three Soviet female pilots were the first to be awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.[15] Undoubtedly, she was the inspiration and impetus for many other young women to pursue aviation during this time. By the end of the 1930s, Soviet female pilots accounted for nearly one-third of all the pilots trained in the USSR.[16]

When the Germans invaded in 1941, young aspiring ladies wrote letters to Raskova seeking her advice regarding how they could best use their flight skills to serve the country and more pointedly, "how they could get to the front, preferably in an air force unit."[17] Raskova used her personal connection with Stalin through her position on the People's Defense Committee to obtain approval for forming all-female aviation regiments. Reportedly, Stalin "seemed to have a general personal interest in the women and their record-breaking flights" and was deeply interested in the young female pilots for their "tremendous international propaganda value."[18] In October 1941, Raskova was granted authority to select candidates for her 122nd Composite Air Group. This selection would later be reorganized into the 586th Fighter Aviation Regiment, the 587th Day Bomber Aviation Regiment, and the 588th Night Bomber Aviation Regiment.[19]

Candidates were divided into four categories based on their skills and background: pilots, navigators, mechanics and armorers. Many candidates had been trained through Osoaviakhim prior to the start of war and many were university students with technical knowledge and skills. Candidates for either fighter or bomber pilot positions were required to have a minimum 500 hours of flight time training, which was a high standard for competition. The 122nd pilots were put through nearly three years of intensive flight training that was condensed into a program lasting only several months.[20] Training was typically "ten courses a day plus two hours of drill" while navigators additionally studied Morse Code and thus, enjoyed extended schedules, "rising earlier than the other students, who slept on average five or six hours a night."[21] Raskova was intent on training superb, highly skilled pilots and often utilized surprise nighttime drills to prepare these young women for front line conditions.

Pilots in the 588th Regiment were tasked with night missions to bring chaos to German troops on the front lines, "an average of fifteen times a night."[22] They flew unwieldy wood-and-canvas Polikarpov U-2 biplanes, designated the Po-2, which were not combat planes. The Po-2s were training aircraft equipped with bomb racks, a light machine gun in the rear cockpit, and noise and flare mufflers for stealth.[23] Outfitted "with up to three hundred kilos of bombs strapped to their wings," the Po-2s were successful at "bombing railways, bridges, supply depots and troop positions that were most heavily fortified with anti-aircraft guns."[24]

The aim was to maintain a state of chaos by flying at targets in regular intervals, interrupting or forbidding the Nazis sleep, keeping the troops on constant alert and therefore, additional stress. Po-2s would travel in pairs, one approaching the target to attract attention as a decoy, and the other, under stealth, to drop the bombs. The pilots would descend from high altitude, "throttle back the engine to idle, fly in over the target soundlessly, and drop the bombs almost before the enemy was aware of their presence."[25] The ladies took pride in their relentless harassment bombing missions. Nadezhda Popova recalled popular rumors telling of chemical injections that gave them supernatural powers and skills, adding to the mystique of the female pilots. These women were referred to as *Nachthexen*,"Night Witches," a decidedly mild moniker bestowed on them by Germans troops that indicated the endearment extended to the nocturnal bombers.

Raskova was well-respected by her military peers and those pilots she trained. She was a skillful pilot and driven leader but was more admired for her kindheartedness, sense of humor, and sensitivity. She was the inspiration to many young Russian women: an attractive, young, talented woman who piloted a plane and fought for Mother Russia. She was given command of the 587th Day Bomber Regiment and was ready to lead her trainees and assess their skills in combat. Valentina Kravchenko, a 587th navigator, remembered, "When we were in training we would sit in our dug-out around the stove and she [Raskova] would sing to us."[26]

The women dealt with conflicting feelings themselves, having been trained as pilots with skills in combat. They were excited and anxious to test their flying skills and prove themselves in combat but also experienced difficulty in adjusting to the role in warfare. Mariya Dolina, pilot with the 587th Regiment, revealed her inner conflict: "I wanted to help liberate my people from the enemy. It was the cherished dream of the girls to liberate the land, but none of us wanted to fight, to kill."[27] Dolina flew 2,800 hours and made approximately 200 combat missions during the course of the war.[28]

Nadezhda Popova was a bomber pilot in the 588th Night Witches regiment. Her first combat mission was over the front line in the Ukraine. She recollected, "It seemed that it was an abyss of darkness, pitch black... and when I got up in the air, I could see the front line marked by green, red, and white tracer lights, where skirmishes continued throughout the night."[29] The pilots were trained to look for projector lights as they were used to flying blind in total darkness. A plane in front of her was suddenly illuminated and she witnessed its fatal descent. "I flew toward the enemy lines, thinking I must help my friends. Irrational thoughts...I knew they were dead. We dropped the bombs on the dots of light below. They shot at us and I circled round and flew back towards the base...I was ordered to fly another mission immediately. It was the best thing to keep me from thinking about it."[30]

As was commonplace amongst the women pilots, they focused on work and their mission to keep their attentions off death. It became habitual to complete dozens of successive flights each night. Popova recalled "I remember some nights I would fly eight or ten missions, and when we were fighting in Poland, I made eighteen combat missions in one long winter night. I stayed in the cockpit almost all the time, and I would have some tea while the aircraft was being reloaded."[31]

The women were conscious of the tacit need to prove themselves constantly to the men, as pilots, and to Russia, as patriots, and "the women were acutely aware that they had to meet or even surpass the standards set by male aviators" who scrutinized their skills and they were constantly being judged and tested."[32] This fueled their drive to always be prepared and continually hone their combat flight skills but it also added to the stresses of identity.

There was a double-standard assessment of the women as soldiers using the same skills and training and performing the same jobs as the males. The dual identities of woman and fighter and the expectations of both roles brought conflict. Often, the "men were repulsed by women who behaved in a tough or cruel way, even when they did the same themselves" and yet there remained an expectation that their duties were well executed.[33] A young female who volunteered her service for the firing squad to execute deserters was the recipient of alienation from the males in her mixed unit who refused to speak to her. The estrangement was an added emotional burden to the expected trauma of battle. Later, she faced insensitivity during post-war psychiatric treatment, when "she was told to get married and have 'lots of children' to restore her soul."[34]

Paranoia regarding co-mingling and fraternization was rampant amongst those who did not truly support the Communist policy of women in the military. The young women were aware of this pleasurable distraction from war and death and destruction and perhaps some were incited to innocent flirtation as a method of coping. Nadya Popova revealed, "We always tried to look good. We wore a little make-up even if it was forbidden. You only have your youth once. Ours came during the war, but still, we were not going to miss it."[35]

The battlefront was a space for females to work alongside males as colleagues and comrades defending their homeland, but perpetually mixed gender interactions also generated a unique social environment where societal norms were blurred. One female soldier divulged that on the front lines, battle-fatigued and starving, going days or weeks without bathing, "the conditions were hardly conducive to sex anyway...It seems impossible to think of a million women with the front-line troops, without a great deal of sex going on. But then we weren't like that. We were just trying to survive."[36]

As the women exhibited their skills and proved themselves in battle and fought alongside the men, the do-or-die instinct became second nature, a necessary state of mind. Gender became an irrelevant label or definition because survival and defense were their only goals. Unsurprisingly, close friendships established under these conditions were common and "there were strong friendships between us all. All these feeling were tested in extreme conditions because at any moment you could be killed."[37] Anna Kirilina, an armament mechanic with the 125th Guards Bomber Regiment, described it best when she revealed:

> "Wartime is wartime, and war is not a labor for women. We didn't even feel what was happening because we were so physically overstrained. But the war made us not friends, but relatives. It made us sisters, dear, dear creatures to each other...For the four years of war, we all went through and

> experienced so much that sometimes it seems impossible for a human creature to know it in her whole lifetime."[38]

The impact of serving alongside men provided one woman with a unique glimpse of another side of masculinity that would she would possibly never witness under normal societal interaction.

One woman recalled a unique glimpse of another side of masculinity in her male colleagues, one that she would never have witnessed had it not been for their camaraderie borne on the battlefront. She shared:

> "I gained a new respect for men, soldiers, born not out of idolatry from afar, but out of sharing this with them, exposed to their weaknesses, seeing how they coped and showed more human sides. They cried, they were frightened, they were upset about killing. It was important for me to experience that, alongside them, as their companions...That left a great impression on me."[39]

The pilots considered their missions to be vital operations for the defense of Mother Russia and were driven to protect their comrades. Popova stated, "I don't think you can separate men from women in this situation. War does not spare anyone, it doesn't distinguish between the sexes or the young from the old"[40] The difficult acceptance of the brutality of warring allowed the women to concentrate on the tasks at hand. Once the initial shock of battle passed, there was an emotional adaptation to combat as "a who-will-win situation. They were destroying us and we were destroying them. There was no choice involved. That is the logic of war: it is life or death, victory or be vanquished."[41]

These women faced great change during demobilization at the end of the Great Patriotic War in May 1945. They had acquired knowledge and skills through new opportunities created by the necessity for a labor force that would allow the functioning of the military. They had challenged gender definitions and social skepticism through the completion of basic training. In combat, they had honed their newly acquired skills and performed their duties in excellence, and then were demobilized rapidly and discharged from service. "Subsequently banned from service academies, which were virtually the only way to become a military pilot and/or officer in the USSR," these women were discouraged from continuing their military careers or seeking employment in related positions.[42]

The primary goal was to rebuild Russia and the women were a labor source essential to the civilian workforce. The women were encouraged to return to their homes and start families and return to the workforce because they were no longer needed as soldiers and pilots. The war brought destruction to the country and "while the Soviet government emphasized that women were 'first and foremost wives and mothers,' they were also workers, and in late 1945, women constituted 63 percent of the workforce in Moscow."[43] The same early-war emphasis on women as nurturers, the ties to the Mother Russia identity of self-sacrifice for the family, was publicly promoted.

A common dilemma for these women grew out of the social pressures of deciding to place more importance on the family instead of an aviation or military career. The issue of rebuilding the nation was vital and every citizen had a duty and task to ensure the goal was successfully met. "Any image of the new Soviet women as military officer and pilot that resulted from wartime experience was far outweighed by the overwhelming official emphasis on the Soviet woman as mother, wife and builder of society" that essentially, the efforts, sacrifices, and achievements of these women were disappeared from history.[44] There were some women who felt it was no longer necessary to continue in their combat positions during peacetime; "Performance...was not the issue, but practicality."[45]

Irina Rakobolskaya, pilot with the 588th Regiment, rationalized the difficult reality and challenges she faced to pursue both a family and piloting career when she stated, "I think that during the war, when the fate of our country was being decided, the bringing in of women into aviation was justified. But in peacetime a woman can only fly for sport...otherwise how can one combine a career with a family and with maternal happiness?"[46]

These women pilots were young and most considered returning to their pre-war occupations if aviation was not an option. Many of them were attending university when the war began and consequently, they returned to finish their education. Some of the women who did attempt to pursue aviation after the war found they were unable to fly because of injuries or from the effects of combat. Poor living conditions on the battlefront such as malnutrition, exhaustion, and emotional trauma contributed to poor physical and mental health, and "had taken a heavy toll...many of them, who hoped to fly in civil aviation, failed the medical examination."[47]

Post-war life was difficult for some of those female pilots who had wed military husbands. Although it was expected for the women to defer to their husband's career ambitions and transition to domestic life, the social hypocrisy was frustrating and hard to accept.

Other pilots were fortunate to be able to continue their aviation careers despite the opposition they faced. Upon arrival at Zhukovsky Military Aviation Academy, Ekaterina Riabova, was instructed by her commanding officer, "you have already proved what Soviet women are capable of when their help is essential. But the conditions of study in a military academy take a heavy toll on the female body. You lost a lot of strength and health in the war. We must protect you. Enroll to study in a civilian university instead."[48] Despite the dissuasion from entering "the off-limits male territory of the aviation academy," Riabova completed her undergraduate

studies, enrolled in graduate school, started her family and attended speaking engagements in Europe and Asia in the two years after the war.[49]

Women who volunteered for military service comprised eight percent of all combatants and their performance in battle proved that gender did not account for skills. Nearly 150,000 were decorated for their accomplishments and 91 of these Russian women were recipients of the highest award for valor, the Hero of the Soviet Union medal.[50] Of the one thousand who made up the all-female Fighter Pilot Regiments, more than 30 were awarded for their bravery with the Hero of the Soviet Union medals. At least 50 of these women were killed in action and two regiments received "Guards" distinctions.[51]

Marina Raskova died on January 4, 1943, while en route to the front at Stalingrad through a heavy snowstorm. She piloted a Pe-2 dive-bomber aircraft, flying in formation with two others. All four crewmembers of Raskova's plane were killed when the formation crashed near the Volga River. Raskova never lead her regiment in combat. Raskova was posthumously awarded the Order of the Patriotic war, First Class, and her remains were interred in the Kremlin wall.[52]

Upon Raskova's death, 587th Regiment command was handed over to Lieutenant-colonel Valentin Markov. Initially apprehensive of taking leadership over the all-female unit, Markov was unsure what to expect between himself and the unit. He decided, "to be a just, strict, and demanding commander, irrespective of the fact that all these personnel were female" and soon realized there were no differences in skills of the regiments due to gender.[53] Excellence in performance was due to their training and devotion to duty. Markov remarked, "They respected the truth and fair treatment towards them. They never whimpered and never complained and were very courageous...to some extent at the end of the war it was easier for me to command this female regiment."[54]

The 587th was awarded elite "Guards" status. Its regimental title was changed to the 125th Guards Bomber Regiment and they were named in honor of Marina Raskova. Even in death, Raskova remained a powerful leader and inspiration to the pilots and crew she trained. Her lessons and advice remained integral to the pilots, navigators, and technicians whom she trained and led. Many pilots carried her photograph in a pocket of their flight suits, a memento and token of good luck. Navigator Galina Brok-Beltsova said, "We all called ourselves, 'Raskovi,' belonging to Raskova. She was brave, and so we were brave."[55] Her efforts to promote aviation and opportunity for Russian women remain her legacy to present day.

