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# History Review
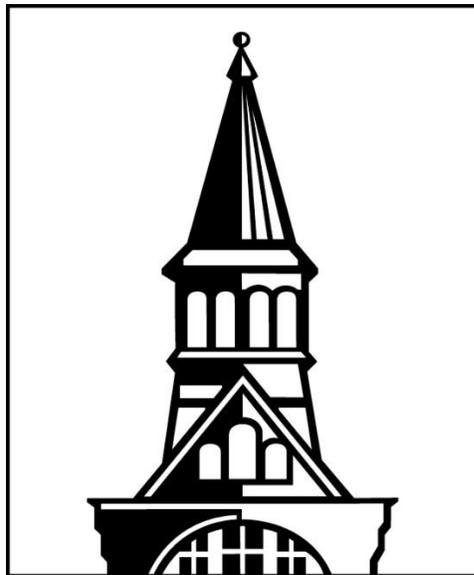
The UVM History Review is an annual publication of the University of Vermont History Department. It seeks to publish scholarly essays and book reviews of a historical nature written by UVM students and alumni.

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Letter from the Editor

Dear Readers,

It gives me great pleasure to release the 2016-2017 issue of the *UVM History Review,* which collects the very best historical work composed by the UVM undergraduate and graduate student body. In this issue, you'll find a rich set of papers ranging in subject from British songbooks in the Age of Revolution to Jabotinsky's revisionist Zionism. This collection is especially notable for the variety of primary sources that the authors drew on to construct their arguments; you will find analyses of films, visual art, songbooks, slave narratives, and more common documentary records within in it. This aspect of the scholarship should serve as a reminder of the influence that ideas and events can have on every aspect of a society, and of the importance of studying history.

Both the authors and the editorial board worked very hard on this volume: the authors revised their work extensively, and everyone put many hours into this project, even after the academic year had officially ended. I heartily thank them for straining their eyes as they combed the text for errors, and I commend them on a job well done. As busy students, it can be taxing to participate in a publication, even an annual one, when there is so much else to be done and so little time to live life. But every cohort is responsible for keeping the flame of these campus publications burning through the cold night of student temporality. We are proud to pass a crackling torch on to next year's Catamount readers and editors.

I would like to thank Professors Denise Youngblood and Paul Deslandes for overseeing the production of the Journal. Your advice in the tricky spots was invaluable and essential for maintaining our standard of quality in the publication. I would also like to thank Kathy Carolin and Kathy Truax for answering all my questions as I made the final preparations and for being ready to help with anything at a moment's notice. You are the History Department's knights in shining armor.

Daniella Bassi, 27 May 2017

Rough Specimens of a Prejudiced Period: British Songbooks in the Age of Revolution

Robin Fitch-McCullough

In 1882, Joseph Woodfall Ebsworth, the Anglican Vicar of Molash, in Kent, wrote to the editors of the *Kentish Garland* on a recent addition to his personal collection of English folk songs. By the closing decades of the 19th century, the English folk-song revival of the late Victorian era was thriving. Mr. Ebsworth, a member of the Ballad Society then engaged in pouring through the records of the British Museum, had joined the editors of the *Kentish Garland* and a host of clergymen, publishers, historians, musicians and archivists who were researching and reprinting English ballads and songbooks, especially from the 17th century twilight of pre-industrial Britain.[1] The Victorian idealization of a lost, idyllic epoch of 'Merrie England,' one that could be captured in song, was a development stemming from the Georgian and early Victorian fascination with the "chivalric 'olden times'"[2] of the Tudor and Elizabethan eras. Rather than a melody of that period, Ebsworth had recovered a much different collection of songs and in 1882, it was a collection still less than a century old. Yet it was a compilation of songs already seen as an anachronism, even for Ebsworth, a conservative Briton with the reputation of having been a "sturdy tory and tireless collector of ballads"[3] in a time of jingoist popular politics and nearly perpetual colonial conflict overseas.

"Rough in its way it is, but a capital specimen of the prejudiced and almost brutal John Bull of the period," was how Ebsworth described the songs found in *Gower's Patriotic Songster*,[4] a marked contrast to the bucolic prose prized by Victorian song collectors. Published in 1793 by George Gower, a middling printer and carpet manufacturer of Kidderminster in the County of Worcester,[5] it had the lengthy and bombastic subtitle of "The Loyalist's Companion: being a Selection of the Most Approved Constitutional and Loyal songs That Have Appeared from the Various Associations in this Kingdom for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers," with the addition of a soliloquy for Louis XVI.[6] It was a title that reflected the songs within; songs urging loyalty to the British monarchy, an adherence to

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[1] E. David Gregory, *The Late Victorian Folk-Song Revival: The Persistence of English Melody, 1878-1903* (Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2010), 15.

[2] Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People? England, 1783 to 1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 26.

[3] "Memoirs of Joseph Knight with Notes by the Reverend Joseph Ebsworth," *The Athenaeum: A Journal of Literature, Science, The Fine Arts, Music and Drama,* November 20, 1909, 138.

[4] Julia DeVaynes and Joseph Ebsworth, eds., *The Kentish Garland Volume II: On Persons and Places* (Hertford: Stephen Austin and Sons, 1882), 675.

[5] Last Will and Testament of George Gower of Kidderminster, the Public Record Office, the National Archives, London.

[6] George Gower, *Gower's Patriotic Songster* (G. Gower, Kidderminster, 1793), 1.

conservative British political values and to a British cultural identity in opposition to the republicanism of revolutionary France. When it was first procured in 1793 by reviewers and booksellers after publication, the *English Review* echoed Ebsworth's sentiments of 90 years later by writing only that, "He who expects to find poetry in this collection will be disappointed. The effusions of loyalty, however, may perhaps atone for the disappointment."[7] This critical review was in part due to the republican sympathies of *the English Review's* contributors and editors,[8] and to the fact that in January 1793 Great Britain was not yet involved in the growing military conflict against the nascent French Republic. Yet the popularity and influence of this book, and the other patriotic songbooks or songsters that came afterwards in great numbers, was underestimated. By the time the news reached Britain that Napoleon had been driven from the field at Waterloo more than twenty years later, patriotic and nationalist songs and songbooks had become a fundamental and defining part of popular British culture.

The Age of Revolution in the Historiography of British Culture

The influence of the French Revolution and the ensuing decades of war against Republican and Napoleonic France on British national consciousness and culture is well studied. E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*, a foundational piece in the historiography of British national and class identity, marks the "Age of Revolution,"[9] as the "adolescence" of British working class identity in opposition to "their rulers and employers."[10] While this is certainly true, the flowering of new political and cultural identities was not confined to the development of English working class opposition to the old hereditary systems of British rule. At the same time, also to a widespread popular identity amongst diverse groups across the British Isles towards something forming a patriotic supranational British identity. Linda Colley's widely praised *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* examines the Georgian era and the French Revolutionary period in particular as the historical period when a British political and cultural identity was "imposed...onto much older alignments and loyalties."[11] As Colley has written, this cultural and political shift was an identity movement that penetrated through class boundaries. That her study of British nationalism related largely to established English Protestants to the exclusion of Great Britain's other ethno-linguistic and religious groups, chiefly those in Ireland and Scotland, has been critiqued. Given the political primacy of English Protestants this is not unusual and is part of a

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[7] "Monthly Catalogue: Miscellaneous," *The English Review* 21, January 1793, 392.

[8] Jane Hodson, *Language and Revolution in Burke, Wollstonecraft, Paine and Godwin* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 124. For an examination of the trends and contributors to *The English Review*, before it was closed in 1798, see Robin Myers and Harris, Michael, *A Genius for Letters: Booksellers and Bookselling from the 16th to the 20th Century* (New Castle: Oak Knoll/St.Paul, 1995), 137.

[9] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Random House, 1963),192. The words are from the title of Eric Hobsbawm's eponymous book.

[10] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 11.

[11] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 5.

wider trend to conflate Anglican English identity with British identity, a trend that should be treated with caution especially in regards to the study of language and culture.

That the French Revolution was a major influence on British culture and identity has been the focus of other scholarly works, such as the collection of academic articles assembled by Ian Small and Ceri Crossley on the subject in 1989,[12] which owes much to Thompson, or later works such as the compilation titled *Resisting Napoleon: The British Response to the Threat of Invasion, 1797-1815*, edited by Mark Philip, which owes more to the contemporary work of Linda Colley.[13] Differences in these studies aside, the impact of the sudden shock of the French Revolution and then of two decades of grueling global war have been seen in the study of British culture and politics as a defining moment in how those living in United Kingdom came to think of themselves, in relation to each other and in relation to Europe and the world at large.

The writing and singing of songs appears in these disparate works as a fundamental shared experience in the building of identity in Britain during the Age of Revolution. This is apparent in the early proletarian identity formed by Britain's "lowest classes" in which "songs were sung, toasts given, and language held, of the most seditious nature,"[14] as well as in the "cult of heroic endeavor and aggressiveness maleness" that featured so "prominently in popular ballads and song," as well as in British "patrician" culture.[15] While there are many books and articles on how the global conflict between Georgian Britain and Revolutionary France changed the course of politics, nationalism, militarism, culture and identity in Great Britain, there are comparatively fewer works focusing singularly on the subject of song and music. Oskar Cox Jensen's recently released *Napoleon and British Song, 1797-1822* is perhaps the most thorough study of the relationship between music and the formation of British identity in this period, but is largely focused on the writing of songs after Napoleon's coronation as Emperor. Thus the British views of Imperial France and Napoleon expressed by popular music culture in this study are ones formed after years of war and under the looming threat of an imperial French invasion of Britain or Ireland.[16] Likewise, Simon Bainbridge's *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, which makes little distinction "between 'poetry and song,'"[17] further explores British songwriting in the era. This work focuses on the relationship between songs and poetry and the military and diplomatic events that unfolded in the series of wars in which Britain participated, rather than providing a historical context as to how and why to songs and songbooks became instruments of political persuasion and power in Britain after the beginning of the French Revolution.

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[12] Ceri Crossley and Ian Small, eds., *The French Revolution and British Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 1.
[13] Colley, *Britons*, 5.
[14] The Council of Secrecy of 1799, quoted in Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* 172.
[15] Colley, *Britons,* 303.
[16] Oskar Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Songs, 1797-1822* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1.
[17] Simon Bainbridge, *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Visions of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 11.

There are other works similar to those mentioned above that explore songwriting and the practice of communal singing in relation to other formative events that are part of the era, such as the Irish Rebellion of 1798, or Britain's wartime imperial expansion that characterized part of the 'second' period of British empire-building. These works answer the question of why particular songs were written at a very specific time and place in history but rarely cover the question of how these songs were transmitted from the author to those who sang them or why particular methods of transmission were utilized.

This paper seeks to answer both why particular songs became popular in Great Britain and Ireland during the era of the French Revolution and the means and reasons that they became so widely distributed. Not only was there an explosion in politically minded pamphleteering after the outbreak of the French Revolution, in the so called "pamphlet wars" of the 1790's[18] but there was also a fundamental "break with the past" in the British publishing industry. This change related to the beginnings of industrialization in the manufacture of books and pamphlets, as well as in the breakdown of longstanding 18th century monopolies on publishing and the end of the legal practice of perpetual copyrights.[19] George Gower's *Patriotic Songster* took advantage of the political and economic circumstances to fill a niche that took advantage of these political and economic circumstances. In doing so, Gower and his allies changed how songbooks were assembled and distributed. The combination of these factors led to the rise of patriotic songbooks that would prove to be popular, profitable and profoundly influential on creating a pan-national British cultural and political identity after 1792.

Songbooks and Eighteenth Century Britain

It is against this historiographical backdrop that the publishing of national songbooks in Britain after the outbreak of the French Revolution must be viewed but Gower and his allies built upon historical precedents in British songwriting and distribution. However unique the political, legal and economic situation was at the end of the eighteenth century, *Gower's Patriotic Songster* was not the first political songbook nor were the contents of the songbook exclusively original. Songbooks of an earlier era contained many of the same patriotic and national ballads that appeared widely between 1789 and 1815 and some of these songs have remained, or were later integrated, into a "canon" of British national music, the formulation of which began in the first half of the 18th century.[20]

Songbooks in the early Georgian period were collections of diverse popular music, rather than an assemblage of songs based on a common ideological trend. *The Polite Songster: A Collection of Three Hundred of the Most Celebrated English and Scots Songs*, a songbook published in London in 1758 at the height of the Seven Years'

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[18] Bainbridge, *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 37.

[19] John Feather, *A History of British Publishing,* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1988), 73.

[20] Barrett Kalter, *Modern Antiquities: The Material Past in England, 1660-1780* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2002), 106.

War, included James Thomson's and Thomas Arne's *Rule Britannia.*[21] Originally written for an exclusive play in honor of George II, it became an anthem in celebration of British ideals of liberty and the power of the Royal Navy. Songbooks such as *The Polite Songster* could include popular and patriotic songs that had their origins in court, but rarely contained other overtly patriotic songs. Instead, this songbook focused on songs seen as integral to English and Scottish identity, history and culture and loyalty to the monarchy, rather than English and Scottish loyalty to a pan British identity.

Songbooks of the early to mid-eighteenth century instead appealed to those looking for the lyrics to songs sung "the last season at Vauxhall, Ranelagh, etc, etc,"[22] the most popular and bourgeoisie venues for musical spectacle in Britain. This highlights the importance of public entertainment at theaters and gardens in fomenting popular interest in particular songs, rather than a desire by the public to seek out songs based only on their patriotic or political content. *Rule Britannia* may have been a song that reconciled competing differences in the British Isles over the "ideology"[23] of Britain's maritime commercial and imperial power, but it's lyrics were more likely to be found reproduced in periodicals such as *The Gentleman's and London Magazine,*[24] rather than in a popular songbook.

Given the cost of songbooks, papers and periodicals were a more likely means of learning new songs. The average laborer in Great Britain made between 20 and 40 pounds sterling annually[25] and with a book pricing at minimum the whole of a day's wage,[26] songbooks were not necessarily a luxury but certainly a product of considerable expense. This exclusivity was multiplied by widespread illiteracy and the considerably lower than normal pay of those employed by the military or as temporary field hands.[27] Songbooks from the middle part of the eighteenth-century such as *The Merry Companion*, *English Love Songs*, *Songs for the Bottle*, or *50 Scots Songs,* however disparate their songs might be, were all examples of this trend. These were large books that could contain hundreds of songs, toasts and speeches, often with notes, sold among a population whose literacy rate hovered at just over half the adult population for most of

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[21] J. Ross, *The Polite Songster: A Collection of Three Hundred of the Most Celebrated English and Scots Songs* (London: J. Ross, 1758), 194.

[22] Ross, *Polite Songster,* 1.

[23] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 102. Armitage describes the song, still played as a central piece in major public events such as The Henry Wood Promenade Concerts, as "the most lasting expression" of the developing idea that Britain was "Protestant, commercial, maritime and free."

[24] John Exshaw and Sarah Exshaw, "Poetical Essays," *The Gentleman's and London Magazine* (March 1755), 144.

[25] James Volo and Dorothy Volo, *Family Life in 17th and 18th Century America* (London: Greenwood Press, 2006), 131.

[26] "The Court and City Register," *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, November 15, 1755, classifieds. Books available for printing are listed here at between one and two shillings, depending on the binding. Two shillings a day was according to an account from the mid-Seventeenth century "the highest of wages to such kind of people." In Volo, *Family Life*, 130.

[27] Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (London: W.W. Norton, 2001), 309.

the eighteenth century.[28] Frequently advertised as "two shillings, bounded," their financial cost and educational requirements made them middle and upper class commodities, unavailable widely to the masses.[29]

Communal sites such as music and concert halls provided a means for the public to learn new music and participate in patriotic verse without the cost demanded by book ownership or literacy. Britain and Ireland's major concert venues, as opposed to local music halls, had the reputation of being dominated by the hereditary aristocracy and the wealthy bourgeoisie. By the standards of the day, the concert halls frequented by the British middling and upper classes were becoming as "catholic and sophisticated in its taste as any audience in Europe."[30] Despite this, these venues were still a potential site for spontaneous patriotism incorporating the lower classes of society. The stagecraft of the actor and theatre owner David Garrick did much in the middle years of the 18th century to create a "respectable patriotic identity."[31] This was based in part on the works of Shakespeare and popular patriotic songs such as those composed by Thomas Arne. Nonetheless, he was indirectly responsible for days of rioting in central London when he incorporated French ballet dancers into one of his shows, to the anger of the lower classes. Later, during the Seven Years' War, Garrick learned from this mistake, both in the shows he managed and in his own songwriting career, of which the popular naval ballad *Heart of Oak* is the most prominent, later becoming the official march of the Royal Navy.[32]

From the perspective of the late Victorian era of Joseph Ebsworth, those studying English musical culture of the middle 18th century considered it to be "barren as far as English music goes,"[33] when compared to the European works that were most popular and influential among middle class and aristocratic audiences. In popular concert venues and in the taste of the nobility and aristocracy, Bach and Handel, not British composers, were consistently the most popular. The popular British music of David Garrick and Thomas Arne had its origins among adaptations of Bach and Handel, and German authored music of the eighteenth century continues to be used widely in both official and unofficial British public displays to the present, indicating something of their enduring popularity and influence. Songbooks incorporated *Heart of Oak* quickly after it was first presented to the public but a growing number of patriotic songs that encouraged a supra-national British identity did not lead to an emergence of songbooks dedicated to the

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[28] Susanne Kord, *Women Peasant Poets in Eighteenth Century England, Scotland and Germany* (New York: Camden House, 2003), 39.

[29] "The Merry Companion," *Daily Gazetteer (London Edition)*, July 25, 1739, classified ads.

[30] Jan Larue, "The English Symphony: Some Additions and Annotations to Charles Cudworth's Published Studies," in *Music In Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 214.

[31] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxon: Routledge, 1997), 330.

[32] Shaun Regan, "Olaudah Equiano and the Seven Years War," in *The Culture of the Seven Years War: Empire Identity and the Arts in the Eighteenth Century Atlantic World,* ed. Frans de Bruyn and Shaun Regan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 240

[33] J.A. Fuller Maitland, *The Oxford History of Music: The Age of Bach and Handel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), 346.

subject of patriotic British verse. The outpourings of national sentiment that followed the battles that decisively turned the tide of the Seven Years' War in favor of Great Britain in the Year of Miracles of 1759, or the successful conclusion in 1763 of that conflict, both of which saw a great interest in patriotic songs, did little to change this fact.

Songbooks continued to be national in the sense that they described themselves by the national group from which they drew songs, or were targeting towards, chiefly English and Scottish. More widely, in songbooks advertised for middleclass Britons, there was little concern about which songs were incorporated, except that they should be those that were new and popular. Publishing was centered in London amongst middleclass socialites, especially around the nexus of printers located in and around Paternoster Row.[34] These songs were popular among the wider population but not universally known in their entirety due to the difficulty of acquiring books or pamphlets or in gaining access to the aristocratic concert halls in which they were performed. This is indicated by the repeated singing of the most widely known verses of these songs in 18th century public displays, as occurred when elements of the Foot Guards marching through London en route to European battlefields were met by massive crowds of people repeatedly singing only the chorus to *Heart of Oak.*[35]

Liberty and Whig Opposition in British Songbooks

Between the end of the Seven Years' War and the outbreak of the French Revolution, songbooks continued to be reflective of genteel associations and the domination of Paternoster Row. This was in opposition to emerging patriotic societies, often loyal to political factions, which Linda Colley equates with the wider public itself.[36] After the Seven Years' War and through the politically divisive era of the American Revolution, songbooks continued to bear names such as *The Choice Spirit's Chaplet: Or A Poetry from Parnassus,*[37] *The London Songster, or Polite Musical Companion,*[38] and *The Man of Pleasure's Songbook or The Festival of Venus,*[39] reflecting the continuing dominance in popular music and songbooks of aristocratic and middle class genteel culture, rather than martial or overtly patriotic sentiment.

What did change throughout the second half of the 18th century was the slow development of a wider British, rather than solely English, supranational culture within songbooks. *The Man of Pleasure's Songbook* included "celebrated Irish songs,"[40] while *St.Cecilia or The British Songster* incorporated both English and Scots songs.[41] While other songbooks had Scots, Irish and English songs in one volume, *The Vocal Magazine*

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[34] S. Bladon, *The Brent; Or English Syren* (London: For S. Blandon, Paternoster Row, 1765), 131.

[35] "London Intelligence," *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, July 24, 1760, news.

[36] Colley, *Britons*, 88.

[37] George Alexander Stevens, *The Choice Spirit's Chaplet: Or A Poetry from Parnassus* (London: John Dunn, 1771), 1. This book included Heart of Oak, on p. 251, and God Save the King, p. 299, with songs of romance, drinking, religion and locality without distinction.

[38] T. Lowndes, *The London Songster or Polite Musical Companion* (London: T. Lowndes, 1788), 1.

[39] *The Man of Pleasure's Songbook or The Festival of Venus* (Unknown: 1780), 1.

[40] *The Man of Pleasure's Songbook*, 31.

[41] Campbell Denovan, *St.Cecilia or the British Songster* (Edinburgh: Campbell Denovan, 1782), 1.

or British Songster was the first to advertise the three musical traditions as part of a unified British songbook.[42] Published in 1778, it continued to be published until 1784 by different publishers, all on Paternoster Row. Despite this, this songbook and others like it continued many of the same trends as before: the mixing of patriotic or martial ballads with many more love songs, drinking tunes and poetry of mixed national origin, for the purpose of providing the lyrics to songs sung by the middle-class socialites when entertaining, rather than for a political aim.

Songs stressing peace with Britain's American colonies were among the newest contributions to songbooks, due to political unrest and military conflict in the North American colonies between 1765 and 1784. The period of political agitation in Britain and the colonies in the period surrounding the American Revolution gave rise to songbooks dedicated in large part to politics, aimed towards the liberal Whig political inclinations of those middle-class men who already formed the clientele of British printers. Animosities in British towns and cities like Birmingham, Worcester and Coventry against the idea of "virtual representation"[43] in Parliament was reflected by the rise of not only political songs, stressing ideas of liberty associated with earlier Whig philosophies as well as the ideals of the American Revolution, but also songbooks that were written in direct opposition to the actions of the monarchy and the Tory government of Lord North.[44]

John Freeth's *The Political Songster*, first published in 1771, contained both sincere and ribald songs that touched on diverse political topics ranging from the state of relations between Parliament and the American colonies, to the reform of laws and taxes relating to wheat and corn. Between 1771 and 1790 it was updated and printed in six major editions as "a touch on the times,"[45] with the aim of continually providing a source of contemporary political music. The writing and printing of major collections of political songs in centers of printing outside of London, like Birmingham, decentralized and weakened the genteel grip that Paternoster Row and Fleet Street had on British publishing. The author's own autobiographical introduction to the sixth edition reflected something of this trend towards decentralization. John Freeth was a publican and amateur collector and writer of political songs, rather than a London essayist, critic or poet. It was middle-class London men who composed the greater part of the genteel urban society involved in the assembly, publication or collecting of songbooks, as reflected by the contents and advertisements of the previously mentioned songbooks. In the introduction to the sixth edition in 1790, Freeth wrote that it was his thirty years listening to his customers and the forming of "friendships which I might not otherwise have experienced," that gave him literary success as a writer and collector of songs.[46]

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[42] Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Journal Zurr Kunstgeschichte* (Nurnberg: Johann Ebhard, 1779), 337.
[43] James E. Bradley, "The British Public and the American Revolution: Ideology, Interest and Opinion," in *Britain and the American Revolution.,* ed. H.T. Dickson (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), 131.
[44] J. Freeth, *The Political Songster; Addressed to the Sons of Freedom and Lovers of Humour* (Birmingham: J. Baskerville, 1771), 4.
[45] John Freeth, *The Political Songster; Or A Touch on the Times* (Birmingham: Thomas Pearson, 1790), 1.
[46] Freeth, *Political Songster: Touch on the Times*, 2.

Something of Freeth's accomplishments and methods are hinted at in his own reflections. The "success"[47] he experienced in singing songs to his customers, suggesting the important means of oral tradition as a transmitting popular, and in particular political, songs led him to begin writing and collecting ballads. How successful he was financially is unclear. His book was recommended to be sold at more than three shillings in 1790,[48] but previous editions published in the immediate aftermath of the American Revolution were advertised in the London press for sale at one shilling,[49] considerably lower in price than most books. That a publican, due to his literary popularity, found a lifelong ally in the 11th Duke of Norfolk, a prominent opponent of the war against the American colonies - and his sixth edition is in part dedicated to him and other supporters - shows something of the influence that Freeth possessed. He also counted on numerous rural "companies" of singing activists as supporters, highlighting the support given to political agitators from rural communities and also the growing reach of songbooks and songwriters that existed outside of the traditional centers of printing in London.[50]

The capstone publication to Freeth's 30-year career as a collector and writer of songs included praise for those who supported "THE RIGHTS of MANKIND."[51] Coming just after the outbreak of the French Revolution and the publication of the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789, the final edition of Freeth's songbook joined the growing move by printers towards political agitation in support of the French Revolution. The rise of political songs and songbooks was noted by genteel contributors to magazines and journals, who, though recognizing the power of political songs "to lead on armies to conquest, and dethrone kings," rose to defend "bacchanalian and amorous songs" as sung at Vauxhall and other centers of genteel music.[52] These political songs were introduced not only as Freeth had traditionally done, in taverns and in songbooks, but also in the proliferation of single sheets of music. These pamphlets of music were often distributed to supporters at rallies and meetings by the growing number of radical political societies, making access to political music by the lower class much easier, to the consternation or amusement of those participating in the public realm.[53] In addition to being passed out by political operatives to their supporters, ballads and other associated materials printed on broadsheets such as cartoons, public announcements and newspapers, passed through multiple hands after being purchased and were posted in windows of shops and taverns. Though few broadsheets survive today, the same political images that adorned a variety of consumer products, from beer mugs to commemorative

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[47] *Loc. cit.*

[48] *Loc. cit.*

[49] "The Political Songster," *St. James Chronicle or London Evening Post*, July 22, 1784, classified ads.

[50] *Ibid.,* 4.

[51] *Ibid.,* 3.

[52] "On songs and songwriting," in *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* (London: R. Bent, 1788), 30.

[53] J. Thewall, "Political Songs," in *The Tribune: A Periodical Publication* (London: Beaufort, 1795), 165. In this case, the author was a participant in the Treason Trials of 1794, which was interrupted by the singing of songs by supporters, printed in pamphlet form by opposing factions.

tokens in memory of certain people or events, were placed on ballads,[54] linking songs to particular political imagery.

