ΑΚΦ

The Alpha Kappa Phi Review

Annual Journal of Undergraduate Research
in the Humanities

Volume XI
Spring 2025

ΑΚΦ
THE ALPHA KAPPA PHI REVIEW

ANNUAL JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH IN THE HUMANITIES

VOLUME XI
SPRING 2025

CONTENTS

PREFACE

An institution puts forth a mission statement to capture its primary purpose, center of attention, and dedication. Lindsey Wilson College shows the depth of its love for education and the student body with its statement, "Every Student, Every Day." The *Alpha Kappa Phi Review* is an extension of this mindset, with an interest in the work of all students at Lindsey Wilson College.

This volume contains a broad range of student essays. These essays span a wide variety of topics and academic disciplines, including detailed analyses of works by major authors and solutions for pressing societal concerns that have major implications on our world today. All of the essays that appear in the *Alpha Kappa Phi Review* have gone through a rigorous peer-review selection and revision process resulting in the inclusion of works that achieve the highest standard of excellence. All of the essays rely on secondary research and/or extensive textual evidence to support their analyses and claims.

The *Review* has sought to include a wide variety of writing from Lindsey Wilson's student body with this grouping, encompassing the work of first-year students to graduating seniors. This volume includes eleven student essays on a variety of topics from African American literature, culture, and history to political analyses of power, propaganda, and leadership to sociological studies of brain drain in Appalachia and the ethics of castration to literary and historical analyses of canonical texts and figures. The reader will find the essays organized thematically, not alphabetically, into four categories.

Our journal begins with the analysis of African American history and literature, with Bree Butler beginning our volume discussing the implications of societal pressures in regard to race through her analysis of James Weldon Johnson's *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*. She is followed by Xander Foster's historical timeline of the Black American experience, starting with slavery and concluding with the election of President Barack Obama. The volume continues with Kara Ryder's critical analysis of the Old South and its legacy, specifically William Faulkner's "A Rose for Emily" and current marketing campaigns that romanticize the southern belle without acknowledging the racialized violence upon which such iconography is built.

The next two essays turn to pressing social debates of today: education and ethics of punishment. We begin with Ada Gass's essay on brain drain of rural Appalachian college-educated youth fleeing to more urban areas and possible solutions to this problem. Next, Sirenna Adams discusses the history of castration as punishment and debates the ethics of such practices today.

Continuing these themes of culture and power dynamics, the next three essays use political science and historiographic methodologies to analyze American presidential campaigns, the Northern Irish "Troubles", and European military history. Jager Ferguson discusses the life of President Abraham Lincoln, both before and during his presidency, to analyze what makes a

candidate appropriately “presidential.” Yesh Singayao’s essay also uses political science and history to examine political entrepreneurs and how they use hate rhetoric and propaganda to gain power in Northern Ireland in the 1970s at the height of the Troubles. Hunter Willis then turns to European military history more broadly to illustrate the pivotal role naval armadas played in war tactics in World War II.

The final four essays discuss the importance of women, their voices, and their stories in literature and history. Morgan Bryant begins this last portion of essays by discussing the fluctuating historical narratives of Elizabeth I of England and Mary, Queen of Scots, interrogating how historians have treated these monarchs differently based on gendered narratives and biases. The volume then turns to Baylee Hart’s comparative analysis of Charlotte Perkin Gilman's 19th century short story “The Yellow Wallpaper” and Gillian Flynn’s 21st century novel *Gone Girl* to trace the evolution of feminine hysteria to feminist rage and the unique literary form that establishes empathy with these narrators. Mattie Coomer concludes our volume with her analysis of *Jane Eyre*, tracing feminist interpretations of Charlotte Brontë’s work from the 19th century to today as well as, quite literally, giving women like Jane the last word.

The *Alpha Kappa Phi Review* is devoted to publishing the best student scholarly work in the humanities that Lindsey Wilson College has to offer. We believe the broad range of topics and arguments within this volume showcase the excellent writing and research skills of Lindsey Wilson’s student body.

—Morgan Bryant and Megan Whitson, Editors-in-Chief
April 2025

❖❖❖

The editorial board would like to thank the following English, History, & Christian Ministries faculty members for serving as Faculty Reviewers for this volume:

Prof. Mary Baker
Dr. Rachel Carr
Prof. Caleb Demsey-Richardson
Dr. Kerry Robertson
Prof. Kendall Sewell
Dr. Lucas Somers
Dr. Jordan Wessling
Dr. Caleb Wittum

Each submission to the *Alpha Kappa Phi Review* undergoes an extensive review process in which it is anonymously evaluated by both student editors and faculty.

We are grateful to Dr. Paul Thifault for founding and establishing the *Alpha Kappa Phi Review* in 2015, then the sole undergraduate research journal at Lindsey Wilson College. We are also grateful to Dr. Tip Shanklin for publishing the second volume. Finally, the last nine volumes of the *Review* would not have been possible without the mentorship of Dr. Karolyn Steffens.

❖❖❖

Critical essays in the Humanities, broadly defined as the fields of English, History, Women's and Gender Studies, Philosophy, Theology, Theatre, Film, Political Science, and Art, are welcomed and encouraged from current or recently graduated Lindsey Wilson College students.

For more information, please contact Dr. Karolyn Steffens, Associate Professor of English and Faculty Editor: steffensk@lindsey.edu.

The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man: Society's Influence on Race

Bree Butler

It is often believed that race is solely distinguishable by visual characteristics, however, race cannot be defined by visual cues alone. In reality, race is determined by social perception, context, and self-identification. James Weldon Johnson reveals this idea through the concept of "passing" in *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man.* The narrator, a biracial man with light skin, navigates the choice to "pass" as white in a racially segregated society. This novel displays how race is a performative identity, constantly being shaped by social forces and interactions. Furthermore, this novel explores racial identity and the influence that society has on an individual, specifically through the internal conflict that develops through racial categorization and racial violence. Through the narrator's experiences of "passing," Johnson uses the autobiographical form to reveal the ambiguity of race, emphasizing how it is defined by society's external perceptions, judgment, and expectations of an individual, rather than any biological markers or intrinsic traits.

Literary and cultural critic Judith Butler's analysis of Weldon's contemporary African American novelist Nella Larsen's work emphasizes the relational and performative nature of racial identity. Butler argues that Larsen's work displays how race is shaped not only by physical appearance but also by association, language, and behavior within societal contexts. In her article "Passing, Queering: Nella Larsen's Psychoanalytic Challenge," Butler states of Larsen's novella *Passing*, "If he [white husband] associates with her, she cannot be black. But if she associates with blacks, she becomes black, where the sign of blackness is contracted, as it were, through proximity, where 'race'' itself is figured as a contagion transmissible through proximity" (269). In this statement, Butler emphasizes that racial identity is influenced by association or proximity. By stating "transmissible through proximity," Butler illustrates how race is fluid, relational, and situational, or in other words, by the terms of society, one is defined by who they surround themselves with. The notion that race is performative is also expressed through exhibited language and behavior. Butler makes this connection when she states, "Clare passes not only because she is light skinned, but because she refuses to introduce her blackness into conversation, and so withholds the conversational marker that would counter the hegemonic presumption that she is white" (269). Through this statement, it is clear that the language and

behavior that one exhibits is also a determinant of race. The intentional choice to avoid her Black heritage in conversation encouraged others to assume that she was white. While Clare's light skin influenced how she was initially perceived by society, the language she used encouraged her racial categorization of white. Clare did not talk like a Black individual, act like a Black individual, or associate with Black individuals, therefore it was assumed that she must be white. The act of "passing" emphasizes the performative nature of racial identity, displaying that race is not solely determined by physical characteristics but also by language, behavior, and social cues that signify belonging to a specific racial group.

Building on Butler's emphasis on the performative nature of racial identity, Johnson's use of an autobiographical form to further explore the complexity and ambiguity of race, blurring the lines between fiction and reality. Donald C. Goellnicht writes about Johnson's choice to frame his novel as an autobiography in an article titled "Passing as Autobiography: James Weldon Johnson's *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man.*" In this article, Goellnicht states, "Johnson is clearly engaged in a kind of playful and productive transgression of the boundaries between fiction and non-fiction when he passes his novel off as autobiography" (20). By framing his novel as an autobiography, Johnson not only challenges the understanding of genre but also mirrors the narrator's journey of racial exploration through the blurring of boundaries. Through presenting the novel as an autobiography, Johnson forces the reader to question the reliability of the narrative, just as the narrator questions and challenges racial categorization. The narrator's exploration of racial identity imitates the fluidity of the novel's genre, displaying that identity and narrative are influenced by and interpreted through societal lenses. When stating, "playful and productive transgression," Goellnicht emphasizes the ambiguity of race, reflecting on the constructed and performative nature of identity. By blurring the boundaries of fiction and reality, Johnson emphasizes how racial identity and narrative truth are not fixed, but rather, open to interpretation, aligning with the narrator's exploration for self-discovery.

Furthering the exploration of racial identity as a social category, the narrator's experience of lynching violence emphasizes how Blackness becomes associated with humiliation, as societal perceptions and racial violence shape both external categorization and internal feelings of shame. The lynching violence that the narrator witnesses within the novel, contributes to his ultimate decision to "pass" as white. Expressing the narrator's feelings after the lynching, Johnson states, "A great wave of humiliation and shame swept over me. Shame that I belonged to a race that

could be so dealt with; and shame for my country, that it, the great example of democracy to the world, should be the only civilized, if not the only state on earth, where a human being would be burned alive" (128). The narrator's shame illustrates the external, social influence of racial identity. His shameful feelings of belonging to a race "that could be so dealt with" are not about the intrinsic qualities of the Black race, but rather, how society categorizes and treats these individuals based on racial perceptions. Lynchings, such as the one that the narrator witnessed, are often not directed at the individual for their personal characteristics but purely because of their perceived racial identity. The humiliation and shame felt by the narrator reflects his internal conflict with racial identity and blackness, demonstrating how racial violence and social categorization shapes not only how individuals are perceived but also how they view themselves.

Witnessing the lynching was a pivotal moment in the narrator's racial exploration, contributing a significant amount to his ultimate decision to "pass" as white. The lynching reinforces that race is not rooted in inherent characteristics but is instead a social construct enforced through systematic violence and fear. The narrator's decision to "pass" reflects the fluidity and constructed nature of race, displaying the psychological and emotional toll of conforming to societal expectations. Being written in an autobiographical form, Johnson displays how social acts of violence reshaped the narrator's internal understanding of identity and belonging. The lynching and its impact are illustrated within the personal context of the narrator's life, encouraging the reader to sympathize with the narrator and confront the cost of racial violence. By framing his novel as an autobiography, Johnson provides the reader with a first-person perspective, providing insight on the internal conflict that develops as a result of society's racial expectations and judgment. The autobiographical form, depicting the narrator's reaction to racial violence, emphasizes the personal and social implications of racial construct, developed by external perceptions rather than inherent characteristics.

Building on the narrator's struggle with racial identity and the external influences that shaped his perception of Blackness, the depiction of whiteness through his father emphasizes wealth and privilege, further influencing the narrator's decision to "pass" as white. Displaying the narrator's perception of whiteness through his father, Johnson states, "I remember how I sat upon his knee, and watched him laboriously drill a hole through a ten-dollar gold piece, and then tie the coin around my neck with a string" (5). From a young age, the narrator associates whiteness with wealth and privilege through his white father. The action of placing a gold coin

around the narrator's neck highlights his father's wealth and societal position, as a ten-dollar gold piece would not have been easily attainable by a Black individual at the time. For the narrator, this action serves as tangible evidence to the privileges that whiteness offers. Being exposed to power and wealth through his father, the narrator is influenced to "pass" as white, seeing it as a way to access the opportunities and security that his father's whiteness and wealth symbolize.

Furthermore, the narrator associates whiteness with safety, particularly from racial violence and discrimination. As a Black man in a prejudiced society, the narrator "passes" as white for both physical and emotional protection. The narrator's act of "passing" is displayed when Johnson states, "My millionaire friend and I took seats at a table, where we sat smoking and watching the crowd" (88). Associating wealth with whiteness from his early memories of his father, the narrator "passes" as white when accompanied by his millionaire friend. The narrator applies Butler's argument that race is performative as he uses his association to the millionaire to encourage society to perceive him as white. Through the narrator's experiences, Johnson uses autobiography to display whiteness as a source of power, reinforcing societal division. After observing the racial violence and economic disparities of Blackness, the narrator is influenced to "pass" as white, securing safety and power.

Through writing this novel as an autobiography, Johnson can focus on his nameless narrator's inner thoughts, emphasizing the narrator's ambiguity about the American racial binary as a mixed-race man. The pressure to identify with a specific racial group and uphold their cultural norms has a large emotional impact on the narrator. Johnson writes about this conflict of racial performance when the narrator states, "I finally made up my mind that I would neither disclaim the black race nor claim the white race; but that I would change my name, raise a mustache, and let the world take me for what it would" (130). The statement, "I would neither disclaim the black race nor claim the white race" depicts the narrator's internal conflict about his racial identity. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "disclaim" as "to reject or disavow any part in something" (Disclaim 2.a), and defines "disavow" with "to refuse to own, acknowledge, or be associated with" (Disavow 1). This is significant as the refusal to "disclaim the black race" indicates that the narrator does not want to deny or reject his Black heritage, despite being able to pass as white. However, at the same time, his refusal to "claim the white race," illustrates his hesitancy in passing as white as he feels a sense of loyalty to his Black heritage. In making this

statement, the narrator is openly admitting that race is a social performance. He indicates that he is opting out of racial identification, however, he is aware that if he is around white people, then society will identify him as white. Here, Johnson uses autobiography to show the performance of race and critique the idea that one can never truly be neutral.

Rather than identifying with either race, the narrator desires to exist outside the boundaries of the racial binary, even though he is manipulating social norms to pass for white. His hesitation and refusal to claim a race displays that racial identity is more complex than simply choosing Black or white. The second half of the quote, "But that I would change my name, raise a mustache, and let the world take me for what it would," suggests that the narrator is allowing others to make assumptions about his race, rather than defining it himself. Despite his desire to remain neutral and exist beyond the racial binary boundaries, the narrator acknowledges that society will racially categorize him regardless of how he identifies. He thus attempts to control their perception by changing his name and growing a mustache. Returning to Butler, she illustrates through the racial categorization of Clare in a similar text about passing, that society will racially identify individuals based on external factors and force upon them racial categorization, declaring the narrator's attempt to remain neutral to be impossible. For Johnson, choosing to not identify with either race, the narrator illustrates the complex nature of racial identity, suggesting that race is not determined by an individual's personal choice and biological characteristics but rather how they are perceived by society. Using an autobiographical form, Johnson blurs the line between personal experience and social criticism, emphasizing the subjective nature of race. The first-person perspective allows the reader to experience the internal conflict of racial identity with the narrator, displaying how societal judgments influence or constrain self-perception. Additionally, this genre allows Johnson to reveal the narrator's hypocrisy of trying to remain neutral as his knowledge and use of social categorization encourage society to believe he is white. By framing this novel as an autobiography, Johnson reveals the complexity and ambiguity of racial identity, emphasizing how it is shaped by societal pressures and external factors.

Through the concept of "passing," and using an autobiographical form, Johnson reveals the ambiguity of race, emphasizing how it is defined by society's external perceptions, judgment, and expectations of an individual, rather than any biological markers or inherent characteristics. Race, being determined by external factors, can be described as a performative identity that is

identifiable through social interactions. The expectations to be categorized with a specific racial group often leads to internal conflict regarding racial identity. This conflict arises from the pressure that society places on individuals to adhere to a specific racial group. Furthermore, racial violence is a direct result of social constructs that shape how individuals are perceived. The impact of racial violence leads to internal conflict as individuals are not only challenged with adhering to a racial group but also with managing the consequences that may accompany certain racial groups. Johnson's use of an autobiographical form throughout the novel blurs the lines between fiction and reality, emphasizing the ambiguity of race. The use of this form, displays that identity and narrative alike, are influenced and interpreted through society's perceptions, judgement, and expectations. Through Butler's article and Johnson's novel it is evident that an individual's racial identity will be defined by society's perceptions, regardless of inherent characteristics and biological factors. Ultimately, early 20th century novels like Weldon's illustrate how race is determined through social perception, context and self-identification.

Works Cited

Butler, Judith. *Passing, Queering: Nella Larsen's Psychoanalytic Challenge.* , lindsey.instructure.com/courses/1468/files?preview=405525.

"Disavow, V., Sense 1." *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford UP, June 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/1593383237.

"Disclaim, V., Sense 2.a." *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford UP, September 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/6612579857.

Goellnicht, Donald C. "Passing as Autobiography: James Weldon Johnson's The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man." *African American Review*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1996, pp. 17–33. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/3042092.

Johnson, James Weldon, et al. *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*. Vintage Books, a Division of Penguin Random House LLC, 2023.

Broken Chains to Executive: An Expansion of African Americans' Fight for Civil Rights

Xander Foster

Two hundred and eighty-one men from the Black 54th Massachusetts company were gone from the fight following the assault on Fort Wagner in 1863. This battle was described by Corporal James Gooding as "Mortal men could not stand such a fire."[1] Like those Black Union soldiers of the 54th Massachusetts Company, many Black Americans have died and had their lives changed in pursuit of the goal of freedom and equality and the right to have their voices heard. Despite that effort, those voices have often been overshadowed and dismissed by white state actors with good and bad intentions toward the African American cause. Those state actors have dominated the narrative of education and discussion on this topic. Black Americans decided to take action using their voices through platforms such as collective activism, the arts, and personal heroism for equality in America.

Many historians and the public locate this work in the Civil Rights Movement. The movement is usually framed as taking place from 1954 to 1968; due to the consensus that the legal victories of desegregation, equal voting rights, and equal opportunity stem from these two decades alone. However, the work of Civil Rights extends far beyond these temporal borders. This paper argues against limiting the boundaries of the Civil Rights movement and shows how historians would gain a greater understanding of African American history, indeed all of American history, by analyzing predominantly Black voices in the timeline outlined here. Starting this periodization in 1862, federal policy like the Emancipation Proclamation begins by freeing the enslaved. The identified period for this paper will conclude with the first Black president, Barack Obama, becoming the front runner for the Democratic Party in 2008, proving that an African American could represent the United States of America. This paper limits its analysis to a select few of actors who are representative in the movement to better encompass almost two centuries of history. I argue that an analysis of 1862 to 2008 is the timeline of the greater Civil Rights Movement, which this paper will define and defend as necessary to be taught.

[1] Massachusetts 54th Regiment, "Mortal Men Could Not Stand Such Fire," in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009), 315

To begin, I first analyze how historian W. E. B. Du Bois believed that even during his lifetime from the mid-19th century to the first half of the 20th, African Americans' story was disregarded. Understanding why a prominent scholar like Du Bois believes that African American history has been omitted from the nation's historical timeline is critical to illustrating how interconnected American and African American History truly are. Du Bois lays out in his article "The Propaganda of History" the idea that African Americans have been neglected, blamed, and omitted from the history of America. This argument rings true for the topic of this paper as well. While the greater Civil Rights Movement has not been wholly omitted from the history books, it has been fractured, making it difficult to understand the full extent of African Americans' efforts to be heard and have their voices legitimized. Restricting the Civil Rights Movement to the 1950s and 1960s blatantly ignores the struggle and organization of those who believed their actions would enhance their own civil rights of the time. Du Bois asks a vital question: "Nations reel and stagger on their way; they make hideous mistakes; they commit frightful wrongs; they do great and beautiful things. And shall we not best guide humanity by telling the truth about all this, so far as the truth is ascertainable?"[2] This remark insinuates that while mistakes have been made by governments concerning its people's history, those mistakes can be mended. This ties into the idea that African American history does not have to stay stagnant when being taught to students at every age. It should be understood that when the timeline of the Civil Rights Movement is formatted in the way this paper attempts to, African American history can be visualized as coiling around the timeline of American history. While the current timeline of American history tries to tell the truth of these series of events, this perspective still forgoes many other points of discussion before, during, and after the re-periodization of the Civil Rights Movement. Re-periodizing the Civil Rights Movement is necessary for learning about American history as without it, the background of the narrative would remain fuzzy, missing key characters and events. These points may indicate why certain historical events occurred and give insight into who the people who created change were. A proper starting point will follow the good intentions of those who would ultimately give little voice to African Americans beginning the greater Civil Rights Movement.

[2] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Propaganda of History," in *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880* (1935), 714.

Starting the timeline in the year 1863 nearly two years after the American Civil War began, the Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln looked to free all of those who were enslaved in the Confederacy and allowed previously enslaved men to join the Union army.[3] In this document, Lincoln would not only revitalize the Union war effort, but also give the war a new meaning. This development was a momentous victory for abolitionists throughout the nation with prominent figures such as Frederick Douglass pushing Lincoln to make the decision. However, there was a realization that their work was not yet done. In order to prevent further unrest within the Union states, Lincoln would not free the remaining enslaved people in Union slave states and already captured territory. However, he would heavily justify the freedom of the enslaved to be constitutional, stating, "And upon this act of justice, warranted by the constitution upon military necessity, I invoke that considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."[4]

A problem with this order was pointed out in a contemporary *New York Times* editorial. The *Times* mainly applauded the president's decision, but also showed the deep-rooted prejudice and racism among the free states in the North. The editors would claim that once all of those who were previously enslaved were freed, they would no longer be willing to work, stating, "If the Proclamation makes the slaves actually free, there will come the further duty of making them work."[5] The editors making this claim disregard the efforts by Black abolitionists such as Fredrick Douglass and Harriet Tubman, who worked tirelessly to contribute to their society. The editors also claim that African Americans are lazy and unwilling to work without a boot on their neck. They imply that the trips to free the enslaved made by Harriet Tubman or the extensive writing by Douglass that led him to speak to Congress calling for slavery's end would not have happened if it was not forced upon them. This document is an example of white people with good intentions nevertheless drowning out Black voice and actions by showing their prejudice. Similarly, activists of this time, like those mentioned above, are often relegated to simple descriptions of a more considerable time in history, even with their prominence in their

---

[3] The Emancipation Proclamation, *"*All Persons Held as Slaves within said Designated Sates … are, and Henceforward Shall be, Free*,"* in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009), 309-312.

[4] The Emancipation Proclamation, 310.

[5] The Emancipation Proclamation, 312.

communities. Nevertheless, this document kicks off the fight for expanded freedoms for the Black community. It creates more opportunities to spread that fight throughout the entire nation, as their history and the history of America would become intertwined. Policy concerning African Americans would become more prominent within the federal government, and white politicians would attempt to help in the fight, as the following text will expound upon.

The year after the Civil War's end the federal government would act in the direct protection of African Americans civil rights. The 39th Congress would find itself in a heated battle against President Johnson over the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which would extend aid for newly freed African Americans through the Freedmen's Bureau. The bill was set to make all Black people declared citizens of the United States. Johnson used his presidential veto on both bills, and claimed that these exertions of the federal government's power were unnecessary. This belief came from the idea that the bills would be too costly and that African Americans would need to learn how to be self-reliant and not be catered to by the government. He would establish this line of thinking in statements such as, "Nor can any good reason be adduced why a permanent establishment should be founded for one class of our people more than another." [6] Such a statement lacks the reasoning that it would be difficult for a group of people to have a sense of self-reliance when there is nothing tangible besides the clothes on their backs, if even that were applicable.

The Republicans in Congress would not let this blatant abandonment of the Black community go unpunished; they overrode both vetoes and later carried out articles of impeachment against Johnson. The bill declared every person born in America (excluding Native Americans) shall be granted citizenship regardless of whether they were an enslaved person or not. Those same individuals would also enjoy all rights as citizens, irrespective of race. Lastly, the bill would allow for the prosecution of those who disregard the bill and discriminate against one's rights based on race.[7] The response from the president shows the difficulty of such a feat, even at the federal level. Even with overwhelming support by those who wish to see equal treatment for all, it would be met with harsh opposition and an attempt to silence the progress of the Black community. Promises such as forty acres and a mule for all free enslaved families and

---

[6] U.S. Congress, *"*The Civil Rights Battle of 1866*,"* in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009), 358.

[7] U.S. Congress, 359-360.

further civil guarantees would be abandoned. However, these points tie into the timeline through small victories that make up the Civil Rights Movement and its evolution, such as the enslaved within the rebel states during the Civil War being freed (though others remained in bondage at this time). While this may be a small step forward and many may wish for an alternate history, change had occurred. The American population should be educated on both documents despite their pitfalls, establishing their importance in this timeline.

At this point in the timeline, actions by white state actors have been prominent. However, following this point, the remaining documents will be solely from African Americans as their story is meant to be at the forefront to demonstrate the coil of their history around the greater American history. This will show how dominant the Black voice would become, how the community would organize to truly take matters into their own hands to imagine their futures, and how they might achieve it. We can analyze the two opposing views, both meant to uplift the Black community through different methods and each represented by Black intellectuals.

In expanding the period of the Civil Rights movement, I turn to early activist Booker T. Washington, the first of two prominent advocates of their time. Washington was born enslaved at the end of the Civil War. He later gained an education and founded a Black organization and a Black college named the Tuskegee Institute. Washington helped to cultivate the idea of accommodation, which meant working with white Southerners and submitting to Jim Crow laws while uplifting the Black community through its methods. Washington would advocate for one of these prominent methods in his 1895 Atlanta Compromise speech:

> Cast down your bucket where you are […]. Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world.[8]

Washington's point is meant to entail that African Americans should work blue-collar jobs to gain economic security and build each other up through what they can create in those former plantation fields. Washington's plan intended that Black southerners would gain their education

[8] Booker T. Washington, *"The 'Atlanta Compromise,'"* in Kai Wright eds., The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories, (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009), 393.

from the land and become the backbone of the region's workforce. This plan would also intertwine the Black and white populations, similar in an attempt to intertwine their societies and history, and by showing the necessity of Black labor to the southern economy, stem the horrific tide of lynchings occurring in the South.[9] However, despite the high tension of race relations, Washington would press this issue in an effort to appeal to white Southerners when he said, "Cast down your bucket among those who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, built your railroads and cities and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth," implying that their efforts in building and working in the nation can be harmonious between races which would in return cultivate progress through collective civil liberties of both races.[10] This is not to say that Washington did not believe privately in an idealistic progression toward equal rights. Due to the extreme violence and oppression that Black Southerners faced from lynchings at the time, Washington argues for cementing themselves economically into society so that their deaths from racial terrorism would only hurt broader white Southern society as a whole and thus force acceptance. The point of this compromise, which focused on industrial education rather than legal equality, was to solidify the Black community as the workers of the South following the decades after Reconstruction. In his vision, this would protect their physical safety from racial terrorism of lynching rampant at the time by emphasizing hard work and dedication to said white Southerners, the very people who only decades earlier enslaved them. However, even contributing to the white Southern economy was not enough to stop the mass lynching of African Americans in the South. Not all African Americans that wished for civil change agreed with Washington's plan of action, such as intellectuals like Du Bois, who would formulate his own plan for change.

In 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois would directly criticize Washington's sacrifice of civil liberties for physical safety in his work *The Souls of Black Folk*. Drawing from his experience as a Harvard-educated man, he wanted African Americans to be able to use their voices in academics and politics. This goal led to the Niagara Movement, headed by W. E. B. Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter to stand against the political thought pursued by accommodationists such as Booker T. Washington, who helped lead the African American community of the Tuskegee Institute promoting industrial education. The Niagara movement believed that African

[9] Equal Justice Initiative, "Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror", 3d Ed. (2017).
[10] Washington, *"The 'Atlanta Compromise,'"* 394.

Americans should not have to concede through compromise with those who they deemed as halting the progress of the Black community. This movement stood for the unrelinquished belief that African Americans were being repressed by their government and those who participated in bigoted thought, a belief to which Washington himself subscribed but only in private. They would demand that the government should help to uplift the Black community, and that there should be no difference found between the treatment of Black and white Americans. These voices knew they could not be silenced and can be heard in statements like, "Of the above grievances we do not hesitate to complain, and to complain and insistently. To ignore, overlook, or apologize for these wrongs is to ourselves unworthy of freedom."[11] Remarks like this would represent what this portion of the community wanted and expected from the government: that it is realistic to want to be treated with the same rights and privileges of citizenship and legal equality as white Americans.

Members of the Niagara Movement desired normalcy as well, and believed that both members and ordinary African Americans should strive for this belief. These ideas are outlined at the end of this statement when they state, "urge corresponding duties upon our people: The duty to vote. The duty to respect the Rights of others. The duty to work. The duty to obey the law. The duty to be clean and orderly. The duty to send our children to school. The duty to respect ourselves, even as we respect others."[12] It is also important to note that as he is describing this, Du Bois earned his Ph.D. in history, and determined that change must occur in America's trajectory. The change in Black society in the U.S. has evolved beyond prior desires and it must demand more than what little they have been given. People who subscribed to Du Bois's philosophy, even only in some aspects, attempted to uplift their community. In decades following, Black spaces built from the community's hard work and determination appeared in many major cities and can be further reflected through the Harlem Renaissance. Thus, it should be asked why historians' discussion of America, and the education of Reconstruction that happened before Du Bois, has not reflected this evolution. The current timeline that is often taught has been stagnant and fails to reflect the change that Black society went through. Regardless of what would be seen or remain unseen through a modern lens, African Americans

[11] The Niagara Movement, *"*We Refuse to Allow the Impression to Remain that the Negro-American Assent to Inferiority*,"* in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009), 414.
[12] Niagara Movement, 414.

would continue to progress and change in their own way, with a clear demonstration being through their contributions to the arts.

The Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s was a massive outpouring of Black influence on the arts in the United States. While organizations, speeches, and discussions have an effect on how civil rights change, the same can be said for music, art, and specifically for this case, poetry. Langston Hughes became one of the most influential names during the Harlem Renaissance, a time of Black art flourishing, as well as during the New Negro Movement, named after a Harlem Renaissance based anthology series. He would first publish his poems within *The Crisis,* an affiliate magazine of the NAACP founded by W.E.B. Du Bois, and later go on to have many influences in the arts and literature.[13] Through his first collection, Hughes shows the history of African Americans and philosophical ideals in his poems. Hughes writes lines in "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" that imagine the interconnectivity of African American history and culture, such as, "I've known rivers ancient as the world and older than the flow of human blood in human veins / […] I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young […] / I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramids above it / I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe Lincoln went down to New Orleans."[14] This poem outlines the fact that Black people share a history across time and space that connects back to the African continent and Mesopotamia. Hughes's reference to the Euphrates and Nile River connects the Mississippi River to this ancient lineage. The connection extends between rivers as African Americans build themselves upon the Mississippi or other American rivers just as they have been essential to building ancient civilizations in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Hughes also desires to have that history understood as one of global Black excellence, while looking at recent history and the emancipation of enslaved Black people as part of that history.

In his other poem, "The Weary Blues," Hughes follows the familiar feeling of broken dreams through the blues genre Black musicians created following the Civil War's end. Capturing the beauty and meaning of both, he writes, "And far into the night he crooned that tune / The stars went out, and so did the moon / The singer stopped playing and went to bed /

---

[13] Langston Hughes, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009), 443.

[14] Hughes, 443-444.

While the Weary Blues echoed through his head / He slept like a rock or a man that's dead."[15] What could be interpreted from this point is the death of wanted change during Reconstruction while still alluding to that desire inside of the Black community. In writing such as this, it should be understood that when a writer can cultivate poetry to be considered amongst other great writers, then why would this artistic voice not be as widely taught in schools like many other American writers. Additionally, why would the history and culture Hughes represents not be as interconnected as the rest of American history? Hughes's poetry and its topics is just as connected as men fighting and defending their nation.

On the heels of the Harlem Renaissance, World War II becomes an ongoing event in Europe, with America joining soon, and Black men such as Asa Phillip Randolph did not want ideas such as segregation hindering their duty to the country. Men across the United States, like Randolph, were preparing to fight against the powers of fascists and the Nazis, but some could not join the fight as they wished. Asa Philip Randolph, with the support of the NAACP and the National Urban League, issued demands to President Franklin D. Roosevelt on this issue, or they threatened to march on Washington. Randolph would argue that Black soldiers and workers were just as capable as any other, regardless of skin color. Randolph believed that African Americans in the military and government positions could, "Smash through and blast the Government, business, and labor-union red tape to win the right to equal opportunity in vocational training and re-training in defense employment."[16] Randolph was adamant that not pushing for this effort directly opposed what Roosevelt claimed in going to war against the Axis and Japan. In a momentous declaration to Roosevelt, Randolph would state, "Free American Negro citizens of the stigma, humiliation and insult of discrimination and Jim-Crowism in Government departments and national defense."[17] This statement makes it evident to any historian that despite the onset of war, the fight for civil rights has never been quelled despite being pushed from the forefront of American issues. This is another situation in which African American history is intertwined with the rest of American history. Many historians and the education system focus on the history of World War II but this voice from African Americans screaming louder than

[15] Hughes, 444.

[16] Asa Philip Randolph, *"*A Call to Negro America*,"* in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009), 467.

[17] Randolph, 468.

ever before is placed into the shadow of the war effort and merely placed in one or two pages of school history books. This demand for equal treatment would culminate in the Civil Rights Movement a decade following the end of World War II, with activists using these same sorts of voices and tactics. As white women and other groups' contribution to the American war effort was placed on a pedestal, the Black contribution is often forgotten besides the sacrifices made by those who fought and died during the war. It then seems that the long-ignored demands and cries for equality will explode, and some of the most widely recognized voices will finally be echoed for all to hear.

America claimed its victory in World War II, and many see the decades following the war as a time of prosperity. However, many African Americans still felt that they lived in a land not meant for them; men like Malcolm X held this belief close after he joined the Nation of Islam while in prison and was released from prison in 1952. Speaking based on the Nation of Islam's teachings that were rooted in the thought of Elijah Muhammed and the Islamic faith, Malcolm X believed that Black men are powerful and only a slave to white people's teachings. Primarily, he rejected the beliefs of Christianity because of their use in slavery. Malcolm X determined that Black people were more vital than white people, with mainstream American culture wishing to destroy Black power. In his speech "How the 'Blue-Eyed Devil' race was created" he determines that, "So in the black man there's a brown man, in the brown man there's a yellow man, in the yellow man there's what? A white man. Oh Yes. Getting weaker all the time."[18] In this idea, there is the belief that Black people cannot integrate into white society and that they must go their separate ways back to their roots in Africa.

While some may view Malcolm X's voice as dangerous, it is important to understand that violence against Black people had failed to slow after World War II. So, for some, this reaction may be viewed as dangerous, but for others, it is completely justifiable. This is one side of another divergence in Black organizations that is needed to understand the greater Civil Rights Movement, which at this point in American history comes to a boiling point. Through all the other previous documents, what has not been examined is the murder of thousands through lynching and other racial terror and the destruction of what many Black communities have

[18] Malcom X, *"*How the 'Blue-Eyed Devil' Race was Created*,"* in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009), 514.

attempted to create. For Malcolm X, this means they have a choice to make when he states, "Once the American so-called Negros have been awakened to a knowledge of themselves and their own God and of the white man, then they're on their own."[19] Many white Americans during this time feared racial violence and communism; on the other hand, men like Malcolm X feared that because of who they were, they would be killed by white people. To this portion of the Black community, this fear is as valid as the Red Scare; learning this fear can help individuals to understand the fear that has traveled from the time of enslavement to the fear of lynching after emancipation to the fear of police in today's society. Another divergence was mentioned while discussing this document, and the other side of this section of history outlines the attempts to create a better world through a tolerant and equal society as prescribed by a man who became the icon of the traditional Civil Rights Movement.

Instead to Malcolm X's voice and arguments, many schoolchildren grew up hearing the phrase "I have a dream." While that may be ingrained into many Americans' psyche today, one can also ask if its historical context is truly understood by our society. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. determined that working through the government and appealing to the nation through peaceful protest would show the Black community as unthreatening and equal citizens. Despite the fracturing within the march on Washington in 1963, King Jr. gave his speech in which he determined that despite the work of all those who came before him, African Americans were not free. In the literal sense, the Black voice could be heard in front of millions as King remarked, "It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned."[20] In his speech, he does not hold grievances against white Americans; instead, he wants to see that promise fulfilled for Black Americans as well. While he is taught throughout almost every school, he is often misinterpreted as only wanting equality for Black people and to enjoy every right that other Americans have. Instead, he determines that he will not stop until economic security is prevalent for the Black community. He states, "We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one."[21] Despite what the small integration of African American history has determined, it was never only able to

[19] X, *"How the 'Blue-Eyed Devil' Race was Created,"* 515.

[20] Martin Luther King Jr., *"*I Have a Dream*,"* in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009), 532.

[21] King Jr., *"*I Have a Dream,*"* 532.

stand together equally. For King, he knew that the road African Americans had traveled to this point was long and still full of despair. He would claim at that moment in time that the protests, bills, and small changes would not be the end of this movement.[22] Furthermore, through the actions of those who came before him, all of those victories would change the relationship between Black and White Americans for the better. However, the institutionalized dangers and prejudice of the police were still rooted in American society, and their actions from their inception to today would spark a strong feeling of animosity. That would cause Black men who have perspectives to tell the world how they feel.

The 1980s and 1990s are seen by many today as a point in which Americans had come together to better the society and move past the mistakes of the past. But, the experiences of the Black community would highlight an issue that dispelled this belief with many speaking out through music. While some may believe that the music genre of rap harms the Black community and its mindset, another perspective is that rap is a further evolution of the Civil Rights Movement. The famous rap song of the late 80s, "Fuck Tha Police," by N.W.A., is aptly named for the feelings of the Black community regarding their mistreatment by law enforcement. Following the traditional Civil Rights Movement, the police would still highly patrol predominantly Black neighborhoods due to high crime and drug trafficking caused by the U.S. government to harm Black Power organizations. One of those neighborhoods is Compton in Los Angeles, California, where a group of all-Black hip-hop artists would use their voices to tell the nation about police activities. They would outline police brutality and the grievances that were created for them, as one artist of the group called Ice Cube would sing, "So police think / they have the authority to kill a minority / Fuck that shit 'cause I ain't the one / for a punk motherfucker with a badge and a gun / to be beatin' on and thrown in jail / we can go toe to toe in the middle of a cell."[23] Statements such as this highlight the extreme lengths police in the area would go to quell what they believe to be criminal activity. Another point made by these lyrics highlights the duality of the Black voice that has been prominent in this paper. N.W.A. is using their voice to speak on an experience of violence and discrimination that almost every Black person in America has a personal connection to. That same use of their voice can cause further

[22] King Jr., 532.