Russians of every class were involved in the defense of Soviet soil from Nazi invaders. Communist ideology was likely much of the reason for this strong defense but it clearly was a more basic need to defend the collective "home" from outsiders who were only intent on raiding and destroying everything in sight. The necessity for troops permitted Communist social equality to be practiced and the women fighter pilots, the *Nachthexen*, were the product of this unique, yet unfortunate, circumstance. In combat, their exceptional performance was proof to their nation that given the opportunity, the women could transcend the limits of their stereotypes.

Notes

[1]Anne Noggle. A *Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 5.

[2]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station: Texas A&M UniversityPress, 1994), 5.

[3]D'Ann Campbell. "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union." *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1993), 318.

[4]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 21.

[5]D'Ann Campbell. "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union." *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1993), 318.

[6]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 34.

[7]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 34.

[8]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 6.

[9]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 21.

[10]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 21.

[11]D'Ann Campbell. "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union." *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1993), 318

[12]D'Ann Campbell. "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union." *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1993), 318.

[13]D'Ann Campbell. "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union." *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1993), 318.

[14]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 16.

[15]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station:Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 6.

[16]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 7.

[17]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 7.

[18]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 7.

[19]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 23.

[20]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 7.

[21]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 24.

[22]Shelley Saywell. *Women in War,* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 143.

[23]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 18.

[24]Shelley Saywell. *Women in War,* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 143.

[25]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 19.

[26]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 25.

[27]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 25.

[28]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 20.

[29]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 27.

[30]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 27.

[31]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 19.

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[33]Shelley Saywell. *Women in War,* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 149.

[34]Shelley Saywell. *Women in War,* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 149

[35]Shelley Saywell. *Women in War,* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 145.

[36]Shelley Saywell. *Women in War,* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 145.

[37]Shelley Saywell. *Women in War,* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 146.

[38]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station:Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 124.

[39]Shelley Saywell. *Women in War,* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 146.

[40]Shelley Saywell. *Women in War,* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 149.

[41]Shelley Saywell. Women in War, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 149.

[42]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 70.

[43]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 72.

[44]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 73.

[45]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 73.

[46]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 73.

[47]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 124.

[48]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 34

[49]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 34.

[50]D'Ann Campbell. "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union." *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1993), 320.

[51]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 3.

[52]Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II.* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 25.

[53]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 103.

[54]Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 105.

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Women Warriors of Early Japan

Rochelle Nowaki
History 310
Fall 2013

Source: Yoshitoshi. *Hangakujo*. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 1885. Painting.

Women warriors were not a rarity in feudal Japan. The *onna-musha* (女武者) lived within a warring culture and with traditions of acquiring indispensable skills in martial arts, archery, and horse riding. "Sengoku battles often took the form of sieges wherein the entire family would fight to defend the castle" so it was necessary to be able to defend your family, children, and yourself.[1] The painting titled *Boki ekotoba*, dated to 1351, depicted a woman in armor, armed with naginata and bow. A journal record of "predominately female cavalry" is noted by Chancellor Toin Kinkata, who stated they, "originated in western Japan...which suggests that women from the west were most likely to serve in battle," away from the capital cities.[2]

The historic depictions of these females are uncommon, however, because of the changes that grew out of the political and societal turbulence starting in the Kamakura Period. The apparent "paucity of references indicates that women constituted a distinct minority of warriors" but the opposite was more probable as evidence recording their accomplishments were lost to warring practices of the time.[3] The existence and experiences of the *onna musha* have changed over history and as a result they are now viewed as a curious novelty of the time instead of simply exceptional individuals.

Tomoe Gozen

Tomoe Gozen (巴御前) was perhaps the most widely known *onna-musha* in Japanese history. "The archetypal samurai woman warrior,"[4] she was chronicled in the *Heike monogatari*, which detailed her involvement in twelfth century battles of the Gempei Wars between the Taira and Minamoto clans. She was famed for her expert horsemanship, exceptional skills in archery and bravery in battle; Tomoe was "a powerful fighter, the equal of a thousand, capable of dealing even with demons or gods."[5]

Lady Tomoe was the servant, lover and in some reports, a wife, of General Minamoto Kiso Yoshinaka. Tomoe's father was Nakahara Kaneto and more significantly, her mother was *menoto*, Yoshinaka's wet-nurse. "It was the custom in pre-modern Japan for children of rank to be suckled by a menoto...an honor usually bestowed as a reward for service. The *menoto* and her family played an essential role in bringing up and educating the child entrusted to them and they identified their interests completely with the child's."[6] Yoshinaka and his blood siblings were predestined for political competition with one another but his foster siblings, Tomoe included, were not. Power was passed on through male inheritance and literal blood-feuding for political power was common in the noble families This was likely the reason for his close relationship with Tomoe, as there was no reason to fear her betrayal due to the influence of political strategizing.

Yoshinaka was engaged in political competition with his cousin Minamoto Yoritomo, who would later establish the Kamakura Shogunate. Tomoe accompanied Yoshinaka on his military campaigns and served him loyally on the battlefield. Significantly, she was entrusted with the authority as his "*ippo no taisho*, leading commander,"[7] to lead troops into battle.

The *Heike monogatari* describes her alleged last fight on the battlefield at Awazu, after the mortally wounded Yoshinaka orders her departure to send news of his imminent death to his family in Shinano:

> Tomoe made no move to go. But Yoshinaka insisted until at last she said: "At least I would like a worthy opponent. I would like to show you, my Lord Kiso, my last combat in your service."
> So she lay in wait for an enemy. And there appeared one famous for his strength throughout the province of Musashi, Onda no Hachiro Morishige, with thirty horsemen. Tomoe charged in among them, went straight to Onda no Hachiro, fiercely seized him and pinned his head on the pommel of her saddle, then wrenched it around, cut it off, and tossed it away. After that she removed her armor and escaped toward the East.[8]

The chronicle of Tomoe Gozen in *Heike monogatari* and its extended version *Genpei josuiki* "attribute different adversaries to Tomoe,"[9] contributing

to the mystery of this onna- musha's history. Similarly, there remains much speculation about Lady Tomoe's departure from the battlefield. Author Stephen Turnbull states that Wada Yoshimori attacked her "using a pine trunk as a club...and made her his concubine."[10] There are similar reports that say Yoshimori took her as his wife in hopes of producing strong warrior sons, gifted with skills that would prove favorable for Yoritomo.

Chieko Mulhern proffered that Yoshimori believed "…So valiant a woman would surely bear him valiant sons."[11] Folkloric hero Asahina Yoshihide, famed for his "colossal strength," was described in legends as Tomoe's son with Yoshimori. Furthermore, varied accounts say that despite her gender, Tomoe was destined for beheading by Yoritomo for her role as enemy commander.

Other sources say that Tomoe escaped her imprisonment, went into hiding and eventually became a nun who died at age ninety.[12] Whatever the case may be of her eventual fate, Tomoe Gozen and her reputation as ideal *onna-musha* endured. She has been celebrated in Kyoto's *Jidai Matsuri*, Festival of the Ages, which commemorates ancient Kyoto history and culture, with a portrayal in the festival's parade dedicated to historical medieval figures. Tomoe has been immortalized in anime, videogames, movies, and books, including a historical science-fiction-fantasy trilogy written by Jessica Salmonson, titled The *Tomoe Gozen Saga*.

The Jito

During the Kamakura Era, women in the Kanto region commonly held the position of regional land stewards, known as *jito*. This title involved the duties of a provincial manager, tax collector, and policing force that would enact, enforce and protect the *daimyo*-controlled lands. The Shogun appointed individuals, typically men, to these positions but the titles and authority could be passed in succession through a man's will to his widow or children. It is notable that "no other law except indifference excluded women from this kind of authority."[13] Women in the Kamakura were also legally authorized to appoint others to this position in their place if they were so inclined.

Although it was implied that these titles would necessitate martial training for carrying out enforcement or policing duties on the estate, there has been little direct evidence that would substantiate any methods or training that these women completed to gain necessary skills. Nevertheless, these women were preponderantly of *bushi* class so it was not remarkable that they would have been trained in self-defense, to wield *tanto* (small blades) or *naginata* (polearms).

Hangaku Gozen

Hangaku Gozen was a member of the Taira clan who lived with her family in Echigo. Also known as Hangaku Itazaki, she was the daughter of Jo Sukenaga, who was defeated by Kiso Yoshinaka in battle. She joined her uncle, Jo Nagamochi, and cousin, Jo Sukemori, in the Kennin Rebellion of 1201, and became an integral part of their defensive operations at Torisaka Castle.

Hangaku was noted for her leadership and bravery during the three month long defense during which she and Sukemori led forces of men against Sasaki Moritsuna's bakufu army, who were loyal to the Kamakura Shogunate. "Dressed as a boy, Hangaku stood on the tower of the castle and all those that came to attack her were shot down by her arrows which pierced them either in their chests or their heads."[14] The rebel defenses were eventually struck down and Hangaku's fighting stopped only after she was wounded by an arrow that pierced her thigh.

She was captured and presented, "fearless as a man and beautiful as a flower,"[15] as a prisoner of war to the Shogun Minamoto Yoriiye, who was intrigued by her beauty and reputation. Lady Hangaku was precluded from ritual suicide by the Shogun's orders to marry his retainer, Asari Yoshito. Later, she reportedly delivered a son, but there is little record of the remainder of her life.

Tsuruhime of Omishima Island

Tsuruhime was born to the Chief Priest of Oyamazumi Shrine, Ohori Yasumochi, on the island of Omishima during a time of conflict between the Kono clan, under which her family was ruled, and the Ouchi clan, which strove to take control of the region. Tsuruhime inherited her father's position when he died of illness and she also assumed leadership of Omishima's defense against the threat of the invading Ouchi military. In 1541, the sixteen-year old Tsuruhime led an attack against the raiding Ouchi army. "Trained since childhood in the martial arts...she took charge of the military resistance" and successfully defended the island.[16] It was recorded that Tsuruhime believed she was a manifestation of Mishima Myojin, Omishima Island's guardian *kami*. She was empowered not merely because of her inherited position, but moreso because of her divine belief that it was her life's purpose to defend the people of Omishima Island and the Kono clan.

The Ouchi returned four months later in a raid led by Commander Obara Nakatsukasa no Jo. Tsuruhime directed the surprise attack against the Ouchi forces, striking Obara one evening during a moment of respite, while he enjoyed entertainment and sake on his flagship. "Using a bear paw rake she climbed on board and sought out the general for single combat."[17] Obara was described to be surprised, not solely by the instance of attack, but particularly because it was a woman who was in command. Armed with a sword, Tsuruhime swiftly defeated Obara while the defense army and Kono allies exploited their weapons advantage and unleashed a barrage of *horokubiya*, "spherical exploding bombs,"[18] against the Ouchi fleet and drove them to retreat.

Tsuruhime's armor was collected in 1543 after she died by ritual suicide through drowning, following the death of her lover in battle against the Ouchi.

Tsuruhime was eighteen years old. Her suit of armor was enshrined at Oyamazumi Temple.[19] The Shinto shrine's assemblage of military armament and weaponry has historically been an important site of worship by warriors and military. These warriors made offerings and prayed to Mishima Myojin for protection in battle. Over time, Tsuruhime's armor and other famous warriors' offerings became religious treasures and icons of worship.

The Sato Wives

Two Sato brothers served as Minamoto Yoshitsune's bodyguards for many years and were killed in his service. Their widows, Wakazakura and Kaede, observed common Confucian practices of mourning by wearing their late husbands' suits of armor over kimono. The custom was performed to show honor and filial piety and reportedly, also to appease and console the Sato mother-in law, Otowa. The Sato wives were immortalized in an undated scroll that hangs in Ioji Temple, which was constructed in honor of the fallen Sato warriors. The artwork depicts the widows in full armor, presented before their mother-in-law, Otowa, who is pleased with this tribute of devotion and loyalty to her slain sons.

Folk history venerates these women as examples of honor as "some variations of the story portray them [the widows] as actual warriors who donned the armor to fight and seek revenge, rather than as merely an act of memorialization."[20] Author Stephen Turnbull stated, "At no time did a samurai's wife show herself in a better light as a brave warrior than when she faced the defeat of her clan, the fall of her castle, and the death of her husband."[21] However, there has been no clear evidence that reveals whether the widows were simply grieving samurai wives or if the scroll's depiction illustrates the widows fulfilling their roles in a vengeful act of bereavement.