By the time of Freeth's self-imposed retirement from the public sphere, there were other songbooks quickly being printed to satiate demand for political songs in the aftermath of the opening of the French Revolution. The generation of Freeth, who had been part of a political ballad writing tradition that came out of the period of the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution, was being replaced by the "'new voices'"[55] movement of songwriters that had not participated in those events. Informed in large part by the political debate that emerged after the publication of Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution of France*, of which Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* was the most significant response, this new generation of songwriters, ballad collectors and songbook publishers were deeply entrenched in the debate in Britain over the French Revolution. Taking the form of parliamentary debate, a vigorous pamphlet on war and mob violence, this political conflict was fought by opposition Whigs, London radicals, provincial reformers and others sympathetic with the aims of the French Revolution and supporters of the Pitt government and of King George III.

The French Revolution came at the centenary of Great Britain's own revolution, sparking a debate over the nature of English liberty as it had been defined since 1688 in relation to the events unfolding in France. The songbook *A Collection of Odes, Songs and Epigrams Against the Whigs, alias The Blue and Buff* was a favorite of the supporters of Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger. Against this faction was arrayed the "talents" of the opposition, the Whig factions led by Charles Fox, whose work seemed to "rise triumphant" over the Tories in the field of songwriting.[56] The Whigs targeted in *Blue and Buff*, including Edmund Burke and the Duke of Portland, both of whom would later support the government of Pitt, are described as "imposters,"[57] whore-mongers,[58] and supporters of the French republicans.[59] Such divisive language left little in common with the past genteel songbooks that had included some of the same patriotic ballads, such as *Rule Britannia* or *Heart of Oak,* that had become part of the British national canon of music.

Before the French Revolution, only *The Union Songbook*, printed in 1781, had presented a collection of national songs partnered with Tory politics, the printing of which coincided with the fall of the Tory government of Lord North at the end of the American Revolution. This was a precedent that had been set more than a century prior in the songs written and collected by the Royalist antecedents of the Tories in opposition to the republican and military governments of Britain in the English Civil War era.

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[54] Clive Emsley, *Britain and the French Revolution* (Edinburgh: Pearson Education, 2000), 12.

[55] Ffion Mair Jones, *Welsh Ballads of the French Revolution* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 2012), 9.

[56] "Monthly Catalogue," in *The Critical Review, or Annals of Literature* (London: A. Hamilton, 1790), 715.

[57] John Bell, *A Collection of Odes, Songs and Epigrams Against the Whigs alias The Blue and Buff* (London: John Bell, 1790), v. Burke is caricatured as "Paddy" Burke, due to his Irish extraction and alleged adherence to his mother's Catholic faith. These types of caricatures are not unusual, but this is an early use of Pat or Paddy as a synonym for Irish Catholic sedition.

[58] Bell, *Blue and Buff*, 31.

[59] *Ibid.,* 59.

Reprinted in the 18th century, the political language used by self described "loyalists" and "lovers of the constitution"[60] continued in 18th century political and patriotic songs. Unlike the *Collection of Loyal Songs* collected in the 17th century and reprinted in the 18th century, *The Union Songbook* was accompanied by the traditional drinking and love songs common in songbooks of the period. This inclusion made it much less like Freeth's collection of political songs and much more a traditional songbook, geared for an audience with Tory, rather than Whig sympathies.

The French Revolution and Popular Song

The events of 1789 to 1792, the "annus mirabilis of the English popular movement,"[61] were characterized by the emergence of formal societies affiliated with domestic reform and friendship with the new French government, in opposition to the "'Church and King'" clubs that supported the crown and the ruling government. Songbooks, and journals that collected songs, whether overtly political or not, were often associated with one or more of these societies; at the very least they were associated with the wider ideologies of British political factions that were galvanized by the reduction of the French monarchy in favor of revolutionary parliamentarians. The importance of singing in relation to the popular, national and republican identity emerging amongst the French populace was not lost on Britons, who read of the singing habits of the sans-culottes who sang their own "patriotic songs"[62] while tending the grounds of the Tuileries under the gaze of the imprisoned King Louis XVI. Though the appearance in the British press of French revolutionary songs such as *La Marseillaise* and *Ça Ira* were amusing or entertaining to those writing in the elevated circles of London literary society, the image of "the Bonnet Rouge upon our sovereign's head" and "the Tricouleur Standard on the Tower of London"[63] was becoming a very real possibility after the success of French arms at the Battle of Valmy in 1792, and the advance into the Low Countries by soldier-citizens motivated by the "enthusiastic ardor" and the "toxin" of patriotic songs.[64]

The adoption of French revolutionary and patriotic songs by British radicals and opposition factions was encouraged by the French revolutionary government, which printed *La Marseillaise* for distribution in Britain by the London Revolutionary Society.[65] The actions of political radicals was restrained in part due to the deteriorating nature of relations between France and Britain and the growing suspicion by supporters of the British crown and government that there existed a concerted alliance between France and political opponents in the United Kingdom. A royal decree banning seditious writings in

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[60] J. Stone, *A Collection of Loyal Songs Written Against the Rump Parliament* (London: J. Stone, 1731), III.

[61] Albert Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty: The English Democratic Movement in the Age of the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 171.

[62] J. Robinson, "Foreign News," *The Lady's Magazine*, January 1792, 500.

[63] John Debrett, "The Conduct of the King of Prussia and General Dumourier," *The British Critic, A New Review*, May-August, 1792, 25.

[64] M. De Viette, *Dumourier Unmasked: Or an Account of the Life and Adventures of the Hero of Jemappe* (London: J. Owen, 1793), 102.

[65] Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty*, 247.

May of 1792 proved ineffective and at the end of the year the National Convention in France was openly supporting internal disorder in Britain, a move followed in Britain by a second harsher decree and the calling up of English, Scottish and Irish militia in anticipation of war.[66]

The singing of *La Marseillaise* in English taverns, or of *Ça Ira* in English music shops, quickly led to the publishing of these songs in radical songbooks. Whether due to the restrictions placed on access to French copies by revolutionary societies[67] or to the barrier of language to general comprehension, revolutionary songs were converted to English variants such as *The Marseilles March,* which held only a passing similarity to the French original. Almost simultaneously, *Ça Ira* appeared in British revolutionary songbooks with far different lyrics than sung in France.[68] Apart from poetic license taken during translation from French to English, British songwriters had to consider subject matter when making these songs suitable for an English audience.

The violent rhetoric that appeared in French revolutionary songs was not necessarily a prohibitive factor in its acceptance by British radicals, as English language songs written during the period demonstrated. A ballad handed out by the Sheffield songwriter, political agitator and cutler Joseph Mather encouraged the murder and mutilation of a master-cutler who had violated guild rules in the making of knives,[69] but expressly anti-government and anti-monarchical ballads were not as violent as the songs sung by the citizens of Paris who had stormed the Tuileries Palace and killed the King's Swiss bodyguards, or by the French citizens serving in the Army of the Rhine. Great Britain and Ireland, even with unrest in both the streets and the countryside, simply was not being subjected to the kind of class conflict or revolutionary warfare that had become a daily reality across Western Europe by 1792. The songbook *Tribute to Liberty*,[70] published in 1793, changed the lyrics of *La Marseillaise* to something less sanguine, but anonymously written songs distributed in British taverns and political rallies carefully suggested the primary motives of French and British radicals, the overthrow of the dynastic monarchies that had ruled Europe for more than a millennium.[71] These songs often adopted tunes used in earlier 18th century patriotic and national ballads that were well already widely known, such as *Heart of Oak* and *Rule Britannia,* appealing to the widespread popularity of these songs, as well as the continued efforts of radical printers and songwriters to get around the Royal decrees limiting seditious writing.

The Royal decrees, and further factional divisions among the Whigs, led the author of *Tribute to Liberty*, the radical poet Robert Thompson, to leave Britain for France at the end of 1792. There he enlisted as an officer in the revolutionary French

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[66] Emsley, *Britain and the French Revolution,* 25. The National Convention also promised military support to any people who pledged fraternity with the ideas of the revolution. See Rebecca Fraser, *The Story of Britain: From the Romans to the Present* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 477.

[67] *Loc. cit.* The meetings of the London Revolution Society were as much social events as they were political, and popular, but access was restricted to "friends of liberty." See also William McCarthy, *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Voice of the Enlightenment* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 2008), 329.

[68] R. Thompson. *A Tribute to Liberty* (London: Thompson, 1793), 79.

[69] Goodwin, 163.

[70] Thompson, *A Tribute to Liberty*, 59.

[71] *Ibid.,* 53.

Army.[72] His self-imposed exile did not prevent his book from being published in 1793, likely before the execution of Louis XVI. At the very least, his book was not edited in his absence to reflect ongoing events in France. The killing of the French King at the guillotine in January 1793 was met with "widespread revulsion" in Britain, isolating radical supporters of the revolution from Whigs and reformers.[73] In the wake of the execution of the French monarch, the British government expelled French diplomats and began to mobilize for war, demanding that the France end its campaign in the Low Countries. In response, France declared war. The deterioration of Anglo-French relations through the winter of 1792 and 1793, and the declaration of war in February, further hardened British public opinion and again divided the Whig opposition. Radicals in Parliament and in polite society were increasingly associated with the growing number of provincial reform movements, of whom immediate economic and social concerns were of more importance than the political conflict between the Whigs and the Tories, or the ideological and geopolitical conflicts between France and Britain. With the execution of the French King, it was now impossible for those who supported reform as embodied in the revolutionary tenets of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity to remove themselves from the idea that if reform and revolution were to come to Britain, it would mean the overthrow of the British constitution and monarchy.

The Revolution Controversy and the Patriotic Reaction

It was against this background that George Gower published his *Patriotic Songster*. Support for the ideals of the French Revolution had spread from London to other major metropolitan centers across the British Isles, particularly those being radically altered by the industrial revolution, like Birmingham, or in those where there was a growing move towards forging a political path separate from Great Britain, as in Belfast and Dublin. This move had been done in part through the support given by London printers to radical and reform groups, such as the Anglo-Scottish London Corresponding Society, of which Robert Thompson had been a member. Just as the network of those who were sympathetic with the revolution in France was increasingly becoming decentralized from London printers, so too would be the movement towards providing a popular national movement to support the Pitt government, the British crown and the war effort against revolutionary France.[74]

George Gower was a minor printer in Kidderminster, Worcestershire, with little involvement either in the political debates of the late 18th century, or the established printing industry in central London. His first connection to the government came from the appointment of King George III's personal chaplain, George Butt, who was appointed as

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[72] John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative and Treason, Fantasies of Regicide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 9.

[73] Fraser, *The Story of Britain,* 477.

[74] See Albert Goodwin's *The Friends of Liberty: The English Democratic Movement in the Age of the French Revolution* for an in-depth history of British radical movements and its relationship to the division of the Whig Club.

Vicar of Kidderminster in 1787.[75] An avid poet, George Butt used Gower's shop to publish both his poetry and religious tracts, notably *The Briton's Prayer*, a short "ode" written in honor of George III's visit in 1787 to the Cathedral of Worcester.[76] Gower's early work was dominated by the printing of educational and religious texts. Given the national proliferation of loyalist King and Country societies in opposition to dissenters, French sympathizers and radical reformers, Gower easily made the transition from being a printer of establishment educational and religious texts to one of national loyalist publications.

There is no evidence that Gower was a member of any particular loyal society but Kidderminster was a center of popular support for the proclamation made against seditious writing in 1792. After the decree, the town sent a letter of support to William Pitt with more than fifteen hundred signatories,[77] out of a total population of less than 8,000.[78] Such activities were supported the creation of loyalist organizations centered on the Church of England. The most prominent being John Reeves' government sponsored 'Association for the Preservation of Property Against Republicans and Levellers,'[79] known as the 'The Crown and Anchor Society' after the London tavern in which its meetings were held. Loyal societies relied on government patronage, and the support of conservative aristocrats, but also on middling provincial communities such as Kidderminster, whose small landowners and businessmen formed the backbone of both the establishment Church and the militia. Loyalist organizations with ties to the government, church and the militia had emerged during both the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution, as allies of the Tories, as supporters of the monarchy and as supporters of efforts to create a military reserve against a possible French invasion. The widespread resurrection of these societies in the late Fall and Winter of 1792 came as the French government, already supporting radicals in Britain with both broadsides and diplomatic rhetoric, began promising financial support and military intervention to aid a revolution against the British government.

There is no evidence that Gower was a member of John Reeves Crown and Anchor society but *Gower's Patriotic Songster* was dedicated to the associations "that have appeared" for "Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers."[80] Without mentioning John Reeves, the loyalist societies or the Tory party, Gower dedicated his work to their cause, adopting the precise terminology utilized by John Reeves' organization. Published in 1793, it was likely written late in 1792, when the society was formed. The songs included in the appendix on the imprisonment of Louis XVI indicate that the King of France was still alive when the book was assembled, while

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[75] Henry de Beltgens Gibbins, *A History of the Grammar School of Charles King of England in Kidderminster* (Kidderminster: The Shuttle, 1903), 106.

[76] George Butt, *The Britain's Prayer* (Kidderminster: George Gower, 1787), 1.

[77] H. T. Dickson, *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in 18th Century Britain* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), 150.

[78] Kidderminster Church of England Mutual Improvement Society, *Notes And Suggestions For a History of Kidderminster* (Kidderminster: Thomas Mark, 1858), 49.

[79] Eric Evans, *William Pitt the Younger* (London: Routledge, 1999), 59.

[80] Gower, *Gower's Patriotic Songster,* 1st ed., 1.

the dedication that appears at the beginning of the appendix are to the *executed* King of France. Finally, the last song in the appendix, *Recruiting Song*, which was a hasty addition to the book, suggests that it was edited and finally printed as Britain began the open preparations for a general war with France, sometime after January 21st and the outbreak of war in February.[81]

Whether Gower was commissioned to public *Patriotic Songster* by the government, the Church of England, or by John Reeves' association may never be known, but for the price of a sixpence,[82] or half a shilling, Gower's work was significantly cheaper than most other songbooks then on the market, including the most popular radical and Whig tracts. Additionally, at 62 pages, it was much more portable than other songbooks then available, ideal for widespread transport and distribution. Songs such as "Association of Loyal True Blue" reflected its Tory symbolism.[83] Though it was printed in a locality far from the center of songbook publishing in London, songs dedicated to various groups in other cities, such as Portsmouth and Wolverhampton, indicate that the audience was not local, but national.[84] A fundamental feature of the book was the reclaiming of the title patriot, a word associated with American and Irish radicals and the Whig opposition. The association of formerly "patriotic" songs with radicalism and the French Revolution is openly mocked, as seen in "Pat-Riot," a tune mocking Irish sympathizers of France and aspirants for a separate Irish state. The loyalist and Tory view of opposition political goals, "to take the King's head from his shoulders,"[85] are clearly stated, in a manner that in radical songbooks had been restrained by the acts against seditious writing.

The response the book received in literary circles was vitriolic. "These songs are well calculated to answer the end proposed by their dissemination, to increase John Bull's love for the King," wrote the editors of *The Monthly Review*. "May EVERYONE, who adopts these means, see his error, and repent."[86] Likewise, *The Critical Review* of May 1793 recommended it for "tavern-goers" and "dinner-hunters," concluding that it was "below criticism."[87] Criticism from London literary circles appears to have done little to offset the popularity of Gower's work. Shortly after his songbook appeared, similar songbooks supported by semi-official Loyalist organizations began appearing across Great Britain. While Gower's other works, particularly George Butt's poetry, had been advertised in London, his patriotic songster was quickly disseminated to stores in both London and Edinburgh.[88]

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[81] *Ibid.,* 62. The different spacing of the print, as well as spelling mistakes, suggests the speed with which it was added. It was only after the declaration of war that the old British cry of Delenda Gallica, in emulation of the Roman Delenda Carthago, *Carthage Must be Destroyed*, was revived. It is the first mention in such a book that there was an active war: Gower "Calls her sons to War's alarms."

[82] *Ibid.,* 1.

[83] *Ibid.,* 8.

[84] *Ibid.,* 37.

[85] *Ibid.,* 44.

[86] "Monthly Catalogue: Politics and Police," *The Monthly Review*, January-April 1793, 82.

[87] "Monthly Catalogue: Poetical," *The Critical Review; Or Annals of Literature,* May 1793, 113.

[88] "Catalogue of New Books," *The Scots Magazines*, January 1793, 137.

With war with France begun, Gower's book was followed quickly by *The Anti-Gallican Songster* and *The Anti-Levelling Songster.*[89] Published as a series at the demand of John Reeves' society, the first volumes, small 16 page affairs focused on anti-French and anti-radical songs, were printed immediately after the publication of Gower's own work.[90] The expansion of the 'Crown and Anchor" society to more than 2,000 local chapters between November 1792 and the Spring of 1792[91] guaranteed Gower and likeminded publishers that they would have a steady stream of loyalist customers. Such organizations encouraged the proliferation of loyalist texts and politically affiliated printers, booksellers and tavern keepers to sell them. At least two distinct editions of Gower's book were published between 1793 and 1795,[92] and other undated and unmarked editions, likely unapproved copies, were printed in the following years.[93] By 1797, copies appeared as far afield as Eastern Germany.[94] In the closing year of the century, a final edition was published, with the support of the poet laureate Henry James Pye, dedicated to the opening of the new century and advertised as "available in every bookseller in the Kingdom."[95]

The success of patriotic songbooks like Gower's was a key part of a larger movement of Loyalist activity between November 1792 and the Summer of 1793, the success of which largely negated the need for such politically conservative national songbooks. The printing of loyalist pamphlets and songbooks in 1793 accompanied attacks on rival printing offices and on radical political meetings. The initiation of charges of sedition on remaining radical opposition elements contributed to the already declining and divided power of radical opposition, especially amongst the printers of London. Boyd Hilton's *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People* describes the "symbiotic relationship"[96] between the radicals and the extreme loyalists, and without a radical opposition to fight with, and with war against republican France a reality, there was a precipitous decline in loyalist activity in the Spring of 1793. British soldiers had been sent to Flanders just weeks after the declaration of war, and loyalism was increasingly becoming a prerogative of the government and the military, rather than of the loyalist press. Loyalist movements that had been civil and literary groups become military and paramilitary organizations, formalized into the expansive British Volunteer Corps in 1794. It was a force envisaged to protect British national interests against foreign invasion as well as domestic unrest and political agitation, augmenting the militia and yeomanry already called up.[97] In the coming years it would form a substantive reserve

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[89] Chris Evans, *Debating the Revolution: Britain in the 1790s* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 60.

[90] "Publications Printed by the Order of the Association for the Preservation of Liberty and Property Against Republicans and Levellers," *The Monthly Review, Or Literary Journal,* January to April 1793, 7.

[91] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People*, 69.

[92] George Gower, *Gower's Patriotic Songster,* 2nd ed. (Kidderminster: G.Gower, 1795), 1.

[93] Thomas Thorpe, *Catalogue of Books Foreign and English On Sale by Thomas Thorpe* (London: Thomas Thorpe, 1829), 192.

[94] Friedrichs Von Blanckenburg, *Litterarische Zusätze* (Leipzig: Blanckenburg, 1797), 295.

[95] George Gower, *Gower's Patriotic Songster,* 1799 ed. (London: George Gower, 1799), 1.

[96] Hilton, 70.

[97] Austin Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement, 1794 to 1814* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 22.

from which the regular army would draw officers and men to serve in the increasingly global war against France and her allies.

The Legacy of Popular Patriotic Song in Britain

Patriotic songbooks continued to be printed after the decline of the loyalist press in 1793, but they would rarely be as influential or political. Increasingly songbooks were broadly national, eschewing the language of English liberty as it had been written on in the 18th century. Instead they were exchanged for military and wartime songs that appealed to a supranational British identity that arrayed England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland against France and her allies, as the appearance of loyalist pro-war ballads in other British languages, such as Welsh, indicate.[98] The transition of French international republicanism with Napoleonic despotism in part brought remaining radicals into a wider national culture that was in part defined by song, as indicated by the periodic proliferation of printed works that combined "maximum panic" with "the greatest martial fervor." It was a movement that peaked in the period between the end of the brief Peace of Amiens in 1802 and the smashing of the combined Franco-Spanish fleet at Trafalgar in 1805, which ended the possibility of a French invasion of Britain.[99]

The end of the French invasion threat and the savage suppression of Irish rebellions supported by France made supranational British songbooks a widespread phenomenon. The emergence of Irish loyalist songs, often associated with the Orange Order, aided in turning what had been in Gower's case a songbook as much about London politics as it was about British opposition to republicanism and France, into a supranational and martial type of songbook. *The Patriots Vocal Miscellany,* published in Dublin in 1804, was a truly supranational British songbook. It appealed to both an Irish ethnic and national identity, as well as political and cultural loyalty to a larger identity within the framework of Great Britain. As Gower had in 1793, the term "patriotic" was firmly associated with loyalty to the British government, and to the war effort against France and her allies.[100]

George Gower's death in 1813 did not bring an end to the role of his *Patriotic Songster*. The book continued to sell after his death, in part because if Britain was at war with France, as it would be until 1815, such books would find a venue. Though the early years of his life are unclear, George Gower had by his death established himself not only as a bookseller and printer in the war years, but had expanded into the traditional Kidderminster industry of carpet manufacturing. His lengthy will provided for the division of what had become by 1813 substantial assets in both printing and manufacturing, indicating something of the success he enjoyed after the *Patriotic*

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[98] Jones, *Welsh Ballads,* 34. Jones provides numerous examples where dissenting religion and Welsh language, as well as political reform, were fitted to serve British wartime loyalism.
[99] Hilton, 103.
[100] Anonymous, *The Patriots Vocal Miscellany; Or a Collection of Loyal Songs* (Dublin: Booksellers of Ireland, 1804).

Songster was first published.[101] His patriotic songbook continued to appear after the final overthrow of Napoleon in 1815, but the appearance of other patriotic songbooks in emulation of his, more than 20 years after it was published is a more enduring legacy to the importance of his work. *The Patriotic Songster* printed in County Tyrone in Northern Ireland in 1815 combined wartime songs, national songs and songs associated with the Orange Order, and was advertised as "the Most Admired Loyal, Patriotic and Constitutional Songs."[102] At a cost of more than two shillings and at 144 pages, it reflected neither the conciseness or low price of Gower's work. Yet it appealed to the same national and constitutional effusions of loyalty that Gower had two decades earlier. Patriotic songbooks had become by 1815 a type of songbook, joining the old collections of patriotic verse, drinking songs and love poetry that had been the dominant type of songbook in the eighteenth century.

While the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution had seen the production of popular political songbooks, the influence of such books outside immediate political agendas, such as the fall of the North government in 1782, was limited. It took the efforts of individuals, such as the radical John Freeth, to keep radical and opposition sentiments alive in the form of popular song. Freeth, who came out of retirement periodically after 1789 to republish his political songbooks under assumed names, struggled to reignite popular patriotism as an element of political opposition and his work little endured after his death in 1808. Gower's death in 1813 did little to warrant more than anything but a mention in popular magazines of the time, but his legacy, and that of popular, patriotic and loyal songbooks was secure.

His influence was in the creation of a cheap and accessible form of patriotic and national songbook, one that provided for the public a means to access songs that transcended politics and adopt a unified British identity. The experience of fighting for more than twenty years the armies and navies of Republican and Napoleonic France encouraged this national identity and though songbooks continued to change depending on the immediate circumstances of the war, the precedent set by Gower in 1793 was well established. When his songbooks were recovered in the late 19th century by Victorian ballad collectors, his personal legacy had vanished: his family had ceased printing and the carpet company he set up during the war, the Woodward Gower Company, had suspended business in 1879.[103] Yet popular collections of patriotic and martial ballads had been printed throughout the nineteenth century, with special interest during times of crisis, such as the Crimean War, and later during the Boer War and World War One. Though the reputation of his songster among critics in the late 19th century was little better than it had been when first published, George Gower's *Patriotic Songster* marks an important shift in the publication of songbooks and the creation of a popular national canon of British songs that remain important to the present day.

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[101] Last Will and Testament of George Gower of Kidderminster, the Public Record Office, the National Archives, London.

[102] Joseph Alexander, *The Patriotic Songster* (Strabane: Joseph Alexander, 1815), 1.

[103] Seyd and Company, *The Bristol, South Wales and Gloucester Commercial List* (Seyd and Company, 1886), 19.

Aesthetics and Ideology in the Third Reich[1]

Will Fitz

"Die Kunst wird stets Ausdruck und Spiegel der Sehnsucht und der Wirklichkeit einer Zeit sein."
"Art will always remain the expression and the reflection of the longings and the realities of an era...."

"The cosmopolitan contemplative attitude is rapidly disappearing. Heroism is arising passionately as the future shaper and leader of political destinies. The task of art is to give expression to this determining spirit of the age. Blood and race will once more become the source of artistic intuition. The task of the government, particularly in an age of limited political power, is to ensure that the internal value of life and the will of the nation to live are given that much more monumental artistic expression in culture."

-Adolf Hitler, March 23, 1933[2]

       These words, delivered in the Reichstag on the eve of the passage of the Enabling Act—the definitive beginning of the Third Reich—provide perhaps one of the most valuable insights into the power of Nazism. As a movement that struggled from the very beginning to provide a clear political or economic solution for Germany, often presenting conflicting stances, National Socialism relied on subjectivity, and art served that role perfectly. Adolf Hitler was an artist, and while his life as an artist and his life as Führer are often divorced in historical narratives, those who surrounded him throughout his political career knew that he always considered himself more of an artist than a politician.[3] Hitler understood the power of art, and, though he failed as a painter, he played an indispensable role in creating the artistic "masterpiece" of the Third Reich. Thomas Mann claimed in his 1938 essay, *Bruder Hitler* (Brother Hitler)*,* that Hitler, though he was famously rejected from art school, yet became—in some perverted way—one of the most successful artists in history.[4] His vision for the future of Germany encompassed (albeit rather vaguely) all aspects of life fused into a *Gesamtkunstwerk*—a term used by Richard Wagner to describe a synthesis of all arts—and the thousand-year Reich would itself be this total work of art. Hitler, as the first *Künstlerpolitiker* (artist-politician), hoped to be its architect.[5]

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[1] I would like to thank Professor Steinweis for his help with planning and writing this paper, without which this project would not have materialized.

[2] Adolf Hitler, "Berlin, Reichstag — Speech of March 23, 1933," Hitler Historical Museum, http://www.hitler.org/speeches/03-23-33.html.

[3] Frederic Spotts, *Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics* (Woodstock: Overlook, 2003), 43.

[4] *Ibid.,* 3.

[5] *Ibid.,* 10.

Walter Benjamin described fascism as the "aestheticization of politics."[6] Many historians, sociologists, and psychologists have attempted to explain how the Nazis crafted their own power and ubiquity through aesthetics. In response to the predominant liberal *histoire événementielle* (the history of 'the drama of great events'), historian George Mosse explained:

> We failed to see that the fascist aesthetic itself reflected the needs and hopes of contemporary society, that what we brushed aside as the so-called superstructure was in reality the means through which most people grasped the fascist message, transforming politics into a civic religion.[7]

An aesthetic of strength, size, and power on one hand complemented by peace and homogeneity on the other created a totally encompassing *Weltanschauung* (worldview), or at least the facade of one, which appeared to resolve its own contradictions.