[23] Niggaz Wit Attitudes, *"*Fuck Tha Police,*"* in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009), 654.

brutality. However, the use of their voices promotes awareness and activism not only in Black communities around the nation but for every other community with negative interactions with law enforcement. Through this song, the artist heavily pushes the theme of racial discrimination being linked to brutality, one example being through the artist Eazy-E's portion of the song, in which he exclaims, "They put up my picture with silence / 'cause my identity by itself causes violence / The E with the criminal behavior."[24] These lyrics allude to the fact that the stereotype of Black people being inherently violent and prone to commit violent acts has been a prevalent view by some since before the Civil War. This song's themes could be considered a correlation of Black history not being taught as the issues discussed are necessary to promote in a song rather than formal discussion in a classroom setting. History's counter action to this lack of education on Black issues would reach a new peak as the first Black President would be elected two decades later.

The year 2008 would bring the first Black nominee to win the Democratic party nomination as well as the seat of the president. The choice of President Barack Obama's nomination may surprise some, but it still needs to be made clear. This point in American history was not chosen as the endpoint for this greater Civil Rights Movement due to some hopeful belief that there was no need for more progress—far from it. This momentous event was chosen as the final point because it is a point that the history of the United States can never deny. At no point can someone claim that a member of the Black community has not held a position in any of the three branches of government. Furthermore, it is a destination for civil rights that acknowledges that no enshrined rights are being withheld from the black community. Still, progress must now be made toward removing the institutionalized structures within the nation. In this document, Obama has just become the Democratic party's front-runner and is delivering a speech. He outlines the work that must be done and what it will take from every citizen to improve the lives of many. In his remarks, Obama delivers a line that corresponds with not only the presidential race but the race for equality for African Americans, in which he states, "It comes with little sleep, little pay, and a lot of sacrifice. There are days of disappointment, but sometimes, just sometimes, there are nights like this—a night that, years from now, when we've

[24] N.W.A., *"*Fuck Tha Police*,"* 655.

made the changes, we believe in."[25] These words can be attributed to all of the changes that each activist has come before, and all of those discussed can connect and contribute to them. The dreams of every Black American can culminate into this night in which the hopes of many succeed, and the voice of President Obama captures a nation. He not only attributes this hope to himself and the underlying hope of previous generations but to the point of America and how intertwined every story is when Obama says, "Hope, hope is what led me here today—with a father from Kenya; a mother from Kansas; and a story that could only happen in the United States of America."[26] Thus, this proposed timeline does not end at this point. The movement merely changed its perspective and moved in a new direction with the hope of a better future for a prominent group of people who had been here almost just as long as the first American settlers.

In conclusion, the fight for civil rights may be considered by some to still be ongoing and I would agree. However, the small victories previously mentioned which started from freedom for some built up to the election of the first Black President. While it can be argued that some key point in the greater Civil Rights Movement's history should be expanded on. I argue that it can be left to other students of history to intertwine Black history with broader American history to further the importance of this paper's periodization and to help set a precedent to educate others on its importance. Regardless, the documents still create a clear picture of the argument. Since Emancipation, members of the government and civilians in organizations have attempted to improve and advance the civil rights of African Americans far outside the scope of the 1950s and 1960s and have made connections to events like the Civil War, WW2, and bills like the Civil Rights Act of 1866. This furthers the point that teaching these topics in depth and their significance is essential due to their correlation to American history. Lastly, this paper has proven the hard-fought attempts by African Americans to have their voices heard not only in certain instances but throughout American history.

---

[25] Barack Obama, *"*This was the Moment…Where America Remembered What It Means to Hope*,"* in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009), 711.

[26] Obama, 711.

Bibliography

Du Bois, W. E. B. "Propaganda of History," in *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880* (1935), 711-729.

Equal Justice Initiative, "Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror", 3d Ed. (2017), https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/.

Hughes, Langston "The Negro Speaks of Rivers", in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009, 443-444.

King Jr., Martin Luther "I Have a Dream", in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009, 531-533.

Massachusetts 54th Regiment, "Mortal Men Could Not Stand Such Fire," in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009, 315.

Niggaz With Attitude, "Fuck Tha Police", in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009, 654-656.

Obama, Barack "This was the Moment…Where America Remembered What it Means to Hope", in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009, 709-711.

Randolph, Asa Philip "A Call to Negro America", in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009, 466-468.

The Emancipation Proclamation, *"All Persons Held as Slaves within said Designated Sates … are, and Henceforward Shall be, Free"*, in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009, 309-312.

The Niagara Movement, "We Refuse to Allow the Impression to Remain that the Negro-American Assent to Inferiority", in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009, 412-414.

U.S. Congress, "The Civil Rights Battle of 1866", in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009, 356-360.

Washington, Booker T. *"*The 'Atlanta Compromise'*"*, in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories,* New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009, 392-395.

X, Malcolm *"*How the 'Blue-Eyed Devil' Race was Created*"*, in Kai Wright eds., *The African American Experience: Black History and Culture Through Speeches, Letters, Editorials, Poems, Songs, and Stories*, New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2009, 509-515.

The Idealization of the Old South:
Faulkner's "A Rose for Emily" and the Enduring Legacy of the Southern Aristocracy on American Advertising

Kara Ryder

In May of 2024, a billboard in Lexington, Kentucky painted a vivid picture of modern Southern culture and womanhood heavily steeped in remnants of the past. The image (Appendix 1) boasts a dark blue background complete with a lighter blue circle which beautifully enshrines the subject. Her large, floppy hat drapes artfully over her eyes, shielding her from things unbecoming of a lady and giving her a demure presence. Her face is charming, picturesque, virtuous even. She is the image of beauty and grace, the ideal Southern woman. The track circling the brim of her hat with horses rounding the top of the hat is a testament to one of Kentucky's most cherished events: the Derby. She sips ever so slightly on her drink, perfectly adorned with an orange slice that draws attention to the orange of the hat and the logo of the beer company Blue Moon. The color contrast of the orange against the blue draws the eye's attention to the iconography of the Derby and the beer. This advertisement is part of Blue Moon's "Drink in the Tradition" campaign. To the average passerby, this advertisement is merely a company's attempt to capitalize on the Derby and make their product marketable to a wider audience. Yet, what is overlooked is the underlying imagery of the Old South plantation economy that undergirds these famous images and this "tradition."

What the average consumer misses about these campaigns are the subliminal references to the Southern Aristocracy and plantation economy that dictated life in the Old South, both before and after the Civil War. The Southern Belle, reimagined in Blue Moon's advertisement, is one remnant of the Old South that is still romanticized today. The Belle is a manifestation of the Old South: her money, class, and status are dependent upon the plantation economy and slavery. Following the Civil War, the Reconstruction period sought to reinvent the South and redistribute the wealth and class of the Southern Aristocracy since the plantation economy could no longer function off slave labor. Due to the war, the South suffered during Reconstruction from a ruined infrastructure and was economically neglected (McDermott, 70). After Reconstruction failed to effectively redistribute power and rebuild the fallen South in a more progressive and equal mold, Jim Crow laws took hold and regressed the advancements made by formerly enslaved peoples. Such laws demonstrate the refusal to let go of the culture of the Southern aristocracy, embodied

by the Belle. The ideology that survived after the war was that of the glorious and tragically wronged Southern aristocracy, a romanticization of the Belle, and a complete erasure of the enslavement and degradation of Black Americans upon which it all depended for its very existence.

Clearly, the roots of the Southern aristocracy are enveloped in capitalism, class, and an ideology of racial superiority. The Southern aristocracy is built upon the backs of enslaved peoples, perpetuating the master-slave dynamic of a capitalist society wherein those who own the means of production literally own those who do not. In the context of the American South, capitalism is a breeding ground for hierarchy and racial superiority, where the "American Dream" is increasingly out of reach for the impoverished working-class population and racial minorities. The division of labor into the proletariat and bourgeoisie is even more dramatic in a plantation economy due to systematic racial oppression as even the lowest on the socioeconomic rung on the ladder can find themselves "superior" to a person of color. Racial division is sown throughout contemporary American society since we remain a capitalist economy built on the foundation of white supremacy, which traces back to slavery. The ideologies of the Southern aristocracy and of the Old South are romanticized because this problematic history is erased or ignored in favor of capitalist gain and profit in the present. Thus, the iconography of the Southern Belle, who is raised on a pedestal as the epitome of class, purity, beauty, and whiteness, as seen in the Blue Moon ad, emerges in direct opposition to the Othering of Black womanhood defined during slavery by sexual exploitation and bodily property. Just as the bourgeois profit off the labor of the proletariat and cover up and erase their exploitation under the myth of a meritocracy, the Southern Belle embodies the upholding of class and gendered standards that are fundamentally built on exploitation of Black women.

One area in which we see the iconography of the Southern Belle established, reinforced, and sometimes critiqued is literature, with William Faulkner's short story "A Rose for Emily" (1930) being a famous example. Faulkner writes about the New South after Reconstruction, which is haunted by and enamored with the Southern aristocracy in many ways, represented by the character Miss Emily who, after her death, is regarded as a "fallen monument" to Southern Womanhood. Throughout the short story, Faulkner critiques the narrative of the "glorious" Southern aristocracy (embodied by the Southern Belle), hoping it will die out just as Emily does. In particular, the ideology of the white Southern Belle, who is idolized and cherished as pure and

holds herself above others within the society, is a dominant fixture in Southern culture and an icon of the Southern aristocracy. Faulkner argues for the need for this ideology to fade into nonexistence through his portrayal of Emily as an anchor into the past who captivates the mind of the community and inhibits progress. Even after her death, Emily is regarded as the image of the South who transfixes the townspeople. This image of the innocent, perfect Southern Belle hinders progress as it dismisses the history of racial atrocities committed by the South and instead only idolizes the bourgeois planter class.

Emily's death, for Faulkner, is the hope that the legacy of the Southern aristocracy would eventually fade into nonexistence because of its complicity in a history of racial oppression and violence. Within the context of the 21st century, we can see how the problematic legacy of the Southern aristocracy and plantation economy is still capitalized upon, just as uncritically as the townspeople in Faulkner's story invoke these myths and images. Drawing from the tradition of Southern Womanhood, Blue Moon capitalizes on the back of a legacy whose history is darker than large hats and pretty dresses, subliminally reinforcing this facade of Southern glory as it markets to a white contemporary Southern bourgeois, with money wrapped up in the Derby compounded from the legacy of the plantation economy. In contrast, another contemporary advertisement by Heaven Hill's Larceny bourbon (Appendix 2) attempts to interrogate and condemn the legacy of the plantation economy by utilizing imagery suggesting freedom from oppression instead of romanticizing the Old South, marketing heavily to Black Americans. Ultimately, Faulkner's representation of the Southern Aristocracy has not died but is alive and well in both these ad campaigns. As displayed by Larceny, even companies that try to combat the narrative fall captive to a capitalist society built on slavery. Although attempting to be more culturally responsible, they are still complicit in and profiting off of structural inequalities that existed within the Old South. Furthermore, consumers of both drinks become a version of Faulkner's townspeople, fixated on the fantasy and glamour of these advertisements but refusing to pay attention to the problematic history and continued legacy of the Old South.

In separating the reality of the Old South and the Southern Belle from the mythology surrounding them, we first must turn to modern histories of the period of Reconstruction. Following the Civil War, historian John J. McDermott expresses, "The South's quasi-feudal plantation system was not well-suited for a modern, free labor force" (68). This "quasi-feudal plantation system" meant that the South was ill-prepared for the economic struggles of a free-

market capitalist economy to come following the war and the end of slavery. The South was functioning primarily on slave labor, making the economy extremely dependent on a pre-capitalist feudal system with strict social, political, racial, and cultural hierarchies at play. For about ten years, Reconstruction attempted to address racial inequalities in the South and repair the physical, social, cultural, and political landscape in the South after the war. The Reconstruction Era drastically altered the economy of the American South because, as slavery was abolished, plantation owners were forced to shift to a paid labor system. This means the plantation economy suffered a great deal of loss as its entire constitution was swiftly deconstructed and the free labor it capitalized upon for generations was stripped away (McDermott). Figuring out how the South would refresh itself politically, economically, socially, and physically was the focus of Reconstruction; however, for all its efforts, it ultimately failed.

In the modern South, this failure to adapt in a post-slavery economy and reality evolved into the "Lost Cause Narrative," which has become the prevalent narrative of the Civil War and Reconstruction among those perpetuating the ideology of the Old South. As historian Anne Marshall in *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* contends, "Like many Americans, Kentucky whites symbolically 'forgot' past grievances" (156). The Lost Cause Narrative is the story told by a defeated confederation that "forgot" it's wrongdoing or, rather, simply chose to ignore it. It is the story that many Americans have been taught in school– the tale that the Civil War was fought over state's rights and trade instead of slavery. Of course, this is a false narrative told by the losing side, yet it is still widely disseminated in Southern classrooms. This narrative perpetuates the false ideologies that the South was right or that, in some way, the South really won the war. It is the foundation of American nostalgia for the Old South and plantation economy lifestyle. In Kentucky, for example, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (the female counterpart of the United Confederate Veterans), is a key organization that spearheads the "Lost Cause Narrative." As Marshall writes, "The UDC considered instilling veneration of the Confederacy into future generations one of its most important tasks" (161). These organizations were spread throughout the South following the war and, as Marshall argues, their primary goal was to create a version of history that gave the Confederacy the respect they felt was deserved. They wanted to instill "veneration" or a sense of patriotism and reverence for the men who fought tooth and nail to keep the practice of slavery alive and well. Of course, to achieve this goal, they could not

advertise the truthful narrative—that the War was fought over slavery and that the Southern Aristocracy and the Southern Belle are built on the exploitation of Black people, especially women. Thus, the "Lost Cause Narrative" took off and is still prevalent in the American South today.

The Southern Belle's origin stems from the plantation economy and the British aristocratic "angel in the house" ideology. The Southern Belle first appears in literature in 1832 in John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*. The Belle is white, young, unmarried, generationally wealthy, a plantation heiress, at the peak of her life. She is the epitome of the aristocracy. In *The Southern Belle in the American Novel*, Kathryn Seidel writes, "Southerners were, in their moral ideals, Victorians who reacted strongly against the corruption of their society" (4). This means that the American South is heavily rooted in Victorian upper-class tradition which focuses on moral purity and the "angel in the house" ideal. In the British aristocracy, power is based on one's God-given blood right and inheritance to land and status in society, which became the foundation for the American Southern aristocracy. Southern Belles embody traditional gender norms as they exist within the confines of their father's household; they do not work, rather they are served, and they are trained to personify the delicate Victorian ideal of the angel in the house. Like the Victorians, American Southerners do not easily welcome change as signaled by how they "reacted strongly against corruption." Just as the British "angel in the house" was defined against the corruption of working class and colonized women, in the American version, the Belle was defined in opposition to Black enslaved women and their supposed and false moral and sexual corruption. The Old South was so focused on a tradition of racial exclusion and moral superiority that they could not fathom the depths of their hypocrisy in that Black women were being sexually exploited by white plantation owners and workers. To say Southerners were set in their ways would be an understatement, as Seidel characterizes them as viewing change as corruption and evil, especially when the changes made are to advance human rights for minorities and force the ruling class to grapple with their hypocrisies.

Furthermore, the Old South is categorized by staunch adherence to the Christian faith, yet many Southerners completely overlook slavery as a sin, just as they overlook their wealth coming from exploited labor and not a God-given aristocratic lineage. Therefore, adversaries of the practice of slavery were seen as a threat to the South's way of life. The Southern Belle is a symbol for the purity of the South in terms of both heritage and tradition. Perhaps one of the best

literary depictions of the historic Belle is Lilly Ravenel in *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty*. Seidel states, "When Lilly speaks […] she speaks for the South… she is pro-slavery, pro-South, and believes Colonel Carter to be a superior man… because he is a Southerner" (Seidel 18). This depiction of the Belle strengthens Seidel's argument that the South is anti-change. As a representative for the South, the Belle is pro-tradition and believes in the superiority—racially and morally—of the South, without question. By reinforcing Southern tradition, the Belle in turn reinforces traditional economic structures of capitalism and the aristocracy which advocates for an inherited generational wealth that excludes minorities. Although the Belle is supposed to be the epitome of a morally good, beautiful, classy, and wealthy woman, her refusal to acknowledge that the plantation economy is built off racial domination is unethical. Within the Southern aristocracy, to be wealthy or "high class" means to own land and slaves. Surely the historic Southern Belle cannot simply be blind to the horrors of slavery that exist throughout her everyday life? The Belle is still depicted as morally pure and untouched by the ravages of slavery; however, this depiction is a gross illusion. The Southern Belle ideology, seen particularly prominently in literature, showcases the Southern Belle as one of the last remnants of the Old South. She is still romanticized and prevalent today, as in the Blue Moon mural. However, to romanticize the Belle as a symbol of the Southern aristocracy means to romanticize the tradition and history that comes with it.

To fully analyze the romanticization of the Southern Belle, I employ critical race theory for its formulation of the structural and systematic white supremacy that rests at the core of the American identity. Michael P. Bibler writes about how discourses of identity intersect with gender and sexuality, particularly in terms of race, caste, and class in American literature following the Civil War in his book *Cotton's Queer Relations: Same-Sex Intimacy and the Literature of the Southern Plantation.* Bibler argues, "no matter what the plantation setting in a text may look like, the defining characteristic for all of them is a hierarchical system of social relations in which every person is bound together through the blatantly heterosexualized rhetoric of paternalism" (5). These paternalistic ideologies he speaks of stem from the plantation economy. Paternalism, as Bibler sees it, reinforces the hierarchies of race, class, and gender by defining relationships in terms of the familial bond they represent. These familial bonds are, of course, heterosexual because of their ties to reproduction. This "heterosexualized rhetoric of paternalism" shifts the idea of humanity into socially constructed categories of race, caste, and

class. The social relations that result from this rhetoric are seen throughout the plantation as the gender norm of the Southern Belle defines womanhood for the society. This ideal is further perpetuated for men by the idea of "caste" which is a hereditary social system in which social status is created through gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality.

Building on Bibler's argument, Hortense J. Spillers' work, *Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe*: *An American Grammar Book* focuses on how African American discourse has been held captive by the institution of slavery, particularly as it pertains to the notion of gender stereotypes. Spillers pushes back against the white portrayal of the "fall" of the Black family as depicted in the 1965 Moynihan Report. Moynihan argues that the blame for the fall of the Black family rests squarely upon the shoulders of Black women who take on both the mother and father role. Spillers rejects this narrative, arguing that language is the root of the problem, given a white supremacist discourse that constantly constructs Black women as an Other to notions of white purity like we see with the Southern Belle. Spillers argues the real issue is the social constructions of race and gender generated through language, arguing, "we must observe those undeniable contrasts and differences so decisive that the African American female's historic claim to the territory of womanhood and 'femininity' still tends to rest too solidly on the subtle and shifting calibrations of a liberal ideology" (495). What Spillers means here is that the idea of womanhood and femininity is constructed based on an image that Black women are not allowed to claim as their own identity. As seen through the iconography of the Southern Belle, the ideal woman is white, she does not work, she is gentle, and pure both racially and sexually. In the plantation economy as well as after the Civil War, this image of femininity and womanhood are not afforded to women who have no other option but to get a job to provide for their families since it was extremely difficult for Black men to find a job and both men and women of color are severely underpaid at the time. In this way, Black women cannot be the gentle ladies who need a man to save them because the men are equally disenfranchised through a social discourse that has constructed these categories which are inescapable.

In turning directly to the primary texts, critics of William Faulkner's "A Rose for Emily" tend to focus on his representation of the Old South townspeople through narrative voice and structure. One prominent critic, Helen Nebeker, in her journal article, "Emily's Rose of Love: Thematic Implications of Point of View in Faulkner's 'A Rose for Emily'" discusses the importance of analyzing the narrative point of view when reading the short story. Nebeker

contends that the narrative point of view is not as cut and dry as traditional readings of the story suggest, and that traditional analysis fails to capture the ever-shifting narrative voice throughout the story which is an integral part of Faulkner's creative design for his work. Nebeker presents throughout her writing that the narrator constantly flips pronouns from "we" to "they" creating an in-group out-group dynamic. She classifies these pronouns in a few different ways, citing the pronouns as a way to deduce which "Faulknerian generation" the group falls in but also as a way to deduce what the group believes in terms of Miss Emily and, as an extension, the Old South. Nebeker's thesis is that traditional analysis of "A Rose for Emily" falls short by oversimplifying the narration and misses the key argument that Faulkner designs "We" versus "They" pronouns to note the difference of opinion on the Old South. Ultimately, Nebeker argues that the immediate remnant of the Old South dies with Emily, but the legacy of the Old South lives on through the anonymous "We" while "They" triumphs into the narrative of the New South.

Similarly, Menakhem Perry discusses how the structure of "A Rose for Emily" determines how the reader finds meaning within the text. Perry states that the reader, "constructs – according to models he is familiar with from the 'reality', from social or literary conventions and the like" (36). In this way, an author like Faulkner, structures the text around these social and literary realities, allowing the text to speak to the reader in ways that it would not if it were not influenced by societal influences. Perry's argument, then, is that readers and criticism of the text are influenced by the "tricky rhetoric" of the story (63). Perry also asserts that the reactions of the townspeople in "A Rose for Emily" are subjective, stating "There is, then, the possibility that their reactions are subjective, and that rather than revealing what Emily is truly like, these reactions will expose what Emily is for them, thus characterizing them rather than her" (314). This characterization of the townspeople is integral to reading the text through the lens of critical race theory and Marxism. As Emily is depicted as a monument by the townspeople, this speaks volumes to the townspeople's opinion on the Old South and plantation economy. Emily remains an idol that they looked to and perhaps even modeled their own lives.

The beginning of Faulkner's short story is essential to understanding Miss Emily as a link to the Old South. Faulkner writes, "When Miss Emily Grierson died, our whole town went to her funeral: the men through a sort of respectful attention for a fallen monument, the women mostly out of curiosity to see the inside of her house" (1039). This initial collective voice or, "we", begins the short story with the intent of introducing the united voice of the Old South. The idea

of Emily as a "fallen monument" that desires "respectful attention" dictates that the townspeople are enamored with her and the Old South lifestyle she represents. More than that, though, describing Emily as a "monument" holds the key to how the townspeople truly view her, it is the opinion that the town will never speak. "Monument", according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, means, "A statue, building, or other structure erected to commemorate a famous or notable person or event" ("Monument", OED, def. 2.). In this case, monuments are typically reserved for war heroes or other important men so to say that Miss Emily is a "fallen monument" solidifies her power and importance in the town although women are rarely ever memorialized in such ways. This transformation of Emily—as a monument to the Old South—allows Emily a degree of "respect" from the men of the town who look to her as the image of the strong and powerful Old South that survived the war. What the townspeople overlook, though, is that monuments are war-ridden and scarred by the memory of war, they are remembrances of fragile, crumbling ideologies and Miss Emily is no exception. In short, the men are respectful of the aristocracy and its power while overlooking the fact that they live in the Reconstruction Era and the aristocracy is falling apart. Because Emily is this "monument", though, the townspeople feel a "hereditary obligation" (1040) to her. This "hereditary obligation" is a means of caste which, as Bibler argues, binds the Old South to the New. In this way, Emily is the connection that infinitely refreshes the Old South ideology despite the Old South's ultimate demise.

Whereas the men view her with respect due to her class status, the women of the town see Miss Emily as a domestic figure about whom they are "curious." The contrast between respect and curiosity is important here as the respect given is more respect for Emily as a means or symbol of power and hierarchy within a patriarchal Old South as signaled by the term "monument." It is also a reverence to Miss Emily as the aristocratic Southern Belle who men of the Old South deem as desirable and the epitome of white womanhood. The curiosity stems from the women of the town envying the delicate lifestyle Emily possesses as the image of the Southern Belle and longing to fulfill the standards of womanhood she represents as she is a model of the perfect woman through the eyes of Southern men. Additionally, their specific curiosity to see "inside her house" further implicated the women's desire to be like Emily within the domestic sphere since they see her as an idealized representation of what a woman should look like within the home. The desire to see Miss Emily's possessions also allows the women to envision a life in which they too could have the earthly possessions of Emily, implying a longing

for life to revert to the norms of the Old South in which Emily's possessions would have been that of a high-class debutante. This too, is only an illusion since although the townspeople speak of Emily as the perfect Southern Belle, she embodies the decay of the Old South instead of its glamor.

The monumental Southern Belle is further established as the story progresses, shifting to an explicit connection to her father as the bourgeois, male landowner. Faulkner describes how, "We had long thought of them as a tableau; Miss Emily, a slender figure in white in the background, her father a spraddled silhouette in the foreground, his back to her clutching a horse whip, the two of them framed by the back flung door" (1041-1042). Again, the collective "we" sees Emily and her father to be a "tableau" or a still-life representation of the Old South's history and patriarchal values. This image of a "tableau" reveals the artificial nature of Emily and her father as tableaus are, "positioned so as to form a vivid or picturesque scene" ("Tableau", OED, def. 2.). According to this definition, the tableau the townspeople have imagined is just that, imagined, since tableaus are positioned and staged. They are not true representations of reality. Therefore, this tableau is not the reality of Emily and her father because the reality is much deeper than the image the townspeople are willing to see. This quotation also adds to the image of Emily as the perfect Southern Belle as she is described as a "slender figure in white". The tableau portrays Emily as a young slender bride, with the connotation of "slender" being that she is still young and childless, not "fattened up" in her old age. She is dressed in her wedding attire; yet the man is not her young, dashing suitor, it is her father. The narrator previously states, "None of the men were quite good enough for Miss Emily" (1041), an idea fortified by the image of Emily as a slender figure in white suggesting her purity and superiority, but it also draws attention to suggestion of incestuous aristocratic lineage. Emily's father stops her from getting married and after his death, she continues to sleep with his body. This behavior is abnormal and grotesque, leading readers to question the pair's father/daughter dynamic. Her whiteness as well as the whiteness of her dress symbolizes her status as the Southern Belle, with the Belle being both sexually and racially pure. Such a status only exists when the Belle is defined in direct opposition to Black women, as Spillers demonstrates. Yet if her relationship with her father is as it seems, Miss Emily is anything but pure.

As for her father, he is depicted as "spraddled", or in modern terms, manspreading. He is in charge by the way his presence commands the space around him. He is a patriarch in power,

"clutching a horse whip," with the whip further alluding to his power over Miss Emily, the plantation (and Black women, specifically), and the South as a whole. This idea is further perpetuated by how the two are arranged within the tableau. Miss Emily is delicately positioned in the background of the image which implies her vulnerability and the need for her to be protected as a defenseless angel in the house Southern Belle. This also adds fruition to the authority of patriarchy as Miss Emily is complicit in patriarchal norms allowing her father to possess control over her and following after him. Her father is positioned sternly within the foreground. The father's commanding presence protects Emily in many ways. Her father's legacy is, after all, the staying force that provides for her long after his death. The inheritance and incestuous ancestral ties are what makes Emily the woman she is, occupying all the power of imagination for the New South's townspeople.

At the end of the short story, Emily becomes the image that haunts the Old South. No longer the image of the Southern Belle, she is a grotesque depiction of everything a white woman should never be since she has, in many ways, become a patriarchal figure. Faulkner writes, "Then we noticed that in the second pillow was the indentation of a head. One of us lifted something from it, and leaning forward… we saw a long strand of iron-gray hair" (5). This quote is found after the townspeople have buried Miss Emily and are investigating her house that has been shut up for decades. They find the mummified remains of her beloved, murdered Homer in the bed. Again here, the "we" is the collective voice of the townspeople displaying that curiosity has embedded itself within the minds of the town. The "indentation" is a nod to Emily as a ghost. While she, like her physical head, no longer rests on the pillow, her former presence still looms. Faulkner writes Emily as a ghostly, haunting figure because she has decayed from her status as a Southern Belle, like many Southern women have, into something much more grotesque and unbecoming for a lady of her status. Faulkner pushes further, arguing that Emily, in many ways, has become the image of her father as he notes how, "leaning forward" they were able to see the legacy Emily has left behind. Their forward lean refers back to the tableau in which the father, or patriarch, is in the foreground. The fact that they must lean forward to *recognize* Emily's "long strand of iron-gray hair" is significant because she had become such a grotesque figure that she could no longer be recognized as the white Southern Belle she had always been known to be. Furthermore, the description of her hair as "iron-gray" become the last words of the short story. Faulkner's choice of "iron" as an adjective illustrates Emily's power even after her death. The

haunting image of the Old South has an iron-clad power which, I believe, is Faulkner's goal here. Describing Miss Emily's hair as "iron-gray" is symbolic of her transformation from the image of the Southern Belle to the image of her father, as she comes to embody the power of a man and be the bearer of the legacy of the Southern aristocracy.

In addition to refusing to recognize that slavery rots the entire mythology of the Old South, we continue to refuse to see how capitalism is an exploitative system which perpetually exploits the working class in favor of profit for the sake of profit. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels write on the class hierarchy of the bourgeois and proletariat in their work, *The Communist Manifesto,* citing that the end of feudal societies was not the end of class hierarchies. As Marx writes, "The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones" (14). While Marx writes of the European bourgeois, in the Old South plantation economy, the bourgeois was the planter class who established heinous conditions of oppression towards enslaved peoples effectively creating a new class hierarchy modeled after the British aristocracy. By utilizing caste, the American aristocracy modeled their hierarchy to the British hierarchy in which the slave-owning planter class became the "Dukes" of America, and their status and role within society were fixed by their bloodline. This "new class" in the American South situates itself as a capitalist society built on structural oppression of enslaved peoples marking a "new form(s) of struggle." Marx's ultimate argument is that the exploitation of the proletariat is an ongoing class struggle that will continue until the proletariat eventually overthrows the bourgeoisie to create a singular class and eliminate hierarchies. The planter class is overthrown by the American Civil War, seemingly bringing an "end" to the Southern Aristocracy but, as Marx asserts, there will always be a "new" hierarchy to take its place. In 21st century America, the new hierarchy is comprised of "big businesses" at the top which makes up the top one percent of Americans while the average American, or the ninety-nine percent, lives paycheck to paycheck. The mantra of America is still the "American dream", but this dream is rarely attainable to the common man.

Modern advertising takes full advantage of America's obsession with the mythology of the Old South to generate profit and idealize the lifestyle of the bourgeois for everyday Americans. Blue Moon's "Drink in the Tradition" (appendix image 1) advertisement is no exception to this rule as their 2024 Kentucky Derby billboard showcases. The dark blue

background draws attention to the light blue circle in the middle of the background symbolizing Blue Moon's logo, but it serves a larger purpose as it draws attention to the subject of the image. Once the eye is drawn to the center of the advertisement, viewers can see the large yellow hat featuring a racetrack with thoroughbreds running a race– hallmarks of the Kentucky Derby. While the Derby has many issues, it is a breeding ground for the upper class to gather, drink to excess, and spend money as they bet on which horse will win the first leg of the Triple Crown. This function is highly reminiscent of America's past, with the outfits attendees wear mirroring that of a Southern aristocrat. As the eye tracks lower, viewers see the beautiful lady shaded by the large, floppy hat that shields her eyes and presents a demure presence. It is important to note the woman in the advertisement is racially ambiguous, which strikes a feeling of intrigue as to what her identity truly is. She is a stand-in for the Southern Belle in many ways and is representative of the upper class, yet her ambiguity draws attention to Spillers' argument that the Southern Belle is defined through othering Black women. Furthermore, the lady is sipping on her beer adorned with an orange slice which alludes to her class and femininity as 'fruity drinks' are reserved for women.

The advertisement is firmly rooted in the past as the slogan, "Drink in the Tradition" suggests and the question is, what "tradition" are we supposed to drink in? The tradition they are referring to is that of the Southern plantation economy. They allude to the Southern Belle and even hint at the reality that the Southern Belle is only defined in opposition to Black women. They urge viewers to look closer, yet there is no comment on the problematic history of the Old South. They acknowledge the tradition of wealth, class, and status displayed by the Belle but do not comment on the reality of the plantation economy she exists within or the structural oppression upon which her status is built. In this way, as consumers, we see the explicit references to the Old South but only in terms of its "glory". We see the class, status, and wealth, but not the horrors of slavery or the oppression of Black Americans that is still prevalent today, making us no better than Faulkner's townspeople who choose to live in ignorance.

Another advertisement that takes full advantage of the racially charged past of the Old South is Heaven Hill's Larceny Bourbon campaign, with its slogan "Rooted in History" (appendix image 2). Larceny's advertisement features a bottle of bourbon situated alongside a notebook beside a fountain pen and an antique key ring. The bottle's label displays a key within a keyhole along with "1870" down the front of the bottle. The significance of this design is that

the Fifteenth amendment to the United States constitution was ratified on February 3rd, 1870, giving Black American men the right to vote. This amendment, in many ways, held the key to the future for Black Americans as they now officially had a voice in the government. Furthermore, the key ring resembles that of the keys to a jail cell in a black and white film. In the background, a stack of papers is strewn across the table with a police baton used as a paper weight. Larceny's advertisement enforces the idea that Black Americans should be free from both enslavement and racial oppression as the lock and key imagery symbolizes freedom and even alludes to the idea of breaking chains or barriers. While they actively allude to this idea of freedom from oppression, they are not activists looking to change the system. Rather they are simply looking to profit off those who identify with the "history" the brand is "rooted in."

This advertisement clearly utilizes a different side of the Old South's history as it targets the racial oppression present in the Old South instead of the Southern Belle narrative by using the history of Black Americans as an advertising tool. While Larceny can clearly be seen as countering the narrative of the Old South, their activism does not go much further than that. Larceny Bourbon is marketed to Black Americans. The brand is one of the most widely consumed bourbons by Black Americans in Heaven Hill's products, yet none of the profit is donated to Black communities. While Larceny's advertisement is more blatant in its criticism of the Old South, it does little to combat the narrative. It draws consumers attention to the criticism of the "history" and it allows Black Americans to identify with the brand on a sentimental level. But, like Faulkner's townspeople, consumers take a glance and move on with their lives. They do not look further than the label or dig into the deeper meaning due to the common perception that advertisements are created merely to draw in customers and increase profits. While it is true that these advertisements are created to generate profit and boost sales to contribute to a capitalist economy, people often dismiss the possibility of deeper meanings in advertisements when navigating through their daily lives.

Thus, in the 21st century, we have become the townspeople that Faulkner writes about in "A Rose for Emily." We look at the world through rose-colored glasses, only seeing what we want to see. When we look at the past, we ignore what is too difficult or too unsettling. Like the townspeople who saw the queer relationship Emily had with her father but brushed it under the rug, holding her on a pedestal as the ideal Southern woman, we do the same with the history of the Old South. When we see Blue Moon's "Drink in the Tradition" advertisement, we see the

pretty lady, but we do not analyze her racial ambiguity. We do not look at her and think that Blue Moon is questioning a history of racial oppression because ultimately the image we see staring back at us is the "tradition" of the Southern Belle. What we fail to realize is, the Southern Belle is a societal construct which is constructed in direct opposition to Black women and sets a standard that is unattainable for Black women within the plantation economy and still today. Additionally, the image of the Belle captures the rotting Southern Aristocracy as these "Belles" ultimately become the gross depictions of womanhood they were created to be opposites of. When we see advertisements such as Larceny's "Rooted in History" campaign, the allusions to racial oppression are much more overt, yet they still do not cause consumers to adequately pause to contemplate their meaning. The consumer can tell that the brand is capitalizing off America's slave history and in doing so criticizing the history of slavery but again it is a surface level criticism. While these advertisements speak to targeted demographics, it is not much more than a marketing ploy to sell more products.

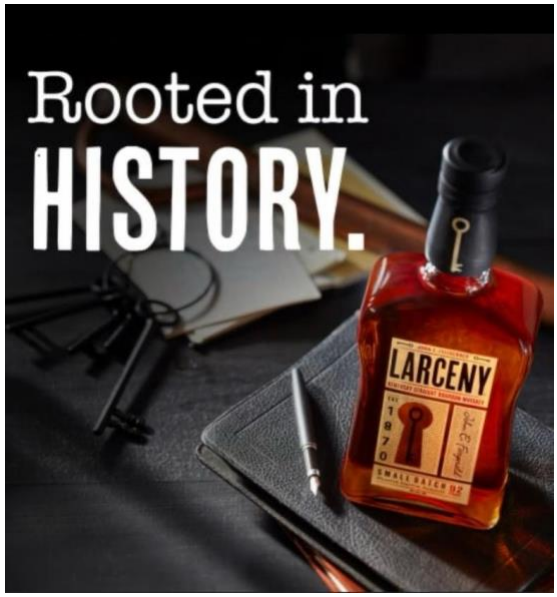
Ultimately, the average consumer misses many of the subliminal references to the Southern aristocracy and plantation economy which pervade American marketing. These advertisements are profitable as Southern Americans still romanticize many aspects of the Old South, particularly the Southern Belle and all the excess surrounding the Derby. As the Belle is romanticized throughout the modern South, the horrors of Antebellum America are forgotten as a history of racial oppression is neatly swept under the rug and covered up. As critical race theorists assert, racial oppression is a systemic issue, and its roots are based in the Old South, especially when it comes to defining the Southern Belle in direct opposition to Black women.