The Ikko-ikki

Feudal Japan was a time of fighting amongst the clans for political power. Social chaos and turbulence followed any change in the regional ruling powers, the *daimyo*, fueling rebellion amongst members of the bushi who had adopted True Pure-Land Buddhism. The Jodo-Shinshu teachings "promised an easy salvation for everyone who prayed to Amida Buddha, and…had a great appeal for the common people."[22] "Hierarchical in organization and exceptionally militant,"[23] the sect attracted not only members of the *bushi*, but also "low-ranking samurai, village headmen, and small landowners [who] came together in a self-supporting alliance,"[24] known as *Ikko* (Single-Minded) *ikki* (league). Members of these alliances "were as a rule unrelated both where ties of kinship or vassalage were concerned. The group signed an oath of loyalty to a common cause, valid until the task had been accomplished."[25]

Rioting was a common tactic utilized by *ikki* to maintain some sort of balancing influence over the provincial rulers of higher ranks. For instance, *Tsuchi-ikki* were those united to seek economic justice against heavy taxation and cancellation of inordinate debt. Conflict between *ikki* and feudal provincial government was so common that "just as every member of Jodo-Shinshu shared fully in its peacetime activities, so did they share in the responsibilities when conflict loomed."[26] It was logical to accept that women were, at the very least, taught defensive skills to protect their families or even basic combative tactics with weapons and "certainly by the 1580s, the experience of a century of war had taught them that if they lost to a samurai army, a massacre of every member of the community would follow."[27]

An *Ou Eikei Gunki* account explained how a force of female *ikki* combatants successfully defended Omori Castle against a warring landlord, in 1599, using a stone-throwing wooden tool:

> Every single one of the two or three hundred women from inside the castle came out and began to throw down an abundance of large and small stones which they had already prepared, shouting as they defended, whereupon more than twenty men were suddenly hit and died. Many more were wounded. In fact, and regrettably, because of the women's act of opportunity in throwing stones, driven by necessity and scrambling to be first, they jumped into the moat and fled outside the palisade. This treatment inspired those within the castle. [Then] about twenty arquebuses opened fire. This was not enough to frighten [the women], and the throwing of small stones from the shadows of the moat was like a hailstorm. To the irritation of Shiyoshi, they struck Ishii Ukon Koremichi in both eyes and killed him. Similarly, they struck in one eye the horse that Kutsuzawa Goro was riding. Saying 'to stay too long in that place and be hit by women's stones would be a failure bringing ridicule for generations to come,' they returned to the original place of attack.[28]

While it remains impossible to numerate the *onna-musha* who participated in battle, "women warriors were common enough that their presence did not elicit surprise or, for that matter, commentary"[29] T.D. Conlan postulated that gender was regarded less important than social rank; "Warrior women were treated virtually indistinguishably from their men. When Kamakura was sacked, many were butchered."[30] The record of the history of Japanese men of *bushi* class is extensive, bearing witness to contributions and military involvement of individuals and groups of significance. Reasonably, we expect an analogous amount of written or artistic evidence about the involvement or contributions

of women, contemporary with those historic events. However, this remains untrue.

Ukiyo-e woodblock prints illustrate women in battle, often presenting the women in full armor, wielding *naginata* (polearm), or a bow. The artists Yoshitoshi, Toyohara Chikanobu, and Katsukawa Shuntei represented Tomoe Gozen fighting in battle in nineteenth century prints. "Hangakujo," also by Yoshitoshi, was painted around 1885 and depicted Hangaku Gozen in full armour on a white horse. By the time of these productions, several centuries past the historical dates, both Tomoe and Hangaku Gozen were already legendary figures celebrated in early literature, traditional tales and Noh plays.

Confounding more accurate substantiation of these women was the production of artwork in which male *kabuki* actors depicted heroic female characters. It was common for artwork in the Tokugawa period to reflect culture of the time, "the kimono in its various forms has often been similar if not identical. Men and women are dressed exactly alike...sometimes even their hairdos are the same...there are pictures of young men (without shaved pates) and women who cannot be distinguished one from another."[31] Yoshitoshi's 1848 CE print, titled "Three actors in the roles of Wada Yoshimori, Tomoe Gozen, and Yamabuki," is one such example.

The depictions and accounts of these women warriors date back to the early eleventh century, yet direct evidence is extremely rare. Warring practices of feudal *daimyo* Oda Nobunaga, "a hard and ruthless campaigner,"[32] utilized pillaging and raiding of defiant villages, temples and castles to seize control of new territory and expand regional rule. It is not far from logic to expect that countless records or narratives were destroyed in this process and thereby erased the original historical accounts of the *onna-musha.*

Additional studies will require utilization of alternative sources of primary evidence. For instance, newly unearthed archaeological specimens could be DNA tested to validate the presence of women in defense of castles and villages, or in combat on the feudal battlefields of Japan. Future research on these Japanese women warriors will hopefully yield more information that further enlightens modern historians about feudal events, feudal life, cultural changes and the fascinating achievements of simply exceptional women.

Notes

[1]K. Friday, *Japan Emerging: Premodern History to 1850* (Colorado: Westview Press, 2012), 270.

[2]T.D. Conlan, *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth-Century Japan* (MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003), 128-9.

[3]Ibid, 129.

[4]S.R. Turnbull, *Samurai Women: 1184-1877* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2010), 36.

[5]P.H. Varley, *Warriors of Japan as portrayed in the War Tales*. (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 104.

[6]C. I. Mulhern, *Heroic with Grace* (NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1991), 139.

[7]P.H. Varley, *Warriors of Japan as portrayed in the War Tales* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 104.

[8]C. I. Mulhern, *Heroic with Grace* (NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1991), 146.

[9]C. I. Mulhern, *Heroic with Grace* (NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1991), 141.

[10]S.R. Turnbull, *Samurai Women: 1184-1877* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2010), 37.

[11]C. I. Mulhern, *Heroic with Grace* (NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1991), 147-8.

[12]Ibid, 148.

[13]M.R. Beard, *The Force of Women in Japanese History* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1953), 65.

[14]M.R. Beard, *The Force of Women in Japanese History* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1953), 72-73.

[15]M.R. Beard, *The Force of Women in Japanese History* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1953), 72-73.

[16]S.R. Turnbull, *Samurai Women: 1184-1877* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2010), 38.

[17]S.R. Turnbull, *Samurai Women: 1184-1877* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2010), 40.

[18]S.R. Turnbull, *Samurai Women: 1184-1877* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2010), 40.

[19]S.R. Turnbull, *Samurai Women: 1184-1877* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2010), 38.

[20]S.R. Turnbull, *Samurai Women: 1184-1877* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2010), 10.

[21]S.R. Turnbull, *The Samurai Swordsman: Master of War* (Vermont: Tuttle Publishing, 2008), 148.

[22]C. Blomberg, *The Heart of the Warrior* (Kent: Japan Library, Curzon Press Ltd., 1994), 99.

[23]C. Blomberg, *The Heart of the Warrior* (Kent: Japan Library, Curzon Press Ltd., 1994), 99.

[24]S.R. Turnbull, *The Samurai Swordsman: Master of War* (Vermont: Tuttle Publishing, 2008), 150.

[25]C. Blomberg, *The Heart of the Warrior* (Kent: Japan Library, Curzon Press Ltd., 1994), 99.

[26]S.R. Turnbull, *The Samurai Swordsman: Master of War* (Vermont: Tuttle Publishing, 2008), 150.

[27]S.R. Turnbull, *The Samurai Swordsman: Master of War* (Vermont: Tuttle Publishing, 2008), 151.

[28]S.R. Turnbull, *The Samurai Swordsman: Master of War* (Vermont: Tuttle Publishing, 2008), 152.

[29]T.D. Conlan, *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth-Century Japan* (MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003), 129.

[30]T.D. Conlan, *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth-Century Japan* (MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003), 128.

[31]P.H. Varley, *Japanese Culture* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 348.

[32]P.H. Varley, *Japanese Culture* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 142.

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The Integration of Mythical Creatures in the *Harry Potter* Series

Terri Pinyerd
English 200D
Fall 2014

From the naturalistic expeditions of Pliny the Elder, to the hobbit's journey across Middle Earth, the literary world has been immersed in the alluring presence of mythical and fabulous creatures. Ranging from the familiar winged dragon to the more unusual and obscure barometz, the mythical creature brings with it a sense of imagined history that allows the reader to become immersed in its world; J.K Rowling's best-selling *Harry Potter* series is one of these worlds. This paper will analyze the presence of classic mythical creatures in the *Harry Potter* series, along with the addition of original creations, while examining the effect that this has on the series as a whole in regards to the creation of a world that envelopes and intrigues the reader.

Oftentimes while discussing mythical creatures, the image of the dragon is brought to mind. While it is difficult to place an exact date due to variations in terminology, the lore surrounding dragons dates back hundreds of years, and it can easily be said that dragons are the most feared and revered of all mythical beasts and beings. The essence of their mystique may be due to their shifting nature; while the dragons of earlier times were depicted as the beastly embodiment of evil, there have been many variations ranging from the wise and noble, the bloodthirsty and vengeful, and—as in Rowling's *Potter* series—the purely animal (*Goblet* 326). Still, as their individual natures may change, the morphology of the dragon remains at a constant. As Malcolm South states, dragons are "serpentlike creatures of exceptional size, with wings, claws, and a tail, breathing fire and/or poison, guarding treasure, living in remote areas (whether on land, or in or near water), and acting as antagonists to divine, heroic or chivalric warriors" (28). While Rowling's dragons follow this description as far as morphology, the dragon plays a different role as an antagonist in the wizarding world. As stated earlier, the dragons in Rowling's world are unique in the sense that they do not possess the tradition-implied sentience that many dragons of modern or classical lore seem to; they are merely beasts, and fairly vicious ones at that. The first mention of a dragon in the *Harry Potter* series is the introduction of Hagrid's baby dragon, Norbert:

All at once there was a scraping noise and the egg split open. The baby dragon flopped onto the table. It wasn't exactly pretty; Harry thought it looked like a crumpled, black umbrella. Its spiny wings were huge compared to its skinny jet body; it had a long snout with wide nostrils, the stubs of horns and bulging, orange eyes. (*Stone* 235) Harry's first year introduces the traditional serpentine dragon, something that readers can envision with confidence and clarity. The fourth year, however, provides a vivid insight on the break from tradition as Harry watches while "four fully grown, enormous, vicious-looking dragons were rearing onto their hind legs inside an enclosure fenced with thick planks of wood, roaring and snorting—torrents of fire were shooting into the dark sky from their open, fanged mouths, fifty feet above the ground on their outstretched necks" (*Goblet* 326). This is a change from the treasure hoarding, princess stealing, riddle loving dragons of fantasy and fairy tales; these are beasts that can merely be restrained, not tamed. It is with this that Rowling sets the feel for her series. The reader is told that not everything is as it seems, or is expected to be. Danger is real, even for wizards.

If the dragon is the embodiment of evil and greed, the unicorn is its counterpart as the symbol of innocence and purity. Known in the West at least four centuries before the birth of Christ—and possibly even earlier in the East—the legend of the unicorn maintains a timeless and universal appeal. Because the image of the unicorn maintains an air of probability, it was accepted as a genuine creature until the nineteenth century (South 5). The classic unicorn possesses the body of a horse, but this is not always the case. There are a variety of unicorn-like creatures, some with the body of a fish, others with a multitude of limbs, eyes, or mouths, but the defining factor is the presence of a single, prominent horn. Though the unicorn does not appear in the *Harry Potter* series often, it plays an important role in a variety of aspects in the wizarding world, and in the storyline itself. Unicorn horn and hair is considered highly valuable and useful in potion-making and wandlore, while the blood of a unicorn provides a temporary lifeline to those near death, though this benefit is rarely ever utilized. In fact, the only time that this practice is mentioned is during Harry's first year as he serves his detention in the Forbidden Forest. As he and his classmates attempt to track down an injured unicorn, Harry gets separated from the rest and stumbles upon the horrible sight of Voldemort drinking the blood from the unicorn's wound. Later, the centaur, Firenze, explains to Harry why this practice is frowned upon:

> "Harry Potter, do you know what unicorn blood is used for?"
> "No," said Harry, startled by the odd question. "We've only used the horn and tail hair in Potions."
> "That is because it is a monstrous thing, to slay a unicorn," said Firenze. "Only one who has nothing to lose, and everything to gain, would commit such a crime. The blood of a unicorn will keep you alive, even if you are an inch from death, but at a terrible price. You have slain something pure and defenseless to save yourself, and you will have but a half-life, a cursed life, from the moment the blood touches your lips." (*Stone* 258)

The killing of a unicorn takes on symbolic meanings in both Rowling's interpretation and in classical lore. Traditionally, only a virgin maiden could possess the ability to successfully capture a unicorn, due to her own innocence and purity. This led to tales of "unicorn hunts" where a virgin would be used to lure the unicorn into submission, while the hunters would attack and, inevitably, kill the unsuspecting creature. Christian symbolism likens the unicorn hunters to Christ's enemies, and by extension the evil that extinguishes the good (South 17). Rowling's interpretation takes few liberties and, all in all, maintains the traditional image of the unicorn.

Another mythical creature kept classical is the centaur. Again, in Harry's first year during his detention in the Forbidden Forest, readers are introduced to Ronan, Bane, and Firenze, three wise and proud centaurs who follow the classic combination of man and horse. This is the "true form," and lesser details such as the types of legs, or the presence of wings are merely details (South 225). Symbolically, the centaur represents a dichotomy between wisdom and violence; something that Rowling portrays with ease. Upon meeting the centaur Firenze, Harry Potter is asked to ride upon his back to safety, a request that angers the other centaurs:

> "Firenze!" Bane thundered. "What are you doing? You have a human on your back! Have you no shame? Are you a common mule?"
> "Do you realize who this is?" said Firenze. "This is the Potter boy. The quicker he leaves this forest, the better."
> "What have you been telling him?" growled Bane. "Remember, Firenze, we are sworn not to set ourselves against the heavens. Have we not read what is to come in the movements of the planets?" (*Stone* 257).

Here it is made clear that the centaurs are proud creatures, reluctant to impart their celestial wisdom on a human and disgusted at the prospect of having their companion serve one by allowing him to ride on his back. The combination of a quick temper and a mysterious intelligence ties Rowling's centaurs back to their classical roots.