Of course, finding a definitive "National Socialist aesthetic" is only possible to a limited extent, as not all art of the period followed the same style, and even the Nazi cultural elites often disagreed on what constituted *Nazi* art. The research I assemble in this paper, therefore, is not an attempt to define an aesthetic consciously produced by ideologues, but an analysis of how *pre*-ideology—the "autonomous process of symbolic formulation" out of which political meaning is extracted—manifests itself in different mediums in the Nazi period.[8] I also do not intend to present this analysis as the only way of understanding Nazism; many joined the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) out of philosophical agreement, and many, many more joined because it offered them employment, bread, and community. Nevertheless, this paper is focused on the more irrational, psychological elements out of which individuals understood Nazism as an ideology.

A movement that carefully crafted a grand, striking vision of the future, combining motifs of speed and power as well as sentimentalism and sex, National Socialism perfected the art of authority. Its control did not function on a solely political, bureaucratic state-level; more fundamentally, it evoked pre-ideological aesthetics that appealed to emotion and desire. Supplanting a clear theoretical framework with a clear image of beauty, Nazism employed an essence that projected power and demanded respect on an unconscious, psychological level much deeper than any secret police organization or censorship law could. Aesthetics permeate the lives and thoughts of individuals in a way that institutions cannot; therefore, the aesthetics of National Socialism are crucial to an understanding of

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[6] Walter Benjamin, *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit* (Suhrkamp Verlag Frankfurt am Main, 1974), 469, quoted in Ansgar Hillach, Jerold Wikoff, and Ulf Zimmerman, "The Aesthetics of Politics: Walter Benjamin's 'Theories of German Fascism,'" *New German Critique* 17 (Spring 1979), 99-119.

[7] George Mosse, *The Fascist Revolution: Toward a General Theory of Fascism* (New York: Howard Fertig Publisher, 1999), 46, quoted in Spotts, xiii.

[8] Clifford Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," in *Ideology and Discontent,* ed. David Apter (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 56, quoted in Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 16.

its fundamental, subconscious appeal. The pre-ideological elements which underlay Nazism are as important as its political theory because the images and the impressions they produced crucially shaped the way the individual interpreted the world.

Reactionary Modernism

One of the most striking aspects of Nazi aesthetics is the simultaneous exaltation of modernism and romanticism; industry and agriculture; metropolitanism and nationalism. Jeffrey Herf coined the term "reactionary modernism" to describe this seemingly-paradoxical nature of Nazi aesthetics. It conveyed conservative sentiments *through* a modernist mode of understanding, which 1) reconciled right-wing philosophy with modernism and 2) employed the mechanisms of industrial modernity as means towards the ideals of conservatism: a "conservative revolution." Herf explains the essence of reactionary modernism, and its "ends justify the means" implications: "From Nietzsche to Jünger and then Goebbels, the modernist credo was the triumph of spirit and will over reason and the subsequent fusion of this will to an aesthetic mode. If aesthetic experience alone justifies life, morality is suspended and desire has no limits."[9]

This "aesthetic mode" symbolized the conservative revolution by constructing a future in which the turmoil and social upheaval brought on by industrial capitalism was eliminated. The celebration of the self in German Romanticism paradoxically also celebrated class systems and state power.[10] Reactionary modernism employed modernity to *reassert* that traditional social hierarchy, which was supposedly disrupted by the *process* of industrialization—the introduction of the "other" into an otherwise harmonic system—rather than inherent in the structure it created.[11] Suspending morality allowed the forcible reintroduction of old values as means to reconcile the frictions of modern life. Celebration of the self could be reapplied to the industrial working man while also subjugating him back into his conventional class role upheld by the state, now redefined as the *Volksgemeinschaft* (the people's community), the voice of which the state monopolized.

Anthropologist Clifford Geertz described political engagement as the "autonomous process of symbolic formulation," through which "ideologies transform sentiment into significance and make it socially available."[12] Herf describes this as the crafting of symbols, metaphors, and analogies which "can bring discordant meanings—*Technik* and *Kultur* (technology and culture), for example—into a unified framework that renders otherwise incomprehensible social conditions meaningful and makes political action within those settings possible."[13] This also suggests that the means themselves were a critical part of the aesthetic; even though means and ends were treated as distinct, they were inseparable. One implied the other.

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[9] Herf, 12.
[10] *Ibid.,* 51.
[11] Slavoj Žižek, *The Pervert's Guide to Ideology*, directed by Sophie Fiennes (United Kingdom: Zeitgeist Films, 2012), DVD.
[12] Geertz, 56, quoted in Herf, 16.
[13] Herf, 16.

Frederic Spotts claims that the Third Reich was unique in this way; unlike other radical and totalitarian movements in the twentieth century, its aesthetics—symbols, motifs, and myths—are fundamental to a true understanding of its drivers and its emergence as a response to the organization of left-wing radicalism. "[U]nlike Marxism," Spotts claims, "it offered little that was concrete enough to get hold of. What Hitler provided was ritual in place of belief, or ritual *as* belief. Ritual inculcates obedience. It involves loyalty rather than reasoned understanding."[14]

Zeev Sternhell cites an early development of fascism in the violent aestheticism of Gustave Le Bon and Georges Sorel. Building on Le Bon's idea that images alone carry the power to make crowds begin the "violent process of realization," Sorel declared that the masses could only be mobilized by "the image of a 'catastrophic myth' analogous to that of the early Christians."[15] Mussolini picked up this idea in his tactics, and Hitler developed it even further. To Hitler, the violent purification of society was, of course, inherently racial. The "other" in need of destruction was, for the first time, clearly defined, and all that was left between the genetically pre-destined Aryan race and its own "second coming" was a violent purification and self-realization.[16]

Through fostering notably meticulous expectations of style and subject matter in painting, sculpture, film, and fashion alongside street propaganda, Hitler concealed his lack of coherent political vision and replaced it with the subjective, emotional appeal he respected. The Führer wanted his *Weltanschauung* to be reflected in every aspect of German life; his vision of the future had to be conveyed through every medium.

Creative Work and Heroic Realism

Labor imagery, previously associated almost exclusively with the left, was quickly co-opted by the Nazis. The NSDAP under Hitler did not stop there, however; one could even argue that it took the socialist aesthetic to an entirely new level, amplifying the idolization of the worker in an unprecedented way.[17] The 2003 documentary *Eternal Beauty* points out the frequency of the appearance of hands at work in propaganda, which served to impress upon the viewer the energy and renewal brought about by Nazi programs. The *Arbeit und Brot* (work and bread) slogans were, the propaganda claimed, finally translated into reality: a better life for the German worker. Their vision was one of grand projects in the name of the *Volk*, and the building of roads, dams, and drainage swamps produced plenty of film of hands at work. This too was used for the image of mass obedience.[18] In *Triumph des Willes* (Triumph of the Will), the *Reichsarbeitsdienst* (Reich Labor Service) assembles for Hitler in full military style, just as the Hitler Youth, the SA (the "Brownshirts," Hitler's storm troopers), and the SS (the infamous black-clad

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[14] Spotts, 61.

[15] Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*, ed. Jeremy Jennings, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 175, quoted in Eric Michaud and Janet Lloyd, *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 188.

[16] *Ibid.,* 190.

[17] Susan D. Bachrach, Edward J. Phillips, and Steven Luckert, *State of Deception: The Power of Nazi Propaganda,* (Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2009), 35.

[18] Marcel Schwierin, *Eternal Beauty: Vision and Death Wish in the Third Reich,* directed by Marcel Schwierin (Berlin: Marcel Schwierin, 2003).

paramilitaries; Hitler's bodyguards, elite soldiers, and executors of the Final Solution) later do; mass labor was as central to the Nazi expression of power as mass militarization. The Nazis incorporated work and industry into their aesthetic, however, for multiple reasons.

One of the most common illustrations in Nazi posters was the working man, always shown, as before, as independent—no propaganda shows foremen, supervisors, or unionists, except when they are rebelled against as Jews and communists **(Figure 1)**.[19] In the supposed Nazi image of the future, the proletariat is liberated just as it is under socialism, yet somehow without the necessity of collective organization. The age in which industrial might no longer posed a threat to the worker, but instead became part of its "mythology" was supposedly in the near future.

Ernst Jünger frames this emancipation as a redefinition, essentially recategorizing it as a positive freedom rather than a negative one. Each worker redefines himself as "the representative of the figure of the worker," rather than simply a producer of goods. This transcends the dichotomy between exploiter and exploited; rather than emancipation simply being the elimination of exploitation, it is the individual's acquisition of the power to define the space in which he labors.[20] Herf's description of the "triumph of spirit and will" fits perfectly here, as the liberation of the worker is essentially an aesthetic liberation—the symbolic reconceptualization of labor—in which production is not just material, "but also a dispenser of destiny."[21]

Figure 1: Felix Albrecht, *We workers have awakened!*, 1933. Ink and graphite on paper, 90 x 62 cm. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, Washington, DC. https://www.ushmm.org/ (accessed May 2, 2017).

In the words of the NSDAP's 1920 manifesto, "the first obligation of every citizen is to create, either with his mind or with his body." This "creative work" was to occupy the highest level of reverence, and society was to be reorganized into one where all labor—manual, intellectual, artistic, military, and so on—is the expression of the creativity of the Aryan and is directed solely towards the advancement of the *Volk*, propelling it out of turmoil and into peace.[22] In the fascist utopia, "nothing could exist that cannot be conceived of as work," and "any demand for liberty within the world of work is therefore possible only if it takes the form of a demand for work." In other words, the individual emancipates himself through redefining his own work as a creative endeavor within the racial community.[23] Work became the demonstration of "Aryan" creative genius as a whole. Consequently, this meant that more tangible freedoms like bargaining rights and reasonable working hours were only nebulous and extraneous (and, conveniently, needed no recognition by the state). Oswald Spengler, author of *The Decline of the West*, recognized the parallels between the values of German (or at least Prussian) Romanticism and Socialism in *Preußentum und Sozialismus* (Prussianism and socialism):

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[19] *Loc. cit.*

[20] Ernst Jünger, *Le Travailleur,* ed. Julien Hervier (Paris: Christian Bourgeois, 1989), n.p., quoted in Michaud and Lloyd, 195.

[21] *Ibid.,* 195; and Herf, 12.

[22] Gottfried Feder, *Das Programm des NSDAP und seine weltanschaulichen Grundgedanken* (Munich: Eher, 1933), 20, quoted in Michaud and Lloyd, 196.

[23] *Ibid.,* 195.

Power belongs to the whole. The individual serves this whole. The totality is sovereign [...] Not "I" but "we"—a feeling of community to which every individual sacrifices his whole being. The individual does not matter; he must offer himself to the totality. All exist for all, and all partake of that glorious inner freedom, the *libertas oboedientiae* [freedom of obedience].[24]

It is not, based on this, difficult to see how the "creative work for the *Volk*" concept could have satisfied laborers, conservatives, and racial theorists alike. This strict community orientation also made it easy to define and vilify outsiders, who tainted the Aryan creative spirit and its work. *Der Ewige Jude* (The Eternal Jew) states that "the Jews are a *Volk* without farmers and workers, a folk-nation of parasites."[25] Not only did creative work redefine the Aryan man's place within his *Gemeinschaft* (society); it also excluded the Jew from it entirely.

The use of industrial imagery in art served well to communicate the new relationship between work and workers. One of the more ingenious examples of industrial motifs is Walter Ruttmann's *Metall des Himmels* (Metal of the Sky) (**Figure 2**), a 1935 advertisement for the German steel industry.[26] The twelve-minute commercial is a cascade of intense clips of machines spitting out fire, metal hitting metal, and men forging pieces of the new Germany with steel "from the heavens." Schwierin claims that this depiction of an intimate relationship between man and industry served to appeal to the grievances of workers: "steel production mirrored the Nazis' mythological ideas. A modern factory seems to have turned into a living organism. Man and machine merge into a whole: an aesthetic conquest of alienation."[27] The Nazis continued to use this approach in *Ein Lied vom Stahl* (A Song of Steel) and other works, illustrating a future where the working class is a glorified part of society, and Germany becomes a dynamic, futuristic nation of steel where industrialization brings a modern standard of living without the gloom of exploitation or class conflict.[28]
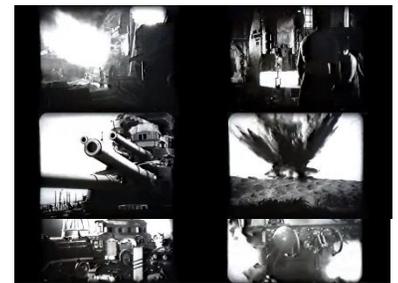
Figure 2: Walter Ruttman, *Metall des Himmels,* directed by Walter Ruttmann (Berlin: Universum Film AG, 1935), film, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c_lingRD9nc (accessed May 5, 2017).

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[24] Oswald Spengler, *Prussianism and Socialism* (Munich: Beck, 1920), 26.

[25] Eberhard Taubert, *Der Ewige Jude,* directed by Fritz Hippler (Deutsche Filmherstellungs- und Verwertungs GmbH, 1940), film, quoted in Schwierin, *Eternal Beauty.*

[26] Schwierin, *Eternal Beauty.*

[27] *Loc. cit.*

[28] *Loc. cit.*

Some paintings from the Nazi period reflect this "Steel Romanticism," as Goebbels labeled it, quite unmistakably; the works of Gerwin, Gessner, and Van Hees **(Figures 3-5)** all portray the same dramatic wide-lensed landscapes, supplanting mountains with silos and smokestacks.[29] These works all omit workers themselves, as if the new *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* (labor community) made industry a being of its own, like nature.[30] However, as Michaud argues, the idyllic, conservative beauty of romanticism displayed in the Nazi aesthetic was packaged with the implication that it could only be actualized through ultramodern industrial violence.

Metall des Himmels is an excellent example of this implication of force. Juxtaposed with footage of industry and commercial goods is film of military power: naval guns firing, planes flying overhead in their dozens, and artillery pounding the earth. This is in 1935; Germany was neither at war nor about to be. The association of industry with war was, one could only conclude, deliberate for purposes other than need.
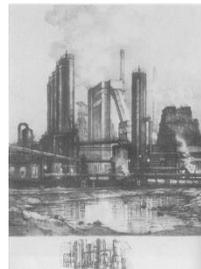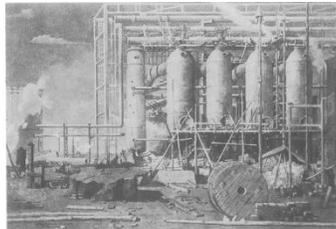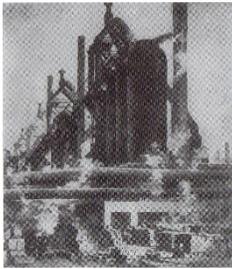
From left to right:
Figure 3: Gerwin, Franz, *The Hermann-Göring Factory Under Construction,* 1940. Oil on canvas, 180 x 55 cm.
Figure 4: Richard Gessner, *The Oil Refinery*, 1941.
Figure 5: Dirk Van Hees, *The Great Coking Plant, with Adjacent Installations*, n.d. Bibliotheque de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Art de Strasbourg. From Michaud and Lloyd, *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), Figs. 96-98.

One could perhaps excuse the glorification of heavy industry in this way in wartime, but in peacetime the implications are much more telling. Industry, to the Nazis, was directly tied to violence, and it seems they had few reservations about revealing this; it even seems at one point in the commercial that smokestacks are likened to massive naval gun barrels, visually linking the production of this sacred steel and the sacred blood ritual the Nazis intended it for.

Another common Nazi theme utilized in *Metall des Himmels* is the beauty of agriculture, tied into the cult of "blood and soil." Farm work contrasts with the speed and dynamism of factories, but still serves the greater image of an accelerated community. Complementing the wealth of new consumer goods, abundance of grain represents a new age of fertility. The purpose here seems to be reconciliation of the capitalistic conflict between urban and rural ways of life; *Metall des Himmels* advertises the best of both worlds in typical Nazi fashion: the luxury of modernity and the simplicity of tradition. It seems that, according to the Nazi image, the two could coexist because all of their respective energies were focused on one purpose: acceleration. In fact, the commercial ends by bringing back brash, unapologetic speed through mashed-together shots of planes, boats, cars, and trains built by "deutsches Volk, deutsche Arbeit, [und] deutscher Stahl" (German people, German labor, [and] German steel).[31]

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[29] Michaud and Lloyd, *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany*, 198.
[30] *Ibid.,* 199.
[31] Paul Engelmann, *Metall des Himmels,* directed by Walter Ruttmann (Berlin: Universum Film AG, 1935), film.

Acceleration and Mobilization

Oddly based on the anticipatory characteristic of Christianity--the second coming being the accelerator of paradise and an instant resolution of conflict—the Nazis espoused a paradise in which work, not faith or good deeds, was the path to salvation, and "life according to the image was already life within the image."[32] Steel Romanticism functioned in much the same way that the protofascist Italian Futurists revered the "beauty of speed."[33] Like Futurism, this portrayal of violent (in the figurative sense) acceleration implied also violence and force in a literal sense **(Figures 6-8)**.

Figures 6-8: Examples of Futurist art.
Figure 6: Umberto Boccioni, *The City Rises*, 1910. Oil on canvas, 199 x 301 cm. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, NY. http://www.moma.org (accessed May 2, 2017).
Figure 7: Tullio Crali, *Before the Parachute Opens,* 1939. Oil on panel, 141 x 151 cm. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, NY. https://www.artsy.net/ (accessed May 5, 2017).
Figure 8: Tullio Crali, *Nose Dive on the City,* 1939. Oil on canvas, 130 x 155 cm. Museo d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto, Rovereto, Italy. http://www.the-athenaeum.org/art/detail.php?ID=150405 (accessed May 5, 2017).

Ernst Jünger described the "acceleration" as a movement that was meant to resolve its own contradictions; "the more we devote ourselves to movement, the more we must become deeply convinced that behind it there is a Being of calm, and that all the speeding up merely translates an imperishable original language." The nature of this acceleration is, to Jünger, the discovery of a heroic realism which can only truly be translated by elites who know how to channel the movement of the masses towards a new type of collective freedom.[34]

Hitler's *Autobahn* (highway) was the embodiment of this pride in speed; "[he] regarded these highways above all as aesthetic monuments." In addition to serving as monuments to German work, highways had a meaning of their own. Roads and bridges highlighted not only architectural and engineering achievement, but also speed's reconciliation with beauty and environment, the German land through which they flowed.[35] Fritz Todt, the head of the *Reichsautobahnen* (Reich highways) project, himself claimed, "the Autobahn matches our National Socialist nature. We wish to see the goal far ahead of us, and we wish to reach it rapidly and directly."[36]

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[32] Michaud and Lloyd, 186.

[33] *Ibid.,* 203.

[34] Jünger, 194-195, quoted in Michaud and Lloyd, 195.

[35] Spotts, 386.

[36] Cited in Michaud and Lloyd. 213.

Combining Steel Romanticism, heroic realism, and acceleration created an aesthetic of the "total mobilization" of society. Complementing the romantic paintings of Gerwin, Gessner, and Van Hees, in which the worker was absorbed into the "productive oeuvre that would speak in the name of the community," the community itself became an army: the *Werksoldaten* (factory soldiers) like those of Ferdinand Staeger's paintings **(Figure 9)**, standing side by side with soldiers or marching with spades shouldered like rifles, with their faces all losing distinctiveness within the ranks.[37] Every man and woman was part of the fight for Aryan civilization.
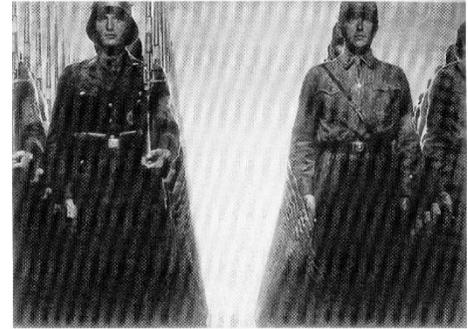

Figure 9: Ferdinand Staeger, *Politische Front,* n.d. Oil on canvas. From Michaud and Lloyd, *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), Fig. 101.

Ubiquity was also an important element of power. Hitler was partially inspired by the symbolic power of advertising, which likely influenced his creation of what Rentschler calls "the modern era's first full-blown media culture."[38] The regime crafted a sense of omnipresence through "strategically instrumentalizing state-of-the-art technology, introducing radios into almost every household, developing television, staging political events as well as grand photo opportunities, replaying military conquests in the form of weekly newsreels."[39] Hitler aimed to display the same ubiquity with art itself, bringing sculptures into the public sphere on streets and squares and in buildings, while Strength through Joy organized free art exhibits for the masses. Hitler even wished to bring his aesthetic tastes into the homes of every German; he designed sofas, tables, lamps, cutlery, and other everyday items, some of which were even produced.[40] This was state power expressed on an unprecedented scale.

If there is one example of Nazi aesthetics remembered above all others it is the party rallies, such as that immortalized in Leni Riefenstahl's 1935 *Triumph des Willens*. Massive, bombastic, and strictly organized, Hitler's rallies displayed the core of National Socialism's dream world, and its fantasy of replacing the individual with the *Volk*-state as the basic unit of society.

Figure 10: Photographer unknown, *Cathedral of Light,* 1937. From rarehistoricalphotos.com. (Accessed 6 May 2017.)

By overwhelming all of the senses at once in these rallies, Hitler hoped to destroy, in his own words, the "freedom of will." The entire nation, Spotts says, "was turned into supernumeraries in Hitler's National Socialist theater."[41] Every last detail was meticulously important to him. The geometric form of the rally space had to force all eyes

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[37] *Ibid.,* 199.

[38] Michaud and Lloyd, 191; and Eric Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and Its Afterlife* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 21.

[39] Rentschler, 21.

[40] Spotts, 337-38.

[41] *Ibid.,* 58-59.

to converge on the point where he stood; he designed uniforms and standards to precise specifications; he queued the music himself to produce the perfect succession of awe, tension, and jubilation, and arranged sounds of boots marching, rifles and cannons firing, church bells ringing, and aircraft roaring overhead; he organized his flags and his SS and SA men in a way that "blended and contrasted color as if he were still a painter;" the location, Nuremberg, gave him a powerful symbolic contiguity with German history; and, Hitler's favorite—night rallies—could fully exploit the power of atmospheric lighting—torches, braziers, spotlights, and more—to heighten the darkness around the rally, as if nothing existed beyond it, the Fuhrer, and the immortality of Nazism.[42]

The effect Hitler produced through this synthesis—this *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total synthesis of the arts), even—made National Socialism intimidating; sheer size alone can have a tremendous psychological impact, and combining size with sensory overload makes it even more impressive. Hitler created an image that not only evoked admiration, but also emphasized solidarity. Riefenstahl's graceful filming of the 1934 Nuremberg rally highlighted this; *Eternal Beauty* states, "here, the Nazis presented themselves the way they wanted to be seen [...] The staging of reality in an exaggerated documentary style created the image of a monumental people, as though carved from one block, with one will, one body, dedicated to the Führer."[43] Individuality ceased to exist among these masses. Through this, National Socialism accomplished exactly what it needed: creating the impression of a new organization of society in which all is directed (nominally) for the *Volk*. The acceleration of society in this carefully-staged way gives a glimpse of the future order and peace it is aimed towards, while its expression was simultaneously already its realization. In Michaud's words, "It was a movement [...] designed to work itself out and lead back to the state of repose that was immanent in it."[44]

Figure 11: Photographer unknown, *House of German Art,* ca. 1937-1940. Bundesarchiv, Picture 146-1990-073-26. From Wikipedia. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gro ße_Deutsche_Kunstausstellung (accessed May 5, 2017).

Figure 12: Photographer unknown, *Albert Speer's Zeppelinfeld.* n.d. From Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

The abstract nature of architecture makes it an excellent medium in which to find this synthesis of power and elegance. Paul Ludwig Troost's House of German Art, Speer's Nürnberg rally grounds, and Ernst Sagebiel's *Reichsluftfahrtministerium* (Reich Air Force Ministry), for instance, combined elements which evoked a contiguity with immortal ideals and presented an illustration of the beauty that lay ahead.[45] The size

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[42] *Ibid.,* 50 and 54-58.
[43] Schwierin, *Eternal Beauty.*
[44] Michaud and Lloyd, 194
[45] Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 191-95 and 200.

alone of these buildings serves to make an impact on the viewer, appearing larger than life—as if the Greek or Norse gods themselves carved them out of mountains—to demonstrate the all-encompassing enormity and eternity that Nazism represented; in Hitler's historicist terms, the "largeness of scale [...] of national life."[46] Once again serving the purpose of destroying individual will, as Rentschler asserts, "these structures are overwhelming constructions that dwarf human perspectives and shatter pedestrian conceptual frameworks."[47] "The overall effect—and, indeed, intent," according to Spotts, "was to aggrandize himself and to debase human beings into tiny objects, automatons as insensate as the stone of the building."[48]

Barbara Miller Lane also describes the style of the buildings themselves; the *Haus der deutschen Kunst* (House of German Art) **(Figure 11)** utilizes limestone and a "dominant colonnade" as classical elements, while the "museum's blocky masses and flat surfaces, free of all ornament save minimal base and cornice projections, and the horizontal orientation of the building, proclaimed its debt to the radicals of the twenties."[49] Speer, Lane suggests, carried out this fusion of modernity and neoclassicism on an even grander scale. The zeppelin field of his congress grounds **(Figure 12)** surpasses the horizontality of the *Haus der deutschen Kunst*, with deep swastika-adorned inlays framed by rectangular columns and extending on each side from a central cubic mass, all standing on the border of a massive negative space to be filled with 100,000 uniforms and flanked with hundreds of Nazi party flags. Again, "although Speer's design was symmetrical and unmistakably neoclassical, it was deeply influenced by the abstract formal compositions" of the modernists.[50] The symbolism present in Hitler's grand architectural projects points in the exact same direction as Jünger's aesthetic theory suggests; the acceleration of society implied by the works' acerbity and size yet implies a state of eternal rest, not unlike that which the Nazis ultimately received anyway.

The "Being of Calm" and *Blut und Boden*

The ultimate purpose of intimidation and total mobilization adds a distinct element from the Futurism it is borrowed from; instead of mobilization and violence being ends in themselves, they are employed towards a "rediscovery" of the past (or, realistically, a grossly-romanticized version of it which never really existed). The "Being of calm" Jünger described is an inherent connection to the past which is realized at the end of acceleration, embodied by typical sentimentalism for agriculture, purity, and a contiguity with the idealized past.