The average consumer does not see how this history of systemic racial oppression is capitalized upon, but only see the romanticization of the Old South represented in modern advertising. As Faulkner notes, the townspeople see Miss Emily as the image of the Southern Belle, and they make excuses for her behaviors so as only to see her desirable traits as they cover up her gross imperfections. Ultimately, modern advertising has capitalized on America's fascination with the Old South's history and consumers have, in many ways, continued to fall in love with the romanticized plantation economy in which women can be the delicate image of the Southern Belle and ignore the history of racial violence and oppression that comes with the Old South. This can be seen through advertising campaigns such as Blue Moon's "Drink in the Tradition" and Larceny's "Rooted in History" since both recognize Old South iconography, yet

neither fully criticize the true history of the Old South plantation economy and the reality of the Southern Belle.

Appendix:

1. 

2. 

Works Cited:

Abdurrahman, Israa' Burhanuddin. "A Stylistic Analysis of Complexity in William Faulkner's 'A Rose for Emily.'" *Advances in Language and Literary Studies*, vol. 7, no. 4, Aug. 2016, pp. 220–30. *EBSCOhost*,http://dx.doi.org/10.7575/aiac.alls.v.7n.4p.220.

Barksdale, Richard K. "White Tragedy -- Black Comedy: A Literary Approach to Southern Race Relations." *Phylon (1960-)*, vol. 22, no. 3, 1961, pp. 226–33. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/274195. Accessed 10 Sept. 2024.

Bibler, Michael P. Cotton's Queer Relations : Same-Sex Intimacy and the Literature of the Southern Plantation, 1936-1968. University of Virginia Press, 2009, http://site.ebrary.com/id/10495627.

Blight, David W. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Harvard University Press, 2001. *JSTOR*,https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvjk2tsw. Accessed 23 Sept. 2024.

Blue Moon "Drink in the Tradition" advertisement. May, 2024.

Cox, Karen L. *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. University Press of Florida, 2019.

Eckhardt, Giana M., et al. "Decolonizing marketing." *Consumption Markets & Culture*, vol. 25, no. 2, 10 Nov. 2021, pp. 176–186, https://doi.org/10.1080/10253866.2021.1996734.

Faulkner, William. "'A Rose for Emily.'" *The Norton Anthology of American Literature,* 10th ed., W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 2023, pp. 1039–1045.

Klančar, Nataša Intihar. "Faulkner's Southern Belle: Myth or Reality?" *Acta Neophilologica*, vol. 44, no. 1–2, 2011, p. 47. *EBSCOhost*, https://doi.org/10.4312/an.44.1-2.47-57.

Larceny Bourbon "Rooted in History" advertisement. *Kroger*, Aug. 2024. https://www.kroger.com/p/larceny-very-special-small-batch-kentucky-straight-bourbon-whiskey/0009674903153.

Marshall, Anne E. *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State*. University of North Carolina Press, 2013.

Marx, Karl and Engels, Friedrich. *The Communist Manifesto. The Norton Edition of Theory and Criticism,* 3rd edition, Editor Vincent B. Leitch, Norton, 2018.

McDermott, John J. "Reconstruction and Post-Civil War Reconciliation." *Military Review*, vol. 89, no. 1, Jan. 2009, pp. 67–76. *EBSCOhost*, search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=pbh&AN=37223087&site=ehost-live.

McMillan Cottom, Tressie. "Where platform capitalism and racial capitalism meet: The sociology of race and racism in the Digital Society." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, vol. 6, no. 4, 9 Oct. 2020, pp. 441–449, https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649220949473.

"Monument, N., Sense 1." Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford UP, June 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/9288856121.

Nebeker, Helen E. "Emily's Rose of Love: Thematic Implications of Point of View in Faulkner's 'A Rose for Emily.'"*The Bulletin of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association*, vol. 24, no. 1, 1970, pp. 3–13. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/1346461. Accessed 10 Sept. 2024.

Perry, Menakhem. "Literary Dynamics: How the Order of a Text Creates Its Meanings [With an Analysis of Faulkner's 'A Rose for Emily']." *Poetics Today*, vol. 1, no. 1/2, 1979, pp. 35–361. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/1772040. Accessed 3 Dec. 2024.

Railey, Kevin. *Natural Aristocracy : History, Ideology, and the Production of William Faulkner*. University Alabama Press, 1999. *EBSCOhost*,

https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=nlebk&AN=607375&site=ehost-live&custid=s8407648&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_Front_Cover.
Seidel, Kathryn Lee. *The Southern Belle in the American Novel.* University Press of Florida, 1985.
Sedikides, Constantine, and Tim Wildschut. "Nostalgia across cultures." *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, vol. 16, Jan. 2022, p. 183449092210916, https://doi.org/10.1177/18344909221091649.
Spillers, Hortense J. *Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe*, www.mcgill.ca/english/files/english/spillers_mamas_baby.pdf. Accessed 15 Nov. 2024.

The Cultural Dynamics of Urban-Rural Migration in Appalachia

Ada Gass

A significant challenge facing small towns is the loss of educational talent and college-educated young people to outside opportunities in bigger cities, which not only threatens local culture but also reduces community engagement. Many scholars argue that the solution is to increase community participation and support and to provide more ways for youth to showcase their talent. Some advocate for creating a sense of belonging and purpose among students in the educational system, arguing that educators greatly influence students' directions, while others believe local initiatives and policies should be implemented to create more job opportunities and prevent the migration of residents. In light of this research, I argue that those in rural areas, especially adolescents in Appalachia, have fewer opportunities, are more economically disadvantaged, and experience a greater disconnection from American society. The widespread brain drain in Appalachia is because of a lack of resources, poorly developed infrastructure, lack of education, and lack of social services. As a result of these factors, I contend there should be increases in participation and support for community members such as offering support networks that establish mentorship programs for students and workshops offered by businesses and vocational programs to align education with local job market needs. By increasing the networking and partnership between businesses and educational systems, community members will not feel so inclined to migrate to other areas in search of better opportunities.

Although there are many potential reasons why community members would want to migrate to other areas, some journalists and scholars believe that migration has always been a feature of Appalachian culture. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Appalachians left their communities in search of better opportunities due to the decline of agriculture, industrialization, and the rise in job opportunities elsewhere. As the economy shifted, many moved to urban areas, specifically in the north and west, for factory jobs as well as improved living conditions. As the sociologist Phillip J. Obermiller, a scholar at the University of Illinois Press, writes, "Appalachians who left or returned to the region were responding to the larger forces that influenced most internal migrants in America, such as economic and demographic pressures, social changes, new technology, and evolving national policies, to name a few" (88). Most migrants in the past chose their destinations based on opportunity in industrialized cities

throughout the United States, as a motive to seek better lives. Those who preferred to stay close to home selected nearby areas or culturally similar destinations. This offered better opportunities than those that were available to them in their area of origin. I agree with his argument that economic, demographic, and social changes have driven migration; however, I would add that these same factors continue to shape migration patterns today. This ongoing cycle highlights how deeply individuals are affected by conflicts rooted in the opportunities available to them. Ultimately, these motivations shed light on the historical aspects behind migration while also highlighting the cultural significance of the identity of Appalachia itself.

Instead of viewing the urban-rural divide as a primary source of inequality, many scholars say that it is essential to recognize that both regions face similar challenges because of how resources are distributed. Some arguments suggest that urban and rural areas no longer experience significant inequalities, claiming that advancements in technology and infrastructure have provided equal access to opportunities. However, this view overlooks the issues, especially in rural areas, including disparities in education, healthcare, and employment, which continue to limit access to resources and opportunities in rural areas compared to urban areas. Alwyn Young, Professor of Economics at the London School of Economics, writes, "In either case, there is no way one can think of the urban-rural gap itself as a proximate cause of inequality or poverty […] There is simply the overall endowment and distribution of resources and technology which can always be beneficially improved" (1777). This quote suggests that the difference in wealth, resources, and development between city and country is not the direct cause of inequality between the two. Instead, Young is concerned less about inequality but more with the distribution of resources and access to technology, which is the more significant aspect and challenge. While the distribution of resources contributes to the gap between rural and urban areas, other factors such as limited access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities continue to drive inequalities, particularly in rural regions. While resource distribution is an issue, redistribution will not solve the underlying problem. Scholars often overlook the practicality of this approach for many Americans, particularly those in rural regions. Ultimately, addressing the root causes of inequality in both urban and rural areas requires a more nuanced approach that goes beyond resource redistribution and focuses on improving access to essential services like education, healthcare, and employment opportunities

While this ongoing debate on inequality in the Appalachian region highlights the challenges of resource distribution, concerns of cultural and geographic isolation have a significant impact on individuals as well. Appalachians are being set apart from society economically, academically, and have limited access to resources and opportunities within their towns. This isolation not only reinforces cycles of poverty but also enables stereotypes and stigmas, which makes it harder for individuals to break free from these barriers. As a result, the lack of connectivity to a broader social, educational, and economic network deepens the divide. The scholar James S. Brown discusses how "Appalachia has been isolated both culturally and geographically from the rest of the country. But this isolation has been and is breaking down very rapidly and the region is becoming more and more tightly woven into the fabric of American society" (26). As Brown mentions, it is wrongful for societal differences to take place towards the Appalachian community. Though these differences occur, Appalachians should take it upon themselves to influence others in the roots of Appalachia, illustrating their culture and why they are important in this society. I agree with Brown's argument that Appalachia's social isolation has contributed to its challenges. Still, I believe the responsibility for change lies not only with broader society but also within the community itself. Brown proposes that different programs should be created to meet the region's diverse needs and its subregions, focusing on skill levels, training, and education. I agree that education and skill-building are essential for empowering individuals, but these programs must also be designed with an understanding of the region's unique history and values. Additionally, it is important to emphasize that enhancing community engagement and support is key to breaking down societal barriers and creating more opportunities for those in rural areas.

Along with the issue of regional disparities in rural Appalachia, citizens are experiencing loss of talent, economic issues, skill shortages, and social consequences due to struggling educational systems. Many regions' schools struggle with underfunding, outdated curriculum, and a lack of access to advanced learning tools, which limits students' ability to compete in a rapidly changing job market. As a result, young people are often forced to leave the area in search of better opportunities, leading to a "brain drain," which happens whenever highly educated individuals or talented professionals leave their areas in search for better opportunities. This deprives the community of its most skilled and motivated individuals. Bogdan Glăvan, professor of economics at the Romanian American University, expresses that "State intervention

in education is responsible for the systemic misallocation of human capital in general, and for brain drain in particular" (719). In other words, Glăvan is saying that whenever the government interferes too much in the education system, it can lead to numerous issues. One being the misallocation of human capital, which is the distribution of many people's talents and skills within the economy. I agree with Glăvan's argument that government involvement often creates problems for talented individuals within the education system. However, I would also argue that while government intervention may not always be the solution, it is crucial for local communities to step in and take action to address these issues. Since the government may not provide the necessary support, it becomes the responsibility of local communities, educators, and citizens to work together to create a better educational environment that nurtures and retains talent, ensuring that growth opportunities are available within the system. To further ideas, we can address the impact of the education system on individuals as well. As noted by Sara-Webb Sunderhaus, an Associate Professor of English at Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne, "Issues surrounding identity, narrative, and reliability may be of particular interest and importance in all interactions with students, both inside and outside the classroom. Tellable narratives of identity matter because they shape our perceptions and our relationships with students" (30). By this, she means that understanding who we are and the stories we share is important in all the interactions that educators have with students in different settings. The stories tell the important parts of our identities and influence how we see things as well as how we connect as humans. Sunderhaus's ideas correlate with both Glăvan's ideas and mine, emphasizing how an individual's educational experience plays an important role in these narratives, and how the education system plays a huge role in influencing an individual's success. However, a key part of this issue is that educators should stay in the communities they serve, making sure the stories of local students are reflected in their teaching. When funds are mismanaged and outsiders come in to 'fix' the system, often pushing young people to leave, it worsens the problem of brain drain, taking away the very talent that local communities need to succeed.

Although education plays a significant role in individual success, a broader issue affecting the entire community is the issue of brain drain. Brain drain refers to the emigration of highly educated, skilled, and talented individuals from one region to another, typically in searching for better job opportunities, higher wages, or more advanced education. Often, these individuals are young professionals or graduates who have gained valuable knowledge and skills

but find that their hometown cannot offer them the career advancements that they need to thrive, thus resulting in migration to other regions. Glăvan describes how, "The concept of 'brain drain' indicates the international flow of resources in the form of human capital, especially the migration of skilled individuals […] The professionals who are emigrating out of developing countries include those with technical expertise and entrepreneurial and managerial skills" (719). Building on Glăvan's argument, brain drain can have significant effects on a community. When talented individuals leave, the region suffers a loss of human capital, limiting its potential for growth and development. Local economies are particularly impacted, as a smaller workforce leads to reduced productivity and fewer skilled workers to drive innovation or attract new investment. Additionally, the departure of professionals in key fields such as healthcare, education, and technology weakens social infrastructure, creating shortages in vital services. In agreement with the ongoing research on the topic, this results in a diminished quality of life for the remaining residents, who face reduced access to essential services and fewer opportunities for advancement. Brain drain limits the growth of communities, and I argue that we must address the challenges faced by Appalachian regions by investing in initiatives that build stronger, more connected communities. By creating more opportunities for professionals, we can reduce migration and help retain talent, fostering long-term economic and social development.

In addition to the ideas of destroying societal barriers between Appalachia and the rest of America, local governments should work to create more participation and support regarding citizens and their opportunities within small, rural towns. This can be achieved through community-driven decision-making processes, where residents have a stronger voice in shaping local policies and initiatives. By expanding access to education, vocational training, and job opportunities, towns can empower individuals to reach their full potential, creating a sense of ownership and pride that strengthens the community. This approach would also preserve the charm of a small town but also introduce ideas and opportunities that allow talented individuals to contribute their strengths to help the community to grow. As Erin Donovan, a Professor of Education at the University of Illinois says, "Too often rural communities are seen through a deficit point of view not only by outsiders looking in but also by the inhabitants themselves. As a result, the rich community values, history, and cultural heritage get lost because the children of these communities seek lack rather than riches and simplicity rather than complexity" (46). This source targets the impact of lost opportunities and innovation on the community. This ultimately

highlights how these factors contribute to cultural threats and challenges in talent retention. Donovan gives examples of how children in this environment might chase after a more complex life elsewhere rather than appreciating the simple, and valuable, aspects of their upbringing. As both of us agree, we believe that this can be achieved by fostering community-driven initiatives, ensuring that residents have a meaningful voice in local decision-making. Expanding access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities would empower citizens and prioritize local needs. Essentially, I am arguing that towns in Appalachia should create a more inclusive environment where everyone has the chance to thrive and contribute to the region's development. They can do this through increasing participation, support, and the decision-making processes for all individuals in the town.

Along with creating an inclusive environment within communities, educators should also foster a sense of pride and connection to their community by inspiring students to see the value of staying in their region and contributing to its growth, rather than seeking opportunities elsewhere. By integrating local history, culture, and community-centered projects into the curriculum, teachers can help students build a deeper appreciation for their roots. This sense of belonging and purpose can motivate them to stay, invest in local development, and become active contributors to the future of their region. Robert A. Petrin, Kai A. Schafft, and Judith L. Meece, all educational research consultants and professors at various universities, explain that "Thus, it is not surprising that educators and other rural community members in our focus groups spoke of the importance of creating local environments where young people feel connected to and valued, and to which at least some of these youth (or others like them) could ultimately envision returning" (323). In other words, what these authors are saying here is that by cultivating strong, supportive, and engaging local environments, rural communities can help prevent brain drain by creating conditions that make young people want to come back and contribute to the area's future development. It is important for educators to emphasize the significant role young people play in contributing to the growth of their town. At the same time, adolescents need to feel valued and connected, so educators should work to create a sense of belonging and pride in their community. These authors' arguments align closely with my own, and I agree with their view that educational systems should do more to encourage community involvement. Schools can bring in outside opportunities to enrich the curriculum and incorporate local business initiatives to better prepare students for the real world. By implementing these

strategies, communities can help prevent brain drain and migration while fostering a stronger sense of connection for students. This approach not only empowers students to feel more engaged with their community but also encourages adult community members to participate in the growth and success of their town.

In conclusion, I maintain that individuals in rural areas, particularly adolescents in Appalachia, face limited opportunities, greater economic hardship, and a stronger sense of disconnection from the broader American society. The overall issue of brain drain will be thoroughly considered and can be solved by establishing more community involvement within Appalachian towns, as well as incorporating support within educational systems. By fostering a greater sense of belonging and offering opportunities for personal and professional growth, local communities can help prevent young people from feeling compelled to leave in search of better prospects. Expanding access to education, vocational training, and job opportunities will not only provide a clearer path for success but also help preserve the cultural heritage of the region. As a community, by implementing these strategies into the Appalachian region, we can solve migration issues as well as eliminate the societal gap between urban and rural areas. With collective efforts from both local and national stakeholders, Appalachia can serve as a model for other rural areas seeking to retain their young, talented citizens and create thriving, connected communities for the future.

Works Cited

Brown, James S. "Population and Migration Changes in Appalachia." *Change in Rural Appalachia: Implications for Action Programs*, edited by John D. Photiadis and Harry K. Schwarzweller, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971, pp. 23–50. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv512xx9.6. Accessed 21 Oct. 2024.

Donovan, Erin. "But We Don't Got Nothing: Countering Rural Brain Drain by Forging Authentic Connections through Text." *The English Journal*, vol. 106, no. 5, 2017, pp. 46–51. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/26359488. Accessed 30 Sept. 2024.

Glăvan, Bogdan. "Brain Drain: A Management or a Property Problem?" *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, vol. 67, no. 4, 2008, pp. 719–38. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27739735. Accessed 21 Oct. 2024.

Obermiller, Phillip J. "Migration." *High Mountains Rising: Appalachia in Time and Place*, edited by Richard A. Straw and H. Tyler Blethen, University of Illinois Press, 2004, pp. 88–100. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/j.ctt1xcm61.11. Accessed 30 Sept. 2024.

Petrin, Robert A., et al. "Educational Sorting and Residential Aspirations Among Rural High School Students: What Are the Contributions of Schools and Educators to Rural Brain

Drain?" *American Educational Research Journal*, vol. 51, no. 2, 2014, pp. 294–326. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24546689. Accessed 30 Sept. 2024.
Webb-Sunderhaus, Sara. "'Keep the Appalachian, Drop the Redneck': Tellable Student Narratives of Appalachian Identity." *College English*, vol. 79, no. 1, 2016, pp. 11–33. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44075153. Accessed 30 Sept. 2024.
Young, Alwyn. "Inequality, The Urban-Rural Gap, and Migration." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 128, no. 4, 2013, pp. 1727–86. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26372536. Accessed 21 Oct. 2024.

A Cold Cut Punishment: The Ethics of Surgical Castration as Punishment

Sirenna Adams

Discussions about how the United States should handle criminals have become more frequent in recent years, including debates about how we should punish and monitor those who have or might commit acts of sexual offense. Some experts claim that surgical castration, which is the removal of the ovaries or testes to decrease sexual tendencies, is a completely ethical punishment as long as it is not forced and works as a preventative measure. However, this argument does not take into account the underlying psychological or medical issues that may be involved. I argue that the surgical castration of offenders who have committed harmful acts of sexual deviance is an unethical form of punishment, especially for first-time offenders. The use of a permanent and often irreversible surgical procedure in order to dish out punishment for someone who has not been given the ability or chance to reform themselves violates human rights. Furthermore, castration does not solve the underlying or potential issues that led to the offense, such as mental and medical conditions, which can be addressed through rehabilitation programs. However, those who may have already been through rehab programs and still reoffended will have to face harsher consequences, such as chemical castration or life in prison. Overall, I contend that surgical castration of sex offenders is not ethical as it undermines psychological and behavioral solutions and disregards the basic rights criminals are given by the Constitution and the law.

Although in current times surgical castration is debated as a form of punishment, many scholars focus on its historical use and how it most commonly affected the male's body, being a practice that dates back thousands of years. The first records of the use of this method date as far back as four thousand years ago in the city of Lagdash. Castration was used to produce eunuchs, which is the term for boy and men who have had their testes removed. As Dr. Robert D. Martin, an anthropology professor at the University of Chicago, explains in his article "Unmanned: An Unnatural History of Human Castration," the physical characteristics of most eunuchs are "(Reduced) Muscle mass, physical strength, and body hair (...) eunuchs are usually beardless. Breast Enlargement is also common" (np). Eunuchs, as Martin stated, have a decrease in what is considered masculine features and often exhibit more feminine characteristics, such as enlarged breasts and lack of body hair. These men were often castrated, in most cases, as a way to ensure

they would not cause social issues or tensions, often taking the roles of imperial and harem guards, servants, military officers, and political officials (np). They were often given these roles due to their usually calmer nature and low sex drive. Eunuchs were also considered less impulsive than those who still had the testes intact. In Europe during the 1550s, castrati, or those who had been castrated, began having a significant role in many churches, as many began to include castrati in their choirs due to their underdeveloped vocal cords that could reach high pitches and allowed for the churches to have men-only choirs (Martin). Many young boys were castrated before puberty for the sole purpose of becoming choir boys, with churches continuing to hire castrati up until 1878 and only officially ending in 1903 (Martin). Although these older forms of surgical castration seemed to be effective in eliminating sexual and violent tendencies, it has not been used historically to do such and has instead been used to take away the option of choice without care for how it may affect the individual's bodily autonomy and mind.

As seen above, throughout history castration has been used mostly as a job requirement, but in more recent times (more specifically in the 20th century) it has been used as a way to reinforce norms in a society by those in power. From 1930 to 1955, many who had committed what was, by Nordic law, a "sex crime" were given the option to be castrated in turn for a shorter or less harsh sentence. These sex crimes, more often than not, referred to those who were in consensual homosexual relationships, prostitutes, and mothers with children out of wedlock. These were considered criminal offenses equal to those who had committed acts of sexual violence, with "offenders" labeled as sexual deviants. Dr. Merle Wessel, a researcher in Ethics in Medicine at the Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg, writes, "Sexual crimes and sexualized violence do not seem to have been a dominant concern in Nordic societies as such. Rather, it looks like general heteronormative values sparked a conflict with people living out their individual sexuality outside conformity" (604). She claims that surgical castration was not about preventing sex offenders from reoffending, but was more about stripping the right of sexual freedom away from those who were harmlessly living outside of Nordic norms set by heterosexual, monogamous standards that treat anything outside of these said standards as abnormal. In short, castration was being used on sex offenders; but it was also being used on men and women who were having consensual sex that was deemed wrong by society. These men and women cannot have this action reversed despite having done nothing wrong, and the same goes for any future men and women that may undergo surgical castration.

Just as we see castration being used to enforce norms of heterosexuality by those in power, castration has also been used to punish women who are in lower classes, of marginalized races, and those with disabilities. Not only was castration used against those who were outside of heteronorms, it was also being used against women in the United States who were of a different race or ethnic background than the white majority. Beginning in the 1970s, the second wave feminist campaign for birth control began; however, it did not take into account the experience of women of color and how castration had been used throughout history as a way to control those the majority deemed lesser. This applied especially to Americans who were Black or Native American, as both populations were treated as animals and property in early American history. Once abortion and sterilization were legalized, there were many who voiced their opinion on who should become sterile. According to Angela Davis, a political activist and professor at the University of California, "This episode in the birth control movement confirmed the ideological victory of the racism associated with eugenic ideas… advocating for people of color not the individual right to *birth control*, but rather the racist strategy of *population control"* (361). Instead of castration being used for its innocently planned purpose of being birth control available to women if they chose to receive it, Davis claims, it was being used to eradicate those of color and others considered "defective" or unfit to reproduce in white America (361). Her claim further solidifies the stance of how castration has been used to control those society deems an outlier to what they believe is socially acceptable. Overall, although surgical castration has been shown to decrease sexual tendencies effectively, its primary use has often been to control how the society or culture wishes the individual or group of individuals to behave and less about the protection of others.

In addition to women of minority groups being subjected to surgical castration, women in general have frequently been victims of such harsh punishments. As mentioned above, there have been many instances in which women have been castrated for, seemingly, no reason. There was a reason, but it was not one of good intention, as it was most often used to control the lives of those considered "unfit" to be allowed to give birth in the society in which those women lived. This mostly included those who had consensual sex outside of marriage, such as sex workers and mothers of "bastard" children. This also included, as Davis mentions, those who were on government assistance programs such as Medicaid. Davis provides the example of "The sole obstetrician in that small town, Pierce had consistently sterilized Medicaid recipients with two or

more children. According to a nurse in his office, Dr. Pierce insisted that pregnant welfare women 'will have to submit […] to voluntary sterilization' if they wanted him to deliver their babies…he was 'tired of people running around and having babies and paying for them with my taxes'" (362-363). This is just one example of the many instances in which doctors and the government took away the choice for women to use their body as they wanted and stripped them of their reproductive rights. Female sterilization, throughout history, has mainly been used not as a punishment for misdeeds, but as a punishment for not being what eugenicist men want women to be: loyal to one man and birth as many of his children as he pleases, without regard to how she may feel. Altogether, the history of surgical castration and sterilization has proven to be used in extremely harmful ways, often forced upon people and removing choice; allowing the surgical castration of sex offenders would be a repeat of the same history we need to avoid.

Unlike these historical examples where innocent people are punished for not conforming to sexual and gendered norms in society, today many sex offenders are punished for actual crimes with either surgical or chemical castration. Surgical castration is permanent, and is considered effective because of this; however, it is not foolproof. As Sandra Boodman, a medical reporter for the *Washington Post*, states, "Men who are castrated often are still able to have an erection and may be capable of intercourse. Their sex drive is diminished (...) But the drive is not eliminated. (...) A rapist who has been castrated 'could still be a phenomenal danger. He can go out and, instead of raping people, he can assault them with broom handles or bottles or beat them up or kill them'" (np). Sexual tendencies do decrease when the testicles and ovaries are removed, but that does not mean they go away. The sex organs (penis and vagina/clitoris) are still fully intact and able to be used, they simply cannot be used for reproductive purposes and can arguably make catching repeat offenders harder. Chemical castration, however, has ultimately the same effect without removing the reproductive organs and is virtually harmless, while also being reversible. Along with having the same effects, chemical castration would make monitoring offenders easier, since chemical castration has to be medically checked more frequently than those who have been surgically castrated. Chemical castration is also more cost-effective in comparison for the government, as it does not require a stay in the hospital that uses a good amount of resources and staff. It is also much less invasive, as it does not require a surgical operation and only takes a few minutes to administer every few months.

While surgical castration can work effectively as a preventative measure, arguments for surgical castration fail to take into account the lasting health consequences of such a procedure. John McMillan, a professor of Bioethics at the University of Otago Dunedin School of Medicine, argues that the use of surgical castration can be effective, in modern times, in preventing sex offenders from reoffending. McMillan states, “The implication was that the calming of the passions that follows the removal of most of the testosterone from a sex offender might make it possible for this person to begin a calmer, more reflective and less harmful period of his life” (589). He claims, in the past, surgical castration has shown to be a very effective method in decreasing sexual urges and increasing calmer behavior, while also stating that it causes little to no pain to the offender. For the most part, this is true, since surgical castration has been shown to decrease sexual and violent tendencies with the removal of testosterone. However, his claim that it is virtually pain-free is debatable. In Martin's article, he also provides research that has been done on the bodies and skeletons of those who have undergone surgical castration, many of whom had low bone density (osteoporosis), extremely long limb bones, incomplete bone healing, and fusion (np). These health complications are only a fraction of those that are physical and fail to mention mental health issues that may occur, such as depression. Both McMillan and Martin fail to take into account how the female body is affected, as many complications can take place during and after the surgery, such as infection, anxiety, depression, bloating, and death. As Wessel has stated, the use of surgical castration has caused more harm than good, as it was used to control the sex lives of homosexuals and unmarried women permanently. This means that even when these practices were no longer in use and laws against these people were lifted, those who were wrongfully castrated could not reverse its effects. Davis also provides insight, as the use of castration on colored women eradicated the potential for them to have children, even after laws were placed to prevent future forced sterilization of these women. McMillan does not take into consideration how surgical castration has long-term effects on the human body. Additionally, McMillan fails to study the use of surgical castration on female sex offenders and how they would be affected, considering he claims the removal of the sex organs is a physically low-risk procedure as it would be predominantly for males.

This ongoing debate raises the issue of, if surgical castration is off the table, what prevention methods are the most ethical and effective way to punish sex offenders, such as chemical castration, rehab, and therapy. As I have mentioned before, chemical castration is an

effective way of treating sexual urges that is reversible if needed. Dr. Anne Zimmerman, an attorney of bioethics, states that "Chemical castration has been linked to reduced recidivism for sex offenders. It suppresses testosterone levels, which have been found to correlate with the risk of both committing violent crimes and recidivism" (np). By this, Zimmerman proves that, due to the suppression of hormone levels, sex offenders are less likely to commit another sexual offense. However, using chemical castration by itself is not as effective as it could be, which is where other rehabilitation methods come in. As with most chemically altering medications, results are obtained best with therapy. Boodman follows this by claiming, "Most experts say that Depo Provera (drug used in male chemical castration) works best if it is administered in conjunction with other forms of therapy" (np). In conjunction with the libido-suppressing effects, there are therapies that lead the offender to associate their negative thoughts with dissatisfactory outcomes, also known as conditioning. Predatory thoughts could then be associated with a bad smell or other unpleasantries, which would in turn deter them from committing any further offenses. In no given situation would it be appropriate to use surgical castration, as both Zimmerman and Boodman agree, as it violates basic human rights since it is cruel and unusual punishment and causes physical and permanent damage to the body. Many of the other methods, like chemical castration and therapy, would be much more effective and ethical than surgical castration.

If chemical castration or rehab are presented as alternatives to jail time or prison, then the convict must be thoroughly educated on what the process and procedures entail. The majority of the argument against surgical castration has been that it has had a long history of removing the choice of others, thus it is just as important that the convict is able to make a well-educated decision when it comes to alternate sentencing. Zimmerman agrees, claiming that "Chemical castration for sex offenders can be ethically sound when they choose it in the hope of decreasing aggressive behavior, either in connection with a reduced sentence or not (...) chemical castration, when it is as voluntary as possible, could be a tool for decreasing mass incarceration" (np). By this, Zimmerman believes that, as long as the convict is properly informed and is not being forced to do so, chemical castration is ethical. She, however, believes that presenting chemical castration as part of a plea deal is a morally gray area. Here, I disagree since forcing the offender by sentencing them to chemical castration would be a violation of their rights, as it is still chemically affecting their body, but I believe that providing it as an alternative or component of

their sentencing after properly providing any and all information would still provide them with the human right of choice. If chemical castration is used as part of a plea deal, as long as the offender is completely informed and chooses it themself without any coercion, I believe that it is completely ethical as it is their choice. I also believe that behavioral and cognitive therapies can be effective in treating sex offenders, as Boodmen brought up earlier. However, she only suggests doing so for a set amount of time. The results of these procedures can be reversed if not properly kept up, which is what I believe should be done.

The ultimate goal of all of these methods is to prevent sex offenders from reoffending, which is why there are so many methods that try to do so; however, the credibility of these methods is blurry at best. Tamara Rice Lave, an Associate Professor of Law at the University of Miami, states "The reality is that recidivism studies can never tell us the true rate of reoffending. To begin with, not all crimes are reported" (219). As Lave claims, researchers are not accurately able to prove if treatment methods reduce recidivism, due to the fact that sex crimes are the least reported crimes, with only about 25.7 to 56.8 percent of these crimes being reported (222). In congruence with Lave's example of recidivism rates, there is not solid evidence that any of the aforementioned methods will work, so if they do not it is important we provide harsher punishments that do not involve rehabilitation, such as life in prison. Even harsher methods will have to be provided if the intensity of the crime is severe, including the death penalty, but only if the criminal is undeniably guilty of such. To decrease the risk that they do reoffend and are not reported, offenders should have security devices in their homes to monitor them, which include in their computer and other electronic devices, as well as very frequent check-ins with parole officers and such. Ultimately, I argue that preventative measures such as chemical castration and rehabilitative therapy are efficient and acceptable alternatives to surgical castration. However, the offenders must be heavily surveyed in order to nearly eliminate the risk of re-offense. Repeat and serial offenders may not get this privilege and should be sentenced to life or death.

In conclusion, surgical castration is not the most effective form of prevention in comparison to others options like chemical castration and rehabilitation therapy since surgical castration is irreversible and causes lasting negative effects on the body. The castration of female sex offenders is hardly analyzed, despite the fact that a small portion (but only a portion) of sex offenders are women and castration has been historically used on women. Most of these assaults often go unreported, as well, especially when the victim is a man. This argument raises the issue

of preventing sex crimes from happening in the first place, such as resources for potential offenders and potential victims, to lower the rates of sexual violence and get to the root causes of it all.

Works Cited

Boodman, Sandra. "Does Castration Stop Sex Crimes?*" - The Washington Post*, www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/wellness/1992/03/17/does-castration-stop-sex-crimes/34bf63ee-840c-41e4-9c5f-5ac1bcf95b15/. Accessed 23 Oct. 2024.

Davis, Angela. "'Racism, Birth Control, and Reproductive Rights.'" Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader, edited by Reina Lewis and Sara Mills, *Edinburgh University Press*, 2003, pp. 353–67. *JSTOR,* http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctvxcr9q0.21. Accessed 1 Nov. 2024.

Lave, Tamara Rice. "Controlling Sexually Violent Predators: Continued Incarceration At What Cost?" *New Criminal Law Review: An International and Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2011, pp. 213–80. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.1525/nclr.2011.14.2.213. Accessed 3 Oct. 2024.

Martin, Robert D. "Unmanned: An Unnatural History of Human Castration." *Psychology Today, Sussex Publishers*, 14 July 2016, www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/how-we-do-it/201607/unmanned-an-unnatural-history-of-human-castration.. Accessed 31 Oct. 2024.

McMillan, John. "The Kindest Cut? Surgical Castration, Sex Offenders and Coercive Offers." *Journal of Medical Ethics*, vol. 40, no. 9, 2014, pp. 583–90. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43283119. Accessed 4 Oct. 2024.

Wessel, Merle. "Castration of Male Sex Offenders in the Nordic Welfare State in the Context of Homosexuality and Heteronormativity, 1930–1955." *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 40, no. 5, Dec. 2015, pp. 591–609. *EBSCOhost*, https://doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2015.1065290. Accessed 4 Oct. 2024.

Zimmerman, Anne. "Is Castration of Sex Offenders Ever Ethically Justified?" *The Hastings Center*, 9 Sept. 2024, www.thehastingscenter.org/is-castration-of-sex-offenders-ever-ethically-justified/.

How The Idea of Being Presidential Affected Abraham Lincoln

Jager Ferguson

The sun is just beginning to dip behind the horizon, casting a golden glow over the crowd gathered around the stage. The air is thick with anticipation as a candidate for president steps up to the podium confidently wearing a well-tailored suit that demonstrates both authority and approachability. Throughout this speech, the people will judge the candidate's body language and their words, attempting to assess if this individual fills their idea of being presidential. They are looking for a sturdy hand capable of displaying strength to unite the nation and defend it from those that wish it harm. Alongside these attributes the idea of being presidential is one that requires being able to effectively communicate with the people.

The public's perception on what a president should look and act like has evolved throughout the last 230 years. The standard for what a president should be was set by the nation's first president George Washington who was elected as the first president of the United States in the year 1789.[27] This process saw Washington be the unanimous choice for the office as he would be the only candidate nominated, a feat that has never happened again in the United States. Washington was selected to be the leader of this new nation due to the immense respect that he had garnered from his leadership during the American Revolution. Throughout his eight years in office, Washington set the benchmark for presidents as he would experience several successes helping to shape a public perception of the office which affected all future presidents including the 16th president, Abraham Lincoln.

Scholars have given significant attention to how presidents manage their public image and present themselves. This paper will focus on how the standard of being presidential affected how Abraham Lincoln handled major events. By applying a political science viewpoint of history, Lincoln's official presidential actions will be analyzed through the lens of their morals and beliefs. By doing this the reader will be able to understand the complexity of the standard that they are holding these human beings to while also gaining the ability to better evaluate a president's actions.

One of Washington's major accomplishments while serving as the first president was to establish the Executive Branch, which enforces laws passed by Congress and manages the daily

[27] Chernow, Ron. *Washington: A life*. London: Allen Lane, 2010.

operations of the Federal Government. Washington had a lasting impact on the executive branch, setting expectations for the president and showing that the American democracy experiment could succeed. Washington's legacy was built on establishing presidential power, showing that a president could be strong while respecting the Constitution's checks and balances. Washington also created the first presidential Cabinet, a group of key advisors who advised the president on decisions. Doing this allowed Washington to project strength domestically and establish a precedent for his successors to follow, which allowed the nation to continue to prosper after his two terms in office. Another key item on his resume was establishing the national bank, which allowed the Federal Government to assume state debts. This decision helped to stabilize the struggling American economy following the Revolutionary War. Washington also established a tradition of only serving two terms for a total of eight years. This tradition was treated as precedent and was not broken until 1912 when Theodore Roosevelt ran for a third term unsuccessfully. In the decades following his retirement from the presidency, the man George Washington was mythicized into a U.S. Legend. Myths about George Washington ranged from a cherry tree myth to the idea that he single-handedly led the American revolution himself.[28] These myths have only caused the standard for a president to rise even higher to unattainable heights. Despite this, the public has established the legend of George Washington as the benchmark for what they believe a president should act like. Constituents hope for their candidate to never tell a lie, project strength domestically and abroad, and be a great unifier. Presidents have tried to reach this benchmark, with some individuals being able to establish new boxes that needed to be checked in order to be called presidential.

Many of the most well-known presidents set new standards for what it means to be presidential through their refined and polished self-presentation. One of these well-known presidents is Abraham Lincoln, the 16th president of the United States, who established that a president should be able to articulate his thoughts in a way that unified the nation and instilled hope for the future. Both of these men changed how the president interacts with the public, with an emphasis on needing to connect with them in order to receive positive poll numbers and ratings. However, despite reaching these great heights each of these men experienced tremendous hardship as the pressure of leading a nation would wear on them. This pressure of being president caused each man to fall back on their deepest held morals and beliefs. It also

[28] Chernow, Ron. *Washington: A life*. London: Allen Lane, 2010.

caused their character traits to be enhanced, which can either be positive or negative. Nevertheless, the pressure of being presidential and living up to these ideas still affects their decision-making, pertaining to both their actions and the nations.

