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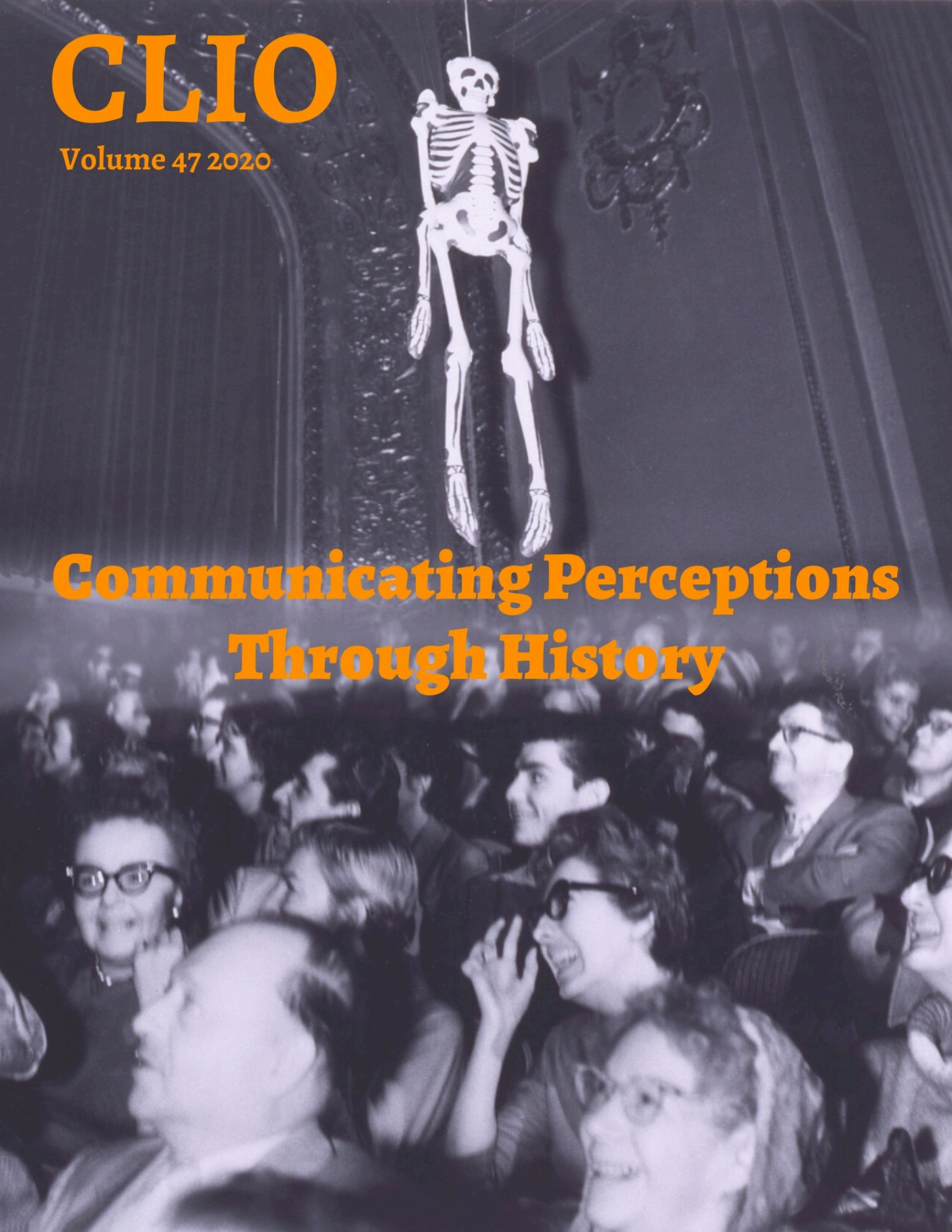

Communicating Perceptions Through History

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Front cover image: Weegee, Audience watching "House on Haunted Hill", 1959, gelatin silver print, *Smithsonian American Art Museum*, accessed April 14, 2020. https://americanart.si.edu/artwork/audience-watching-house-haunted-hill-27284

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The Clio Staff

Dr. Wynn Gadkar-Wilcox (co-faculty advisor) is Professor of History and Non-Western Cultures and Coordinator of the MA Program in History at Western Connecticut State University. He spends most of his time singing corny barbershop music and spending time with his family (wife Sujata and daughters Ishika, 6, and Aksita, 2). He is currently completing a book on the modernist transformation of Vietnamese Confucianism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Dr. Marcy May (co-faculty advisor) is Co-Chair of the Department of History. Outside of the office, her existence is subject to the whims and caprices of two cats, Mileva and Homer, who determine the tenor of her days.

Lauren Kerton is the current treasurer of *Clio* and a senior history major. In between classes she works in the History department as a Publicity Assistant and at AccessAbility Services. When not studying or working, Lauren enjoys watching Jenkins, her very stubborn beagle, crazy antics.

Kathryn Schwarz is the president of *Clio*. She is a junior history major minoring in both political science and biology. In school, she is working towards a future in environmental law and conservation and hopes to attend law school after WCSU. Outside of school, she divides most of her time between her professional equestrian career and her fabulous family: husband Carl, daughter Evelynn, rascally dogs Rex and Violet, and rowdy horse, Vegas.

Contributors

Erin Belcourt is a junior majoring in history with a minor in Middle Eastern Studies. A student of the late Dr. Abubaker Saad, she hopes to continue to learn from and enlighten others about the fascinating history of the Middle East. Her goals are to educate others on cultural differences within history in order to create a kinder future. Erin hopes to complete her goals by becoming a teacher after graduation. Outside of WCSU Erin is devoted to her family: parents Amy and David, siblings Emily and Daniel, and her fiancé Chad Galli whom she will marry this coming summer.

Maxime Delaugère, having completed his BA in history at WCSU, is now an MA public history and heritage student at the University of Derby, England. He hopes to embark upon a curatorial career in the museum and heritage industry, capitalizing on his interest and experience in art history. When he isn't studying or teaching ESL, Maxime can invariably be found reading an old and esoteric text, watching a three-hour peplum film, or attempting to bake the perfect macaron.

Robert Hopkins is a retired public school educator who has also been an adjunct computer science/ mathematics professor at WCSU since 1976. He earned his BA in History in May, 2019 with a focus on Modern European History and Military History. He and his wife, Cindee, view history and geography as unifying disciplines for all subjects. Together, and sometimes with their daughter, Alexa, and her husband, Patrick, they have traveled to 25 countries and have experienced the joy of learning by "walking the ground" and talking with many good people from diverse cultures.

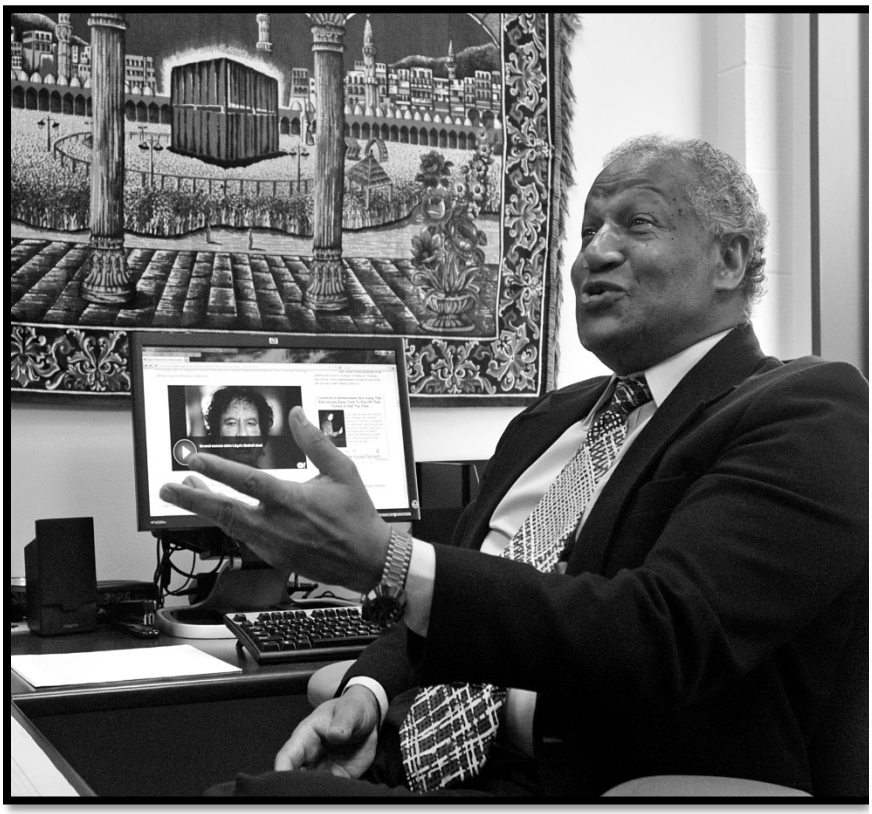
Satil Moni is a sophomore psychology major with a passion for creative writing and design. She has yet to discover what to do in terms of a career, but she knows she wants to see people discover their potential. For now, she is trying to love reading again, and looking for inspiration for her next short

story or work of art. When she's not doing that, she is smiling while thinking of her friends or joking with her family.

Joseph Oliveri is a senior Communication Studies major and freelance journalist pursuing a career in higher education. His work has appeared in The WCSU Echo, The Danbury Newstimes, The Connecticut Mirror, and The White Plains Examiner. He works as a consultant at the Writing Center, in the Haas Library at Western, and is an amateur musician.

Vincent Pisano is a history graduate student and a social studies teacher. He has recently steered his research focus towards horror studies and hopes to pursue further options within this realm. When not watching, reading, writing, or podcasting about the horror genre, he enjoys watching Star Trek with his wife, Kristen, spending time with his kids, Ben and Lily, and traveling with all three.

Dedication: In Memory of Dr. Abubaker Saad (1944-2020)



Dr. Abubaker Saad was one of the hidden gems at Western Connecticut State University. His life story was inspiring. Before coming to the United States, Dr. Saad acted as a diplomatic interpreter for the Libyan dictator, Muammar Gaddafi. After taking part in a failed coup, Dr. Saad was forced to flee Libya for his life, becoming a political refugee. Eventually his path led him to Western Connecticut State University to teach in the Department of History and Non-Western Cultures.

"Life time experiences – it is not something you are going learn in a book or in a discipline of study." -Dr. Abubaker Saad

Dr. Saad led a truly amazing life that had taken many unexpected turns, some adventurous, some extremely dangerous. He was an exuberant person who appreciated all of his life experiences and saw the important lessons those moments held. There is much Dr. Saad taught the Western community, which went far beyond the classroom walls.

Introduction

Kathryn Schwarz

Welcome to this edition, the forty-seventh issue of Western Connecticut State University's Clio. Here, we will focus on revolution. This is a word usually embedded within violent themes, but in this issue, what we explore is innovation; we pursue the idea that revolution is an evolution of mankind.

Today, perceptions are everywhere and belong to everyone. History, as a rule is no different, it is itself, a version of someone's story. But whose story makes the greatest impact? Whose agency or narrative do we accept; and by what methodology or transmission do we accept them? We seek answers to these questions within these pages. Following a chronological approach, the journal examines the ideas of revolutionaries beginning in ancient Pompeii with Maxime Delaugère's piece. Delaugère explores the way in which this ancient culture expressed themselves through graffiti. This work provides us with insight not commonly analyzed. Graffiti, as a form of self-expression, art, communication, and lewdness even, opens doors in to the lives of these people by way of an art form formerly relegated to our contemporary warehouse facades and train cars. Next, is Robert Hopkins' work on Electrification, an excerpt from a larger work on the history, science, and development of electrification and thus the telegraph specifically within wartime. Following Professor Hopkins' article is Lauren Kerton's work on gender and insanity in the nineteenth century. Kerton, this year's winner of the Herbert Janick Prize for best undergraduate article explores the development of psychiatry as an industry, especially their treatment of women. Next, is VickiValaine Braucci's piece ,which documents the history of radio, and then its influence during the 1920s and 1930s. At a time rife with social and political upheaval, she argues that the onset of radio was the most

influential and revolutionary outlet through which ideas were conveyed. It wasn't just media through which new understandings emerged. The next article, Erin Belcourt's work on Malcolm X makes that point clearly in a brief history of the man, but a larger story on the way racial and religious rights have dubiously evolved in the United States. The next work is an article by Vincent Pisano on the invention and progression of horror cinema, with an emphasis on the way film exposes our current cultural norms using Alfred Hitchcock's 1960s film "Psycho". Following Pisano's piece is Joseph Oliveri's work about the actual rhetoric of a protest song. He focuses on the exact way people speak and sing, and what affect their words have on both themselves and society. Ending the journal this year is Satil Moni's work on the historical progression of protest music, their influence and importance both internally in the United States and International reverberations as well.

Revolutions, perceptions, advancements, evolutions, they all exist differently within our own consciousness. When Arlo Guthrie wrote, "Alice's Restaurant" the world was spinning from Vietnam; a time of war and both social and political upheaval. Perceptions of what was going on were different for everyone, from the soldiers and reporters embedded in country, to the housewives at home. As a means of protest, solidarity, even exposition, Guthrie wrote the following words which if you haven't guessed it by now mean nothing about sitting down to eat a meal, "You can get anything you want, at Alice's Restaurant." History and time are no different. Please enjoy this edition of Clio, as we explore the way revolutionary ideas have been expressed through time.

Graffiti: The Social Media of Ancient Pompeii

Maxime Delaugère

Praelocutio

While walls are not the only surfaces to be subjected to the phenomenon of graffiti, they do provide one of the most agreeable surfaces on which to create it. Excluding works that have been produced with the intention of imitating the stylistic quality of graffiti, the phenomenon in question is one of the most unadulterated mediums of societal expression. Whereas a historian arguably endeavors to transcribe a series of significant events in the most objective, uncolored, and dispassionate means as possible, a graffitist strives to do the very reverse, taking it upon themselves to comment on whichever matter their passion dictates, with the rawest pigments, oftentimes with little or no regard for the boundaries within which the historian remains.

Graffiti is history's shadow, standing in plain sight, yet all too frequently treated as if it did not even exist; as far as Plutarch was concerned, "There is nothing written in them which is either useful or pleasing – only so-and-so 'remembers' so-and-so, and 'wishes him the best', and is 'the best of his friends', and many things full of such ridiculousness."[1] Alas, just as a person and a shadow, the positive and negative spaces cannot physically exist without one another, and must both be examined, if one is to garner an accurate conception of the whole. This article, therefore, will consider the phenomenon of graffiti, and present what can be discerned of human civilization and society therefrom, which would not otherwise be encountered. While it would be fascinating to consider the message and significance of every single graffito created between the dawn of humankind and the present day, such a text would far exceed the time constraints allocated for its

[1] Emily Gowers. "Ancient Vandalism? – TheTLS." TheTLS. July 16, 2015. Accessed April 25, 2019. https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/public/ancient-vandalism/.

completion. As such, it must suffice to consider a limited number of examples of graffiti from a limited acreage.

Quaestio Investigationis

Through preliminary research on the subject, it came to my attention that there exists a substantial volume of remarkably well-preserved and documented ancient Pompeian graffiti, whose characteristics reveal an impressive degree of insight into its society. It seemed to me that this niche would consist of a sufficient volume of material to facilitate the writing of a thirty-page research paper without becoming unwieldy, as would be the case if the whole of the classical Mediterranean were to be the subject.

To further refine my research, I chose to operate within the theoretical framework presented in Tom Standage's *Writing on the Wall: Social Media - The First 2,000 Years*. Standage's position on graffiti is that it functioned as a form of social media, and to a certain extent still does. Standage writes that "Today's social-media users are the unwitting heirs of a rich tradition with surprisingly deep historical roots," and argues that graffiti retains so much more significance and pertinence to modern society than is often thought.[2]

Standage's work also draws to attention the unfortunate reality that pre-modern graffiti is too frequently overlooked as a valid subject of historic research. Apart from Rebecca Benefiel, to whom this paper owes a great deal, the number of historians and scholars who have ever valued and studied graffiti is frightfully insignificant. Given the precarious state of much of the extant Pompeian graffiti, as well as the fact that so much of it has yet to be properly documented and digitized, it is undeniably important that the study of pre-modern graffiti becomes a matter of greater concern within the community of historians.

Quod Inter Me et Os

While the study of ancient Pompeian graffiti is by no means a novelty, such works almost exclusively treat examples belonging to a single location or

[2] Tom Standage. *Writing on the Wall: Social Media - the First 2,000 Years* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 5.

theme. Those that do not are little more than visual encyclopedias, devoid of scholarly explication. In all the texts which were referred to in the creation of this paper, not one of them presents a comprehensive consideration of why the ancient Pompeians made use of graffiti, or what its use demonstrates about the aggregate of its creators.

By virtue of its size and scope, the *Corpus Inscriptionem Latinarum* comes exceptionally close to being comprehensive, though it presents merely the transcriptions and translations of such things as graffiti, lacking any interpretation or analysis of what their meaning and significance in a greater historical context might be. Similarly, sources such as "The Ancient Graffiti Project," "Pompeiiana," "Pompeii in Pictures," and even "Analysis of Roman Pottery Graffiti by High Resolution Capture and 3D Laser Profilometry," tend toward a much more archaeological lens, without great consideration for the social or cultural milieu in which the graffiti were created.

On the other side of the proverbial sestertius, modern academic research papers such as Rebecca Benefiel's "Dialogues of Ancient Graffiti in the House of Maius Castricius in Pompeii" and "Magic Squares, Alphabet Jumbles, Riddles and More: The Culture of Word-Games among the Graffiti of Pompeii", John Clarke's *Looking at Lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art, 100 B. C.-A. D. 250*, and Sarah Levin-Richardson's "Facilis hic futuit: Graffiti and Masculinity in Pompeii's 'Purpose-Built' Brothel" present thorough explications of specific groups and categories of graffiti, in some cases neglecting to connect them to a wider understanding of ancient Pompeian civilization in its entirety.

Furthermore, of all the primary and secondary sources referenced in this paper, there is not a single one which utilizes Tom Standage's social media argument about the nature of graffiti.[3] As such, this paper will present the analysis and interpretation of (lexigraphic) ancient Pompeian graffiti

[3] The single exception being "The Earliest Wall Posts: Pompeiian Social Networking?" by Andy Nuttall, the inclusion of which has been omitted on the grounds that it was written as part of the author's Bachelor of Arts in Archaeology at the University of Bristol, and independently published via Academia.edu; as opposed to a book or scholarly article in an academic journal. Furthermore, the research in Nuttall's paper is not limited to Pompeii, and maintains a distinctively archaeological perspective; in contrast with the social-historical one which is observed in my own.

neither limited to a single environ within the archaeological park nor a single thematic criterion, with a view to discerning whether or not ancient Pompeian graffiti can rightly be said to have played the role of a social media platform. For the sake of coherence and organization, the graffiti will be grouped and treated according to the following thematic criteria: service, advertisement, politics, salutation, censure, literature, and sexuality.

Quid Est Graffiti

It is worth noting at this point that while the etymology of the word graffiti might prove interesting to some, it would do little to aid the completion of this paper, and has therefore been omitted. In any case, a universal definition of the term is absolutely necessary, seeing as such a great deal of analysis and interpretation will be generated in its consideration. By consulting and cross-referencing various authorities on the term, it is possible to assemble a profile of certain criteria to which all instances of graffiti may and should be held.

Firstly, a graffito (pl. graffiti) must consist of either a lexigraph or pictograph marked directly onto a solid surface with either a pigmented medium or an implement of incision. Secondly, a graffito must be created without the authorization of the individual or organization to which the subjected surface belongs. Thirdly, a graffito must be created in a location in which it is freely viewable by the general population, which is to say, a public place. Whereas the first criterion is true for all graffiti, the second and third do not necessarily pertain to ancient Pompeian graffiti, which, as pointed out by Antonio Varone in his "I Graffiti," may and often does include markings made by the proprietor of the subjected surface, as well as those which have been made upon or within the walls of a private residence for limited consumption.[4]

Similarly, Rebecca Benefiel remarks in "Dialogues of Ancient Graffiti in the House of Maius Castricius in Pompeii" that "we have no modern parallel for substantial numbers of graffiti inside houses, especially elite houses. Yet

[4] Antonio Varone, "I Graffiti", in Alix Barbet and Paola Miniero Forte (eds.), *La Villa San Marco a Stabia* (Napoli: Centre Jean Bérard, 1999), 238-256.

Pompeii demonstrates that this was very much a part of the phenomenon of ancient graffiti. Graffiti appear in the majority of houses, often not just as one or two random scribblings but in substantial numbers."[5] In order to differentiate graffiti from the decorative frescoes and mosaic murals ubiquitous in the classical Mediterranean, it is necessary to replace the second and third criteria with the following: a graffito must not be the work of an artist or craftsman who receives compensation before, during, or after its completion.[6]

While many of the consulted sources refer to the criterion of a satirical, inflammatory, and outright threatening nature; this is only true for a portion of graffiti in existence, and cannot rightly be considered a universal element thereof. It is my belief that this misconception derives from the (now overwritten) third criterion and that one often considers graffiti to possess a subversive or offensive character by virtue of its frequently having been created in spite of an individual or organization's authority. If one examines any collection of modern or pre-modern graffiti however, one will just as frequently encounter declarations of love and friendship, compliments of character and countenance, the promotion and glorification of private and public figures, and words of wisdom.