The cult of *Blut und Boden* (Blood and Soil) mirrored many of the ideas expressed through industrial imagery. In film especially, the German land was given a sacred, almost erotic importance; all through Nazi film and art, farming and agrarian life are given an

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[46] Adolf Hitler, *Liberty, Art, Nationhood: Three Addresses, Delivered at the Seventh National Socialist Congress, Nuremberg, 193*5 (Berlin: M. Muller und Sohn K. G., 1935), 51, quoted in Lane, 190.
[47] Rentschler, 21.
[48] Spotts, 336.
[49] Lane, 191.
[50] *Ibid.,* 193.

extreme national significance. To the Nazis, the German *Boden* was one and the same with the German *Volk*, and abandoning it was a mortal sin. The land represented the highest obligation of the individual, loyalty to which was as natural as life itself. Film after film portrays either the young, morally-pure German man or woman who defends their farm, cultivates their land, and raises a traditional German family, or the disobedient youth who runs away, falls pregnant, finds themselves in squalor, and usually dies. *Die goldene Stadt* (The Golden City), *Die Reise nach Tilsit* (The Journey to Tilsit), *Der verlorene Sohn* (The Prodigal Son), and others all display the German countryside as holy in a way that seems to replace all other forms of worship, and the list goes on.[51] In many movies, love of the countryside also moves from a passive role to an active one. Gustav Ucicky's 1941 *Heimkehr* (Homecoming) follows a German family in Poland as they face the brutality of Polish officials and mobs before being saved by the invasion of September 1939, and finally reaching their homeland to the sound of the *Deutschlandlied* (Germany's national anthem) as a massive picture of Hitler welcomes them at the border. Near the film's climax, as the young daughter of the family awaits massacre in a Polish prison, she soliloquizes the sentiment of *Blut und Boden*:

Figure 13: Karl Alexander Flügel, *Harvest,* 1938. Oil on canvas. Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich. From Burkhalter, "Art "Vexed to Nightmare"?: Traditionalism and Modernism in the Painting of Nazi Germany." MA thesis, Florida State University, Tallahassee, 2014. FSU Research Repository, FSU_migr_etd-8746

> We get a funny feeling in our hearts, when we realize that the particles of soil, the rocks and grassland, the swaying meadows, and the trees, that all of this is German, just like us, because, it's all grown from millions of German hearts that are resting in this earth that's become German earth. For we don't only live as Germans, we also die as Germans. And, dead, we remain Germans and, are a part of Germany, a particle of its soil for the grain of our grandchildren.[52]

Not only does she claim that the land they stand on is German land, but also sanctifies it with death. Once again, as with industry, there is a direct implication of death, though this is more akin to death drive than killing. Loving the soil is not enough; one must also die for it, purifying and making it fertile with their blood. One could easily frame this as religious in the same way as man is purified by the blood of Christ in Christianity. Heaven is replaced by the ground, and death is given a sacred role in the cycle of life. All through Nazi films, fields of grain are associated with the death of Germans. War is romanticized in this way as a sacrifice for the soil and prosperity of future generations.[53]

Another film that builds the nationalist character of Blood and Soil is Luis Trenker's 1934 *Der verlorene Sohn.* It follows the story of one Tonio Feuersinger who

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[51] Schwierin, *Eternal Beauty*; and Rentschler, 74.

[52] Paula Wessely, Attila Hörbiger, and Carl Raddatz, *Heimkehr*, directed by Gustav Ucicky (Vienna: Universal Film AG, 1941), film, quoted in Schwierin, *Eternal Beauty*.

[53] *Loc. cit.*

leaves South Tyrol to live in America, only finding soulless materialism, and ultimately returns to his *Heimat* (home). He resists the temptations of a promiscuous American girl, reminded of his homeland by a pagan mask. Ritual contrasts with American decadence, and Tonio ultimately rediscovers "home" in much the same way as the family in *Heimkehr*; dejected and exhausted, he finds rejuvenation in tradition and the pure, natural beauty of his *Boden*.[54]

The purity of the *Blut* was, of course, the purity of the race. Just as the "acceleration" of industry implied a cleansing violence, *Blut und Boden* advertised the end to which acceleration was the means; the completion of the racial dialectic. Schwierin claims, "There was no depiction of the opponent in art, no criticism or doubt. The National Socialist ideal was clear, clean and complete. Everything else was removed from art and from life: an aesthetic of elimination."[55] It is true that Nazi art almost always isolated the ideal; it portrayed the world as it "should" be, where only "Aryan creativity" was expressed, and reflected the unblemished, orderly, and healthy society it was produced in. Likewise, ideals of masculinity, femininity, and fertility all pervaded arts in the Nazi period.

Masculinity, Femininity, and Sexuality

The sculptures of Arno Breker, Josef Thorak, Fritz Klimsch, and Georg Kolbe, among others, were all definitively neoclassical; idealized nudes of exaggerated size were the favorite subjects of Hitler and the *Reichskulturkammer* (Reich Chamber of Culture).[56] At the 1937 opening of the *Haus der deutschen Kunst*, Hitler said that, according to Zalampas, "it was the task of German sculptors to glorify the racial structure of the German people."[57] Artists in all mediums did this in starkly different ways with men and women.

The ideal "German man"—"man without Jews"—was central to the Nazi dream, which needed a model of perfection from which to base its creations no less than any painter does. Nude sculptures, often with themes from Greek and Norse mythology, were highly favored both because of the ideals they portrayed and the contiguity they implied with the history of the Aryan race. Breker's *Die Partei* (The Party), *Die Wehrmacht* (The Armed Forces) and *Readiness* (**Figure 14**) and Thorak's *Comradeship* embody the strong, actively-posed, ideal men the Nazis exhibited as representations of the future.[58] Another one of the

Figure 14: Arno Breker, *Readiness,* 1939. From Spotts, *Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics* (Woodstock: Overlook, 2003), 184.

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[54] Rentschler, 78.

[55] Schwierin, *Eternal Beauty*.

[56] Spotts, 181.

[57] Helmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Art Under a Dictatorship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 96, quoted in Sherree Owens Zalampas, *Adolf Hitler: A Psychological Interpretation of His Views on Architecture, Art, and Music* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1990), 86.

[58] Spotts, 183-85.

sculptures that highlights this image is Thorak's *Monument to Work on the Motorways of the Reich* (**Figure 15**). This work demonstrates the fusion of "creative work" and masculinity; meant to be reproduced at dozens of feet high and placed in the middle of the Autobahn among the mountains, the monument was to be a testament to the "Aryan genius" that built the Reich people would be driving through even in a hundred years.[59] The purity of the race was exemplified by the beauty of these ideal men, and the purity of their work was provided by their context as the creators of this unblemished society. The monument expresses the totality of the masculine ideal, as a personification of the health, strength, and beauty of the Nazi utopia. Heroic realism makes its return here, as we can see the same idealization of muscle and energy in the paintings of Ria Picco-Rückert and Arthur Kampf as well as a significant quantity of propaganda posters (**Figures 16-17**).[60]
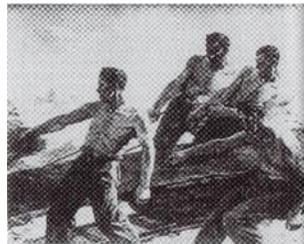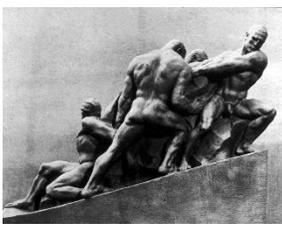
Figure 15: Josef Thorak, *Monument to Work on the Motorways of the Reich.* From Marcel Schwierin, *Eternal Beauty: Vision and Death Wish in the Third Reich,* directed by Marcel Schwierin (Berlin: Marcel Schwierin, 2007), DVD.
Figure 16: Ria Picco-Rückert, *United Strength,* 1944. Oil on canvas, 160 x 200 cm. From Michaud and Lloyd, *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), Fig. 93.
Figure 17: Felix Albrecht, *Workers of the Mind [and] of the Fist, Vote for the Front Soldier Hitler!*, 1932. From Bachrach, Phillips, and Luckert, *State of Deception: The Power of Nazi Propaganda* (Washington, D.C. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 2009).

Fashion sociologist Elizabeth Wilson claims that uniforms also contributed to this flaunting of strength, as they embodied "the fetishised idealisation of the masculine body" literally in action, carrying out the hypermasculine violence that it represented.[61] Hitler himself designed many of the uniforms to "[obliterate] individuality and the hierarchic order of society while manifesting the encompassing power of the party and state" while at the same time appealing to fantasies of masculinity: the uniforms implied that those who wore them in service to their state "were not also supremely violent but also supremely beautiful."[62]

Masculinity also pervaded other forms of art. Painters such as Adolf Ziegler also produced nudes, but weren't as favored because painting could not match the power and scale of sculpture.[63] Nevertheless, the works of the aforementioned artists further demonstrate common themes: works such as Rückert's *United Strength* and Kampf's *The Rolling Mill* attempt to capture the beauty of the working male ideal in action, and Saliger's paintings often portray mythological scenes which again imply the timelessness of the

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[59] Michaud and Lloyd, 213.

[60] Bachrach, Phillips, and Luckert, 41, 44, 45, 46, 51, 80; and Michaud and Lloyd, *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany*, 198.

[61] Elizabeth Wilson, quoted in Angela Neustatter, "The Enduring Appeal of Nazi Chic," *New Statesman,* July 28, 2008.

[62] Spotts, 52-53.

[63] Zalampas, 86; and George Hagman, "Hitler's Aesthetics: A Psychoanalytic Perspective on Art and Fascism," *The Psychoanalytic Review* 92:6 (December 2005): 963-81.

Aryan man.[64] Even film captured some sense of masculine ideals in Nazi art. Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia* begins with the camera panning through Greek ruins and past typical Greco-Roman sculptures. It rests on Myron's *Discus Thrower* (Hitler's favorite sculpture), as it fades into live-action footage of a lone muscular actor recreating it.[65] This living masculine ideal is then shown acting out numerous other athletic activities in slow motion, emphasizing his power, his health, and his total control of his body. The scene is filmed from low camera angles, looking up at the dramatized sky as if this was a God-man.[66] One could imagine that if the ancient Greeks had video cameras, this is exactly what they would produce.

Of course, it is impossible to analyze masculine ideals without the "other side of the coin," femininity, which played a very strong aesthetic role in Nazi art and ideology. In *Olympia*, for instance, the "ideal woman" is portrayed immediately after the athletic man. Here, the ideal is no longer strength or power, but grace. The features of the female body are also accentuated, but through close-ups on the upper body set to peaceful music. Backgrounds of waves on shoreline and grass blowing in the wind nod to fertility and cleanliness. Low camera angles are also utilized, but not connecting women with the sky; rather, they are connected to the ground.[67] Sexualization was integral to Nazi aesthetics, though it consisted of more than simple sex appeal. In fact, the sexualization of women served to assert reactionary modernism as a whole; women in all sorts of media essentially became the *conduits* through which Nazism represented its ideals and its aversions. Sexualization in film, sculpture, and fashion made women into little more than the personification of symbols. Natalist propaganda pamphlets even made this aesthetic sexism quite apparent: "your body does not belong to you," they claim, "but to your lineage and your people."[68]

The images associated with women relate strongly to *Blut und Boden*; the sentimental regional films of the Nazi period, particularly those featuring the actress Kristina Söderbaum, commonly connected purity and fertility of race and soil to the purity and fertility of the German woman.[69] Women characters in films of the time were only ever cliché representations, either of purity of *Blut* or foreign depravity—faithful, virginal, usually rural wives or dirty, cosmopolitan tramps. These portrayals of innocence and chastity served well to advance fears of the "other," which threatened to befoul them. In film, the two worlds collided often. Propaganda from long before Nazi Germany used images of rape and defilement to stir hatred against the "other;" the misogynistic concepts of female virginity and purity inherently imply the threat of outsiders "stealing" them like property. *Jud Süß* (Süss the Jew) (1940) is the most unconcealed and hateful portrayal of the Jewish "other" in Nazi-era film. In it, the *Jud Süß*, along with exploiting and extorting

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[64] Michaud and Lloyd, 193.

[65] *Olympia 1. Teill—Fest der Völker*, directed by Leni Riefenstahl (Berlin: Olympia-Film, 1938), film; and Spotts, 20.

[66] Schwierin, *Eternal Beauty*.

[67] *Loc. cit.*

[68] Irene Guenther, *Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich*, (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 93.

[69] Michaud and Lloyd, 161.

townsfolk through money and manipulation, also has a man arrested and tortured to rape his wife.[70]

Sculptures and paintings of women heavily contrasted from those of men; making up a full ten percent of all artworks in the House of German Art, nude women "not only constituted models of the type or ideal of Nordic beauty, but also provided models of the sexual behavior that was supposed to attract the race's masculine elite."[71] The roles of women as pushed by Nazi art were simple: they were objects of beauty—the fundamental requirement of any utopian ideology—both through continuity with classical Greek portrayals and through their Nazi role as bearers of future Aryans.

Irene Guenther cites an early Nazi handbook describing the role of women in National Socialism: "To be a wife and mother is the German woman's highest essence and purpose of life."[72] Family was the natural role of women, and their treatment in Nazi media relegated them to raising children of Aryan stock, good health, and National Socialist thinking. There is, however, once again, an oddly modernist element in this. Traditional celebration of mothers and wives leave sex as implicit, and strictly bind it within marriage. The Nazi woman was much more suggestive; though modest, dirndl-clad girls were the *ostensible* ideal, eroticism and sensuality pervaded both depictions of women and the fashion they were presented with.[73] Michaud argues, "the body language of stereotyped seduction that was repeated time and time again [...] corresponded far more closely, as the female faces depicted, to the images found in fashion magazines and advertisements **(Figure 19)**." This would seem to serve the idea that women were seen as yet another vehicle of acceleration. Just as industry was portrayed as a modern means towards old values, women were expected to adopt *some* aspects of contemporary womanhood, such as seductiveness, insofar as they served the growth of the family ideal. Once these women had served their purpose as sexual objects, they were relegated back into the home. Michaud points out "the immediate desexualization of a woman once she passed from the status of desirable object to that of mother." Even this serves Jünger's idea of acceleration towards repose; modern provocative women are a mode through which the "Aryan genius" is proliferated.[74]

Figure 18: Josef Thorak, *With Passion (Hingebung),* 1940. Plaster. Bibliotheque de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Art de Strasbourg. From Michaud and Lloyd, *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), Fig. 83.

Figure 19: Wilhelm Hempfing, *Kneeling Nude,* n.d. Bibliotheque de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Art de Strasbourg. From Michaud and Lloyd, *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), Fig. 84.

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[70] Schwierin, *Eternal Beauty*; and Rentschler, 158.

[71] Michaud and Lloyd, 159.

[72] Curt Rosen, *Das ABC des Nationalsozialismus,* 5th ed. (Berlin: Schmidt & Co., 1933), 188-219, quoted in Guenther, 93.

[73] *Ibid.,* 109; Michaud and Lloyd, 159.

[74] Michaud and Lloyd, 159-160.

Conclusion

Hitler himself once summed up the aesthetics of totalitarianism: "Mankind has a natural drive to discover beauty. How rich the world will be for him who uses his senses. Furthermore, nature has instilled in everyone the desire to share with others everything beautiful that one encounters. The beautiful should reign over humans; the beautiful itself wants to retain its power."[75] This is the essence of fascism and the subconscious level on which it functions. The ultimate authority of beauty paints a picture of a future in which the fears in individuals give way to a total reinterpretation of their relationship to their social unit. Psychoanalyst George Hagman explained how this translated into the real consolidation of political power: "Hitler's Beauty was clear, unambiguous, confining, ordered, and most importantly, controlled. Rather than capturing the wild power and disorder of nature, Hitler's Beauty embodied the control and power of the State and of its leader, the Fuhrer himself."[76]

Fascism was a radical new approach to conquering alienation which, instead of reconciling individuality with society, threw it away entirely. Nazi aesthetics supplanted it with ideals which the racial community became a representation of. Representation, through symbols, ritual, and emotion, became the sole instrument with which to interpret experience and self-expression. Beauty functions "to heighten and clarify our relationship to the world, and to reconcile discrepancies within the self."[77] With the rebirth of fascism in modern Europe, perhaps the only response is to appropriate the ideals and representations which drive it—the steely energy, raw power, and eroticism it personifies—and emancipate it from the political extension of its meaning through art alone. The sociologist Slavoj Žižek claims that the appeal of fascism is its exertion of libido—the release of primitive energies like aggression—and that the only way to undermine Nazism is to "liberate these elements from their Nazi articulations. It allows us to enjoy them in their pre-ideological state."[78]

If we accept that ideology—or at least our relationship to it—springs from subconscious desires and models of perfection, we can begin to understand how millions of people from diverse backgrounds experienced National Socialism, and translated that psychological experience into slaughter and destruction. In the postmodern world, in which a much more complex form of fascism is emerging, it is more important than ever to understand more than just political philosophies and their impact on a societal scale. Examining the individual's internal relationship to them tells us how propaganda becomes power, how ideology becomes practice, and how, as Oscar Wilde said, "life imitates art far more than art imitates life."[79]

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[75] Werner Jochmann, ed., *Adolf Hitler: Monologe im Führer-Hauptquartier 1941-1944: Die Aufzeichnungen Heinrich Heims,* (Hamburg: Albrecht Knaus Vlg., 1980), 1-2, December 1941, 149, quoted in Spotts, 119.
[76] Hagman, 978.
[77] Hagman, 977.
[78] Žižek, *The Pervert's Guide to Ideology*.
[79] Oscar Wilde, "The Decay of Living," in *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde,* 3rd ed. (Glasgow: HarperCollins, 1994), 1082-1083, quoted in Michaud and Lloyd, 139.

Jabotinsky and Revisionist Zionism

Natalia Korpanty

Vladimir Jabotinsky has been portrayed within scholastic literature as a statesman, orator, journalist, poet, author, and translator—a man of many talents and trades, appealing to an array of different audiences. He was perhaps the only leader that has been compared "to Aristotle, Maimonides, and Da Vinci, or at the very least, to Lincoln, Clemenceau, Churchill, and Gandhi."[1] Yet there is also documentation of Jabotinsky's "unmitigated evil and demonic ways," reflected in the comparisons that people make between him and Mussolini or Hitler.[2] He was probably one of the most controversial figures in the Zionist movement.[3] His Revisionist Zionism[4] sparked passion among youths; yet many others, including the vast majority of the Zionist leadership at the time, feared that he was creating something too extreme, a right-wing type of Jewish fascism for which the movement was vastly unprepared.

According to various historical sources, Judaism did not play a crucial part in Vladimir Jabotinsky's early life. The most memorable exception comes from his early childhood, at the age of seven, which Jabotinsky recalls in his autobiography, *Sippur Yammai.* In a conversation with his mother, he asked, "'Shall we Jews also have a kingdom in the future?' And she replied: 'Of course, we shall—you silly boy!' From then until today I did not ask anymore, I already knew."[5] This supposed "latent Zionism" has been disputed by certain historians, since Jabotinsky wrote this memoir while he was a Revisionist leader, and because it appears to be inconsistent with the rest of his ideological beliefs as a youth.[6]

Jabotinsky was born on October 18th, 1880—although his birth certificate claims his date of birth falls on the 14th.[7] He was born in Odessa to Evgenny Jabotinsky and Eva Sack, two middle class and relatively secular individuals. Under their guidance, Jabotinsky experienced an "urban, middle-class upbringing of Herzl and Nordau," making him "a second generation bourgeois Jew."[8] The family moved out of Odessa when Jabotinsky was six years old, after the death of his father. Eva returned to Odessa "penniless" but proud, refusing to let her children live a lower-class life by training to become tailors or carpenters since her family claimed there were "enough scholars."[9] Instead, Jabotinsky was sent to a private school known as *gymnasia.*[10]

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[1] Michael Stanislawski, *Zionism and the Fin-de-siècle: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 118.

[2] Stanislawski, 118.

[3] Zionism was the movement for the establishment and development of a Jewish nation.

[4] For the principles of Revisionist Zionism, see footnote 52.

[5] Vladimir Jabotinsky, *Vladimir Jabotinsky's Story of My Life*, ed. Brian Horowitz and L. F. Katsis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2016), 36.

[6] Stanislawski, 119.

[7] Jabotinsky, *Story of My Life*, 41.

[8] Stanislawski, 121.

[9] Jabotinsky, *Story of My Life,* 36.

[10] Michael R. Katz, "Odessa's Jews: The End Of Assimilation," *Southwest Review* 87:2 (2002): 275.

By the age of seventeen, Jabotinsky was barely exposed to Jewish culture and traditions. He knew the minimal amount of Hebrew needed for his bar mitzvah and knew absolutely no Yiddish, both of which he had to relearn as an adult when he became a leading figure within the Zionist movement. In fact, looking back on his childhood, Jabotinsky was "truly baffled that, on the one hand, as a child, teenager, and young adult, he had virtually no interest in anything Jewish, never read a book on a Jewish topic, never studied any ancient Jewish lore."[11] It seems as though the only Jewish tradition his family partook in was maintaining a strict kosher diet.[12]

Instead, during this time, Jabotinsky was exposed to the cultural haven that was Odessa, filled with "Russian bureaucrats, Greek and Italian merchants, and tens of thousands of Jews...a strange mix of cosmopolitanism and seediness, Russian and Europeanism."[13] It was this environment that inspired him to publish *A Pedagogical Note* printed under the heading "From the World of Children" in the newspaper *Iuzhnoe Obozrenie,* which attacked the standardized grading system in Russian schools and gymnasia, critiquing how the competitive environment of the education system was unnecessary and stifled the creativity of youths.[14]

Shortly after this publication, Jabotinsky set out to Bern, Switzerland to become a foreign correspondent for the *Odessky Listok.*[15] He wrote many pieces, but only one related to Jewry. It was a poem called "Gorod mira," which appeared in a Russian-Jewish journal called *Voskhod* in the summer of 1898.[16] It certainly did not foreshadow any Zionist ideals, especially since *Voskhod* was opposed to Zionism and would not publish anything about it.[17]

In November of 1898, Jabotinsky was transferred to Rome which he would later refer to as his "spiritual homeland."[18] He was readily absorbed into the city and all the culture it embraced. In particular, he became enamored with socialism, a theory he would discredit later, after the Bolshevik Revolution. At the time, however, socialism appealed to him because it "rejected the corrupt government" and because his mentors in Italy, like Antonio Labriola and Enrico Ferri, so strongly believed in it.[19] He wrote "a mass of articles, letters, poems, plays, and essays" under the pseudonym Altalena.[20] Everything he wrote was published in a variety of distinguished liberal Russian newspapers so that readers could get a "taste of Europe."[21] Three years after serving as a foreign correspondent in Italy, a 21-year-old Jabotinsky moved back to Odessa, where he was immediately hired to work for *Odesskie Novosti.* It was through this outlet that Jabotinsky came to Zionism "slowly and hesitantly."[22] One of his columns for *Odesskie Novosti* was

[11] Stanislawski, 123.

[12] Jabotinsky, *Story of My Life,* 42.

[13] Stanislawski, 126.

[14] Jabotinsky, *Story of My Life,* 46.

[15] Eran Kaplan, *The Jewish Radical Right: Revisionist Zionism and Its Ideological Legacy* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 3.

[16] Joseph B. Schechtman, *The Life and times of Vladimir Jabotinsky* (Silver Spring, MD: Eshel Books, 1986), 48.

[17] Stanislawski, 129.

[18] Jabotinsky, *Story of My Life,* 53.

[19] *Ibid.,* 15.

[20] Stanislawski, 133.

[21] *Ibid.,* 135.

[22] *Ibid.,* 154.

called "On Zion," which was a defense of Zionism—probably the first thing he ever wrote on the topic. Within the column, he proclaimed the importance of nationalism and how Zionism offered a safe place for those of Jewish descent to develop it.[23]

Even with all this information documented, the moment Jabotinsky proclaimed himself to be a Zionist remains a mystery. There is a wide misconception that he became one in reaction to the Kishinev pogrom, which broke out on Easter Day in 1903. Jabotinsky himself claimed that he was already a Zionist before the pogrom happened, or rather that he "had thought about it before."[24] In any case, a group of Odessan Zionists invited him to attend the Sixth Zionist Congress at Basel as a delegate, since his pseudonym had become quite well known in the area. This seemed to be the real turning point in the life of Jabotinsky, the Zionist.

Jabotinsky documents that one of the most significant moments of the Sixth Zionist Conference for him was when he met Theodore Herzl, although there is no evidence that this encounter took place—except for his own testimony.[25] Regardless, Herzl made a tremendous impression on Jabotinsky. He stated, "I felt that truly there stands before me a man of destiny, a prophet and leader by the grace of God, deserving to be followed even through error and confusion."[26] Interestingly enough, however, Jabotinsky voted against Herzl's "Uganda Plan" for a Jewish national home, even though he "had no romantic love for Eretz Yisrael then."[27]

After the congress, Jabotinsky decided to return Rome to interact with its Jewish population. He interviewed them and wrote about how many of them were ashamed and did not acknowledge their Jewish heritage, claiming that they were Italians that simply practiced Judaism. Jabotinsky felt, however, that being Jewish was more than just a religion; it was a national identity. Furthermore, he believed that "to confuse the two is not simply an error; it is a self-denying, self-deluding error."[28] He recognized that this was the problem with assimilation, that it denied oneself. It was then that he fully recognized himself as a Jew, and even further a Zionist, rather than a Russian or Ukrainian.

From Rome, Jabotinsky headed to St. Petersburg to work as a correspondent for *Evreiskaia zhizn',* meaning "Jewish Life."[29] This was where he abandoned "universalism, decadence, and a hoped-for career in Russian literature in favor of a new, and gradually more and more monistic, self-definition as a Jew, a Jewish nationalist, and a Zionist."[30] He traveled around St. Petersburg and beyond as a propagandist and speaker for Zionism. During the First World War, Jabotinsky began to take steps toward his leadership in the movement. Chaim Weizmann, one of the leaders of the Zionist movement, describes Jabotinsky's transformation in his autobiography:

> The opening of the war found Jabotinsky in Alexandria, as the correspondent of the *Russkiya Vyedomosti,* and there, together with Trumpeldor, he conceived the

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[23] Altalena, "O sionizme," *Odesskie Novosti*, 19 Feb 1902, 3.
[24] Jabotinsky, *Story of My Life,* 66.
[25] Stanislawski, 162.
[26] Jabotinsky, *Story of My Life,* 70.
[27] *Ibid.,* 69.
[28] Stanislawski, 175.
[29] *Ibid.,* 178.
[30] *Ibid.,* 121.

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idea of forming, out of several hundred young Jews who had fled to Egypt from Palestine, a Jewish battalion to fight on the side of the Allies. This was the beginning, in fact, of the famous Zion Mule Corps which served so brilliantly in Gallipoli. However, before the corp was formed, Jabotinsky was already in France, Italy and England, with larger ambition of forming several Jewish regiments. He came to me, too, and I thought his idea good, and in spite of the almost universal opposition I decided to help him.[31]

None of the legions he helped establish were more significant for him than the 38th Battalion of Royal Fusiliers, a volunteer Jewish legion, which was approved by London in 1917. He was the legion's lieutenant and was dispatched to Egypt and Israel and participated in battle for the Jordan River crossings at Umm es Shert, which were captured successfully.[32] He felt that a Jewish army was "a historical necessity," because a Jewish state would be defenseless without one. [33] Furthermore, he believed that "military training and discipline" was especially valuable to Jews because for so many centuries within Europe, they were unable to defend themselves against violence.[34] The right of Jews to be able to defend themselves through a legion would later become one of the main pillars of his Revisionist Zionism.