George Washington, the first president of the United States, stands as one of the most pivotal figures in American history with his legacy resonating all over the world. Washington has been memorialized with several monuments, landmarks, and even U.S. currency bearing his name as well as his image. One of the most prominent symbols of Washington's legacy is Mount Rushmore in Keystone, South Dakota which displays Washington's face etched into a mountain alongside other foundational members of American history. Washington is also immortalized into everyday American society due to the one-dollar bill having his portrait on the front. After Washington's death in 1799, biographers quickly published works about him, but these books oversimplified his character and focused on broad generalizations. In doing so, they took liberties with his story, often embellishing details to create a unifying national symbol. Despite the numerous embellishments these works played a significant role in shaping early American perceptions of Washington and the nation's ideals.

One of these works was by Parson Mason L. Weems, who hastily published his work *The Life of Washington* in the latter half of the year 1800. In this work Weems made up stories and attempted to perpetrate myths like Washington refusing to lie about chopping down a cherry tree and instead owning up to it. Weems's mythmaking helped to solidify the idea that Washington had unbreakable morals. Another myth that Weems made up was a story that as a young kid, Washington demonstrated tremendous skill and strength by tossing a silver dollar across a wide river. This myth has no documented evidence backing it up but also helped solidify Americans' idea that Washington was bigger than life. Ironically, this was an area where Weems did not need to exaggerate as Washington was already six feet tall and weighed in at 220 pounds, making him an intimidating figure in any time, not just in the late 1700s. These myths were perpetrated in order to "humanize him through treacly fables designed to inculcate patriotism and morality."[29] Weems had no qualms doing this as he believed that there was no harm in cultivating an almost saint-like figure out of Washington. This immortalization could be commonly seen in the time frame as many Americans at the time participated in almost

[29] Chernow, 813.

"idolatrous worship"[30] of Washington. This can be best seen in a popular print from the time titled *Apotheosis of Washington*. This picture of Washington depicts him ascending to heaven in white robes with an outstretched arm of an angel pulling him up. Americans needed Washington to be this perfect example because, as the first president of the United States, he symbolized the new nation's ideals. His biographers understood this and created an image of Washington as the hero the country needed. Portraying him as an idol was crucial for building confidence in the new democracy, legitimizing the government, and ensuring a smooth transition to a stable republic.

In the early years of American independence, the United States was governed by the Articles of Confederation, which created a weak central government without executive or judicial branches. This made it difficult to solve economic problems and enforce national laws. The writers of the Articles of Confederation purposely chose to not have a strong centralized government due to their fear of creating another king. However, in 1787 Shays's Rebellion, an uprising by militias that occurred in Massachusetts over the raising of state taxes, would cause key individuals to call a convention with the goal of revising the Articles. At this meeting, which was eventually dubbed the Second Constitutional Convention, Washington would repeatedly say that he did not wish to be the president. This created an ideal held by the American public that their president should not actively seek the power of the presidency. Washington also willingly gave up office after two terms showing that American Democracy could work. Washington's actions undeniably affected a man named Abraham Lincoln on his path to the White House.

Abraham Lincoln was a man from humble beginnings. When questioned to give information about his early life for a biography, he stated that it could be condensed into one sentence: "the short and simple annals of the poor."[31] Lincoln was born on February 12, 1809 in Kentucky, however his family moved around Indiana and Illinois for much of his early childhood. Growing up, Lincoln learned to articulate his thoughts through writing, which aided him later in life. He received praise for his ability to convey important messages concisely, with one famous example being the Gettysburg address. Lincoln also developed an affinity for reading at a young age with one of the books being Weems's *Life of George Washington* which

[30] Chernow, 813.
[31] Donald, David Herbert. *Lincoln.* New York: Simon and Schuster, c1995, 19.

he stated, "had made an indelible mark on his mind."[32] This book undeniably shaped how Lincoln viewed both Washington and the presidency, including its almost unattainable standards due to its mythologization of Washington. It also contributed to how he viewed himself in relation to these standards.

Due to this viewpoint, Lincoln would not have presidential aspirations, instead serving one term in the House before transitioning to being a lawyer practicing in Springfield, Illinois. Lincoln would return to politics with an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a Congressional seat in 1856 where he would be defeated. This would not deter Lincoln as almost immediately following this loss he declared his intent to run against Stephan Douglas in the 1858 Senate race in Illinois. Lincoln officially received the Republican Party's nomination for the seat on June 16 at the Republican state convention, entering him into a race that changed his life and catapulted him to a prominent role in the party.[33] The campaign of 1858 saw a series of debates between Douglas and Lincoln, highlighting the contrasting nature of the two men, with Douglas viewing this race as a stepping stone to the presidency whereas Lincoln did not. The debates all followed the same format with each man getting an hour and half of speaking time. The contrasting appearances of the men highlighted their differing aspirations. Douglas strived to be recognized as one of the defining politicians of the era despite being a short, stout man, an appearance which he made up for with a booming authoritative voice. His opposition, Lincoln possessed a tall stature accompanied by a thin frame and sallow skin.[34] Upon arrival to these debates it was also noticeable how Douglas took great care to present himself as presidential as he traveled by special train and wore a "handsome new blue suit with silver buttons and in his immaculate linen."[35] These efforts were in hopes that he could use this election to catapult him to the presidency in 1860. This was a stark contrast to Lincoln's image, which was cultivated to present him as "not as a man of considerable means and one of the most prominent lawyers in the state but as a countryman, shrewd, and incorruptible."[36] Lincoln's choice to present himself as a man of the people demonstrates that he was a man with simple tastes who had few aspirations of becoming a president.

---

[32] Donald, *Lincoln*, 31.
[33] Donald, *Lincoln*, 205.
[34] Donald, *Lincoln*, 214.
[35] Donald, *Lincoln*, 214.
[36] Donald, *Lincoln*, 215.

Not having these aspirations caused Lincoln to not attempt to appear presidential like Douglas during this campaign; rather he appealed to the everyday public similar to Andrew Jackson. Lincoln himself is quoted stating "nobody has ever expected me to be president."[37] He had these doubts of fulfilling this presidential image due to the myths perpetrated by Weems of Washington as a tall, strong, man who projected strength in all aspects while possessing unflinching morals. Lincoln in these debates struggled early but made up ground throughout the rest of the debates. Douglas won this election, but Lincoln would become the top Republican in Illinois, gaining national name recognition due to this race. Lincoln earning this name recognition would elevate himself to one of the top members of the Republican party, which contributed to him getting the Republican nomination for president in the 1860 election.

Following Lincoln's defeat, some members of the Republican Party still suggested that he should be nominated for president. Upon being asked about this, Lincoln chuckled and stated, "Just think of such a sucker as me as president," and later said, "I must in candor say I do not think myself fit for the presidency."[38] These two quotes highlight how the idea of being presidential was prominent in the 1800s and candidates were affected by it. Lincoln was undoubtedly influenced by the widespread myth of Washington being a saint-like figure, which contributed to a burden that Lincoln felt during his time in office. Still Lincoln made several small moves to ensure that his name came up for the nomination. One of these moves was to consolidate transcripts of his debates with Douglas and combine them into a 268-page book that was distributed across the country, becoming a bestseller.[39] Lincoln would also accept an invitation to Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Church in February 1860. Lincoln's appearance at the event was described as a "long ungainly figure, upon which hung clothes that, while new for the trip, were evidently the work of an unskilled tailor: the large feet: the clumsy hands… the long gaunt head capped by a shock of hair that seemed to not have been thoroughly brushed out."[40] This appearance was deemed highly unpresidential by the congregation and newspaper journalists alike citing that Lincoln did not display confidence and strength through his image. However, after Lincoln spoke that night many people changed their opinion as Lincoln was a

[37] Donald, *Lincoln*, 215.
[38] Donald, *Lincoln*, 235.
[39] Donald, *Lincoln*, 237.
[40] Donald, *Lincoln*, 238.

talented orator capable of representing the everyday person and presenting strength through his words.

To the public, Lincoln denied wanting to achieve the position of the presidency as he knew that if it appeared that he wanted the role, the chances of him being nominated sank to zero. This was a standard for presidential candidates that was set by George Washington. To win the nomination Lincoln had to beat out numerous other candidates with the most prominent being William Seward. As a shrewd politician, Lincoln understood that his best chance of winning the nomination lay in having multiple votes at the convention for president. He achieved this by securing unanimous support from the Illinois delegates, which was no small feat. To obtain unanimous support for Lincoln, Richard J. Oglesby and a consultant by the name John Hanks crafted Lincoln an identity to run on when they labeled him "the Rail Splitter."[41] This slogan helped Lincoln to endear himself to many across the country similar to "Old Hickory" Andrew Jackson and "Tippecanoe" William Henry Harrison. This imaging of Lincoln allowed him to "be packaged not merely as a powerful advocate of the free-soil ideology or as a folksy, unpretentious, storytelling campaigner, but also as the embodiment of the self-made man, the representative of free labor, and the spokesman of the great West."[42] Aided by this new persona and the support of his state, Illinois, Lincoln would win the nomination of the third ballot receiving 364 out of the possible 466 votes.[43]

After being nominated, Lincoln was advised unanimously by his friends to not take any public role in the campaign, allowing others to present an image of Lincoln as presidential and get him elected. Many outside of the state of Illinois did not know what Lincoln actually looked like and had been told that Lincoln was in fact a really ugly man unfitting of the presidency. To combat this, Lincoln had several photographers travel to Springfield to take his portrait, with several failing to capture Lincoln in a fair light.[44] The cameras that photographers used during this time showed Lincoln's face with harsh lines that looked like a mask. Alexander Hesler of Chicago managed to show Lincoln at his best as "no other photographer did, the peculiar curve of his lower lip, the mole on his right cheek and the distinctive way that he held his head."[45] In

[41] Donald, *Lincoln*, 245.
[42] Donald, *Lincoln*, 245.
[43] Donald, *Lincoln*, 245.
[44] Donald, *Lincoln*, 252
[45] Donald, *Lincoln*, 252

addition to this photograph by Hesler a painting by Thomas Hicks was ordered in which Lincoln stated that it gave "the people of the East …a correct idea of how I look at home… I think the picture has a somewhat more pleasant expression than I usually have, but that perhaps, is not an objection."[46] These paintings all had one goal in common, which was to make Lincoln appear more presidential and capable of fulfilling the office during this critical juncture in the nation's history.

In November 1860 the nation, and especially politicians in Washington, D.C. collectively felt a sense of unease as the presidential election of 1860 will determine the direction that the country will move in. At two o'clock am, news arrived that Lincoln had won New York, solidifying that he would be the nation's next president.[47] Across the South, this announcement came to their chagrin as Lincoln had campaigned on halting the spread of slavery into the territories. His victory showed that the South's grip on the institution of slavery was slipping away. In the months following his election, the country stood on a razor's edge just a small step away from splitting apart until South Carolina became the first state to secede. They were not the only state to feel that their future lay in independence as others left the Union and created the Confederate States of America. A war started months later as the Confederates began firing on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, initiating a war that saw around 620,000 to 850,000 Americans die.[48]

One of the major battles in the Civil War was the Battle of Gettysburg, fought from July 1 to July 3, 1863 at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. This battle saw Robert E. Lee attempt to launch an unsuccessful invasion into Northern territory. By the end of the battle, the Confederates had suffered 28,000 casualties while the Union had lost 23,000.[49] Lee had been forced to retreat, which caused momentum in the war to shift back to the Union. In November 1863 Lincoln would be invited to attend the dedication of the cemetery at Gettysburg as well as provide a speech for the occasion.[50] Lincoln accepted this request as he felt it was a crucial time for the country and a situation where he had to rise to the occasion in hopes of fulfilling the role of being presidential by projecting strength.

---

[46] Donald, *Lincoln*, 253
[47] Donald, *Lincoln*, 258
[48] Donald, *Lincoln*, 275
[49] Donald, *Lincoln*, 304
[50] Donald, *Lincoln*, 463.

On November 19, Lincoln donned a new black suit, with white gauntlets, and a stovepipe hat all signifying that Lincoln understood the moment and was trying to achieve the standard. On the way to the cemetery, Lincoln mounted a horse to ride during the procession which bystanders "thought too small for so tall of a man."[51] This quote highlights how even with his best efforts, Lincoln, a remarkable individual, could not elevate his appearance to be presidential. However, once Lincoln arrived onto the podium, he gave a two-minute speech written both concisely and powerfully which emphasized that the United States was a nation "pledged not merely to constitutional liberty but to human equality."[52] He declared that the government as an institution should not take away freedoms and equality from its constituents. Lincoln stated "that this government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from this earth,"[53] stating that the U.S. Government should always strive to institute equality among its citizens.

Lincoln throughout the war would experience what nineteenth century doctors described as "melancholia" which is now diagnosed as clinical depression. This depression notably affected him during some of the most challenging times of his life, such as the height of the Civil War and the death of his son, Willie. Willie had fallen sick on February fifth, 1862, with "bilious fever" probably caused by pollution in the White House water system.[54] During this troubling period of his life, Lincoln felt a great burden of loss on him as he blamed himself for sending droves of men off to war and losing his son. This extreme amount of loss surrounding him as well as the burdens of being the president caused him to turn to religion for solace. Lincoln before his presidency had not been a religious man but the weight of striving to achieve the standard set by a myth caused him to "now needed more personal reassurance to save himself."[55] Lincoln himself believed that he was not fit to be president because of his idea of who and what was presidential. This internal struggle of feeling unfit for the presidency was fueled by the distorted ideals promoted by Weems, making Lincoln feel he wasn't meeting expectations, even though he was doing the best he could under the difficult circumstances.

In the waning months of the Civil War, Lincoln would be very active as he met with his Generals to discuss surrender terms, and he began organizing plans for reassimilating the South

[51]Donald, *Lincoln*, 464
[52]Donald, *Lincoln*, 462
[53] The Gettysburg Address by Abraham Lincoln. Accessed September 29, 2024. https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm
[54]Donald, *Lincoln*, 326
[55] Donald, *Lincoln* ,336

back into the Union. The lengthy battle over the issue of slavery came to a conclusion on April 9, 1865 when Robert E. Lee surrendered his confederate troops to Union General Ulysses S. Grant, the 18th U.S. president at a courthouse in Virginia. Lincoln did not get to enact his Reconstruction plans or see peace for long as he was assassinated five days later while attending a play with his wife. His assassin, the actor John Wilkes Booth, hoped that by killing Lincoln he would revive the Confederate cause.[56] Lincoln's assassination did not bring back the confederacy, but it did set in motion a series of presidents who earned the office by appearing to be presidential in their looks. However nearly all of these men were unpresidential in how they fulfilled the role of being president as they did not heed Lincoln's words in the Gettysburg Address and allowed for the degrading of their constituents.

The American public's idea of what is presidential is derived from the myth of George Washington who was the nation's first president. Washington being the first president set numerous precedents and established the expectation of what a president's image should be to the American public. This image portrayed by Washington was one with heavy populist appeal, strong leadership, and an unwavering commitment to the nation while not actively chasing the office of the presidency. He established this image through his strong stance during the Whiskey Rebellion, the establishment of the executive branch and by willingly giving up power after two terms proving that American democracy could work. Following Washington's death several biographers rushed to publish his life story and in doing so built up the already solid reputation Washington had, making him into a central figure of American History to inspire patriotic feelings for a young nation. Biographers like Parson Mason L. Weems was among those biographers and he wrote false stories which presented Washington as having unbreakable morals as well as imposing impressive strength through his leadership. The 16th president Abraham Lincoln was not fortunate in this regard as he read Weems book and said "it had an indelible mark on his mind."[57] This caused his perception of the presidency to be warped in a way that made him believe he was not fit for the role. This was a belief that affected Lincoln and led to him feeling an extreme burden in his duties fulfilling the office, in addition to this it motivated him to grow a beard so that he could appear more presidential.

[56] Bausum, Ann, National Geographic. *Our Country's Presidents: A complete encyclopedia of the U.S. presidency.* S.I: NATL Geographic, 2025, 85.
[57] Donald, *Lincoln*, 31.

Bibliography

Bausum, Ann. *Our Country's Presidents: A Complete Encyclopedia of the U.S. presidency.* National Geographic, 2025, 85.

Chernow, Ron. *Washington: A Life*. London: Allen Lane, 2010.

Donald, David Herbert. *Lincoln.* New York: Simon and Schuster, c1995, 19.

Lincoln, Abraham. "The Gettysburg Address." Accessed September 29, 2024. https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm

Papists, Orangemen, and Freedom Fighters: Political Entrepreneurs and Hate Narratives in Ireland

Yesh Singayao

The cry uttered by clergymen, of "strike hard the enemies of the holy faith," and other antagonistic phrases like it, were not uncommon in a time when Catholics and Protestants fought each other for spiritual and political supremacy, across Europe in the 17th century (Parker, *Global Crisis*, 546). Massacres motivated by such rhetoric were not uncommon in Germany, England, France, and many other countries in Europe at that time. However, while these wars of religion eventually seemed to fade, there was one place where such conflict persisted well into the 20th century and divided people along different ethnic lines: Ireland. One has to wonder how this type of ethnic-religious conflict lasted so long in this country. Looking at the violence committed in Ireland in 1641 for example, one can clearly see that certain individuals and groups, not just clergy, exerted their influence to mobilize their co-religionists to violence against one another. Through an analysis of other major instances of ethno-religious conflict in Ireland, including the Irish Rebellion of 1641, the Glorious Revolution in England, and the Troubles, one can see that these individuals, known as political entrepreneurs, have played a significant role in increasing the severity of these conflicts, and in perpetuating them further through hate narratives.

Literature Review

The literature surrounding the ethnic conflict in Ireland is mainly focused on the Troubles in Northern Ireland, which occurred from 1968-1998 and saw over 3,700 dead and over 40,000 people injured (Goalwin 190; McBride 689). The amount of literature on the Troubles is certainly warranted, but even as the articles themselves show, they pay little attention to any previous outbreaks of violence. Many articles frequently mention events that have occurred in previous outbreaks of conflict, like the Battle of the Boyne (Beiner 2007; Goalwin 2013) and the Protestant settlement of Northern Ireland (Terchek 1977), in varying levels of detail. However, these references are usually included to give background for modern ethnic tensions and violence, such as those that occurred during the Troubles, or to give context in modern cultural studies. At worst, these prior historical outbreaks of violence are framed as archaic and distant. This is unsurprising, as recent literature tends to stray from more historical and "primordialist," focused arguments around "ancient grievances" (Liberman & Singh 2). An aversion against

overemphasizing the primordialism argument is warranted, however, that does not mean that history is not useful to political scientists. After all, in the social sciences in general, knowing some historical background is still important. This paper argues that to fully understand the cause of ethnic conflict in Ireland, there has to be a synthesis of historical studies as well as case studies. By examining more archaic instances of ethnic conflict in Ireland, as well as more modern outbreaks like the Troubles, one can see the clear presence of variables present in all of these conflicts. Variables such as political entrepreneurs, who have played a large role in increasing the severity of ethno-religious conflict in Ireland, are compatible with more recent theories explaining ethnic conflict and also an important part of such conflicts.

Theory

In political science literature, political entrepreneurs, which can include anyone who has some level of influence and power in a community, like politicians and religious leaders, are a commonly mentioned driving factor when discussing the outbreak and intensity of ethnic conflict. This concept describes individuals or groups of individuals who propagate hatred for some sort of political gain by emphasizing that people with differing traits are part of distinct and separate communities (Glaesar 4; Lieberman & Singh 3). In regard to modern conflicts, much of the literature by Western scholars notes their presence. In his study on the Liberian civil war, for example, Andrew Young cites how Charles Taylor used a martyrdom narrative around the deceased President Samuel Doe, who had been part of his own ethnic group, to mobilize his followers to seize power in Liberia and become president himself (Young 5-11). James Fearon and David Laitin, in an article compiling literature on ethnic entrepreneurs, discuss how other scholars like Bruce Kapfer, and Gerard Prunier, note the presence of entrepreneurs in Sri Lanka and Rwanda, respectively, and their role in inciting and increasing violence, through anti-Tamil and anti-Tutsi hate rhetoric (Fearon & Laitin 845-863).

In literature written outside the Western world, in countries where ethnic conflict has broken out before or is still ongoing, academics attribute a lot of the violence to political entrepreneurs. In Ethiopia, for instance, the Amhara, the Tigray, and the Oromia, are frequently in conflict with one another due to prejudices stoked by the language of political entrepreneurs against each other's ethnic groups (Siyum 18-22). In Nepal, ethnic tensions between the Tharus and the Pahdi, protests, were started and fueled by political entrepreneurs over the new constitution, which culminated in tumultuous protests, demonstrations, and riots (Bhattarai p

197-201). It is clear that political entrepreneurs have been a driving force of violence in ethnically diverse countries, and that Ireland was no different.

Analysis

Protestant Settlement in Ireland

The roots of Ethnic conflict in Ireland started in the 15th century when settlers from England and Scotland began to arrive in Northern Ireland. At first not many came, and there was little impact on the demographic composition of Ireland. However, during the 16th and 17th centuries, more and more settlers from England and Scotland began to arrive (Terchek 50-51). After the suppression of a Catholic rebellion in Ireland in 1603, King James of England began to confiscate Irish land and give it to these newly arrived English and Scottish settlers, in the form of plantations. By 1640, 70,000 English and Welshmen, along with 30,000 Scots, settled in Ulster Ireland's Northern region, along with a number of other settlers along the coast. Many Irish Catholics were forced off their land during this process and faced discrimination as a result of English policies, while the new Protestant settlers were given special rights and privileges. It is unsurprising, then, that the Catholics, who were dominant in the majority of the country's territory, became resentful (Parker, *Global Crisis*, 325).

The Revolt of 1641 and the English Civil Wars

Tensions between Catholic natives and Protestant settlers came to a head in the 1640s, when Protestant leaders in the Scottish Covenanter movement and the English Parliament began to clamor for a general Protestant religious settlement across all of the three kingdoms of the British Isles, including Ireland. This was the last straw for the Catholics in Ireland, who felt that their Faith was under severe threat (Gaunt 21). In 1641, the Catholics in Ireland rebelled against the English government and attacked the Protestant settlers in Ireland. The rebellion became a part of the civil wars that consumed the British Isles between 1642 and 1651. After managing to resist for several years, the Irish rebellion was crushed after Oliver Cromwell landed in Dublin in 1649 and brought the island back under the control of the English government. During the rebellion, there were numerous acts of brutality committed by both sides. During the initial stages of the rebellion, 10,000 to 12,000 Protestants died after being driven out of their homes, either through direct violence or exposure to the harsh winter weather. The capture of the towns of Drogheda and Wexford that occurred during Cromwell's reconquest were particularly brutal

(Parker, *Global Crisis*, 349-352 & 378). The high levels of violence can be, in large part, directly attributed to the exhortations of political entrepreneurs, in this case, the clergy and pamphleteers.

The Clergy, propaganda, and pamphlets

In 17th-century Ireland, the clergy held great sway over their congregations due to their high levels of education obtained during seminary training on the European continent. The influence of the clergy was so great that, according to the historian Geoffry Parker, they could "excite their devout auditors to near hysteria" (*Global Crisis*, 547). During the rebellion, the Irish clergy used their power over their congregations to fan the flames of sectarian tensions and encourage the killings of Protestants, which they did in the hopes of bringing all of Ireland back under the True Catholic Faith (Parker, *Global Crisis*, 351). In one instance, a priest during Mass encouraged acts of violence by encouraging his congregation to "…rush on with a multitude and kill all the Protestants" (Parker, *Global Crisis*, 546). After the initial killings, one Irish Jesuit published a tract with an encouragement for his fellow clergymen to continue the killings, along with a strong suggestion to replace their English monarch with a new Irish one (Parker, *Global Crisis*, 546-547). In response, the Protestant writers and clergymen riled up their own congregations and co-religionists to violence, just as (if not more) effectively than the Catholics did. In sermons and in their writings, they denounced Catholics as the "…deadliest enemies that Christ's true Church ever had," and whose actions were "unheard of among Pagans, Turks, or Barbarians, except you would enter into the confines of hell itself" (Siochrú 67). These stories, along with exaggerated claims about Catholic brutality, went far beyond reason. In one example, the death toll of massacred Protestants was placed at 150,000 when in actuality there were less than that number of Protestants living in Ireland at the time. These narratives perpetuated the idea that there was a massive and organized Catholic conspiracy to destroy their Protestant faith and overturn law and order in the British Isles. This served as a way to stoke up resentment towards their Catholic enemies and advance their own political agenda in England (Parker, *Global Crisis*, 352-353; Covington 160).

During the civil wars in England, Protestant ministers continued to propagate the belief that Catholics, derisively referred to as "Papists" because of their perceived blind loyalty to the Pope's power in Rome, were enemies of God and akin to animals (Parker, *Cambridge History of Warfare* 163-164). Scripture was used to mobilize their co-religionists as well, with Judges 5:23 commonly cited for this purpose since the verse starts with a "Curse" on the people of a city who

did not come to the defense of God (Parker, *Global Crisis* 609). Such hate-filled rhetoric and the circulation of published anti-Catholic writings influenced Cromwell when he embarked upon his campaign in Ireland in 1649 (Siochru 76-79). He used the hate narratives spun by his countrymen to justify the massacre of three thousand Irish troops at the town of Drogheda and the massacre of two thousand soldiers and civilians at Wexford. In the pacification campaign that occurred afterward, English commanders justified further reprisals, using language from official narratives. Political officials used such rhetoric as well to justify harsh policies such as the forced relocation of civilian populations under the threat of death. Overall, such actions, which were fueled in large part by propagated hate narratives, led to a staggering 20% population loss in Ireland (Siochru 76-82). Political entrepreneurs were the clear driving force in creating these narratives, which shows how much instability and devastation they can cause in ethnically divided countries.

The Glorious Revolution

Ethnic and religious tensions continued to simmer in Ireland in the aftermath of the rebellion of 1641, and would again erupt into sectarian violence when the Stuart monarch James II, became king of the British Isles. Significant opposition became widespread amongst the English populace over the increasing centralization and implementation of tolerant religious policies towards Quakers, Catholics, and Jews. In 1688, amidst widespread discontent among the English, primarily Anglican Protestant, population, the Dutch Protestant leader Prince William of Orange landed in England, at the invitation of seven English Peers, with an Army of nearly 30,000 men. William of Orange marched into London and deposed King James, which became known as the Glorious Revolution, so-called for how bloodless it was on English soil (Pincus 225-226; Parker, *Global Crisis*, 387-392).

In the aftermath of the Protestant recapture of the government, or the so-called Glorious Revolution, mass chaos and upheaval broke out across the British Isles, and there were violent clashes between supporters of the King James, known as Jacobites, and the supporters of the Protestant William of Orange, known as the Williamites. The biggest clash between the two factions occurred in Ireland. When King James was deposed, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Talbot, offered his support and recruited tens of thousands of enthusiastic Irishmen into his already growing, and majority Catholic, army. To ensure the supremacy of his new regime, William of Orange landed in Ireland with a mixed army of British and mainland European troops. In a series

of bloody battles, William managed to defeat the Jacobites and assert his rule over Britain and Ireland, reaffirming Protestant rule over Ireland (Hayton 26-30; Parker, *Global Crisis*, 393; Pincus 269-273).

The Irish Fright, propaganda, and violence

The Glorious Revolution and the civil war between the Jacobites and Williamites were started in large part due to the actions of political entrepreneurs. In the lead-up to the deposing of James II, prominent politicians and clergymen successfully riled up the English people into an anti-government fervor, based on fears that the established laws of the country would be overturned and that the Protestant Faith was once again under Catholic threat. This movement, known as the Irish fright, was directed largely at Irish military contingents that King James brought over to England, as well as at Catholics in the British army. This Irish fright culminated in thousands of people taking up weapons when political entrepreneurs spread rumors that an Irish Catholic army was roaming across the countryside, bent on killing all of the Protestants. Such mass mobilization in England against the government, and other acts of popular discontent, played a major role in paving the way for the ascension of the Prince of Orange (Pincus 248-252; Parker, *Global Crisis*, 392).

In the years before the Glorious Revolution, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Richard Talbot, along with support from the Catholic clergy, had implemented policies that slowly began to bring the control of the island back to the Irish and the Catholic faith, including the increasing recruitment of Catholics into the army in Ireland. Talbot's mass mobilization of tens of thousands of Irishmen into his army in support of James was an acceleration of already established policies and was the clear culmination of his political agenda. The King of France, Louis the XIV, pursuing his own political agenda, lent political, military, and economic support to the rebels. In turn, with support from the new regime, the Williamites embarked on a campaign of propaganda which, similar to Protestant propaganda circulated decades before, propagated embellished stories of numerous atrocities committed by the rebels and drew parallels to the atrocities of the 1641 rebellion (Hayton 18-23). Like during the rebellion of 1641, there were numerous atrocities committed. Protestant soldiers harassed and attacked Irish civilians, and mass violence in the countryside during the war, while not entirely ethnic or religious-based, was made worse by the Williamite government's decision in the aftermath of their victory to deploy sectarian-based militias to restore law and order (Pincus 271; Hayton 23-

29). Another consequence of the Williamite victory in Ireland was the start of a movement that used anti-Irish, anti-Catholic rhetoric, which would have an impact on ethnic relations in Ireland well into the twentieth century: Orangeism.

The Rise of the Orangemen and Fenians

In the aftermath of the Williamite victory in Ireland, a wave of popular pride swept amongst the Protestants in Ireland, especially in Ulster, the Northern region of Ireland. Northern Ireland was historically a stronghold of the Protestant faith and Protestants began to see themselves as divinely protected and blessed, making William out to be God's instrument on Earth (Hayton 24-25). In the 18th century, a so-called "Williamite cult" developed, which created traditions celebrating William's victories, especially the decisive Battle of the Boyne. Such traditions included festival days, the painting of William's image on buildings, the establishment of monuments, and annual parades and marches. Such traditions were started by political and social organizations such as the Boyne Society and the Orange Order and were put into place as a way for the triumphant Protestant political elite, the so-called Orangemen, to assert their dominance over the despised Catholic Irish population (Beiner 371-379).

For their own part, the Irish Catholic population formed their own counter-narratives around their defeat at the Boyne and James's defeat as a whole. Irish Catholic poets and literary figures helped fuel a counter culture of hatred, which decried the Protestant Irish as *Gaill,* foreigners, and as *Eiricigh*, heretics. This culture continued well into the 19th and 20th centuries, and served as a basis for future political movements such as the Whiteboys, the United Irishmen, the Young Ireland movement, and the Fenians, each of which perpetuated a narrative that developed in conjunction and in opposition to the Orangeman culture of Protestant Ulster (Beiner 373-377). The hatred propagated by these Protestant and Catholic cultures would help sustain Ireland's most infamous outbreak of ethno-religious conflict; the Troubles.

A "Culture of Terror" in Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland, as established above, has been a common battleground and epicenter of ethnic violence since the 17th century due to it being a stronghold of the Protestant faith and Ulster plantations. The "Troubles" in the 20th century, probably the most infamous of the ethno-religious conflicts fought in Ireland, saw many acts of indiscriminate violence. A microcosm of this can be seen in the coordinated attack on and subsequent death of 14 policemen during a conflict in 1977. Some of them were killed on duty, but others were killed while they were off-

duty, such as one who was killed when dropping off his car for repairs. A couple of them were not even full-time officers. One of them, a butcher, was blown up while on his way to work, while another, a bus driver, was killed on his route (Goalwin 190; Mcbride 700). Such violence was perpetrated by various paramilitary and radical political organizations, such as the Provisional Irish Republican Army, the Irish National Liberation Army, the Ulster Volunteer Force, and the Ulster Defense Association. These organizations not only engaged in direct violence but also incited violence within their own communities in order achieve their political goals. They did this by creating hatred-based narratives toward one another, establishing a widespread "culture of terror" (Goalwin 190-199).

The Protestants in Northern Ireland during the Troubles already had a pervasive culture of hatred, fear, and trauma dating back to the 17th century, due to the culture of Orangeism (Beiner 371-373). Orangeism became part of a nationalistic hate-based narrative that was created and strengthened by Protestant leaders and political groups around more modern events like the bravery of the Ulster-Irish division at the Somme during the First World War and the resistance of previous Ulster Protestant political entrepreneurs to the Irish Home Rule movement from 1912 to 1914 (Beiner 379-384; Campbell 96-98). Protestant murals appeared throughout Northern Ireland as a way to support the agenda of the radical political and paramilitary groups, portraying historical events such as the victory of William of Orange, affectionately known as "King Billy," at the Boyne and the battle of the Somme. Such murals were accompanied by images of Protestant militiamen, the flags of their organizations, and the ominous Red Hand of Ulster (Goalwin 200-205).

The superiority of the so-called Protestant Ulstermen was championed by the propagandists of Protestant radical loyalist organizations, who portrayed themselves as hardworking and disciplined. In contrast, Catholics were depicted as inferior in all respects and bowing to the rhetoric of Catholic priests. Local prominent Protestant "historians" spun up dubious narratives that their ancestors were in Northern Ireland before the ancestors of the Irish Catholics. Such narratives helped support the fear that if the Protestants joined with the rest of Ireland they would certainly be destroyed and "'ethnically cleansed'" and thus they should do everything in their power to resist the Irish Nationalist movement (Moore 10-12).

The Catholic organizations in Northern Ireland helped to spin their own narratives against their political enemies. The Irish Catholic equivalent of the Ulster-Irish regiment in the Somme

was the Easter Rising, which occurred in 1916 against the British. The Sinn Féin party in Ireland, which was not even directly involved in the rebellion itself, co-opted and used the event, and the subsequent boost in their popularity, as a way to mobilize voters and win elections in Ireland. The Easter Rising and the political momentum Sinn Féin garnered from it was later use to declare independence from Great Britain (Beiner 397-398). Radical organizations in Northern Ireland, such as the Provisional IRA, drew parallels to those who had fought in the Rising in order to legitimize their cause. Republican rhetoric used by various political activists and as shown in murals, portrayed those who had been killed in the Rising as martyrs of Irish Republicanism. The same imagery portrayed those killed in the Troubles for the Nationalist cause in Northern Ireland as martyrs (McBride 698-700; Goalwin 206-207). The Provisional IRA also used actions by the British and Irish Protestants to quell their movement. They generated propaganda along the lines that being Irish in and of itself made one a target, which helped them gain further support for their cause (McBride 701). So, as one can see, political entrepreneurs, both Protestant and Catholic, stirred up and increased ethnic violence, not just during the Troubles, but during earlier periods of Irish history as well.

Conclusion

When one examines the history of ethno-religious conflict in Ireland and uses the most prominent outbreaks of violence as individual case studies, one can see that political entrepreneurs have played a large role in increasing the severity of the violence. Due to tensions that resulted from the Protestant settlement in Ireland, mainly in Ulster during the 16th and 17th centuries, a rebellion broke out in the mid-17th century against the Protestant settlers. In turn, when an English Protestant army came to quell the rebellion, they implemented retaliatory massacres. The intense violence that occurred during these events came about as a result of clergymen and political writers mobilizing their co-religionists and fellow ethnic groups through hate narratives targeted at each other. In the decades after this, another outbreak of ethno-religious conflict occurred during the Glorious Revolution, culminating in a series of battles fought in Ireland. This Glorious Revolution was caused by Protestant political entrepreneurs, who propagated new hatred against Catholics in order to achieve a regime change. Catholic leaders in Ireland mobilized their own people to respond in kind, bringing about a new status quo of division and hatred. The Protestant victory in Ireland caused political entrepreneurs to create the anti-Catholic, anti-Irish Orangeist culture, to which the Catholics responded by creating their

own anti-Protestant, nationalist narratives. These two hate narratives played a significant role in fueling the Troubles, which Ulster Protestant and Irish Nationalist organizations utilized in new ways to mobilize their respective ethnic groups to violence. Political entrepreneurship is not the only factor in causing and increasing violence in ethnic conflict, of course. Other factors were present, such as the opportunity created by various periods of weakened and unstable rule in England and the colonial occupation of Ireland for much of its history. That being said, political entrepreneurs played a substantial role in creating weakened government rule, as well as propagating ethnic and religious hatreds. Future studies would do well to look more closely for political entrepreneurs in outbreaks of ethnic conflict, and also include more analysis of a nation's history to help identify historical patterns within ethnic hate narratives. Hopefully, taking these steps will help to prevent political entrepreneurs from creating and exploiting these narratives to advance their own personal agendas.

Bibliography

Beiner, Guy. "Between Trauma and Triumphalism: The Easter Rising, the Somme, and the Crux of Deep Memory in Modern Ireland." *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 46, no. 2, 2007, pp. 366–89. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.1086/510892. Accessed 9 Oct. 2024.

Bhattarai, Ishwari. "Ethnic Entrepreneurs and Political Mobilization: Exploring a Case of Tharu-Pahadi Conflict." *Nepal Journals Online*, Dhaulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology, 2015, www.nepjol.info/index.php/DSAJ/article/view/14028.

Campbell, Sarah. "'We Are the People': Protestant Identity and Collective Action in Northern Ireland, 1968-1985." *The Troubles in Northern Ireland and Theories of Social Movements*, edited by Lorenzo Bosi and Gianluca De Fazio, Amsterdam University Press, 2017, pp. 91–110. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv56fgn2.8. Accessed 10 Oct. 2024.

Covington, Sarah. "'The Odious Demon from Across the Sea': Oliver Cromwell, Memory and the Dislocations of Ireland." *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Erika Kuijpers et al., Brill, 2013, pp. 149–64. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctt1w8h0x4.14. Accessed 9 Oct. 2024.

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Organization*, vol. 54, no. 4, 2000, pp. 845–77. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2601384. Accessed 24 Oct. 2024.

Gaunt, Peter. *The English Civil Wars, 1642-1651*. Osprey Publishing, 2003.