The definition of graffiti being satisfactorily settled, it remains to point out that all examples thereof, which will be analyzed in this paper, possess a uniquely lexigraphic character.[7] Despite graffiti's definition being extended to pictographs, language is invariably less subjective than imagery and symbolism, and will pose far less of a challenge in its interpretation.

Transcribenda et Translatio

Though the Corpus Inscriptionem Latinarum maintains an exact system for the transcription of ancient Latin (a system which, incidentally, is

[5] Rebecca R. Benefiel, "Dialogues of Ancient Graffiti in the House of Maius Castricius in Pompeii." *American Journal of Archaeology* 114, no. 1 (2010): 59-101.
[6] Epigraphs would fall into this category, and so are not considered to be graffiti.
[7] Firstly, a graffito (pl. graffiti) must consist of either a lexigraph or pictograph marked directly onto a solid surface with either a pigmented medium or an implement of incision. Secondly, a graffito must not be the work of an artist or craftsman who receives compensation before, during, or after its completion.

used in most of the texts consulted for this paper), the method which I have elected to employ is an extremely simplified version, meant to ensure that the transcriptions remain as legible as possible. Therefore, a forward slash '/' represents a sentence break, or an unintelligible letter, an ellipsis '…' symbolizes either a series of the latter, or words that have an unknown meaning. When a single letter has been used as an abbreviation, its meaning is given in parentheses '()', and this notation is also used to illustrate a word or letter that is missing or unreadable, but which can nevertheless be accurately guessed, or when an implication or meaning has been clarified.

It is also worth noting that by virtue of an elementary familiarity with Latin, I have been able to discern when a translation has been rather liberal, and where the translator or author has used outright incorrect language, often with the aim of exaggerating the contents of a graffito. Though I appreciate the attempt to create an approximation of contemporary vernacular, such examples lack evidential support, and have thus been modified to reflect the closest and most unadulterated translations as possible.

Mos Muneris

The first body of graffiti to be considered in this paper pertains to the perceived quality of goods and services offered by certain businesses and establishments. As demonstrated by these instances: "What a lot of tricks you use to deceive, innkeeper. You sell water but drink unmixed wine" and "The finances officer of the emperor Nero says this food is poison" Pompeiians made use of graffiti to publicize criticisms (and sometimes praises) of particular commercial enterprises and industries within the town.[8][9] This deduction is further stressed by the consideration of the following examples: "Gaius Sabinus says a fond hello to Statius. Traveler, you eat bread in Pompeii, but you go to Nuceria to drink. At Nuceria, the drinking is better" or "Two friends were here. While they were, they had bad service in every way from a guy named Epaphroditus. They threw him out and spent 105 and a half sestertii most agreeably on whores," in which it could be interpreted that such

[8] (Transcription missing). "Graffiti from Pompeii" Pompeiana.org. Accessed March 18, 2019. http://pompeiana.org/. Hereafter "GFP"
[9] (Transcription missing). "GFP".

graffiti would have been widely consumed and considered by passersby.1011 This notion that Pompeian graffiti facilitated the communication of commercial peer-assessment and valuation is affirmed by Jennifer Baird, who, in Ancient Graffiti in Context, writes that "Traversing the city, the pedestrian would encounter a potential constellation of incidental social performances, reflecting how appropriately pervasive attestations of civic epigraphy and graffiti practices participate in this flexible and potent matrix of daily cultural diffusion" which in turn supports the position that Pompeian graffiti functioned as a form of, albeit archaic, social media.[12]

Venditatio

The second collection of graffiti to be treated in this paper consists of advertisements and notices concerning events and products which were available for public enjoyment and consumption. These examples provide illustration: "Eight asses for use of stables;" "Felicla, home-born slave, (for) two asses;" "Guest house, dining room to let with three couches and furnishings;" "Thirty six pairs of gladiators of Constantia will fight at Nuceria / on October 31, and November 1-4." Pompeiians used the medium of graffiti for commercial and non-commercial promotion alike.[13] This statement is reinforced through the evaluation the next instances:

> The city block of the Arrii Pollii in the possession of Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius is available to rent from July 1st. There are shops on the first floor, upper stories, high-class rooms and a house. A person interested in renting this property should contact Primus, the slave of Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius;" "Twenty pairs of Gladiators, belonging to Aulus Suettius Antenio and to his freedman Niger, will fight at Puteoli on the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th of March. There will also be a beast hunt and athletic contests: A hunt, and

[10] (Transcription missing). "GFP".
[11] (Transcription missing). "GFP".
[12] Jennifer A. Baird, and Claire Taylor. Ancient Graffiti in Context. New York: Routledge, 2012.
[13] *a(ssibus) viii / stabuli*. "The Ancient Graffiti Project." Ancient Graffiti Project. Accessed March 19, 2019. An as was ancient Roman coin made of bronze. *felicla virna a(ssibus) ii*. "AGP". *hospitivm / hic locatur triclinivm cvm tribvs lectis et comm(odis)*. Davis. *gladiatorvm paria xxxvi pvg nicerea constantia / pr kal et kal vi v non nov*. Davis.

> twenty pairs of gladiators belonging to Marcus Tullius will fight a Pompeii on November 4-7.[14]

It could be construed that the practice was so common that it was indiscriminately considered to be the most efficient method of informing the population as to the various goods and services at their disposal.[15] The idea that graffiti facilitated publicity is substantiated by Peter Keegan, who, in "Graffiti as Monumenta and Verba: Marking Territories, Creating Discourses in Roman Pompeii," writes that "In general, social media can be understood as the means by which people use digital technologies to create, share and exchange information and ideas. While the technology is vastly different, both forms of meaning production and consumption — graffiti and social media — rely on the engagement of human communities or networks." This underscores the argument that Pompeian graffiti played the role of a pre-modern social media platform.[16]

Politica

The third type of graffiti to be examined in this paper is comprised almost entirely of so-called "election programmata."[17] The citizens of ancient Pompeii utilized graffiti for the purpose of political campaigning and debate, as illustrated by these cases : "All the goldsmiths recommend Gaius Cuspius Pansa for Aedile;" "Lucius Aquitus, a fine man. Settlers, I appeal to you to elect him member of the Board of Two;" "Publius Carpinius, a fine man. I appeal to you to elect him member of the Board of Two;" "Lucius Niraemius, a fine man. To be member of the Board of Two."[18] This deduction is evidenced

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[14] Ancient Graffitti Project.
[15] "GFP". (Transcription missing). *glad par xx a svetti / tenionis / tnigri liberti pvgna / pvteol xvi xv xiv xiii kal ap venatio et / athletae ervnt*. Davis.
[15] *ven et glad par xx /m tvlli pvgn pom pr non novembres / vii idvs nov*. Davis.
[16] Peter Keegan (Hereafter "Keegan"), "11 Graffiti as Monumenta and Verba: Marking Territories, Creating Discourses in Roman Pompeii.," *Inscriptions in the Private Sphere in the Greco-Roman World*: 248-64. doi:10.1163/9789004307124_012.
[17] Keegan. A number of Pompeiian programmata are known to have been commissioned works (not graffiti), and have therefore been omitted.
[18] *c cvspiam pansam aed avrlifices vniversi rog*. Davis. *l(ucium) aquitum / d(uum) v(irum) v(irum) b(onum) / o(ro) v(os) c(olonei)*. Manfred G. Schmidt, Camilla Campedelli, and Lucien Villars. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter GmbH, 2015.
[18] *p(ublium) carpin(ium) / ii v(irum) v(irum) b(onum) o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis)*. Schmidt.
[18]*L(ucium) NIR(aemium) II V(irum) V(irum) B(onum)*. Schmidt.

by subsequent examples: “Numerius Barcha, a fine man; I appeal to you to elect him member of the Board of Two. So may Venus of Pompeii, holy, hallowed goddess, be kind to you;” “Numerius Veius Barcha, may you rot!” “Numerius Veius, a fine man. Settlers, I appeal to you to elect him member of the Board of Two;“ “Let anyone who votes against him take a seat by an ass.” It could be surmised that such programmata were not simply posters, but communicatory vessels which enabled the public discussion of eligible and not-so-eligible candidates.[19] This concept, that graffiti was made use of for active political debate throughout Pompeii, is underlined by Peter Keegan, who, in “Graffiti as Monumenta and Verba: Marking Territories, Creating Discourses in Roman Pompeii,” states that “Proximities of consumption, habitation and worship point to another inter-subjective network of social relations characteristic of the late Republican and early Imperial urban experience in a Roman Campanian town like Pompeii. The logic of this experience would appear mediated through the interactive syntax of graffiti and dipinti, a visual and kinesthetic dialogue among inhabitants and visitors along one of the linear through-routes or irregularly configured streets of this regional center of urban life. This statement undeniably supports the proposition that Pompeian graffiti existed as a living medium of social communication.[20]

Salutem

The fourth body of graffiti to be analyzed in this paper is characterized by messages of salutation and well-wishing written by inhabitants and visitors of Pompeii, as indicated by the succeeding examples: “Secundus says hello to his friends;” “May those whom Mr. LVP loves fare well”; “To the health of the one entering” Pompeiians made use of graffiti to greet one another indirectly, and to convey messages of good-will.[21] This argument is buttressed through

[19] *n(umerium) barcha(m) ii v(irum) v(irum) b(onum) o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis) ita v(o)beis venus pomp(eiana) sacra (sancta propitia sit)*. Schmidt. *n(umerius) vei bareca tabescas*. Schmidt.
[19] *n(umerium) veium i(i) / v(irum) v(irum) b(onum) o(ro) v(os) co(loni)*. Schmidt.
[19] *quintio(m) si qui recusat / assidat ad asinum*. Schmidt.
[20] Keegan.
[21] (Transcription missing). “GFP”. *quos l v p amat valeant*. Rebecca R. Benefiel, "Urban and Suburban Attitudes to Writing on Walls? Pompeii and Environs." *Writing Matters*, 2017. doi:10.1515/9783110534597-014.

the consideration of the subsequent instances: "Secundus says hello to his Prima, wherever she is. I ask, my mistress, that you love me;" "Greetings to Primigenia of Nuceria. I would wish to become a signet ring for no more than an hour, so that I might give you kisses dispatched with your signature," from which one might deduce that graffiti allowed the citizens of Pompeii to communicate with each other on a regular basis, even if they might otherwise be separately engaged within the town.22 This notion that graffiti enabled Pompeiians to address and wish their neighbors well without meeting them in person, is detailed in Rebecca Benefiel's "Dialogues of Ancient Graffiti in the House of Maius Castricius in Pompeii," which notes that "Graffiti are a dynamic form of communication and often inspire a response. The city of Pompeii is full of graffiti 'dialogues' where one message, inscribed on the wall and open to the public, receives an answer." This analysis serves only to strengthen the claim that contemporary social media is mirrored by the ancient Pompeiians' use of graffiti.[23]

Censura

The fifth assortment of graffiti to be treated in this paper is comprised of messages expressly intended to warn as well as to criticize the private citizens and slaves of Pompeii. This is illustrated by the next examples: "Watch it, you that shits in this place! May you have Jove's anger if you ignore this;" "Someone at whose table I do not dine, Lucius Istacidius, is a barbarian to me;" "Theophilus, don't perform oral sex on girls against the city wall like a dog;" "Restitutus has deceived many girls." Graffiti was used by Pompeiians to dissuade inhabitants and visitors from engaging in certain behaviors, and to publicly shame those who did so regardless.[24] This notion is stressed in the next instances; "Anyone who wants to defecate in this place is advised to move along. If you act contrary to this warning, you will have to pay a penalty.

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[21] *salute(m) venientis*. "AGP".
[22] (Transcription missing). "GFP". Transcription missing). "GFP".
[23] Benefiel.
[24] *cacator cave malum / aut si contempseris / habeas iovem iratum*. Clarke. [24] *luci istacidi / at quem non ceno / barbarus ille mihi est*. Clarke.
[24] (Transcription missing). "GFP".
[24] (Transcription missing). "GFP".

Children must pay [number missing] silver coins. Slaves will be beaten on their behinds;“ “A copper pot went missing from my shop. Anyone who returns it to me will be given sixty-five bronze coins (sestertii). Twenty more will be given for information leading to the capture of the thief;” “Whoever wants to serve themselves can go on and drink from the sea.”[25] It becomes clear that the Pompeiians used graffiti as a tool for the maintenance of a behavioral status quo, and that they weren't simply trying to offend one another as might first be interpreted. This concept of Pompeian graffiti facilitating the regulation of social comportment is echoed by Jennifer Baird, who, in Ancient Graffiti in Context, states that “In this way, through the repeated act of inscribing, and through the social memories these created, these groups were essentially representing a part of their own cultural experience, transferring to one another behaviors and attitudes.” This in turn reinforces the argument that a tangible parallel exists between contemporary social media, and ancient Pompeian graffiti.[26]

Litterae

The sixth collection of graffiti to be considered in this paper is characterized by the use of original and reproduced poetry and witticisms. The following examples provide evidence: “Nobody is ‘smart’ until he has loved a young girl;” “He only can make love properly who knows how to give a girl plenty of things,” “Whoever loves, let him flourish. Let him perish who knows not love. Let him perish twice over whoever forbids love;” “They all fell silent.” The Pompeiians used the medium of graffiti to publicize and share extracts of both novel and well-known works of ancient literature.[27] This idea is illustrated by the succeeding examples; “What happened? Now that your eyes have drawn me down by main force into a blaze, . . . you wet bountifully your cheeks. But tears cannot quench the flame; see here, they burn the face

[25] “GFP”. (Transcription missing). [25] “GFP”. (Transcription missing).
[25] (Transcription missing). “GFP”.
[26] Baird.
[27] *nemo est bellvs nisi qvi amavit mvlierem advles*. Davis. *solus amare v(alet qui scit dare multa puellae) / multa opus sunt s(ei quis flectere vult dominam*). Schmidt. (Transcription missing). “GFP”. *conticuere omnes intentique*. Publius Vergilius Maro, Barry B. Powell, and Denis Feeney. *The Aeneid*. (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

and waste the heart away. Composed by Tiburtinus: "If anyone does not believe in Venus, they should gaze at my girlfriend;" "Beautiful girl, you seek the kisses that I stole. Receive what I was not alone in taking; love. Whoever loves, may she fare well" in which one can observe that laconic proverbs, puns, and witticisms, were also the subject of this form of graffiti.[28] The argument that Pompeian graffiti facilitated the dissemination of multiple forms of literature, however formalized or incidental, is supported by Peter Keegan, who, in "Graffiti as Monumenta and Verba: Marking Territories, Creating Discourses in Roman Pompeii," writes that:

> graffiti inscriptions record communications in informal contexts using vernacular media, offering the possibility of writing history about people living in the cities of these times which does not depend solely on the views of the cultural elites surviving in the European manuscript tradition and in formal epigraphic contexts. By the same token, examining the words and images inscribed on an ancient city's monumental fabric — its walls, doorposts, pillars, tombs, and so on — provides a means of assessing the manner by which and the degree to which ordinary men and women absorbed and exchanged culture and language through inscribed speech-acts under Roman rule.[29]

This portrays how the Pompeiians' use of graffiti for the purposes of publicizing, sharing, and discussing the written word of contemporary and bygone authors, bears a striking resemblance to the modern utilization of social media platforms.[30]

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[28] *(quid fi)t vi me oculei pos(t)quam deducxstis in ignem / (no)n ob vim vestreis largificatis geneis / (ust)o non possunt lacrimae restinguere flam(m)am / (hui)c os incendunt tabificantque animum / tiburtinus epoese*. Schmidt. [28] "What's up?" is the cited translation of *quid fit*, but "What happened?" is closer in meaning.
[28] "GFP". (Transcription missing).
[28] *vasia quae rapui / quaeris formosa puella / accipe quae rapui non ego solus / ama / quisquis amat valeat*. Benefiel.
[29] Peter Keegan, "Graffiti as Monumenta and Verba: Marking Territories, Creating Discourses in Roman Pompeii," in Rebecca Banfiel and Peter Keegan, *Inscriptions in the Private Sphere in the Greco-Roman World* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).
[30] Ibid.

Sexualitatis

The seventh and final group of graffiti to be analyzed in this paper consists of sexual flaunting, flattery, and flouting. This is evidenced by the subsequent examples: “Myrtis you perform fellatio well;” “Phoebus is a good fucker;” “Celadus the Thracian makes the girls swoon;” “Floronius, privileged soldier of the 7th legion, was here. The women did not know of his presence. Only six women came to know, too few for such a stallion” Graffiti facilitated the Pompeiians’ expression and exchange of their sexual and relational identities.[31] This notion is highlighted in the following examples: “Successus the weaver is in love with the slave of the innkeeper, whose name is Iris. She doesn't care about him at all, but he asks that she take pity on him. A rival wrote this, bye,” (to which Successus responds) “You're so jealous you're bursting. Don't tear down someone more handsome. A guy who could beat you up and who is good-looking” (in turn eliciting the final graffito) “I said it. I wrote it. You love Iris, who doesn't care about you. To Successus: see above. Severus,” in which perceived sexual capacities, inclinations, and deficiencies are publicly displayed and discussed.[32] The concept that graffiti endowed the Pompeiians with a medium through which to communicate matters of a sexual nature is treated by Sarah Levin-Richardson, who, in “Facilis hic futuit: Graffiti and Masculinity in Pompeii’s ‘Purpose-Built’ Brothel,” writes that: “the graffiti, I argue, are more than just records of sexual liaisons or advertisements of the services of prostitutes; they represent an interactive discourse concerning masculinity. Clients and prostitutes could and did add their thoughts to the corpus over time, which encouraged multiple viewings. In addition, even illiterate viewers could be exposed to the graffiti through

[31] *myrtis bene felas*. Clarke. [31] *phoebus / bonus futor*. Sarah Levin-Richardson. "Facilis hic futuit: Graffiti and Masculinity in Pompeii's 'Purpose-Built' Brothel." Helios 38, no. 1 (2011): 59-78. https://muse.jhu.edu/ (accessed April 3, 2019).
[31] Clarke uses the word “moan”, but *suspirium* is more accurately rendered as swoon or sigh.
[31] *suspirium puellarum celadus thraex*. Clarke.
[31] (Transcription missing). “GFP”.
[32] *successus textor amat coponiaes ancilla(m) nomine hiredem quae quidem ilium non curat sed ille rogat ilia com(m)iseretur / scribit rivalis / va*. Benefiel. [32] *invidiose quia rumperes se(ct)are noli formonsiorem et qui est homo pravessimus et bellus*. Benefiel.
[32] *dixi scripsi amas hiredem quae te non curat s(u)a successo ut su(p)ra s severus*. Benefiel.

someone else's recitation." This further evidences the statement that graffiti was utilized by the Pompeiians as a form of social media.[33]

Clausula

As has been demonstrated in this paper, Tom Standage's theory about the relation between graffiti and social media must be given credence, at least where ancient Pompeii is concerned. From what the analysis and interpretation of the primary and secondary sources considered in this paper illustrate, almost all behaviors which are facilitated through contemporary social media platforms, were acted out in parallel by ancient Pompeiians; the only difference being, that instead of communicating via digital walls, the latter made use of those which were positively literal. In Standage's own words; "Graffiti provided a vibrant, shared media environment that was open to all. As one of the thousands of messages in Pompeii puts it, 'scripsit qui voluit'— 'Anyone who wanted to, wrote.'"[34]

[33] Levin-Richardson.
[34] Standage.

An Introduction to the Early Years of the Electrification of Warfare Communications

Robert Hopkins

The electrification of warfare communications happened through tinkering alongside uneven developments from formal scientific experimentation. This included the creation of new scientific theory, the invention, implementation and refinements of new technology, increased capability for mass scale precision manufacturing and the integration of the new technology into experimental military use and doctrine. Civilian uses of electrical communication were concomitant and allied. That being said, the main focus of this paper is the interrelation of the development of science, the history of how elementary electrical knowledge emerged, how this electrical knowledge was applied to communications and how electrical communications technology changed warfare.

The history of the electrification of warfare communications was linked with the larger history of science and its protocols. Scientific knowledge of electricity became increasingly quantified, comprehensive, distilled and generalized. By the middle of the 19th century, the understanding of the relationship between electricity and magnetism made possible the beginnings of electrical communications applications, the first being the telegraph. This paper presents many of the steps of discovery, invention and implementations in the electrification of communications story during its first dozen decades, from the late 18th century to the end of World War I. The process has continued and is ongoing.

The gradual electrification of warfare communications has been one of the most important changes in warfare, if not the most important change in the last two centuries. Its comprehensive, substantial and consequential story has only been told in snippets and paragraphs, or works with other orientations. This historical omission is herein, briefly, remedied by

collecting, reorganizing and refocusing available information into a more cohesive whole. This article is an overview of that more cohesive whole.

With the electrification of warfare communications, information gathering, analysis and command and control became more rapid over greater distances. Initially, the changes were far from technologically perfect and not integrated. One major problem, "latency," the modern telecommunications term meaning the lag between the gathering and transmission of information and the reception and implementation of that analyzed information, was gradually reduced. The problem of latency, present with line-of-sight communications, was lessened through electrification, first, by wire communications and later by wireless. The technology gradually came to provide improved detection of an enemy presence or movement through electrical sound gathering on the surface, in the air, and under the seas.