      After the legion was demobilized, Jabotinsky was made a political officer of the Zionist Commission, which was an informal group established by the World Zionist Organization to advise the British on policies regarding the establishment of a Jewish home. Jabotinsky's job was to act as a liaison officer with the British military authorities in Palestine. In April of 1920, Arabs attacked Jerusalem and riots ensued afterwards. Jabotinsky was put under arrest and sentenced to fifteen years' penal service for acting in self-defense as the British idly watched the riots unfold. A few months later he was granted amnesty by Herbert Samuel, the high commissioner. Samuels also pardoned other individuals involved in the attacks, which infuriated Jabotinsky.[35] Weizmann wrote on this matter: "He was later amnestied...but rejected the amnesty with scorn, because it included Aref el Aref, the instigator of the pogrom, Amenin el Husseini, and one or two others of the same type. He insisted on making his appeal, and the sentence was in due course quashed."[36]

      In March of 1921 at the Twelfth Zionist Congress, Jabotinsky joined the executive of the World Zionist Organization, in which he served as a political advisor, fund raiser, and propagandist. Unhappy with British policy and Executive's leadership of the movement, he resigned only two years later. This occurred right after Churchill's White Paper, a memorandum regarding British policy in Palestine, came out.[37] He felt that it gave too much power to Britain, that it rejected the idea of a truly Jewish state rather than just a Jewish community within Palestine, and that its establishment of a quota for the maximum amount of Jews that could immigrate there was completely

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[31] Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error; the Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann* (New York: Harper, 1949), 167.
[32] Vladimir Jabotinsky and Mordekhai Śarig, *The Political and Social Philosophy of Ze'ev Jabotinsky: Selected Writings* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), 2.
[33] Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (New York: Schocken Books, 2003), 342.
[34] *Ibid.,* 343.
[35] *Ibid.,* 343.
[36] Weizmann, 255.
[37] Laqueur, 344.

unfair.[38] Weizmann, now President of the executive, felt that Jabotinsky's resignation was a contradictory move since he "withdrew from the Executive shortly after the issuance of the White Paper of 1922, which he denounced, though he had, like the rest of his fellow-members, signed the letter of acceptance. He proceeded to establish the Revisionist Party."[39]

Before establishing the Revisionist Party, Jabotinsky intended to take some time off from politics--though that was short-lived. He was told there to "either keep quiet or organize a party," so he chose the latter.[40] It may be fair to say that Revisionist Zionism was born in Riga, Latvia in 1923, where Jabotinsky went to speak to a local Jewish student association. Revisionist Zionism was not intended to be a "radical new departure" from Zionism, rather it sought to revise current Zionist policies. Furthermore, Jabotinsky thought of Revisionist Zionism as the "heir of the Herzl-Nordau tradition of political Zionism."[41] Chaim Weizmann, one of these leaders of the Zionist movement, along with proclaiming him to be the "antithesis of Achad Ha-am," described Jabotinsky as such:

> He came to us from Odessa as the boy wonder. In his early twenties he had already achieved a wide reputation as a Russian journalist...He, too, was a gifted orator, and became a master of some half dozen languages. But he is remembered as one of the founders of the Jewish Legion in the First World War, and as the founder of the Revisionist party, and of the so-called New Zionist Organization"[42]

Weizmann and Jabotinsky were in opposition to each other according to Weizmann's biography. Jabotinsky attacked Weizmann on using "Fabian" tactics and his insufficient energy, while Weizmann thought that Jabotinsky was immensely optimistic and therefore unfit for politics; Weizmann felt that he "expected too much," thus making his goals incredibly unrealistic and his negotiations with the British "unfit."[43] With Jabotinsky's resignation from the executive, they would continue to be at odds. In fact, Jabotinsky at times felt that the only hope of the Zionist movement to return to "traditionalism," would be through Weizmann's congressional defeat. However, that would not happen until almost seven years after Jabotinsky resigned.[44]

During the years before Weizmann's defeat, Jabotinsky developed his Revisionist Zionism. Laqueur gives the simplified version:

> The programme is not complicated. The aim of Zionism is a Jewish state; the territory—both sides of the Jordan; the system—mass colonization; the solution of the financial problem—a national loan. These four principles cannot be realised without international sanction. Hence the commandment of the hour—a new

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[38] Susan Lee Hattis, "Jabotinsky's Parity Plan for Palestine," *Middle Eastern Studies* 13:1 (January 1977): 91.

[39] Weizmann, 326.

[40] Joseph B. Schechtman and Yehuda Benari, *History of the Revisionist Movement* (Tel-Aviv: Hadar, 1970), 22.

[41] Laqueur, 347.

[42] Weizmann, 63.

[43] *Ibid.,* 326 and 168.

[44] Rafael Medoff and Chaim I. Waxman, *Historical Dictionary of Zionism* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 152.

political campaign and the militarisation of Jewish youth in Eretz Israel and the diaspora.[45]

He felt that the very first aim of Zionism should be the gradual transformation of Palestine into a "self-governing commonwealth under the auspices of an established Jewish majority." He claimed that this was the only way that a national home could be established for Jews and that the "Balfour Declaration," a British statement written in 1917 regarding its policies in Palestine, should be interpreted as such. He proposed that Israel should absorb 40,000 Jewish immigrants per year over a period of 25 years, or 50-60,000 a year if the Transjordan were to be included in the territory, which he strongly advocated for.[46] This seemed radical and was thus widely unpopular with the majority of the Zionist Congress.

There was a notion within some parts of the Zionist Congress that Zionist aims should not be openly proclaimed especially to Arabic counterparts. This form of minimalism did not sit well with Jabotinsky, an eager maximalist, who felt that such "conspiracies" should not be kept hidden. After all, the Arabs knew full well about the Zionist hope from reading or hearing about Herzl's *Der Judenstaat*.[47]

The answer to the supposed "Arab Question" was also heavily revised under Jabotinsky's Zionism.[48] He believed that Arab resistance would be natural and inevitable, but also highly immoral and unjustified. His reasoning behind this conclusion was that Jews had a strong moral case for their own state in Israel since they had dwelled so long in a horrible oppressive environment within Europe, while Arabs were secure in the Middle East. Furthermore, Jabotinsky held a definitive stance that either the Jews should have a right to their state thus making Arab resistance immoral or that Jews had no right to a state thus making Zionism invalid to begin with. While many agreed (and still do agree) that the issue is probably much more complicated than Jabotinsky made it out to be, it was certainly "rhetorically effective."[49] Jabotinsky claimed that even with a Jewish majority, there would be a substantial Arab minority and that there would be "absolute equality" between the two groups in order to create a sustainable state.[50] Yet he forewarned (and possibly even foreshadowed) that Arabs would continue resist until a Jewish defensive legion was established, which he referred to as an "iron wall."[51]

Jabotinsky believed that the current "official" Zionist leadership deviated from Zionism by making too many concessions, and he was vastly unhappy with British policies in the Middle East, such as restricting the interpretation of the Balfour Declaration and putting a quota on immigration into Palestine.[52] The Revisionist critiques of these leaders focused on their economic and social policies. Economically, Revisionists claimed that mainstream Zionism was "too liberal, in the sense that it assumed that the building up the country could be financed solely by voluntary

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[45] Laqueur, 353

[46] *Ibid.,* 346.

[47] *Ibid.,* 347.

[48] The "Arab Question" speculated what to do with Arabs that were living in Israel/Palestine if it were to become a Jewish state. Many Zionists believe that Arabs and Jews could coexist together in a binational state.

[49] Jabotinsky and Śarig, 4.

[50] *Ibid.,* 3.

[51] *Ibid.,* 4.

[52] Laqueur, 347.

contributions, and it was not liberal enough, for it discriminated against private initiative in agriculture and industry."[53] Over time, Revisionist Zionism became anti-socialist, with a strong opposition to organized labor, and therefore Labor Zionism. They claimed that the building of Palestine was "only at the beginning and irreparable damage could be caused by major class conflicts."[54]

In regard to the "agriculture and industry" piece, the Revisionists claimed that the Zionist Executive barely helped the middle class of the region in those areas. They therefore advocated for land reform, so that mass immigration, and therefore mass colonization, could be carried out. They proposed the floating of an international loan to finance these tasks.

A unique aspect of Revisionist Zionism was its demands for a Jewish army, which would initially be under British command. Jabotinsky believed this was a practical step in creating a Jewish state since he knew that Britain would not be morally bound to provide security forever. Additionally, he did not think it was fair for British taxpayers to be responsible for providing the funds to defend Palestine. Then, in 1934, the Revisionists started to advocate for non-cooperation with the British mandatory authorities; a bold but arguably inconsistent move. Unknowingly to the Revisionists, it was during this time as well that a new generation of British leaders rose up, which regarded the Balfour Declaration as an "unwelcome burden" and felt that Zionism was an embarrassment.[55] In 1925, Jabotinsky took the first steps of establishing a party at the conference of the *Zohar*, the first international conference for the Revisionists. At *Zohar*, Jabotinsky asserted himself right away by rejecting Weizmann's plan for the broadening of the Jewish Agency leadership to include non-Zionists. This meant that the Revisionists were not willing to give non-Zionists full rights to vote on vital political issues--they only really saw themselves working with them on economic ones.[56]

It was during this time as well that Jabotinsky founded the World Union of Zionist Revisionists, which based its principles on the pillars of Zionist activism.[57] Jabotinsky took some time to consolidate and spread his message further through propaganda campaigns. He traveled to South Africa and then to parts of the United States. He also attempted to gain some influence among Sephardic Jewry--especially those within Palestine and along the Mediterranean. Sephardic Jews had long been neglected within the Zionist movement, so he attained some success by reaching out to them. Jabotinsky was also able to enlist some pretty influential supporters, notably Richard Lichtheim from Germany and Robert Stricker from Austria.

In Riga, Latvia, a Revisionist youth movement was formed called *Betar*. Its members promised "to devote their lives to the revival of the Jewish state with a Jewish

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[53] *Ibid.,* 351.

[54] *Ibid.,* 352.

[55] *Ibid.,* 349-350.

[56] *Ibid.,* 354.

[57] Jabotinsky and Śarig, 3. Those principles can be summarized again into five pieces: the establishment of a Jewish legion as recognized legal force to act as an "Iron Wall" to defend Zionist enterprise, the expansion of Jewish colonization and the abolition of the principle of restricted immigration based on "absorptive capacity," the attainment of a Jewish majority in a Jewish state encompassing all of Israel (both sides of the Jordan River), a political offensive aimed at pressuring the British government to change its policy and fulfill its obligations towards the Zionist movement, and a Jewish majority in a Jewish state.

majority on both sides of the Jordan."[58] 93 percent of the members within *Betar* expressed an immense amount of confidence in Jabotinsky as the leader of Zionism.[59] Its chapters spread all over Europe, notably in Poland, which would become the "power base" of Revisionist Zionism. In fact, Jabotinsky wanted Poland to inherit the Mandate of Palestine from Britain.[60]

While the movement itself was still small, it was growing at a tremendous rate. Only four Revisionist delegates were present at the Fourteenth Zionist Congress in 1925, but over a period of seven years that number grew to fifty-two.[61] Some important questions still remained, such as whether the Revisionists should completely separate themselves from the Zionist movement or work within it. The majority of Revisionists present at the *Zohar* did not think that they should break away from it, but Jabotinsky hinted that it eventually would. Jabotinsky felt that Revisionist Zionism was more than just a political party or ideology; it was a "psychological race," or an inborn mentality which could not be explained to those that did not have it. It was therefore the Revisionist Zionist mission to seek out those that had this exclusive quality and to nurture it away from the mainstream movement. This appealed especially to the Palestinian Revisionists, who wanted to secede as early as 1928.

In July 1931, the World Zionist Congress met in order to reach a "final aim" of Zionism. It was at the conference that the president, Chaim Weizmann, stated: "Nothing is stated about the Jewish State in the Basle Programme, nor in the Balfour Declaration. The essence of Zionism is to create a number of important material foundations, upon which an autonomous, compact and productive community can be built."[62] This strongly implied that a Jewish state was never really a Zionist aim, the exact "antithesis" of Jabotinsky's stance as is shown in his rebuttal:

> It has become a political necessity to clean the atmosphere, and this can be done only by telling the truth. Why should we allow the term 'Jewish State' to be called extremism? The Albanians have their state, the Bulgarians have their state. This state is, after all, the normal condition of a people. If the Jewish state were in existence today, nobody would say that it was abnormal. And if we want to normalise our existence, who dare to call it extremism--and are we ourselves expected to say so?[63]

Weizmann detailed what happened next in his own autobiography: "The Congress insisted on going through the motion of passing a resolution of no confidence in my policy by a roll-call vote, in which the Revisionists under Jabotinsky took the leading part, with the *Mizrachi*, the religious wing of the movement, strongly supporting."[64] With the religious sect on Jabotinsky's side, Weizmann was dismissed from the Presidency of the World Zionist Organization.

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[58] Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2015), 64.
[59] Laqueur, 359.
[60] Snyder, 63.
[61] Schechtman and Benari, 143.
[62] Laqueur, 356.
[63] Vladimir Jabotinsky, quoted in Laqueur, 357.
[64] Weizmann, 338.

This was not exactly a "win" for Jabotinsky however. The Congress was still unable to come up with a "final aim" for the Zionist movement and there was still "no substantial change in policy," especially since Nahum Sokolow was appointed to the presidency, instead of Jabotinsky.[65] Weizmann was pleasantly surprised at the outcome since Sokolow had been "closely identified" with his predecessor "not only in the general line of work but in almost every detail" since 1916.[66] When referring to the impact that Sokolow's appointment made on Jabotinsky, Weizmann writes:

> Sokolow had co-operated in loyal agreement. To create an antithesis between Sokolow and me was the height of inanity and showed up the artificiality of the setup. But if I was wryly amused, Jabotinsky was bitterly disappointed. He had always lived in the illusion that I was the one who stood in the way of his ascent to the Presidency...It was Jabotinsky's belief that if I went down, he would go up. And it must have been galling to him to see the election go to Sokolow, for whom he had very little respect--if he did not actually despise him.[67]

Jabotinsky's resolution was never even put to a vote, and so this became the last meeting of the World Zionist Organization that Jabotinsky ever attended. Frustrated both within and outside his organization, he took some time off from his "active leadership" until the following September, when a compromise was adopted by the Revisionists in Calais, France. It was agreed that Revisionists were no longer a part of Zionist movement; however, the question of a new, independent organization was to be tabled until the future. Furthermore, it was acceptable for individual Revisionists to remain an active part of the overall Zionist movement. In spite of Jabotinsky's opposing vote, this compromise was officially endorsed in August 1932.

His movement seemed to be spinning out of his control. He found himself in many situations in which the majority would often be in disagreement with him, yet they did not want to expel him. At the same time, the Revisionist party began to split over critical issues like the alliance with Britain. Many of the executives within the Revisionist movement believed that the alliance should be maintained, while Palestinian Jews and youth groups like the *Betar* were completely opposed to the British and their policies, claiming that Balfour Declaration was "degenerating into an anti-Zionist document" and that Zionists needed to compromise less with the British authorities.[68]

In order to prevent these divisions and maintain power Jabotinsky announced that he personally assumed the leadership of the movement, suspended its elected bodies, and established a new provisional executive on March 23rd, 1933. This "dictatorship" allowed him to have complete political freedom and made his leadership "unassailable." Although when he would speak to his Palestinian admirers, who wanted to make him *Fuehrer*, he told them that he did not want to be a dictator, that he rejected that title with "scorn and disgust."[69]

Things within the movement began changing drastically. Jabotinsky grew up within the "the liberal-rationalist tradition," which meant that he strongly believed in

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[65] Laqueur, 357.
[66] Weizmann, 339.
[67] *Ibid.,* 340.
[68] Laqueur, 357.
[69] *Ibid.,* 361.

freedom of thought. As such, he was very critical of baneful impact of organized religion in recent Jewish history. He thoroughly believed that the religious aspect of Judaism impeded the pursuit of scientific study, detrimentally affected women, and interfered too much in daily life. Yet in the mid-1930s he introduced a quasi-religious plank to the Revisionist constitution, which strongly advocated for a synthesis of nationalism with religion. Some believe that this newly embraced faith was the result of his realization that "secular impulses were insufficient to generate and maintain moral integrity" in a Jewish nation.[70] Many others believe, however, that this was just a way for Jabotinsky to gain support for his still young and moderately unpopular movement from Eastern European Orthodox religious circles. [71]

Jabotinsky's appointment of a new executive also completely transformed Revisionist Zionism, since it was now under the influence of "new forces" and "younger leaders."[72] It was during this time that Revisionist Zionism started to get more radical. A question arose about whether the movement was really just the rise of Jewish fascism since militaristic thought became a priority for many Revisionist groups. The Polish ruling elite in the late 1930s, influenced by the right-wing Revisionist youth group the *Betar,* for example, supported a conspiratorial National Military Organization, otherwise known as Irgun Tzvai Leumi operating in Palestine that favored terrorism to provoke the conjuncture rather than waiting for it.[73]

While Jabotinsky was not necessarily in favor of such radicalism, he did little to impede it. Instead he often found excuses for "hotheads" such as those within Irgun or Palestinian zealots. The only time he opposed any organization was when one "would disrupt the party internally and also affect its status as a legal movement."[74]

Word got out that the Zionist Action Committee of the World Zionist Organization passed the 'discipline clause,' which prohibited the independent political activity of parties within the Zionist movement.[75] It was during this time as well that the Zionist executive strongly denounced a petition with 600,000 signatures calling on all governments to allow Jews in Europe to immigrate to Palestine on a massive scale.[76] Thus, in 1935, the participants of the Revisionist Party Convention, held in Vienna, passed a resolution to secede from the official Zionist movement and established the New Zionist Organization, headquartered in London.[77] Its first congressional meeting took place that September and had 713,000 voters from thirty-two countries present.[78]

Now that Jabotinsky had his own independent organization, he was expected to come up with an "alternative, to succeed where the official Zionist movement had failed."[79] It seemed that the whole world was watching. The first thing he emphasized, as he had always emphasized, was that it was time for the Jews to have their own state. The

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[70] Joseph B. Schechtman, *Fighter and Prophet: The Vladimir Jabotinsky Story: The Last Years* (New York: Yoseloff, 1961), 290.
[71] Laqueur, 365.
[72] *Ibid.,* 358-59.
[73] Snyder, 65.
[74] Schechtman, 441.
[75] Jabotinsky and Śarig, 4.
[76] Laqueur, 366.
[77] The New Zionist Organization was essentially a movement of maximalist political Zionists that wanted a completely Jewish state.
[78] Laqueur, 369.
[79] *Ibid.,* 370.

New Zionist Organization also began to outline a plan to settle one and a half million Jews in Palestine over a period of ten years.[80] Jabotinsky later specified the plan a bit further during the Second World War by stating that the first million settlers would be transferred within a year and that all the planning for this would take place during the war so that it could begin as soon as a peace was reached. The reasoning for this evacuation plan had to do with the nature of anti-Semitism which Jabotinsky described as such:

> It derives from the instinctive discrimination which every normal person makes between his or her "own kind" and all outsiders. It need not be hatred; it need have nothing to do with actual repulsion. It may be dormant under normal conditions, and may remain dormant for generations, to awaken only when there is keen competition for some essential boon, when the choice is between one's own kin and the outsider, and the instinct of self-defence emerges. Even then it need not (though it may) flare up in an angry blaze: it may remain correctly polite, while inwardly merciless—as in the Baltic example; or it may run amok, as it sometimes does in Poland. It is not the form that matters, but the spirit. That spirit is the inextinguishable awareness of every Gentile that his Jewish neighbour is not "his own kind" and of every Jew that his Aryan friends are not "his own kind." There is no intrinsic harm in this awareness; it is no obstacle to decent neighbourly intercourse, to mutual help, even to friendship, so long as the social "climate" is favourable. In the "climate" of East-Central Europe it becomes the Jew's death-sentence.[81]

The reality within Europe, according to Jabotinsky, was that the majority would always be hostile to minorities, whether this was conscious or not. Like Herzl, Jabotinsky believed that the Jews would never be welcome until they had their own place to call home. His evacuation plan did gain some attention especially within Eastern Europe. Jabotinsky presented it to the Polish ministry in 1936 and shortly after hundreds of Polish Jews began to march on foot from Warsaw to Palestine—though they only made it a few miles outside of Warsaw.[82] According to Daniel Blatman in his "The Dispute in Poland in 1936 over Jabotinsky's Evacuation Plan," the Polish government, with largely anti-Semitic views and policies, thought the evacuation plan was a good idea because it was a formalized way to get rid of Polish Jews.[83]

By speaking to governments directly, however, Jabotinsky faced tremendous backlash. People criticized him for his readiness to negotiate with anti-Semites for the betterment of Jews.[84] Jabotinsky saw this strategy, however, as a way to attain his Zionist objectives like favorable immigration laws. Furthermore, even if he managed to transfer a million Polish Jews into Palestine, there would still be over three times as many Jews still trapped in Poland.[85] Jabotinsky continued to persist and traveled to other parts of Europe,

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[80] S. Klinger and Vladimir Jabotinsky, *The Ten Year Plan for Palestine, a Brief Outline* (London: New Zionist Press, 1938), 28.
[81] Vladimir Jabotinsky, *The War and the Jew* (New York: Altalena Press, 1987), 78-79.
[82] Snyder, 64.
[83] Daniel Blatman, "The Dispute in Poland in 1936 over Jabotinsky's Evacuation Plan," in *In the Eye of the Storm: Essays on Ze'ev Jabotinsky*, ed. Avi Bareli and Pinhas Ginossar (Kefar Habad: Ben-Gurion Institute, 2004): 115.
[84] Stanislawski, 131.
[85] Laqueur, 372.

seeking the support of its leaders. While many pledged their "goodwill," there was not much that could be done, especially when the war broke out in 1939. Jabotinsky switched gears and proclaimed that world Jewry should forget its grievances against the British and join the war effort against the Axis Powers. He attempted to get his followers involved, to unify everyone against the Nazis, but things seemed bleak:

> He wanted to form Jewish legions that would fight for the British against the Germans, with the hope that the political capital thus earned could be converted into British support of a State of Israel after the war. Yet more and more of his followers were thinking not of the legionary strategy but the terrorist strategy, whereby an empire weakened by war could be driven from the national homeland. Polish policy was aligned with Jewish rebels whom the British had most to fear.[86]

The onset of the war seemed to ruin everything that Jabotinsky had worked so hard to achieve. The Revisionists began to split in various directions, many toward extreme radicalism and violence never before seen in the party. Some of these dissensions are noted as such:

> In January 1938 leading officers of Betar turned against the members of their own executive, claiming that these still believed in a pro-British orientation. At the Revisionist congress in Prague in March 1938 there was a sharp conflict between the Palestinian delegation and those from abroad. Schechtman, who had been involved in negotiations with the Zionist movement, was not reelected.[87]

Moreover, Irgun went on a rampant killing spree against Arabs passing through Jewish quarters in Palestine. They also threw bombs in Arab markets and bus stations, killing many women and children. While Jabotinsky did not like to be associated with Irgun behavior, he asked their leaders to warn Arabs before such attacks so that they could be evacuated. They refused and the attacks continued.[88] Once again, Jabotinsky found his "prodigies" to be completely out of his control.

In August of 1940, Jabotinsky died of a heart attack in New York. After he had begun his propaganda campaign back in the mid-1920s, the British Mandate government saw him as a security threat and would not let him return, so he found himself to be a wanderer—moving from Paris, to London, and then finally New York. His remains, however, were brought to Mount Herzl in Jerusalem.[89] Essentially, the Revisionist movement died with its leader, until the 1970s. While Revisionist Zionism was a relatively weak and often times inconsistent ideology, Jabotinsky had asked questions that other Zionist leaders delayed answering or were too afraid to ask themselves.[90] It created an alternative which Jews had never been presented before and tremendously appealed to the younger generation within Eastern Europe, who had often had their thoughts and input disregarded when it came to major Zionist decisions or plans. Jabotinsky brought hope, and while Revisionist Zionism would seem to disappear for a

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[86] Snyder, 100.
[87] Laqueur, 373.
[88] Schechtman, 453.
[89] Jabotinsky and Śarig, 2.
[90] Laqueur, 383.

while, that spark was still there, waiting for the right opportunity to be ignited once more. Today Israel, though technically a social democracy, is highly militarized with a powerful Jewish legion, the "iron wall" that Jabotinsky envisioned. This Jewish state, however, is still at violent odds with its Arab neighbors and questions concerning the morality of this issue are highly debated. It seems that things are not as clear as Jabotinsky claimed them to be, especially concerning the Arab question.

Victory through Air Power: How Walt Disney and Alexander P. de Seversky Argued for the Utilization of the Air Force during World War II

Jack Roberts

In 1943, it seemed that Nazi Germany and Japan could defeat the Allied forces after series of victories. France and Great Britain were severely beaten down, and the United States had suffered a direct attack. Concerned about the direction the war was heading in, Walt Disney, Hollywood's most beloved artist, and Alexander P. de Seversky, a respected aviation scientist, used their combined influence and talents to produce the film, *Victory through Air Power*, which influenced the American public and government officials' stance on military strategy during World War II. The movie was based on Seversky's best-selling book of the same name in which he argued that the military needed to prioritize their resources and set up their strategies around the use of long-range bomber planes rather than tanks and ships (hence Seversky's term, air power). According to Seversky, the side that controlled the skies would win the war. Seversky had decided to write his book because the military had viewed his approach as antagonistic to the other branches of the military, especially the Navy. Seversky decided that he would instead gain support for his ideas by reaching out to the public. Disney had read Seversky's book and was convinced that his air power strategy would win the war. During the war, Disney was a valuable asset to the government because his propaganda films educated the masses and his military training films communicated field tactics and etiquette to the troops. Now he could use the skills he had developed to create a full-length picture using a mixture of powerful animated sequences and live action lectures from Seversky himself in order to persuade the American public, military leaders, and American government officials that transitioning to air power was essential to the defeat of Nazi Germany and Japan.

Walt Disney and Educational Films

Hollywood was a vital asset to the government during World War II because it was the most successful entertainment industry. An average of ninety million Americans went to the movies weekly.[1] Propaganda against Adolf Hitler during his rise to power was not very present in the movies. This reflected the popular opinion that the United States should not become involved with the growing European conflicts; however, the December 7, 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor led to all of Hollywood mobilizing behind the government in order to promote the war effort. No studio had worked harder or as closely with the government than Walt Disney Studios.