Another creature of part-human morphology is the mermaid. Oftentimes depicted in fairy tales and fantasy, the mermaid is a creature of the water, with the torso of a beautiful woman and the tail of a fish. Usually the mermaid possesses some sort of musical ability, either singing or harping, and is frequently seen sunning themselves on sands or rocks, with a mirror or comb in hand (South 133). While Rowling's merpeople do possess some of these qualities, there is a distinct twist to the traditional lore:

> "The oldest recorded merpeople were known as sirens (Greece) and it is in warmer waters that we find the beautiful mermaids so frequently depicted in Muggle literature and painting. The selkies of Scotland and the Merrows of Ireland are less beautiful, but they share that love of music which is common to all merpeople." (F*antastic Beasts* 29)

Here there is a distinction between warm water (or salt water) merpeople, and freshwater, the latter being described as "less beautiful." In fact, the depiction of freshwater merpeople in Harry's fourth year gives them a wilder, more violent appearance:

> "The merpeople had grayish skin and long, wild, dark green hair. Their eyes were yellow, as were their broken teeth, and they wore thick ropes of pebbles around their necks. They leered at Harry as he swam past; one or two of them emerged from their caves to watch him better, their powerful, silver fish tails beating the water, spears clutched in their hands." (*Goblet* 498)

They are described here as being fairly tribal, living in caves and wielding spears. As with the dragons, Rowling's depiction of merpeople brings with it a sense of fantastical reality; the shock of a childhood icon being so grim and gritty in "real life" borders on the symbolic.

One of the few creatures that Rowling did not alter is the mandrake. The mandrake is more plant than animal, and while the mandrake plant does truly exist, it is not as animated as myth would imply. It is the root of the mandrake that gives it interest, and Pliny the Elder described it as such: "This plant grows close to the ground and bears violet flowers and orange berries. The roots are shaped like human beings, the white roots being male, and the black female. So deadly is their magic that trained dogs are employed to dig up the plants" (*Natura* 104). It is the cry of the mandrake that makes it so dangerous, as mentioned by Professor Sprout in Harry's second year:

> "'The Mandrake forms an essential part of most antidotes. It is also, however, dangerous. Who can tell me why?'
> Hermione's hand narrowly missed Harry's glasses as it shot up again.
> "The cry of the Mandrake is fatal to anyone who hears it,' she said promptly." (*Chamber* 92)

Even the morphology of the mandrake is textbook, as one is described as looking like "a small, muddy, and extremely ugly baby...[with] pale green, mottled skin… bawling at the top of his lungs" (*Chamber* 93). However, there is one small twist that Rowling adds to her mandrakes and that is the weakness of the mandrake's power due to its young age, as Professor Sprout informs the students: "'As our Mandrakes are only seedlings,

their cries won't kill you yet'" (*Chamber* 93). Rowling also takes advantage of the supposed humanoid characteristics of the mandrake, giving the plants a stunningly human development cycle (Allan 121). They begin to throw parties during their adolescence, and Professor Sprout comments that: "The moment their acne clears up, they'll be ready for repotting again" (*Chamber* 234). The addition of a creature most likely unknown to younger readers allows Rowling to both educate and intrigue. Her use of classic lore, and the addition of realistic variations grant the wizarding world a degree of depth in everyday life.

Also introduced in Harry's second year is the basilisk. The name of the basilisk means "little king," due to the presence of white markings on the head resembling a diadem (Borges, 30). Traditionally the basilisk is portrayed as a serpent, but later times show the basilisk as being part serpent, part rooster (though this is usually considered to be a separate creature, the cockatrice). Its venom is fatal, as well as its gaze, and it possesses the ability to move with its head held upright (South 113-115). In the Middle Ages it was believed that the crow of the rooster could kill the basilisk, and many travelers were known to carry roosters alongside them as they traveled through unknown territory (Borges 31). Rowling sticks to the classic portrayal, using the deadly gaze of the basilisk as one of the main points of conflict in Harry's second year. After Hermione Granger is petrified by the reflection of the basilisk's gaze, Harry discovers a crumpled textbook page in her hand with information on the basilisk:

> Of the many fearsome beasts and monsters that roam our land, there is none more curious or more deadly than the Basilisk, known also as the King of Serpents. This snake, which may reach gigantic size and live many hundreds of years, is born from a chicken's egg, hatched beneath a toad. Its methods of killing are most wondrous, for aside from its deadly and venomous fangs, the Basilisk has a murderous stare, and all who are fixed with the beam of its eye shall suffer instant death. Spiders flee before the Basilisk, for it is their mortal enemy, and the Basilisk flees only from the crowing of the rooster, which is fatal to it. (*Chamber* 290)

The introduction of this information as canonical in the wizarding world is a key element of fantasy; allowing the characters to accept facts that are beyond our realm creates distance between "this" realm and "that", while still maintaining relatable ties (the fact that Hermione researched and obtained this text from a library is something many readers can relate to).

As far as deadly and dangerous creatures go, the werewolf is perhaps one of the most recognized. Traditionally, the werewolf is a person who has been changed into a wolf or a creature with a lupine form. Usually the change is involuntary and brought about by the presence of the full moon (South 265). In the Harry Potter series, we are made familiar with the two main werewolves, Remus Lupin and Fenrir Greyback, the former being on the side of good, the latter on the side of evil. Their portrayal as werewolves begins with their names. For Remus Lupin, the story of Romulus and Remus, two young boys who suckled at the teat of a she-wolf, is clearly a source of inspiration here, while the surname Lupin stems from the Latin term *lupus*, meaning "wolf" (South 266). Fenrir Greyack's name takes inspiration from the Scandinavian myth of the wolf Fenrir, a creature so feared by the gods that they bound him in special chains and imprisoned him. At the time of Ragnarok, when the destruction of the gods is said to occur, Fenrir will break loose and kill Odin (South 360). It is clear that Rowling takes advantage of etymology in her series. While Rowling does stick to the traditional description of werewolves, there is one instance where she adds her own touch. Werewolves are traditionally depicted as evil beings—there are no "good" werewolves. However, in Harry's third year we are introduced to Remus Lupin, professor of Defense Against the Dark Arts and mild-mannered lycanthrope. Upon having his secret affliction discovered by Harry, Ron, and Hermione, Lupin explains his story:

> "I was a very small boy when I received my bite. My parents tried everything, but in those days there was no cure. The potion that Professor Snape has been making me is a very recent discovery. It makes me safe, you see. As long as I take it in the week preceding the full moon, I keep my mind when I transform...I am able to curl up in my office, a harmless wolf, and wait for the moon to wane again."
> "Before the Wolfsbane Potion was discovered, however, I became a fully fledged monster once a month...My transformations in those days were – were terrible. It is very painful to turn into a werewolf. I was separated from humans to bite, so I bit and scratched myself instead." (*Azkaban* 353)

Rowling describes him as a character that is aware of his affliction and not proud, unlike others of his type. In fact, Lupin seems to be the only outlier in the werewolf community. While he prefers to live a semi-normal life, the other werewolves have taken advantage of their condition, and have learned to enjoy attacking humans as Greyback mentions to Professor Dumbledore:

> "But you know how much I like kids, Dumbledore."
> "Am I to take it that you are attacking even without the full moon now? This is most unusual... you have developed a taste for human flesh that cannot be satisfied once a month?" (*Prince* 593)

What Rowling does for many of her mythical beings is unusual; she does not label them all as "good" or

as "evil." Thus, there is always at least one outlier, in this case, Lupin being the black sheep of the werewolf community. Lupin's character is a statement of the human condition; we are not any one thing, but a culmination of lessons and experiences that shape us into the people we are. Just as Lupin chose not to lash out due to his hatred for the werewolf who bit him—Fenrir Greyback, coincidentally—Greyback chooses the path of evil to satiate his inhumane desires.

Where Lupin's struggle to be normal exemplifies the deeper symbolism of the *Harry Potter* series, Rowling's humorous interpretation of fair folk and their many relations exemplifies its whimsical nature. One of the first mythical beings we are introduced to in Harry's second year is Dobby the house-elf. Described as having "large, bat-like ears and bulging green eyes the size of tennis balls," Dobby is not quite the picturesque elf of children's books and fairy tales. In fact, upon further reading it is made clear that the house-elf is a type of wizarding servant:

> He blew his nose on a corner of the filthy pillowcase he wore, looking so pathetic that Harry felt his anger ebb away in spite of himself.
> "Why d'you wear that thing, Dobby?" he asked curiously.
> "This, sir?" said Dobby, plucking at the pillowcase. "'Tis a mark of the house-elf's enslavement, sir. Dobby can only be freed if his masters present him with clothes, sir. The family is careful not to pass Dobby even a sock, sir, for then he would be free to leave their house forever." (*Chamber* 177)

Based on this description, it is clear that Rowling's house-elves are somewhat akin to brownies. The brownie, as Malcolm South states, is "a small fairy who wears ragged clothes of a brown color, [and] is the best known of the household fairies. He will perform many tasks if he is well treated, but any mistreatment of him may cause him to do some damage. If he leaves a house, the good luck attached to it goes with him" (South 329). The main difference here is the implication that the brownie performs household tasks of their own free will, while the house-elf is enslaved. Rowling uses the house-elves to represent different "classes" in the wizarding world. House-elves, while still magically powerful, are not given equal treatment to wizards. The same inequality is apparent with goblins. The goblins of Rowling's world work in Gringotts, the wizard bank, as they are experts on treasure appraisal. While they are trusted with wizard riches, they are not trusted with the secrets of wandlore, as is mentioned by Griphook the goblin to Harry and his companions:

> "Wizards refuse to share the secrets of wandlore with other magical beings, they deny us the possibility of extending our powers! ...As the Dark Lord becomes even more powerful, your race is set still more firmly above mine! Gringotts falls under Wizarding rule, house-elves are slaughtered, and who amongst the wand-carriers protests?" (*Hallows* 488-489)

This apparent inequality of the classes mirrors reality and contrasts with the lighthearted fairytale world that readers are used to. Again, as with the integration of the werewolf, Rowling addresses very real and very human issues in this series.

Aside from the many traditional creatures, Rowling has also integrated a variety of original creations into her series. One of the most important is the thestral, first mentioned in Harry's fifth year as a "great, black, winged horse" with a "skeletal body" and a "dragonish face" (*Phoenix* 444). Thestrals are one of the most misunderstood creatures in the wizarding world, most likely because, as Hermione states, "The only people who can see thestrals, are people who have seen death" (*Phoenix* 446). Naturally, Harry possesses this ability, having witnessed the murder of his parents. This becomes useful later in the book, when Harry and his companions need to find a mode of transportation that will allow them to quickly reach the Ministry of Magic:

> "There are other ways of flying than with broomsticks," said Luna serenely. Harry whirled around. Standing between two trees, their white eyes gleaming eerily were two thestrals, watching the whispered conversation as though they understood every word." (*Phoenix* 762)

The thestral seems to have many physical features borrowed from traditional lore. Its skeletal appearance is similar to that of the Chichevache, a creature that survived only by eating virtuous women and because of this, was chronically malnourished (Allan 246). With the wings and head of a dragon, the thestral's appearance is essentially evil, but therein lies the point. The thestral is a symbolic representation of death; a concept unpleasant upon first look, but upon further inspection, calm and gentle in disposition.

If thestrals represent death, the dementor represents fear. In fact, the dementor is a personification of fear itself. Introduced in Harry's third year, the first mention of the dementor paints a vivid picture:

> "Standing in the doorway, illuminated by the shivering flames in Lupin's hand, was a cloaked figure that towered to the ceiling. Its face was completely hidden beneath its hood. Harry's eyes darted downward, and what he saw made his stomach contract. There was a hand protruding from the cloak and it was glistening, grayish, slimy-looking, and scabbed, like something dead that had decayed in water." (*Azkaban* 83)

Dementors have an unpleasant effect on Harry, causing him to fall unconscious multiple times throughout the book (*Azkaban* 83-84). Eventually Professor Lupin teaches him on how to summon a Patronus, described as "a kind of anti-dementor—a guardian that acts as a shield between you [Harry] and the dementor" (*Azkaban* 237). The incantation for the Patronus (*Expecto Patronum*) is summoned whilst envisioning the happiest moments of one's life (*Azkaban*, 237-238). Rowling's dementor has many similarities to the ghoul, most specifically the Chinese *jiang shu*, or "stiff corpses." *Jiang shu* were undead beings, most having committed suicide, fated to be in perpetual search of living creatures whose life essence they could drain (Allan, 65). This is similar to the dementor, who feeds off of "hope, happiness, [and] the desire to survive," (*Azkaban*, 237) as stated by Professor Lupin. The dementor symbolizes fear and despair, and Rowling's Patronuses are a gentle reminder that joyful memories and happiness are our greatest allies in those dark times.

Rowling's integration of mythical creatures, both old and new creates a vivid back-story to the wizarding world. It is not just about Harry, as there are other things out there with histories all their own. The subtle symbolism and combination of traditional features with new twists allows readers to identify classic, well-loved fairytale creatures, while learning something in the process. As it is expected of Rowling, everything is integrated with purpose. There are lessons to be learned, even from mandrakes and unicorns.

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Cathedral of Light: The Nuremberg Party Rallies, Wagner, and The Theatricality of Hitler and the Nazi Party

Stacey Reed
History 395
Fall 2012

The National Socialist, or Nazi, Party was keenly aware of the power of the arts, the elements of the theatre, and the power of spectacle on the minds and attitudes of the German people. This was especially true of music, and they found fertile ground in the minds of the people through the imagination of Richard Wagner and his great, nationalistic Operas. The Nazi Party engaged with the political philosophy of the composer and elevated the enjoyment of his art to a key ritual of the cult of Nazism. The music and philosophy of Wagner had a great impact on Adolf Hitler's ideology. Hitler was obsessed with the composer, and saw in his works the embodiment of Germany's struggle. He utilized many of the aspects of Opera, which had so enraptured him, in his Party's propaganda and events, namely through the highly theatrical productions of the Nuremberg Rallies. The Nuremberg Party Rallies were the culmination of Wagner's influence on Hitler, and were a vibrant display of the use of music, spectacle, and theatricality by the Nazi Party leaders in their indoctrination and unification of the German people under the banner of the Third Reich.