During the 19th and very early 20th centuries, electrical telegraphy, telephony and wireless communications were sequentially developed. Their durability, military effectiveness and integration with other systems continuously improved. It was a trial and error process, with many trials and many errors. Each new technology had its energy, storage, transmission requirements and problems. The continuing goal was through the application and integration of new technology, to increase the quantity of gathered information, to decrease the analysis time and to more rapidly disseminate actionable information and commands to battlefields. The existence of new electrical communications technology did not immediately translate into increased military effectiveness. This would take the establishment within the military, of a new cultural commitment of acceptance, adoption and actual utilization. It also took expertise, revised protocols, training, an interest and willingness (if not enthusiasm of commanders) to embrace these new technologies. Thereafter, companies were able to develop large scale civilian-based, precision, industrial capacities to produce the new hardware. Each new stage of change required the building of a critical mass of multi-level commitment. Confidence was gained through risk taking, training and experience. Like the development of electrical theory and applied technology, the military implementations were uneven.

The electrification of warfare communications began with the use of electrical telegraphy during the Crimean War in the 1850s. Alexander Graham Bell's patent for the telephone was filed on February 14, 1876. The patent was too late for telephone systems to be used in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, but was well established by the end of the century. The last of the three great inventions, Marconi's wireless communication, was operational between North America and Britain by December 1901 and was used between ships in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. All three types of electrical communication were used during the Great War of 1914-1918 for conveying collected intelligence, for command and control and reporting war news among battle theatres as well as to the home front. There was an increased awareness of the need for security when using these three systems. Codes were used first. Electronic voice scrambling was developed for telephone use by the end of World War I.

At the same time that warfare communications were being electrified, other uses of electricity were being developed and adopted by the military. Two types of motive engines contained electrical components: internal combustion engines with magnetos or sparkplugs and electric engines with electromagnets. These powered land vehicles, airplanes and submerged submarines. American Dodge and Cadillac automobiles used in the First World War gained electric starters. Incandescent bulbs for automobile lights, search lights, camp lights, naval beacons, spotlights, lanterns and flashlights, fueled by batteries or generators, gradually replaced candles and chemical lanterns. Sound detection technology was being developed for use on land, in the air and under water. X-ray diagnostic units powered by electricity helped medical professionals by providing images of war venue injuries. The leaders who recognized the multitude of potentials for the electrification of warfare benefitted from the advantages offered by improvements in the new technology. Electrical communication was but one of these many uses for the new power source.

Tinkering and Science: The Essential Processes for Developing an Understanding of Electricity

Tinkering and science were both vital in generating an understanding of electricity and its applications. Sometimes knowledge gained by observations of natural phenomenon, tinkering, or by scientific experimentation and theory building was shared; sometimes it was not. Missed opportunities have been recognized only in hindsight. There is no single definitive definition of science.

Correspondingly, there was no definite beginning of science. Science has always had key attributes: a desire to rationally understand the natural world, to investigate, experiment, measure, analyze, attempt generalization and to extrapolate. Science seeks evidenced knowledge. It has produced a body of substantiated knowledge that has replaced myths or false beliefs. As in the case of Galileo Galilei, the challenges to existing beliefs have often been viewed as threatening to existing institutions or power elite, or simply to those resistant to new ideas. Science has led to truth, understanding, technological advances, and usable applications. It has important humanistic limitations. It does not generally attempt to deal with ponderings such as divine relations, ethics, or the philosophical.

Science has continually evolved, with gradually enlarged scope and refined protocols. From Archimedes' discoveries and classification of basic machines, experimentation has been a key component. Mind experiments about large and small scale views of the natural universe have also been important. Albert Einstein, using mind experiments, developed his special and general relativity theories in the early 20th century that enlarged Sir Isaac Newton's views of gravity, space, and time. Quantum mechanics has contributed to the small scale, probabilistic understanding of the atomic level of the natural world. Mind experiments eventually have needed physical confirmation. Increasingly precise observation and detection technology have aided in providing these confirmations.

Quantification through increasingly powerful mathematics has supported scientific theories. Early in the development of modern science, Galileo describe his inventions and findings quantitatively. David Wootton, in *The Invention of Science - A New History of the Scientific Revolution,* quoted Galileo's *The Assayer* (1623), which emphasized that quantification through

mathematics has been more than a buttress to science. It has been the necessary language in describing the universe. Using geometry, algebra, and primitive calculus Sir Isaac's Newton's theory of gravity was a masterwork in scientific thought described in quantitative terms. In the field of electricity, James Maxwell's equations concerning the relationship between electricity and magnetism, produced in the mid-19th century, were the essential underpinnings for the electrification of communications. The mid-19th century telegraph harnessed electrical power using an operator's key to close a circuit which produced a transmittable electric impulse.

Cognitive leaps, hypotheses, tinkering, mind experiments and physical experiments, were all blended to formalize a new, base quantified electrical theory that would continue to develop. Like many, if not most scientific theories, electrical theory developed with leaps to clarity and periods of lesser growth of understanding. The desired need for survival in times of warfare has, reallocated research priorities and resources and has promoted scientific discoveries. Science, even before it was a named discipline, has been the search for truth about the natural world through observation, investigation, experimentation, data collection and organization, analysis and reflection. In the epistemology of science, hypotheses, or informed guesses have been the starting points. Repeated experimentation to either confirm or reject hypotheses have resulted in generalized theories and eventually, fewer scientific laws. Great changes in perspective, have been revolutionary, but scientific protocols and the all-important details, have been developed evolutionarily, incrementally.

The widespread electrification of warfare communications would not have been possible without systematic scientific investigations that were communicated among the growing body of experimenters and theory developers. Financial able passionate individuals, the private sector of state economies, state governments and international research centers have advanced scientific knowledge. Scientists generally shared their results and theories through demonstrations at learned societies and through publications Sometimes, these results and theories have been for a time, held secret for refinement that would lead to patent applications, security and

military applications. Scientific knowledge has eventually been more widely disseminated. There have been false leads, miscalculations, invalid interpretations, and experimental failures. Failure has been a necessary part of the acquisition of scientific knowledge.

Sometimes, important knowledge has been lost and then rediscovered. While scientific knowledge has expanded, the basic properties of the natural universe seem to be constant. For warfare, pure hypothesis testing and theory formulation concerning electricity has led to military applications of hardware in the battlefield. These applications often lagged behind the initial inventions. Hardware breakthroughs required subsequent systemic integration. The successful integration of theory development, hardware invention and implementation of electricity-based warfare communications has been dependent on field testing alongside and the wisdom, creativity and commitment of political and military decision makers and leaders. The full implementation of new hardware and systems has been an uneven process, not consistently or continuously sequential.

The Baghdad Battery - Electrical Knowledge Found and Lost

On March 13, 2019, this writer observed two replicas of the Baghdad Battery at the Berkshire Museum in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Quite possibly, some early tinkerer/inventor had not only realized a potential application for electricity, but had developed a means to generate it chemically to produce an even flow of low voltage current. The label on the display in the Berkshire Museum read as follows:

> William F. C. Gray, working at the GE High Voltage Lab in Pittsfield, reproduced the jar and tested it with electrolytes like grape juice. He was able to produce about 2v (volts) of electricity, proving that the discovery may have been used for that purpose. However, there are no surviving primary source documents regarding who created the battery or if it was even a battery. In 1938, German archeologist Wilhelm Konig found or acquired access to an earthenware jar which was allegedly discovered at Khujut Rabu, a site close to Bagdad. The jar had a stopper at the top composed of an asphalt-like material. Along with the jar were found an iron rod and a copper pipe or cylinder. The three components were found separately, but

> assumed to be parts of the complete unit. The jar's use and age were not identified, but the construction was similar to Alessandro Volta's battery which was invented, or rediscovered in 1799. There have been estimates that the earthenware jar and its accompanying internal components were from the Parthian period, between 250 BCE and 250 CE, giving rise to the jar's two titles: the Baghdad Battery or the Parthian Battery. Speculation has been made that if the discovery was a battery, it may have been used to gold plate silver items as has been done in modern times in that region. This writer has viewed many later batteries similar to the Baghdad Battery but of the Volta design in the Smithsonian Museum on the Mall in Washington, D.C.

There was no known electrical theory to support the design or purpose, of the Baghdad Battery. The archeological evidence indicates just tinkering with no apparent long-range knowledge transfer.

Electricity, Magnetism, and Induction

For millennia, humans watched the awesome power of lightning and in the absence of science created myths about this natural phenomenon. The lightning which fascinated and frightened the ancients is now theorized to be the result of the friction between molecules in clouds causing the ionization (essentially the rubbing off of electrons) of different areas which eventually discharge to bring about a sudden equalization, a charge balance. The charge differentials may be between clouds or between clouds and the ground. The areas that contain the polarizations are termed fields. By historical convention, fields which contain an excess of electrons are termed negative, and those with a deficiency of electrons are positive.

The flow of electricity has two common characteristics: voltage and amperage. The common definition of voltage is electric potential or electromotive force. Some might say it is electrical pressure. Amperage is electrical strength or power, the number of electrons passing a point in a unit of time. Your AA, AAA, or 6-volt dry cell batteries that powers household conveniences such as smoke alarms or flashlights have low voltage and low amperage direct current. A Van de Graaff belt friction generator produces high voltage (as much as 100,000 volts from a small unit), low amperage direct current that can make your hair stand on end without destroying your

nervous system. Higher voltage and amperage current, such as lightning can crack tree limbs or kill people.

Magnetism was a second physical phenomenon essential for early electrical communications technology. Magnetism is a characteristic of attraction or repulsion, mainly of ferromagnetic elements: elements or compounds such as iron, nickel, their alloys, and cobalt that exhibit magnetic fields. These elements or compounds, naturally or by intervention, have their atomic structures aligned causing fields of polarity. The naturally occurring permanent magnet, lodestone (magnetite, Fe_3O_4), used in compasses, had pointer needles directed to the earth's magnetic poles which are thought to be related to the magnetic composition of the planet's core. You probably recall from middle school science class that iron filings sprinkled on top of a permanent horseshoe or bar magnet show the magnetic fields extending beyond the magnets themselves.

Electricity and magnetism were not understood to be related until the experiments and writings of James Clerk Maxwell in the middle of the 19th century. This electro-magnetic relationship was critical in developing the hardware for electrified communications. The region around a wire on which a current is flowing on its surface has an electro-magnetic field. In the case of an electrified wire, or a coil of wire, the field extends beyond the wire itself. This projection of the electro-magnetic field is termed induction. Through induction you can charge a cell phone by setting it on a charging station without directly connecting the two, and the static electricity in your body can sometimes activate an elevator call button without actually touching it. You may recall in elementary school rubbing your feet on a carpet producing a buildup of electrostatic charge on your body and then holding your pointer finger near, but not touching, a classmate's ear. The discharge had sufficient electrical voltage (electrical pressure) to cause a visual and audible spark. But, having low amperage (electrical power, the number of electrons passing a point in a unit of time), the intended victim's ear was not dismembered, or even burned. Through alternating the direction of current flow, electro-magnetic energy can be, through attraction and repulsion, changed into motion in an electric motor. Impulsed, even coded, electric energy can be

transmitted along wires for communication. If the electro-magnetic energy is powerful enough and directed, it can travel great distances without the aid of a conducting media, such as a wire.

The first transmissions of electrical communications, telegraph and then telephone, used wires as a conducting media. The power of the electrical signals weakened with distance because of the dissipation of energy during transmission. Methods of signal amplification or repetition were needed. Wireless forms, like lightning, made use of the projection of electro-magnetic energy without a conducting media. Wireless communication can operate in a vacuum. If operating in a charged atmosphere wireless signals can be diminished, distorted, or squelched.

The First Essential Problems: Producing, Storing, Modifying, and Transmitting Electricity

The evolution of the understandings about electricity, magnetism, and induction, their interrelationships, and their initial applications to civilian and military communications were accomplished during the first half of the 19th century. During the second half of the century through World War I , the progress continued. There were four basic problems to solve: 1.) Creating a regular, sustainable source of usable electricity, 2.) Storing the created electricity. 3.) Controlling, modifying and regulating the voltage, amperage and the type of electro-magnetic energy. 4.) Applying the created and stored electro-magnetic energy to the transmission of information over great distances.

Capturing lightening in Leyden jars or by rubbing felt on glass did not produce sustained sources of power with regular intensity. Chemical batteries and generators were required. Battlefields needed portable batteries for short range communications and generators for longer range signal origination and reception. Transmission required sufficiently regulated power, the means to send and receive electro- magnetic signals and systems to repeat or boost declining signal strength over distance. Initially, there were two wire

transmissions methods: telegraph followed by telephone. Then, in the 1890s came wireless: ground-based wireless, ground-to-ship wireless, ship-to-ship wireless, air-to-ground and ground- to-air wireless. By World War I, wireless communications were possible to surfaced submarines. Electrical communications to and from early tanks were attempted but not successful because of high noise levels in tanks, insufficient power sources and inadequate aerials.

Military Adaptation of Science Based Technology

There has sometimes been a lag between the initial invention of new, potentially useful hardware and tactical, strategic battlefield implementations. This was the case with military applications of electricity-based communications. The telegraph, telephone and wireless all saw greater civilian use prior to military adaption. There have been two main reasons for this. First, new technology needed to be integrated with other existing systems. This required planning, trial and error field-testing, correction of systemic deficiencies, re-testing, subsequent training and finally battlefield utilization. Armies cost a lot. Funding for new technology and new systems meant increased costs.

Second, mindsets or paradigms based on visions and views of past battlefield situations, older formal protocols, and the scope of established training had created long standing military traditions. The lack of foresight, wisdom, creativity and commitment of military leaders and political decision makers have exacerbated the adoption lag time. Military personnel need to take battlefield risks while following orders. Seeking early adoption of new scientific hardware and creating new systems may not have been part of basic leadership training in the 19th and early 20th centuries. An example of this lack of early military adoption, leadership and usage was the reluctance of Russian Vice Admiral Zinovy Rozhestvensky to use wireless in the Battle of Tsushima in 1905, fearing Japanese detection of his attacking fleet. Shore-based observations of the approaching Russians were transmitted to Japanese Rear Admiral Togo Masamichi via wireless and radio directed Japanese ships won the battle. Despite the noted limitations, scientific understandings did

produce new electricity-based communications that were successfully used by the military. President Lincoln's growing mastery of the telegraph during the American Civil War of 1861-1865 to first monitor war news and then direct strategic plans to battlefronts was a classic example of rapid adoption and systemic integration of electrical communications to warfare. On many fronts, the history of the science of electricity, civilian inventions, and the military adoptions of the resulting hardware were intertwined.

The Beginnings: Electricity in the 18th Century

The bright flashes and destructive power of lightning and the magnetic effects of lodestones were two observable natural phenomena of electro-magnetic energy during the 18th century. The static electricity caused by rubbing amber caused English investigator William Gilbert (1544-1603) to name the effect "electrical effluvia" from a Latin term referring to its origin as amber.1 The Leyden jar was independently invented in the mid-1740s by German Ewald Georg von Kleist and by a Dutch physics professor at the University of Leiden, Pieter van Musschenbrock. The Leyden jar was named after the workplace of the latter. The jar did not produce electricity, but stored it. The jar, which was at the end of Benjamin Franklin's kite string (during his now famous experiment), was a glass bottle which contained alcohol or water in the bottom and was topped by a nail or metal chain. It was meant to temporarily store high voltage, lower amperage electricity produced by a friction machine. It was not intended to store high amperage lightning strikes. Franklin was lucky not to have had a shorter and more limited career.

The Early 19th Century: Producing Electricity Chemically and the First Telegraphs A major breakthrough came in 1799 when Italian chemist and physicist, Alessandro Volta, produced his Voltaic pile which chemically generated an electric current. With alternating zinc and copper plates submerged in an electrolyte solution of saltwater brine or sulfuric acid, the Voltaic pile produced the desired steady flow of electricity with the zinc electrode being the negative pole and the copper electrode being positive. The

[1] Jill Jonnes, *Empires of Light: Edison, Tesla, Westinghouse, and the Race to Electrify the World*. (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2003): 18-20, 23.

copper was eventually lost over time due to the chemical reaction and the battery ceased to function until replacement copper was installed. The zinc plates became coated, though the zinc was not part of the reaction. The stronger sulfuric acid electrolyte, being a liquid, made this type of battery more dangerous to transport. It was a prelude to dry cells which could be used safely in battlefield situations. Emperor Napoleon, ever searching for usable technologic military applications and advantages, took notice. In 1801, Napoleon invited Volta to Paris, where Volta repeated his experiments with two Voltaic piles, at the National Institute in the presence of Napoleon, who honored Volta with a gold medal and an annual income.2

Today, a primitive chemical battery or "voltaic pile," built in 1805 by Alessandro Volta and loaned by Canisius College was viewed by this writer in a display in the Smithsonian National Museum of American History in Washington, D.C. Also in the Smithsonian is an early trough battery, the SamsonBattery No. 2 built in 1801 before Volta's displayed battery. The batteries are surprisingly large. The Volta battery is approximately a yard high. The layers of the pile are in a glass tube a few inches in diameter. A third battery on display is a modified Volta battery constructed by J. Frederik Daniell in England in 1836. A label on this chemical battery notes that "Modifications of the Daniell cell were widely used in American telegraphy."3 As chemical battery technology improved, the power (amperage and voltage) of the batteries likely increased making electrical telegraphy possible.

With a battery to supply steady electric current, experimentation became easier. In 1820 Hans Christian Oerstedt discovered the electromagnetic field caused by electric current.4 André-Marie Ampère,within two months of the recognition that flowing electric current in wires produced an electromagnetic field, was experimenting with the deflection of magnetic needles through the use of electromagnetic fields. On October 2, 1820, he proposed an electromagnetic telegraph consisting of 30 magnetic needles

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[2] Carl Van Doren, Carl. *Benjamin Franklin*. (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1941): 164.

[3] (Smithsonian National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C., visited July 17, 2018; information contained on display cards)

[4] Huurdeman, *The Worldwide History of Telecommunications,* 31.

each controlled by two conductors. This elaborate device, requiring a 60-wire line between two telegraphs, was never made. In 1822 he constructed the first coil. Ampère became world famous not for this early proposal for the introduction of electrical telegraphy but for his discovery of two basic characteristics of electricity: tension (now expressed in volts) and current, in his honor expressed in amperes.5

The experiments were leading to the ideas of a functioning telegraph system that could be used by the military. There were a few more pieces of technology that would need to be created and as yet there was not overarching understanding of electromagnetism that could be expressed both qualitatively and quantitatively as a scientific theory. Electricity was still some kind of fluid, flowing lightning that traveled through wires, established fields and was related to magnetism. An important technological breakthrough happened in 1825 when a self-educated British physicist, William Sturgeon (1783-1850) constructed the first electromagnet. This electromagnet was horse-shoed shaped, made of iron and had a coil at each end. The two coils consisted of un-insulated copper wire wound spirally around an iron core that was covered with an insulating layer of varnish. He discovered that a current passing through both coils created a magnetic field between the two iron ends.6

Electromagnets were critical in the development of the telegraph, the first major technology in the electrification of warfare. In 1828, Joseph Henry, an American physicist greatly increased the strength of electromagnets by wrapping multiple layers of insulated wire around the coils of the units. He developed practical rules for the construction of electromagnets and constructed the first relay in 1835, both vital prerequisites for the construction of electromagnetic telegraph systems.7 A civilian or military telegraph unit was limited in signal transmission range by the electrical power in the system. By 1830, William Ritchie had transmitted electric signals a distance of 20 to 30 meters.8

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[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.,* 32.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*

The great breakthrough came in 1831 when Michael Faraday, another self-educated British scientist, presented the results of his experimentation to the Royal Society. Faraday had found that the movement of a magnet relative to a conducting circuit produces an electric current in the circuit. This was termed the law of electromagnetic induction. Magnetism and electricity were interrelated. Further, but without adequate scientific evidence, Faraday revealed the reciprocal nature of the laws of magnetism and predicted the existence of electromagnetic waves, a major achievement for the further development of electromagnetic applications and the development of radio transmission at the end of the nineteenth century.9 The scientific experimentations had produced evidence of a physical phenomenon, but a unified theory of electro-magnetism supported by the mathematical equations necessary for wide acceptance remained missing. This unified theory would have to wait briefly for the writings of James Clerk Maxwell.

In 1833, mathematician Carl Friedrich Gauss and physicist Wilhelm Eduard Weber, both professors at the University of Göttingen, made an induction transmitter consisting of a long, heavy permanent–magnetic rod (25-50 kg) around which a coil with a winding of some 1000 turns was moved up and down by hand to produce electricity. With this source of electricity, instead of a voltaic cell, the two professors established a transmitter that through the use of a polarity switch could cause left or right action in a galvanometer some distance away. Gauss even developed five different telegraph codes for the characters of the alphabet, using combinations of one to six mirror movements to the left or right. A telegraph system to send coded messages had been established.10

The creation of a working electrical telegraph, while the product of many experimenters, has been generally credited to an American artist, Samuel Finley Breeze Morse. Morse, was appointed a professor of Literature of Arts and Design at the University of the City of New York (now New York University). on October 2, 1832. The new university was not yet completed and Morse did not have a classroom or workspace. He had been tinkering

[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.,* 50-51.

with ideas for an electrical telegraph since 1829 or 1830, making notes on its possible design. He received help from a friend, Leonhard Gale, who made the suggestion that the telegraph be powered by “a battery of voltaic piles.” On September 4, 1837, Morse and Gale sent a telegraphic message through a wire 550 meters long. The signal was sent from his new classroom.