Walt Disney devoted all his time and resources to developing propaganda for the war effort. His goal was to create cartoons that would illustrate the evils of Hitler's fascism, and also instruct the public on the role they could play. Donald Duck became the company's star, representing the average American. He was a model civilian that upheld his responsibilities, such as dutifully paying his taxes on time. He also willingly became a

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[1] Robert L. McLaughlin and Sally E. Parry, *We'll Always Have the Movies: American Cinema during World War II* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 7.

soldier in the army. Disney's genuine patriotism cannot be denied; however, it cannot be ignored that he also needed the money. The war had closed off half of his foreign markets, causing the studio to go into a deficit of over \$1,200,000.[2] Disney sought as many government contracts as possible to get out of debt.[3]

Disney had made attempts before Pearl Harbor to enter a partnership with government and military officials by arguing that film could be an effective educational tool. He stated film had the ability to relay the same information to large numbers of people at once. He thought this was especially significant for military training. To demonstrate this, he made the film, *Four Methods of Riveting* in 1942 for the Lockheed Aircraft Corp., in order to train new industrial workers in the methods of riveting. The government was not immediately responsive to his efforts. The film caught the attention of the Commissioner of the Canadian National Film Board, however, who then hired Disney to produce films for Canada's war campaign. The most significant of these was the military training film, *Stop That Tank!* (1942). The film taught soldiers how to fire, take care of, and assemble the Anti-Tank rifle using animated and live action sequences.[4] The film's significance comes from the fact that it was the first serious attempt by Disney to create an educational film communicating military procedures targeted towards soldiers. The film allowed Disney to experiment with visuals and military information. The US government eventually recognized the educational capabilities of Disney's works. This is evidenced by the fact that by 1943, 94% of all footage Disney produced was made under military contract.[5] In addition, Disney made over 100 training films for the military.[6] Naval leaders especially felt films were an important way to teach Naval pilots how to conduct their missions.[7]

Disney's ability to make information easily digestible to large masses all at once made him a valuable asset to the government and military. In an interview, Disney expressed his confidence in the future of film education, stating that "Mass education is coming."[8] He meant that film would be used more often in schools and other institutions, similar to the way that the military was using his films. The statement reveals the confidence Disney had in his own artistic abilities. This is why Disney, on his own initiative, made the film *Victory through Air Power,* based on the book written by Major Alexander P. de Seversky.[9] He believed not only that Seversky's book was the key to Allied victory, but also that he had gained the skills necessary to effectively communicate its information to the American public.[10] It is important to emphasize that *Victory through Air Power* was a project the military did not hire Disney to make or lent

[2] Richard Shale, *Donald Duck Joins Up: The Walt Disney Studio during World War II* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press: 1982), 79 and 81.

[3] *Ibid.,* 80.

[4] *Stop That Tank! in Walt Disney Treasures: On the Front Lines*, directed by Walt Disney, (1942; Burbank: Disney DVD, 2004), DVD.

[5] Shale, 24.

[6] Douglass A. Cunningham, "'Desiring the Disney Technique': Chronicle of a Contracted Military Training Film," in *Learning from Mickey, Donald and Walt: Essays on Disney's Edutainment Films,* ed. A. Bowdin Van Riper (Jefferson: McFarland, 2011), 27.

[7] *Training Film Montage in Walt Disney Treasures: On the Front Lines*, directed by Ben Sharpsteen, Bill Justice, Bill Roberts, Clyde Geronimi, and Ford Beebe (Burbank: Disney DVD, 2004), DVD.

[8] Walt Disney, "Donald Duck's Disney," Interview with Theodore Strauss, *The New York Times*, February, 7, 1943, http://search.proquest.com/docview/106519838/B55153B72F0244E4PQ/1?accountid=14679.

[9] *Loc. cit.*

[10] *Loc. cit.*

resources towards. Disney was aware that Seversky's ideas had been controversial among military theorists.[11] Seversky himself at this point was a public celebrity because of his book, but he only wrote the book because the military leaders had ostracized him.

Before Seversky had become isolated form the military leaders, he had been recognized by the military as an accomplished aviation scientist and fighter. Born in Russia in 1894, he served in the Russian Naval Airforce during World War I, becoming a highly decorated pilot for his accomplishments as the Chief Pursuit of Aviation for the Baltic Sea front. In 1918, he moved to the United States, becoming a major in the Air Corps Reserve. Seversky had earned recognition as an aeronautical engineer, creating instrumental devices in planes such as adjustable rubber pedals and hydraulic brakes.[12] He also invented new planes such as the first all-metal monoplane and amphibian fighters.[13] In 1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt awarded him the Harmen Trophy for being the most outstanding aviator of the year.[14]

Seversky was highly recognized and respected nationally, but he became a controversial figure within the military because he strongly insisted along with Brigadier General Billy Mitchell, the Assistant Chief of the Air Service, that advancements in aeronautical technology rendered Naval forces practically irrelevant. The strategy they pushed was long-range aerial strategic bombing, a direct assault on enemy territory, whereby the air force would bomb the enemy's industrial zones, communication lines, and defenses, allowing the Allied forces to infiltrate. This would require mobilizing all air power into an independent coalition. Seversky's opinions antagonized Naval leaders because it could be interpreted that he was calling the entire naval institution useless. Also, in order to create an independent air coalition, the Navy would lose their aviation carriers, which would hinder their strategic capabilities.[15] For example, one common practice was to transport carriers on boats close to enemy territory, so the carriers could take off from the boats and infiltrate. If tactics transitioned to long-ranged bombers, the need to use the naval ships for transportation would be eliminated.[16] It is possible that naval leaders were afraid because even though they would never admit it, Seversky's arguments had some valid points. If the military listened to Seversky, the Navy's role in future military matters could be diminished; however, the Navy as a long standing institution had powerful allies such as the Chief of the Air Corps, who felt Seversky was damaging the military's reputation by being critical of its leaders.[17] When Seversky's corporation began producing bombers instead of the planes the military actually wanted, the Chief of the Air Corps removed Seversky from his own company.[18] Seversky figured

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[11] *Loc. cit.*

[12] Phillip S. Meilinger, "Proselytiser and Prophet: Alexander P. de Seversky and American Airpower," *Journal ond Strategic Studies* 18:1 (1995): 10, http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail/detail?vid=9&sid=ef7d3df6-6fe6-4c31-8c00-1b9fb422c733%40sessionmgr4009&hid=4207&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=27582852&db=31h.

[13] *Loc. cit.*

[14] *Ibid.,* 11.

[15] Russell E. Lee, "Impact of 'Victory through Air Power' Part II: The Navy Response," *Air Power History* 40:3 (fall 1993): 21, http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail/detail?vid=7&sid=ef7d3df6-6fe6-4c31-8c00-1b9fb422c733%40sessionmgr4009&hid=4207&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=45902507&db=31h.

[16] *Loc. cit.*

[17] Meilinger, 12.

[18] *Loc. cit.*

he could not persuade US military leaders, so he decided to try to use his public popularity in order to pressure the military to invest in bombing campaigns. His book, *Victory through Air Power* (1942), explained his bombing tactics and why they should be adopted by the military. What is astonishing about Seversky's book is that it told the American people they had the ability to influence military strategy. It argued that military matters could be brought into the public sphere for debate. Seversky got the attention he wanted. The book became a *New York Times* best seller, selling 350,000 copies.[19] A Gallup survey reported that 20 million people recognized Seversky as a public figure, and that five million people had read his work, including Disney.[20] The military and Navy leaders were anxious about Seversky's rising popularity because he publicly criticized them. To make matters worse, Disney got in contact with Seversky, and the two quickly formed a close friendship.[21] Seversky even agreed to appear in Disney's film version of *Victory through Air Power* personally to explain his arguments to the American audience. The military knew the how greatly Disney could expand the influence of Seversky's ideas to the public. Disney understood this as well, which is why he made the film.

Disney believed that film could most effectively persuade the public that air power was essential to winning the war: he recognized that a decent amount of the American population would rather see a movie than read a book.[22] The movie industry was the dominant form of entertainment as explained earlier. Disney in an interview explained why he felt the film had to be made:

> one thing is certain-air power is going to be mighty important not only in the war but in the world we're going to live in afterward. People need to know about it. A lot of them are still bound by traditional ways of thinking and a movie like this can break through a lot of misconceptions.[23]

As this quotation makes clear, Disney acknowledged the film as propaganda intended to combat the general misconception that air power was trivial. The public still believed the military's reliance on land and sea operations were enough to face any future threat. He goes further, stating that this new aerial technology will continue shaping the world even after the war is over. Disney wanted to direct Americans' thinking to what he saw as the future.

The push for air power created some minor incidents with federal officials according to Disney and Seversky. In an interview after Disney's death, Seversky reported that the government tried to intimidate Disney from making the film by

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[19] Russell E. Lee, "Impact of 'Victory through Air Power' Part I: The Army Air Force's Reaction," *Air Power History* 40:2 (summer 1993): 3, http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail/detail?vid=5&sid=ef7d3df6-6fe6-4c31-8c00-1b9fb422c733%40sessionmgr4009&hid=4207&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=45911287&db=31h.

[20] Shale, 69.

[21] Alexander P. de Seversky, "Walt Disney: An Airman in His Heart," *Aerospace Historian* 14:1 (1967): 6, http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail/detail?vid=3&sid=ef7d3df6-6fe6-4c31-8c00-1b9fb422c733%40sessionmgr4009&hid=4207&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=46925910&db=31h.

[22] Disney, "Donald Duck's Disney."

[23] *Loc. cit.*

threatening to cancel its contracts with the studio.[24] Disney, in fact, had told the head of 20th Century Fox that Naval leaders had harassed him, declaring making the film would be a waste of time because the war would be won by 1943.[25] The military, however, did not go all out in trying to prevent Disney from making the film. Military leaders never even openly criticized the film because they were afraid that attacking Disney, an American icon, would damage their reputations.[26] All they could do was hope the film would not make them look bad. The anxious military leaders finally got to see *Victory through Air Power* along with the rest of the American public when it was released at New York's Globe Theatre on July 17, 1943. Seversky believed Disney's artistic and creative abilities had done justice to their cause, stating, "The Disney method of presentation, being graphic, is much stronger than the written word. I believe that, in effect, he helped save hundreds of thousands of Americans and Allied lives, and contributed inestimably to our victory in both Europe and Japan."[20][27]

Victory through Air Power: A Film Analysis[28]

   Victory through Air Power supports Seversky's tactics of long-range bombers and the creation of an independent air coalition within the military by using visuals to illustrate to the audience the destructive potential of air power. Disney and Seversky insist that if the United States does not listen to their advice, the enemy will destroy the country. The film starts with a humorous cartoon about the history of aviation in order to show the exponential growth of aircraft technology from 1903-1943. It explains that planes were only seen as amusements to the public; however, in World War I, the military capabilities of the aircraft were discovered. This segment marks a shift in the tone of the film. The World War I sequence begins with French and German pilots, who are both goofy stereotypical caricatures. To illustrate the non-combative role of air forces, both pilots behave in a friendly fashion to each other. The Frenchman is taking observation pictures of the territory and photographs the German, but when the photo develops, it is revealed the German had mocked him by sticking his tongue out. The insulted Frenchmen responds by pelting the back of the German's head with a brick. The German in retaliation fires his pistol, and both pilots engage in a rifle duel. The presentation is silly, but the point of the cartoon is to show the quick escalation of air power from an observational role to a key one. Disney is arguing the use of planes for military combat is not a radical idea, and goes on to show how the military had already advanced aerial technology to make planes more fearsome.

   Disney proceeds to frighten the audience by illustrating how bombers had quickly escalated into weapons that in the present day could devastate entire cities. He starts off by showing that in the early stages of the World War I, men were dropping hand grenades onto cargoes and how next came the bomber, which wiped out landscapes. The visuals allow the audience to see how the bombs became increasingly bigger and deadlier. This leads to a powerful sequence of World War II bombers dropping ten-ton

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[24] Seversky, 6.
[25] Lee, "Impact of 'Victory through Air Power' Part II," 23.
[26] *Loc. cit.*
[27] Seversky, 8.
[28] Unless otherwise noted, quotations come from directly from the film: Walt Disney, *Victory through Air Power,* directed by Perce Pearce (USA: Walt Disney Productions, 1943).

bombs onto the city of Cologne in Germany, covering the screen in fire and black smoke. Afterwards, in Seversky's first appearance in the film, he warns that "there will not be a single spot on the face of the earth immune to overhead attack…the distinction between soldiers and civilians will be erased. It is only a matter of time before we here in America suffer our own civilian casualties." Seversky's message was that the United States' geographic isolation would not protect them from enemy air forces; thus, the war would come to them soon. Their citizens could end up like Cologne. It is important to remember that Disney and Seversky wanted to alarm the public, so that they would put pressure on military leaders. They wanted the military to move away from the "old surface warfare" tactics of tanks and ships, which had been proven useless against the enemy air forces. To make its case, the film depicts how Nazi Germany's air force, the Luftwaffe, was able to demolish the United States' allies in Europe.

Seversky discusses to the audience Nazi Germany's invasion of France and Britain's loss of Crete as the evidence that military strategies relying dominantly on land and sea forces cannot combat against air power. Seversky explains that France had concentrated all its resources into a wall of great land fortresses to defend against Germany. He says that "Those who dared criticize this plan of defense were sharply reminded that the French general staff was the greatest on Earth." The point is that the French military leaders in-between the world wars had failed to innovate their overall military strategy and technology. They became arrogant in that they thought they could simply replicate their tank strategies in the previous war to fight off Hitler, assuming the Germans would also stick to familiar land based tactics. This is why the French failed to anticipate and prepare for the Luftwaffe. In a dramatic scene, the Luftwaffe planes are shown as red arrows, destroying the French fortresses swiftly, one-by-one. The arrows break through France's literal wall of defense, allowing the German tanks storm in. The French flag on top of the Eiffel tower poofs into the Nazi flag as the German's take Paris.

In Seversky's view, Germany's invasion of France shows that aerial bombings can easily wipe out land defenses. He lays the blame on the French military leaders for being fixated on their old methods. He also argues that Britain made a similar mistake by concentrating its resources on its Navy. The British used the Navy alone to face the Luftwaffe at the battle of Crete in what the film describes as "the first clear cut duel between sea and air power." The battle scene shows German bombers sinking British ships like sitting ducks. For dramatic effect, an iron gauntlet stamps a Swastika onto Crete to symbolize the Nazi takeover. The audience has to realize that at this point, the Allied forces are not winning the war. France and Great Britain, the countries that Americans hold the closest connections to had already been beaten down by the Nazis. The film tells Americans that they are Hitler's next target. New York City could be destroyed just like Paris. Seversky believes that the generals of the United States army, after witnessing these blunders, failed to learn from the European allies' mistakes. They should have been investing energy into reworking their own military strategy and forces in order to prepare for an air force assault by the enemy. Had the military listened to his advice, an attack such as Pearl Harbor could have been prevented.

The film's dramatic reenactment of Japan's assault on Pearl Harbor attack serves to remind Americans that the enemy has already been able to reach their shores because of air power. If it happened once it could happen again. Disney paints the Japanese to look as villainous as possible. In a racist caricature, an evilly grinning, slant-eyed, yellow skinned Japanese pilot drops bombs onto the ships. The ships and destruction are drawn

realistically so that the audience feels they are witnessing the event. Photos of wrecked battleships from the actual attack are included. After this sequence Seversky states, "Only then did the earthbound mind grasp the main lesson of this war, that no battle can be won on the surface of the Earth without first gaining complete control of the sky above." The Pearl Harbor attack connects to Seversky's earlier point that Americans were not isolated from the war because air power allows a far-away enemy to bring the battle to their shores. The scene exposes the country's vulnerability, making the old defenses of the Navy appear outdated and ineffective. By reminding the audience of the failures of the current military generals, Seversky presents himself as an all-knowing prophet.

Seversky states his solution to preventing another attack on American soil such as Pearl Harbor is for the military to create an independent air force branch. He argues that to defeat the Nazis and Japan, military leaders must use an independent air force as a "spearhead" to weaken their defenses by attacking their industries. This argument is supported visually by representing the layout of Germany's army as a wheel. The hub is the industrial center; the supply lines are the spokes; and the rim is the defense line. The argument is that because Germany's forces are close to their base, it is easy for Germany to resupply them. Arrows used to represent the Allied forces clash against the wheel of the rim. As the arrows push the rim closer to the hub, the spikes shorten and the rim becomes thicker. This is to show that a land offensive would not break through Germany's defenses because Germany's interior supply lines allow it to quickly reinforce its defenses. Seversky explains that aircrafts can directly bomb the industrial hub of the wheel, destroying the supply lines. This is illustrated with white arrows, which represent the air force striking directly at the hub, causing the wheel to be shattered, thus allowing the arrows used to represent the Allied land forces to advance through the rim. This simple model makes Seversky's strategy look like an easy path to victory.

For Japan, Seversky declares that because Japan's territory extends further than Germany's, the military will need to use long-range escort bombers, which could be launched from Alaska. These "ultra-bombers" shown in the film are imaginary, but illustrates what Seversky thinks will become possible. They are blimp-sized carriers with dozens of machine guns dotted all over, and the audience is shown several scenes of the guns effortlessly shooting down the enemy aircrafts. Seversky explains the ultra-bombers will drop bomb loads of ten-tons, which can easily demolish Japan's industrial zones as shown with animation. Seversky is confident that his ultra-bombers will win the war, but he tells the audience that:

> It will come to the foresight and native intelligence of the American people. In the past they have never failed to act promptly or wisely since they understood the problem they have faced. And so in this crucial hour in the destiny of our country, they will not hesitate to break the chains of habit, and free themselves from the earthbound past.

Seversky describes the American people as an intelligent, unstoppable force. He wants the audience members to aspire to the mythological American he is describing. If the audience wants to prove him right, they will support air power. Most importantly, he is saying the change in military strategy will not be implemented by the military leaders, but come from the public's demand. Seversky tells the audience that they should have faith in their airmen and have the enemy "fight on our terms, with weapons of our

choosing, on our time but his soil." He is reemphasizing that the United States is more than capable of taking command of the war through air power. Following Seversky's inspirational words is a long sequence showing ultra-bombers bombing Japanese industrial centers into oblivion as triumphant music plays. This victory is the future Seversky is promising.

To hammer the point further, the film ends with an impressive animation of a bald eagle repeatedly striking a black octopus. As the octopus dies, its tentacles remove its daggers from the conquered Pacific Islands. Then the eagle flies onto the American flag to the theme of *America the Beautiful*. The patriotic ending affirms that the United States will win. The portrayal of Japan as a black beast, elevates the war into a moral battle of good overcoming evil. The eagle not only is significant as the symbol of the United States, but also a symbol of the air force. In the final frame of the film, the words "VICTORY THROUGH AIR POWER" boldly appear. It is Disney and Seversky's final reminder that only air power can win the war. The ending of the film shows Americans a reality where the United States have obliterated its enemies with bombs. Seeing it on screen helps Americans believe that air power can destroy the enemies in reality. They leave the theater desiring to make this outcome possible. The reception of the film shows that Disney and Seversky did get their message across.

The Film's Impact

Victory through Air Power was not a financial success, but it managed to successfully sell its agenda to the civilians and powerful figures that saw it; thus, shaping military strategy. Most critics argued the film was effective propaganda because of its use of visuals such as maps and bombing sequences to argue its points. Thomas Pryor of *The New York Times* said the film "animated de Seversky's ideas with a clarity which could never be achieved through the spoken word," and that the film was "the most encouraging and inspiring propaganda that the screen had afforded us in a very long time."[29] One critic was encouraged by the potential of Seversky's ultra-bombers writing, "such engines of destruction are not yet built, but the film shows them in intimate detail and convincing detail."[30] Reviews like this signal that Disney and Seversky had achieved their goals.

There were also negative reviews. David Platt of *The Boston Globe* found the film impressive but was skeptical about Seversky's ultra-bomber. He criticized Seversky's solution as "some magical method of winning the war…which will enable it to be solved almost without loss." He felt Disney had oversimplified Seversky's strategy, purposely overlooking inconsistencies and flaws.[31] He argued that the film completely neglected the fact that the enemies had air forces which could destroy the ultra-bombers.[32] Platt also claimed the final sequence of the bombings on Japan was excessive.[33] Another negative

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[29] Thomas M. Pryor, "The Screen: The Globe Presents 'Victory through Airpower,' a Disney Illustration of Major de Seversky's Book," *The New York Times*, July 19, 1943, http://www.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9404EFDF1738E33BBC4152DFB1668388659EDE.
[30] "Air Power on Screen," *The New York Times*, July 26, 1943, http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.uvm.edu/docview/106617156?accountid=14679.
[31] David Platt, "Raps Film Version of 'Victory through Airpower,'" *The Daily Boston Globe*, July 21, 1943, http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.uvm.edu/docview/818922125?accountid=14679.
[32] *Loc. cit.*
[33] *Loc. cit.*

review came from James Agee on *The Nation*, who also had issues with the ending. Agee was disturbed by sequence of Japan's destruction, writing, "I noticed, uneasily, that there were no suffering and dying enemy civilians under all those proud promises of bombs."[34]

It is true that the film shows no concern for Japanese civilian casualties at all, treating the bombings as Japan's reparation for its sins. The film dehumanizes the Japanese with symbolism such as the black octopus. This disturbing aspect of the film cannot be denied, and it probably did help sway the public. A Gallup poll reported that two years prior to the film's release, 42% of Americans had supported the creation of an independent air force. After the film was released, that number rose to 59%.[35]

More significantly, however, was the film's impact on military leaders. *Victory through Air Power* received overall praise from the military. The Chief of the Air Corps, Henry H. Arnold, who had removed Seversky from his own corporation, rewatched it with other high ranking officers in the air force. Disney's Director of Publicity stated that despite their grudges against Seversky, the officers applauded the film.[36] General Robert W. Harper, Assistant Chief of Staff for Training, recognized the value of film's visual ability to communicate information as a way to make bombing operations in Europe more efficient. He said, "if men were fully conscious of the implications of 'strategic' and 'precision' bombing they would feel a more definite responsibility to plant the bomb where it is supposed to go."[37] Brigadier General William Turner, the head of the Air Transport command, required all the officers in his headquarters to watch the film.[38] The Navy kept its response to the film quiet. Major George Field Elliot was not a fan, but he acknowledged its persuasiveness and wanted a similar film made for the Navy.[39]

Disney's film was seen by the leaders of nations as well. Several sources state that at the First Quebec Conference in 1943, Winston Churchill showed *Victory through Air Power* to Franklin D. Roosevelt. He loved the film, and some have argued that it inspired him to fully support long-range escort bombings.[40] After the war was over, Seversky met the Japanese Emperor Hirohito, who said that he had seen the film and had tried to get his generals to surrender once he believed they had lost control over the skies. This was before the United States resorted to dropping the atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[41] This is not to say that President Harry Truman's decision to drop the atomic bombs was in any way inspired by Disney and Seversky's film; however, these accounts prove that major world leaders had seen the film and had been influenced by it to a certain extent. In retrospect, the last sequence of the ultra-bombers striking Japan in the film was a fairly accurate prediction of the United States fire bomb strikes that helped bring the war to a close. *Victory through Air Power* was a film that was slightly ahead of its time in terms of how aerial combat would shape military strategy during World War II.

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[34] John D. Thomas, "Cartoon Combat: World War II, Alexander de Seversky, and *Victory Through Air Power*," in *Learning from Mickey, Donald and Walt: Essays on Disney's Edutainment Films,* ed. A. Bowdin Van Riper (Jefferson: McFarland, 2011), 67.

[35] Meilinger, 29.

[36] Lee, "Impact of 'Victory through Air Power,' Part I," 12.

[37] Caldwell to Disney, 9 Jul 1943, *Victory Through Air Power* Collection, WDA, quoted in Lee, "Impact of 'Victory through Air Power,' Part I," 12.

[38] Lee, "Impact of 'Victory through Air Power,' Part I," 12.

[39] Lee, "Impact of 'Victory through Air Power,' Part II," 24.

[40] Seversky acknowledges this himself in Seversky, 7.

[41] *Loc. cit.*

Victory through Air Power is a fascinating experiment because there is not a single film in history that is like it. No other film has attempted to persuade an audience on how military generals should be conducting a war. This film was released in regular movies theaters for families to see. Disney and Seversky created a product that could relay information to Americans of all ages, classes, races, and genders. They felt the public needed to be informed that the Allied forces were not winning the war and why. It was bold for Disney and Seversky to assert themselves over military officials as innovative strategists that knew exactly how the war would play out. Their determination to make the film stemmed from the belief that as American citizens they had to do everything in their power to make sure the United States won the war.

It is important to remember that during World War II, American lives were centered around contributing to the war effort. This why they would be willing to see an educational film that discussed military tactics. *Victory through Air Power* captures the mood in the United States during the middle of World War II. The early Axis victories, especially the attack on Pearl Harbor, caused Americans to fear that the Axis could potentially defeat them. Despite these anxieties, there was a sense that American exceptionalism would triumph over this threat. *Victory through Air Power* is not just about military strategy, but about restoring a sense of hope among the American people. It predicted a future where Allied bombers destroyed Germany's defenses and where the Japanese were bombed into submission. It convinced not just citizens, but military and world leaders as well, that whoever controlled the skies, controlled the outcome of the war. Walt Disney and Alexander P. de Seversky understood that with this film, they could not only tell Americans how to win the war, but could also *show them how they would win*.

Sexual Violence and Abuse of Antebellum Slave Women

Laura Sercel

"Slavery is terrible for men, but it is far more terrible for women. Superadded to the burden common to all, they have wrongs, and suffering and mortifications peculiarly their own."

-Harriet Jacobs.[1]

Blond-haired, blue-eyed Henry Gerald, born in 1854 in South Carolina, recalled the story of a man who viciously beat his mother so hard that blood ran down her back. When the beatings stopped, the man forced Gerald, a former slave, to wash away the blood with salt water. The man responsible for such brutality was both Gerald's owner and his father. Gerald's mother was the forced concubine of her master, and gave birth to four children, including Henry, by him before general emancipation. In this particular story, Gerald's mother was beaten after she refused to have sexual relations with her owner.[2] Gerald's mother's experience was not unique to African American women. Many female slaves were forced to endure sexual harassment, assault and violence by white men due to their subordinate status in Antebellum society. Historians such as Bell Hooks and Deborah White claim that black women experienced slavery in a way that was unique to their intersectional identities as both female and slave, which resulted in a distinct set of sufferings that only slave women faced.[3] Their sufferings were directly related to their sexuality and were often caused by sexual violence, assault and rape by their masters. These experiences, in contrast to white Southern women, stripped African American women of their femininity and purity and instead mislabeled them as uncontrollably lustful, sexual heathens. The combined oppressive forces of sexism and racism that were inherent to the legal and social structures of Antebellum America intensified the suffering and dehumanization experienced by African American female slaves. This paper seeks to recognize the heightened oppression faced by female slaves by highlighting the sexual violence that many women suffered as a result of their identity in a white, male-dominated society.