Glaeser, Edward L. "The Political Economy of Hatred." *NBER*, NBER Working Paper Series, 1 Sept. 2002, www.nber.org/papers/w9171.

Goalwin, Gregory. "The Art of War: Instability, Insecurity, and Ideological Imagery in Northern Ireland's Political Murals, 1979–1998." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2013, pp. 189–215. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24713367. Accessed 10 Oct. 2024.

Hayton, D. W. “Two Revolutions: Jacobite and Williamite.” *Ruling Ireland, 1685-1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties*, vol. 1, Boydell & Brewer, 2004, pp. 8–34. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7722/j.ctt81wnb.7. Accessed 9 Oct. 2024.

Lieberman, Evan S., and Prerna Singh. “The Institutional Origins of Ethnic Violence.” *Comparative Politics*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2012, pp. 1–24. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41714169. Accessed 12 Nov. 2024.

McBride, Ian. “The Shadow of the Gunman: Irish Historians and the IRA.” *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 46, no. 3, 2011, pp. 686–710. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41305353. Accessed 15 Oct. 2024.

Moore, Ronnie, and Andrew Sanders. “Formations of Culture: Nationalism and Conspiracy Ideology in Ulster Loyalism.” *Anthropology Today*, vol. 18, no. 6, 2002, pp. 9–15. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3695179. Accessed 10 Oct. 2024.

Parker, Geoffrey. *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century*. Yale University Press, 2017.

Parker, Geoffrey, editor. *The Cambridge History of Warfare*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Pincus, Steve. *1688: The First Modern Revolution*. Yale University Press, 2009. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1npwp2. Accessed 4 Nov. 2024.

Prince, Simon. “Narrative and the Start of the Northern Irish Troubles: Ireland’s Revolutionary Tradition in Comparative Perspective.” *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 50, no. 4, 2011, pp. 941–64. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23265542. Accessed 10 Oct. 2024.

Siochrú, Micheál Ó. “Atrocity, Codes of Conduct and the Irish in the British Civil Wars 1641-1653.” *Past & Present*, no. 195, 2007, pp. 55–86. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25096669. Accessed 9 Oct. 2024.

Siyum, Berihu. “Underlying Causes of Conflict in Ethiopia: Historical, Political, and Institutional?” *Diamond Scientific Publishing*, Diamond Scientific Publishing, 15 Oct. 2021, www.dpublication.com/abstract-of-2nd-3sconf/n-856/.

Terchek, Ronald J. “Conflict and Cleavage in Northern Ireland.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 433, 1977, pp. 47–59. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1043227. Accessed 9 Oct. 2024.

Young, Andrew T. “Costly Discrimination and Ethnic Conflict: The Case of the Liberian Civil Wars.” *SSRN*, Texas Tech University Free Market Institute , 5 Apr. 2022, papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4038881.

Naval Victory as the Key to Victory in Europe

Hunter Willis

While the first American soldier didn't step foot on Omaha beach until 0640 on June 6th, 1944, the invasion of Normandy had started many hours before. Naval bombardment, bombing runs, and rocket fire hammered the coast and inland areas in preparation for this landing, attempting to soften up the hardened German defensive positions that dotted the Atlantic Wall and the European countryside. Unfortunately for the soldiers landing on the beach that morning, the efforts to soften the German defenses largely failed, and the men exiting their landing craft found themselves in Hell on Earth, just as Rommel intended. By 0830, the waves of soldiers landing on the beach had been halted as the German defenses stalled the attack on the beach completely. Lieutenant General Omar Bradley, who oversaw the landing at Omaha, asked for any additional help the Navy could provide to save the ill-fated landing. The destroyers that took part in the earlier bombardments on the beach were stationed offshore since the invasion had begun but were keeping watch on what was happening on the beach. Even without orders, some of them had returned to the beach to begin firing on German positions, but now the order was given for all available destroyers to return to the beach and open fire.[58]

The destroyer captains responded with gusto, speeding their ships towards Omaha beach in unmarked and possibly mine-filled waters with reckless abandon. Even these smaller ships needed more than 13 feet of water and Omaha's slope made beaching a real threat, which would strand the ship and make her an easy target for the many German guns along the shore. Over a dozen destroyers responded to the emergency on the beach, most taking up positions only 800-1000 yards from the beach in only 12-18 feet of water. At great personal risk, these destroyers turned the tide of the battle and saved the landing at Omaha over the next 90 minutes. Through manual spotting, rudimentary coordination with allied forces on the beach and some educated guessing, the destroyers hammered German hard points relentlessly, destroyed gun batteries and delivered covering fire for American forces on the beach. Although they were directed to not expend more than 50-60% of their ammo before returning to England to rearm, many of the destroyer captains disregarded this order to maintain as heavy a volume of fire as possible to

[58] Symonds, Craig L., "The Navy Saved Our Hides," in *Naval History 28,* no. 3 (2014). 'The Navy Saved Our Hides' | Naval History Magazine - June 2014 Volume 28, Number 3.

provide cover for the landing crafts. Some destroyers fired every high explosive shell they had and began to fire illumination shells instead.[59]

While we certainly cannot take away from the determination and bravery of the soldiers who landed on Omaha Beach and ultimately pushed through the German defenses and secured it, Lt. Gen. Bradley was considering diverting the rest of the waves to Utah Beach after the attack was stalled prior to the destroyer aid. The destroyer bombardment was so successful that one of the beachmasters on Omaha later claimed that they "destroyed practically the entire German defense line at Omaha Beach."[60] While this is an exaggeration, the destroyers made a massive impact on the outcome of the Omaha Beach landing and possibly the entire Normandy Invasion. This is just one small example of how allied naval power in the Atlantic influenced the war in Europe. Securing victory in Europe is often credited to multiple complicated factors such as the Allies' material output, Hitler's poor decision-making, and *Operation Barbarossa*, but the single most important factor was the ability of the Allies to secure the Atlantic with their navies. The naval advantage gained by the Allies protected vital shipping to Great Britain that allowed it to stay in the war long enough for the United States and the USSR to turn the tide, allowed the allies to bring to bear the material advantage of the United States which had to be brought across the ocean, and facilitated and heavily aided the Invasion of Normandy which opened a second front to relieve the Soviet Union.

World War II is a popular topic amongst historians and authors of popular reading because of its incredible amount of interesting content. Because of this, the literature around World War II and the number of authors and historians is extensive. To examine the Allied victory in Europe and the important factors that were at play, I will be referring largely to pieces written about events that I will cover in detail, such as Antony Beevor's book *Stalingrad* and David Fairbanks *Bitter Ocean.* Some, such as Richard Overy's *Why the Allies Won* and Phillips O'Brien's *How the War Was Won* analyze how a combination of a few factors ultimately led to victory in Europe. An important source for this discussion is a simple Q&A article posed by HistoryExtra asking eight military history historians what they believed the key factor was in Allied victory in Europe. This article gives us direct answers to what some historians believe to

[59] Symonds, "The Navy Saved Our Hides".
[60] Symonds, "The Navy Saved Our Hides".

be the number one reason that the Allies won in Europe, a question that is not often answered directly in the reading.

World War II was a conflict that truly engulfed the world, with battles fought from Hawaii to France and many places in between. Being such a large conflict across such a large area, World War II was divided into two wars: the Pacific theater and the Atlantic theater. In the Pacific, Japan began an imperialistic conquest of China, the Philippines, and other countries within its reach and dragged the United States officially into World War II with the attack on Pearl Harbor. Meanwhile, the European countries involved remained largely in the Atlantic theater. The United States was heavily involved in both theaters due to their commitment to their European allies, their proximity to Japan, and the attack on Pearl Harbor. The Pacific theater is often associated with naval power and for good reason, the chess match in the Pacific depended heavily, if not entirely, on the naval maneuvering and crucial battles fought entirely by the Navies of Japan and the United States such as the Battles of Midway and Leyte Gulf.[61] While perhaps less grand or obvious, victory in Europe could not have been achieved without the navies of the United States and Great Britain.

"Battle of the Atlantic"

Though World War II is often remembered for its technological advances, World War I was the first major foray into modern warfare as we know it. For the first time, old tactics and equipment, such as horse-mounted cavalry, came head-to-head with new innovations like machine guns, tanks, and airplanes. Likewise, naval warfare was advancing with the arrival of the dreadnought, otherwise known as the battleship. The dreadnoughts were hulking behemoths of steel and armor that carried the biggest naval guns in service. Naval ships were usually built around their guns and the turrets that would house them. The larger the gun and the more barrels per turret, the larger the turret must be. Due to the recoil of the large guns, the turrets were mounted down the centerline of the ship and the width of the ship was designed to balance out the recoil of the guns. Typically, battleships were armored to protect themselves against guns of the same caliber as theirs or smaller, and they are weighed in tons of displacement (how many tons of water the ship displaces in the water). In most cases, the bigger the guns were, the more armor the ship had, and the heavier it was. After World War I, the victorious countries sought to

[61] Wagner, Margaret E., Linda Barrett Osborne, Susan Reyburn, and Staff of the Library of Congress, *The Library of Congress World War II Companion.* Edited by David M. Kennedy. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2007.

limit the naval power of the losing countries so that they could not pose as much of a threat in the future.

The *Treaty of Versailles* ended World War I and defined terms, including future military restrictions, for Germany. Among other harsh military restrictions, the treaty limited Germany to 36 ships in total, no submarines or aircraft carriers, new ships had to be under 10,000 tons and it restricted the German Navy to only 15,000 men.[62] Additionally, other treaties such as the *Washington Naval Treaty* and *London Naval Treaty* sought to limit naval expansion by former allied countries to prevent a naval arms race among former allies.[63] These restrictions on the allied nations essentially forced designs to either focus on large guns (up to the caliber limit) or heavy armor, as the tonnage restrictions did not allow for both. The former allies of World War I sought to limit naval power globally because they believed naval power to be the key warmaking ability, but with these restrictions they had unknowingly set themselves at a disadvantage in the beginning of World War II.

Following Hitler's rise to power, Nazi Germany began to rebuild its naval forces. In 1936, the keels for KMS *Bismarck* and KMS *Tirpitz* were laid, and they were completed and entered service in 1941.[64] Weighing over 50,000 tons each, the *Bismarck* and *Tirpitz* were the largest battleships in the Atlantic and a clear violation of Germany's naval restrictions.[65] These ships were fast for their size and were intended to harass supply lines to Great Britain in the Atlantic, deemed the most important objective of the German surface fleet by Grand Admiral Raeder, along with KMS *Scharnhorst* and KMS *Gneisenau* as a force thought too dangerous to challenge.[66] Unfortunately for Raeder the *Tirpitz, Gneisenau,* and *Sharnhorst* were all unavailable when Raeder wished to begin raiding the Atlantic.[67] Thanks to his own personal

---

[62] Knox, Philander C. *Treaty of Versailles*. [Washington, Govt. print. off, 1919] Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/43036001/.

[63] U.S. Department Of State, and Charles I Bevans. *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America: Volume 2 Multilateral treaties, -1930*. United States, - 1930, 1918. *Limitation of Naval Armament (Five-Power Treaty or Washington Treaty),* 351-371. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/lltreaties-ustbv002/ and U.S. Department Of State, and Charles I Bevans. *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America: Volume 2 Multilateral treaties, -1930*. United States, - 1930, 1918. *Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament (London Naval Treaty),* 1055-1075. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/lltreaties-ustbv002/.

[64] KMS was the abbreviated prefix of German ships and stood for Kriegsmarine Schiffe, or "Navy ship". Symonds, Craig L. *World War II At Sea: A Global History*. Oxford University Press, 2018.

[65] Symonds, *World War II At Sea,* 131.

[66] Symonds, *World War II At Sea,* 131-133. Raeder, Erich. *Grand Admiral: The Personal Memoir of the Commander in Chief of the German Navy from 1935 until his final break with Hitler in 1943*. Translated by Henry W. Drexel. 1st ed. De Capo Press, 2001.

[67] Symonds, *World War II At Sea,* 131-134.

agenda regarding his fleet, the memory of the German fleets' squalor at the end of World War I, and the fear of the United States soon becoming involved Raeder decided to send *Bismarck* and KMS *Prinz Eugen* (a large heavy cruiser) into the Atlantic to begin raiding allied shipping without the three other battleships as the original plan called for in *Operation Rheinübung.*[68] Fleet Commander Gunther Lutjens expressed his disagreement with the shorthanded raid, but was overruled by Raeder as he believed time was of the essence.[69] Lutjens believed this was a suicide mission and said his farewells to his comrades in the Admiralty before departing. Lutjens knew that the *Bismarck* could take any British ship one on one, but that the British would overwhelm her with numbers.[70] On May 21st, 1941, the pair of German ships were spotted by a British Royal Air Force (RAF) reconnaissance flight heading out to sea and the Hunt for Bismarck was on.[71]

The HMS *Hood,* an older British battlecruiser that was the "pride of the Royal Navy," and the new battleship HMS *Prince of Wales* were dispatched to intercept the German squadron before they could break out into the Atlantic.[72] The *Hood* weighed 42,000 tons and carried eight 15-inch main battery guns in four twin turrets like the *Bismarck* but lacked heavy armor due to treaty limitations at the time of her build.[73] The *Prince of Wales* weighed only 35,000 tons, was armed with ten 14-inch guns, and was so new that workers had to go to sea with her to continue their work.[74] After days of pursuit, the two British battlewagons caught and engaged the German ships in the early morning hours of May 24, 1941.[75] The two large British ships had planned on attacking the *Bismarck* while the two cruisers that had been shadowing the Germans attacked the *Prinz Eugen,* but the cruisers never received the orders or joined the fight.[76] The *Bismarck* could fire out to twenty miles while the *Hood* could only manage twelve, but the *Hood's* captain prepared to close to a range of just eight miles.[77] The British ships fired first, but the shells fell

---

[68] Symonds, *World War II At Sea,* 131-134. Raeder, Erich. Third Reich, Seekriegsleitung. *Seekriegsleitung* Operation Order for *Rheinübung, 1941.* Rheinübung Operation Order (kbismarck.com).
[69] Read, Simon. *The Iron Sea: How the allies hunted and destroyed Hitler's warships*. New York, NY: Hachette Books, Hachette Book Group, 2020.
[70] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 19-21.
[71] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 22-23.
[72] HMS is an abbreviation of the prefix His (Her) Majesty's Ship. Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 24-26.
[73] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 25.
[74] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 25.
[75] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 33-34.
[76] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 34-35.
[77] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 34-35.

short and were incorrectly aimed at the *Prinz Eugen* not the *Bismarck*.[78] The Brits unleashed several more salvos, hitting the *Bismarck* three times, doing damage but not enough to sink or disable her.[79] Finally, the *Bismarck* returned fire on the *Hood* and struck her in a magazine, triggering an explosion that tore the ship into pieces, sinking the "Mighty *Hood*" in seconds.[80] The *Prince of Wales* was able to retreat but did not escape unharmed, suffering heavy damage from the *Bismarck* as well.[81]

With the *Bismarck* damaged and leaking oil, Lutjens decided to split from the *Prinz Eugen* and seek repairs at Saint-Nazaire in France, 1,700 miles away[82]. After two days of cat-and-mouse, the *Bismarck* was located and subsequently struck with an aerial torpedo from the HMS *Ark Royal.* The torpedo destroyed the steering control and jammed the rudder into a wide left turn, sealing the fate of the ship[83]. On May 27, HMS *Rodney, King George V*, *Dorsetshire*, and *Norfolk* engaged the *Bismarck* in what would be her final duel[84]. The British ships hammered the *Bismarck* for over an hour, hitting her with as many as 400 shells and six torpedoes before she finally went down, taking over 2,000 men with her[85].

The loss of the *Bismarck* marked a drastic change in naval strategy in Germany, pushing Hitler away from large and resource-heavy capital ships that involved significant risk in favor of cheaper submarines.[86] For the rest of the war, the Germans would act cautiously with their surviving capital ships, attempting to protect them from suffering the same fate as the *Bismarck.* Despite this, they would all be destroyed or disabled one by one without inflicting meaningful damage to allied shipping as they were intended. After more perceived failures by the "heavy ships," Hitler and Grand Admiral Raeder were no longer able to agree on naval strategy.[87] Because of this, Raeder resigned, and Hitler appointed Admiral Donitz as Grand Admiral, the commander of the sub-force, further cementing the submarine as the primary focus of the navy.[88]

---

[78] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 34-35.
[79] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 34-35.
[80] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 34-38. A ship's magazine is an area where ammunition is stored.
[81] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 38-44.
[82] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 45.
[83] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 74-76.
[84] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 77-84.
[85] Simon, *The Iron Sea,* 77-84.
[86] Ruge, Friedrich. "German Naval Strategy During World War II," *Naval War College Review 5,* no. 9 (May 1953): 1-30. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44640243.
[87] Reader, *Grand Admiral,*370-373.
[88] Reader, *Grand Admiral,*370-373.

Despite the tactical defeat of the German surface navy with the sinking of the *Bismarck* in 1941, Donitz's submarines continued to hammer Allied shipping to Britain. The submarines alone were able to inflict massive losses on the British supply lines. In May and June 1942, the Allies' shipping losses surpassed 600,000 tons.[89] However, the first six months of 1943 would prove to be the decisive months of the "Battle of the Atlantic." Allied convoys began to deploy multiple innovations to improve convoy defense against submarines: small escort carriers with aircraft fit for anti-submarine warfare (ASW), new hydroacoustic search and radar technology, hedgehog ASW armaments, and small escort destroyers outfitted specifically for ASW. These innovations allowed the Allied ships to inflict heavier casualties against German destroyers than they had previously, a disaster for the resource-starved German navy.[90] May 1943, now known as "Black May", saw the destruction of 41 German U-boats with minimal Allied losses.[91] Because of this, Donitz withdrew his remaining U-boats from the North Atlantic temporarily but they were never able to regain the advantage, effectively ending the "Battle of the Atlantic" and allowing the Allies operational freedom in the Atlantic.[92]

Hitler's Decisions and *Operation Barbarossa*

Hitler was the head of an authoritarian government and its military and he wielded absolute control over both. With this control he often intervened in military affairs rather than allowing his commanders to make the decisions themselves. Professor and author Mary Barbier and other historians often attribute Germany's loss to "Hitler's poor military decision making."[93] While it can be said that Hitler's decisions ultimately did fail, the circumstances of some of his decisions and their subsequent failures are not so black and white when you consider them in the context of when Hitler made them and subsequent developments in the war.

The Panzer Controversy of 1944 was a disagreement between German Field Marshal Rundstedt and General Baron Leo Geyr on one side and Field Marshal Erwin Rommel on the other.[94] Both Field Marshals had been tasked with shoring up the defense of the Atlantic coast in

[89] Symonds, *World War II At Sea,* 265-266.
[90] Symonds, *World War II At Sea,* 378-386.
[91] Symonds, *World War II At Sea,* 384-386.
[92] Symonds, *World War II At Sea,* 384-386.
[93] Shepherd, Ben, James Holland, Max Hastings, Andrew Roberts, Nick Hewitt, Mary Barbier, Peter Caddick-Adams, and Evan Mawdsley, "WW2: Why did the Allies win the Second World War?," History Extra, May 2020. WW2: Why Did The Allies Win The Second World War? | HistoryExtra.
[94] Ose, Dieter. "Rommel and Rundstedt: The 1944 Panzer Controversy," in *Military Affairs 50,* no. 1 (1986), 7-11. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1988527.

Europe in the event of an Allied invasion. Rommel was instrumental in the design and execution of the "Atlantic Wall," a series of defensive fortifications along the Atlantic coast consisting of thousands of bunkers, mines, heavy guns, interlocked infantry divisions and so on that would make any amphibious landings a horrific process at best. Rommel believed that the best opportunity to defeat such a landing was at the enemies most vulnerable, when they are landing.[95] In addition to his "Atlantic Wall," he wanted control over all the Panzer divisions and to have them positioned along the coast so that they are able to respond to any invasion along the coast within three hours and crush the enemy on the beach.[96]

Rundstedt and Geyr did not believe that the 2,600 kilometers of coastline could be held by static defenses due to the sheer amount of ground to defend since they did not have a specific invasion target.[97] In response, they desired to have the panzer divisions positioned to the rear, safe from naval gunfire and able to mount a counteroffensive in mass at the precise location it is needed if the static defenses and local and army reserves are unable to repel it.[98] Rundstedt left his plan to his tank commander General Geyr, who further developed this defensive plan and lobbied Hitler for its implementation. Geyr made the tank formations the lynchpin of the entire operation and believed that organizing the panzer divisions for a large counterattack would take 24-48 hours.[99]

The two sides could not decide so Hitler had to make the decision for them. Hitler chose to compromise between the two sides, giving Rommel control of three divisions, three to the newly created Army Group G, and four to Geyr's Panzer Group West as a strategic reserve.[100] Neither side was satisfied, and once the invasion began the realities of war made clear that Hitler's compromise was a failure. Between the poor plan, Hitler's reluctance to release them when he should, and the Allies strength, the divisions of tanks arrived one by one and were largely ineffective.[101] However, that does not necessarily mean that it was Hitler's decision that was to blame as both Rundstedt and Rommel's plan contained glaring flaws. Rommel's plan would have required control of 10-15 Panzer divisions that would have been placed along the

[95] Ose, "Panzer Controversy 1944", 9-10.
[96] Ose, "Panzer Controversy 1944", 7-10.
[97] Ose, "Panzer Controversy 1944", 8-10.
[98] Ose, "Panzer Controversy 1944", 8-10.
[99] Ose, "Panzer Controversy 1944", 8-10.
[100] Ose, "Panzer Controversy 1944", 10.
[101] Ose, "Panzer Controversy 1944", 10.

coastline in a position to counterattack quickly as the enemies landed.[102] Unfortunately, there were only ten Panzer divisions available, stretching Rommel's plan in terms of tanks available and thus reducing the number of tanks available for local counterattacks. Another dangerous aspect of Rommel's plan was that the positioning of the Panzer divisions placed them well within range of the naval guns that would be supporting the beach landings, a clear concern for both commanders as major tank losses could be devastating in the near and long term.[103] Rundstedt and Geyr's plan centered around a strategy of only exposing the tanks when they could attack a targeted area with overwhelming numbers to drive the Allies back into the sea.[104] While both commanders underestimated the strength of the Allied assault, Rommel did understand that the best time to repel an invasion was as the enemy was landing and that if they were successfully able to gain a foothold, removing them would be nearly impossible.[105] Rundstedt was willing to allow the landing if the static defenses did not repel it to protect the tanks, but by doing this it is likely even a large and coordinated tank assault would not have been able to dislodge the Allies.[106] This underscores two salient points: first, that there was not a good decision to be made as all three plans were flawed and likely would have yielded the same result, and second, the success of the Allied navies in securing the Atlantic for such an operation and the threat of their naval guns heavily influenced the decision making of all involved.

In hindsight, possibly the worst decision made during the war was Hitler's approval of *Operation Barbarossa,* the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The invasion turned the Soviet Union into an industrial giant through strict authoritarian control, simple yet effective mass production, and the sacrifice of millions of Russians from the frontlines to the factory floors. Sir Max Hastings credits the Soviet Union with the final defeat of Germany at great cost and largely discredits the aid of the Western allies.[107] The idea that the invasion of the Soviet Union was an egregious decision by Hitler and that it ultimately led to Germany's defeat is understandable, but it fails to capture the totality of the tactical situation when the decision was made and of the war outside of the Eastern front.

---

[102] Ose, "Panzer Controversy 1944", 8-10.
[103] Ose, "Panzer Controversy 1944", 8-10.
[104] Ose, "Panzer Controversy 1944", 8-10.
[105] Ose, "Panzer Controversy 1944", 8-10.
[106] Ose, "Panzer Controversy 1944", 8-10.
[107] Shepherd, Holland, Hastings, Roberts, Hewitt, Barbier, Caddick-Adams, and Mawdsley, "Why did the Allies win WW2?,", 1.

Germany launched *Operation Barbarossa* on June 22, 1941, when Germany was in total control of the war in Europe. By 1941, France had been all but eliminated from the war, Germany controlled most of Western Europe and was continuing to score victories in Africa, Crete, the Mediterranean, and the "Battle of the Atlantic" was still in flux.[108] In the Soviet Union, preparations for war after the signing of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact were underway but slow. The government was also dealing with new territories afforded to it from secret agreements with Germany and did not believe that hostilities between the Soviet Union and Germany would begin anytime soon.[109] Stalin ignored warnings from the west and his own intel agencies about the coming invasion until after it began, leaving the Soviet Union totally unprepared to fight against the massive offensive from Germany.[110] The German advance across Russia was preceded by an evacuation of industry from July to December that would eventually become the Soviets' savior.[111]

For the Germans, the early months of the invasion were incredibly successful, conquering the main industrial and agricultural centers of the Soviet Union and thus reduced the Soviet supplies or means of production of grain, meat, iron, copper and other important materials by 50% or more.[112] German armies had pushed deep into Soviet territory, laying siege to Leningrad and Moscow, but were unable to capture the important cities despite enormous casualties for the Soviet army and citizenry.[113] Given the situation thus far, the German invasion was a resounding success, though it had not yet achieved its primary goal. The Soviets were on the ropes. Hitler's attack on the Bolsheviks returned dividends of territory and resources thanks to Germany's Blitzkrieg tactics and the element of surprise. Not only was the decision to invade tactically sound but the invasion was a major success for the first few months.

In the end, the invasion of the Soviet Union would fail thanks to the unprecedented industrial revival in Russia and the need to maintain a large force in the west to defend the Atlantic coast and later fight the Allies on the western front.[114] While the Soviet Union's efforts

---

[108] Wagner, *World War II Companion,* 468-480.
[109] Riasanovsky, Nicholas V., Steinberg, Mark D. *A History of Russia.* 9th ed. New York, NY. Oxford University Press, 2019.
[110] Riasanovsky and Steinberg, *History of Russia,* 489-490.
[111] Overy, Richard. *Why the Allies Won*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1996.
[112] Overy, *Why the Allies Won,* 181-183.
[113] Riasanovsky and Steinberg, *History of Russia,* 490.
[114] Overy, *Why the Allies Won,* 182-190.

to survive were largely their own, the German invasion had pushed them to the breaking point before the Soviet victory in Stalingrad and subsequent turning point in February 1943.[115] Along with the Soviet industrial revival and immense human sacrifice that helped drive Russia to push back the Nazi invasion, Stalin had been demanding his Western allies open a second front by invading France since 1942.[116] Although the invasion did not happen until June 1944, the threat of such an invasion captured the attention of Hitler and his generals for years, siphoning manpower, resources, and equipment that could have been directed to the Eastern front. The fighting was so desperate and the authoritarian means used to make Russians work or fight so cruel, that over 50,000 Russians fought for Germany against the Soviet Union in battles like Stalingrad, many of which were volunteers.[117] Given the desperation of the fighting for both sides, these extra resources could have pushed the German invasion in, as the Soviets fought bitterly to hold their ground while the industrial machine spooled up.

The Invasion of Normandy

The Invasion of Normandy can be seen as a death knell for Nazi Germany, given how the rest of the war had unfolded. The threat of this invasion kept substantial resources glued to the Western side of Europe while the Eastern front had become a meatgrinder of humanity driven by desperation for both the German and Soviet armies. Once the invasion succeeded and the Western Allies able to establish a firm foothold in Europe, the war was essentially over, as Germany could not hope to hold back both the Soviet Union in the East and the United States and Great Britain in the West. While Germany had kept up manufacturing to high wartime levels despite attempts to crush it, the Soviet Union and the United States had far surpassed it.[118] Now that the United States was firmly on the continent, it could bring that advantage to bear in every way while the Russians did the same in the East. Though the men who stormed the beaches of Normandy cannot get enough credit for their bravery and determination in taking the beaches and making the landing a success, the navies of the Atlantic played a key role in every aspect of the Normandy Invasion that helped put an end to the war.

---

[115] Beevor, Antony. *Stalingrad The Fateful Siege: 1942-1943.* 1st ed. New York, NY: Viking Penguin, 1998.
[116] Stalin, Joseph. *Memo from Joseph Stalin about Opening of Second Front during World War II, August 13, 1942.* Memo from Joseph Stalin about Opening of Second Front during World War II, August 13, 1942 | State Historical Society of Iowa.
[117] Beevor, Antony. *Stalingrad The Fateful Siege: 1942-1943,* xiv.
[118] See Table 1 below.

As discussed earlier, the tactical victory in the "Battle of the Atlantic" gave the Allies immense operational freedom in the Atlantic theater, including the English Channel. While the German navy had not been annihilated, its ability to threaten the operational ability of the Allies was small if not irrelevant by 1944. This allowed the Allies to pull off an operation the size of *Operation Overlord,* which included over 7,000 ships of all types.[119] The navy transported the army, landed it, supported the landing with desperately needed gun fire such as at Omaha beach, and then kept it supplied with all the material necessary to wage war.[120] The Invasion of Normandy does not happen without the Allied navies and their control of the Atlantic theater.

Material Advantage

James Holland and Mark Harrison identify the Allied material advantage as the key factor in the defeat of Nazi Germany and a factor that made the outcome inevitable.[121] While the raw numbers of material output tend to back this claim, this does nothing to address the state of the war at different periods or if or how the Allies are able to bring this material advantage to bear against Germany. Because the United States and Great Britain are separated from Europe by large bodies of water, they must transport material across large bodies of water on ships to get it to where it needs to go. Hitler understood this and both he and his admirals made Allied shipping the primary objective of the "Battle of the Atlantic."[122] After "Black May" in 1943, the Allies essentially had total control of the Atlantic, allowing safer shipping and operational freedom.[123] The Normandy Invasion allowed the United States to make use of its material and production advantage in Europe, but it also depended heavily on their largest advantage in material: ships. The United States and Great Britain both maintained a larger navy than Germany, however, the United States placed a heavy emphasis on naval production and as a result built almost 100,000 vessels by 1945.[124] As seen in Table 1, Germany outproduced the U.S, U.K, and U.S.S.R combined from 1935-1939, but the allies far outpaced Germany by 1942 through the end of the

[119] Shepherd, Holland, Hastings, Roberts, Hewitt, Barbier, Caddick-Adams, and Mawdsley, "Why did the Allies win WW2?,", 1.
[120] Symonds, "The Navy Saved Our Hides." Shepherd, Holland, Hastings, Roberts, Hewitt, Barbier, Caddick-Adams, and Mawdsley, "Why did the Allies win WW2?,", 1.
[121] Shepherd, Holland, Hastings, Roberts, Hewitt, Barbier, Caddick-Adams, and Mawdsley, "Why did the Allies win WW2?,", 1. Harrison, Mark. "Resource Mobilization for World War II: The U.S.A., U.K., and Germany, 1938-1945," in *The Economic History Review 41,* no. 2 (1988), 171-192. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2596054.
[122] O'Brien, Phillips P., *How the War Was Won.* Cambridge University Press, 2015.
[123] Symonds, *World War II At Sea,* 384-386.
[124] O'Brien, *How the War Was Won,* 55-56.

war in terms of total war material represented in dollars.[125] But this advantage could only be realized by the United States and Great Britain by firmly establishing themselves on the European mainland through an invasion made possible by the navies of each country.

While the Soviet Union did not need a large navy to reach the Germans, the Soviets owed their material advantage to the extreme sacrifices of their citizens and the United States and Great Britain. As mentioned previously, the German invasion of Russia had pushed the Soviets to the brink. Thanks to the German conquest, the Soviet Union lost over half of its production of key materials such as meat, steel, coal and more.[126] Rebuilding these industries in other parts of the Soviet Union, while done in record time thanks to brutal authoritarian measures and simple manufacturing processes, took time. The fact that Great Britain managed to stay in the war, with supply help from the United States, and the involvement of the United States provided a real threat in western Europe that Germany was forced to acknowledge and prepare for. This caused Germany to devote a meaningful amount of manpower and resources to the West, rather than throwing everything at the Eastern front to break the defenses of Stalingrad, Moscow, and other holdouts which bought the Soviet Union enough time to rebuild and energize their industry and force back the Germans.

Table 1. *Volume of combat munitions production of the major belligerents, 1935-44 (annual expenditure in $ billion, U.S. 1944 munitions prices)*

	1935-9[a]	*1940*	*1941*	*1942*	*1943*	*1944*
U.S.A.	0.3	1.5	4.5	20	38	42
Canada	0	0	0.5	1	1.5	1.5
U.K.	0.5	3.5	6.5	9	11	11
U.S.S.R.	1.6	5	8.5	11.5	14	16
Germany	2.4	6	6	8.5	13.5	17
Japan	0.4	1	2	3	4.5	6

In Conclusion

World War II was a global conflict with numerous complications and major contributors to the ultimate end of the war in Europe. However, when examining often cited examples of the "key" factor in the defeat of Nazi Germany, they can either be lessened by examining the totality of the context surrounding it or in many cases it either depended directly on the actions of the

[125] Harrison, "Resource Mobilization for WW2", 171-172.
[126] Overy, *Why the Allies Won,* 181-183.

Allied navies or worked hand in hand with outcomes of naval action. For our purposes here, the loss of *Bismarck,* the change in German naval strategy, and "Black May" gave the allies control of the Atlantic which facilitated some relief for the Soviet Union by the threat of and subsequent invasion in the West, Hitler's decision making was not as flawed as often stated when considering historical context, and the Western Allies material advantage relied explicitly on the navy to become effective. When the historical contexts are examined closely, and the tactical positions of the war at large are considered it becomes increasingly clear that many of the large and often cited incidents in the war in Europe can be traced back in direct or indirect fashion to the British and United States navies in the Atlantic and the outcome of the "Battle of the Atlantic".

Bibliography

Beevor, Antony. *Stalingrad The Fateful Siege: 1942-1943.* 1st ed. New York, NY: Viking Penguin, 1998.

Harrison, Mark. "Resource Mobilization for World War II: The U.S.A., U.K., and Germany, 1938-1945," in *The Economic History Review 41,* no. 2 (1988), 171-192. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2596054.

Knox, Philander C. *Treaty of Versailles*. [Washington, Govt. print. off, 1919] Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/43036001/.

O'Brien, Phillips P., *How the War Was Won.* Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Ose, Dieter. "Rommel and Rundstedt: The 1944 Panzer Controversy," in *Military Affairs 50,* no. 1 (1986), 7-11. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1988527.

Overy, Richard. *Why the Allies Won*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1996.

Raeder, Erich. Third Reich, Seekriegsleitung. *Seekriegsleitung* Operation Order for *Rheinübung, 1941.* Rheinübung Operation Order (kbismarck.com).

Raeder, Erich. *Grand Admiral: The Personal Memoir of the Commander in Chief of the German Navy from 1935 until his final break with Hitler in 1943*. Translated by Henry W. Drexel. 1st ed. De Capo Press, 2001.

Read, Simon. *The Iron Sea: How the allies hunted and destroyed Hitler's warships*. New York, NY: Hachette Books, Hachette Book Group, 2020.

Riasanovsky, Nicholas V., Steinberg, Mark D. *A History of Russia.* 9th ed. New York, NY. Oxford University Press, 2019.

Ruge, Friedrich. "German Naval Strategy During World War II," *Naval War College Review 5,* no. 9 (May 1953): 1-30. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44640243.

Shepherd, Ben, James Holland, Max Hastings, Andrew Roberts, Nick Hewitt, Mary Barbier, Peter Caddick-Adams, and Evan Mawdsley, "WW2: Why did the Allies win the Second World War?," History Extra, May 2020. WW2: Why Did The Allies Win The Second World War? | HistoryExtra.

Stalin, Joseph. *Memo from Joseph Stalin about Opening of Second Front during World War II, August 13, 1942*. Memo from Joseph Stalin about Opening of Second Front during World War II, August 13, 1942 | State Historical Society of Iowa.

Symonds, Craig L., "The Navy Saved Our Hides," in *Naval History 28,* no. 3 (2014). 'The Navy Saved Our Hides' | Naval History Magazine - June 2014 Volume 28, Number 3.

Symonds, Craig L. *World War II At Sea: A Global History*. Oxford University Press, 2018.

U.S. Department Of State, and Charles I Bevans. *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America: Volume 2 Multilateral treaties, -1930*. United States, -1930, 1918. *Limitation of Naval Armament (Five-Power Treaty or Washington Treaty),* 351-371. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/lltreaties-ustbv002/.

U.S. Department Of State, and Charles I Bevans. *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America: Volume 2 Multilateral treaties, -1930*. United States, -1930, 1918. *Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament (London Naval Treaty),* 1055-1075. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/lltreaties-ustbv002/.

Wagner, Margaret E., Linda Barrett Osborne, Susan Reyburn, and Staff of the Library of Congress, *The Library of Congress World War II Companion.* Edited by David M. Kennedy. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2007.

White, David F., *Bitter Ocean: The Battle of the Atlantic, 1939-1945.* New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006.

History and Its Influence: Studies of Elizabeth I of England and Mary, Queen of Scots

Morgan Bryant

This paper will examine the development of historical research between Elizabeth Tudor the first of England and Mary Stuart (another first, at least for Scotland), Queen of Scots. More specifically, it will examine how the historical discipline has developed in discussing these two Queens, and why historians decided to write these particular histories in a specific way at a specific time. In order to do this, the paper will examine external historical impacts upon the historians themselves, ranging from one historian writing when the two Queens were still in recent living memory, to another writing after they had been deceased for over 400 years. Throughout the research of this paper, two major themes emerge in relation to how historians have written about Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots. The two themes are: gender and nationality. However, religion and its interconnectedness with nationality for these two Queens will also be discussed within the paper. These themes, as well as the way the histories of these women are written, have developed and changed over time due to the experiences and surroundings of the historians themselves, and it is the goal of this paper to examine what influences impacted these historians and how much this has impacted their histories.