Morse received technical and financial help from Alfred Lewis Vail and his father, Judge Stephen Vail. Morse worked to develop a coding system of five digit sequences of dots and dashes to transmit letters of the alphabet via the telegraph. The next seven years were years of development. With the permission of the Ohio Railroad which let him string wire on poles on the railroad's right-of-way, Morse and his associates established the first working telegraph system with parallel wires for two-way communication between Baltimore and Washington, D. C. On May 24, 1844, the “magnetic telegraph” was officially in operation with the first message transmitted being, "What hath God wrought!"

On April 1, 1845, the first public telegraph office was opened on Seventh Street in Washington, D. C. On May 15, 1845, Morse and others formed the Magnetic Telegraph Company with the goal of extending the Baltimore-Washington, D. C. line to New York City. Telegraph service between New York, at 120 Wall Street and Philadelphia began at the end of January 1846. As Morse had been a traveler to Europe and publications of his telegraph system were becoming known there too, telegraph systems soon were being constructed in Europe.11

Along with the voltaic batteries on display at the Smithsonian there is currently a display of Morse's first working telegraph built for his classroom in 1837. It is noteworthy that the first telegraph system in the United States was built on a railroad right-of-way. The use of telegraph to help in the scheduling of regular trains, to sideline locals to allow for emergency express trains and to give notice to switching stations ahead of express trains, created a growing network of communication about transportation that was in place and being improved in the North before the Civil War. The dual system was a great advantage to expedite the movement of troops and supplies north of

[11] *Ibid.,* 56-62.

Washington, D.C. and as far west as Ohio. By the summer of 1846, the telegraph extended north to Boston and by December of 1847, west to St. Louis. Though fewer lines went south, there was at least limited telegraph service in Richmond, Virginia, (the future Confederate capitol) by the summer of 1847. It reached to Savannah in March of 1848 and even to New Orleans by July of 1848. Southern strategic points along the Mississippi River such as Baton Rouge, Natchez and Vicksburg were integrated in at least one of the competing systems in 1848 to late 1849.12

A Vision of the Telegraph for Military Communications

The idea of an integrated telegraph system for military uses had been in existence at least since 1801. Napoleon had commanded the construction of an optical telegraph system from Paris to Milan via Lyon. In 1804, in preparation for an invasion of England, Napoleon authorized Abraham Chappe to devise a means of telegraphing across the English Channel by day and night. A lantern system devised proved problematic in the fog over the English Channel. Limelight and parabolic mirrors somewhat helped. In March 1813 Napoleon ordered construction of a similar optical telegraph system as part of a withdrawal from Germany, from Metz to Mainz. The 225-km line with some 18 intermediate stations was completed within two months under Abraham Chappe's direction. During the retreat the Prussian army captured and destroyed the telegraph system.13

Napoleon not only envisioned a land-based and cross-channel military telegraph system, he had such optical systems built and used. Prussia realized the importance of such rapid signal transfers and established counter-measures of search and destroy. The military uses of the optical telegraph systems of Napoleon provided an experiential knowledge base for electrical telegraphy in the Crimean War and the United States Civil War. Crimean War electrical telegraphs were inadequate and the implementation of the great potential for centralized, coordinated command and control during the Civil War took more than a year for President Lincoln to discover, analyze and

[12] Huurdeman, *The Worldwide History of Telecommunications,* chart/map, figure 6.7 "The First Telegraph Lines in the United States", 64.
[13] *Ibid.,* 34-37.

implement. After Michael Faraday's demonstrations of the electrical induction phenomenon in 1831 and Samuel Morse's subsequent invention of a working telegraph in 1832, the progression toward a working electrical telegraph system took incremental steps in the United States and Europe. The early telegraph found a limited military communications use in the Crimean War.

The Telegraph and the Crimean War

The Crimean War was a conflict of "a hodgepodge alliance of France, the Ottoman empire, Britain and the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia against the Russian empire."[14] They feared Russian expansionist ambitions. To protect shipping lanes into the Black Sea, Britain and France sent fleets in January 1854. A major objective in curbing the perceived Russian expansionist aggression was for the British and French to conquer the Russian naval base at Sevastopol at the southwest corner of the Crimean peninsula. This became the center of the action.[15]

The Crimean War claimed the lives of some 21,000 British, 95,000 French, 95,000 Ottoman and 140,000 Russian soldiers, most or whom died from disease and deprivation rather than combat . . . in Sevastopol three huge cemeteries hold the graves of some 127,000 Russian Soldiers and sailors killed in the defense of the city.[16] The war ended with the Treaty of Paris, which was signed on 30 March 1856. The Ottomans, while maintaining its independence and territorial integrity, were weakened by ceding to France their claim as protector of Christians living under Ottoman rule.

At the beginning of the Crimean War, it took five days for news to travel from the battlefront to London. Telegraphs had been built between European capitals prior to the war. In the early 1850s a foreign correspondent's reports were transmitted by a combination of steamship and horseback to the nearest telegraph center in Bucharest. Telegraph messages were prioritized for military use first, then news reporting.

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[14] Steve Roberts, "Crimean Chronicle," *Military History* 32:6 (March 2016): 32-35.
[15] *Ibid.,* 32.
[16] *Ibid.*

By the winter of 1854, with the French construction of a telegraph to Varna, news could be communicated in two days; and by the end of April 1855, when the British laid an underwater cable between Balaklava and Varna, it could get to London in a few hours.17 The construction of direct telegraph lines between French or British capitals and the Crimea allowed for supply requests to be made rapidly. However, the direct communications between field generals and the capitals led to competition between officers, heated disagreements, intrigues and threatened resignations. In one French command change, Emperor Napoleon III appointed General Jean-Jacques Pélissier to command the army's 1st Corps and General

Adolphe Niel to direct the operations at Sevastopol. Niel was an ambitious, though relative untried engineering officer who had come to the fore during the siege of Bomarsund but his role in the Crimea was not just to direct operations: he had a line straight to the emperor and had been ordered to report on (General)Canrobert's actions, or, as it turned out, his lack of action. Pélissuer, too, had a hidden roll. This fiery veteran of the fighting in Algeria was sent out as Canrobert's understudy and he made little secret of his ambition to take over command of the French army.18

Commander François Certain Canrobert, uncertain and struggling with French tactics, was being undermined by fellow officers, who via telegraph could slant reports of the war's progress directly to the Emperor. Canrobert's lack of confidence and indecisiveness were exacerbated. The protocols for rapid transmission of slanted intelligence or reports from battlefields to the central commands in European capitals was not yet regulated by appropriate protocols. The new system of telegraph communications had evolved too rapidly.19

To illustrate how scarce telegraph service was during the Crimean War, there was some data on estimates of total electrical telegraph messages in some countries. These telegram numbers were not all military. The selected

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[17] Orlando Figes, *The Crimean War – A History*. (New York: Picador, A Metropolitan Book, Henry Holt and Company, 2010): 304-305.
[18] Trevor Royle, *Crimea - The Great Crimean War 1854-1856*. (New York: St.Martin's Press, 2000): 334-335.
[19] *Ibid.*

data might have included telegrams sent between the battlefields and the home nations. In Austria, the total number of telegrams sent in and out of the country was about 100,000 in 1851. This rose threefold to about 300,000 in 1856. In Belgium there were about 100,000 telegrams in 1853. This held constant through 1856. The data for France was higher, about 500,000, but did not get recorded until 1858.

Presumably, there was some telegraph contact between Paris and Turkey during the Crimean War. The data for Germany began in 1850 with about 40,000, but this increased to 150,000 in 1853 and to 350,000 in 1856. The data for Norway was more precise. In 1852 there were only about 1,000 telegrams. This increased to 46,000 in 1853, 102,000 in 1854, 104,000 in 1855 and an increase to 190,000 in 1856. The Norway data indicated how electrical telegraph was increasing during the war years. There was no data available for the war years for Hungary, Italy, Russia, or the United Kingdom. Switzerland, because of its central strategic geographical position developed as a hub. In 1852 it had about 300,000 telegrams. No data was available for 1850, but by 1854 127,000 message had been sent or received. This grew to 159,000 in 1855 and to 210,000 in 1856. Looking forward to 1870, Switzerland's telegram communications numbered 1,510,000.20 The potential for greater home country direction of military operations throughout Europe and to more distant theatres of war was growing tremendously, but the lack of contiguous construction of telegraph lines made direct communication difficult in the early years.

Telegraph communications were limited to land operations. Calling for reallocations of naval assets as yet did not have the benefits of Marconi communications and continued to be by line-of-sight message communications or orders relayed by fast steamer.

In Napoleon's time, large armies and fleets strained to the limit the expanded economic, political, and technological resources which had permitted their creation.21 Napoleon had difficulties with supply,terrain, and

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[20] B. R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics - Europe 1759-1993, Fourth Edition*. (London: MacMillian Reference Ltd., 1998): 750-752.
[21] Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution - Military Innovation and the Rise of the West 1500-1800*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 154

communications for large armies in Spain and Russia. Telegraph, railways, and breech- loading firearms were needed before armies larger than those favored by Napoleon could operate effectively; and it required the iron-clad steamship to challenge effectively the supremacy of the

Nelsonian ship-or-the-line.[22] The Crimean War was a transitional war that began to use these newer technologies. The integration of warfare technology components was developing and therefore imperfect. During the Crimean War years the available data indicated that information transfer if not for command and control was increasing in volume and speed as infrastructure was built. The American Civil War would see both the technology and integration improve.

The Telegraph and the American Civil War - Lincoln and Greater Central Command and Control

While the Crimean War saw the rapid development of electrical telegraphy in Europe and the advent of its military applications, the American Civil War was the first large war in which the electric telegraph was used by the civilian government. The use was exercised most extensively by the elected Commander-in-Chief as well as military leaders for centralized command and control. It was also used for messaging between levels of command. The American Civil War saw the first wide scale use of field telegraphy serviced by competent electrical technicians working from highly moveable equipment wagons. In the North, many enlisted electrical telegraphy experts not only frequently repaired equipment, they tapped into enemy lines to intercept transmissions.

The telegraph greatly advanced the speed of transportation of troops and supplies by railroad. Even in the opening year of the war, President Lincoln, who had been a railroad lawyer, saw the potential for the military linkage between electrical telegraphy and railroad transportation to reposition and resupply troops. There was no shore-to-ship electrical communications but telegraph messages could be relayed to ships at ports of call. The first great land battle of the Civil War occurred on 21 July 1861 at Manassas,

[22] *Ibid.*

Virginia, not far from Washington, D.C. The South earned the victory and the Northern army retreated toward Washington. Central command and control at this first battle was lacking. The North's retreat was chaotic. Electrical telegraphy did play an ancillary role in First Manassas by summoning the first of General Joseph E. Johnston's Confederate brigades from the Shenandoah to be transported via rail to Manassas Junction to meet General Irvin McDowell's Union force.[23]

During the first year of his presidency, 1861, President Lincoln, a problem solver and a technological early adopter, eagerly used electric telegraphy, which he sometimes termed "lightning messages," to obtain war news from the various fronts.[24] By 1862, he was beginning to use the telegraph to get more precise battlefield reports and issue strong suggestions, even orders. Centralize command and control to distant sites was emerging. Plagued by poor field leadership, the early battles were frequently northern losses and commanding generals were replaced, including General George McClellan who had successfully built the Northern Army but was twice replaced as a field commander. McClellan, like Lincoln, was technologically savvy and used telegraphy communications. McClellan had much field intelligence but exhibited a timidity for the aggressive action that Lincoln sought. The Civil War lasted four years. During this time military electrical telegraphy use expanded and became more efficient in more rapidly coping with changing battlefield conditions.

The overall war strategy of the Confederacy included anticipated European supply support because of a demand for Southern cotton. The attrition of Northern civilian morale with Southern battlefield wins, possible victories in Maryland, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania and eventual Northern political capitulation would hopefully force negotiations and establish an independent Confederacy. While the South would fight bravely, the North would win by numerical military advantage, superior production,

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[23] William C. Davis, and the Editors of Time-Life Books. First Blood - Fort Sumter to Bull Run. (Alexandria, Virginia: Time-Life Books Inc., 1983): 122

[24] Tom Wheeler, *Mr. Lincoln's T-Mails: How Abraham Lincoln Used the Telegraph to Win The Civil War*. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006): 2.

rapid supply to the field and most importantly for the purposes of this article, communication.

After General Ulysses S. Grant's victory at the strategic Mississippi town of Vicksburg, and General George Meade's third day victory at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the Confederacy was faced with a gradual decline in manpower, food, medicinal supplies and ammunition. Now elevated field leader of the North, Grant, aided by General Phillip H. Sheridan and General William Tecumseh Sherman, pursued a relentless war of attrition and eventually, total war. From the time of the Vicksburg success, Lincoln kept in almost constant telegraphic communication with Grant. Lincoln had a cot which he frequently used while living a substantial amount of his time at the telegraph center in the War Department next to the White House. The successful, relentless flanking of Lee's army at the end of the war was accomplished by railroad resupply of the Federal army. The ability to resupply and out-maneuver Lee was due to telegraphic control of railroad scheduling by such brilliant Union officers as Herman Haupt, field commander of the U.S. Military Railroads.[25]

While telegraph and railroads provided the means to the eventual Northern victory in the Civil War, they did not provide the vision, aggressiveness, or leadership for an early victory. It has been well known that after Lee's withdrawal from Gettysburg with the massive losses of Pickett's charge on 3 July 1863, that Lincoln had commanded Union General George Meade to pursue Lee and destroy what remainder of his Rebel army. This Meade did not do. He had been replaced as head of the Union forces at Gettysburg shortly before the three-day battle. The losses to both sides had been high. It was raining, and Meade, a general who preferred consensus building as a leadership style, chose not to undertake the pursuit. American born but German by heritage, General Herman Haupt was furious. He went to Meade and urged him to pursue the Rebel army and destroy it. When he found that Meade was afraid or unwilling to undertake and pursue his advantage over Lee, Haupt jumped on a locomotive at midnight on Sunday

[25] Thomas Flaherty, editor-in-chief. *The Civil War: Rebels Resurgent - Fredericksburg to Chancellorsville* (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books Inc., 1985): 8-23.

and rushed away to Washington.[26] Haupt saw Lincoln, Stanton and Halleck and made his case for rapid follow-up. Meade was ordered by telegraph to move his army. He did not. Haupt returned to Gettysburg, greatly disappointed. The war might have ended in July 1863. Instead, Lee and his diminished army had successfully fled to fight for another two years. Meade was returned to Washington to serve where he was better suited. Haupt continued to run the railroads using telegraphic communications. The final costly victory would come when more visionary and aggressive generals, Grant, Sheridan, and Sherman, took charge of field operations. Grant, the overall field commander, while rumpled, tenacious and aggressive, was not a man of lengthy communications. He understood and used the telegraph extensively, but often with concise brevity, for intelligence on his enemy's locations. He wisely and diplomatically also made sure that Lincoln, always hungry for information, was apprised of field situations.

Earl J. Hess, writing about Civil War logistics, related the contrast between "the robust logistical power harnessed effectively by the Federal government in the North" and the "frustrated hopes, inefficient management, and rapid deterioration of track and rolling stock in the Confederacy."[27] In January 1862, "the U.S. Congress granted the Federal army authority to seize railroads."[28] The Federals established and operated the U.S. Military Railroad. The Confederacy, largely because of President Jefferson Davis' objection, did not. The Federals then used experienced civilian railroad men and telegraph personnel to efficiently run the integrated systems. It was teamwork which included private and public sector (military) efforts: "The Southern rail network could not adequately feed Confederate troops, transport them safely over long distances, or provide offensive mobility for Rebel armies."[29]

The magnitude of the North's superior, industrialized production capacity coupled with the integrated communications and supply system using railroads, wagon trains, pack animals, steam ships and sailing ships was

[26] General Herman Haupt, *Moving the Union Army: Reminiscences of General Herman Haupt*. (Middletown, Delaware: Big Byte Books, 2014) (Originally published 1901), 23.
[27] Earl J. Hess, Civil War Logistics - A Study of Military Transportation. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2017): 97.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] *Ibid.,* 97.

an enormous advantage with which the decentralized, agricultural South could not and did not compete. Lewis B. Parsons, a Yale graduate with a law degree from Harvard and a personal friend of General George McClellan, was an example of the, "honest, smart, and hard-working men" who were leading the integrated supply system, recording while organizing and directing.[30] Parson kept detailed quantitative records of shipments, Federal quartermasters moved a grand total of 3,982,438 people during the last fiscal year of the war (ending June 30, 1865), if that number, 3,376610 were soldiers under orders from their commanders to go from one point to another. Additionally, 201,106 were soldiers going to or from their homes on furlough. Another 256,693 men were prisoners of war. In addition, army quartermasters moved 148,629 civilians who elected to travel on government transport. Parsons also moved 716,420 animals during the last fiscal year of the war. That included 407,629 horses, 123,448 mules, and 185124 cattle. Parsons kept records during the last fiscal year of the war. More than 4.1 million tons of food for soldiers, over 3.7 million tons of quartermasters stores, 1.3 million tons of ordnance stores, nearly 90,000 tons of medical stores, and 127,000 tons of miscellaneous materials found their way by steamer, rail, and coastal shipping to military destinations.[31] All supply transportation means were important, but the railroads moved men and goods over land to battle sites. Even at the beginning of the war the North had the edge with miles of railroad track and rolling stock. In 1861, the North had 22,000 miles of track and the South had only 9,000 miles. In both areas the gauges ranged from four feet by eight and half inches to five or six feet, and trains sometimes needed to be unloaded and reloaded.[32] This meant that communication concerning scheduled supply and troop movements to minimize loading efforts were that much more difficult. Scheduling plans were developed with precise sequencing. Then, telegraph messages relayed commands for redirecting less important trains to side tracks and manually switching and re-switching to provide for continuous travel by more important through traffic.

[30] *Ibid.,* 30.
[31] *Ibid.,* 261.
[32] *Ibid.,* 9.

A brief accounting of the development of the railroad/telegraph integrated system sheds light on the extent to which the civilian systems became united and expansive. In 1861 Simon Cameron was the Secretary of War for the Union. He enlisted Thomas A. Scott, a civilian and general manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad to be in charge of all, railroad and telegraph lines needed for the war. Thomas Scott, in turn enlisted young Andrew Carnegie, superintendent of the Pittsburg Division of his railroad to Washington. This was the beginning of the coordination of all railroads and telegraphy needed for the war. Congress was not in session and in the absence of an appropriation, the president of the American Telegraph Company, which did much of the construction, operation and maintenance of the system, advanced funds. General George B. McClellan, who had studied military telegraphs used on a limited scale in the Crimean War, had realized the potential use of electrical telegraphy and put Anson Stager, general superintendent of Western Union, in charge of "private lines" for McClellan's own use.

McClellan organized a field telegraph system that moved with him into western Virginia - the first field telegraph that ever advanced with an army in America. After the Union demoralization at First Manassas, McClellan, whose strengths were engineering and organization (not field command) made Anson Stager “superintendent of military telegraphs.” With the help of Thomas R. Eckert, who was to become president of Western Union, Stager developed the systems of military telegraphy that became fundamental to military operations and a vital factor in Federal victory.[33]

Stager made wondrous advances in a short time. 1,137 miles of wire for military uses were strung in five months. Wires followed the army's line of march at a rate of often 8 to 12 miles per day.

Growth was rapid - by the end of the fiscal year 1862, 3700 miles were in operation; 1800 miles were added the following year, 3700 in 1863, another 3300 in 1864, and 2000 more in the final year of the war. Altogether, the military telegraph lines were enough to stretch more than halfway around

[33] David Homer Bates, *Lincoln in the Telegraph Office: Recollections of the United States Military Telegraph Corps during the Civil War* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995): xii- xiii.

the earth - a prodigious achievement of American technology and organizational skill.[34]

As previously noted, the center for military telegraphy was in the War Department, a short walk from the White House, and President Lincoln made it his personal information headquarters. His was an active commander in chief who used the new electromagnetic telegraph to follow and supervise military actions.[35]

In the field, electrical telegraphy was used for tactical purposes, conveying information back to the War Department and for receiving strategic commands from the president and central command. The U. S. Army Signal Corps created a “movable field telegraph" housed in a supply wagon. It was horse drawn and could carry the equipment necessary for a working system. These wagons carried batteries, poles and reels of insulated wire from around five miles. Well-trained teams could deploy a working system within several hours.[36] Wires were constantly being sabotaged by opposing sides and were subject to "accidental disruption" from natural causes.[37] The use of these Union telegraph wagons occurred fairly early in the war, such as at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville.[38]

Another use of the new telegraphy was for reporting information from both Southern and Northern balloons, or portable observation platforms. While much of the time communications from the hydrogen balloons several hundred or more feet above the battlefield were transferred through written messages dropped or slid along ropes, some balloons had telegraph keys in the balloon baskets and wires with receivers on the ground.[39] Communications concerning gun and troop placements were relayed almost instantaneously. Such information could then be used to direct artillery fire, pinpoint areas of vulnerability for attack, or give advanced warning of the

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[34] *Ibid.,* xii.
[35] *Ibid.,* xiv.
[36] Barton C. Hacker, Ed. *Astride Two Worlds: Technology and the American Civil War*. (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2016): 99.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *Ibid.,* 97.

need for defensive measures. Through constant development, portable electrical telegraphy was finding a place in communicating localized tactical information as well as being used for higher-level command and control.