Aspects of identity such as race, gender, class and other variables are not exclusive; rather, they interact in ways that cause them to overlap, reinforce and intersect with one another. When identity variables that are usually marginalized intersect, an even more intense form of oppression is experienced. African American female slaves subject to the system of American slavery had an identity as both slave and female. Black women did not experience slavery in the same way that black men experienced slavery in Antebellum America. Additionally, black women did not experience sexism in the same way that white women experienced sexism. Historian Deborah White remarked on the intersectionality of slave women's identities, claiming, "Black in a white society, slave in a free society, woman in a society ruled by men, female slaves had the least formal power

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[1] Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Minecola: Dover Publications, 2001), 64.

[2] Brenda Stevenson, "What's Love Got to Do With It? Concubinage and Enslaved Women and Girls in the Antebellum South," *The Journal of African American History* 98:1 (2013): 115.

[3] Bell Hooks, *Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 24; and Deborah White, *Ar'n't I A Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 1999), 4.

and were perhaps the most vulnerable group of Antebellum Americans."[4] The double identity of the female slave socially enabled white males and masters to exploit, oppress and inflict sexual abuse and violence against women in an extremely brutal manner. Enslaving any individual puts him or her at the mercy of their owner and in a position of exploitation; however, female slaves were taken advantage of on an additional level, due to both physiognomy and women's secondary position in Victorian society. The sexual exploitation and abuse of African American women fostered a significantly more arduous experience than that of other social minorities during the same period of time.

Institutions such as the legal system allowed and perpetuated the continuation of systematic oppression faced by black female slaves in Antebellum America. Both federal and state laws were the ultimate creators and perpetuators of black oppression. By law, all slaves were property of their masters. Slaves were marketed as commodities and bills of sales demonstrated their status as chattel or property.[5] By creating and upholding laws that enabled ownership of African Americans by masters, blacks were seen as property and had no rights of their own. This enabled masters to sexually harass and assault their female slaves without legal repercussions, as they did not have rights to their own bodies.

Sexual contact between a slave woman and her master was a common experience during American slavery.[6] A former slave noted the frequency of sexual interactions between slaves and their owners, "It wus a hard job to find a marster dat didn't have women 'mong his slaves… Dat wus a ginerel thing 'mong de slave owners."[7] While some sexual relationships were voluntary, most were coerced and violent in nature.[8] Masters often raped their female slaves. Because slaves were legally considered property, there was no legislation that recognized the rape of black women as a punishable crime. Historian Eugene Genovese stated, "Rape meant, by definition, rape of a white women, for no such crime as rape of a black woman existed at law."[9] Although there were laws against the rape of women during the Antebellum period, such laws did not include the rape of black women, because black women had no rights. Black women were neither social nor legal equals to white women during this period of time. Therefore, white women were legally protected against rape, but black women were not. This enabled white males to sexually assault and rape black women without fear of being held legally accountable. The story of a slave woman named Celia and the proceeding court case *State v. Celia* demonstrates this concept.

In 1850, Robert Newsom purchased Celia at age fourteen. The young woman was immediately and continuously raped by her master after she was purchased. He built her a cabin 150 feet away from his home so that he could force her to have sex with him. As a result of rape, Celia fathered two of Newsom's children. Eventually, Celia fell in love with a black man and again became pregnant. Uncertain who the father would be, Celia found herself in a challenging position. Celia took a stand and told Newsom not to come, and that if he came she would hurt him. Considering sexual relations with Celia his right,

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[4] White, 15.

[5] Melton McLaurin, *Celia, a Slave* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 118.

[6] Stevenson, 100 and 106.

[7] S. James Mellon, ed., *Bullwhip Days: The Slaves Remember, An Oral History* (New York, 1988), 219–220, quoted in Stevenson, 101.

[8] Stevenson, 103.

[9] Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan Roll: The World Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 33, quoted in McLaurin, 111.

Newsom ignored her requests. Once more Newsom came to her cabin to rape her, but this time, Celia sought to put an end to his wickedness. Celia hit Newsom in the head several times with a stick, and after realizing that he was dead, burned his body in a fire.[10]

In *State v. Celia,* those speaking on her behalf boldly cited a Missouri statute from 1845 that stated plainly that it was a crime to "take any woman unlawfully against her will and by force, menace or duress, compel her to be defiled."[11] They claimed that because Celia was raped, she acted in self-defense and therefore should not be punished for her crime. Judge William Hall objected, reminding the court that Celia was a slave and could not be legally considered a woman with rights. Because Celia was legally Newsom's property, the judge claimed that Newsom was unable to trespass on his own property and therefore he had not done anything unlawful when he raped Celia.[12] Celia was sentenced to hanging for the murder of her master.

The story of Celia demonstrates that in the Antebellum South, the rape of slave women by white men, if not expected, was condoned by the law. Although Celia's trial occurred in Missouri, by the nineteenth century, the majority of slave holding states maintained similar laws and statutes regarding the status of enslaved individuals. Because conviction was impossible for rape or sexual assault of slave women, historians have estimated that at least one in five female slaves experienced sexual exploitation by white men.[13]

By the nineteenth century, almost all states followed a Virginia statute of 1662 that said that the offspring of slave women would inherit the same status as the mother. Therefore, all children born of slave women would also be slaves.[14] Such statutes had direct implications on attitudes towards sexual violence against slave women. White men who raped and fathered children would not have to claim paternity for the children. Instead, the children would be considered the master's property, thus creating a system in which slave woman's reproduction became profitable to white masters. Historian Dorothy Roberts sums up this process, saying, "legislation giving the children of Black [slave] women and white men the status of slaves left female slaves vulnerable to sexual violation as a means of financial gain. Whenever a white man impregnated one of his slaves, the child produced by his assault was his property."[15] Such a legal atmosphere not only validated slave ownership rights but also sent a clear message that sexual abuse of slave women was socially acceptable. White men raped female slaves not only to show dominance, but also to gain more profit in the system of slavery without legal or social consequences. By maintaining that the children of slave women would inherit the status of their mother and also by not recognizing rape of female slaves as a crime, the legal system perpetuated acts of sexual violence against slave women.

In addition to legal factors that contributed to the systematic oppression and sexual abuse of slave women, social constructions and other factors influenced the exploitation of black women. Sexism was an additional burden that slave women

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[10] McLaurin, 37.

[11] Missouri statute of 1845, article 2, section 29, quoted in McLaurin, 107.

[12] McLaurin, 111.

[13] *Ibid.,*116.

[14] Sandeen, 55.

[15] Jane Landers, "'In Consideration of Her Enormous Crime': Rape and Infanticide in Spanish St. Augustine," in *The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the Early South,* eds. Catherine Clinton and Michele Gillespie (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 205-214, quoted in Sandeen, 57.

endured. Historian and feminist Bell Hooks explains, "Institutionalized sexism formed the base of the American social structure along with racial imperialism."[16] In the Antebellum South, black women's identity was socially constructed to be less feminine than their white female counterparts. There was a common notion that black women were lustful sexual heathens, who were worthy of sexual exploitation and abuse. In contrast, white women during the Victorian era were viewed as pure and devoted to marriage, family and tending to the home[17]. The social construction of black women as sexual heathens, contrasted against the social construct of white women as pure homemakers, led to the assumption that black women were less feminine than white women, and therefore were more available to be taken advantage of sexually.

Male slaves were assigned to jobs such as field laborers or other jobs that were typically considered masculine work. Black female slaves were assigned a wide arrange of roles that included tasks that American society deemed masculine. Female slaves were often forced into masculine roles, while male slaves were not forced to take on female roles. Male slaves were exploited in the field, but female slaves were additionally exploited as field laborers, domestic workers in the home, as breeders, and as unwilling concubines.[18] Hooks explains that in colonial times, "only debased and degraded members of the female sex labored in the fields."[19] If a white woman had to labor in fields, she was perceived as less feminine and unworthy of the title of "woman."[20] The assignment of female slaves to male roles during the Antebellum period demonstrates that black women were viewed as less feminine than white women who did not do such dirty work. Being seen as less feminine, and therefore less respectable, enabled white men to categorize black female slaves as sexual targets.

White women of the Antebellum period were expected by society to maintain a sexual passiveness and ultimately a sense of passionlessness. They were required to uphold feminine ideals, such as covering their bodies by long dresses and skirts and hiding any notion of sexuality.[21] In the nineteenth century, women's visible position in society began to regress from the Revolutionary period. In particular, Southern women during the Antebellum era were described as "powerless dependents in a patriarchal society, consigned to their rhetorical pedestals and largely excluded from extradomestic life."[22] Southern women's roles were firmly rooted in the domestic sphere, where they promoted benevolent and religious activities that would not threaten males, or the "supremacy of white men over white women and African Americans."[23]

The image that Antebellum society created for black women was vastly different and stood in stark contrast to the expectations of southern, chaste white women. African American women were portrayed as "robust, amoral and sexually promiscuous"[24] Social constructs painted a picture of the black woman as "a person governed almost entirely by

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[16] Hooks, 15.
[17] *Loc. cit.*
[18] *Loc. cit.*
[19] *Loc. cit.*
[20] *Loc. cit.*
[21] *Ibid.,* 31.
[22] Cynthia Kierner, *Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South, 1700-1835* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 1.
[23] *Ibid.,* 3.
[24] *Ibid.,* 7.

her libido, a Jezebel character."[25] In the Bible, Jezebel was described as an ungodly woman, who was a prostitute and considered an immoral and lustful woman. Religious teachings enhanced the notion that women were inherently sinful. Added to this sexist notion, racism enabled black women to be labeled as even more sinful, lustful and sexually available than white females.

The image of an overly sexual black woman "became a foil for an emerging ideal of white southern womanhood that stressed passivity, chastity and above all dependence on the protection of the white men and subordination to their authority" during the Antebellum era.[26] The social constructions of black women's sexuality contrasted against the social constructs of white women's sexuality and ultimately led to the view that black women were less feminine and womanly than white, and thus less human.[27] In order to justify white male supremacy, maintain social control and assume the sexual availability of black women, southern white males overlapped sexual and racial ideologies and asserted their own moral and intellectual superiority. The defense of male dominant, patriarchal relations in marriage became intertwined with the defense of slavery during the Antebellum era. According to historian Cynthia Kierner, "apologists for slavery emphasized the supposedly natural inequality of husband and wife to explain and justify the inequalities based on race and class that pervaded southern society."[28] The social inequalities experienced during the Antebellum period between men and women reinforced and perpetuated inequalities between whites and blacks. Ultimately, black women's intersectional identities as both female and slave intensified the subjugation that they experienced during the Antebellum era, as they were seen as sexually available for white men.[29]

A false perception was created in the Antebellum South that black women were overtly sexual and enjoyed sexual advances of white men. For example, one visitor claimed, "in almost every house there are negresess, slaves, who count it an honor to bring a mulatto into the world."[30] Some white men were "convinced that slave women were lewd and lascivious, that they invited sexual overtures from white men, and that any resistance they displayed was mere feigning."[31] The topic of black women's reproduction was highly discussed in "parlor or dinner table conversations,"[32] while white females' reproduction was generally kept private and was viewed as a personal matter. Conversations about black women's reproduction were often linked to the social construction that black women were lustful, sexual heathens. Historian Deborah White explains, "People accustomed to speaking and writing about the bondwoman's reproductive abilities could hardly help associating her with licentious behavior."[33] The socially constructed image of black female slaves being highly promiscuous, particularly in contrast to white Antebellum woman, led to white men sexually targeting black women through violent methods.

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[25] White, 29.

[26] Kierner, 7.

[27] *Loc. cit.*

[28] *Loc. cit.*

[29] *Loc. cit.*

[30] Melton McLaurin, *Celia, a Slave* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 118, quoted in White, 30.

[31] White, 30.

[32] White, 31.

[33] *Loc. cit.*

Black women's intersectional identity had great implications under an oppressive slave regime. Combined, legal and social systems promoted the subjugation of these women and enabled white men to inflict sexual violence and other abuses against them. Black women experienced a variety of sexual encounters with white males, ranging from consensual relationships to rape. Most sexual contact between slaves and masters was involuntary and forced. One former slave remarked about the lack of consent in sexual relationships between slave and master, "[W]hite men got plenty chilluns by the nigger women. They didn't ask them. They just took them."[34] It is difficult to say if black women ever had consent in sexual relationships with white men due to the systematic position of power that white males maintained. Historian Angela Davis described the sexual encounters between white men and black women as a method of exerting power, explaining, "Rape of black women was not white men satisfying their lust, but rather an institutionalized method of terrorism in which it has as its goal the demoralization and dehumanization of black women."[35] Historian Bell Hooks rejected the notion of consensual relationships between masters and slaves when she said, "Given the harsh conditions of slave life, any suggestion that enslaved black women had a choice as to their sexual partner is ludicrous. Since the white male could rape the black female who did not willingly respond to his demands, passive submission on the part of the enslaved black women can not be seen as complicity."[36] Other historians, such as Brenda Stevenson indicate that consensual and intentional relationships between blacks and white may have been possible, writing that some women "responded more positively to slaveholding men interested in courtship and romance. At the same time, however, "they [knew] they must submit to their masters; besides, their masters, maybe, dress 'em up, and make 'em little presents, and give 'em more privileges, while the whim last." Even Harriet Jacobs, the icon of female resistance, was attracted to a man who romanced her and promised to help free their children."[37] Still, many former bondspeople who commented on concubinage relationships characterized them as abusive and forced.[38]

Sexual abuses began even before slave women reached the Americas, including on slave ships, and then continued as women experienced enslavement in Antebellum America. There was a notion aboard slave ships that black women had to be tamed and "broken in to fit the model of a proper slave" before reaching their final destination of enslavement in the Americas.[39] In particular, slave women needed to be terrorized so that they would assume a passive role when working domestically with white families. Slavers believed that breaking in women aboard the ships would bring them higher profits at slave auctions. Unlike black men, women were typically not shackled aboard the ships and were able to move about the decks more freely.[40] To white men aboard the ship, the unshackled women appeared to be sexually available. Sexual assault and violence was a common tool used by the slavers in order further dehumanize women. Robert Shufeldt, an observer of the slave trade who documented the prevalence of rape

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[34] James Mellon, ed., *Bullwhip Days: The Slaves Remember, An Oral History* (New York, 1988), 121, quoted in Stevenson, 115.
[35] Hooks, 27.
[36] *Ibid.,* 25.
[37] Stevenson, 117.
[38] *Ibid.,* 115.
[39] Hooks, 19.
[40] *Ibid.,* 18-19.

on the slave ships remarked, "In those days many a negress was landed upon our shores already impregnated by someone of the demonic crew that brought her over."[41] For many slave women, the violence experienced on slave ships due to their gender only marked the beginning of the torment and abuses that they would be subject to as their enslavement continued.

For sale on the auction block, black women experienced profound racism and sexism, as slave buyers could access women's bodies in sexually harassing manners. Women's bodies were exposed on the auction blocks and buyers examined them in order to look for signs of fertility. The women's bodies were interrogated, manipulated, abused and claimed throughout the process. Slave buyers would not hesitate to touch the women; they would knead their stomachs and feel their breasts. An auctioneer introduced a woman to a crowd of buyers with the following remarks: "Show your neck, Betsey. There's a breast for you; good for a round dozen before she's done child-bearing."[42] At times, when women's fertility levels were in question, buyers and physicians would take the slave to a private room where she was examined more closely. Gynecological exams and other tests were performed on black women in slave pens.[43] Such a degrading method of examining women led to the notion that "women [were] considered of no value, unless they continually increase[d] their owner's stock. They [were] put on par with animals."[44] Ultimately, the exposure of black women's bodies at slave auctions led to an unconscious equating of black women with sexuality, promiscuity and lustfulness because during the Antebellum era, privileged white women did not expose their bodies. The notion that black females could be sexual targets for white men was instilled as soon as buyers laid eyes on women at auctions.

The auction block served as a market where white men could seek out black women for the intended purpose of sexual exploitation and for concubinage. Women who were young, beautiful, culturally adept, skilled and sometimes literate were highly desirable on the auction block.[45] In addition, women with lighter skin or considered mulatto were sold for the exclusive purpose of prostitution and concubinage in what was called the "Fancy Trade."[46] Historian Lawrence Kotlikoff studied slave prices in New Orleans from 1804 to 1862 and found that "light skin color added over 5.3% to the female's price; while only 2.29% to the price of enslaved males."[47] Various slave narratives highlight this process. Caroal Anna Randall of Virginia wrote about her sister, "Marie was pretty, dat's why he took her to Richmond to sell her. You see, you could git a powerful lot of money in does days for a pretty gal."[48] Slave women with a lighter skin tones were sold for a higher price and were more profitable than other black women.

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[41] *Ibid.,* 18.

[42] Frederic Bancroft, *Slave Trading in the Old South* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1931), 112, quoted in White, 32.

[43] White, 10.

[44] Jacobs, 43.

[45] Stevenson, 106-107.

[46] White, 37.

[47] Lawrence J. Kotlikoff, "The Structure of Slave Prices in New Orleans, 1804 to 1862," *Economic Inquiry* 17 (October 1979): 496–518, quoted in Stevenson, 105.

[48] Dorothy Sterling, ed., *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1984), 48, quoted in Stevenson, 105.

White men desired "Fancy Girls" because they resembled characteristics of "beautiful Euro-American women of the era."[49] Sale descriptions and biographies of mulatto woman demonstrate that women with features similar to what was common for white women were highlighted as important. Slave woman Nellie John was noted as "almost white, and had pretty, long, straight hair."[50] Similarly, a young woman named Louisa Picquet was described as "medium height… of fair complexion and rosy checks, with dark eyes, a flowing head of hair with no perceptible inclination to curl… No one… would suspect that she had a drop of African blood in her veins."[51] Other advertisements included descriptions such as "mighty near white," "right white—light hair and blue eyes" and "long, straight black hair."[52] Such advertisements were intended to market slave women for the purpose of concubinage for white masters.

In many cases, white men were interested in purchasing slave women that had similar features, such as skin tone and hair texture, of northern Europeans because they were viewed as more attractive and sexually appealing.[53] Some white men also sought out sexual relationships with black women, too. There is also evidence that masters were aware that if they purchased lighter skin slave women, their offspring could be sold for a high profit. If a white master impregnated a mulatto woman, it was likely that the child would be light-skinned as well. The master could then potentially sell the light-skinned child for a high profit as part of the cycle of the "Fancy Trade."[54] In such a system, white masters were often incentivized to rape their slaves. Harriet Jacobs remarked in her narrative "My master was, to my knowledge, the father of eleven slaves."[55] Masters aimed to breed their slaves as much as possible in order to yield the highest profits possible over time, and sometimes they themselves aided in the process of slave reproduction.[56]

Once female slaves were purchased and brought to plantations, they continued to experience sexual exploitation, harassment and violence in a variety of ways. It was not uncommon for enslaved women to be forced to endure repeated rapes, assaults and threats or in other ways be surrounded by forms of violence. Often times, masters began sexually assaulting women soon after they reached puberty in order to ensure both the sexual purity of the teenager and also impose an intense form of psychological control over the young women.[57]

When Harriet Jacobs was fifteen years old, her master, who was forty years older than her, began to sexually harass her. Jacobs wrote, "He told me I was his property, that I must be subject to his will in all things. He tried his utmost to corrupt the pure principles my grandmother had instilled. He peopled my young mind with unclean

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[49] Stevenson, 106.

[50] Octavia Rogers Albert, *The House of Bondage, or Charlotte Brooks and Other Slaves* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 120, quoted in Stevenson, 107.

[51] Louisa Picquet and Hiram Mattison, *Louisa Picquet, The Octoroon: Or Inside Views of Southern Domestic Life* (New York: Author, 1861), electronic edition, Manuscripts, Archives & Rare Books Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, 5, quoted in Stevenson 107.

[52] Stevenson, 107.

[53] *Ibid.,* 106.

[54] *Ibid.,* 105.

[55] Jacobs, 31.

[56] Sandeen, 45.

[57] Stevenson, 106.

images, such as only a vile monster could think of."[58] The young woman was constantly tormented by the looming threat of her master's sexual advances. She wrote, "Master met me at every turn, reminding me that I belonged to him, and swearing by heaven and earth that he would compel me to submit to him."[59] Jacobs' story demonstrates her master's conviction that the young woman was his property and that he could say or do whatever he pleased with her. Jacobs' narrative highlights the trauma, fear, and helplessness that she had to endure. As a teenager, she felt as if she had no way of stopping her master's sexual threats and had no one to turn to when she felt ashamed.[60]

The stories of slave women offer insight into the tremendous amount of suffering and dehumanization they had to endure. Louisa Pacquet and her mother were sold to a cotton planter named David R. Cook. Louisa's mother, Elizabeth, shortly became Cook's concubine and victim of sexual violence and became pregnant with three children. When Louisa turned 14, her master, Cook, who was the father of three of her stepsiblings, determined to "have" her, sexually. Louisa attempted to resist his sexual advances and was beaten brutally two times. Just as she was about to give in to his demands, Cook's financial problems caught up with him and his property, including Louisa and her siblings, were sold off to repay debts.[61]

The sexual violence that Louisa experienced did not stop once she was sold away from Cook. Instead, a new master, John Williams, bought her for the sole purpose of sexual intercourse. Louisa explained that she had "jumped out of the fryin'-pan into the fire" when Williams bought her.[62] Williams explicitly told Louisa why he purchased her, "he was getting old, and when he saw me he thought he'd buy me, and end his days with me. He said if I behave myself, he'd treat me well; but if I not, he'd whip me almost to death."[63] The sexual violence and rape that Louisa suffered resulted in the birth of four children by her master.

Slave women, as legal property of their masters, were oftentimes powerless in situations that involved rape and sexual assault by white men. For example, Granny was a slave from Alabama. She became pregnant with five children by her master after enduring repeated rapes. She explained that she never felt a romantic connection with her master and never desired sexual encounters with the man. She wrote, "I didn't want him, but I couldn't do nothin'."[64] As noted earlier, the social and legal contexts of which slave women were a part, subjected them to a subordinate position where they were essentially powerless. The constant fear of being forcefully whipped, beaten, or sold away from family and friends was a pervasive factor in many enslaved women's lives. This fear led women such as Granny to submit to the demands and brutalities of their masters.

In addition to rape, slave women were also victims of other methods sexual harassment and exploitation. For example, a young slave girl named Linda Brent was 13 years old when she was bought by Dr. Flint, a white master. He did not rape her, but began to "constantly torment and persecute her by announcing his intentions to take her

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[58] Jacobs, 26.
[59] Jacobs, 27.
[60] Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Minecola: Dover Publications, 2001), 26-27.
[61] Stevenson, 100.
[62] Picquet and Mattison, 15, quoted in Stevenson, 100.
[63] Picquet and Mattison, 18, quoted in Stevenson, 100.
[64] John W. Blassingame, ed., *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1977), 540, quoted in Stevenson, 115.

sexually."[65] At a young age, Brent was a target of sexual harassment and verbal abuse by her master. Black women also experienced sexual exploitation through the sadistic floggings and sexually suggestive beatings, where women were publicly stripped naked and beaten. The white man who beat former slave Henry Bibb's wife was known for saying that he would rather "paddle a female than eat when he was hungry."[66] It is said that such beatings could be extremely satisfying to masters and had sexual connotations.[67]

Forced sexual violence against slave women was a painful experience that many women, such as Harriet Jacobs who felt "shamefaced about telling such impure things,"[68] chose not to discuss openly. Elizabeth Keckley, the seamstress of Mary Todd Lincoln, Mrs. Jefferson Davis and other politicians' wives in the 1850s, told her story of being enslaved as a youth. She said, "I was regarded as fair-looking for my race, and for four years a white man… had base designs on me… I do not care to dwell upon this subject, for it is one that is fraught with pain. Suffice it to say, that he persecuted me for four years, and I-I became a mother."[69] Keckley was not unlike other woman in her hesitation to tell of the stories of her master's advances. Many slave women suffered the sexual assaults by white men in silence.[70] Historian Deborah White comments that, "It is unfortunate, but so much of what we would like to know about slave women can never be known because they masked their thoughts and personalities in order to protect valued parts of their lives from white and male invasion."[71] For many slave women, memories of violent sexual attacks and rapes, many accompanied by whippings and beatings, bore too painful memories to retell.

While many stories have gone untold, there are several examples of slave women demonstrating resistance to sexual advances made by their masters. Such women defied legal and social understandings and attitudes that they were nothing more than property of their masters. The view that slave women were simply property with no autonomy over their bodies or decision-making is challenged when stories of slave women's reactions to sexual advances are studied. Some women, such as Celia of Missouri, used violence and murder to ward off their attackers. Others ran away, such as Harriet Jacobs. Some women found ways to abort fetuses, or to commit infanticide in order to save children from the brutalities of slavery.

Some forms of resistance to sexual assault involved murder. In 1830, the slaves Peggy and Patrick entered the home of their master John Francis late in the night. With a large stick and an axe, the two slaves attacked Francis. They left the home and set it on fire, burning it down and ultimately killing their master. In court, Peggy and Patrick testified and explained the motivations behind their actions. Peggy refused to submit to

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[65] Hooks, 25.
[66] Henry Bibb, *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave, Written by Himself* (New York: Author, 1849), in *Puttin' On Ole Massa: The Slave Narratives of Henry Bibb, William Wells Brown, and Solomon Northup,* ed. Gilbert Osofsky (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 115, quoted in White, 33.
[67] White, 33.
[68] Jacobs, 49.
[69] Elizabeth Keckley, *Behind the Scenes or, Thirty Years a Slave, and Four Years in the White House,* ed. James Olney (1868; repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 38–9, quoted in Stevenson, 103.
[70] Joshua Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 152.
[71] White, 30.

her master's demands for sexual intercourse. In response, Francis kept Peggy chained to a block and locked in the mealhouse. Peggy testified that Francis would threaten to "beat her almost to death, and he would barely leave life in her, and would then send her to New Orleans,"[72] if she would not submit to his sexual demands. It was also testified that Francis claimed that if Peggy would continue to not have sex with him, then he would order Patrick and another slave to hold her down while he raped her. In the trial, it was also revealed that Francis was Peggy's father. Peggy and Patrick were sentenced to death by hanging for the murder of their master.[73] Although the two slaves were punished and killed for their acts of resistance, Peggy's story is notable because it reveals that sometimes, slave women were willing to take a bold stand against the horrendous sexual violence they were forced to endure.

There are other notable stories of women who resisted sexual assault by their masters in manners that did not involve murder. For example, a slave woman named Sukie was in the kitchen making soap when her master entered the room and insisted that she take off her dress. After she refused, her master tore off her dress and attempted to wrestle her to the floor. Another slave, Fannie Berry, commented, "Den dat black girl got mad. She took an' punch ole Marsa an' made him break loose an' den she gave him a shove an' push his hindparts down in de hot pot o' soap. Soap was near to bilin', an' it burnt him near to death. He got up holdin' his hindparts an' ran from de kitchen."[74] For her defiance, Sukie was sold immediately. Notably, Berry, who witnessed the situation, remarked that the master did not bother any other slave girls after that. Perhaps Sukie's embarrassing and painful defiance made her master reconsider sexually assaulting other slave women.