Hitler was first introduced to Wagner's works at a very young age. He was only twelve when, in 1901, he first attended a performance of *Lohengrin* in Linz.[1] Captivated, he proceeded to attend the Linz opera house night after night.[2] Only a few years later, in 1906, he attended a performance of *Rienzi*, which moved him powerfully.[3] Afterward, he regaled the friend who had accompanied him with his plans for leading the German people forward to a great future—just as the hero of *Rienzi* had saved medieval Rome from aristocratic tyranny.[4] In 1933, Hitler commented to Albert Speer that it was *Rienzi*, which had inspired him, and made him believe that he could achieve his goals of uniting Germany and making it great.[5] The *Reinzi* overture was played at the beginning of every Nuremberg Party Rally, which suggests that Hitler wanted to establish and maintain a connection between the Opera, its hero (who, upon saving his beloved country, nobly declined the crown and settled for being the tribune for the people) and Hitler's ambitions for himself and Germany.[6]

While there has been some debate about how much Hitler's philosophy directed the Nazi Party versus how much it was simply a foil for their policies, it seems impossible to completely sever the links between Hitler's reverence for and obsession with Wagner and the use of his imagery and music by the Nazi Party.[7] Hitler was obsessed with Wagnerian operas. It was the only type of music he listened to with any enthusiasm, and he could be heard whistling it perfectly.[8] He was witnessed to be visibly calmed by the music of Wagner when agitated. According to Goebbels, Hitler had a "strong inner need for art," and was known to, in the middle of important political negotiations or tactical battles to go by himself or with a few comrades, to sit in a theater and listen to "the heroically elevated measures of a Wagnerian music drama in artistic unison with his political being."[10] This was a tendency that began long before his appointment as Chancellor. Already a passionate follower of Wagner's works, Hitler was further directed on his path towards Führer when, upon meeting Wagner's son-in-law at his Villa Wahnfried in Bayreuth in September, 1923, the master of the house told him that he saw in Hitler, Germany's savior.[11] Hitler would go on to make Wagner a central part of his Nazi Mythos, incorporating his works into almost every aspect of his propaganda schemes.

As the nineteenth century came to an end, a virulent, racial form of anti-semitism came onto the German political scene, propagated largely by the literary circle of which Richard Wagner was at the head.[12] Wagner had written diatribes against the Jewish and the French, and in 1869 had written an anti-Semitic essay, which described Jews as demonic, parasitic and uncreative.[13] The nibelungs in his *Ring Cycle* were greedy creatures laden with gold and silver, and were, as contemporary illustrations present, small with beards and large noses, stereotypically anti-Semitic, in keeping with the attitudes of the time. Illustrator Arthur Rackham produced his illustrations less than a decade after the premier of the *Ring Cycle*, and his drawings were praised and admired as reflecting the essence of Wagner's work.[14] Wagner's writings against Jews in the 1850s accused the Jews of being, by their very existence, obstacles to revolution and human redemption.[15] Wagner preached a cessation of the eating of meat. He saw it as a dirty practice of sacrifice endorsed by the Jewish god, and believed that all Germans should stop their consumption of meat. This leads to the question of whether or not it was a result of reading Wagner's writings that Hitler chose to transition to vegetarianism.[16] Wagner also declared that it was the Jewish blood, which never fades through commixture, which was a permanent obstacle to progress.[17] Paul Laurence Rose, author of *Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany from Kant to Wagner* believes that Wagner must have known that physical action was eventually going to have to be taken, if it was the Jews very blood, which was hindering German progress.[18] The anti-Semitic attitude was already in place by 1910, and the movement later found a home in the hearts and minds of many of the members of the National Socialist Party.

The association of Wagner's works with National Socialism is sometimes seen as exploitation and

falsification of his work, rather than as consistent with his social and political thought.[19] Wagner's apologists took that view, and it was the most prominent perspective in post-Holocaust studies of his work until the trend in scholarship broadened again.[20] Wagner himself was not a Nazi. For one, the Party did not exist in his lifetime. The Nazis did find within his works and writings fertile ground for their own anti-Semitic attitudes.[21] Still, the use the Nazi Party made of Wagner's operas as part of their fascist propaganda was in distinct contrast to Wagner's own imagined utopia of art.[22] Some historians would paint Wagner as a prophet and Hitler as his willing (or mindless) disciple. Some imagine Wagner's music maligned and misused by the evil Nazi regime, or appropriated as some sort of twisted therapy for Hitler. John Deathridge, author of *Post-Mortem on Isolde* is of the opinion that Hitler's empathy with Wagner's music was more connected with "Wagner's almost scientific interest in the psychological and technical control of audience response" than any sentimental considerations.[23] It is important to remember that while the ideas that so impacted Hitler and the Nazi Party were present in Wagner's writing and works, it was the combination of social, economic and political factors, with the fertile soil of Wagner's grand myths, that shaped the character of the Nazi Party.[24]

One of the elements of Wagner's legacy appropriated by the Nazis was the Bayreuth Festival; created by Wagner as an annual showcasing of his operas in 1876. It ran every year, with a break for WWI, until 1944 when it was canceled. It has since resumed, in 1951. The Bayreuth Festival became something of a Nazi shrine in the early 1920s.[25] Hitler made a pilgrimage to the festival every year, to honor his favorite composer; whose works he had elevated to the status of hymn in his cult.[26] In 1924, the festival organizers posted the slogan *Hier gilt's der Kunst*, which means, "Our Aim is Art."[27] This was posted as a reminder to the Nazi Party members who had begun to congregate there that the festival was not intended to be a political space, but a celebration of art.[28] This was symptomatic of a tendency of the Germans to shroud the political in the artistic; "It was not accidental, but symptomatic, that at Bayreuth one spoke about art when one meant politics."[29] Hitler would further cement the connection between Wagner, his festival, and the political, as by 1933, despite the intention of the organizers in 1924, Bayreuth became something of a "court theater" for Hitler, receiving public funds and support.[30] Bayreuth transcended its original place as an art festival, and instead became a shrine in the cult, which strove to renew the entire social and political structure of the nation.[31] Winifred Wagner, director of the festival upon her husband's sudden death in 1930, did nothing to stop that transformation, as she was a personal friend of the Führer.[32]

There exists an interesting parallel between the continuance and atmosphere of the Bayreuth Festival, and that of the Nuremberg Rallies.[33] The Bayreuth Festival is an annual celebration of Wagner and his Operas. The Nuremberg Rallies were an annual celebration of the greatness of the National Socialist Party and the German people. Citizens would come to Bayreuth from across Germany to witness a great spectacle of artistry. Performance and glittering costumes, transcendent music, and majestic voices relaying the epic stories all comprised the Wagnerian mythos. People were brought to Nuremberg from all over Germany to witness the spectacle of military and social power and greatness: grand speeches, columns of tanks and soldiers in their best uniforms, music and practiced recitation—all saturated in the myth of Germany's superiority and greatness. The Bayreuth Festival provided a quasi-religious event for the Nazis, as they went on a pilgrimage to experience the overwhelming emotion of Wagner's work, in addition to hearing it as part of their great festivals and celebrations.[34]

According to Nora Alter, author of *Sound Matters: Essays on the Acoustics of Modern German Culture*, it was simply in the nature of Germans of the era to see music as inherently political. Music articulated a way of seeing and being in the present, as well as defining the affiliations of the listener.[35] Music could enforce and order, or be used to attack a political opinion. Even today music is often a tool of political groups; in the 1960s and 70s rock and roll declared generational and political differences, and today's hip-hop is a voice for minorities.[36] Thomas Mann, author of *Doctor Faustus*, considered "musicality of the soul" to be "part of the German predicament."[37] The Nazi Party saw music as an extremely useful form of propaganda, as it was seen to be able to illicit a response "almost on cue."[38]

> *The Nazis learned that a good tune, arranged in a pleasing manner and with an appropriate political text, placed the public in the proper frame of mind for indoctrination.*[39]

A love of music also helped to mitigate differences between the Nazi Party and the "German intelligentsia," which were hostile towards, and distrustful of the government.[40] Music is considered by Frank Trommler, author of "Conducting Music, Conducting War," to have been the most pervasively used form of German propaganda, even beyond the efforts in the visual sphere.[41]

Music was present in many aspects of life; singing in the Hitler Youth, participation in parades, music education in school, use at Nazi conventions and rallies, and most of all, through the new technology of the radio.[42] Jews were quickly banned from most sections of German society and culture, including the theatre. Contemporary music was banned along with Jazz and other offensive modern music.[43] The classical music of Wagner, and occasionally Beethoven, was part of countless political events, where it stirred heroic emotion, and assisted in the stylization of Hitler as the leader of the Germans, who were carrying out a historic

mission.[44] As an example of the supremacy of music in the Nazi Party's propagandizing mission, the 1940 celebration of Hitler's birthday included 23 program events, of which 17 were musical, including the chorus of Wagner's *Meistersinger*.[45]

Goebbels called *Die Meistersinger* "the most German" of all of Wagner's music dramas an incarnation of national identity—as part of his speech, which declared it to be the official opera of the Nazi Party at the 1933 Bayreuth Festival.[46] Leni Riefenstahl also appropriated Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* as part of the soundtrack for *Triumph of the Will*, which documented the 1934 Nuremberg Party Rally. It would, in 1935, become officially part of the annual Nuremberg Rallies.[47]

Fredrick Neitzsche, an author famous for his writings on politics and manipulation, once accused Wagner of exploiting the ability of music to "inveig[le] us into thinking that our interests are other than what they really are" in the creation of his religion of redemption.[48] Recent psychological studies have proven that what we watch on television affects how we think and behave, and the values we are exposed to are the ones we tend to hold as our own.[49] While these studies are recent, the effects are not. The opera, theatre, movies, and great events organized by the Nazi Party could be considered to be the equivalent of television in the early half of the 20th century. Of all the aspects of Nazi Party propaganda and spectacle that fall into the realm of the theatrical, none were so visible, nor are so prominent in the public imagination even today, as the great Party Rallies in Nuremberg.

Theater is one of the oldest and most evocative methods of human communication, communion, persuasion, and teaching. It is no wonder that Hitler and the Nazi party organizers utilized many aspects of theatrical performance in the programs through which they strove to control and influence the German population. It is a fallacy and a misconception that theatre must take place within the physical confines of a theater. Theatre is as much the lone actor soliloquizing on a street corner to a passerby, as it is the cast of a hundred painted fools overshadowed by 100 foot operatic backdrops and performing for royalty. Theatre is a means for describing the human condition, for teaching lessons, and for conveying ideas. It has, with the advancement of technology, evolved to include movies and television as mediums for the transmission of ideas and we will, for our purposes here, include aspects of theater like music and choreography in our definition of the theatrical. A theater is a building in which performances are held. The latter needs the former, but the former does not need the latter. Nowhere in the Nazi regime was this demonstrated more profoundly than through the medium of the Nuremberg Party Rallies.

Although the atrocity of the actions of the Third Reich is indisputable, the Party was incredibly successful in many of its endeavors. Looking beyond their military, technological and organizational feats, one of their most impressive accomplishments was in persuading the German people to go along with their ideals. Part of this was due to the powerful use of aesthetics and imagery. There are images of the Nazis still seared into the public consciousness, and many of them were deliberate constructs of party organizers; Hitler, up on a stage, passionately expounding to an enraptured audience, the swastika stark against a bloody red flag, or lines of tanks and soldiers in uniforms marching past. To most today, these are images of past horror, of the danger of fascism, dictators, and war. They evoke sentiments like "never again." They were intended at the time to be rallying points—images of pride and strength that a downtrodden population could look to for hope, pride, encouragement and direction. Hitler and the Nazi Party took aspects of one of the most powerful communication tools on the planet to introduce their ideals, to sate the yearning of a struggling people looking for something to believe in. Historian William Carr declared Hitler to be "manifestly a man of theatre."[50] This was supported, he said, in large part by his organization of the Nuremberg Rallies, where "light, sound, and color were blended together to make the maximum impact on the eye and ear of the beholder."[51]

Hitler had no desire to be a theater producer, although he was acutely sensitive to the capacity of spectacle to build and bolster public support for his policies.[52] He was also keenly aware of the power of the mentality of the "community of the mass rally" to influence his people, and seduce them further into the ideals of the Nazi Party.[53] The Rallies helped to put faces on the political leaders for the sake of the public, and instilled a sense of unity across the country.[54] Truly awe-inspiring feats of organization and a triad of military showcasing, civilian morale boosting and jaw-dropping theatrics, the Nuremberg Rallies were the brainchild of Albert Speer; architect of the Rally grounds and designer of the Rallies' events and effects from 1934.[55] Speer's influence and direction created the Lichtdom, or Cathedral of Light, one of the most striking of all the theatrical elements used at the Party Rallies.[56]

So powerful were the effects of the aesthetic and psychological aspects of the rallies that they swept people up into a fervor of passion and support, just as Hitler predicted they would. One young Jewish historian, who was understandably wary of Hitler, accompanied a friend to the 1933 Nuremberg Rally. She watched the procession of group after group parade by; youths full of idealism; uniformed soldiers; swooning, worshipful women, and loyal elderly.[57] All were brilliantly costumed, and meticulously rehearsed and choreographed. As the anticipation of Hitler's arrival grew, she found herself caught up in the sweeping momentum of the event, tugged along to the first crescendo as Hitler descended from the heavens to land on the Rally grounds in a small plane.[58] She found herself saluting and adding her voice to the cry of "Heil Hitler" with the rest of the cheering,

enthusiastic crowd.[59] Upon reflection years later, she was still appalled that she behaved in that manner, and was unable to explain what caused her to do so in that moment.[60]

Hitler's entrance to the Rally ground in such a fashion outlines a connection with the traditional staging of operas. *Desus ex machina* is an operatic device by which a character, usually a god, descends from heaven to resolve the problem of the plot, or rescue the hero. This was originally from the Greek theatrical tradition in which the 'god' was literally lowered into the stage by a crane. The concept has expanded to include other methods, but the origin remains true. What else could be inferred by Hitler's descending from the sky at the climax of the events, at the great theatrical stage of the Nuremberg Rally Grounds? He was the 'god' descending from heaven to save the heroic, loyal Germans from the threats facing them from all sides of depression, Bolshevism, and those nasty, scheming Jews. Even when he did not appear at the rallies from above in a literal sense, he embodied the more modern use of the term as a force—a god, a flood, or powerful entity—that appeared just as the situation became hopeless in order to resolve the problem.