In summary, the American Civil War saw great changes in military communications through electrical telegraphy. The integration of telegraphic communications and more flexible railroad rapid supply and re-supply, gave the Union a powerful military advantage. Year by year, Lincoln made better use of the telegraph to manage the war, at first just getting reports from field commanders and later issuing orders from a central command with a larger picture of the entire theatre of operations. Lincoln was a hands-on commander with direct communications with War Department's chief, General Winfield Scott and localized battlefields. The North's portable telegraph units allowed for more precise incoming intelligence, which Scott and Lincoln successfully used. Lincoln's favorite saying in stressful moments of potential local battlefield success, conveyed by the telegraph, was that the situation was now "down to the raisins," a somewhat off-color and folksy Lincolnesque reference to a young girl who had "over-indulged in the food at her birthday party, topping it all off with raisins." She, then subsequently had a serious regurgitation episode with a grand finale that included the raisins. The telegraph brought excitement, trepidation and sometimes the necessity for rapid central command decisions.[40] Lincoln's telegraph messages are on file in the Finally, the electrical telegraph came into its own as a source of press communications. Local news dominated newspaper coverage in the United States before the Civil War. With the coming of the war, the public gained a desire for fresh news from beyond the local scene. The military had priority with telegraph use. It was costly to send messages during the war, for instance, a telegraph from Washington to New York cost five cents per word. The press, invented pooling of resources to lessen reporter costs in the field and telegraph costs to send the news back home. This contributed to the creation of the Associated Press, which added to the transparency of the

[40] Tom Wheeler, *Mr. Lincoln's T-Mails – How Abraham Lincoln Used the Telegraph to Win The Civil War,* 11-12.

progress of the war but also added to opportunities to critique the leadership.[41]

The telegraph, which had given Abraham Lincoln unprecedented capability for a chief magistrate, also brought to the American people an unprecedented awareness of and vicarious participation in both battlefield events and political intrigue. This, in turn, created new challenges for the president for which, once again, he was without precedent or guidance.[42]

War management now had the additional component of managing the news, of what would now be said to be controlling the "talking points," the "narrative," or the "spin." Lincoln had recognized the importance of public opinion two years previously in the Lincoln-Douglas debates. He said:

> Public sentiment in this country is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. The development of public opinion meant that "he who moulds public sentiment, goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions." To prevail in the rebellion, the president knew he needed to mold public sentiment.[43]

The electrification of warfare added a new dimension to military/political leadership. Mainly, the public demand for more immediate information through the use of telegraph by the print press. Lincoln realized this but did not have the propaganda personnel or the tools of control that he might have wished. Warfare and politics were again changing, due to new technology and a better understanding of its scientific base.

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[41] *Ibid.,* 94.
[42] *Ibid.,* 95.
[43] *Ibid.*

Gender and Insanity in Nineteenth-Century America

Lauren Kerton

In 1860, Mrs. Elizabeth Packard woke to find several men crowding into her bedroom. She fled from her bed and locked herself in the bathroom. The men broke the door down and restrained her. She was swiftly carried out of her home and taken to a carriage that was waiting to take her to an insane asylum. These men were not strangers to her. In fact, one was her husband, two were doctors who declared her insane, and all were fellow parishioners.

How did this Victorian woman find herself in this situation? Mrs. Packard's story began when her religious beliefs drifted from the Presbyterian Church's strict doctrine. In testimony given years later, she stated that she shared her convictions with her husband, Mr. Packard. He encouraged her to share these views at a bible study, which she did. When he later ordered her to denounce these beliefs, she refused. The following day she was on her way to an insane asylum.

This sudden action taken by her husband was completely legal. In 1860, Illinois law "specified that married women, 'who in the judgment of the medical superintendent are evidently insane or distracted, may be received and detained in the hospital on the request of the husband.'"[1] The law went on to say that there need not be any previous history or behaviors to support the husband's claim. There were absolutely no legal defenses for women like Mrs. Packard to invoke in the face of this law "for the subjugation of unsubmissive wives."[2] Illinois law also stated that men could not be committed or deemed insane without a trial by jury. According to Mrs. Packard's account, she was given a choice when admitted to the hospital; to

[1] Linda V. Carlisle, "New Notations and Wild Vagaries: Elizabeth Packard's Quest for Personal Liberty," *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society* 92, no. 1 (2000): 46.
[2] Carlisle, "New Notations and Wild Vagaries," 47.

recant her beliefs and go home or stay in the asylum. She held fast to her convictions and remained in the asylum for three years. As dramatic as this may seem, this is just the beginning of Mrs. Packard's ordeal.

Her story was not an uncommon one in Victorian America. Men remained in firm legal control of their wives and children. In a society that valued social image, and as the field of psychiatry was just forming, some men discovered their advantage in committing their wives to asylums as a substitution for divorce. The early definition of insanity claimed it was visible and would affect the mental as well as physical abilities of a person, thus allowing it to fit varying circumstances. Many women were victims to the ambiguous definition of insanity and to the lack of legal protection from the dominant man in their lives. This is not to say that there were not harmonious marriages or that all women committed to an asylum were mentally healthy; obviously, some suffered from some sort of mental health diagnosis. However, there is ample evidence that many women like Elizabeth Packard were unjustly committed.

This paper examines insanity through gender, legal applications, and socio-economic circumstances, but it is important to point out that it only considers the experiences of white women in American society. Because of the construction of race throughout the century, American women of different races had different experiences within the development of psychiatry and the treatment of insanity. The background and implications of their story would exhaust the scope of this paper.

In examining the relationship between psychiatry and gender, it will become evident that treatment differed among men and women. Within the realm of the legal system, it will be shown that men were more successful than women in using the insanity defense. The relationship between insanity and a woman's socio-economic background will be detailed, outlining the disparity of institutions they had access to and the treatments they received. Throughout this paper, nineteenth century social influence will be apparent in the effects that women faced. By examining these themes, this paper will show the connection between gender and insanity in nineteenth century America.

Psychiatry, Causes of Insanity &Treatments

Before psychiatry came into practice, society was increasingly concerned with mental health and the need for a solution. At the start of the nineteenth century, the responsibility to take care of these insane people fell onto public almshouses or a religiously-based mental health facility. These focused on changing a person's moral fiber. Those taken to such facilities were subjected to treatments that were meant to change their moral character, which was believed to be the root of their insanity. By the late 1840's, a more medical approach was sweeping the nation. This is where the term of mental health was replaced with psychiatry, which relied on a cause and effect approach. Such as, the cause for women's insanity to be a consequence of "exciting causes."[3] These excitements interfered with a woman's natural morality. A study of four asylums claimed that in cases of insanity nine out of ten times was a result of some excitement. They went on to rank them. "1) ill health, 2) intemperance, 3) religious excitement, 4) domestic unhappiness, 5) intense mental or bodily exertion, 6) puerperal state, 7) masturbation, 8) grief, loss of a friend etc., 9) perplexities in business, and 10) disappointed affection."[4]

For a twenty-first century thinker, it is hard to reconcile doctors viewing many of these "excitements" as a cause of insanity. Nineteenth century doctors defined insanity in broad terms, particularly as a visible disease that affected a person's intellect or normal behaviors.[5] Yet there are obvious issues with defining it as such. The case study referenced above identified ill health as the leading cause of insanity. Ill health certainly is visible and affects a person's normal behaviors, thus meeting the nineteenth century definition of insanity. Yet to what degree does someone's physical health lead to insanity? The inability to perform normal domestic duties as a result of being bedridden should be obvious. However, in today's society we do not equate a physical illness as leading to mental distress as easily as doctors did in the nineteenth century did. Many women of that time who were

[3] Jeffery L. Geller & Maxine Harris, *Women of the Asylum*, (New York: Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, 1994), 24.
[4] Carlisle, "New Notations and Wild Vagaries," 49.
[5] Carlisle, "New Notations and Wild Vagaries," 50.

taken ill were sent to asylums, in some cases without being told of their destination or the type of institution to which they were being taken.

In 1887, journalist Nellie Bly recounted the effect the asylum had in regards to one woman who had been admitted for being bedridden from an illness.

> Insane? Yes, insane; and as I watched the insanity slowly creep over the mind that had appeared to be all right I secretly cursed the doctors, the nurses and all public institutions. Someone may say that she was insane at some time previous to her consignment to the asylum. Then if she were, was this the proper place to send a woman just convalescing, to be given cold baths, deprived of sufficient clothing and fed horrible food?[6]

Without delving too deeply into the unhealthy and inhumane conditions, Bly's comment is evidence that an asylum was not a proper setting for someone recovering from a physical illness. If anything, this woman's insanity may had been brought upon by the asylum itself.

While the predominant gender role shifted from the "True Woman" to the "New Women" (a visible activist for women rights), society continued to view legitimate sexual activity as an act exclusive to the marriage bed. Historian Hendrik Hartog summarized the prevalent belief that, "without marriage, sex was fornication; with marriage, it became a duty and right. That was a law."[7] Though doctors acknowledged the ability for women to find sexual release on their own through masturbation, it was still believed to be both socially and medically unhealthy and linked to disease during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth. Both society and the medical field held fast to the belief that it was healthy for women to "[...] desire sex only when prompted by a husband's erotic desire."[8] Consequently, women who explored their sexuality outside of her husband's prompting became easy

[6] Nellie Bly, *Ten Days in a Mad-House*, (Nouveau Classics, 2016), Kindle Edition, 63-4.
[7] Hendrick Hartog, "Lawyering, Husbands' Rights, and 'the Unwritten Law' in Nineteenth Century Americas," *Journal of American History* 84, no. 1 (June 1997) 93.
[8] Sarah B. Rodriguez, *Female Circumcision and Clitoridectomy in the United States: A History of a Medical Treatment Rochester,* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2014), 19.

targets. The main male in a woman's life could claim there was something psychologically wrong with her and have her sent to an institution.

Women deemed sexually deviant were often subject to extreme treatments. Female circumcisions, along with, a lesser degree, clitoridectomies and clitoral cauterization, have since been deemed criminal as human mutilation in the United States.[9] In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, however, each was a common practice to subdue those suffering from not only the disease of masturbation but also from hysteria. Doctors believed the clitoris was the main cause of sexual deviance and the heightened emotional states in women. By removing it, doctors would be able to quell women's desires and cure them of their hysteria.

Targeting women's reproductive organs was also a common treatment method in the early years of psychiatry. In cases in which women's moods changed significantly around their menstrual period, doctors would remove the ovaries or encourage weight gain, which they believed would "calm" the symptoms if not cure them completely.[10] Other methods involved injecting hot water into a woman's vagina. In some extreme cases, doctors would administer continuous electric charges directly to a woman's uterus for periods up to ten minutes. Doctors applied a "double uterine exciter" in women who were no longer virgins.[11] These methods were often untested nor endorsed by the medical community. As psychiatry developed into the early twentieth century, medical societies began to condemn these procedures, resulting in their use phasing out.

Women had very little legal standing to begin with, and once branded as insane; they had even less. The stigma of being insane was to be a distinct and powerless "other." They were not "normal" in a society that regarded being male as the epitome of being human. In the eyes of some doctors, this gave them carte blanche in their methods of treatment, which at times were experimental at best and downright butchery in others. Women were subjected to treatments without being given a say in the doctors' methods – they were insane after all.

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[9] Geller & Harris, *Women of the Asylum*, 101.
[10] Geller & Harris, *Women of the Asylum*, 100-1.
[11] Geller & Harris, *Women of the Asylum*, 101.

There were other questionable methods. Patients would be strapped into a tub that would be filled with ice water to calm them. Physically, this would first result in the instinct to fight to get out of the water and thrash about, thus reaffirming the doctor's belief that the patient was violent. Soon the water would start to cause sluggish movements of the body and thought, affirming the treatment was working. In truth, it was the patient demonstrating the early stages of hyperthermia. Some institutions were not as well-staffed or trained in care, which resulted in patients being left for dangerously long periods in the cold water.

There is an important distinction to be made between early psychiatric treatments and later ones. Doctors originally treated residents with the approach of curing them. As psychiatry developed, doctors no longer believed the idea of curing a person's mental illness was the correct approach, but rather sought to alleviate severe symptoms and manage a lifelong diagnosis.

In the survey stating that intense mental or bodily exertion was a cause of insanity, it might seem on the surface that such effort would be an understandable and legitimate cause of mental distress. However, looking deeper, this "excitement" becomes insidious. As urbanization rose, so did men's fears of empowering the opposite sex. Male scholars began to argue that urbanization and its demands would "excite" women and put them through mental strain or exertion. Women as a whole, in the eyes of society, were weak and frail-minded. Their nature was too delicate to be in the men's arena.

One scholar explained how exposure to inappropriate stimuli caused "over-excitement of their [women's] sensibilities, their flights of imagination, their exaggerated tenderness, their religious attachments [...] produce in them illnesses."[12] These scholars were actually crafting a case to keep women from entering further into the men's sphere, whether becoming part of the workforce or starting to become actively involved in social movements and as an extension, politics.

[12] Howard Kushner, "Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Medical and Social Thought," *Journal of Social History* 26, no. 3 (1993): 468.

Describing a woman's nature in delicate terms was commonplace in the nineteenth century. Linguistically softening women in literature contributed to the public perception that women were too emotionally sensitive to step out of their current gender appropriate roles. In an 1897 publication, sociologist Emile Durkheim went so far as to describe how women's skulls regressed inward, causing their delicate nature and inability to handle 'tough' subjects.[13]

The language used within society and psychiatry shaped many of the ways the public viewed women and the insane. And since insanity was something that society sensationalized, newspapers would eagerly announce those who were committed to asylums. However, every time a woman was the subject of these articles, she was always identified as the wife, daughter, or mother of a man. Thus, her identity was not her own, but continued to be dependent on the dominant male figure in her life. This also reinforced the appropriate subordinate roles women were meant to undertake at the time. Even in the identity of being declared insane she could not do so without existing without a male counterpart.

Doctors too voiced their own concerns in regards to the expansion of women's interest and participation in the public sphere. Historian Anthony Rotundo notes, "Victorian medical profession grew alarmed that too many women were seeking education and an active role in the world beyond the home, doctors announced that inherit qualities of the female reproductive system dictated that women should stay at home and have babies."[14] Women's biology was used against them to keep them in their homes and in their specialized gender roles.

With the influx of women in the workforce during the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, the environment of those places changed with them, such as removing spittoons from office spaces or censoring their language.[15] These changes resulted in outcries from men, deeming that society and civilization was being feminized. Author Henry

[13] Kushner, "Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity," 472.
[14] E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, (New York, Basic Books: 1993), 230.
[15] Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 250.

James published his frustrations in his novel, *Bostonians,* through the male protagonist. He went so far as to have his character declare that men were being womanized. "The whole generation is womanized; the masculine tone is passing out of the world; it's feminine, a nervous, hysterical, chattering, canting age."[16]

These fear-mongering publications of the impending feminization coupled with the articles on the dangers women were facing by taking part in these activities. A woman's role was portrayed in restricted terms, although this did not inhibit women from entering the workforce; they kept crossing further into the men's sphere. Such female incursion intensified arguments that insanity could be caused by mental exertion and led to many female activists being committed regardless of their actual mental state.

Elizabeth Packard was deemed morally insane. This type of insanity was "catchall for cases in which there was little real evidence of insanity."[17] Moral insanity was applied to anyone who acted "immoral or improper," which left the interpretation of what was immoral or improper to husbands and doctors.[18] With no set of identifiable symptoms, such definitions of insanity created a giant gateway for many women to be institutionalized for minor behavioral infractions.

Western views of suicide stripped women of their identity. In the early nineteenth century, suicide was defined as a "male activity." Durkheim, defined suicide as "death resulting directly or indirectly from a positive or negative act of the victim himself, which he knows will produce this result." [19] Durkheim's definition not only excluded women, but also ignored attempted suicide for both genders. This was done purposely to support Durkheim's claim that men were at a greater risk for suicide. The added data on attempted suicides would have proven women were at greater risk, not men, thus undermining Durkheim's entire argument.[20]

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[16] Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 252.
[17] Carlisle, "New Notations and Wild Vagaries," 50.
[18] Carlisle, "New Notations and Wild Vagaries," 50.
[19] Kushner, "Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity,"473.
[20] Kushner, "Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity,"473.

Since suicide was something only a man was capable of doing, women who ended their lives also lost the identity of being a woman.[21] Even in death a woman was still subject to man's edict. This also skews analytical data taken from that time. If women who committed suicide were no longer seen as women, their deaths could have been recorded as a result of something else. If their deaths were counted as suicides then they were literally being counted as a man, thus stripping them of their womanhood.

Defining suicide to be viewed as strictly a male activity was not an unconscious choice. This was an intentional move to keep women strictly in their defined gender roles. The sole job of a woman was to be a mother to her children and a wife to her husband. Scholars argued, "the more children a family produced, the safer its members were from self-destruction."[22] This increased the need for women to fulfill their gender obligations. By having children, they were not only succeeding in being a woman but they also were protecting the very sanity of their family. This line of logic also led to the belief that women were more resistant to suicide.

The Legal Defense of Insanity

Prior to the 1850s, husbands had a legal privilege under what is referred to as the "unwritten law."[23] Under this law a husband who caught their wives in a compromising position with another man (their lovers), could enact any means necessary to defend what was theirs; including murder. This law was crafted by society's perception that a wife is subservient to her husband and illustrates how far society allowed that possession to go. Hartog explains:

> The man was made for God, the woman for man; and that the woman was the weaker vessel, is meant to be under the protection of the stronger vessel, man. The forfeiture of that supremacy is as much an infraction of the husband's right as though it was the infliction of violence upon her or him.[24]

[21] Kushner, "Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity,"462.
[22] Kushner, "Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity,"471.
[23] Hartog, "Lawyering, Husbands' Rights," 67-8.
[24] Hartog, "Lawyering, Husbands' Rights," 68.

The unwritten law was deeply tied to the religious belief that when men and women married, they became united and one entity. Several cases document the acquittal of husbands who employed this type of defense in their trials. As women began to gain legal rights outside of their marriage, the implementation of this defense changed slightly. Lawyers started to play to the (all male) jurors' own insecurities about the changing dynamics of marriage and women's apparent growing power in the public domain.[25] Hartog found that "[…] jurors needed to acquit so that they – the jurors, like other husbands – could sleep easily within their own households, could rest secure that their own families would remain true to the eternal verities."[26] This argument struck a chord with many jury members, who could easily envision sitting in the defendant's seat if their circumstance were similar. The lovers, or victims, were often portrayed as deserving "to die for having 'polluted' the wife's 'being.'" [27]

Another defense that came out of the changing balance in marriage rights between men and woman was an insanity defense. Because psychiatry was in its infancy, the definition of insanity was "fuzzy and undeveloped," which made implementing this defense easier for lawyers trying to claim their clients were driven temporarily insane. [28] Again, Hartog offers useful insights:

> By definition, the insane are exceptional and distinctive, constructed differently from the rest of us. Which is why they are excused from punishments […] the defense worked to show that the defendant's actions were generated by feelings – by a frenzy – to which all good men alike were subject, feelings that were, indeed, the product and the markers of their goodness and their normality.[29]

Lawyers crafted their cases not only to claim that this temporary insanity was the cause of their client's actions and that their clients should not be punished, that their insanity was a "[…] defect and more a legitimate and

[25] Hartog, "Lawyering, Husbands' Rights," 77.
[26] Hartog, "Lawyering, Husbands' Rights," 77.
[27] Hartog, "Lawyering, Husbands' Rights," 78.
[28] Hartog, "Lawyering, Husbands' Rights," 83.
[29] Hartog, "Lawyering, Husbands' Rights," 83-4.

appropriate attribute of male identity."[30] In a paradoxical argument, the defendant's actions proved he was acting as a good husband or in a manner appropriate to manhood; this implicitly approved of and excused his actions. These arguments reinforced the original form of the unwritten law that husbands had complete legal carte blanche to protect and avenge their marriage. It resonated with the jurors successfully, as long as the context of the crime fit the original structure of the unwritten law, which stated the crime must be committed within a short time after the discovery of the affair.

Men called upon this defense when their wives were thought to have lovers and their husbands acted in murderous terms. This defense was reasonably successful for several decades. Using the logic that men were so enraged by the destruction of their property, (their wives), husbands claimed to be temporary overcome with murderous insanity. This argument worked to persuade several juries that the defendants had been rendered temporarily insane. These cases illustrate how strong society viewed a wife was subservient to their husbands and how far men could use this belief for their benefit.