Slave women who physically and verbally resisted their master's sexual advances were boldly claiming ownership of their own bodies, minds and emotions. Women who participated in reproductive resistance also exerted a sense of autonomy that contradicted their conditions of enslavement. Stories of women experimenting with potential methods of birth control, including abortion and infanticide are not uncommon.[75] Such women were acting in desperation to save children (or potential children) from the oppressive system of which they would be born into. An Alabama slave woman killed her child because her mistress continually abused it. When she confessed her guilt, she explained that the father of the child was her master, and that the mistress was aware of that. She ended the child's life in order to save her from further suffering.[76]

Another slave woman named Margaret Garner ran away with her child. Once she was caught, she committed infanticide so that her child would not have to return to the evils of slavery.[77] There was suspicion among whites and doctors that some slave women tried to use "abortifacients" such as "herbs of tansy and rue, the roots and seed of cotton plant, pennyroyal, cedar berries and camphor, either in gum or spirits" to end their

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[72] Rothman, 151.

[73] *Ibid.,* 152.

[74] Mrs. Fannie Berry in *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves,* eds. Charles L. Perdue, Thomas E. Barden, and Robert K. Phillips (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1976), 36, quoted in Rothman, 155.

[75] Loucynda Elayna Sandeen, "Who Owns This Body?: Enslaved Women's Claim on Themselves" (Dissertation, Portland State University, 2013), viii.
http://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2491&context=open_access_etds

[76] White, 88.

[77] Sandeen, 80.

pregnancies.[78] Historian Angela Davis acknowledges that slave women's reproductive and motherhood choices were made in direct resistance to the sexual exploitation and other abuses that they experienced as women. She wrote, "Black women have been aborting themselves since the beginning of slavery due to their refusal to bring children into a world of interminable forced labor, where chains and floggings and sexual abuse for women were the everyday."[79] In order to save children from further brutalities and suffering, slave women performed abortions and committed infanticide, expressing autonomy and resistance within a system that did not otherwise allow such actions.

Resistance to sexual threats and violence also involved attempts to escape or run away. After having two children with another white man, Harriet Jacobs, the young woman who was continuously tormented and threatened by her master, devised a plan of escape from her master until her two children could be emancipated. She hid in the seven by nine foot attic (with only three feet from floor to ceiling) of her grandmother's cabin for long and painful seven years. She was sustained by her grandmother and only a few other family members who knew she was there, as they passed food to her through a small opening. Although Jacob's body bore tremendous physical trauma, her story is notable due to the autonomy demonstrated by Jacobs in order to resist further sexual assaults by her master. She had willingly chosen to be in a confined space rather than letting an abusive master confine her. Jacobs referred to her confinement as a "loophole of retreat."[80] In an oppressive system that legally and socially did not give slaves the ability to make their own decisions, Jacob's challenged her submissive position by demonstrating a level of autonomy over her life and the lives of her three children.[81]

Although an abundance of evidence demonstrates that most women were forced into sexual relationships with white men against their will, some stories suggest that perhaps not all sexual relationship were physically and violently coerced.[82] In some situations, women were bribed with gifts, rewards, special treatment or lighter work if they were to have sex with their masters, in contrast to being physically subjected to sexual violence. When slave women were presented with the choice between voluntary sex and the worst experiences that slavery presented, some chose the former.[83]

Women were often tempted by material goods such as silks, satins and jewelry that potential buyers and owners promised if they would enter into sexual relationships with them. A white female author, Mary Boykin Chesnut, wrote about her observations of another woman on the auction block, delighted with the opportunity to be sold to a wealthy owner; she said, "Her mouth never relaxed for its expanded grin of excitement."[84] Sometimes black women were willing to enter into sexual relationships with white men in order to receive fancy material goods or other benefits. A slave woman named Eliza, who was purchased as a concubine for her master, was "arrayed in silk, with rings upon her fingers, and golden ornaments suspended from her ears… Her air and manner, the correctness and propriety of her language, all indicated that she had enjoyed

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[78] White, 85.

[79] Angela Davis, *Women, Race, and Class* (New York: Random House, 1981), 6-7, quoted in Sandeen, 79.

[80] Jacobs, 27.

[81] Sandeen, 70.

[82] Stevenson, 117.

[83] White, 34.

[84] C. Vann Woodward, ed., *Mary Chestnut's Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 15, quoted in White, 35.

opportunities denied to most slaves." [85] This story demonstrates that in some cases, special privileges were awarded to the black women who were sexual partners of white men. In such an oppressive system, where slave women had little chance for resistance and choice, it is difficult to say that rewards and special privileges due to voluntary sexual relationships outweighed the pain, torture and potential loss of dignity and honor that was a result of sexual violence.

Sometimes, slave women were promised eventual freedom if they entered into sexual relationships with white masters. For example, a slave named Cynthia was given a choice by the slave trader who bought her: If she would accept his offer, he would take her back to St. Louis with him and establish her as his housekeeper on the farm. However, if she rejected him, he would sell her as a field hand to the worst plantation in Mississippi.[86] Although these relationships may seem to have been an agreement between master and slave and less violent in nature, they remained products of an imbalanced system and were exploitative by nature. The illusion of choice that these black women may have had in such cases is undermined by the fact that they were still the property of white men and had no legal right to make other choices. These women could only rely on their master's word and promise that they would eventually be freed after partaking in a sexual relationship. Unfortunately, some stories of fallen women, reveal that many slave women were never granted the freedom promised at the end of their sexual relationships with their masters. Masters often died before making arrangements for freedom in their wills, and their concubines were sold away to other masters, rather than earning their promised freedom.[87]

In a context in which racism and sexism lifted white masters to power and substantially oppressed black women, it is questionable if sexual relationships between masters and slaves were ever truly consensual. The relationship between master and slave, Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings, is notable for its possible prolonged length of time and its potential production of many children. Although Jefferson never admitted to a relationship, allegations of a relationship and production of children between the slave and her master "started one of the most malicious fights in American political history."[88] Historian Annette Gordon-Reed's scholarship on Jefferson and Hemings aims to examine the likelihood of a relationship between the two. She states that some historians are "willing—almost anxious—to believe that Jefferson and Hemings did have a relationship" while there is also a "boldness and aggressiveness in the tone of those who adamantly reject the story."[89] The controversy created over the idea of a prolonged, consensual relationship between a master and a slave provide insight into the sexist and racist social and legal systems that prevailed during the Antebellum period.

Historian Joshua Rothman says that the relationship between Thomas Jefferson and the slave woman Sally Hemings was "rooted in a complicated, evolving, and sometimes contradictory set of power relationships—a concatenation of calculation and trust, practicality and affection, coercion and consent."[90] After Jefferson's wife died in

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[85] White, 36.

[86] *Ibid.,* 34.

[87] *Ibid.,* 35-36.

[88] Annette Gordon-Reed, *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1997), 395.

[89] Gordon-Reed, 456.

[90] Rothman, 15.

childbirth, Sally Hemings became Thomas Jefferson's concubine at age fifteen and had her first child at age sixteen.[91] The couple continued to have sexual relations for at least eighteen years (based on the birth year of Hemings' last child).[92] Jefferson's legal and social position of power complicates the story and makes it difficult to truly know how much autonomy Hemings would have had in a relationship with her master.

Evidence demonstrates that Hemings became pregnant by Jefferson when they were living in Paris. Hemings had the option to stay in France and become a free woman. Instead, she returned to America with Jefferson to live on his estate, Monticello, in Virginia. It appears as if Hemings had an opportunity to choose to continue in a relationship with Jefferson if she returned back to the United States with him. If Hemings had decided to stay in France and become a free woman, she would have had to endure hardships of beginning life in a new place without any connections. If she went home with Jefferson, she could only trust his word that one day she and her children would be freed. Ultimately, the two returned to Virginia, and allegedly their sexual relationship continued, as Hemings had more children by Jefferson.

Hemings may have gained some privileges upon returning to Virginia with Jefferson. Described in an interview of Madison Hemings, "She [Sally] refused to return with him. To induce her to do so he promised extraordinary privileges, and made a solemn pledge that her children should be freed at the age of twenty-one years."[93] Scattered evidence suggests that Hemings' workload at Monticello may have been particularly light: In 1802, the *Frederick-town Herald,* wrote that Hemings was "an industrious and orderly creature in her behavior. She had a room of her own at Monticello, and she was treated by the rest of his house as one much above the level of his other servants."[94] In addition, Jefferson gave Hemings a special amount of time to spend with her children, as her son recounted that he and his siblings "were always permitted"[95] to be with his mother. Jefferson also provided her with additional help during pregnancies and after childbirths by requiring other slaves to assist with Hemings and her children's caretaking. Although Jefferson never publically acknowledged that he had two families, he treated Heming's children with a quiet care. Historian Rothman claims, "He tried to prepare his enslaved children for the freedom he had promised to grant, but he avoided acting in ways that others might see as indications he had any unusual connection to them."[96]

As Jefferson neared the end of his life, he provided in his will for the freedom of two of Heming's children by the time they reached 21. Two other of the children had run away from Monticello, perhaps with the assistance of Jefferson. Historian Gordon-Reed's scholarship indicates that allowing the slaves to run away may have been a well-thought out plan, designed to privilege both Jefferson and his children. It may have been "best for Beverly and Harriet to disappear into the white world without formally being freed," so that they could "rely on their appearance and whatever training they had at Monticello in

[91] Stevenson, 106.

[92] Rothman, 15.

[93] Annette Gordon-Reed, *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 246, quoted in Bruce Fehn, "Thomas Jefferson and Slaves: Teaching an American Paradox," *OAH Magazine of History* 14:2 (2000), 27.

[94] *Frederick-town Herald,* printed in *Richmond Recorder,* December 8, 1802, quoted in Rothman, 39.

[95] Rothman, 39.

[96] *Ibid.,* 41.

order to just be white."[97] It is said that the last two of Heming's children were legally freed as promised, because Jefferson feared that he would die before the two children turned 21 and that his creditors would sell them in order to satisfy debts.[98] Nevertheless, Hemings' children "became free agreeable to the treaty entered into by their parents" as described by Madison Hemings.[99] Jefferson did not mention Sally Hemings in his will, but his daughter, Martha Randolph, informally freed her sometime after Jefferson's death. Sally and her children eventually purchased a small home and lived together under the status of freed black people.[100]

Despite the ambiguities and the many unknowns about personal conversations and agreements between Thomas Jefferson and his slave, Sally Hemings, evidence suggests that their relationship may have involved some negotiation. That the Hemings family eventually gained status as freed individuals, and the alleged better treatment that Sally Hemings received both support this notion. Even if their sexual relationship was consensual, it is still important to note the vast amount of power that Jefferson could have wielded over Hemings because of the legal and social hierarchies prominent during the Antebellum period. Jefferson still had more bargaining power over Hemings, as "her body was implicitly assumed not to be her own."[101] If Hemings did have some negotiating power, it was minute in comparison to the power of ownership that Jefferson, as a wealthy white male, had over her.

Although there may have been some consensual black-white relationships, most women were exploited due to their intersectional identity as both slave and women under the oppressive legal and social systems that enabled their subordination. Sojourner Truth, a former slave, took the stage at the Akron, Ohio, Women's Rights convention in 1851 and made a speech about how slavery and racism made a "mockery of the logic upon which sex discrimination was based." She said:

> Dat man ober dar say dat woman needs to be lifted ober ditches, and to have de best place where what. Nobody oeber helped me into carriage, or ober mud puddles, or give me any best place and ar'n't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have plowed, and planted, and gathered into barns, an no man could head me—and ar'n't' I a woman? I could work as much as a man (when I could get it) and bear de lash as well—and ar'n't I a wom? I have borne thirteen chilern and seen em mos' all sold off into slavery, and when I cried out with a mother's greif, none but Jesus heard—and ar'n't I a woman?[102]

Truth's speech describes the unique subordinate position that female slaves faced under the system of American slavery. Their double-identity complicated situations and held them to a unique set of expectations. African American women experienced slavery unlike men as they endured the ever-present threat of sexual assault, violence and harassment. Historian Deborah White summarizes the vicious experience of black slave

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[97] Gordon-Reed, 1515.

[98] *Ibid.,* 1526.

[99] Rothman, 44.

[100] *Ibid.,* 16-52.

[101] *Ibid.,* 52.

[102] Sojourner Truth and Olive Gilbert, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth, A Bondwoman of Olden Time* (New York: Arno, 1968 [1878]), 131-134, quoted in White, 14.

women. "The rape of black women, their endless toil, the denial of their beauty, the inattention to their pregnancy, the sale of their children were simultaneous manifestations of racism and sexism, not an extreme form of one or the other."[103]

The legal system was responsible for promoting the oppression of black women throughout American slavery. Slaves were legally considered to be the property of whites, and were treated like cattle rather than human beings. They were victims of sexual violence and abuse by men in a system in which men could not be held accountable or punished for their actions. The passage of the 13th amendment abolished slavery in 1865; however, black women were still oppressed by legal systems that encouraged discrimination for over one hundred years after abolition.

By the early eighteenth century, racial chattel slavery was recognized throughout the British Empire in North America. The first anti-amalgamation law was passed in Maryland in 1664 by white lawmakers, disgusted by the possibility of white women becoming sexually and emotionally involved with black men.[104] Other colonies soon followed Maryland's lead. In 1691, Virginia passed a law declaring that any white person who married a "negro, mulatto or Indian" would be banished from the colony forever.[105] Eventually, all colonies and then all states passed anti-amalgamation laws and banned interracial marriage. While the legal system prohibited interracial marriage, the covert sexual assault of black women by white men was reinforced. The same legal system that did not allow interracial marriages simultaneously allowed white men to rape black women without punitive repercussions. Such a combination led to the continued discrimination and exploitation of black women, even after they were freed.

Harriet Jacobs wrote in her narrative, "No pen can give an adequate description of the all-pervading corruption produced by slavery."[106] While each individual experienced slavery in a way that was unique to their identities, all stories of slavery involve pain, suffering, brutalities and violence. Female slaves experienced tremendous hardships due to sexual violence against them, beyond what black men and white women faced during the same period of time. Narratives highlighted in this essay aim to demonstrate the intense suffering experienced by many female slaves. Although not all female slaves were direct victims of rape, many endured other forms of sexual assault and harassment or were aware of brutalities that occurred to their sisters, mothers or friends. Sexual violence was a commonplace method for white males to show dominance and assert their position on top of the social and legal hierarchy.

While thousands of female slaves' stories are not documented, the study of female enslavement is an essential area to examine when discussing the system of slavery. The legal system and social hierarchies of Antebellum America had lasting impacts on the treatment of black women. It is essential to study the narratives and unique experiences of female slaves in order to understand the immense amount of oppression and suffering that they endured. In addition, individuals should be aware of how a white male-dominated society allowed for black women to be degraded and sexually abused. Without a solid understanding of the historically rooted legal and social systems that led to the

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[103] White, 5.
[104] Hooks, 15.
[105] Lerone Bennett, *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America,* 6th ed. (Westminster: Penguin Books, 1993), 301.
[106] Jacobs, 44.

continued subjugation and exploitation of black women, it is impossible to create a shift in social hierarchies that continue to reinforce the oppression of minorities today, while privileging white, male elites.

2017 Phi Alpha Theta Inductees, UVM Chapter, Alpha Alpha Psi

Daniella F. Bassi	Jennifer L. Hutton
Alison E. Bell	Max L. Kleiner
Christopher M. DeMairo	Aaron Louis Kraus
Alexander Hampton Ellis	Kate V. Lipman
Colby J. Fischer	Jacob D. Marks
Rachel Katherine Fleming	Connor R. McLenithan
Henry Lawrence Gates	Solomon M. Polshek
Evan J. Haley	Jack F. Roberts
Timothy M. Heffernan	Quinn R. Salinder
Zachary C. Heier	

Phi Alpha Theta is a professional society, established in 1921, whose mission is to promote the study of history through the encouragement of research, good teaching, publication, and the exchange of learning and ideas among historians. There are 860 chapters nationwide and a membership of 350,000. A national biennial convention and thirty-five annual regional meetings held each spring provide a forum for undergraduate and graduate students to present papers and exchange ideas. In addition, over twenty-five scholarships and prizes are awarded annually to both undergraduate and graduate students. The society publishes *The Historian*, one of the most widely circulated scholarly historical journals published in the United States.

Our chapter at the University of Vermont, Alpha Alpha Psi, was chartered in 1982. Undergraduate students who have completed at least fifteen credit hours in History courses at UVM, with a 3.6 grade point average and an overall GPA of 3.4 are eligible for membership. History master's students are required to maintain a 3.75 GPA in their graduate studies. Induction ceremonies are held annually in April.

History Department Faculty News

In spring 2016, **Andy Buchanan** was on sabbatical at Oxford University as a research fellow at the Modern European History Research Center. He was working on a project examining universal military service, citizenship, and state formation. In the fall, his article "'I Felt Like a Tourist Instead of a Soldier': The Occupying Gaze—War and Tourism in Italy, 1943-1945" was published in *American Quarterly*, and Prof. Buchanan presented a number of conference papers on this and related subjects. He is currently working on a textbook for Wiley-Blackwell provisionally entitled "World War II in Global Perspective.

Sean Field has enjoyed his 2016-2017 sabbatical, spending May and June 2016 as a Professeur Invité at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, and a week in March 2017 at the University of Bristol's Institute for Advanced Studies as a Benjamin Meaker Visiting Professor. In 2016, he published articles in *Speculum, French Historical Studies*, and *Franciscan Studies*, and an article co-authored with Robert E. Lerner and Sylvain Piron appeared in the *Journal of Medieval History* in early 2017. Looking ahead, a collaborative project with Larry Field and Lezlie Knox will be published by the University of Notre Dame Press in October 2017 as *Visions of Sainthood in Medieval Rome: The Lives of Margherita Colonna by Giovanni Colonna and Stefania*, and his next monograph, *Holy Women and the Capetian Court,* is under contract with Cornell and due to the press in September.

Abigail McGowan had two recent essays published in the past year. The first, "Domestic Modern: Redecorating homes in Bombay in the 1930s," appeared in December 2016 in the top journal devoted to architectural history, the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. The second, "Kipling's Influence," appeared as the final essay in *John Lockwood Kipling: Exploring Art and Design from Bombay to the Punjab* (Yale University Press, 2017), edited by Julius Bryant and Susan Weber; this book accompanied the first important international exhibition devoted to the work of Lockwood Kipling (Rudyard's father), an exhibition which opened at the Victoria and Albert Museum in February 2017 and travels to the Bard Graduate Center in New York in September 2017.

Francis Nicosia completed the copy-editing of his collection of 208 annotated German documents from 23 Archives in Germany, Israel, the United States and Russia. The volume will be published this fall with the title *Dokumente zur Geschichte des deutschen Zionismus* 1933-1941. It will appear as Vol. 77 in the Leo Baeck Institute's series "Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts." It will be published by Mohr Siebeck Verlag, in Tübingen, Germany. Along with our colleague in the Department of History, Professor Bogac Ergene, Prof. Nicosia was involved in the completion of the editing process for the forthcoming book *Responses in the Middle East to National Socialism and the Holocaust.* This co-edited collection of essays is based on the lectures presented by a group of international scholars at the 7th Miller Symposium at UVM in April 2015. Berghahn Books will publish the book in the late fall of 2017, or early 2018, as part of the series "Vermont Studies on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust." Prof. Nicosia continued his service as a member of the Academic Council of the Holocaust Educational Foundation at Northwestern University. This year, he taught a new course in the Honors College, HCOL-086: "Hitler's Racial State."

Nicole Phelps taught three new classes this year: "World War I in Global Perspective," co-taught with Prof. Andy Buchanan; a graduate research seminar on the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago; and a first-year seminar on race and citizenship in the Gilded Age, in which students created and installed an exhibit of political cartoons in the Bailey/Howe Library. She presented aspects of her current research project on the US Consular Service in the long nineteenth century at a conference on Transimperial US History hosted by the Rothermere American Institute of Oxford University, at the University of Minnesota's Legal History Workshop, and at the 2017 American Historical Association (AHA) conference. You can read about consuls—and chickens!—on her research blog: http://blog.uvm.edu/nphelps/. At the AHA, she also served as a commentator on the first-ever panel to be co-sponsored by the Society for Austrian and Habsburg Historians and the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, titled "Scales of Diplomacy: Austria-Hungary, the United States, and Statecraft in Unlikely Places." She complied a substantial annotated bibliography on "Expansion and Diplomacy after the Civil War, 1865-1914," which will appear as part of the upcoming third edition of *American Foreign Relations Since 1600: A Guide to the Literature*, and reviewed books for H-SHGAPE (Society for Historians of the Gilded Age & Progressive Era), *The Historian*, *Diplomatic History*, the *Austrian Studies Newsmagazine*, and the *Journal of American History*. She joined the editorial boards for *Contemporary Austrian Studies* and the soon-to-launch *Journal of Austrian-American History* and served on the selection committees for the 2016 Center for Austrian Studies Dissertation Prize and the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations' Link-Kuehl Prize for Documentary Editing.

Alan E. Steinweis was on sabbatical leave, pursuing research and writing for a variety of projects. He spent the Spring 2018 semester at the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich. He published three co-edited volumes over the past year: *Holocaust Memory in a Globalizing World* (Wallstein, 2017), based on a series of conferences co-organized by the Miller Center with partner institutions in Augsburg, Jena, and Haifa; *Jahrbuch für Exilforschung*, issue on "Exil und Shoah" (2016), based on a conference sponsored by the Miller Center at UVM in September 2015; and *German Yearbook of Contemporary History*, issue on "Holocaust and Memory in Europe" (2016). He delivered the following presentations: "The Diary of Anne Frank in Holocaust Denial Discourse," University of Basel, which will be published is a volume organized by colleagues at the Universities of Frankfurt and Gottingen; "The Globalization of Holocaust Memory and its Discontents," biennial meeting of the Holocaust Education Foundation, Claremont-McKenna College; panel discussant at public presentation of *Schuld, Leid und Erinnerung* by Gilad Margalit, Institute for Contemporary History, Munich; presentation of co-edited Holocaust-related issue of *German Yearbook for Contemporary History* at the American Jewish Committee, Berlin Ramer Institute for German-Jewish Relations, Berlin. He published a short essay in the *Süddeutsche-Zeitung* about the controversy over the recently published scholarly edition of *Mein Kampf* in Germany.

Denise Youngblood is retiring at the end of spring semester. She has taught Russian, East European, and film history at UVM since 1988 and has also served as department chair, vice provost for faculty affairs, and faculty union president. In retirement, she intends to write a few more scholarly articles, read many Scandinavian crime novels, and travel to China. She and her husband, Kevork Spartalian, will move to Fort Worth, Texas, in September to be near their son, Ethan. Oddly enough, she is looking forward to the challenges of living in an alternate universe; at least it will be warm and ice-free there.

Author Biographies

Robin Fitch-McCullough is a second-year graduate student from Calais, Vermont studying the British Empire in India and South Asia. His academic interests include British imperial history, the military history of the United Kingdom and India, and the 'Great Game' in South and Central Asia. He currently lives with his wife, Lisa, in South Burlington.

Will Fitz is a European Studies major in the class of 2018. His primary focuses are continental philosophy, political theory, and German history and culture. He hopes to attend graduate school in Germany and pursue a career in European history.

Natalia Korpanty is an undergraduate senior double majoring in Global Studies and Latin. She is a writing tutor for the UVM Writing Center and is a Special Projects and Research Associate at the UVM LGBTQA Center. After graduation, she will be moving to Sacramento, California to pursue a teaching fellowship. Her ultimate dream at this point in time is to run a Cat Cafe/Mindfulness Studio.

Jack Roberts is a junior undergraduate student. He studies American history and politics. He is from Hanover, New Hampshire.

Laura Sercel graduated from UVM in 2016 and holds a Bachelor of Science in Secondary Education with a concentration in social studies. It is Laura's passion to share with students her love of history and learning. It is her goal to present students with multiple sources and perspectives so that they have the opportunity to study a broad and more accurate history. When she's not working with teenagers, Laura is also a yoga instructor in Burlington, Vermont. Her favorite free time activity is walking the bike path along beautiful Lake Champlain, enjoying the views.

Editor Biographies

Daniella Bassi is a second-year MA student in the UVM History Department. Her interests include early American Indian history, early Southern history, Euro-Indian relations, and legal history. Next fall, she will begin her PhD in history at the College of William and Mary in Virginia. She enjoys traveling with her fiancé, playing the saxophone, and reading literary classics.

Brendan Hersey is a senior history student from Marshfield, Massachusetts. His academic interests include early American history, including the history of slavery and the American Revolutionary War. He is also pursuing a minor in political science, and is the co-director of University of Vermont Student Legal Services. After graduating, he will be attending the Northeastern University School of Law.

Kiara Day is a junior history major and Holocaust studies minor who has recently been accepted into UVM's Accelerated Master's Program in history. She looks forward to continuing her education here and embarking on her senior honors thesis about Dorothy Thompson, a renowned American journalist who tirelessly reported on the rise of Nazism and the Jewish refugee crisis during the 1930s and 1940s. Her research has been awarded a 2017 fellowship through UVM's Office of Undergraduate Research. She is thrilled to be a Humanities Center Summer Scholar and plans to spend most of her time in the archives rather than on the beach.

Stuart Hackley is a first-year graduate student from Denver, Colorado. He has previously worked as a teacher in China, Germany, and the United States, and is primarily interested in 19th century Germany. He is currently planning a master's thesis about the reception of Friedrich Nietzsche's thought by various groups.

Zachary Heier is a senior History major and Political Science minor at the University of Vermont. His academic interests include modern European History, with emphasis on Poland and the Holocaust, as well as the history of the modern Middle East. He was inducted into Phi Alpha Theta in April 2017, and is also a member of the Vermont Catamounts' Division I Cross Country and Track and Field teams.

Marissa McFadden is a senior history and religion major and first year graduate student. Her interests include British imperialism in India, 19th century sanitary legislation and its effects on Hindu religious practice. She spends her free time running, working at the Sustainability Academy in Burlington, and reading non-academic literature.

Samantha Sullivan is a second-year European history and political science double major with a minor in French. She enjoys studying twentieth-century French history, especially while eating French food. Samantha is excited to pursue an internship in Normandy, France this summer, which will allow her to pursue all of these interests at once. She is an active member of the Lawrence Debate Union at UVM and in her free time enjoys swimming and baking.

John Suozzo is a junior History and Political Science double major at UVM from River Edge, NJ. His academic interests include the political history of the Gilded Age, the Civil War, and the history of American Indians. When he is not on the second floor of Bailey-Howe Library, he's often on a golf course, training for amateur golf tournaments.