Some major historians that the paper will discuss include the likes of early historians such as William Camden, a pioneer in historical research for Elizabeth I, and Hugh Campbell, with his focus on Mary, Queen of Scots' and his more romanticized version of the Queen's life and letters. The paper will then proceed to look at more contemporary historians such as Susan Doran and John Guy, both of whom began to reassess prior historians' harshness, or lack thereof, of the two Queens. Additionally, the paper will then examine how these contemporary historians situate both women in direct comparison to one another, rather than as isolated entities that are only to be compared for the purposes of historical "superiority." The formatting of the paper will go in the thematic order of gender and nationality, and will go chronologically within those themes, always in the order of first discussing Elizabeth I and then moving to Mary, Queen of Scots.

Finally, the paper will shift to what I myself have contributed to the historiography research of these two Queens, specifically from a postmodernist and feminist theory lens. Postmodernism focuses on the "other" marginalized by society, and what is typically omitted in not just history, but from consideration of mainstream society as well. Feminist theory, often

working in tandem with postmodernism, focuses particularly on the implications of socially constructed gender norms and how such norms impact how events, history, and figures are perceived as well as narrated by the culture. Both of these theoretical lenses will result in the ability to analyze why historians perhaps wrote their histories about these two women the way they did. The historical individuals being analyzed for the purposes of this paper are Elizabeth I of England and Mary, Queen of Scots. The following historical information is from Susan Doran's work *Elizabeth and Mary: Royal Cousins, Rival Queens*, since throughout the research for this paper, it provided the most comprehensive, up-to-date, and accurate information throughout all the sources consulted, oftentimes citing and analyzing some of the sources that will be discussed later on in this historiographic study.

Elizabeth I of England was born Elizabeth Tudor on September 7th, 1533, the the daughter of Henry VIII and his second wife, Anne Boleyn.[127] After the death of her brother Edward VI of England and sister, Mary Tudor, she was crowned Elizabeth I of England on January 15th, 1559 at the age of 25. Elizabeth I went on to become one of the most prestigious and seemingly successful English monarchs (as well as monarchs in general) in English and Western history, due to her praise of Protestantism, coming directly after her scandalous father and siblings, and living in a time of economic prosperity for the beginnings of the British Empire.[128] The most important factor in regard to Elizabeth and the historical discussion is that she was a Queen that never married nor had an heir, making her an outlier, especially on the Western European stage due to how prosperous her reign ultimately was despite the lack of an heir.

Her cousin in Scotland, however, had an abundance of marriages, totaling three husbands before her death by the hands of Elizabeth I at the Tower of London on February 8th, 1587.[129] Mary was born on December 8th, 1542 and crowned Queen just at the age nine months on September 9th 1543, being the child of James V of Scotland and, funnily enough, also by another second wife of a monarch, Mary of Guise.[130] Additionally, Mary was situated in a time of already strained Scottish-English relations due to her grandfather invading England.[131] Due to

[127] Susan Doran et al., *Elizabeth and Mary: Royal Cousins, Rival Queens*. (London: The British Library, 2021), 25.
[128] Doran et al., *Elizabeth and Mary: Royal Cousins*, 30-32.
[129] Doran et al., *Elizabeth and Mary: Royal Cousins*, 249.
[130] Doran et al., *Elizabeth and Mary: Royal Cousins*, 27-28.
[131] Doran et al., *Elizabeth and Mary: Royal Cousins*, 28.

this, Mary's reign and history is marked negatively most especially outside of Scotland. And, as the paper will discuss, Mary's reign is often discussed almost exclusively in relation to that of Elizabeth I, with Mary seemingly failing where Elizabeth 'succeeded.'

The paper will now also analyze two paintings created during the respective reigns of the Queens to provide a groundwork of how artists and ultimately the public perceived the Queens during their time. The first painting is Nicholas Hillard's *Queen Elizabeth I* circa 1575. The painting reflects the values of the time for Elizabeth I due to its depictions of the phoenix jewel, which embodies chastity, and her holding a rose, meant to represent her purity. It also has Elizabeth decorated in royal regalia to demonstrate that, as the title suggests, she is the sole Queen of England.[132] Through commissioning the painting during Elizabeth's reign, it signifies to artisans and the Queen herself that her purity and virginal status were what was most important. This same sort of sentiment will be shared by historians that will have a similar fixation on her purity and apparent will for purity, similar to Hillard's emphasis on this theme in this portrait. The second painting was created by an unknown artist sometime before or directly after Mary, Queen of Scots' death circa 1560-1592. The portrait is titled by the National Portrait Gallery simply as *Mary, Queen of Scots*. The portrait is far more simplistic, showing a sitting Mary in black and white attire with a fairly nice hat.[133] This represents that while yes, Elizabeth I lived longer and had more of an emphasis on having her portrait be painted, Mary seemingly had more infrequent and less complex portraits done of herself. This sort of sentiment will be shared in the historical discipline in the way that even some artisans of her time seemingly did not find her as captivating of a subject as Elizabeth, and how this same sort of sentiment will be shared by historians that also believe that Elizabeth was a more captivating historical figure as well.

The first and most apparent theme that appears consistently throughout the historical discipline in regard to these two women is gender. Gender at its most basic is a social and cultural construct determined by society on what someone of a particular sex should or should not do. It is not based on biology, it is based on what one's community and environment deem masculine or feminine, with these attributes shifting through historical eras. This is particularly important to the historical research of Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots because they are

---

[132] Nicholas Hillard, *Queen Elizabeth I*, ca. 1575, oil on canvas, 31 x 24 in. National Portrait Gallery, London, Accessed March 11th, 2024, www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw02074/Queen-Elizabeth-I.
[133] *Mary, Queen of Scots*, ca. 1560-1592, oil on canvas, 9.88 x 7.5 in. National Portrait Gallery, London, Accessed March 11th, 2024, https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw04272/Mary-Queen-of-Scots.

both well-known women that participated, and denounced in some ways, expectations of their female gender. Both were monarchs that are defined in popular culture by their gender, be it the emphasis on the Queen part of their titles, their virginity or husbands as political partners, or, as demonstrated in their portraits, their femininity and looks. This will be important in regards to analyzing how historians, particularly male historians, write about these two women.

When it comes to Elizabeth I and gender, early historians recognize the fact that she was a woman but seemingly ignore anything beyond that. The clearest and most profound example is in William Camden's *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England*, which was written in the 1600s.[134] Due to Camden writing when the Queen is alive and sometime after, his writing is impacted, especially his focus on gender and her lack of marriage. Marriage to historians such as Camden as well as later ones such as Victorian historian Edward Beesley was an expectation, especially for women. For Elizabeth, her lack of marriage was not seen as a defect but as a test of will. This is demonstrated by Camden when he discusses her refusal to marry her sister's (Mary Tudor) husband and that, "The Queen, when she had in her mind more advisedly considered of this Marriage of a woman with her deceased Sister's Husband… [was] prohibited by Sacred Authority…"[135] However, for the remainder of the book, he only makes passing mentions of Elizabeth with the implications of her gender into how she had to maneuver away from such marriages. Instead, he focuses more on all the grand things she had done since said maneuvering and denouncement of the marriage role. Beesley does a similar passing-by of Elizabeth's gendered expectational roles when mentioning that there were "... project[s] of marrying Elizabeth" but that they fundamentally went nowhere, then quickly turning in the next chapter to her change of religion and test of will as a queen.[136]

With this in mind, both quotes demonstrate that for early historians such as the post-Elizabethan Camden and the Victorian Beesley, gender and Elizabeth were fundamentally both separate and, more so, a speed bump in Elizabeth's beginnings. Gender seemingly was only an important implication because of the situation of marriage, but other than that, they seemingly glossed over its importance in regards to her. This could be due to a multitude of factors, but given the fact that Camden is writing during a point in which Elizabeth is alive and has proved

---

[134] William Camden, *The History of The Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England*, ed. Wallace T. MacCaffrey (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970), xi; 3.
[135] Camden, *Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, 12-13.
[136] Edward S. Beesley, *Queen Elizabeth*. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892), 2; 6.

that her gender does not necessarily equate to lesser power given the prosperity of the budding British Empire, it would make sense that gender and weakness would be a passing mention for Camden. Beesley himself is living in another era of a prosperous female English monarch balancing both her roles of motherhood as well as a country. Therefore, it is also unsurprising that he considers Elizabeth's gender as an afterthought of her early days in comparison to what she does as a monarch later in her reign. Additionally, while the term *Annales* was not coined until 1920s France, modern historians determine that the type of history that Camden and subsequently the 1892 Beesley is doing is just that. They, similar to how *Annales* is described, do a holistic view of Elizabeth throughout their works, one that again does incorporate gender, but leaves it more so as a small bump in the road in the beginning years of her reign that leads to subsequent progress. This is can again be represented by the actual numbering of Camden's as well as Beesley's chapters and contents within, such as, "The First Year of Her Reign, Anno Domini 1558" all the way to, "The One and Thirtieth Year of Her Reign, Anno Domini 1588." for Camden or Beesley's, "Early Life, 1533-1558," to, "Last Years and Death, 1601-1603."[137] Both of these demonstrate that to early historians of Elizabeth I, gender in hindsight was more so just an add-on in the earlier years of a grand telling of her life rather than something intrinsic to the way that Elizabeth ruled. To tell the full history of her life, gender becomes a passing mention rather than something essential for understanding the grandness of her historical narrative.

The focus, or more so ignorance, of Elizabeth I's gender began to shift in the historical narrative as more historians began to reconsider how fundamentally important it was to her actual reign. For example, Allison Heisch in the 1980s in her academic article, "Queen Elizabeth I and the Persistence of the Patriarchy," began to apply feminist theory to the historical research of Elizabeth. Feminist theory in this sense is the focus on asking what women are talked about and how, and which women get the privilege of being discussed at all in the historical narrative. Heisch, unlike Beesley and Camden, does not ignore Elizabeth's gender, and asks genuinely why so many historians before her put so much emphasis on Elizabeth as a person but not her gender. She even goes so far as to state that Elizabeth did not help others of her gender and that, "Queen Elizabeth I for all her power and phenomenal success as a monarch, had no particular impact… on the status of women in England" and that she was gifted "'honorary male' functions" to rule

[137] Camden, *Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, v-vi; Beesley, *Queen Elizabeth*, v-vi.

the country.[138] This demonstrates a shift away from ignoring Elizabeth's gender, with gender becoming an important part of her identity for contemporary historians like Heisch. According to Heisch, the reason why it was seemingly ignored by earlier historians was because Elizabeth was given these distorted honorary male titles in order to ignore it as well as she did. According to this version, she seemingly made the country ignore her gender so well in her later years that she ultimately made historians such as Camden and Beesley ignore it to a certain degree as well in their histories. This questioning of the gendered emphasis for Heisch is primarily due to the women's liberation movement happening in the 1970s and 80s, during which feminist theory was beginning to be integrated into the academic discipline. As this methodology of thinking and history began to progress, it influenced those like Heisch to fundamentally question why Elizabeth was so obsessed over, despite her gender, and how she manipulated the country she ruled as well as the historians who praise her in spite of her gender. This evolution comes to a head in the year 2000 when Paul Hammer in his academic article, "Sex and the Virgin Queen: Aristocratic Concupiscence and the Court of Elizabeth I," directly calls out how the historical profession has begun to be "devoted to analyzing the significance of Elizabeth's gender."[139] Both of these contemporary historians demonstrate how for Elizabeth I, as the historical profession developed and encompassed more methodologies of thinking more specifically feminist theory, the importance and significance of her gender began to be more apparent. Furthermore, gender was no longer a bump in the reign of Elizabeth I, but now an intrinsically important factor in understanding her power and success.

When it comes to Mary, Queen of Scots and her gender, there is a fundamental shift in the way that earlier historians describe her gender. First starting with Hugh Campbell's 1824 work *The Love Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, to James Earl of Bothwell*, we get a depiction of Mary as a woman that could not help that she failed as a monarch because she loved Bothwell so much due to her womanly desires.[140] This is already far different from the way historians analyzed Elizabeth and her gender, since Campbell is directly stating it is Mary's gender that played an important role in her reign. This same sort of sentiment is shared even in the foreword

---

[138] Allison Heisch, "Queen Elizabeth I and the Persistence of Patriarchy," *Feminist Review*, no. 4 (1980): 45, doi.org/10.2307/1394769.
[139] Paul E. J. Hammer, "Sex and the Virgin Queen: Aristocratic Concupiscence and the Court of Elizabeth I." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 1 (2000): 78, doi.org/10.2307/2671290.
[140] Hugh Campbell, *The Love Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, to James Earl of Bothwell*. (London: Longman and Co., 1824), 2-3.

of Alexander Walker's 1889 work *Mary, Queen of Scots: A Narrative Defence*. Walker states Mary was, "A pure woman, a faithful wife, a sovereign enlightened beyond the Tudors of her age."[141] Both of these are a far cry from the way historians depict Elizabeth I, because unlike her, Mary's gender is front and center. Through analyzing how these two historians depict Mary, one can glean that to them Mary was a fundamental failure because of her gender even though she fell into the expectations placed upon her. Unlike Elizabeth, she fulfilled her marriage obligations and got married to the likes of the King of France, and is not connected to the "treacherous" Tudor family like Walker points out.[142] Yet, this fulfillment cannot save her from still ultimately being a failure in the eyes of historians because of her gender. These historians doing such comparative history between the seemingly non-gendered Elizabeth and gendered Mary can be explained by their time period, given the fact that both of them know of successful female monarchs, particularly that of Elizabeth. Additionally, in the case of Walker, he is living in a time of another female monarch such as Queen Victoria who demonstrated being a queen *and* a mother is something that can be possible, which he admits Mary could have done if given the opportunity.[143] This all ultimately demonstrates the already stark differences between the way historians of the past write about Mary's gender in comparison to that of Elizabeth's, with Mary fundamentally defined by her gender while Elizabeth's was seemingly ignored.

When getting to more contemporary historians, Mary once more has a complete change similar to that of Elizabeth's in terms of her gender's role in the historical narrative. Mary's treatment by contemporary historians is a softening in critiquing her based on her gender. These historians reexamine why she may have failed for other reasons. This begins in 1988 with Jenny Wormald's aptly named book, *Mary, Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure*. This work is Wormald's attempt at a feminist theory analysis of if it was actually Mary's gender that made her such a fundamental failure, or if it was other factors in addition to or separate from gender. This is demonstrated in the fact that Wormald states the Mary she has come to understand through her research failed as monarch because she was one that had, "little wit and no judgement … whose life was marked by irresponsibility and failure on a scale unparalleled in her own day," not necessarily because of her gender.[144] This once more is due to the fact that Wormald, as a female

[141] Alexander Walker, *Mary Queen of Scots: A Narrative and Defence*. (Aberdeen: University Press, 1889), vi.
[142] Walker, *A Narrative and Defence*, 2.
[143] Walker, *A Narrative and Defence*, 155.
[144] Jenny Wormald, *Mary, Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure*. (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2018), xx.

historian in a discipline that was primarily male, is writing from a perspective that can fundamentally understand Mary. A perspective, in the postmodernist world, that would look at Mary not as a failure because of her gender, but because of the additional factors such as her not being as intelligent as other people. This same sort of less gender based harshness but still analytical perspective is also shared in John Guy's *"My Heart is My Own": The Life of Mary, Queen of Scots* with an intro similar to the likes of Robert Darnton and his spinning of a great yarn in which he emphasizes letting Mary speak her own story with her own words.[145] This methodology, of letting Mary speak for herself especially in regard to defending herself and the apparent "pitfalls" of her gender, comes from a postmodernist lens. This lens focuses on the fact that the others of society (in this case the women of society, even of high rank) should have their stories told and be told in a way that is not demeaning but fundamentally truthful. Ultimately, both Wormald, Guy, and other historians like them, due to living in a postmodern as well as feminist theory driven society, influences the way they write about Mary differently than prior historians. This difference is that they let Mary speak her own voice, something unheard of, and reconsider her failures apart from her gender.

The next historical theme of significance between the two queens is that of nationality. Nationality is the emphasis on the cultural constructs and similarities that groups people into nations. A nation was not necessarily and still is not confined to the likes of borders until relatively recently when nations began to advocate for their nations and borders to line up. Furthermore, while nations can seemingly appear similar, especially between English and Scottish, they are still fundamentally different. Elizabeth I herself was nationally English, while Mary, Queen of Scots was nationally Scottish, with slight hints of French as well. With this in mind, the paper will compare how historians focus on each queen's nationality in the way they conduct their historical telling of each, and how personal influences and nationalities affect the way they tell it.

Starting with how early historians managed nationality in regards to Elizabeth I, the paper will return back to William Camden's and Edward Beesley's works. Camden handles Elizabeth's nationality with care, and actually contends that due to her Englishness and feelings of security she is doing more well off in comparison to her cousin Mary, Queen of Scots, who by this point

[145] John Guy, *"My Heart is My Own": The Life of Mary, Queen of Scots*. (London: Fourth Estate, 2004), 11.

had lost her husband who was the King of France.[146] This already establishes a comparison between the dueling nationality-based queens even in the minds of the English Camden. Beesley also does this method of comparison when referring to the Englishness "large-minded comprehension" Elizabeth had in comparison to her nationally Scottish and French cousin Mary, who was trying to claim the throne of England.[147] This comparison for both historians, the 17th century Camden and the Victorian Beesley, is due to the sense of English superiority by English historians. Through comparing how English figureheads that represent the English nationality such as Elizabeth are intrinsically superior to the likes of the Scottish and partially French Mary, they demonstrate that historically the English superiority is something that, to them, just makes sense. This results in them being able to use the historical record to continue to prove their own superiority abroad, especially for the likes of Beesley who is living in the time where the British Empire is in full swing and experiencing an even larger inflated nationalistic ego started by Camden's late Elizabeth I. Ultimately, this all results in older historians using comparative history in order to demonstrate and perpetuate their nation's superiority even to another region that is quite similar to them.

This discussion of nationalism in regards to Elizabeth I begins to fundamentally change with more contemporary historians. This is first demonstrated for the purposes of this paper in Anne McLaren's 2002 academic article, "Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism." This is where contemporary historians begin to call out the direct hand-in-handness of prior English historians spitting on Scottish histories like Mary, Queen of Scots due to an intrinsic part of Scottish nationality being the Catholic religion. McLaren states that individuals of Elizabeth's time, as well as later historians, used both her apparent superior gendered ranking and her Protestant English nationality to make her appear as the superior candidate for historical research and for individuals to follow during the actual historical time period of these two queens.[148] Elizabeth's Englishness as well as her Protestantism makes her the better historical candidate for research and the obvious choice of ruler during this time. This same sort of sentiment is also established

[146] Camden, *Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, 57.
[147] Beesley, *Queen Elizabeth*, 29.
[148] Anne McLaren, "Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism." *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 740, doi.org/10.1086/532494.

once more in Doran's work *Elizabeth and Mary: Royal Cousins, Rival Queens* in which she also depicts the comparative nature of Scottish nationalism being tied to Catholicism and the persecution of Protestants, while Elizabeth seemingly upheld Protestant English nationalism through persecuting Catholicism.[149] Analyzing both McLaren and Doran's comparative history on a similar topic, demonstrates the reassessment of nationality and the way they fundamentally clash. Both historians, unlike Camden and Beesley, are living in an era keenly aware of the dangers in combining nationalism with powerful political figures, as seen in World War I and II and their aftermath. So, it is unsurprising that both historians depict the intrinsic dangers of praising Elizabeth I on nationalistic grounds, as Camden and Beesley have done. To use her Protestant English nationalism to boost their own sense of self and their countries would later have disastrous effects that future generations would have to live through.

Going back to early historians and their thoughts on nationalism, the paper will now turn to the somewhat nationally French but most certainly Scottish Mary, Queen of Scots. As demonstrated through Camden and Beesley, they often cite components of her nationalism, particularly her religion, as a drawback. However, there were some historians even in the times of the likes of Beesley that came to the defense of Mary, such as Henry Glassford Bell in his 1831 work *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*. Bell himself was a Scottish historian who explicitly states that he is coming in with impartiality on the subject of Mary, Queen of Scots, but also wishes to provide a history that is on the nationalistic side of the late Queen.[150] This already demonstrates some of the intrinsic biases that come with the historical discipline, since while Bell may say he is attempting to be impartial, his influences cause him to not necessarily be as impartial as he may want to be. Walker, a fellow Scotsman, in his work *Mary, Queen of Scots: A Narrative and Defence* also makes an attempt at praising Mary's nationalistic diversity by stating that, "English, French, and Scottish blood was shed" for her in the few months she was already born.[151] What is significant about both these 19th century Scottish historians seemingly defending their nationally Scottish queen is that it demonstrates how where people are born impacts how histories are written. While both historians inevitably have to turn to Elizabeth I and her status as an English figurehead, the fact that they both attempt to reclaim their nationalistic

[149] Doran et al., *Elizabeth and Mary: Royal Cousins*, 149-150.
[150] Henry Glassford Bell, *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*. (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1831), xii; xvi.
[151] Walker, *A Narrative and Defence*, 2.

figurehead in the representation of Mary is telling. This is because once more, in the 19th century, nationalism and its immense significance was growing, especially as the development of nationalistic fueled colonization was in full swing. Through taking this into consideration, we see the importance for both Scotsmen of putting their nationalistic past in a better light, similar to how English historians did the same to their prized Queen Elizabeth I.

Contemporary historians seem to follow the same path as Bell and Walker in regard to Mary, Queen of Scots, with her Catholic and Scottish nationalism being in need of historical reassessment. The contemporaries, however, go further with hindsight knowing how damaging nationalism can fundamentally be. Going back to McLaren, she describes how even in today's terms, the prior way that Mary's story is told by English historians perpetuates the "English anti-Catholicism" sentiment.[152] To McLaren, nationality and religion are intrinsically tied in by certain historians as a damaging weapon to historical figures such as Mary. This same sort of reassessment of Mary's story is shared by the proudly Catholic and Scottish Wormald whose focus is particularly on how the implications of Mary being both Scottish and dealing with French nationality were contributing factors to her failure.[153] Such reassessments by both historians can be attributed to the fact that they are living in the aftermath of the world wars as the glaring horrific example of when nationalism goes too far. Both historians reassess the implications of nationalism on a person and a person's history. For McLaren, said nationalism is fueled by a hatred from other nations to be transfixed onto Mary's story. This same sort of hatred is much similar to the likes of how nationality-based hatred was used to perpetuate the reasonings for the world wars. Wormald, on the other hand, uses her reassessment to understand why Mary was a failure on various fronts, and how nationalism may play a role in said failure. This is because she herself has lived through the fact that when nationalism is taken too far, it results in a failure of peace that results in nationalism fueled world wars. Ultimately, both historians demonstrate a reassessment of nationalism in regard to Mary due to the historical context and influences of how nationalism has negatively impacted their own contemporary postwar world.

Before situating where I personally fit in, I want to wrap up all the fundamental conclusions of this historiographic analysis. Throughout the paper, the themes of gender and

[152] Heisch, "Queen Elizabeth I and the Persistence of Patriarchy," 741.
[153] Wormald, *A Study in Failure*, 80-81.

nationality, with the interconnected role of religion, were discussed in relation to the historical studies of Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots. The paper discussed several major historians, ranging from the 17th century William Camden to 21st century Susan Doran, among others. Additionally, the paper examined the evolution of the historical discipline and how the themes of gender and nationality evolved over time in regard to these queens. When it came to Elizabeth I and gender, older historians seemed to be partially aware of her gender but saw it more so as a temporary speed bump rather than something of immense significance for the remainder of her reign. However, more contemporary historians began to reassess if Elizabeth's gender was intrinsic to her success as a queen, and why historians prior to them would ignore her gender so heavily and if this was perhaps a manipulation by Elizabeth herself. The paper then shifted to examining how historians analyzed Mary, Queen of Scots in relation to gender, and how older historians took an opposite approach in comparison to Elizabeth, focusing more specifically on Mary's gender and how this made her a failure of a monarch. Contemporary historians, however, once more reassess the implications of Mary's gender and began to determine if it was really her gender that made her so terrible as earlier historians claim, or if she was just a dim-wit like the historian Wormald presumes she is.[154] The paper then shifted to nationalism with some specific emphasis on the interconnectedness of Protestant English nationalism for Elizabeth I in comparison to Catholic Scottish nationalism for Mary, Queen of Scots. Earlier historians for both queens seemed to take both the religious and nationality aspect of their queens and wear it as a badge of honor, be it the English Protestant historians praising Elizabeth to represent the inherent superiority of Englishness (especially during the peak of nationalism-fueled empire building), or the Scottish Catholic historians defending their queen for the same exact reason. Contemporary historians living in the post-nationalism fueled world war hellscape that is the modern day, however, are keener to reassess the fundamental importance and dangers of nationalism when analyzing their historical figures. Ultimately, this all demonstrated how the surroundings of each historian impact the way that they choose to write the histories of these two women, and why historians tell certain stories at certain times, be it the female, Catholic, Scottish historian that finally has a voice in modern times, or the male, Protestant, English historian in the Victorian era trying to boast of their country's superiority.

[154] Wormald, *A Study in Failure*, xx.

So, finally, where do I come in? Throughout the entirety of this paper, I have been reflecting on the ways in which I have conducted the research of this historiographic analysis and have determined several of the methods that I have used to do so. First and foremost, comparative history like that of old Camden to the newer Doran has been the biggest methodology that has fundamentally aided in my research and understanding of these two queens. By assessing the differences and comparing them, I was able to glean some of the major themes such as gender and nationality, with an emphasis in religion throughout my research. In addition, it made me look within myself on why I found it compelling to research one queen, Elizabeth I, that was and still is so praised, but is now sharply criticized, and another, Mary, Queen of Scots, that was so hated and belittled and is now getting reassessed. This is because I, myself, come in with methodologies and theories such as feminist theory and postmodernism. I, in regards to postmodernism, like to focus on the other and more marginalized aspects of society, such as Michel Foucault discusses, especially in regard to looking at what society seemingly ignores or others, just as earlier historians ignore or other Elizabeth I's gender.[155] This is because for a long time, as I have come to find out throughout the research, it felt like even women in the highest positions of power, like these two queens, are still a fundamental other in comparison to other great men in history. I believe I picked up on this because I too feel like even in today's world, I am still an other, even in my privileged position of being a White American woman. However, that does not mean I do not deserve to have my story told and assessed and reassessed like these privileged Queens do too. Additionally, this leans into the likes of feminist theory that asks which women get to be a part of the historical narrative. I myself like to think I can be a part of the historical narrative, like a Judith Bennett or one of the other female historians reassessing the implications of the female gender in our histories, especially in regards to handling the implications of womanhood and gender when looking back retrospectively as a historian.[156] I can assess, as I have done in this paper, which woman and what about women are fundamentally criticized through this feminist theory lens. I have done so by analyzing how Elizabeth and Mary both are shunned but also praised for certain aspects of their gender, depending on the historian one analyzes. Ultimately, throughout this paper I have determined that I fit in at an interesting

[155] Michel Foucault, "Panopticism" in *Discipline & Punish*. (New York: Pantheon, 1977), 223.
[156] Judith Bennett, "Women's History: a study in continuity and change," *Women's History Review*, no. 2 (1993), 175.

shifting point in the historical discussion of these two women, one that can look back retrospectively, comparatively, feministly, and all the other -ly's a person may desire and still find new and developing theories and opinions about these two women. And, it is my hope throughout the entirety of this paper, that I was able to establish the ways not just the historians' own times have influenced the ways in which they write the histories of these two women, but how my own time has influenced how I also have assessed these historians as well.

Bibliography

Beesley, Edward S. *Queen Elizabeth*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1892.

Bell, Henry Glassford. *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*. New York: J. & J. Harper, 1831.

Bennett, Judith. "Women's History: a study in continuity and change." *Women's History Review* 2 (1993): 173-184.

Camden, William. *The History of The Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England*. Edited by Wallace T. MacCaffrey. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Campbell, Hugh. *The Love Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, to James Earl of Bothwell*. London: Longman and Co., 1824.

Doran, Susan, Andrea Clarke, Alan Bryson, and Karen Limper-Herz. *Elizabeth and Mary: Royal Cousins, Rival Queens*. London: The British Library, 2021.

Foucault, Michel. "Panopticism" in *Discipline & Punish*. Edited and translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Pantheon, 1977.

Guy, John. *"My Heart is My Own": The Life of Mary, Queen of Scots*. London: Fourth Estate, 2004.

Hammer E. J. Paul. "Sex and the Virgin Queen: Aristocratic Concupiscence and the Court of Elizabeth I." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 1 (2000): 77-97. doi.org/10.2307/2671290.

Heisch, Allison. "Queen Elizabeth I and the Persistence of Patriarchy." *Feminist Review*, no. 4 (1980): 45-56. doi.org/10.2307/1394769.

Hillard, Nicholas. *Queen Elizabeth I*, ca. 1575, oil on canvas, 31 x 24 in. National Portrait Gallery, London. Accessed March 11th, 2024, www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw02074/Queen-Elizabeth-I.

Mary, Queen of Scots, ca. 1560-1592, oil on canvas, 9.88 x 7.5 in. National Portrait Gallery, London. Accessed March 11th, 2024. https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw04272/Mary-Queen-of-Scots.

McLaren, Anne. "Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism." *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 739-67. doi.org/10.1086/532494.

Walker, Alexander. *Mary, Queen of Scots: A Narrative and Defence*. Aberdeen: University Press, 1889.

Wormald, Jenny. *Mary, Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2018.

Now Why Should That Man Have Fainted?
Feminine Hysteria and Rage in Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper" and Flynn's *Gone Girl*

Baylee Hart

In 1892, Charlotte Perkins Gilman published "The Yellow Wallpaper." Haunted by images that creep across the walls, the narrator Jane's isolation nests deep within her psyche. With no escape in sight, confined by her doctor husband to her bedroom in the throes of postpartum depression, she seeps deeper and deeper into a hysterical madness, losing herself to an ocean of anger and despair. 132 years later, readers still see the narrator in themselves, feeling her repressed female rage in many aspects of life in the 21st century.

The literary form of Gilman's work is what has allowed readers today to attach themselves so deeply to the story. If this form of female, first-person narration is so powerful, I found myself wondering why more authors have not chosen immersive forms, like Gilman's, in their writing to appeal to female audiences. That is until I read the novel *Gone Girl* by Gillian Flynn. The similarities between Gilman's short story and Flynn's novel are surprising: diary entries, accusations of female madness and hysteria from one dimensional husband patriarchs, and, of course, female rage. In reading these works together, I realized that both authors use the form of female narration to work towards the same goal: making readers see that the root of female rage and so-called hysteria is the patriarchal conditions of marriage, both in the 19th century and today. In this project, I contend that Gilman and Flynn use the form of first-person female narration, specifically unreliable narration, to create uncomfortable empathy with hysterical, or mad, female narrators. Drawing from literary critic Caroline Levine's theory of strategic formalism, I connect 19th century female hysteria with modern female rage as responses to women's struggle to write their own narratives within the discourse of and under the oppression of patriarchy.

First, to show the connections between these texts, I will provide an overview of their formal similarities. Charlotte Perkins Gilman published "The Yellow Wallpaper" at the peak of female hysteria as a common 19th century diagnosis for women. This story is narrated through journal entries from a woman who is battling the traumatic experience of not only postpartum depression, but also the rest-cure. The narrator, Jane, is taken to a colonial mansion where she is locked away for three months resulting in her becoming hysterical and mad. It is not just the isolation driving Jane mad, but also the patriarchal marital relations between her and her husband

John, who is also her doctor. The first-person narration allows readers to see life through Jane's eyes, causing them to sympathize with Jane and understand that her female rage is brought about by her failure to meet the overwhelming standards of a 19th century wife in a patriarchal society: a contented homemaker, fulfilled mother, and a docile helpmeet.

132 years later, advancements toward mental health awareness and literacy have been made, considering we do not diagnose women with hysteria anymore. Although society has simply come up with new medical terms to diagnose the same conditions, we have not addressed the underlying structural causes of these conditions, which are not biological but rather rooted in patriarchal oppression of women. Over a century after the publication of "The Yellow Wallpaper," Gillian Flynn's *Gone Girl* (2012) depicts a woman's mind unraveling due to the failures of these patriarchal institutions to recognize the agency and legitimate frustration of women. *Gone Girl* is a dual-perspective novel about a wife, Amy Dunne, who is named a sociopath after framing her husband, Nick, for her murder. Her husband Nick Dunne, is given a first-person narration throughout the novel that consistently misunderstands Amy, trying to persuade the reader that he has done nothing wrong and that his wife is the crazy one. In the first half of the novel, Amy writes in a diary format about her life trying to be the perfect wife to a lackluster husband, a performance we later realize has been constructed by "Diary Amy." "Diary Amy" is passive, forgiving, and understanding of Nick's inattentiveness in their marriage. However, midway through, the novel switches to female first-person narration, revealing "Real Amy" in all her rage at her husband's failures to live up to the bargain demanded within marriage. From here on, Amy speaks as her true, undeniable, female-enraged self.

Many scholars analyze "The Yellow Wallpaper" as a canonical, well-established feminist work by a woman writer who writes back to 19th century patriarchy. In contrast, *Gone Girl* has not been widely recognized as a feminist text because many scholars see Amy as an overdone sociopath who does not conform to feminist ideals, especially in the film adaptation of the novel. Against these readings, I contend that *Gone Girl* can be read as a feminist novel since Flynn represents the complicated reality that occurs when women fight back against the way they continue to be positioned as the hysterical victim, even in the 21st century. Ultimately, reading *Gone Girl* as a successor to "The Yellow Wallpaper" reveals that women's lives have not changed dramatically in 100 years due to the fact that the underlying cause of mental health conditions afflicting women have not been addressed: their root is patriarchy, not women's

biology or hormones. Whereas Jane is trapped in a society where women have no legal rights of divorce, mental health treatments, or bodily autonomy, Amy is a 21st century, supposedly liberated woman. However, Amy is trapped, too, and just as angry about it as Jane. Amy's rage is created by the marital expectations of modern patriarchy, which demand that the husband and wife identify as the perfect couple, a deal which she upholds but at which her husband miserably fails. Through "Diary Amy," Flynn reveals the pressure on women to perform acts of passiveness, forgiveness, and understanding to their husbands, even though they deliberately make choices that jeopardize their marriages and do not put in the same amount of effort. Rather than seeing Amy as a sociopath, and thus falling for patriarchal discourse that diagnoses her as an updated version of the hysterical woman, Flynn's careful juxtaposition of "Diary Amy" and "Real Amy" allows readers to sympathize with "Real Amy" through narrative form. Ultimately, the comparison between these texts demonstrates how when women rebel against the male dominant norms or express rage because of the unfairness of patriarchy, they are labeled "hysterical" and "mad," both in the early 20th century and today. Even if the female narrator cannot escape marriage and patriarchal discourse, Gilman and Flynn put their hope on the reader being able to see the truth hidden behind the labels of female rage, hysteria, and madness; a truth which emerges through the form of immersive women's narration that produces an uncomfortable empathy with "mad" women.

To begin, Gilman herself has a long history of being diagnosed with hysteria and madness, which influenced her writing of "The Yellow Wallpaper." Mary Hill, a former history professor at Bucknell University, analyzed Gilman's life and the effect it had on her writing in "Charlotte Perkins Gilman: A Feminist's Struggle with Womanhood." Discussing Gilman's biography and the effect it had on her short story, Hill states "Many days Charlotte complained of weakness and exhaustion from domestic obligations yet found strength when she worked on articles or verse" (Hill 513). It is no question that "The Yellow Wallpaper" is based on some of Gilman's own personal experience as a woman in a rigid patriarchal society. Here, Hill states that Gilman often felt exhausted from the domestic standards that women of the time were expected to complete. Yet, when she was free to write verse or articles, her mind blossomed and all struggles seemed to fade away. In "The Yellow Wallpaper" the narrator states multiple times that although her husband dislikes her desire to write, this is her best coping mechanism. When considering Gilman's own struggle with mental health, another literary critic, Ann Oakley,

points our attention to how Gilman's background had an effect on her writing. In "Beyond The Yellow Wallpaper" she states, "women's health-giving role in reproduction and in ensuring family welfare holds the causes of women's ill-health within it, and calls for a world in which women who ask for change are taken seriously" (Oakley 29). While Hill gives us background on Gilman's history with physical exhaustion, Oakley argues that women's biological makeup creates damage to women's mental health, which needs to be accounted for and changed. Oakley makes a good point about recognition of female illnesses, but I contend that it is rather the discourse women are trapped in that caused physical and mental illnesses, such as Gilman's physical exhaustion from the demands she had to live up to as a woman in the 19th century. Therefore, Gilman's first-hand experience of patriarchal medical discourse and the power of her female writing to create uncomfortable empathy allows readers to feel confident in the argument she is making against the restraints for women in a patriarchal society in the 19th century.

The struggles Gilman personally experienced in the 19th century with diagnoses of madness and hysteria are not unique to her time period since female hysteria dates back to the ancient world. Hysteria is the Greek term for womb and diagnoses of the condition "hysteria" began showing up in ancient Egyptian civilizations. At that point in time, scholars believed that this erratic behavior found in women was caused by starvation or damage to the uterus before or after birth. Women were isolated and taken care of day in and day out by maids until they could become well, which was only the beginning of what was to come for women with mental disabilities in later centuries (Showalter 25). In the 19th and 20th centuries, scholars started to believe that hysterical tendencies found in women were due to a type of nervous disease caused by the birth of a child and the damage this reproduction had on women's bodies. When "The Yellow Wallpaper" was published, women who suffered from postpartum depression, hysteria, or madness were seen as unfeminine, animalistic, and barbaric subjects, a dehumanization that justified stripping them of their human rights as women through the rest cure. Frequently, these women were used as examples by the outside world of how not to behave as women. Male doctors believed that it was the woman's own fault for behaving in such a manner because they did not strive hard enough to portray correct female-like traits (such as a passive and docile helpmeet to their husbands) in the patriarchal society of the 19th and early 20th centuries, instead of just realizing that it was because their lack of knowledge when it came to understanding the complexity of the female body. Martha Verbrugge, a history professor at Bucknell University,

discusses women's medicine in the 19th century. In her article, she states "Women's history is legitimate not simply because women's past has been so neglected or so unusual. Its value comes in part from what that different experience means in the context of general historical relations and trends" (Verbrugge 972). Verbrugge's claim about the harmful effects that the neglectful history of women's medicine has brought about is extremely useful because it sheds light on the difficult problem of women's medical experiences in the 19th century and the repercussions that are still being faced in this field today.