Insanity defenses were used by men and women alike, though sometimes women were not in agreement in using the defense. In 1857, Adriana Brinckle, was committed to an asylum after the use of an insanity defense, after being caught committing fraud, which put her in extreme debt. Unbeknownst to Brinckle, her father orchestrated a temporary insanity defense. Brinckle was examined by two doctors, while having no knowledge the purpose of the exams was to determine her mental state. She was promised that her stay in the asylum would be a temporary situation until her debt was cleared. This promise was given to her several times by her father, who passed away four years after she was originally committed. Her guardianship transferred over to the judge of her case and with it the promise of being released. Brinckle was left in the asylum until the Committee of Lunacy of the Board of Public Charities of Pennsylvania reviewed her case and released her 28 years later.[31] Brinckle is just one example of how women were

[30] Hartog, "Lawyering, Husbands' Rights," 84.
[31] Geller & Harris, *Women of the Asylum*, 109-10.

not given the same liberty to be temporarily insane without consequence. Men were being acquitted from murder charges and yet women committing lesser crimes were sentenced to lengthy and sometimes permanent stays in asylums.

Insanity and Socioeconomics

Socioeconomic backgrounds also played a major part in the fate of women. Many times, their economic backgrounds were a determining factor as to what kind of institution they would be placed in and whether or not society would forget them. More importantly, their economic standing also affected the doctor's belief in the importance of curing them or whether they were curable to begin with. In 1856, Massachusetts commissioners stated in a report, "[…] we find that, among those whom the world calls poor, these is less vital force, a lower tone of life…There is also less ambition and hope, more idiocy and insanity […]"[32] The view of the wealthy was a stark contrast, as it was "a class whose suffering from mental disease were most acute […] and whose restoration to health and usefulness were, most important."[33] Care was prioritized to the wealthy, who were seemingly curable, whereas the poor were deemed to be doomed to a permanent condition of insanity.

Poorer women were also less likely to be defended properly against the claim of insanity. They had minimal resources and no powerful friends to support them. They were more easily forgotten by society and left to their own devices while institutionalized, and committing them was simpler. These women were also more likely to be sent to a facility that lacked basic needs, such as access to sanitary products, warm clothing or bedding, and fresh food. These institutions were also prone to acts of abuse, carried out by the staff on the patients.

In 1887, journalist Nellie Bly published her undercover experience in one of the most notorious asylums of the time, the Women's Lunatic Asylum on Blackwell Island in New York. Her book, entitled *Ten Days in a Madhouse*, was an exposé on the treatment of women who often came from lesser means. Bly recounted the beatings she witnessed the nurses perform on patients who

[32] Denise Wilbur, "Where Are Your Penniless Maniacs?": Medicine, Economics, and Class at Hartford's Retreat for the Insane," *Trinity College Hartford Studies Collection* (2001): 40.
[33] Wilbur, "Where Are Your Penniless Maniacs?" 1-2.

were not compliant. Sadly, this was a form of entertainment to the staff. The threat of violence was used constantly in an effort to ensure compliance. The food was stale and sparse in variety. The baths were conducted in cold water and was not changed from patient to patient. In her account, she met many women who were as sane upon their admittance, but the neglect and treatment used on them slowly changed them.

> What a mysterious thing madness is. I have watched patients whose lips are forever sealed in a perpetual silence. They live, breathe, eat; the human form is there, but that something, which the body can live without, but which cannot exist without the body, was missing. I have wondered if behind those sealed lips there were dreams we ken not if, or if all was blank?[34]

Bly's exposé does not just reveal the abuse within the walls of Blackwell, but also the consequences of that abuse on the minds of the women there. She bared witness to "madness" creeping over her fellow patients and no doctor or nurse taking action to prevent it. There is a loss of hope in humanity that Bly conveys to her readers and a desperate plea for change to this.

There are plenty of testimonies from former patents of the conditions to which they were exposed. Adriana Brinckle gives an account of what ward life was like. She spoke of multiple abuses and also how nurses were untrained. She tells a story of one patience coaxing another patient into almost killing themselves. Brinckle also spoke on how nurses were disrespectful and crass toward the bodies of patients who died.[35] Another woman, Lydia Smith, wrote how she was physically held down in a bath by her throat so strongly, she passed out. After being restrained to a bed by leather straps, a wedge was forced into her mouth and through it, an unknown medicine was poured down her throat. Smith described the force by which the attendant had inserted the wedge that had knocked some of her teeth out.[36] Yet another woman likened the abuse as "witches are still hung; and the people, unknowingly are aiding and abetting the deed!"[37] She saw the

[34] Bly, *Ten Days in a Mad-House,* 75.
[35] Geller & Harris, *Women of the Asylum*, 113.
[36] Geller & Harris, *Women of the Asylum*, 134-5.
[37] Geller & Harris, *Women of the Asylum*, 125.

damage these poorly run institutions had on the patients who resided within them.

Bedrooms held anywhere from one to six women, sometimes more, of varying mental states. The rooms were locked at night and women were expected to sleep, while others who suffered from a greater mental illness would wail or thrash about throughout the night. Many studies have shown sleep deprivation can cause serious effects to a person's well being, particularly mentally. There was no distinguishing that lack of sleep was the underlying cause for new symptoms women were beginning to experience. Being placed in an asylum, holding the diagnosis of insanity, adding now sleep deprivation symptoms, reinforced doctors' belief in the fact that the women they were treating were indeed insane.

During her stay in Blackwell, Bly was subject to such sleeping conditions and did not sleep out of fear for her safety. The nurses took note of her lack of sleep and made her take laudanum under the threat of being physically forced to do so.[38] Laudanum is defined as an alcoholic solution containing morphine, prepared from opium. Bly was not told what the concoction was made from and after being left alone forced herself to regurgitate it. This illustrates one of the shifts during the early evolution of psychiatry. When psychiatry was in its infancy, physical restraints were heavily relied on to detain those who were deemed violent people. As time progressed the physical restraints were swapped out for chemical ones. These chemicals would sedate patients to the point of being mentally absent. They also marked the entrance of pharmaceuticals as a mainstream practice in psychiatry.

Outside of sleeping and eating, many undesirable institutions held little in the sense of physical activities and mental stimulation. In Blackwell, women were expected to sit:

> [...] to take a perfectly sane and healthy woman, shut her up and make her sit from 6 A.M. until 8 P.M. on straight-back benches, do not allow her to talk or move during these hours,

[38] Bly, *Ten Days in a Mad-House,* 71.

> give her no reading and let her know nothing of the world or its doings, [...] see how long it will take to make her insane[39]

Indeed, any one person restricted to this regimen of treatment would suffer dire mental and physical consequences.

In part, these wretched conditions can be traced to overcrowding. Partially to blame for this increase of patients was the states legislation. Prior to the growth of asylums, families took the brunt of responsibility to take care of their mentally and emotionally unstable relatives. People identified as mentally ill who were poor and living on the streets were the responsibility of the community and by extension the church. A major shift in these responsibilities fell upon the newly established institutions. As a result, overcrowding and quality of care plummeted. Patients were crammed into small living spaces and the need for staff was in such high demand, proper training was not a priority.

One such asylum was the Retreat for the Insane in Hartford, Connecticut. The directors of this establishment designed it for the wealthy, who were seen as worthy of treatment and far more curable than the poor. They also were able to pay for the steep cost for their care. Though their main demographic were the upper class, the Retreat did admit a small number of poor patients. However, this drastically changed when the state and the Retreat came to an agreement that the Retreat would accept state-sponsored patients at a reduced cost and in return the state would provide funding to construct new buildings for the growing number of patients. The state slowly followed through on their end of the bargain, but immediately exploited the agreement by overwhelming the Retreat with new patients.

Quality of care declined, which did not go unnoticed by the review boards that criticized the poor conditions patients were living in. At its opening the Retreat housed only forty-four patients, by the time it closed it had 145 rooms for patients, yet it is believed the actual number of people admitted to the hospital exceeded this number.[40] Though directors attempted to control the number of patients entering its doors, they "were unable to

[39] Bly, *Ten Days in a Mad-House,* 59.
[40] Wilbur, "Where Are Your Penniless Maniacs?" 52.

control the composition of patients in their own hospital and suffering from overcrowding and underfunding, these directors rescinded their offer to serve a broad population," or, in other words, the poor.[41] This decision came too late to save the plunging Retreat's reputation.

If a woman came from a distinguished family and was well off, she would be more likely to be sent to an institution that catered toward the upper echelons of society. The institutions serving the wealthy could easily be mistaken for modern day country clubs or retreats, a stark contrast to an institution like Blackwell. Built in isolated areas, they promoted tennis courts, lobster dinners, and other extravagances that the wealthy would expect. The reasoning behind their secluded locations was twofold. The first lay in the belief that removing the insane from over- stimulation would reduce the excitement that triggered their insanity. However, the isolated locations spared the family members from the shame of having it revealed that their relative was insane. It also kept a barrier of safety and ignorance between "normal" society and the lunatics. Being committed to these facilities had a promise of anonymity that public institutions failed to deliver.

There was easy access to all the patient's necessities and a plethora of activities in which they could participate. These facilities kept their residents active indoors and outdoors in an effort to keep their minds off the excitement that brought them to the institution. Besides the tennis courts, swimming pools, badminton, and croquet courts were just some of the activities at the patient's disposal. In addition, extravagant gardens and access to reading material further catered toward the status of the wealthy. Nurses and orderlies were attentive to the patients' needs and often acted more as servants, ensuring the patient's stay was pleasurable by meeting any of their demands.

Most asylums, whether they catered to the wealthy or were state institutions, had a receiving room. This is where visitors would come and meet with one of the patients and was elaborately decorated to look like a homey parlor. These rooms kept the facade of normalcy for those who came to visit their loved ones. Nellie Bly spoke of how she was ushered by the nurses

[41] Wilbur, "Where Are Your Penniless Maniacs?" 12.

to comb her hair and look presentable for news reporters who came to see her, as no one knew her true identity. She was struck by the sharp contrast of how differently it appeared to the rest of the hospital. The Blackwell Institution did not fit with this room as was the case with many asylums. These receiving rooms were more for the benefit of the visitor than the actual patient. By creating this separate space, visitors were shielded from leaving their "normal" world for that of the asylums "otherness."

Although their socio-economic backgrounds provided some reassurance of protection against claims of insanity and also from placement and less desirable institutions, it was not always the case. Revisiting the ordeal Elizabeth Packard suffered proves this. She was from a distinguished family and was well respected within society. However, she spent three years institutionalized based on only testimony from her husband and a doctor whose bias was clear. Though her standing in society did not prevent her from experiencing institutionalization, it did aid her in her fight to change laws regarding marriage, declarations of insanity and better access to sanitary products within these institutions. It also prevented a second attempt to institutionalize her.

After her discharge from the asylum, her husband promptly locked her in the bedroom whilst he made arrangements to send her to another institution – permanently. In a desperate act, Mrs. Packard threw a note to a passerby out her window explaining her dilemma and gave directions to seek help from her friends. The friends on which she called for help from were respected in society and had enough clout to liberate her from her husband's grasp.[42]

Aftermath and Activism

Following Nellie Bly's release, she published her experience and she was called before a New York grand jury to testify, where she recounted under oath everything she witnessed and experienced. She was asked to accompany the jury on a visit to Blackwell so they could see for themselves everything she

[42] Hendrick Hartog, "Mrs. Packard on Dependency," *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities* 1, no. 1 (1989): 82.

detailed. There had been some prior warning to the administrators of the asylum, which became evident by the vastly better conditions Blackwell was providing, one being a far better quality of food than to what Bly had testified. In her testimony, everything served to patients was either stale or moldy, while she and the other patients witnessed fresh meats, fruits, and vegetables being sent to the staff dining room. During their investigation it now appeared patients were enjoying the food once only served to the staff. Many of the women that she took record of had somehow disappeared. Some were said to have been sent to other asylums, but no one knew which ones, and others were said to have been cured, or their existence was denied entirely by the administrators. Despite the transformation and lack of witnesses, however, the court did believe Bly's testimony, deciding to appropriate $1,000,000 to the improvement and betterment of the insane, an equivalent of $27,027,263.16 by today's standards.[43]

After being liberated from her husband, Elizabeth Packard became disillusioned by many of the marriage laws, particularly the one that helped institutionalize her, as well as being disgusted by the treatment of the mentally ill. Away from her husband, she began to write about her experiences and publish them along with the stories of other women who had similar treatment. Mrs. Packard's publications prompted a call of action to change the current laws around marriage and mental illness. Her writings gained a large audience, too, whose outrage also demanded social reform. She was a driving force in reforming the way involuntary commitments to asylums took place. In Iowa, Illinois, and Massachusetts, personal liberty laws were adopted, which made a jury trial required for any person being involuntarily committed.[44] In 1867 an amendment was added in Illinois, which required retroactive jury trials for those institutionalized prior to 1865. This opened an avenue for people unjustly committed to asylums to plead their case in court for the first time. Women like Adrianna Brinckle would be one of the beneficiaries of these types of reforms.

[43] Bly, *Ten Days in a Mad-House,* 84.
[44] Hartog, "Mrs. Packard on Dependency," 82.

However, first Mrs. Packard had to rid herself the label of being insane, by going to court for a writ of habeas corpus against her husband.[45] With allegations of mistreatment, false imprisonment and slander against him, Mr. Packard left town in the midst of the trial. This did not stop the proceedings, as the defense called upon a doctor to testify to Mrs. Packard's insanity. He listed over fourteen reasons for why she was insane, which were repetitive and ludicrous. One such reason was "that she disliked being called insane [...] her aversion to being called insane."[46] What person, sane or not, would not rebuke and become infuriated at being called insane? Though the trial was mainly focused on the mistreatment that Mrs. Packard had endured, she was vindicated by a jury verdict declaring her sane.[47]

At her core, Miss Packard was a "True Woman". She did not go out to change laws or society so that women would leave their wifely duties or their home and not take care of children. She actually shunned the idea of women entering the workforce, stating in several instances that it was not a proper place for them. Her views on the women's suffrage was of a similar tone stating it, "would prove to be a detriment not only to woman's own interests, but also that of society at large."[48] Her actions and attitude are paradoxical in nature in that she was one of the most recognizable New Women of her time and yet she held onto the virtues of the old fading True Woman.

Conclusion

The start of psychiatry in the nineteenth century was riddled with gender and socioeconomic inequality. The term insanity was ambiguous enough to send many sane women to asylums at the discretion of the dominant man in their lives. The label of insane caused patients to be viewed as Other, and treated as such. They were subjected to harsh medical treatments that in today's standards would be barbaric. The legal system was also stacked against women who wished to avoid the diagnosis of being

[45] Carlisle, "New Notations and Wild Vagaries," 53.
[46] Hartog, "Mrs. Packard on Dependency," 84.
[47] Carlisle, "New Notations and Wild Vagaries," 53.
[48] Carlisle, "New Notations and Wild Vagaries," 61.

insane. Without women like Elizabeth Packard or Nellie Bly's efforts, these inequalities would continue to stand.

Changes swept through psychiatry as it developed into the industry that would be recognized today. Psychiatrists kept detailed individual patient files on those they treated. This assisted in the ability to track trends within the insane. For example, insanity in women following childbirth was now a visible occurrence and doctors could distinguish this as a temporary state; what we know as postpartum depression. Having patients who were afflicted with long term diagnosis were no longer treated with the goal of curing them permanently. Doctors now realized some patients would require long term symptom management. With this approach came the rise of the pharmaceutical industry.

We as a society have made significant progress from the world these women lived within a little over a hundred years ago. Yet there is still much to improve upon in both gender equality and treatment of the mentally ill. We should not let the conviction, determination and most importantly these women's voices fade into history. Their stories should instill inspiration to continue their work and further fight for the betterment of women, mentally ill, and our society as a whole.

The History of Radio and its Influence in America during the 1920s and 1930s

VickiValaine Braucci

During the interwar years, Americans experienced dramatic social and cultural changes. No print media such as newspapers or magazines had the level of impact that electronic media such as radio and movies exerted during those two decades of the twentieth century. Though these types of media seemed to draw the nation together by blunting regional differences and imposing similar tastes and lifestyles, they also disseminated racial and cultural caricatures and derogatory stereotypes. It is the purpose of this paper to explain what mass media is, offer a brief history of radio, and document examples of how this electronic media medium influenced American culture in the 1920s and 1930s.

Mass media is a method of communication that uses technology to reach the vast majority of the general public. In the 1920s and 1930s, this media reached people in two different ways. The primary avenue was traditional print media, which included books, newspapers, and magazines. The new or electronic avenue consisted of radio and the movies.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, it was not just scientists who were experimenting with radio technology. American tinkerers began building their own sets to transmit and receive radio signals. Magazines even printed schematics. In spite of the fact that commercially available parts were scarce, amateurs forged ahead and often constructed their sets out of household objects and junk.[1]

Initially, this hobby was pursued primarily for personal pleasure and interest. It grew more popular with the newly invented vacuum tube and the practice of "DXing," in which wireless operators attempted to send their

[1] Clive Thompson, "Air Waves," *Smithsonian Magazine* 45, no. 6 (2014): 41.

point-to-point signal as far as possible to as many wireless operators as possible. However, a second and more damaging activity received significant attention from the print media and the government. The harmful antics of pranksters threatened the state of amateur wireless. In addition to their use of airwaves to spread rumors, threats, and misinformation, they would send obscene, vulgar, and incorrect messages to ships to annoy the captains or to send the ships off course. These activities brought increased negative attention. The situation became even more serious with the tragic sinking of the *Titanic*. According to investigation documents, once distress calls had been received by the Marconi station in Newfoundland, amateur radio operators along the East Coast filled the air with questions, rumors, and most of all interference, which severely hampered rescue efforts.[2] These amateurs were nicknamed "hams," a term coined as a slur by professional telegraph operators.[3]

These events spurred two efforts to remove the perceived threats that amateurs posed. The first was to have the federal government create laws to regulate this new type of communication. This was motivated by the Navy's growing frustration with amateur interference. The second effort was the public commentaries about the future of this particular communication technology. Newspapers and magazines turned against amateurs using wireless devices, citing the rise in complaints, when in fact, they were fearful of the potential loss of their profits. The Radio Club of America, with its various chapters, organized across the country, lobbied extensively to protect the amateurs. After a couple of years, the House of Representatives finally passed the Radio Act of 1912. It did not eliminate amateur transmitters as some had wanted, but it did force amateurs to operate on restricted wavelengths.[4]

Frank Conrad, a Westinghouse engineer, generally gets credit for transmitting in 1920 the first regular AM broadcasts in the United States from

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[2] Stephen Lippmann, "Boys to Men: Age, Identity, and the Legitimation of Amateur Wireless in the United States,
1909-1927," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media,* 54, no. 4 (2010): 660-661.
[3] Gugliotta, *"Tireless Wireless,"* 27.
[4] Lippmann, *"Boys to Men,"* 659 and 661.

his East Pittsburgh garage, station KDKA.[5] His show aired every Wednesday and Saturday, with some sports scores and some talk, but mostly music. This marks the appearance of "broadcasting" as opposed to wireless telephony, where a voice or a piece of music is sent out from one location to multiple receivers.[6] Furthermore, when Conrad played all his records from his personal collection, he struck a deal with a local store to supply him with more records in return for on-air promotions. This arrangement is believed to be the beginning of radio advertising.[7]

It seemed that everyone "jumped on the bandwagon" into broadcasting. Radio stations popped up everywhere sponsored by banks, cities and towns, creameries, hospitals, public utilities, universities, and colleges, among others. Stations were set up in manufacturing factories, newspapers, church basements, fire departments, and even businesses like Strawbridge & Clothier in Philadelphia. It was recorded that local politicians, dignitaries, and musicians broadcasted from a glass-enclosed studio on the department store's fourth floor with an audience and curious shoppers as the spectators.[8] Some other ventures were: the Palmer School of Chiropractic in Davenport, Iowa; the John Fink Jewelry Company in Fort Smith, Arkansas started WCAC; the Detroit Police Department began the mnemonic KOP, and the *Chicago Tribune* initiated WGN.[9]

Up to the mid-1920s, the federal government imposed few rules on who could broadcast and when. In order to bring some order to the growing number of stations and broadcasters who were appropriating their own radio wavelengths or frequencies, Herbert Hoover, as Secretary of the Commerce Department, claimed jurisdiction over the radio in 1922. He was mostly responsible for the limited government radio policy of the 1920s because he believed that free enterprise should regulate itself with a minimum of

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[5] Joannie Fisher, "The Radio Reinvented," *U.S. News & World Report,* 131, no.15 (2001): 36.
[6] Blin, *"The First Half Century,"* 19.
[7] Gugliotta, *"Tireless Wireless,"* 27.
[8] Noah Arceneaux, "A Sales Floor in the Sky: Philadelphia Department Stores and the Radio Boom of the 1920s," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 53, no. 1 (2009): 76 and 87.
[9] Tom Lewis, "A Godlike Presence": The Impact of Radio on the 1920s and 1930s," *OAH Magazine of History* 6, no.4 (1992): 27.

government control.[10] Hoover did not do much except grant licenses and assign specific frequency bands to radio users.[11]

The more influential commercial companies like the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and AT&T's National Broadcasting System (NBS) were given the lower frequency, and cheaper bands in the guise of making it easier for the public to locate their stations and amateur operators were given the higher numbered and more expensive bands in order to make it more difficult to continue as amateur operators.[12]

In 1926, a federal court ruled that Hoover was never given authority over the airwaves by either President Warren G. Harding or by Congress. Because of this ruling, broadcasters jumped to whatever frequency they wanted, and more disputes between amateurs and commercial stations erupted. Havoc reigned while RCA and AT&T and other large commercial stations lobbied Congress to pass laws that would end the disputes but give them preferential treatment.[13]

The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) had been established in 1926 and was the brainchild of Owen D. Young, board chairman of General Electric (GE) and Radio Corporation of America (RCA). Fifty percent of its shares were held by RCA, thirty percent by GE, and twenty percent by Westinghouse. The company's original purpose was to stimulate sales of radio receivers, for which all three corporations held patents.