Throughout his speeches, Hitler continued to captivate his audience with a dramatic flare that spoke to a keen understanding of the psychology of public speaking. He began speeches calmly, his body still and his manner almost conversational. He quickly built energy, gestures growing wilder as his face contorted in rage—this was the image so often seen in documentaries of his wild harangues.[61] As quickly as it began, it is abruptly over. He is still, calm and steady again, leaving his audience to its histrionics in the abrupt, contrasting silence.[62] It seems impossible for a man truly enraged, aroused by the passion of his words like his audience was, to fall so abruptly still and calm. His contrast in energy levels reveals the performance as just that; a masterfully delivered, excruciatingly rehearsed performance. Exhaustive rehearsals, choreography, and precision are evident in all aspects of the demonstrations of the Nuremberg Rallies.

As important as what happened within the Rallies were the grounds upon which they happened. Originally, the Rallies were one-day affairs in a couple simple arenas.[63] The First Party Congress was in Munich in 1923, and was attended by no more than 20,000 people.[64] The next year, it was a two-day event held in Nuremberg. The Zepplinfield, constructed by the 1937 Rally, could hold almost a quarter of a million people, and was flanked by the huge architectural framework, which directed all attention towards the Führer.[65] The audience themselves became part of the structure as, arranged on the grounds in columns and detachments; they echoed the aesthetics of their surroundings.[66] The desired result of the Rallies' theatrical effects was the merging of audience and participant, until the lines blurred and all became one: united in the Nazi Party, dedicated to the cause.[67]

One of the most successful effects used to unite the audience was the visually striking lighting effect called The Cathedral of Light by its creator, Alber Speer. British Ambassador Henderson, who described it as "sacred and beautiful at the same time," called it a "cathedral of ice."[68] The French ambassador Francois-Poncet described the illusory cathedral as "Mystical ecstasy, a sort of holy illusion," which gripped the audience.[69] This pseudo-religious experience echoed the architecture of the grounds, as well as those of the great Catholic Cathedrals. The effect was accomplished by the use of one hundred and thirty anti-aircraft searchlights to encircle the Rally grounds.[70] When Speer first made his request, Goering wanted to deny it, as that was the larger portion of their strategic reserve of searchlights. Hitler overruled him on the premise that the use of the lights for a non-tactical purpose would give the impression that they had more than they could ever use.[71] It also serves as evidence of the importance Hitler placed on the image and success of the Rallies, to reallocate important resources to its production. The result was striking beyond Speer's best expectations; the sharply defined beams soared to twenty five thousand feet, where they then merged into a general glow. The light seemed to form the great pillars and ceiling of a vast room, enclosing the audience within a luminescent architectural marvel together, in the church of Nazism.[72]

As spectacular as the lighting effects were, the elements of sound were also incorporated into the Rallies. Every Rally opened with the overture from Wagner's *Rienzi*, with the sounds of the heroic opera ringing across the grounds.[73] During the rally, the audience was treated to the use of the voices of the performers as instruments in the chorus of a great opera of Germanic achievement, singing and glorifying the greatness of the Nazi Party and their deeds and ideas. In more prosaic retrospect, the novel *The Karnau Tapes* by the German author Marcel Beyer follows the life of a technical savant and sound technician of the Nazi Party, whose job it was to ensure the intelligibility of the speeches even on the huge rally grounds. It gives a certain amount of insight into not only the technical capabilities needed to achieve the desired impact of the rallies, but also the amount of manpower involved in the events, both on, and off-stage.[74] On Rally days, one could hear a thousand voices echoing in declaratory rapture: "The Führer is Germany and Germany is the Führer" with Hitler himself answering, "I am never without you, and you are never without me."[75]

Despite the astonishing scope of the spectacle of the Nuremberg Rallies, and the hundreds of thousands shipped in for the occasions, there were many across Germany who could not attend the festival in person. For them, and those across the world, German reporters and foreign journalists wrote about the Rallies, and were featured on front pages around the world.[76] Newsreels and the documentary "Triumph of the Will" ensured that audiences near and far had a front row seat in

their local theater.[77] The documentary is exceedingly theatrical in its own right, with careful attention played to the composition of scenes and the order of events portrayed. It also served to draw even those far removed from the actual event into the excitement, and introduce them to the main actors in the drama that was the rise of the National Socialist Party and the Third Reich. The added benefit to modern scholars is the accessibility of the visceral imagery and sound, which cannot truly be relayed to us through the paper and ink that we must otherwise rely on. Even though we must still use our imaginations in regard to colors, the documentary allows us to hear the roar of the crowd and see for ourselves the passion evoked by Hitler's speeches, which enraptured a country and the imagination of scholars for generations.[78]

The Nuremberg Rallies were important festivals and great examples of the aesthetics, organization, and ritual of the Nazi Party. It is important to remember that the Nuremberg Rallies were part of a larger fabric of the Nazi rituals. They stand alone, as an example of the powerful influence of theatre on Hitler and the Nazi Party, but they are best viewed with the knowledge of their context.[79] Similarly, it is a vast oversimplification to say that Hitler inherited his ideas about aesthetics, theatricality, and their place in persuasion and conferment of ideas from Wagner. There were a myriad of factors that influenced Hitler, and his party organizers, towards their beliefs and their chosen forms of expression. It would be just as easy to say that Hitler sought out Wagner's influence because of already internalized, deep-seated beliefs in the importance of aesthetics which Wagnerian operas sated, or a belief in the message that Wagner relayed. It is nearly impossible in this case to differentiate cause and effect, but *cause* does not preclude *influence*. Wagner's influence is easily seen in the many theatrical aspects of the Nuremberg Party Rallies; not the least of which is the use of his music and the aggrandizement of his operas into a cult movement. Wagner's Bayreuth Festival, the Nuremberg Rallies and countless other events and festivals were all part of the efforts of the Nazi Party to exploit powerfully evocative theatrical methods in their efforts to indoctrinate the German people, and show the world the might of the Third Reich.

Notes

[1]William Carr, Hitler: A Study in Personality and Politics, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), 139.

[2]Frederic Spotts, Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics (New York, Peter Mayer Publishers, 2003), 224.

[3]Carr, Hitler: A Study in Personality and Politics, 139.

[4]Ibid.

[5](Joachim Kohler, Wagner's Hitler: The Prophet and his Disciple (MA, Blackwell Publishing), 3) The book Hitler: A Study in Personality and Politics states that the person he relayed this story to was not Albert Speer, but rather Robert Ley, head of the German Labor Front.

[6]Carr, Hitler: A Study in Personality and Politics, 139.

[7]Ibid, 140.

[8]John Deathridge, "Post-Mortem on Isolde," New German Critique no. 69 (1996), 121-122.

[9]Deathridge, "Post-Mortem on Isolde," 121.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Carr, Hitler: A Study in Personality and Politics, 115.

[12]Ibid, 119.

[13]Lynn E. Moller, "Music in Germany during the Third Reich: The Use of Music for Propaganda," Music Educators Journal 67, no 3 (1980), 42.

[14]Marc A Weiner, Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1995), 32-33.

[15]Paul Laurence Rose, Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany: From Kant to Wagner (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 374.

[16]Rose, Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany, 374.

[17]Ibid, 373-374.

[18]Ibid, 374.

[19]Weiner, Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination, 16.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Celia Applegate, ed. and Pamela Potter, ed., Music and German National Identity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 92.

[23]Deathridge, "Post-Mortem on Isolde," 121.

[24]Applegate, Music and German National Identity, 100-101.

[25]Carr, Hitler: A Study in Personality and Politics, 139.

[26]Moller, "Music in Germany during the Third Reich," 41.

[27]David C. Large, "Art, Ideology, and Politics at Bayreuth, 1876-1976," Journal of History Ideas 39, no 1 (1978), 149.

[28]Large, "Art, Ideology, and Politics at Bayreuth, 1876-1976," 149.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Carr, Hitler: A Study in Personality and Politics, 139.

[31]Large, "Art, Ideology, and Politics at Bayreuth, 1876 1976," 149.

[32]Carr, Hitler: A Study in Personality and Politics, 139.

[33]Norman Cameron, and R. H. Stevens, Hitler's Secret Conversations 1941-1944 (New York: New American Library of World Literature, 1961), 198. It also compares Bayreuth to the Olympics, which is very interesting; that is also an event which lives and breathes theatricality. Though the book Hitler's Secret Conversations is discredited as a source, as it it not actually Hitler's words as purported, it is still an interesting look into some of the attitudes of the time.

[34]Moller, "Music in Germany during the Third Reich," 42.

[35]Nora M. Alter, ed. and Lutz Koepnick, ed., Sound Matters: Essays on the Acoustics of Modern German Culture (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 10.

[36]Alter, Sound Matters, 10-11.

[37]Alter, Sound Matters, 67.

[38]Moller, "Music in Germany during the Third Reich," 40.

[39]Ibid, 44.

[40]Ibid, 42.

[41]Alter, Sound Matters, 68.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Moller, "Music in Germany during the Third Reich," 41.

[44]Alter, Sound Matters, 68.

[45]Ibid, 73.

[46]Applegate, Music and German National Identity, 95.

[47]Ibid, 94.

[48]Deathridge, "Post-Mortem on Isolde," 101.

[49]David Myers. Exploring Psychology, 8th ed.. (New York: Worth Publishers, 2011), 550-554.

[50]Carr, Hitler: A Study in Personality and Politics, 140.

[51]Ibid.

[51]Richard Etlin, Art, Culture, and Media Under the Third Reich (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 202), 195.

[52]Simon Taylor, "Symbol and Ritual under National Socialism" The British Journal of Sociology 32, no. 4 (1981), 512.

[53]Rawson, Showcasing the Third Reich, 6.

[54]Etlin, Art, Culture, and Media, 194-195.

[55]Ibid, 195.

[56]Martha Davis, Dianne Dulicai and Ildiko Viczian, "Hitler's Movement Signature" TDR 36, no 2 (1992), 152.

[57]Davis "Hitler's Movement Signature," 152.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Davis "Hitler's Movement Signature," 152.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Andrew Rawson, Showcasing the Third Reich: The Nuremberg Rallies (Gloucestershire, The History Press), 6.

[63]Rawson, Showcasing the Third Reich, 9.

[64]Taylor, "Symbol and Ritual under National Socialism," 512; Rawson, Showcasing the Third Reich, 16.

[65]Taylor, "Symbol and Ritual under National Socialism," 512.

[66]Etlin, Art, Culture, and Media, p. 194.

[67]Taylor, "Symbol and Ritual under National Socialism," 513.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Albert Speer, Inside the Third Reich (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 69.

[70]Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 69.

[71]Ibid.

[72]Alter, Sound Matters, 69-70.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Taylor, "Symbol and Ritual under National Socialism," 510-511.

[75]Etlin, Art, Culture, and Media, 194.

[76]Ibid.

[77]The analysis of the documentary, its effects, and historical value are a paper of their own, but some information can be found in the article "'Triumph of the Will': Document or Artifice?" by David B. Hinton.

[78]Taylor, "Symbol and Ritual under National Socialism," 505; Triumph of the Will, Nexflix, directed by Leni Riefenstahl (1934, Universum Film AG).

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Victims or Vital: Contrasting Portrayals of Women in WWI British Propaganda

Stacey Reed
History 385
Fall 2014

More than any other war before it, World War I invaded the every day life of citizens at home. It was the first large-scale war that employed popular mass media in the transmission and distribution of information from the front lines to the Home Front. It was also the first to merit an organized propaganda effort targeted at the general public by the government.[1] The vast majority of this propaganda was directed at an assumed masculine audience, but the female population engaged with the messages as well. A small amount of propaganda was directly targeted at women, and these images either emphasized the importance of their traditional roles, or encouraged them to take on new, non-traditional jobs and functions. The images of women in British propaganda from 1914 to 1918 served a variety of purposes and appealed to a number of audiences, but generally cast women in two distinct lights: either as powerless victims, helpless in the face of the war and needing protection, or alternatively as a vital and important part of the nation and the nation's war economy.

Although the word "propaganda" only came into common usage around 1914, the concept and motivation behind the idea was ancient. The ancient Greeks used drama, handwritten books, and oratory to spread their ideas, and as early as the late 1500s, propaganda was used in ways that resembled modern methods. Ironically, in this early example, both Spain and England used propaganda to tell their sides of the story of the Spanish Armada. This use of propaganda to provide contradictory versions of the same story remains standard fare in modern times. The term "propaganda" originated in the missionary efforts of the Catholic Church in the 1620s with the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, created by Pope Gregory XV. This Congregation was in charge of spreading the faith and regulating the church in "heathen lands."[2] Those basic ideas—the transmission of a particular agenda and the regulation of behavior—were the two guiding principles of propaganda that remain true throughout the ages. Propaganda gained a negative reputation as being inherently false, but in reality it was more complicated. The idea of propaganda as untrue rested on a host of problematic assumptions about what "truth" was.[3] Simply, propaganda was a *version* of truth, or intended truth, and it always had an angle. Another common theme in propaganda was the intended audience. As the article on the history of propaganda on the American Historical Association website states, "The battle for men's minds is as old as human history."[4] For most of history, propaganda has been aimed at patriarchal societies and thus, has primarily targeted men. This remained true throughout WWI, where propaganda came into its own as a form of public information and manipulation. However, women were always part of those societies, and were an increasingly active part of the conversations about the war. They began to be targeted by propagandists as well.