Elaine Showalter's canonical cultural history of hysteria *The Female Malady* (1985) brings forth a deeper understanding of the gender specific mental illness of hysteria. She names female hysteria and madness as the female malady or utmost illness defined entirely by the gender of the patient. By tracing specific cases of women suffering from hysteria she makes a connection between the diagnosis of hysteria and the patriarchal oppression women face when being controlled by men at all levels of society, including their biological health and make-up. In the section entitled "The Rise of the Victorian Madwoman," she traces the evolution of the ancient world dehumanizing women who were deemed mad due to childbirth in the 19th century, which invited "rather vague and uncertain," she states that:

> In contrast to the rather vague and uncertain concepts of insanity in general which Victorian psychiatry produced, theories of female insanity were specifically and confidently linked to the biological crises of the female life-cycle– puberty, pregnancy, childbirth, menopause– during which the mind would be weakened and the symptoms of insanity might emerge. (Showalter 55)

Within this quotation, Showalter provides context for the medical history in the Victorian era, which is also the time in which Gilman was writing "The Yellow Wallpaper." It is important to note that Showalter explicitly states that the other concepts of insanity in women were "vague" and "uncertain", highlighting the fact that the male psychiatrists and doctors in the Victorian era were not educated enough when it came to the biological makeup of the female body, ultimately causing these false theories of hysteria to construct reality in patriarchy's best interest. Furthermore, Showalter demonstrates how in the ancient world and then into the 20th century, supposedly "insane tendencies" of women were due to the mind being weakened after the biological "crises" that the female must inhabit throughout a lifetime. Naming it a "crisis" is no doubt a deliberate choice in language from Showalter. She ultimately contends that:

> The cultural connections between "women" and "madness" must be dismantled, that "femininity" must not be defined in terms of a male norm, and that we can expect no progress when a male-dominated profession determines the concepts of normality and deviance that women perforce must accept. (Showalter 19-20)

Women in western America have faced a crisis that no man has ever had to face; a crisis that the patriarchal medical discourse throughout Western history views as inevitable through the biology found within the female body that is supposedly, inherently inferior to that of a man. Ultimately, Showalter forcefully demonstrates how hysterical tendencies were entirely linked to women's sexual identity by patriarchal medical discourse, causing oppression for women purely because they are women and seen as an "other" in male dominated societies.

Earlier in her cultural history, Showalter analyzes how patriarchal language governs women's reality, justifying why women's writing within an oppressive discourse is so powerful. She demonstrates how patriarchal medical discourse establishes a reality of "how women, within our dualistic systems of language and representation, are typically situated on the side of irrationality, silence, nature, and body, while men are situated on the side of reason, discourse, culture, and mind" (Showalter 3-4). Here, she emphasizes how our society makes meaning through language and binaries. For example, the dyad of "I am a man because I am not a woman" is actively present in this formulation of patriarchal medical discourse. Thus, certain tendencies that would lead to madness are categorized under the umbrella of women, such as irrationality, silence, and focus on the body. To contrast this, patriarchal discourse envisions men centered around reason, discourse, and culture. With shell shock at the start of World War I, it is clear that men are just as likely to suffer mental health breaks, but Showalter illustrates how such binary oppositions could not allow for men to ever be labeled or conceptualized as hysterical, mad, or irrational. Finally, Showalter states, "its work is essential to the future of understanding of women, madness, and culture, and to the development of a psychiatric theory and practice that, by empowering women, offers a real possibility of change" (Showalter 250). Speaking about the future benefits of the feminist therapy movement, Showalter makes a strong argument that change will not occur until women are empowered. Yet, this only has the ability to occur if the patriarchal medical discourse is destroyed. The root of these patriarchal medical ideals are still controlling female lives and Showalter is arguing that it is due to this rooted binary system

that patriarchy holds power within. Ultimately, she definitively establishes that female madness and hysteria are social constructs of a patriarchal medical discourse without a base in biology, with change and female empowerment only possible through a break in the patriarchal discourse.

Given how difficult it is for women to articulate their lived experience within such a patriarchal medical discourse that labels them madwomen, we need to better theorize formal innovations that women writers can use to subvert power. Literary critic Caroline Levine's theory about strategic formalism demonstrates how the first-person narration of "The Yellow Wallpaper" and *Gone Girl* reflects women's inability to set their own narratives under patriarchy but how they can produce uncomfortable empathy as a form of protest and subversion. I argue that through the use of strategic formalism, Gilman and Flynn create an uncomfortable empathy between the female narrators and readers to reveal the falseness of the "mad" woman diagnosis in hopes to change society from within the discourse that oppresses women. Levine analyzes Elizabeth Barrett Browning's "The Cry of the Children," published in 1843 at the height of horrific and legal child labor in Britain. Ultimately, this piece of literature led to a change in child labor laws, protecting children from abusive labor. Levine argues that "the poem then disrupts this context in a series of uncomfortable, tense moves" (Levine 642). Throughout, she demonstrates that the form of this poem made readers feel uncomfortable, resulting in a tense empathy that led directly to cultural change. Such "strategic formalism," for Levine, allows literary form to exert a force on other forms in society, such as political and legal discourse in the case of Browning, or the form of patriarchal medical discourse in the case of my analysis. Along with literary critics of the short story, I argue that the uncomfortable empathy Gilman's first-person narration creates in "The Yellow Wallpaper" aided in the abolishment of the rest cure and the diagnosis of female hysteria. However, 120 years later, narratives like *Gone Girl* reveal that the horror of marital hierarchies remains much the same, even with women's increased legal rights, since the medical terminology and treatment has changed but the underlying forms of patriarchal oppression have yet to be addressed.

Many literary critics analyze aspects of hysteria, postpartum depression, genre, and form in Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper." With my focus on the uncomfortable empathy with a "mad" woman, I would like to concentrate on the importance of Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper" being considered a naturalist text which reproduces the sociological conditions of the 19th century rest cure. Lisa Long, in her article "Genre Matters: Embodying American Literary

Naturalism," focuses on three major naturalist texts and their importance in the literary canon, one of these being Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper." She states, "However, because of literary naturalism's persistently ambiguous place in the American literary family it also continues to be the generic Other upon which our desires and anxieties are played out" (Long 173). The literary movement of naturalism reached its peak in the mid-1800s to 1900. As an extension to realism, the naturalist literary period focused heavily on creating works in which the individual was scientifically connected to the environment and in most cases in a harmful and controlling way. Therefore, I agree with Long in her argument that literary naturalism has the ability to bring out our deepest desires and anxieties and would like to apply this idea to the cultural anxieties for women in the 19th century through "The Yellow Wallpaper." With this, I believe that Gilman specifically wrote her short story to fit within the boundaries of being a naturalist text. The major anxiety for women in the 19th century was that no man was able to understand their bodily functions, causing them to become madwomen due to the inhumane treatments they were receiving for postpartum depression or hysteria. Therefore, the naturalism genre was the solution to women writers because they were able to depict the social conditions of the 19th century in meticulous detail, as if in a scientific laboratory, to analyze the causes of neuroses and the world as it is.

Furthermore, other literary critics including Jane Thrailkill and Paula Treichler analyze the medical aspects found within Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper." In Thraikill's article "Doctoring 'The Yellow Wallpaper,'" she analyzes how the short story, since publication, has been seen as not only a work in the literary canon, but as a text that backs up arguments concerning the harmful effects that patriarchal medicine has on women, especially in the 19th century. She states:

> "The Yellow Wallpaper" has since become a case study of the psychical consequences of the masculine refusal to listen to a woman's words, a refusal that critics link to the more general proscription of female self-expression-literary and otherwise-within a patriarchal culture. (Thrailkill 526)

In this quotation, Thraikill's argument is clear about the long-lasting effects that this short story has had on the male dominated medical field, an effect I would emphasize is produced by the intense empathy created by the first-person narration. Women's and Gender Studies professor Paula Treichler analyzes similar themes concerning the damage patriarchal medicine had on

women but takes a different approach in analyzing this through Jane's "dead" language. In her article "Escaping the Sentence: Diagnosis and Discourse in 'The Yellow Wallpaper,'" Treichler states, "Linguistic innovation, then, has a dual fate. The narrator in "The Yellow Wallpaper" initially speaks a language authorized by patriarchy, with genuine language ("work") forbidden her" (Treichler 74). In this quotation, Treichler makes a strong argument that although the female protagonist in "The Yellow Wallpaper," Jane, finds freedom in her own writing, she is still connected to the patriarchal language that "forbids" her. I believe that Treichler's argument is accurate and add to her conversation by arguing that the resistance of women's writing, who write from within patriarchal discourse, subverts the power structure in order to create an uncomfortable empathy with those suppressed by the oppressive discourse, ultimately making it even more glaring and effective to readers.

Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper" begins with Jane writing and explaining to readers that both her husband, John, and her brother are doctors and have both agreed that the prescribed rest cure would be best for Jane. Vivian Delchamps, a literary professor at Dominican University of California, argues "Gilman's text provides an interpretive framework for understanding issues of gender relevant to modern discourses in disability studies and that it challenged masculinized performances of medical diagnosis and treatment by resisting the ideology of cure" (Delchamps 106). I agree that this text is an accurate example in challenging masculinized medical diagnosis and treatment, but I add to this by focusing my attention to how the form of journal entries makes this argument more effective. Shortly after her prescription of the rest cure, Jane states:

> Personally, I disagree with their ideas. Personally, I believe that congenial work, with excitement and change, would do me good. But what is one to do? I did write for a while in spite of them; but it does exhaust me a good deal– having to be so sly about it, or else meet with heavy opposition. (Gilman 180)

Since Jane is secretly writing these thoughts that consume her mind, it shows how open she is being with the reader. It is easy to see that these are only Jane's secret thoughts because she continues to repeat "personally." This being said, Gilman chooses deliberately to include the thoughts deep within Jane's mind to immerse readers, both then and now, and make them deeply uncomfortable with the "heavy opposition" Jane feels in her exhausted efforts to assert her beliefs and experiences as a woman in the 19th century. Furthermore, with the information that both her husband and brother are doctors during this time period, she outwardly expresses her

disagreements with their ways of treatment. Although Jane is just speaking on behalf of her oppressed life as a woman experiencing the medical history of the 19th century, Gilman wrote this so that readers are able to get an overall view of why women felt uneasy about the whole medical process men had in store for them when trying to become well after a diagnosis of hysteria. Jane writes in her diary, as a female, what she believes would be most helpful to her in her time of illness. This includes new and exciting work, which consequently is the complete opposite of the prescribed rest cure, which ultimately locked up women in confined areas completely excluded from the rest of society. Finally, Jane snaps out of her female independent thoughts and states, "but what is one to do?" With this simple question, the inability that women had in the 19th century to escape the discourse of patriarchal dominated medicine is highlighted.

The strength of Gilman's strategic formalism as illustrated above shows the uncomfortable identification with a mad woman through the form of journal entries. In "The Yellow Wallpaper," Jane writes in her diary that "I don't know why I should write this. I don't want to. I don't feel able. And I know John would think it absurd. But I *must* say what I feel and think in some way–it is such a great relief!" (Gilman 186). Jane's claim that she "must" say what she feels and thinks and that this articulation gives her "great relief" is curious as she is supposedly writing in a private diary. However, the emphasis on "must" reveals that her motivation for writing is to reflect the horror of her experience for a reader. She writes so that others will understand how broken, repressed, and powerless married women were in the 19th century. Writing is actually a better cure in the sense that it is her own therapy, rather than her supposedly expert male husband/doctor's prescription. The repetition of the first-person pronoun "I" immediately immerses the reader in Jane's thoughts and feelings. Further, Jane believes her husband sees her writing, the one expression of her own feelings and desires as "absurd," highlights how much control her husband has over Jane's life as a married woman in this society. This formal immersion in Jane's thoughts causes the reader to identify with her, which becomes deeply uncomfortable after her descent into madness. In empathizing with a "mad" woman, 21st century readers realize that she is not "insane" at all, but a rational human being curing herself through writing (which is the cure we could give today) yet, she is trapped in the patriarchal marital standards of the 19th century.

The ending of Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper" is arguably one of the strongest points within the entire story for highlighting the entrapment of the mind that women suffered,

ultimately caused by being prescribed the rest cure in the 19th century. At the very end, Jane states:

> "I've got out at last", said I, "in spite of you and Jane! And I've pulled off most of the paper, so you can't put me back!" Now why should that man have fainted? But he did, and right across my path by the wall, so that I had to creep over him every time! (Gilman 196)

Once Jane goes mad due to her isolation from John's prescription of the rest cure, she finds her own freedom in the fully consuming madness; the only freedom women were allowed in the 19th century. After three months of complete isolation in an old nursery room, she finally realizes her only way of escape is fully submitting to madness. Jane states she "has got out at last in spite of" her husband and herself. Such is the powerful argument presented by Gilman. Not only is Jane choosing to disassociate with the patriarchal medicinal power of her husband, she has also denied her old self; the Jane whose entire personality was false due to it being curated and formed by the needs and knowledge of men in the 19th century. She then states to John that she has "pulled off most of the wallpaper so he can't put her back." Now that Jane has the power of language to make meaning of her reality, she understands her entire subjectivity is a patriarchal construction. In this analogy, the wallpaper represents the oppression of women in a patriarchal society, and Jane has entirely demolished her part in this type of society. Through the exclamation points within the quotation, Jane feeds her female rage, leading her into madness and making her husband faint. Furthermore, the idea of Jane "creeping" over her husband is very deliberate. A tight parallel is made here with Jane and "Real Amy" in *Gone Girl*, as they both haunt their husbands with the power found in their female rage caused by their false sense of a happy patriarchal marriage.

Furthermore, it is important to note that out of all the rooms within this gigantic mansion, Jane's husband puts her in the nursery. Gilman deliberately adds this small detail into her short story to show readers that although she is isolated from all of society, the reminder of her faults as a mother still consumes her, being that she is locked in a room where mothers of the past were able to fulfill their duties according to the patriarchal society. As Showalter demonstrates, the patriarchy would blame Jane's biological makeup as the cause of her immense pain and failure. When Jane states that she "got out at last," Gilman argues that Jane has surrendered to madness, forsaking her so-called motherly duties and the patriarchal restraints on her body.

Once Jane states that she will never be placed back into the false reality of a patriarchal marriage with John, her husband faints. Jane asks why he would do this, but readers are able to read through the lines and understand exactly why Gilman chose to have him faint when seeing his wife consumed in madness. Her husband John is a doctor is a male-dominated society who himself prescribed the rest cure. He faints because of her madness but also the harsh realization that his wife will never live fully under the standards of married women in the 19th century. Women during this time were supposed to be a docile helpmeet to their spouse, being fully responsible for housekeeping, cooking, child-bearing, and upbringing of children. After Jane has been isolated from both her husband and child for three months, she gives in to active female rage that the 19th century reader can only see as madness. Jane keeps "creeping" across him because he has fainted right in her pathway by the wall where the ripped wallpaper lies, representing her superficial feminine identity within patriarchal society. The act of "creeping" itself could be compared to as a feral, animalistic state that patriarchy has reduced her to. The way Jane asks the question "Now why should that man have fainted" parallels "Real Amy" and her "sociopathic" traits. How could Jane so calmly but with cold-eyed realism be seeing the reality of her husband yet be the madwoman? Isn't he the hysterical one with his fainting spell, the most typical symptom of the 19th century mad-woman? Gilman deliberately chose for the narrator's husband to faint beside the wallpaper because he had finally realized the harm that patriarchal medicine prescribed from him caused.

As established by Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper," *Gone Girl's* narrative form creates a similar narrative experience of uncomfortable empathy by causing readers to identify with another hysterical, even sociopathic, woman. Some critics such as Emily Johansen, an English professor at Texas A&M University, argue that *Gone Girl*'s uncanny elements cause it to be a hallmark of the gothic novel. Johansen states "The specific nature of the seemingly uncanny threats, however, as with the threats present in the Victorian gothic, reveals much about the social anxieties of the moment and desire to off-load these onto external actions" (Johansen 38). I agree with Johansen that gothic elements are highly present in the novel, similar to the end of "The Yellow Wallpaper." I would add, however, that the uncanny feelings presented are essential for Flynn to present her argument. "The Yellow Wallpaper" and *Gone Girl* having uncanny or gothic elements highlights Flynn's argument that even in the 21st century, society struggles to understand or accurately represent female rage because women are unable to express

rage in patriarchy. Once these elements of the gothic begin to occur, Amy reveals that "Diary Amy" was her creation and switches to a new female first-person narrative to reveal her true character, she states:

> Nick wanted Cool [Diary] Amy anyway. Can you imagine finally showing your true self to your spouse, your soul mate, and having him *not like you*? So that's how the hating first began. I've thought about this a lot, and that's where it started, I think. (Flynn 225)

There is an important parallel in this quotation to that in Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper." Similar to the way Gilman ends her short story, the same structure of a question then answer is given here, where the question in Gilman's story of why the man fainted parallels the question in *Gone Girl* of why the man ends up not liking the "Real Amy." In contrast to the characterization of "Cool Amy/Diary Amy" (who is gentle and passive and lets Nick get away with a complete lack of effort in the marriage), "Real Amy" reveals that she is enraged by the typical standards of marriage. The emphasis on the phrase "having him *not like you*" illuminates that Amy believes Nick dislikes her "true" self because she is the opposite of "Cool Amy." Similarly to that of Jane's husband fainting after seeing "Real Jane," Amy describes the impossible persona of a passive, perfect wife. Unlike the "Angel in the House" standards that Jane tries to embody in Gilman's story, Amy describes the 21st century ideal of womanhood as a:

> hot, brilliant, funny woman who adores football, poker, dirty jokes, and burping, who plays video games, drinks cheap beer, loves threesomes and anal sex, and jams hot dogs and hamburgers into her mouth like she's hosting the world's biggest culinary gang bang while somehow maintaining a size 2 (Flynn 223).

When Amy begins to reveal her true, analytical, demanding, and intelligent self to Nick, he has an affair with one of his students, clearly preferring a caricature of this "Cool Girl." Nick's failure to see "Real Amy" as an autonomous human being causes Amy to hate him, directly parallelling Jane's husband's fainting spell after seeing her tearing down the facade of the patriarchy. Clearly the patriarchal expectations for a "Cool Amy" are the characteristics of a fantasy women who undergoes immense amounts of pressure to fulfill sexual desires for her significant other. Under no circumstance of femininity could a female act this way (adoring football, loving threesomes, and spit out dirty jokes) and be so-called "brilliant" in the way Amy is. Though the expectations of the "Cool Girl" might look different than the 19th century 'Cult of

True Womanhood,' they equally lead women to madness and legitimate rage because it is simply impossible for any woman to perform this way unless they completely disregard their true femininity. The tension between Cool and Real Amy highlights Flynn's argument that patriarchal society still has completely unrealistic and unattainable standards for wives in marriages today. Such standards are entirely constructed by performing for men and effacing any sense of agency or autonomy as an individual. Men want to curate and remold women to be the perfect "Cool Girl" wife, but "Real Amy" shows us that this is an impossible ideal.

In contrast to the "Real Amy," the first half of the novel is dominated by "Diary Amy," who embodies the passive and docile helpless standards for women rooted in 19th century discourse. In the beginning of the novel, "Diary Amy" states:

> When I get home from dinner, my cab pulls up just as Nick is getting out of his own taxi, and he stands in the street with his arms out to me and a huge grin on his face– "Baby!" – and I run and I jump up into his arms and he presses a stubbly cheek against mine. (Flynn 56)

Before this quotation, "Diary Amy" had just recalled a memory in which Nick bailed out on one of her dinners with friends. Although all of the other husbands made a point to join, Nick chose to back out on Amy's plans and go for a last minute "boy's night out" with his friends. Though Amy should be enraged at Nick for his carelessness in disregarding her plans, she stifles down her rage and instead performs the role of a passive wife without critique, much like we see in Jane's narrative at the beginning of "The Yellow Wallpaper." Jane asks herself why she is unable to write but then resigns herself to what her husband would say and reverts back into the docile wife attitude that he knows best. "Diary Amy" works to formally build sympathy with the reader because her readers are enraged with Nick and Amy's forced repression her rage. Therefore, just as readers identify with Jane, Flynn's immersive narrative form allows readers to become frustrated for "Diary Amy" as she narrates a life in which women must conform to their husband's wants and desires, rather than their own.

Through Amy's rage at Nick's affair and his desire for an easy, "Cool Girl" wife, readers empathize with "Real Amy," despite her plot to frame Nick for her murder. This is the core of Flynn's uncomfortable empathy with another "mad" woman. Through strategic formalism, readers identify with Amy's intense female rage even when it is profoundly uneasy to do so,

such as when "Real Amy" murders an ex-boyfriend and plots for Nick to get the death penalty for a murder he did not commit. Similar to the immersive journal entries found in Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper," Flynn's strategic formalism causes readers to empathize more with "Real Amy" than with the supposedly perfect "Diary Amy." Near the end of "Diary Amy's" entries, when "Diary Amy" is convinced that Nick has become so abusive he will murder her, she writes that "I have become the crazy woman who wants to get pregnant because it will save her marriage" (Flynn 187). "Diary Amy's" self-identification as a "crazy woman" for wanting to get pregnant in order to fix a failing marriage should lead the reader to pity her and find a piece of them hiding within "Diary Amy's" mind. Instead, Flynn's strategic formalism leads the reader to criticize "Diary Amy" for this helpless string of hope (pregnancy) she is clinging to, to try and save her marriage, just as Jane shows the sacrifices women make to their autonomy to be mothers. The reader turns on her for falling to the pressures women have in the 21st century to have a child with their husband to find true happiness and fulfillment. In failing to empathize with the facade of "Diary Amy" and her choice to passively endure patriarchal abuse, Flynn makes all her readers into "Real Amy," disgusted with Nick for preferring an unreachable, unreal, and unhappy wife.

Drawing parallels to Jane and John's marital downfall, once Amy arrives back home with Nick after her disappearance, their marriage begins to fall apart on a deeper psychological level, far more harmful than the framed murder. During the night of Amy's return she states:

> "Just like your dad. We're all bitches in the end, aren't we, Nick? Dumb bitch, psycho bitch." He grabs me by the arm and shakes me hard. "I'm the bitch who makes you better, Nick." He stops talking then. He is using all his energy to keep his hands at his side. His eyes are wet with tears. He is shaking "I'm the *bitch* who makes you a man." (Flynn 395)

It is important to take into consideration the background behind the word "bitch" in the novel. Nick's dad is a complete misogynist and any time he sees a woman he repeats this slur out loud in order to express his anger toward their very existence. After realizing Amy is framing him for murder, Nick becomes his father, repeatedly naming Amy as a "bitch" and a "psycho." Here, Amy is feeding into the stereotypical naming of women to mock the ignorance of this statement, considering she had the brains to completely manipulate the patriarchal norms in society to frame her husband for murder. Just as Jane recognizes what her husband would say and think about her

(whereas he has absolutely no clue about the workings of her mind or emotions), Flynn illustrates Amy's mastery over patriarchal discourse and Nick's complete ignorance about his wife's mind and identity. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word "bitch" is defined as "a female dog" ("Bitch I.1"). This deliberate word choice from Flynn highlights the value ascribed to women in patriarchy from their reproductive capabilities and alludes to the hormones of women when ovulating and pregnant. However, Amy emasculates Nick in this context and calls him the "bitch" because he is literally crying and shaking, highlighting the reversal of roles between husband and wife. More specifically, Nick showing emotion turns him into the hysterical one while Amy is the one giving the cold hard rationality. The irony here is that Amy specifically uses the phrase "Dumb bitch" to mock the stereotype of women. Instead of being this "dumb bitch," she has had the knowledge of a patriarchal marriage and can manipulate it, ultimately showing that the ignorance falls on the husband. Unlike Jane's doctor husband who defines her as a hysteric, Amy completely flips the script and now it is women who define men.

Furthermore, Amy states to Nick that she is "the bitch that makes him better" and "the *bitch* that makes him a man". Considering readers are already so deeply immersed in the character of "Real Amy" through uncomfortable empathy, this statement is extremely powerful. Flynn's use of "Real Amy's" narration allows readers to finally understand why Amy did what she did to Nick: it was the only way for him to finally rise up to the same standards as Amy was held to in their marriage and patriarchy more broadly. Flynn also makes such a powerful point to the abilities that women hold in marriage and how it is the wife that turns a boy into a "man." This is a kind of equality and gained by female rage and uncomfortable empathy, and thus shows the feminist credentials of the novel.

Throughout *Gone Girl*, Flynn makes a point to show how marriage will continue to be oppressive to women due to the standards patriarchy has created for wives. Towards the end of the novel, Amy goes into detail about the standards of marriage and how they are based on the fact that the effort given by wives should be reproduced in the love that husbands feel for their wife. When thinking about the idea of "love" in marriage Amy states:

> I am supposed to love Nick despite all his shortcomings. And Nick is supposed to love me despite all my quirks. But clearly, neither of us does. It makes me think that everyone is very wrong, that love should have many conditions. Love should require both partners to be their very best at all times. Unconditional love is an

undisciplined love, and as we have all seen, undisciplined love is disastrous.
(Flynn 414)

At the beginning of this quote, Amy revisits the societal expectations in the 21st century about marriage. She admits that loving your spouse through all aggravations and annoyances, is the communal understanding of what love in a marriage 'should' be. However, Amy realizes this is completely unrealistic because neither of them are able to look over shortcomings and still love unconditionally. In fact, she states that unconditional love is a love without any discipline, ultimately creating the idea that unconditional love is a disastrous monster. The "disciplined love" Amy calls for puts Nick into a box of what it means to be a husband, just as women are historically put into a box of what it means to be a wife. With this, readers are once again able to identify with Amy through her logical explanation of how marriage continues to fail because of patriarchal norms for marriage.

Thus, through journal entries, Gilman's short story illuminates how Jane's husband John locks her away and labels her hysterical after she cannot fulfill her duties as a wife after the birth of her baby. Likewise, in Flynn's novel, Nick does not see anything wrong with his active adultery and inattentiveness to his wife and, when she acts out of her plot through anger at his failures, she is labeled a crazy sociopath. Both women play by the rules that patriarchy has set for wives, but ultimately cannot live up to its impossible ideal. The comparison between these texts demonstrates how, in both the early 20th century and today, when women rebel against the male dominant norms or express rage because of its unfairness, they are labeled "hysterical" and "mad." Ultimately, even if the female narrator cannot escape, Gilman and Flynn put their hope on the reader being able to see the truth hidden behind the labels of female rage, hysteria, and madness; a truth which emerges through the form of uncomfortable empathy found within the immersive narration of "mad" women.

In conclusion, while "The Yellow Wallpaper" and *Gone Girl* are written 120 years apart, both novels rely on an immersive form to create uncomfortable experiences of empathy with hysterical, or mad, women, leading readers to see the cause of insanity as their suffering as wives, both in the early 20th century and today. As Levine demonstrates, literary forms have social power. This social power is obtained through a form of uncomfortable empathy that the readers feel when immersing themselves in the life of those narrated. With this in mind, reading both "The Yellow Wallpaper" and *Gone Girl* through Levine's framework demonstrates that

Gilman and Flynn put their hope on the reader being able to see the horror behind the labels of female rage, hysteria, and madness through uncomfortable empathy and raw narration from the point of view of these two female protagonists. Furthermore, the comparison between Jane creeping over her husband with a completely rational assessment of his hysteria and Amy getting the last word as she makes her husband her "bitch," highlights the way that both texts use uncomfortable empathy to create a cautionary tale of what will happen if female rage continues to be dismissed or written off as illegitimate hysteria. Ultimately, both Gilman and Flynn show how first-person female narration, specifically unreliable and uneasy narration, connects 19th century female hysteria with modern female rage in response to women's inability to set their own narratives within patriarchal marriage, as a wife. Once readers have experienced the immersive form of Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper" and Flynn's *Gone Girl*, which forces the reader to relate to hysterical women and justify their so-called madness, they now have the ability to see female rage as a rational response to the silencing of women, and wives, through patriarchal standards of marriage. It is our job, as readers, to use the uncomfortable empathy created through immersive female narratives as a cautionary tale to bring about this reversal of roles and change society, once and for all, for Jane and Amy's sake.

Works Cited

"Bitch, N. (1)." *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford UP, September 2024, doi.org/10.1093/OED/6002561249.

Delchamps, Vivian. "'A Slight Hysterical Tendency': Performing Diagnosis in Charlotte Perkins Gilman's 'The Yellow Wallpaper.'" *Performing Hysteria: Images and Imaginations of Hysteria*, edited by Johanna Braun, Leuven University Press, 2020, pp. 105–24. *JSTOR*, doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv18dvt2d.9. Accessed 4 Sept. 2024.

Flynn, Gillian. *Gone Girl: A Novel*. Ballantine Books, 2022.

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, and Denise D. Knight. *Herland, the Yellow Wall-Paper, and Selected Writings*. Penguin Books, 1999.

Hill, Mary A. "Charlotte Perkins Gilman: A Feminist's Struggle with Womanhood." *The Massachusetts Review*, vol. 21, no. 3, 1980, pp. 503–26. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/25089070. Accessed 7 Sept. 2024.

Johansen, Emily. "The Neoliberal Gothic: 'Gone Girl, Broken Harbor', and the Terror of Everyday Life." *Contemporary Literature*, vol. 57, no. 1, 2016, pp. 30–55. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/24735057. Accessed 9 Sept. 2024.

Levine, Caroline. "Strategic Formalism: Toward a New Method in Cultural Studies." *Victorian Studies*, vol. 48, no. 4, 2006, pp. 625–57. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4618909. Accessed 26 Apr. 2024.

Long, Lisa A. "Genre Matters: Embodying American Literary Naturalism." *American Literary History*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2007, pp . 160–73. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4123637.

Accessed 9 Sept. 2024.
Oakley, Ann. “Beyond The Yellow Wallpaper.” *Reproductive Health Matters*, vol. 5, no. 10, 1997, pp. 29–39. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/3775460. Accessed 4 Sept. 2024.
Showalter, E. (2001) *The Female Malady*. London: Virago Press.
Thrailkill, Jane F. “Doctoring ‘The Yellow Wallpaper.’” *ELH*, vol. 69, no. 2, 2002, pp. 525–66. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/30032030. Accessed 4 Sept. 2024.
Treichler, Paula A. “Escaping the Sentence: Diagnosis and Discourse in ‘The Yellow Wallpaper.’” *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature*, vol. 3, no. 1/2, 1984, pp. 61–77. *JSTOR*, doi.org/10.2307/463825. Accessed 4 Sept. 2024.
Verbrugge, Martha H. “Women and Medicine in Nineteenth-Century America.” *Signs*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1976, pp. 957–72. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/3173245. Accessed 4 Sept. 2024.

Jane Keeps Speaking: Tracing the Evolution of Feminist Interpretations of *Jane Eyre*

Mattie Coomer

The life of a Victorian woman was essentially constrained to the walls of her home. This was a home to which she had no legal right, but that she ruled from within– managing the staff, managing the moral education of the children, managing her appearance and wardrobe to ensure she had changed frocks at the appropriate intervals of the day, and managing her husband's domestic bliss by being a refuge for him. If there was an outing, it was a social one, to the home of another woman or on the arm of her husband. This way of life seems remote to the modern woman, who has the freedom to wake up in a home that is legally in her name and that she pays for with her salary from her 40-hour work week with her advanced educational degrees. She has never even considered not being able to vote, not attending college, or not choosing her own partner. This 21st century woman is able to move through society in the ways men have long enjoyed, even if she is not entirely on the same footing as a 21st century man.

With the gains that women have made in the Western world over the last 200 years, what relevance could a Victorian novel have for such a modern woman? The world of 1847, when Charlotte Brontë published *Jane Eyre*, and that of 2024 appear hopelessly disparate. However, despite its age, *Jane Eyre* remains one of the most popular classics of canonical British literature. Intensely personal, it somehow addresses a myriad of themes that resonate with readers today: religion, the formation of the self, colonialism, feminism, the gothic, morality, and more. The group that seems to have latched on most tightly to *Jane Eyre,* though*,* is feminist literary critics. The mounds of scholarly encounters with the novel speak to a long-standing love affair between mostly female critics and the poor governess. The question then becomes, *why this book?* By 2024, are there not more obvious, daring, rambunctious candidates for "linchpin of the feminist canon?" As the feminist movement itself has shifted throughout the last 100 years, it appears that *Jane Eyre* has also continued to keep speaking across generations. In particular, the way that Charlotte Brontë chooses to present these themes through the *voice* and *mind* of Jane Eyre herself makes it a rich text for readers throughout history, regardless of their context. Brontë's choice to narrate a bildungsroman from the first-person point of view of a young woman coming of age as an independent individual in society was revolutionary for the time, depicting the richness of the female mind. That richness, to the first readers of the novel, seemed undeniably male in its power, given the pseudonym of the Bell brothers under which the Brontë sisters

published along with the prevailing notion of the time that women were not capable of producing such a controlled narrative. Female autonomy, whether it be at the level of narrative form or wider thematic cultural issues, is a concept to which feminists eternally return, adapting it to their own cultural moment and experience, but consistently pushing back against the exclusivity of a male-dominated canon and society. It is this thread of autonomy, as embodied by Jane's struggles reflected and refracted in the struggles of female readers and critics of subsequent generations, that I will trace from the 19th century Victorian era to first wave responses to the novel to the second wave feminist revolution of the 1960s and 70s to the postcolonial turn in the 1980s and 90s and into the contemporary world.

Though there is a long history of critical feminist engagement with the novel, no one to date has explicitly traced the trends in feminist criticism in depth, especially in terms of a common unifying issue such as autonomy. The historiographic framework I use in this project helps contextualize how *Jane Eyre* could be reinterpreted and reanalyzed over and over despite how different women's lives look in 2024 compared to the life of Jane or Brontë herself. This analysis reveals the ways that literature is able to continue interrogating societal anxieties, in this case about the ways women are allowed to operate within a patriarchal system, as well as what kinds of women are allowed to say and do particular things. I will analyze why *Jane Eyre* has been cherished for so long by everyday readers, but also why it has so deeply resonated with feminist academics, all of whom interpret it differently across generations. Although the text of *Jane Eyre* has remained the same, this project interrogates how the criticism has shifted in accordance with the changes in dominant feminist ideologies of various socio-historical periods. From the initial interpretations focusing on form, to the explosion of criticism associated with the rise of feminist literary studies through the present day, *Jane Eyre* has established itself as a fertile ground of analysis and attention. I argue that Brontë creates such an enduring text by mediating a visceral connection with Jane Eyre through a first-person narrative of female actualization. Brontë's vision of female autonomy, though somewhat limited by modern standards, inspires feminist critics of all generations and periods to reclaim female voices not only in the literary canon but in the wider culture. This message has given the novel a malleability that allows it to be continually remolded according to the feminist narratives of various periods, despite the increasing distance from the lived experience and material conditions of women of the 19th century. This historiographic analysis of *Jane Eyre*'s criticism reveals a

perennial preoccupation in feminist circles with female autonomy, desire, and the voice, with critics from every generation interpreting Jane as a prototypical feminist literary figure. The continued fascination with such a canonical 19th century text is a result of the ongoing discussion, spanning from Brontë's time until now, of how and if women can maintain their individuality and personal identity within patriarchal structures.

The context of Victorian culture is central to the progressive nature of *Jane Eyre*, especially considering the historical reality of women's lives when it was published in 1847. Amidst the positive reviews, some saw *Jane Eyre* as scandalously immoral and anti-Christian. One of the most famous condemnatory reviews was published by Lady Eastlake in 1848, claiming that "the tone of mind and thought which has overthrown authority and violated every code human and divine abroad, and fostered Chartism and rebellion at home, is the same which has also written *Jane Eyre*" (Shapiro 683). It is clear that some initial readers found Brontë's writing rebellious and offensive, "[violating]" moral codes widely accepted by Victorian society. Jane's stereotypically unfeminine behavior was an affront to Victorian ideals of "true womanhood," taking Jane out of the domestic and into a wild and uncertain world that was unfit for a woman to inhabit. Dr. Joan M. Hoffman describes the ideal Victorian woman as:

> the selflessly devoted and submissive wife and mother… limited to a private place within the realm of the family. She was expected to remain virtuous, pure, and untainted by the dangerous worldly contact with which her husband was necessarily involved. She was an asexual being whose task in life was, paradoxically, to produce children. (264-65)

"Paradoxical" as these expectations are, Victorian women were expected to uphold them well. These characteristics require a self-denial and "[submissiveness]" that thus removes women from pursuing any desires that might take them out of their "rightful place" in the "realm of the family," something that Jane defies until the end of the novel.

As is reflected in the book, there were not many options available to Victorian middle-class women outside the private sphere of marriage and motherhood besides teaching as a governess or ostracization as a "fallen woman." Women were considered the property of their husbands and held little to no legal rights to their money, property, and inheritance. They were seen as delicate in body and mind, unable to participate in public life beyond social roles, such as charity work or acting as an ornament to their husband. As a result, speaking in public or writing as a career was unacceptable, embarrassing, and akin to making oneself a man. In terms of

female authorship, "The self-centeredness implicit in the act of writing made this career an especially threatening one; it required an engagement with feeling and a cultivation of the ego rather than its negation" (Showalter 22). In other words, Victorian women were expected to be docile, exercise self-negation, and not threaten the status quo by engaging in activities that were stereotypically male. They were not supposed to diverge from a certain set of expectations which did not include "cultivation of the ego" in the form of writing, especially. In many ways, this is what makes *Jane Eyre* revolutionary and what makes Brontë controversial for her decision to write this novel, endearing it to later generations.