By the following year, three events influenced the future of radio. NBC became the first national network with forty stations covering major markets in twenty-four states linked by telephone lines leased from AT&T.[14] The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) came into existence with a full news division and bureaus in major urban centers.[15] In addition, Congress created the Federal Radio Commission, which was given the power to assign wavelengths and aggressively boot hundreds of small stations off the air to

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[10] Arceneaux, *"A Sales Floor in the Sky,"* 78.
[11] Thompson, *"Air Waves,"* 44.
[12] Blin, *"The First Half Century,"* 19.
[13] Thompson, *"Air Waves,"* 44.
[14] Lewis, *"A Godlike Presence,"* 27.
[15] Alice Goldfarb Marquis, "Written on the Wind: The Impact of Radio During the 1930s," *Journal of Contemporary History,* 19, no. 3 (1984): 386.

produce "clear channels" for the larger firms and where they could broadcast with no interference. According to Robert McChesney, a media historian, "It was . . . public policy to create economics that favored the big players. There were only a handful of channels and only some people were going to get them and become fabulously wealthy."[16]

In 1934, the FRC was renamed to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Its purpose was to regulate transmission and reception of all communications, internal and external, to grant licenses, and allocate frequencies. There was no mention of censorship, but indecency, vulgarity, false or deceptive signals were forbidden.[17]

Radio defined the twentieth century as much as the automobile. Of all the new appliances or devices that were bought during the 1920s, none had a more revolutionary impact than the radio. This was the first modern mass medium that made America into a land of listeners. It not only entertained and educated, it delighted and sometimes angered, but more importantly, radio moved different generations and groups into what seemed to be a common culture. This new craze encouraged the feeling of intimacy when it enabled listeners to experience an event as it happened. For example, rather than waiting and reading about the results of the Harding-Cox presidential election in 1920 in a newspaper, people witnessed it first with their ears and imaginations. Broadcasted by Frank Conrad, it is remembered as the first nationwide broadcast.[18]

Brisk radio sales were part of the wave of the post-World War I prosperity that was spreading across the nation. Their sales soared from $60 million in 1922 to $426 million in 1929. By the end of 1923, there were 556 stations in large cities dotting the nation's map, and an estimated 400,000 households had a radio. Also, in that year's spring catalog, the Sears Roebuck Company offered its first line of radios, while Montgomery Ward was preparing a special 52-page catalog of radio sets and parts.[19] In 1927, the most popular model was the Radiola 17, which cost $157.50 and ran on house

[16] Thompson, *"Air Waves,"* 44 and 45.
[17] Gugliotta, *"Tireless Wireless,"* 27.
[18] Lewis, *"A Godlike Presence,"* 26.
[19] Lewis, *"A Godlike Presence,"* 27.

current instead of a large battery. Demand for it continually exceeded production for much of the decade.[20]

Radio, as a mass media, also knew no geographic boundary and drew people together as never before. It both molded and mirrored popular culture with common speech, dress, and social behavior. Soon, people wanted more of everything—music, talk, comedy, and drama. Radio stations began broadcasting not only popular music but classical music, not only religious stories or events but political commentary, and not only lectures but book talks. Listeners wanted bigger and more powerful sets. They also wanted greater sound fidelity. The radio console became a necessary piece of furniture in America's living rooms.[21]

By the early thirties, commercials became the standard way of financing broadcasts. While the commercial sponsors brought the networks and stations money, these companies were finding new markets across the country and were growing into nationally known corporations. It was a win-win situation for everyone. Convenience goods, consumed by millions, became the most popular products to sell, accounting for 86 percent of the network and 70 percent of the non-network advertisements in 1934.[22] Cigarettes (Lucky Strikes and Chesterfields), cigars (There's no spit in Cremo cigars!) brands of toothpaste (Ipana and Pepsodent) coffee (Maxwell House and Chase and Sanborn) and laxatives (Haley's M-O) proved especially popular.

For the first time in history, radio meant that one person with a microphone could speak to many, influence them, and perhaps change or reinforce their views and prejudices by sowing seeds of information, propaganda, entertainment, political and religious fervor, culture, and even hatred across the land during broadcasts. For instance, beginning with the election of 1928, radio began to have a profound effect on the way politicians conducted their campaigns. The managers for Herbert Hoover declared that he planned to campaign "mostly on radio and through the motion pictures."

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[20] Lewis, *"A Godlike Presence,"* 28.
[21] Alan Douglas, *Radio Manufacturers of the 1920s: Volume One* (New York: The Vestal Press, 1988), 27.
[22] Lewis, *"A Godlike Presence,"* 29.

Personal appearances by candidates were being considered a thing of the past. "Brief statements as to the positions of the (political) parties and candidates which reach the emotions through the minds of millions of radio listeners, will play an important part in the race to the White House."[23] In other words, listeners were not willing to suffer through long and oratorical speeches anymore; they welcomed the brief pronouncements called sound bites!

From the moment that radio first broadcasted the presidential election returns in 1920, radio demonstrated its value and advantages as a news medium. Broadcasting provided an immediacy of dissemination of news throughout the land without the loss of time involved in print news. Other advantages associated with radio broadcasting were that the listener received the news without any cost (besides purchasing a radio) and with a minimum of effort. Just turn on the radio and turn the dial.[24]

Beginning in the 1920s, press associations supplied their news directly to radio networks and also allowed their newspaper subscribers to turn over their news directly to individual stations. The growth of news programs on individual stations was also increased when they cooperated with local newspapers.

However, by 1933 radio broadcasting had grown so successful both as a news medium and as an advertising medium that press services and newspaper publishers became fearful of the competition from radio networks. They not only began to discontinue their news service to radio stations, they launched political lobbying, an economic boycott, and legal actions to prevent news from being broadcast on the radio, but it was not enough. A meeting was called by William S. Paley, President of CBS, in December and held at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City. It was attended by newspaper publishers, radio network executives, and wire service representatives. A truce was reached, and under *The Biltmore Agreement*, the press associations agreed to supply the radio networks with five-minute summaries of the news in the late morning and the late afternoon. In addition, news flashes or bulletins of

[23] Lewis, *"A Godlike Presence,"* 28.
[24] Theodore C. Streibert and Fulton Lewis, Jr. "Radio as a News Medium," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 213 (1941): 54.

important news would be immediately available for broadcast when received.[25]

However, this agreement did not extend to stations independent of radio networks and this was a major disadvantage for them until Transradio Press Service, a news service geared to independent stations, was created and made publicly available in November of 1934. WOR, a radio station in New York City, became a major outlet for Transradio. The growing demand from listeners for more news on the air beyond the twice-a-day, five-minute broadcasts, and the success of Transradio, forced the International News Service (INS) and the United Press Association (UPA) in 1935 to resume service to networks and actively solicit the business of independent stations. By 1939, the Associated Press decided to make its news services available to the radio networks for noncommercial and non-sponsored purposes and also to provide its news to stations for commercial sponsorship by arrangement with member newspapers of the Associated Press. Therefore, from 1933 to 1939, attempts to block the radio as a news medium failed completely.[26]

The news made available to radio stations was almost the same news provided to newspapers by the press services and the delivery of news on the air resumed with renewed vigor. Some stations that were outside the large metropolitan centers made an effort to gather local news and add this to the news from the regular press associations. United Press provided these stations with a news wire specifically edited for broadcast as distinct from its newspaper service. Except for stations using Transradio, radio in the 1920s and 1930s was dependent upon news services that were either controlled by newspaper publishers or which derived their principal income from newspapers.[27]

In addition, specialized news reports from overseas in the late 1930s began appearing more regularly as tensions mounted in Europe. These direct news broadcasts were originating from European capitals and were being presented by Americans such as Edward R. Murrow, a CBS reporter. He was the first to report the German invasion of Austria in March 1938, and his

[25] Streibert and Lewis, Jr., *"Radio as a News Medium,"* 54.
[26] Streibert and Lewis, Jr., *"Radio as a News Medium,"* 55.
[27] Streibert and Lewis, Jr., *"Radio as a News Medium,"* 55.

broadcasts from Europe during World War II cemented his career as a radio correspondent.[28]

News broadcasts were not the only type of news radio stations offered. Radio announcers who reported the news and also provided analysis were called commentators. This was especially true with sports. Besides supplying sports news in regular five-minute or fifteen-minute segments late in the afternoon or early evening hours, they offered highlights of major sporting events of national and local importance such as baseball, boxing, football, horse racing, tennis, and track and field meets.

There were no regularly scheduled sports broadcasts, but major events were covered. For instance, the Jack Dempsey-Georges Carpentier heavyweight championship bout was broadcasted on July 2, 1921. The first baseball game broadcast was between the Pirates and the Phillies and was presented by KDKA Pittsburgh on August 5, 1921. The first World Series broadcast also came in 1921. Additionally, the first coast-to-coast broadcast was on January 1, 1927, when the Rose Bowl football game was played in California.[29]

Still, when it came to broadcasting an entire event like a major league baseball game, a boxing match between Joe Lewis and James J. Braddock, or a prestigious horse race like the Kentucky Derby, owners and promoters were full of apprehension. For instance, Major League Baseball (MLB) owners feared that the involvement of radio would reduce park or stadium attendance and compromise their symbiotic relationship with the newspaper industry. East Coast and American League teams were anti-radio, while some clubs in the Midwest, especially the Chicago Cubs, were pro-radio. As a matter of fact, a few owners saw radio as a positive promotional device that could sell baseball to new customers. Since games were played during the day, the major groups in the radio audience were women and children. Besides, as the 1930s dawned, the Great Depression forced other owners to consider new options

[28] Charles Kuralt, "Edward R. Murrow." *North Carolina Historical Review,* 48, no. 2 (1971): 167.
[29] Judith S. Baughman, ed. *American Decades: 1920-1929,* (New York: International Thomson Publishing Company, 1996), 312.

for replacing revenues lost from declining attendance at games. At the same time, some sponsors, General Mills in particular, aggressively promoted the sponsorship of baseball on the radio to sell breakfast cereal to children. By 1935, most owners realized the benefits of live broadcasting and actively sought commercial sponsors.[30]

Other forms of specialized services to the radio audience also developed. A few of these were local weather forecasts, traffic reports, market updates, and broadcasts designed particularly for farmers.[31]

During the 1920s and 1930s, it was clear to many that radio was changing the life of the nation. It was quickly binding the country together as never before. This electronic technology was unintentionally nationalizing and transforming "a provincial land consisting of agricultural outposts into a modern nation woven together by the listening and buying habits of suddenly connected consumers."[32] Radio was giving people more of a national identity. They were increasingly referring to themselves as Americans and not primarily as New Yorkers, Pennsylvanians, or Virginians as they had done since colonial times. A single event, be it an inauguration, a concert, a sermon, or a comedy sketch, gave the American people the chance to share in a common experience. Whether a show originated from Chicago, New York, San Francisco, or Washington, broadcasts crossed regions or state lines in part because of the policies of the Federal Communication and Radio Commission that allowed the establishment of national network programming.[33] Radio allowed listeners no matter where they lived in the nation to be part of the event.

Through the economic turmoil of the Great Depression, radio was one of the most important forces keeping the nation together. By the 1930s, radio had pervaded the consciousness of most Americans, subtly changing the way they thought and lived. There were over 19 million radio sets. Even though a quarter of the nation was unemployed, the radio continued to grow in

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[30] James R. Walker, "The Baseball-Radio War, 1931-1935." *Journal of Baseball History and Culture,* 19, no. 2 (2011): 53.
[31] Streibert and Lewis, Jr., *"Radio as a News Medium,"* 55 and 56.
[32] Michael T. Bertrand, "Out of the Dark: A History of Radio and Rural America." *North Carolina Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (2011): 117.
[33] Bertrand, *"Out of the Dark,"* 117.

popularity. Social workers found that Americans would sooner sell every appliance or piece of furniture than part with their radio. It connected them to the world and it was cheap entertainment during a time when it was extremely important to have some relief from economic woes. They did not feel as isolated as they once did; they felt a part of the nation's fabric.[34]

However, this feeling of unity was not felt in all regions of the country. According to the 1930 U.S. Census, a majority of white households and only a small number of African- American households in the Northeast and Midwest were radio-equipped. In the nation's poorer regions, this was not true for residents in rural areas in the West and African-Americans in the South.[35] It was not just poverty that slowed the acquisition of radios; it was the lack of electric lines yet to be installed in these areas.[36] As a matter of fact, there was a smaller number of radio stations in these areas than in the Northern and Midwest urban areas. In 1928, Atlanta had only three radio stations, New Orleans only had seven, and several large rural states had fewer than six radio stations.[37]

Initially, broadcasters faced two challenges. The first was to convince audiences that radio listening as a leisure activity had value. Listening to the radio was not only pleasurable, but it could also be productive and educational. The second challenge was to create entertainment that audiences would tune into and for which sponsors would be willing to place their product or service advertisements.[38]

However, one of the problems that faced programmers had to do with gender. Besides music and news, what other types of day programs would women primarily be interested in while they cooked and cleaned their homes? Programmers came up with a new genre of programming known as the episodic drama or as it is more popularly known as the "soap opera." This type of show appealed to women's interests and also showcased beauty products

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[34] Lewis, *"A Godlike Presence,"* 29.
[35] Steven Craig. "How America Adopted Radio: Demographic Differences in Set Ownership Reported in the 1930-1950 U.S. Censuses," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 48, no.2 (2004): 179.
[36] Craig, *"How America Adopted Radio,"* 189.
[37] Craig, *"How America Adopted Radio,"* 179.
[38] Lippmann, *"Boys to Men,"* 658.

and home-goods retailers. By 1933, there were twelve soap opera programs, including the classic *Ma Perkins*. By 1935, there were nineteen, and two years later, there were thirty-one, among them *John's Other Wife*.[39]

Another problem was the fact that radio programs, reflecting societal norms, did its share to reinforce racial stereotypes like Italian gangsters, Jewish spend-thrifts, and African-American slow wittedness. Almost all of the radio stations aimed their broadcasts at white audiences. This occurred during the peak of the "Great Migration" of African-Americans from the rural South to the urban centers in the North and Midwest, where radio was concentrated.[40]

Less than 25 percent of radio stations were independent and to attract an audience, these stations specialized in programming that was not offered by the four major networks—NBC, CBS, ABC, and Mutual Radio.[41] Residents in different parts of the country had different music preferences. Depending on the region, one could hear a preponderance of jazz, country music, or gospel. For example, the South displayed a cultural distinction in its concentration of gospel radio stations. New Englanders did not favor country music to the same degree as Southerners and Westerners. Also, Westerners appeared to shun religious broadcasts.[42]

There was a time when the voices of African Americans could barely be heard over America's airwaves. One of these independent stations was WDIA in Memphis, Tennessee. It was one of the first radio stations in the United States to develop programming by African Americans for African-Americans. Since the 1920s, African Americans have been involved in the development of popular music in night clubs, on records, and in radio studios, but the same could not be said of drama, comedy, news, quiz, and variety shows. Black characters, whether portrayed by black or white actors, were stereotyped as butlers, maids, or buffoons. According to its records, no radio station ever assembled a more diverse and talented cadre of black disc jockeys and

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[39] Marquis, *"Written on the Wind,"* 405.
[40] Lippmann, *"Boys to Men,"* 659.
[41] George T. Wilson, "When Memphis Made Radio History," *American Visions Magazine* 8, no.4 (1993): 24.
[42] J. O. Joby Bass, "The Geographic Diversity of Radio Formats Across the U.S.," *American Geographical Society's Focus on Geography* 53, no. 4 (2010): 148.

entertainers. A typical weekly schedule was as follows: a collage of black adult music of current favorites were broadcasted from Monday to Friday; the Blues were played on Saturday, and Gospel music was played on Sunday.[43]

However, most companies feared that they would alienate their white customers if they advertised their products with programming aimed at African Americans. Nevertheless, the ever-soaring ratings confirmed that there was an audience for these music styles, and immigrant and African American entrepreneurs took notice, saw their sales rise, and continued to sponsor WDIA.[44]

Finally, a history of radio during the 1920s and 1930s would be incomplete without mentioning a few of the classic programs and entertainers whose performances were broadcasted nationwide. As Vaudeville theaters and shows were closing due to the dwindling audiences during the Great Depression, radio offered new opportunities for performers. Eddie Cantor, the Marx Brothers, Jack Benny, George Burns, and Gracie Allen, and Ed Wynn successfully made the transition to the new medium.

But the most popular program that brought the most laughs was the *Amos 'n Andy* show that NBC broadcasted at 7:00 each weekday evening. Charles Correll and Freeman Gosden were white song-and-chatter performers in minstrel shows who were hired in 1926 by the WGN station in Chicago to perform a ten-minute show about *Sam 'n Henry,* two Southern black men who had moved to Chicago. Described as a "radio comic strip," it was the first radio program with a continuing storyline. Before this, every broadcast was expected to complete its narrative.

The show was a success from the start, but in 1928, WMAG, also in Chicago, hired the comedy duo away. However, because WGN retained the rights to the *Sam 'n Henry* characters, Correll and Gosden created Amos Jones and Andrew H. Brown, two residents of Harlem. *Amos 'n Andy* was now broadcast six nights a week in fifteen-minute installments.[45] The effect of the show was unique. Restaurants and movie theaters found that they had to broadcast the show over loudspeakers if they were to keep their customers.

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[43] Wilson, *"When Memphis Made Radio History,"* 23.
[44] Wilson, *"When Memphis Made Radio History,"* 25.
[45] Baughman, ed. *American Decades: 1920 – 1929,* 317 - 318

President Calvin Coolidge let it be known that he was not to be disturbed in the evening when this program was on the air.[46] By 1933, they earned $100,000 from NBC. This was more than Babe Ruth; more than the President of NBC; indeed, more than the President of the United States.[47] By the way, in the era of blackface entertainment, there were no protests against the material of *Amos 'n Andy* until decades later.

Other long-running programs that originated in the 1920s and 1930s. For country music fans, the *Grand Ole Opry* began in 1925 and featured music from WSM in Nashville. After all these decades, it is still going strong on Saturday nights. The longest-running serial, *The Rise of the Goldbergs*, began on NBC in 1929. It was the first major Jewish comedy on radio and was still running a quarter of a century later on television.[48] Finally, there was the CBS early morning program, *Arthur Godfrey Time*. It was known for its talk, variety, and music. Godfrey progressed from a one-night stand in 1937 to becoming a top network star who was the most powerful man in broadcasting. CBS estimated that he was heard by 40 million people a week. Furthermore, the most striking statistic of all was the sales of Chesterfields and Lipton Tea that soared during their sponsorship of this show. *Time* magazine stated, "He is the greatest salesman who ever stood before a microphone." His different variations of the show lasted until 1972 on television.[49]

Then there are the musicians, singers, and comedians who became famous because of exposure on the radio during the 1930s. Band leaders such as Artie Shaw formed one of the best swing bands. Benny Goodman had an innovative hot swing on the cutting edge of popular music. And of course, there was Glenn Miller, who was the epitome of the big bands.[50] *The Kate Smith Show* was a musical variety program that was broadcasted from 1931 to 1947. She had a powerful contralto voice and *Time* magazine nicknamed her "the first lady of radio." Besides, she and Jack Benny had the only contracts in

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[46] Tom Lewis, *"A Godlike Presence,"* 33.
[47] Tom Lewis, *"A Godlike Presence,"* 29.
[48] Baughman, ed. *American Decades: 1920 – 1929,* 314.
[49] John Dunning, *On the Air: The Encyclopedia of Old-Time Radio*. (New York: Oxford Press, 1998) 43.
[50] Dunning, *On the Air,* 65 and 67.

radio that could not be canceled. Another fact is that Abbott and Costello were launched as radio and film stars because of their two-year run on the *Kate Smith Show*.[51] Another performer was Bing Crosby, who was a major star by 1935 when he took over as host of *The Kraft Music Hall,* a variety show, and stayed ten years while working at his recording and movie careers.[52] Finally, Bob Hope became a radio headliner after a long career on the vaudeville stage. Like Crosby, Hope came to radio early and stayed late. He shared with Crosby an ability with words, a glibness, and keen intelligence. After being a guest on some of radio's most popular variety shows, Hope was offered his own half-hour comedy series in the fall of 1938. *The Pepsodent Show* quickly became a Tuesday night giant on NBC.[53]

Radio's Golden Age was a remarkable time. Radio changed how information was spread from print to electronic media. It changed and validated leisure time. It allowed people to experience a broadcast event simultaneously, no matter where they lived. But most important, radio helped create a more unified and unique "American" culture!

[51] Dunning, *On the Air,* 382-383.
[52] Dunning, *On the Air,* 91.
[53] Dunning, *On the Air,* 106.