In war, propaganda served a variety of purposes: recruitment of soldiers, encouraging social responsibility, advertising government agendas and programs, vilifying the enemy and arousing patriotism.[5] Various governments throughout WWI found that the image of someone pointing out of a poster was a very effective recruiting tool for soldiers. Posters presented British men with both the glory of war and the shame of shirkers. Women were often placed in the role of encouraging their men to go to war. Many propaganda posters were aimed at men, but used women either as symbols of what needed to be protected, or as images evoking shame for the men who had not enlisted. These posters were not aimed at women, but the women in society would have seen them and internalized the representations. Generally, these posters depicted women as passive, helpless, or as outright victims of the brutality of the Germans. There were propaganda posters aimed at women, and these were mostly used to recruit women out of their established occupations. Women were called to work on farms, in munitions factories, as nurses, and many other professions. These posters depicted women as a vital part of the nation and the war effort.

British men were called to arms at the beginning of the war mainly through atrocity propaganda, which almost exclusively depicted women as victims. Atrocity propaganda dwelt on the violent acts committed by the German and Austro-Hungarian armies, with a focus on their barbarism. It was used as a means of justifying participation in the conflict, and vilifying the enemy.[6] At the very beginning of the war, this was mostly focused on the atrocities committed in Belgium. Vivid imagery, such as the bayonetting of babies and women, was a main component of this propaganda. The image *The Gentleman German* by British cartoonist Edmund J. Sullivan was one particularly gruesome image of a cherub impaled on a German soldier's bayonet (See appendix 1). An Australian cartoon by Norman Lindsay served to show the way this image was taken up throughout the allied countries. It also expanded on the image of the bayonetted baby and rampaging Germans to include a trampled Belgian woman underfoot (see appendix 2). It was in fact a veritable cornucopia of German atrocity in one image, including but not limited to, poison gas, a zeppelin dropping bombs, and someone being crucified, in addition to the aforementioned victimized women and baby.[7]

Historian Nicoletta F. Gullace discussed the atrocities in Belgium as marketing for the war in her

book *Blood of our Sons*. She argued that the use of the events in Belgium was a powerful marketing tool because by using images of violence against women and children, propagandists were able to create "irrefutable moral imperatives" with which to crush protest, justify their entrance into the war, and motivate the continued sacrifice of resources, money and sons to continue fighting.[8] It was unquestionable that the invasion of Belgium was violent and brutal. However, there was a great deal of hysteria and outright fabrication that marred the historical record of the actual events which allowed for occurrences like the publishing of two fabricated letters, supposedly from Belgian victims, detailing the horrors they were subjected to. Regardless of the real suffering that occurred in Belgium, the events were represented in a stylistic way, which "dwelt on perverse sexual acts, lurid mutilations, and graphic accounts of child abuse of often dubious veracity."[9] The British used the victimization of women, whether real or exaggerated, to build fervor for war.

The depictions of violence against women in Belgium were not a propaganda tool isolated to the first year of the war. Nor was it all fabricated. A Dutch cartoon by Louis Raemaekers in 1915 called *Thrown to the Swine; The Martyred Nurse* was another sexually grotesque representation of violence against women in Belgium (see appendix 3). This image, unlike a few of the other images of violence against women in Belgium, was inspired by a true event, although turned grotesque in caricature. On October 12th, 1915, British nurse Edith Cavell was executed by firing squad for helping over 200 allied prisoners of war to escape Belgium for Holland.[10] The image was a woman's body, her blood on the floor, surrounded by Germans personified as pigs. At least one of the pigs was drooling, and they appeared to be leering at her dead body in a sexual manner. This image directly supported Gullace's statements about the stylization of violence, and the preoccupation with lurid and perverse sexualization of women being victimized. Additionally, the information, which accompanies the image in *Raemaekers' Cartoon History of the War*, was likely a product of propaganda as well. It is difficult to believe the report by Hugh Gibson, First Secretary of the American Legation at Brussels, that Count Harrach—a German representative at a meeting called to attempt to prevent Cavell's execution—would say "I only regret that there are not three or four more old English women to shoot."[11] It was impossible to prove if he did or did not say such a thing, but exaggeration was a key characteristic of propaganda, and this incident was internationally provocative. The image and the news surrounding it were undoubtedly intended to provoke outrage in men and women alike over Edith Cavell's remorseless killing.

Even in propaganda, which did not directly feature women, there was still the intimation of violence against them. In America, the invasion of Belgium was often termed "The Rape of Belgium." While rape was not a violation committed exclusively upon women, it was women who were historically the victims of rape in the public consciousness. The use of this therefore gendered term, the Rape of Belgium, was twofold. Partially, it linked back to the idea of the personification of the country of Belgium as a woman, but it also evoked the specter of violence against women, which men should join the army to prevent.

Defense of the home front was another subject of WWI propaganda that depicted women primarily as victims. In this case, it was the idea of women at home—the mothers, wives and sisters of the soldiers—who were potentially the victims of the Germans if the war was not fought to keep them back. One British poster called for solidarity with those at the front, in an effort to prevent what happened in Belgium from happening in England.[12] In this way, not only was the tragedy of Belgium continuously evoked, but also the idea of violence towards women. The poster showed war torn Belgium juxtaposed with a peaceful bit of English countryside and the text read "The Hun and the Home; back up the men who have saved you" (see appendix 4). At first glance, this appeared to be another poster directed at women, but a closer reading reveals references to "our homes are secure, our mothers & wives are safe," which implied that this was either directed at men or at the general population. These ideas of the safety of home were set opposite "their homes are destroyed, their women are murdered & worse." Presumably, the "worse" that was referenced here was rape, once again tying the idea of Germany's aggression to the idea of women as victims. Only this time there was the added terrifying factor of the idea that rather than being a distant tragedy, it would be coming for them and their loved ones.

An Irish recruitment poster showed the potential of Germans breaking into a home and threatening the occupants: a man, woman, child and old man. The message is clear: join the army, or risk your family becoming victims of the Germans, just like the Belgians (see appendix 5).[13] This fear of a direct German threat on your loved ones was not just a concern where it might be rational, like in Britain. There were cartoonists as far away as Australia who were utilizing the image of Germany invading—and predictably dragging off their women, presumably to rape—in order to promote recruitment (see appendix 6).[14]

The fear of the Germans at home did not end with the war, and neither did Britain's propagandist's depictions of women as victims. In 1918, the British Empire Union produced a poster warning of the dangers of gestures of goodwill from the Germans after the war, citing wartime atrocities as reasons not to trust Germans (see appendix 7). There was a display of atrocities on the poster, including the oft-repeated bayoneting of babies, and also including a small memorial cross to Edith Cavell. This far-right group hated the Germans and produced this poster just in case anyone was planning to forget that Germany victimized the women of Belgium

women and would do the same to the British women if given the opportunity.[15]

Even though women were often portrayed in propaganda as victims, on the Home Front, they were also pictured as vital parts of the nation and the war effort. Propaganda posters worked to get women into nontraditional jobs, which suddenly needed to be filled when all the men went away. Propaganda normally either showed women as part of the greater work force, or singled them out. One 1915 poster showed two women as a part of a larger workforce (see appendix 8).[16] One woman was working in munitions and the other was a nurse, both necessary jobs to support the war. This poster could be considered aimed towards men, or to the general population. The question the poster asked was "Are you in this?" It seemed to be directed at the man walking by the industriousness seen in the poster, but it could address anyone walking by the poster itself. Here, women were seen as a vital part of the war effort. Additionally, there was no sense of impending violence towards them—they were safe and doing their bit.

"Safe" was unfortunately a relative term in one of the most important industries women moved into during the war. Munitions manufacturing had dangers from both explosions and poisoning, but also resulted in higher wages, and thus higher standards of living, which generally improved women's health.[17] It was one of the most visual and alluring adventures for girls and women in the war, and occasionally a girl would run away to find munitions work. Munitions work came with better wages, mobility, and a chance to serve the country at the same time.[18] The cover of the first issue of *The War Worker* magazine in 1917 featured an image with a munitions worker, a soldier and the factories forming a triangle, representing the three foundations of the war effort, and publicly recognizing the patriotic role of the women involved in the munitions industry (See appendix 9).[19] A 1916 propaganda poster portrayed an implicit exchange of salutes between a man going to the front, and a woman going into the munitions factory (see appendix 10). There is the implication that these things are both of equal importance to the war effort: women are also providing a vital service.[20] There is also an exchange of places happening: she is going to work in the factory so he can go off to fight at the front. Without the female munitions workers, there would not have been the personnel to produce armaments in the numbers required for the war. There were more women in munitions work than in any other aspect of the war on the home front—almost one million in total. These women were aware of the fact that the shells they were making were deadly and brought death. They believed themselves to be intimately involved in the conduct of the war.[21]

Munitions were not the only job women were called into through propaganda on a large scale. The call for women to serve in the British Land Army evoked powerful images of women as essential to the nation's survival. With so many men dead or away there was a need for farm workers, and women filled that gap. One British poster showed a woman on a farm being productive and appreciated—being told, "We could do with thousands more like you" (see appendix 11).[22] Unfortunately, while most of the posters depict the women being welcomed into the farms, the truth was that many of the farmers would much rather have had male pensioners than women working on their farm.[23] This duality, between what propaganda showed and what people actually felt, can often be found depicted in political cartoons and other visual media of the period. The government recognized the value of women on the land, however, and cleverly framed a call to work as "women's 'right to serve,'" thereby engaging all the Suffragettes who wanted further equality for women, and providing an avenue through which to express their patriotism.[24] Although the women who worked on the land were not necessarily as recognized for their efforts as the women who worked in munitions—or very appreciated by the farmers—they made a great contribution to the war effort through food production. Before the war, Britain was importing almost half of its food. By 1918, it was producing around 80 percent of its food.[25] The Women's Land Army helped reduce imports by over thirty percent.

Unlike its British counterparts, a 1918 American Women's Land Army poster bore the legend: "Until the boys come back" (see appendix 12).[26] Even as women's labor was necessary, there was a great deal of concern about men having to compete with women for jobs when they came back, both in farm and factory work. Even though not all American Land Army posters contained this implied constraint, it was likely a way to embed the idea that after the men came back home, women should leave their newfound jobs and return to more traditional employment; leaving the jobs open for the men.

One of the main roles women were depicted fulfilling in propaganda was that of recruitment aid. It was seen as vital for women to help send more men to the front, whether through encouraging them or shaming them into going. There were a large number of posters to this effect, including some of the most famous from the era. A poster stating, "Women of Britain say—Go!" depicts two or possibly three generations of women watching out the window as the men leave for the front (see appendix 13).[27] Women were employed as a tool to shame men into enlisting.

This was not just a sentiment seen in propaganda—Women took it to heart, and sometimes too far. In acting out their role as being vital to the recruitment effort, some women created more victims. The Order of the White Feather was created in August 1914, by Admiral Charles Fitzgerald. The order handed out white feathers to anyone not in uniform as a way of shaming the non-enlisted.[28] A few took it too far, or handed out feathers without understanding the circumstances. One man, James Cutmore, was rejected

in 1914, and was safe from conscription because he had three small daughters. In 1916, he was given a white feather while walking home, and enlisted the next day. By that stage in the war it did not matter that he had been rejected for several reasons, Britain was too desperate for men. Cutmore died in 1918.[29] By attempting to fulfill the role assigned to them of encouraging recruitment, some women caused more unnecessary deaths. Other methods to encourage men to enlist also seemed to involve shame. One group of women hung a petticoat out a window, and challenged men to enlist or wear the petticoat in place of a uniform (see appendix 14).[30] These women took their responsibility of ensuring that men continued to fight seriously.

Women were occasionally depicted as heroes beyond the Home Front. This happened mostly within the context of nursing. *Wounded First*, a Raemaekers' cartoon from September 1915, depicts the heroic efforts of a woman nurse to save the wounded on a sinking ship, which had been torpedoed by the Germans (see appendix 15).[31] This cartoon reinforces the idea of women as making important contributions to the war effort. Interestingly, this cartoon is subverting many of the standards for wartime propaganda. Men are normally seen as the strong ones, and women as the vulnerable ones in need of saving and protection. Here, it is the man who is wounded and vulnerable, and the woman saving him. This image of woman as succor, angel, and caretaker was one of power. This was a necessary service that women could help provide. The image of women nurses as angels was a common one. A British poster calling for aid for the Belgian Red Cross literally depicts a nurse with white wings providing aid to a wounded soldier (see appendix 16).

As if the mixed messages being sent by the aforementioned two categories of propaganda was not confusing enough, there was also a selection of propaganda images which either straddled the line between the depiction of woman as victims or vital, or could be interpreted in different ways depending on the perspective of the viewer. One of the earliest of these was a 1914 Irish recruiting poster showing an Irish woman holding a rifle and asking a man if he will go rescue Belgium, or if she must go instead (see appendix 17).[32] At first glance, this fell into both the category of victimization of Belgium and of the vital role of women in recruitment. Additionally, it introduced the idea of women as capable of fighting on the front lines themselves. The woman in this poster was standing strong, and fierce and determined to do what was right. She had agency and vitality. That may not have been the intention of the poster, but it was one of the potential readings. Although this poster was too early to be directly referencing the eventual rise of all-female battalions in Russia—which did not happen until 1917—there was obviously a desire among some women to fight on the front lines. In Russia, this manifested in women sneaking into service as men long before the all-female battalions were formed.[33] While there was no evidence of Irish women doing the same, it was possible to infer that there was similar proactive sentiment elsewhere in Europe other than Russia. Viewing this poster in that light allows for an alternate reading of the question on the poster "Will you go, or must I?" as serious rather than rhetorical.