Like Brontë, women in the Victorian era subtly yet powerfully challenged these notions of Victorian womanhood. Historian Anne Digby describes in "Victorian Values and Women in Public and Private" how women often subverted feminine activities to their own advantage, redefining what she terms the social "borderland," a place of nuance where women could participate in public life under the guise of the private sphere (196). She quotes Charlotte Brontë's own words to describe Victorian gender roles, where "men were supposed to do and women to be" (210). Writing, an act of active "doing," was a choice that, for Victorian women, encroached upon this borderland. While they had to navigate this area delicately, they were able to simultaneously subvert these gender binaries in their writing, formulating a unique tradition of literature. In this, Brontë displays a strong preliminary example of her own autonomy in choosing to write *Jane Eyre*, while also depicting a perceptive and active female narrator who makes meaning of her own life and the autonomous choices that she makes along the way.

Given this difficult climate, Brontë unsurprisingly published the novel under a male pseudonym, masking its female authorship in a time where romance and gothic novels were seen as the frippery of female imagination. She uses the traditions of both romantic and gothic genres to investigate not only the human psyche but also social and cultural issues of the time. Without reproducing stereotypes associated with these genres, Brontë attracts their readership while pushing their boundaries with feminist themes. As Carol Davison articulates, "The predominant image that emerges from [gothic] texts is of women imprisoned, circumscribed sexually, intellectually and legally, a status that actually reflected women's contemporary socio-political reality" (129). These themes of domestic "imprisonment" and societal "[circumscription]" are ones that Brontë focuses heavily on in *Jane Eyre.* The gothic genre, in Davison's view, becomes a site to grapple with cultural anxieties about women's roles in society as well as their repressed

sexualities. In departing from the idea of "coverture," where the female's identity is absolved into the male's, the gothic causes Victorians to conceptualize how a woman could have passions and a legal identity of her own, in ways that were foreign to their society, albeit through works of fiction. This is thus the formal advantage of the gothic in performing cultural criticism of patriarchal structures. As Brontë foregrounds self-formation, which is widely acceptable in male writing, she uses the gothic as a helpful facade to investigate how women negotiate their own self-actualization under restrictive pressures in unique ways that men do not experience.

Beyond the Victorian era and into the 20th century, women began to see material gains in their quest for autonomy. In 1918, the Representation of the People Act in Britain allowed women over 30 who met a "property qualification" to vote, meaning only two-thirds of women gained suffrage (UK Parliament). It was not until 1928 with the Equal Franchise Act that women 21 and over were given "the same voting rights as men" (UK Parliament). From being essentially nonexistent in terms of the law, British women finally obtained a political voice and representation, now being able to participate in public life. Many thinkers and first-wave political activists of the time, like Virginia Woolf, were also concerned with women's access to education. As Claire Nally observes:

> Woolf's initial focus… on education targeted the inequalities of the system: while women-only colleges such as Girton and Newnham were founded in the late nineteenth century, women were only allowed to gain degrees equal to men from Cambridge University in 1948. (276-7)

Even as women gained political rights, they were still denied equality in terms of higher education, barred from this sector of the public sphere and the social advancement that accompanies education. Within the setting of *Jane Eyre*, Jane was about 100 years away from being able to vote and her education was limited to that of a governess: piano playing, art, French language, and needlework, for example (Brontë 85). Noticeably lacking are the more "masculine" subjects such as philosophy or mathematics. Although she receives a poor version of an education at Lowood, she is at least afforded more than Bertha, who is coupled with Rochester early on in life presumably by no choice of her own. So, while first-wave feminists in the early 20th century achieved political autonomy, an important first step, there were still other important spaces where they fought for true equality and full membership as individuals in society at a material level beyond the vote.

In the immediate wake of the first wave, writers like Simone de Bouvoir and Virginia Woolf advocated for the autonomy of women to define their own literary existence, with Jane as an early example. These two writers introduced concepts about the distinctiveness of women as a sex and also of their writing (Kroløkke and Sørenson 6). Even amidst these significant changes, the scholarly criticism of *Jane Eyre* had not yet shifted towards a noticeably feminist reading. Rather, the novel was analyzed for its universal interpretations about overcoming society's oppression of the individual and personal growth, as seen in Robert Shapiro's 1968 work "In Defense of *Jane Eyre*." He argues, for example, that the novel is essentially "a protest novel. It is a protest against all that would stifle or repress the individual-against the inhuman treatment of human beings" (Shapiro 683). Rather than interrogating the implications on gender in this reading, Shapiro takes a more universal approach in making his interpretation about "human beings" in general. While the themes in his analysis are ones that later feminist writers would latch onto in terms of women's experiences within patriarchy, even Woolf finds herself most concerned with the way the form of the novel creates awareness of a unique feminine consciousness, and it is this form that, in her estimation, makes it a valuable text. As a result, she had her reservations about Brontë's "feminist rage," not quite ready to accept *Jane Eyre* as a feminist manifesto. She criticizes Brontë's perception of the world by saying:

> She does not attempt to solve the problems of human life; she is even unaware that such problems exist; all her force, and it is the more tremendous for being constricted, goes into the assertion, "I love," "I hate," "I suffer." (Woolf 462)

Both she and Shapiro choose to ignore the sociohistorical significance of the novel as not just a "protest" against inhumaneness in the world, set in an inaccessible British backwater that is out of touch with reality. They miss the ways that the novel speaks to specifically women's experiences across time, and is richer because of those aspects. Most later critics would censure Woolf's argument for not being able to recognize the value of *Jane Eyre* outside of formal analysis that is devoid of an incorporation of the historical backdrop which opens up further applications of the text.

While feminists have much to thank their suffragette predecessors for, their focus in the second wave of feminism shifted dramatically in the 1960s and 70s to bodily autonomy and the material reality of women's lived experiences. With the publication of Betty Friedan's influential work *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963, women started to truly see the entrapment of being limited

to the domestic sphere—a limitation not unlike that experienced by their Victorian foremothers. With the political and social gains of second-wave feminist activists throughout these decades, women were able to move into the workplace rather than be confined to the home. As Claire Nally argues, "Women had less access to the workplace due to internal and societal pressures to forsake their careers for marriage and a family" (282). The choice to "forsake" the family was a controversial one, but prompted discussion about the ways that women were usually expected to choose between the "job" of being a mother and a wife and a traditional public job, not being allowed to do both at the same time. As a result, this era of feminism witnessed a call for women to "collectively empower one [another]" (Kroløkke and Sørenson 9). In the United States, as the birth control pill was introduced in 1960, the Equal Rights Amendment was passed and Roe v. Wade was instituted in 1973, women began to make large scale strides that made it seem as though the world was finally opening up for all types of women to choose their own life's path. Compared to the Victorian era, when women enjoyed no rights to inheritance and could not vote, the world had significantly changed in both the United States (where the vast majority of feminist literary criticism on the novel was located) and England.

From "a room of their own" to a "sexuality of their own," autonomy for second wave feminists meant control over personal life and body–not just a political voice. Though later criticized for it, the early second wave movement was marked by the ideology of "universal womanhood," that all women could rally together under the collective feeling of rage at being oppressed economically, socially, and especially sexually. An important shift in this era of feminism is the emphasis on bodily autonomy, undergirded by the legal changes brought about by cases like Roe v. Wade. Other influential writers like Kate Millett, Adrienne Rich, and Audre Lorde began to argue that women, like men, inherently need "a sexuality of their 'own'—…disconnected from the obligations of marriage and motherhood" (Kroløkke and Sørenson 10). This autonomy of passion and desire is something that scandalized Victorian readers of *Jane Eyre*, showing why the novel would speak to this generation of feminists. Yet Jane still only finds her bodily autonomy in the traditional structures of "marriage and motherhood" due to the realities of the Victorian era, which seemed especially restrictive 100 years later. Unlike Jane's autonomy in her passions that find satisfaction in marriage, Bertha is literally locked away and deemed monstrous because of her association with an unrepressed female sexuality which was considered improper and dangerous. Both Bertha and Jane represent the different ends of the

spectrum in which women were denied bodily autonomy in the 19th century and throughout the 20th, which is why second-wave feminists use the tension between these characters as an embodiment of the struggles that women still faced with these issues in the 60s and 70s.

Feminist literary theory emerged as an academic discipline as part of the second wave feminist movement, seeking to establish a canon of women writers and analyze the ways that women's writing is produced and subverts patriarchal discourse. Based on the understanding that society is centered around patriarchal interests, using feminist theory is a method of deconstructing these structures of power that are oppressive to women, especially through literature. In their foundational work of feminist literary theory, *Madwoman in the Attic* (1979), Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar establish an important feminist legacy in interpreting female Victorian literature through the lens of the "anxiety of authorship," or the "radical fear [of the female author] that she cannot create, that because she can never become a 'precursor' the act of writing will isolate or destroy her" (48-9). At the base of women's efforts at authorship, according to Gilbert and Gubar, is an "anxiety" or "fear" that this "act of writing" will violate the established norms of patriarchy, with writing as a male activity. In fact, Gilbert and Gubar argue that the pen, or symbol or authorship, takes the form of a metaphorical phallus, indicating that by writing, women are conducting an activity that is inherent to men, but not natural to them (3). This fundamentally creates tension and anxiety not only for the woman writer in her sociohistorical context, but within the pages of their texts.

Drawing from the figure of Bertha in *Jane Eyre* in the title of their book, Gilbert and Gubar propose that this "anxiety of authorship" and "alienation" from their own creative identity prompts female writers to project their sense of "illness," "madness" and "paralysis" onto a double of their female heroines (51). This is a result of the patriarchal pressure to conform to the stereotype of an "angel" of the domestic sphere, with failure to do that resulting in the type of "madness" that appears in characters like Bertha. As second wave critics, Gilbert and Gubar see the "angel" as a woman associated with moral purity and not with sexual passion, whereas the "madwoman" is a woman who is open to expressing sexuality. In essence, patriarchal society does not allow for a woman to exist in between those categories of angel and monster, causing a destabilization of the authoress's "sense of self" (Gilbert and Gubar 48). Thus, the literary madwoman can act as a double of the author and her heroine, maintaining the "angel" status of both and dooming the "rebellious impulses" (of passion and desire) with the madwoman (Gilbert

and Gubar 77-8). Gilbert and Gubar view this tension as a "[dramatization] [of] their own self-division, their desire both to accept the strictures of patriarchal society and to reject them… she is usually in some sense the author's double, an image of her own anxiety and rage" (78). Since this anxiety and rage cannot be fully expressed if the female writer's work is to be taken seriously, the "double" is essential for purging it while still being able to communicate a feminist message behind "submerged meanings" (72). Within 19th century society (but also throughout most of the 20th century), Jane fits the acceptable mold because she learns to curb her passions within the appropriate channels of marriage and motherhood, yet Bertha must be condemned for exhibiting these forbidden characteristics outwardly.

It is within this anxiety, straddling the public/private boundary that women are able to subvert patriarchal modes and grasp the pen with authority, with second wave feminists emphasizing the need for both the female body and mind to be free from the clutches of a patriarchal worldview. The term that illustrates this best is "phallocentrism," or the idea that "the very foundation of (Western) language(s) [is built upon a] binary logic that makes the phallus the master sign and the father the origin of symbolic law" (Kroløkke and Sørenson 14). This term describes a world in which male dominance permeates every aspect of Western thinking, establishing the phallus as the norm, defining women in terms of their lack of a phallus. To challenge this ideology, Gilbert and Gubar argue in fact that:

> the one plot that seems to be concealed in most of the nineteenth-century literature by women… is in some sense a story of the woman writer's quest for her own story; it is the story, in other words, of the woman's quest for self-definition. (76)

They further posit that this "self-definition" is actually an attempt to "[revise]" the incorrect "images of women inherited from male literature" and define the female mind and imagination on their own terms, without centering phallic influences as the norm for how women's writing should look (76). While this is the goal of women writers, the bounds of Victorian society dictate that they may not exercise these ideas in the real world, but must commit them to fiction, asserting their power through writing to escape the domestic but also keep from going mad.

Similarly, second wave theorist Elaine Showalter, in her work *A Literature of Their Own* (1977), argues that women's writing has only been interpreted thus far according to dominant patriarchal modes. She observes that the inability of academics to differentiate interpretations of male and female writing ultimately "desexes" them (8). In effect, Showalter argues that women's

writing only gets interpreted in reference to the phallocentric norm. Women are only allowed to tell certain stories that are stereotypically feminine, such as romances, domestic fiction, and texts with moral or religious impetus. However, Showalter is interested in analyzing how within these bounds women developed a self-awareness, or a unique voice in their writing despite these norms, continually pushing against them while using them to their advantage. In order to illustrate this, Showalter divides 19th century female writing into categories of "feminine," "feminist," and "female" (13). She roughly demarcates the "feminine" period as occurring from the 1840s to the 1880s (13), finding that many of the novels of this period are concerned with "money, mobility, and power" (28). These material and sociohistorical concerns of women's lives can all be associated with class, however, they are also inextricably tied to gender, since these traits can only be obtained through patriarchy: the system of primogeniture, mobility through marriage, and power being associated with the public sphere. Showalter also describes these novels as "intense, compact, symbolic, and profound" (28). She argues that because women were so restrained under the strictures of patriarchy, they found unique ways to communicate their rich and sometimes agonized inner lives through the "compact" "[intensity]" of their writing, as seen in the character of Bertha, who Showalter calls Jane's double of hidden sexuality (28). By doing so, Showalter reads second-wave feminist issues into the text of *Jane Eyre* like many other 20th century critics, focusing on women's financial independence and also repressed sexuality.

After these major material and sociopolitical gains of second-wave feminist movements and literary criticism that recovers a canon of women writers including Brontë, the sociopolitical landscape, and thus feminism, in the 1980s changed dramatically. Feminists quickly found that their interests were spread across many areas and a fight for "universal" suffrage was not so universal. As Kroløkke and Sørenson put it:

> This new "new" feminism is characterized by local, national, and transnational activism… While concerned with new threats to women's rights in the wake of the new global world order, it criticizes earlier feminist waves for presenting universal answers or definitions of womanhood and for developing their particular interests into somewhat static identity politics. (17)

Gone are "universal answers" that theorize a singular female experience as feminists began to shift into a theory of "difference feminism," which recognizes the different forms of oppression

faced by women of color, queer women, and women from different class backgrounds. As Rory Dicker explains in *A History of U.S. Feminisms,* instead of focusing only on the needs of white middle class women, "third wavers pick up on the work of so-called third world feminists, who worked to understand that women's lived experiences determine the oppressions they face" (127). The emphasis on "lived experience" creates a more inclusive feminism in the third wave that could champion people like Anita Hill in the Clarence Thomas sexual harassment hearings, but also redefine feminism in the form of pop culture movements like "Riot Grrrls" who sought to perform their own version of femininity that would challenge the passive, demure "Angel in the House" legacy that persists. So, for third wave feminists, Jane seems "progressive" for charting her own path in life, but her success is entirely due to her status as a white, independently wealthy woman and such success should be qualified by the oppression that a "third-world woman" like Bertha must experience to get her there.

The critical attitude of third wave feminists dovetails with the rise of postcolonial criticism, with a resultant reevaluation of *Jane Eyre*. On the one hand, Gilbert and Gubar establish the canonical reading of women as circumscribed to one-dimensional roles ascribed by patriarchy like "angel" or "monster." But on the other hand, a third wave postcolonial reading posits that the idea of a universal woman neglects to consider the racist underpinnings of which women are labeled "monstrous," and the racist and imperialist ideologies that make such a story possible. Critics like Susan Meyer also take issue with the way that racial domination is conflated with male domination in *Jane Eyre.* She argues that "Brontë is using the emotional force of the idea of slavery and explosive race relations in the wake of British emancipation to represent the tensions of the gender hierarchy in England" (498). By doing this, Meyer suggests that Brontë appropriates the suffering of other racial groups/colonial subjects to make an argument about white women's oppression. To postcolonial critics like Meyer, this is reflected in the treatment of Bertha. While Jane achieves her own negotiated version of fulfillment, Bertha's suffering serves as a backdrop, mirroring the reality of British colonialism and by extension the structure of Western societies that silence the voices of people of color. Thus, feminist critics are continually asking questions about autonomy, especially what kind of women get to exercise certain kinds of autonomy and in which ways.

Taking this survey of both the long literary tradition of interpretations of *Jane Eyre* but also the dramatic changes in the sociopolitical and material condition of women's lives into

account, Charlotte Brontë could hardly have imagined the world of opportunity available to women today. The ability to work, have sexual freedom and bodily autonomy, have the choice to marry, and be financially independent regardless of marriage are all concepts that were far out of reach for Victorian women, who were hardly able to assert a valid identity before the law and in the public sphere. At the same time, modern women have a hard time fathoming the experiences of their grandmothers and great-grandmothers in gaining access to equal opportunities in the workforce, not being able to open their own bank account, and just recently being able to file for a no-fault divorce, for example. In one way or another, feminists have always been concerned with women gaining their full autonomy, in the same ways that men have always been permitted these basic rights. Autonomy is clearly a guiding theme for feminist politics and literary criticism, yet each generation sees it differently depending on their socio-historical moment. Even though different eras of feminists emphasize different forms of autonomy, they are all still able to find ways that *Jane Eyre* keeps speaking.

Turning directly to the novel, one famous scene that multiple generations of feminist literary critics interpret in terms of female autonomy is Jane's escape to Thornfield's balcony, a moment of respite in which she dreams about what it might be like to move through the world without societal restrictions and to exercise self-determination over her own life. In her soliloquy atop the mansion, as she claims an unfettered gaze across the wide swath of Thornfield Estate, she recalls:

> I climbed the three staircases, raised the trap-door of the attic, and having reached the leads, looked out afar over sequestered field and hill, and along dim sky-line—that then I longed for a power of vision which might overpass that limit… Who blames me? Many, no doubt; and I shall be called discontented. I could not help it: the restlessness was in my nature; it agitated me to pain sometimes. Then my sole relief was to walk along the corridor of the third story, backwards and forwards, safe in the silence and solitude of the spot, and allow my mind's eye to dwell on whatever bright visions rose before it… to let my heart be heaved by the exultant movement, which, while it swelled it in trouble, expanded it with life; and, best of all, to open my inward ear to a tale that was never ended—a tale my imagination created, and narrated continuously; quickened with all of incident, life, fire, feeling, that I desired and had not in my actual existence. (Brontë 100-101)

Jane's "[discontentment]" and "restlessness" with her place in the world resonates with feminists who share a similar frustration with the way things are. Her "mind's eye" is able to revel in the "exultant moment" of "imagination" as she examines the "sky-line," reflecting her hope in the passage for a "[brighter]" future beyond the strictures of Thornfield. This passage reflects the possibilities of a freer future for women but also the expansiveness of female imagination, self-reflexively reinforced in Brontë's writing itself. It is here that Jane and the female writer find escape from the harshness of reality but also imagination of what the future could be.

The readings of this passage from the first wave would posit that Jane, as an individual, has a human right to express herself and be valued for who she is, or even argue that Brontë pushes the limits of acceptable female writing by giving voice to this kind of discontentment. Certainly, Jane recognizes the futility of such wishes within the historical reality of the Victorian era, knowing that there are "many, no doubt" that "blame [her]" for such a meditation. However, she is not resigned to this, embracing the "tale" that she "narrated continuously" to herself. Second wave critics, however, take this same scene and analyze it in terms of Jane's proximity to Bertha, since she is atop the "third story," not far from the "attic" where the former Mrs. Rochester is locked away. As a result, Jane's thoughts are linked to her desire for sexual autonomy, reflected in her sexually demonized double, Bertha. Sandra Gilbert similarly contends:

> the secret in the attic is not simply Brontë's rebellion and rage against the subordination of women, but also her intuition that the social enforcement of such subordination was grounded in widespread fears of yearnings that, if not properly controlled, could turn into insatiable and deadly sexual hunger. (365)

The second wave shifts from simple discontentment to focusing on the unwritten "insatiable and deadly sexual hunger," once again aligning itself with the focus on bodily autonomy. Other 20th century critics like Adrienne Rich hold this passage up as a "feminist manifesto" (468). In their view, the "restlessness… in [Jane's] nature" is a call to dismantle the forces of patriarchy that have sought to deny women the sexual "incident, life, fire, feeling" that they desire, regardless of marital status.

Feminists of the third wave, in a contrasting vein, would point out that in the place where Jane observes "bright visions" of what could be, Bertha later jumps to her death. Bertha is by contrast never given the power of narration or even "imagination" to see a possibility of "relief"

from her entrapment. In this way, Bertha's voice is silent and the reader is left unable to conceptualize a future for women like Bertha who do not fit into the same categories as Jane, with the "mind's eye" not being able to see outside a universal womanhood that defaults to white women with relative privilege like Jane. Critics like Carla Kaplan would point out, however, that this quote:

> is not simply an assertion of moral autonomy. It is a plea for an interlocutor and, as such, it parallels her own (and Brontë's) act of writing: gesturing to a future listener who, it is hoped, might be able to hear. (13)

She brings Jane's autonomy back to the form of the novel as a first-person bildungsroman, that even perhaps over social or "moral autonomy" women long for an ideal "listener" to be able to fully hear and understand their story, whether they be male or female. The bright horizon, in this case, is being interpreted a little differently but still reflecting a desire for an improved situation for future generations of women.

Brontë further associates women's struggles with a lack of cultural capital or equality, leaving them with a resentment of phallocentric society that must be kept in check, deflected or navigated carefully as they commit acts that are associated with masculinity or the public sphere. The majority of feminist critics engage with Jane's further thought atop the Thornfield roof that:

> Women are supposed to be very calm generally: but women feel just as men feel; they need exercise for their faculties, and a field for their efforts, as much as their brothers do; they suffer from too rigid a restraint, too absolute a stagnation, precisely as men would suffer; and it is narrow-minded in their more privileged fellow-creatures to say that they ought to confine themselves to making puddings and knitting stockings, to playing on the piano and embroidering bags. It is thoughtless to condemn them, or laugh at them, if they seek to do more or learn more than custom has pronounced necessary for their sex. (Brontë 101)

Jane's indictment of patriarchy is scathing in this passage, pointing out that women need outlets for their "faculties" and feelings "as much as their brothers do," and to assume otherwise is "narrow-minded." In fact, it is cruel of the "more privileged" class of males to restrict women to the "[suffering]" of a life only offering feminine diversions. She articulates the injustice of men that would "condemn" or "laugh at" women who want "more" for themselves. Brontë makes a

clear and articulate argument against gender inequality that is still poignant and shocking for modern readers.

Victorian readers would not have had a category for the type of womanhood that Jane describes, that includes "exercise for their faculties, and a field for their efforts" outside of "knitting stockings" or "embroidering bags." So, for Brontë, the radicalness of her perspective lies in arguing that women need more than "custom has pronounced necessary for their sex." First wave feminists could have viewed this in terms of gaining political rights, or rather creating an awareness of the value and reality of women's inner lives, and that they could be just as rich and valuable as men's. As it was, the "stagnation" and confinement that women were "restrained" to was enough to make either a man or a woman go mad. This dissatisfaction and desire manifested for second wave feminists in the theory of "anxiety of authorship" and the author's double. Sandra Gilbert highlights this shift by arguing that "[Jane's] narrative dramatizes a 'furious' yearning not just for political equality but for equality of desire" (357). In Gilbert's view, the "desire" is a romantic/sexual one, but one that is not typically a form of autonomy that women are allowed. As a result, many critics see it as no mistake that Jane hears the chilling laugh of Grace Poole (actually Bertha) directly after this quote, which I argue stands in for the socially unacceptable anger at the "[condemnation]" of women who would dare hope for their own self-actualization in whatever form that may take. The shift from the universal interpretations into the second wave is apparent also in Nancy Pell's analysis that "At this moment her strivings are more than simply the effort for individual survival; there is a sense of comradeship with other women of her class" (419). This type of reading reinforces the ideology of universal womanhood, but one that is limited to "class" and race, as third wave critics would argue later. In the third wave, more emphasis is placed on Jane's lived experience and how she "[feels]" about herself and her desires compared to how "women are supposed to be." This era of feminists also read strongly between the lines here of the "restraint," confinement, and "stagnation" that Jane mentions to consider the ways that Bertha has been forced to suffer the consequences of those things, especially in terms of her bodily autonomy as she wastes away locked in the Thornfield attic. In this way, they argue, *Jane Eyre* does not account for the autonomy of women that are different from her, but is unable to envision a future that would include these benefits for them.

In the controversial conclusion of the novel, Brontë uses Jane and Rochester's marriage to signal another development in Jane's autonomy: that she is able to remain independent and achieve a marriage of equals not only financially, but also intellectually. Although the famous address "Reader, I married him" seems the antithesis of the feminist potential of the novel, the terms of Jane's marriage are more complex than what meets the eye. As Jane reflects on her married life, she asserts:

> I hold myself supremely blest… because I am my husband's life as fully as he is mine… I know no weariness of my Edward's society: he knows none of mine… To be together is for us to be at once as free as in solitude, as gay as in company. We talk, I believe, all day long: to talk to each other is but a more animated and an audible thinking. All my confidence is bestowed on him, all his confidence is devoted to me; we are precisely suited in character—perfect concord is the result. (Brontë 401)

Rather than include romantic epithets of Rochester, Jane chooses to speak of the "concord" that they feel in their marriage. Her description of their relationship is one of deep understanding and mutual respect– despite living in close quarters at Ferndean they know "no weariness" of each other's company. Their minds seem to be melded together in harmony, with complete "confidence in one another." Interestingly, Jane finds fulfillment in talking to him, which is to her a "more animated and an audible thinking," or an extension of her natural being.

Feminist critics can read this passage and ask how it could convey the desire for autonomy that seemed to carry the rest of the plot. For those in the first wave like Virginia Woolf, it is unconvincing, stating that "Always to be a governess and always to be in love is a serious limitation in a world which is full, after all, of people who are neither one nor the other" (462). For this era of feminism, Jane's idealistic ending is not representative of the sociocultural reality of women who had limited opportunities to gain financial independence, and where love was often not a factor in marriage. Rather, marriage was sometimes a choice of survival. The second wave feminists take a gentler view, that Brontë was simply committing to fiction a feminist ending that she could not foresee playing out in the world she lived in. As Adrienne Rich puts it, "for Jane at least it is marriage radically understood for its period, in no sense merely a solution or goal… [it is] a continuation of this woman's creation of herself" (475). Noticeably absent from Jane's description is anything suggestive of sexual fulfillment, as second wave critics often point out. Jane works out her desires within the bounds of marriage, not

radically outside of it, which would have been unthinkable for *Jane Eyre's* initial readers. At the same time, Showalter's argument still stands that feminine novels are often concerned with money and class, because Jane is only able to achieve this "blest" marriage on her own terms because she is independently wealthy. Consequently, postcolonial critics of the third wave like Susan Meyer problematize Jane's independence, arguing that regardless of Rochester's past, Jane's inheritance still derives from sources of colonial oppression, meaning that her fulfillment is achieved on the backs of women of a different race and lower class (504). Thus, the novel's ending is not as utopic as previous generations would argue. Other third wave feminists like Carla Kaplan deconstruct Jane's "talk" to symbolize that Jane experiences her fulfillment in narrating her story to the reader, and not necessarily from her relationship of equitable talk with her husband, emphasizing the importance of women's voices in literature. She posits:

> that we—as readers—are the fit audience for whom Jane, and perhaps Brontë by implication, has longed? Are we to understand that we are somehow more "akin" to Jane than anyone else? Precisely this assumption, I propose, has led… to this novel's place of privilege in the feminist canon. (21)

She suggests that the answer to the question of *Jane Eyre's* long feminist legacy is that the feminist reader is the only one who can bring Jane's hopes to their greatest potential of fulfillment, in intergenerational female consciousness. Though Jane's marriage can be one of the most frustrating moments for feminist critics, the mixed commentary reveals how it continues to spark conversation about what feminine autonomy means, especially within the institution of marriage, and what it is allowed to look like 177 years after the novel's publication.

In 2024, Jane still seems shockingly progressive for being able to convey a feminist sensibility from such a chronological distance. Her depth of feeling about what she wants from her life and her internal dialogue still finds relevance in a culture that is less restrictive of women than the Victorian era. John O'Hara even suggests that *Jane Eyre* "prefigures…and anticipates themes women writers would return to for the next century and a half. In short, it fashions, out of the past, a language for the future" (50). The future of feminist criticism is almost certain to include Jane among its ranks. She has embedded herself into the hearts and minds of women, critic or not, through her passion and strength– or rather her creator's.

Despite the novel's obvious merit as an early work of feminist fiction, there is still something unaccounted for in its sheer popularity and pervasiveness. Perhaps some of that can

be called sentimentality. The reader easily latches on to Jane as she dictates her story to them, framing it and interpreting for them as they go, and so a familiar, intimate relationship develops. Or, as Cora Kaplan proposes:

> The fact that *Jane Eyre* continues to incite a highly charged contentious response within feminist criticism, a response so full of present feeling that it seems out of sync with the novel's historical status, suggests that its narrative condenses unresolved questions in and for feminism today. (25)

It is not altogether unreasonable that some of the same issues that Brontë saw in her socio-historical moment still linger under different guises today, and that they remain "unresolved." For many critics, this feeling of unsettledness means that literature still has a role in opening our eyes to the structures and patterns that we cannot often see in the moment, and allows us the power to identify them and work to rectify them. Even though *Jane Eyre* may not be the perfect "linchpin" feminist text that previous generations believed it to be, this does not mean that it has nothing to say to modern women. If it did not, it arguably would have gone out of print at some point, or there would not still be new television series, movies, and even video games coming out every couple years that use *Jane Eyre* as their direct source material.

However much these disparities still exist between reality and fiction, it starts to become clear that Brontë has managed to accomplish what many nineteenth-century female authors feared they never could– she has become a literary foremother. Whether or not she intended to, she has engendered generations of female writing by telling a story of her hopes and fears about the ways that women move through the world. Later women writers like Jean Rhys, who despite their issues with Brontë's depiction of female self-actualization, are empowered by Brontë and her generation to fill in the gaps for women like Bertha who do not have the privilege of Jane. It is only with later works like Rhys's novel *Wide Sargasso Sea* that women get a glimpse of Bertha's thoughts on top of the Thornfield vistas like Jane, allowing Bertha and other women to finally take control of their own narrative and keep speaking about why *Jane Eyre* can still matter and be a valuable site of discussion even in 2024.

Works Cited

Brontë, Charlotte. *Jane Eyre: An Authoritative Text, Context, Criticism*. Edited by Deborah Lutz, 4th ed., Norton, 2001.

Davison, Carol Margaret. "The Victorian Gothic and Gender." *The Victorian Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion*, edited by Andrew Smith and William Hughes, Edinburgh UP, 2012, pp. 124–41. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt3fgt3w.12. Accessed 26 Aug. 2024.

Dicker, Rory. *A History of U.S. Feminisms*. Seal Press, 2008.

Digby, Anne. "Victorian Values and Women in Public and Private." *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 78, 1992, pp. 195-215. www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/documents/4031/78p195.pdf. Accessed 9 Sept. 2024.

Gilbert, Sandra M. "'Jane Eyre' and the Secrets of Furious Lovemaking." *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*, vol. 31, no. 3, 1998, pp. 351–72. *JSTOR*, doi.org/10.2307/1346105. Accessed 4 Sept. 2024.

Gilbert, Sandra M., et al. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*. Yale UP, 2020, doi.org/10.12987/9780300252972.

Hoffman, Joan M. "'She Loves with Love That Cannot Tire': The Image of the Angel in the House across Cultures and across Time." *Pacific Coast Philology*, vol. 42, no. 2, 2007, pp. 264–71. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/25474238. Accessed 27 Nov. 2024.

Kaplan, Carla. "Girl Talk: *Jane Eyre* and the Romance of Women's Narration." *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*, vol. 30, no. 1, Fall 1996, pp. 5–31. *EBSCOhost*, doi.org/10.2307/1345845.

Kaplan, Cora. "Heroines, Hysteria and History: *Jane Eyre* and Her Critics." *Victoriana - Histories, Fictions, Criticism*, Edinburgh UP, 2007, pp. 15–36. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt1r243p.6. Accessed 3 Oct. 2024.

Kroløkke, Charlotte, and Anne Scott Sørenson. "Three Waves of Feminism: From Suffragettes to Grrls." *Contemporary Gender Communication Theories & Analyses: From Silence to Performance,* 2005, pp. 1-23, feminism-and-freedom.tshisimani.org.za/documents/three-waves-of-feminism-from-suffragettes-to-grrls.pdf. PDF file. Accessed 12 Sept. 2024.

Meyer, Susan. "'Indian Ink': Colonialism and the Figurative Strategy of *Jane Eyre*." *Jane Eyre: An Authoritative Text, Context, Criticism*. Edited by Deborah Lutz, 4th ed., Norton, 2001, pp. 488-505.

Nally, Claire. "First and Second Wave Feminism." *The Edinburgh Companion to Critical Theory*, edited by Stuart Sim, vol. 1, Edinburgh UP, 2016, pp. 273–89. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctv2f4vfd6.27. Accessed 11 Sept. 2024.

O'Hara, John. "From Myth to Materiality: Critical Reception of Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* from the 1840s to the 2010s." *Jane Eyre*, edited by Katie R. Peel, Salem Press; Grey House Publishing, 2013, pp. 50–63. *EBSCOhost*, search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=mzh&AN=2015580458&site=ehost-live.

Pell, Nancy. "Resistance, Rebellion, and Marriage: The Economics of Jane Eyre." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, vol. 31, no. 4, 1977, pp. 397–420. *JSTOR*, doi.org/10.2307/2933083. Accessed 20 Sept. 2024.

Shapiro, Arnold. "In Defense of Jane Eyre." *Studies in English Literature*, 1500-1900, vol. 8, no. 4, 1968, pp. 681–98. *JSTOR*, doi.org/10.2307/449473. Accessed 12 Sept. 2024.

UK Parliament. "Women Get the Vote." *UK Parliament*, 2019, www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/electionsvoting/womenvote/overview/thevote/. Accessed 31 Oct. 2024.

Woolf, Virginia. "'Jane Eyre' and 'Wuthering Heights.'" *Jane Eyre: An Authoritative Text, Context, Criticism*. Edited by Deborah Lutz, 4th ed., Norton, 2001, pp. 461-463.

NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS:

Sirenna Adams is a freshman from Danville, Kentucky who is majoring in Human Services and Counseling and minoring in Studio Art and Music. She is a member of the Lindsey Wilson Raiders Band and hopes to join the Lindey Wilson archery team. She enjoys archery, music, art, and volunteering for animal sanctuaries and those affected by natural disasters. Once she graduates from Lindsey Wilson she hopes to go to University of Kentucky and get her MA in Speech/Language Pathology, Art Therapy, and Music Therapy and work with mainly special needs children.

Morgan Bryant is a junior English and History double major from Shelbyville, Kentucky. She is a proud member of both the R. V. Bennett Honors Society as well as Sigma Tau Delta, and is an executive board member for the latter. In addition to these accomplishments, she helped found The History Club here on campus, is a student editor for *Orpheus* and has been published in prior volumes of that and in the *Review*, and is the Co-Editor-in-Chief of this year's *Review* alongside Megan Whitson. When she isn't doing literature related things, she loves to watch movies and draw on whiteboards around campus!

Bree Butler is a recent Lindsey Wilson College graduate from Columbia, Ky, who majored in Interdisciplinary Studies with an emphasis in Education, English, and History. Currently, she serves as the Director of Residence Life at LWC and is pursuing a master's degree in Organizational Leadership. In her free time, she enjoys shopping, cooking, and spending time with her loved ones.

Mattie Coomer is a December 2024 graduate of the English and Christian Ministry programs at Lindsey Wilson College. Originally from Cave City, KY, she is now on staff as an admissions counselor at the college, serving the northern and central Kentucky territory. She is loving the experience of getting to work with the future students of Lindsey Wilson College and participating in the life of the college on a different level. Beyond Lindsey, she is passionate about being a student of God's word and spending time with her family and friends who encourage her to that end. If that happens to involve the outdoors, traveling, coffee, or books, even better!

Jager Ferguson is a senior History and Political Science double major from Chatham, Illinois. He is a member of the Lindsey Wilson Wrestling team and also enjoys powerlifting, reading, and playing golf in his free time. Following graduation, he plans to attend law school

Xander Foster is a senior History and Political Science major from Campbellsville, Kentucky. He balances his time between college and his job as a cashier. In his free time, Xander enjoys

reading, writing, and learning more about the world. Following his undergrad degree, he hopes to continue his education in either of his preferred fields in a graduate program.

Ada Gass is a freshman Nursing major from Columbia, Kentucky. She works as a CNA (Certified Nursing Assistant) at Campbellsville Nursing and Rehabilitation Center. Outside of school and work, she enjoys spending time outdoors on her family's farm, where she helps with gardening and caring for animals. Ada also loves getting creative in her craft room, painting and making handmade goods to sell at the local farmer's market. Something else she enjoys is being involved in her community, going to church, and spending time with family and friends.

Baylee Hart is a senior from Russell County, Kentucky. She is an English major and is currently planning to attend Eastern Kentucky University's Masters of Speech and Language Pathology shortly after graduation. In the past years of attending Lindsey Wilson College, Baylee has served on the Executive Board of Sigma Tau Delta and has been a New Student Orientation Leader each summer for incoming freshmen.

Kara Ryder is a December 2024 Lindsey Wilson College graduate. She holds a bachelor's degree in English Literature and now teaches at a Kentucky public school. During her time at Lindsey Wilson she served as a peer mentor, writing center consultant, and executive board member of Sigma Tau Delta. Kara is passionate about both writing and literature and her goal in life is to share her passion with others. In her free time, Kara loves reading fantasy novels, golfing, and spending time with family and friends on her family farm.

Yesh Singayao is a sophomore majoring in Political Science and minoring in history. He is a member of SGA, the R.V. Bennett Honors program, and the Lindsey Wilson College Singers. He enjoys reading, and some creative writing now and then. He plans to go to law school after graduation.

Hunter Willis is a senior from Campbellsville, Kentucky majoring in History. In addition to attending LWC, Hunter balances his time between his wife and three children and his job as an Engineering Technician at Hendrickson. In his free time Hunter enjoys sports and entertaining history programs.