Some images lend themselves to alternate readings. Another example is a 1914 Russian print, which showed a Polish farm girl spearing an Austrian soldier with a pitchfork (see appendix 18). This poster was intended to mock the Austrians for their assumption that the Polish would not fight on the side of the Russian, as well as to show that the Polish were fighting back, not surrendering.[34] It was difficult to say if this image was intended to use the farm girl as a symbolic representation of Poland, the way that Belgium and many other countries were represented by a female figure, or if this was supposed to be a more literal image: an image that said even the farm girls were fighting the invading Austrians—and winning, apparently. This Russian print contrasted with the Irish recruitment poster because while the Irish poster may have subliminal meaning, its clear purpose was the recruitment of men. The participation of women as vital and active agents in the defense of their country was much more obvious in the Russian print. They both were published in the same year, which indicates the vast differences in perspective and priorities even between allies in WWI. Both of these images depicted women as important features of the country's wartime defense, and their willingness to take it into their own hands, if they must.

Even with the persistent vilification of the Central Powers, it was very rare to see a woman depicted as villainous, even a German woman. In one 1915 British poster by David Wilson called *Red Cross or Iron Cross* there is a German woman being cruel to a wounded soldier (see appendix 19). This is particularly remarkable because she was a nurse. Nurses were normally depicted as angels of mercy, but this one was pouring out obviously needed water right in front of a wounded soldier while the Kaiser and a German soldier looked on.[35] This poster was vilifying Germany in general, and German women nurses in particular, as part of a call to join the Red Cross. This poster could fit into the general category of women as vital to the war effort because it included a call to arms for women to become nurses to help the wounded. At the same time, it was exploiting the traditional image of women as caregivers to gain moral high ground for Britain by showing just how sadistic the Germans were, if even their women could be cruel.[36] This image was shocking because women were so rarely depicted in positions of power in propaganda. Additionally, she was acting in contradiction to the kind and compassionate way that a woman, especially a nurse, was expected to act. This was a woman in a position of authority, who was misusing her power and important position.

Propaganda in Britain during World War I

was prolific, varied, and evocative. However, caution is necessary to avoid overstating the importance and influence of propaganda on the minds of people. When an idea is completely contrary to a person's worldview they will reject it. Contrarily, if it can be played off of existing beliefs or desires then it becomes extremely effective.[37] The image of women in propaganda reflected the conflicted and changing role of women in society, which had already started shifting before the outbreak of the war, for example through the suffragette movement. The breakdown of women's roles into two categories—victim and vital—was a very general one, which allows for discussion, nuance and overlap. Being a woman at the time was a matter of balancing between the old and new, the vulnerable and the strong, and the victim and the empowered contributor to society. Within the role of contributor to society, there were many roles that women took over the course of the war that were not mentioned here. One of the most prevalent images of women in wartime propaganda was their use as symbols representing the country as a whole. These images were not discussed in depth here in deference to images featuring representations of potentially real women, rather than symbolic representation of a nation. Women were killed and injured in Belgium, and the women of Britain were in danger if the Germans invaded. Women took positions in public like hearse drivers, firewomen, foresters, and clerical work in large numbers. Women were encouraged to maintain their roles in the household, through reminders to ration their supplies and images of the care of children. Joe Fox came close to resolving the divide between the representations of women as victims and as essential parts of the nation. Fox stated that "propaganda tended to depict women as guardians of the home, their gentle nature and vulnerability making them both objects of men's affections and victims of the enemy's barbarous acts, and yet also as resilient, active participants in the war effort."[38]

There are innumerable volumes in print about the roles of women in the Great War and how they were changing. These changes, and the uncertainty they created, were reflected in the way that propaganda represented women, and how they are represented to different factions of the population. Generally, in propaganda geared for men, women were depicted as victims or potential victims. In propaganda targeted at the general population or at women themselves, women were often depicted as an important, if not vital, part of the war effort. Similarly to the way modern women are inundated with conflicting messages in today's media, women living in Britain during WWI had to find their own balance between these representations and the reality of their own lives.

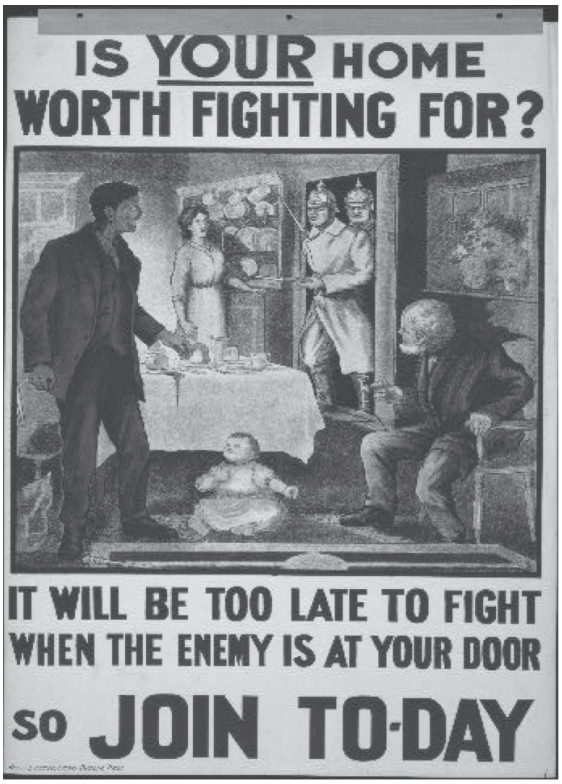
Appendix

1) "The Gentleman German," Edmund J. Sullivan, *The Kaiser's Garland,* 1915, as seen in Mark Bryant, *World War One in Cartoons* (London: Grub Street Publishing, 2014), pg. 30.

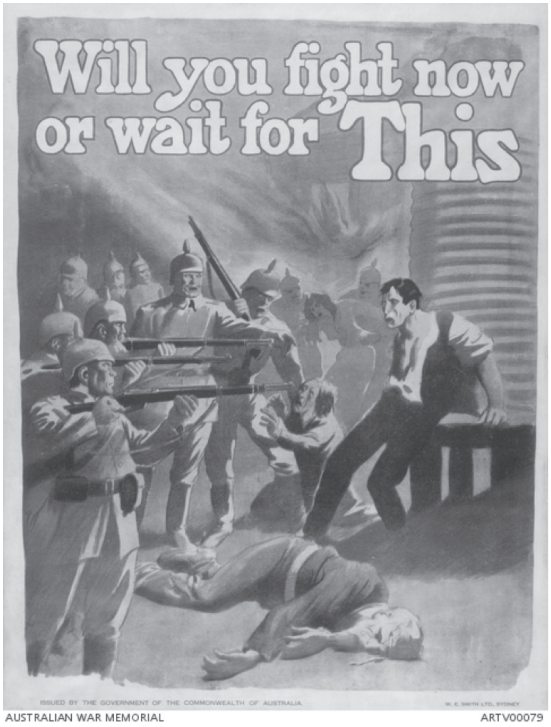
2) Untitled, By Norman Lindsay, as seen in John Simkin. "Atrocities in the first world war." Spartucus Educational, http://spartacuseducational.com/FWWatrocities.htm.

3) *"Thrown to the Swine; The Martyred Nurse,"* Mark Bryant, *World War One in Cartoons* (London: Grub Street Publishing, 2014), 78.

4) "The Hun and the Home," Tony Husband, ed. *Propaganda; Truth and Lies in Times of Conflict* (London: Arcturus Publishing, 2014), 36.



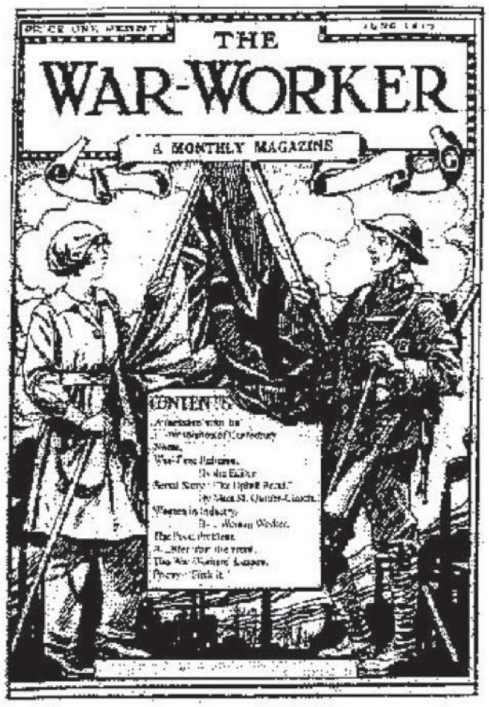
5) "Is your home worth fighting for?" Library of Congress. Dublin, 1915. http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003668413/.



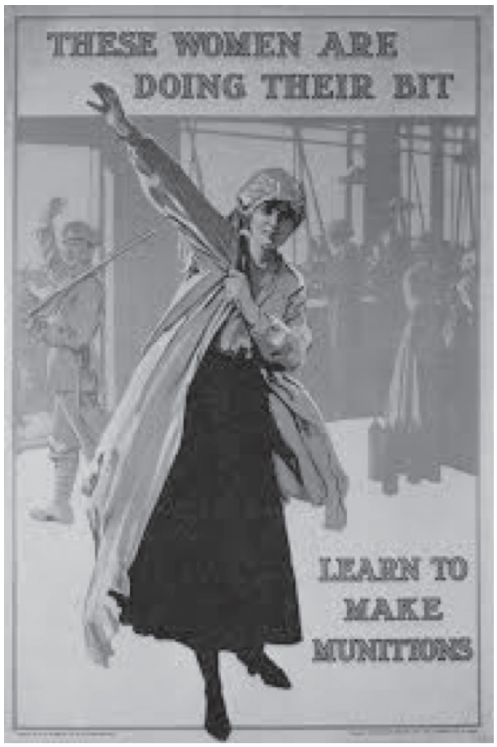
6) "Will you fight now or wait for this," Australian War Memorial, Sydney, 1918. http://www.awm.gov.au/collection/ARTV00079/.

7) "Once a German, Always a German," Husband, 73.

8) "Are you in this?" Museum Victoria. London: 1915. http://museumvictoria.com.au/collections/items/1719023/poster-are-you-in-this-british-world-war-i-circa-1915.



9) "The War Worker," in Angela Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend; Munitions Workers in the Great War* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), image 1 (first unnumbered page after page 112).



10) "Doing their Bit," in Woollacott, image 3 (third unnumbered page after page 112).

11) Mandy Barrow, "The Women's Land Army," *Jobs for Women During the War,* Primary Homework Help. http://www.primaryhomeworkhelp.co.uk/war/women.htm.

12) "Help! The Woman's Land Army of America, New Jersey Division, State House, Trenton," *Women in WW1,* World War 1 Propaganda Posters, 1918, http://www.ww1propaganda.com/ww1-poster/help-womans-land-army-america-new-jersey-division-state-house-trenton.

13) "Women of Britain say Go!" British Library. 1914. http://www.bl.uk/collection-items/women-britain-say-go.

14) "Serve your country or wear this," Gullace, image 4. (Fourth unnumbered page after 115.)

15) "Wounded First," *Louis Raemaekers, Louis Raemaekers' Cartoon History of the War*, vol. 2 (New York: The Century co., 1919), accessed; http://www.gutenberg.org/files/37846/37846-h/37846-h.htm, 32.

16) "Belgian Red Cross," Vintagraph. http://vintagraph.com/products/wwi-poster-red-cross.

17) "Will You Go, or Must I?" Gullace, image 5. (Fifth unnumbered page after 115.)

18) "Polish fighter," Bryant, 35.

19) "Red Cross or Iron Cross," Husband, 54.

Notes

[1]David Welch, "Propaganda for Patriotism and Nationalism," *World War One*. British Library, http://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/patriotism-and-nationalism.

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[4]"Story of Propaganda."

[5]Welch, "Patriotism"

[6]Joe Fox, "Atrocity propaganda," *World War One*. British Library, http://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/atrocity-propaganda.

[7]John Simkin. "Atrocities in the first world war." Spartucus Educational, http://spartacus-educational.com/FWWatrocities.htm.

[8]Nicoletta F. Gullace, *"The Blood of Our Sons;" Men, Women, and the renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 18.

[9]Gullace, 19.

[10]Mark Bryant, *World War One in Cartoons* (London: Grub Street Publishing, 2014), 78.

[11]Raemaekers, 9.

[12]Tony Husband, ed. *Propaganda; Truth and Lies in Times of Conflict* (London: Arcturus Publishing, 2014), 36.

[13]"Is your home worth fighting for? It will be too late to fight when the enemy is at your door, so join to-day." Library of Congress. Dublin, 1915. http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003668413/.

[14]"Will you fight now or wait for this," Australian War Memorial, Sydney, 1918. http://www.awm.gov.au/collection/ARTV00079/.

[15]Husband, 73.

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[18]Woollacott, 1.

[19]Woollacott, image 1 (first unnumbered page after page 112).

[20]Woollacott, image 3 (third unnumbered page after page 112).

[21]Woollacott, 1-3.

[22]Mandy Barrow, "The Women's Land Army," *Jobs for Women During the War*, Primary Homework Help. http://www.primaryhomeworkhelp.co.uk/war/women.htm.

[23]Lucinda Gosling, *Brushes and Bayonets; Cartoons, Sketches and Paintings of World War I*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2008), 108.

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[31]Louis Raemaekers, *Louis Raemaekers' Cartoon History of the War,* vol. 2 (New York: The Century co., 1919), accessed; http://www.gutenberg.org/files/37846/37846-h/37846-h.htm, 32.

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