Malcolm X: A Journey in Discovering Islam

Erin Belcourt

Malcolm X is an example of the profound impact that Islam can have on a person's life. From a childhood marked by experiences of racism and imprisonment, to an adulthood as a Nation of Islam leader, to becoming an orthodox Muslim, Malcolm's journey was never easy. After a traumatic childhood convinced him that there was no room for black people in racist America, Malcolm X joined the Nation of Islam, a group he believed exemplified hope for those African Americans who felt marginalized and endangered while living in America. The Nation of Islam gave him the strength to find his voice and speak against the injustice that African Americans endured. Eventually, in hopes of strengthening his religion after a conflict with the Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X went on *hajj* to Mecca. It was on this trip he discovered that he was not truly a part of or following the religion of Islam. Rejecting the Nation of Islam for the extreme misinterpretation of Islamic doctrines, Malcolm X, now El-Shabazz, only experiences one year of living as an orthodox Muslim before being assassinated at a public speech. It is this turbulent journey that stands as an example of the changing image of Islam in America and the common misunderstandings of those who follow the religion.

The national figure known as Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925 in Omaha, Nebraska. At only four years old, Malcolm experienced his "earliest vivid memory"; his home in Michigan was burned to the ground in a fire. Malcolm suggests years later in his autobiography that a local white supremacist group had started the fire.[1] Little's childhood was littered with encounters with racism that permanently shaped his view of

[1]Robert E. Terrill, *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), x. There is no official proof that the fire was started by a white supremacy group. While this is commonly what is reported the only evidence of this comes from Malcolm's autobiography.

America and white Americans. Two years after the house fire, Malcolm X's father was run over by a streetcar; once again his autobiography suggests foul play by white Americans.[2] Soon after this devastating experience, his mother, Louise Little, was declared insane, and Malcolm, at the age of seven, along with his eight siblings, were split into the foster care system, eventually becoming wards of the state. This turbulent childhood led him to a life "of vice and crime, including bootlegging, pimping, and selling drugs."[3] While serving a sentence for these crimes, Malcolm's siblings began to write to him about a new religion they had joined. The Nation of Islam, led by Elijah Muhammad, was full of strict rules that would help Malcolm develop self-discipline, something Malcolm lacked throughout his upbringing as he traveled from home to home. While still serving his sentence, Little was encouraged to give up smoking and eating pork, important Islamic principles.[4]

Malcolm was not originally convinced that this new religion was worth following as his previous experience with religion was based on the acts of the Caucasian Christians that had inflicted pain throughout his childhood. His brother Reginald explained, "in this religion God, or Allah, was a black man" in a letter that ultimately convinced Malcolm to research the Nation of Islam and Elijah Muhammad.[5] Devouring Islamic literature while in prison, Malcolm Little converted to Islam. These early experiences formed Malcolm X's complete distrust of what he termed "white Americans" and thus made the religion of Islam the only attractive alternative for him.

Customary to the Nation of Islam, "a new convert dropped his or her 'slave,' or last name and adopted simply an X to signify an unknown African ancestry," and thus Malcolm Little became Malcolm X, signifying his religious conversion.[6] The Nation of Islam represented a new beginning for Malcolm and many other African Americans. For those who lived a troubled life full of exposure to racism, the Nation of Islam's religious practices and mythology allowed African Americans to realign their identity "distancing them from

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[2] Terrill, x.
[3] Jane I. Smith, *Islam in America*, (NY, Columbia University Press, 1999), 85.
[4] Robert L. Jenkins and Mfanya Donald Tryman, *The Malcolm X Encyclopedia*, (Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 2002), 20.
[5] Jenkins and Tryman,*The Malcolm X Encyclopedia*, 20.
[6] Smith, *Islam in America,*82.

their racist social and political context" within the United States.[7] No other member of the Nation of Islam took advantage of the new beginning, like Malcolm X. Months after being released from prison he wrote about "the positive, liberating effect the quotidian routines in a Nation of Islam household had on him."[8] Following the Nation of Islam set forth a new set of expectations and rules that gave followers a sense of positive self-worth and unity. This unity was also seen globally by followers as all Muslims "pray facing the East to be in unity with the rest of our 725 million brothers and sisters in the entire Muslim world."[9] Malcolm X flourished following the Nation of Islam, and due to his devotion and studies, he began to travel all across the country giving lectures and organizing on behalf of Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam.[10] His influence in America did not end there; Malcolm also helped found *Muhammad Speaks,* the national newspaper and official voice of Islam.[11]

During the twelve years that Malcolm X spent touring the country, he spoke primarily on the Nation of Islam to an audience comprised mainly of African Americans. The timing of his speeches made Malcolm X a critical voice in the Civil Rights Movement. Malcolm began "speaking nationally and internationally about the circumstances of blacks in American society and about the opportunity presented by the NOI to alter those circumstances."[12] While both the Nation of Islam and the Civil Rights Movement wanted to help African Americans achieve equality and a better quality of life, the Civil Rights Movement sought to reach this goal through "integration- a goal which Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X denounced in favor of independence, self-help, and separatism."[13] The Nation of Islam hoped to create a place for African Americans separate from Caucasian Americans; this was in accordance to the Nation of Islam's mythology that the black race would become dominant again. Leaders such as Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X did not believe that

[7] Kambiz GhaneaBassiri, *A History of Islam in America: From the New World to the New World Order*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2012), 232.
[8] GhaneaBassiri, *A History of Islam,* 232.
[9] Ibid, 232.
[10] Ibid, 243.
[11] Ibid, 243.
[12] Smith, *Islam in America,* 86.
[13] GhaneaBassiri, *A History of Islam,* 282.

equality let alone dominance would be possible in traditional America. Malcolm X spoke about his frustration with America stating, "this is American democracy, and those of you who are familiar with it know that, in America, democracy is hypocrisy…. If democracy means freedom, then why don't we have freedom? If democracy means justice, then why don't we have justice? If democracy means equality, then why don't we have equality?"[14]

In 1959, the frustrations of Malcolm X and the movement were brought to national attention through the WNTA-TV documentary *The Hate That Hate Produced*.[15] While the film hoped to deter Americans from segregation and racism, it instead brought upon fear in white Americans that the Nation of Islam was the violent and revengeful child of racism.[16] The Nation of Islam, while firm in its stance on injustice, was not rageful; instead, the Nation sought to reach equality through "uplifting black Americans by fostering a new black self and Society through religious beliefs and practices."[17] As misunderstood as the documentary was, it propelled Malcolm X into the spotlight and made him a leading figure in the Civil Rights movement, despite his differing views. It also led the Nation of Islam to become "one of the most successful black nationalist movements in American history."[18] However, toward the end of his career, "Malcolm came to realize that the NOI's goals of racial and religious separation were ineffective in advancing the African American community in the United States" and began to seek a more moderate solution by partnering with other Civil Rights leaders.[19] This realization foreshadowed the eventual departure of Malcolm X from the Nation of Islam.

The popularity of Malcolm X, the documentary on the Nation of Islam, and associated media in which Malcolm X spoke gave many Americans their first exposure to the religion of Islam. This new exposure caused many issues as the Nation of Islam and the actual religion of Islam were based on contradictory principles. These differences start with the "doctrine of human

[14] Ibid, 242.
[15] Ibid, 243.
[16] GhaneaBassiri, *A History of Islam,* 243.
[17] Ibid, 244.
[18] Ibid, 244.
[19] Jenkins and Tryman,*The Malcolm X Encyclopedia,* 28.

origin." The Nation of Islam believes the black race was created in Allah's image, and the white man was a descendant of the devil.[20] This is a drastic difference from Eastern Islam, which identifies as a part of the Abrahamic religion. Eastern Isalm, Judaism, and Christianity, all follow the origin story that the human race was started by Adam and Eve, in the story, there is no indication of the race of the couple. This major difference was one that few members of the Nation of Islam realized. This contradiction goes beyond the doctrine of human origin as even in the days "of the Prophet Muhammad…all people in all races are equal before God," making the belief that white people are the devil a further step away from what traditional Islam intends. The Nation of Islam's leader Elijah Muhammad took the separation lightly explaining, "my people must be dealt with on a special basis, because their background and circumstances are different from those prevailing elsewhere in the world. You cannot use the same medicine to treat altogether different diseases."[21] Despite knowing the differences between traditional Islam and the Nation of Islam, Elijah Muhammad made no effort to unite these groups. In fact, Elijah divided the groups even farther by claiming that he was a prophet sent by God to lead the African American people. To those from true traditional Islam, the preachings of Elijah Muhammad are blasphemy as the "Qur'an affirms that Muhammad is the seal and the last in a long line of prophets," not Elijah Muhammad.[22] These differences made the Nation of Islam very different from traditional Islamic principles. This proves to be very problematic as The Nation of Islam is the first widely publicized interaction that Americans had with the religion. The dramatic differences were not discussed amongst followers of the Nation of Islam or widely publicized, leaving Americans to make assumptions that the entire religion believed in these principles.

In 1963-1964, Elijah Muhammad was accused of fathering children with two of his former secretaries while serving as the leader of the Nation of Islam.[23] These rumors of adultery shocked Malcolm X.[24] Once a devoted

[20] Smith, *Islam in America,* 81.
[21] GhaneaBassiri, A *History of Islam,* 260.
[22] Smith, *Islam in America,* 82.
[23] Jenkins and Tryman, *The Malcolm X Encyclopedia,* 15.

follower of Elijah Muhammad, these rumors made Malcolm question the leader he once blindly followed. Malcolm then began to be more vocal about politics and civil rights issues, speaking on behalf of the Nation of Islam without the consent of Elijah Muhammad and offering no explanation to the rumors circling the Nation of Islam leader. When Malcolm X commented "that John F. Kennedy's assassination was a case of chickens coming home to roost, the natural outcome of a violence prevalent in America," this statement "was interpreted as his somehow sanctioning the president's death." Malcolm X's comment gave Elijah Muhammad the means to punish him.[25] Elijah Muhammad used this bold comment to silence Malcolm X from talking to the media for three months, hoping that forcing Malcolm X into silence would allow him enough time to convince Malcolm X to speak of his innocence. Additionally, during that time, "Malcolm was removed as a minister of New York's Temple number 7" as Malcolm was no longer thought fit to lead a Nation of Islam congregation.[26]

As a result, Malcolm X in 1964 went on Hajj.[27] It was on this journey to the holy land of Mecca that Malcolm X " came face-to-face with the discrepancies between the teachings of the Nation and the Islamic beliefs and practices upheld by millions of Muslims outside of it" for the first time.[28] Malcolm X, a previous leader of the Nation of Islam, found that he was not adequately trained and could not perform "the ritual for prayer or some of the basic requirements of living an Islamic life."[29] Upon returning, Malcolm X wrote about his experience explaining his shock to see "all races, all colors,- blue-eyed blondes to black skinned Africans- in true brotherhood! In unity! Living as one! Worshipping as one!" while completing Hajj.[30] His previous

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[24] Known in Muslim countries as Zina, the act of adultery is seen as a highly offensive sin. Zina is apart of the hadd crimes, meaning that the punishment of 100 lashes, is Quranically specified. The rumors that Elijah Muhhamad had committed zina not once, but with two separate secretaries resulting in the birth of children, showed the Nation of Islam leader in direct violation in the laws of his relgion.
[25] Smith, *Islam in America,* 88.
[26] Smith, *Islam in America,* 88.
[27] Hajj is the pilgrimage to Mecca. It is trip required of all able-bodied muslims in which followers travel to the holy land to participate in holy rituals which trace the steps of the Prohphet Muhammad.
[28] GhaneaBassiri, *A History of Islam,* 244.
[29] Smith, *Islam in America, 88.*
[30] GhaneaBassiri, *A History of Islam,* 244.

convictions that the African American population needed to be separated from the Caucasian devil were completely destroyed. To symbolize these changes, his official departure from the Nation of Islam and his conversion to an orthodox Muslim; Malcolm X "changed his name to El-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz."[31]

El-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz was still a national icon in the United States. His focus switched following his departure from the Nation of Islam. The once stubborn separatist now wanted to work together with civil rights leaders in order to better the lives of African Americans. El-Shabazz founded his own organization, the Muslim Mosque Inc. He hoped to attract membership from all classes and groups and the African American community, however, this organization was legally created as a religious organization that did not meet the full needs of the African American people.[32] El-Shabazz created another organization called the "Organization of Afro- American Unity as a vehicle internationalizing the struggles of black Americans."[33] Unfortunately, El-Shabazz did not get to complete his vision. El-Shabazz, formerly known as Malcolm X, was assassinated while addressing a crowd in New York in February 1965 by rival Black Muslims.

It is hard to imagine what could have happened if El-Shabazz had not been killed. His strong opinions and dynamic public persona had drawn global attention to the Nation of Islam. With only one year between his conversion to an orthodox Muslim and his untimely death. El-Shabazz had just begun to make new organizations and motions toward peace and unity. Being a public figure, El- Shabazz was not given a lot of time to adjust to his new beliefs. He was trapped in the spotlight, with new ideas that directly contradicted the points that he had once stubbornly fought over. The followers of Malcolm X were confused, should they make their own conversion toward peace and the mainstream civil rights movement or should they stay with the Nation of Islam and fight for separation. There, unfortunately, was no middle ground for the former followers of Malcolm X. The Nation of Islam faced mass scrutiny as the new statements of El-Shabazz

[31] Smith, *Islam in America,* 89.
[32] Jenkins and Tryman, *The MAlcolm X Encyclopedia,* 29.
[33] GhaneaBassiri, *A History of Islam,* 245.

directly contradicted their belief system. This growing web of conflicting religious and political beliefs is ultimately what trapped El-Shabazz. The death of El-Shabazz is a tragedy. Had El-Shabazz not been killed for his silence, the civil rights movement and the image of Islam in the United States would have been changed for the better.

Through a Lens Darkly: Horror Cinema as Historical Artifact and an Examination of Hitchcock's *Psycho*

Vincent Pisano

Horror Cinema as Historical Artifact

The story of the motion picture was from its beginning a tale of horror. While the earliest films have generally been accredited to the efforts of Thomas Edison in the United States and the Lumiere brothers in France, a little-known pioneer had previously made a motion picture in Leeds, England in October of 1888, but his story would be one of tragedy and mystery. Louis Le Prince invented a camera and recorded his family including his son, Adolphe, his in-laws Joseph and Sarah Whitley, and family-friend Annie Hartley dancing in a garden behind the Whitley's home. The film runs only about two seconds. Within ten days of the filming, 72-year-old Sarah Whitley was dead.

In 1890, Le Prince prepared an exhibition of his work in New York but first returned to France to take care of family business. There he boarded a train, waved good-bye to his brother, and was never seen again. Many theories tried to account for his mysterious disappearance, including one which accused Edison of an assassination plot, but Le Prince was likely the victim of robbery and murder, an unfortunately common fate among lone travelers at the time. In 2003 a photo was uncovered of an unnamed drowning victim in the Paris police archives, dated the year of his vanishing. It strongly resembles Le Prince. With Le Prince unable to unveil his creation to the world, his son Adolphe fought against Edison through court proceedings to gain his father recognition as the inventor of the motion-picture camera, to no avail. Another horrible ending: two years after testifying against Edison, in 1902, Adolphe was shot dead while duck hunting on Fire Island, New York.[1]

[1] Ian Young, "Louis Le Prince, Who Shot the World's First Film in Leeds," BBC News, June 23, 2015, https://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-33198686; "BBC Education –

Horror and cinema have always been inextricably linked. For instance, the Edison produced *The Execution of Mary Stuart*, an eighteen-second film from 1895, shows the beheading of the titular Mary, and is the first film to not only employ trained actors but also to use editing effects (a jump-cut to replace the actor playing Mary with a dummy at the moment of decapitation). Viewers' tastes for the grizzly and macabre were already whetted when the nickelodeons began rolling. Around the same time in France, Georges Méliès was also discovering the jump-cut, and put it to work in 1896 to direct what historians consider the first horror film, *Le Manoir du diable* or *The Devil's Castle* (released in the United States as *The Infernal Palace*). In this work, Méliès incorporated a plethora of gothic imagery, from a skeleton and ghosts and bats to Mephistopheles himself. The fantastical works of Méliès reveal, from their earliest incarnations, why the genre of horror and the art of motion pictures are so perfectly suited. As Mark Gatiss has eloquently mused, "The cinema was made for horror movies. No other kind of film offers that same mysterious anticipation as you head into a dark auditorium. No other makes such powerful use of sound and image. The cinema is where we come to share a collective dream. And horror films are the most dream-like of all, perhaps because they engage with our nightmares."[2] These collective nightmares - contemporary anxieties, cultural traumas - are the subject of this writing.

Historians have long examined film as artifact, using the moving image to glean insights into a variety of realms. They have looked at film's representation of history, at its use as evidence of historical fact, and at the history of the film industry and the art form itself.[3] The horror genre offers a prime opportunity to study the fourth dominant reason for the historical study of film, as it reflects the social and cultural history of its time. Horror in particular exploits the fears and societal wounds which mainstream culture all too often dismisses or ignores. An examination of horror films exposes the historical traumas from which a culture is recuperating, and may even serve

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Local Heroes Le Prince Biography," BBC Education, November 28, 1999, https://web.archive.org/web/19991128020048/http://www.bbc.co.uk/education/local_heroes/biogs/biogleprince.shtml

[2] Mark Gatiss, *A History of Horror*, directed by John Das (2010; London: BBC).

[3] For more on this, see John E. O'Connor, *Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television* (Malabar, Florida: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1990).

to help heal those exposed wounds. Linnie Blake has stated that nations tend to deny trauma's role in national identity or that they bind up the wounds of trauma too soon, while horror denies them this and exposes nerves that may be raw or festering.[4] She argues that a "critical engagement with a nation's horror cinema offers a significant means of not only grappling with the traumatic past and in so doing measuring the effects of social, political and cultural transformation of the nation on its citizens, but of exposing layers of obfuscation, denial or revisionism with which those wounds are dressed in service of dominant ideologies of national identity."[5] Horror also functions beyond peeling back the bandage, for it can also administer a rehabilitation (no matter how painful the process):

> Horror cinema's specific subgenres… have been shown not only to allow for a mediated engagement with acts so disgusting or violent that their real-life realization would be socially and psychologically unacceptable, but for a re-creation, re-visitation and re-conceptualization of traumatic memories that lie buried deep within the national psyche… In this, the power of horror may be to effect a certain productive re-engagement with the traumas of national history, their cultural legacy and the possibility of being (and narrativizing) otherwise.[6]

When real horrors are too hurtful, their artificial representation on the screen can assist in cultural processing. It may be safer to engage them through the security of cinema, where the traumas can manifest as monsters, maniacs, or malformations and the like. There, at least, for ninety or so minutes, they can be confronted and their power as trauma diminished. The historian may analyze the horror film to discern the unresolved cultural wounds that the filmmakers are exhuming to reveal the effects of recent events upon society and the ways in which they have chosen to deal with or to ignore the injuries.

Horror films have engaged with historical trauma since the silent era. A prime example is 1920's *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, a masterpiece of German Expressionism which emerged just after the cataclysmic violence of

[4] Linnie Blake, *The Wounds of Nations: Horror Cinema, Historical Trauma, and National Identity* (Manchester University Press, 2008), 6.
[5] Blake, *The Wounds of Nations*, 23.
[6] Ibid., 187.

the Great War. The film depicts the titular Dr. Caligari sending out his sideshow somnambulist to murder in the night. In a twist, the film is actually the delusion of a madman, and the oddly angled artificial sets help to visualize that insanity to the audience. The film's writers, Hans Janowitz and Carl Mayer, both veterans of the war, insisted that their script was a clear injunction against the atrocities and betrayal that they had experienced. As Janowitz would write: "It was years after the completion of the screenplay that I realized our subconscious intention… The corresponding connection between Doctor Caligari, and the great authoritative power of the Government that we hated, and which had subdued us into an oath, forcing conscription on those in opposition to its official war aims, compelling us to murder and be murdered."[7] The trauma of the war also appeared in American horror cinema in the embodiment of Lon Chaney, star of *The Phantom of the Opera* (1925) and many Tod Browning collaborations, whose depictions of deformed characters and amputees evoked the war-scarred soldiers who returned from the front lines to haunt the psyche of a nation. W. Scott Poole writes that "Chaney had replicated, as film after film in this era did, the disfigured faces of veterans, exploded by shrapnel and Maxim guns. No one in the Western world could have looked at the visage of Lon Chaney and not thought of" those "who hid their injuries with marionette-like facsimiles just as the Phantom did… No longer could the gore of battle be unseen."[8] The trauma of the war can still be seen in the following decade's horror films, such as 1934's *The Black Cat*, in which two veterans plot each other's demise. At one point Hjalmar Poelzig, played by Boris Karloff, intones to his rival, "You say your soul was killed and that you have been dead all these years. And what of me? Did we not both die here… fifteen years ago? Are we any the less victims of the war than those whose bodies were torn asunder? Are we not both the living dead?"

The historical analysis of horror films offers a second benefit - it reveals the contemporary cultural fears and anxieties under which the motion

[7] Quoted in Steve Haberman, *Silent Screams: The History of the Silent Horror Film* (Baltimore: Midnight Marquee Press, 2003), 36.
[8] W. Scott Poole, *Wasteland: The Great War and the Origins of Modern Horror* (Berkeley: Counterpoint, 2018), 94

picture was created. Often filmmakers, sometimes consciously but more times not, tap into the *zeitgeist* of unease that permeates a culture. They exploit the growing tensions and worries of their era to create their monsters and madmen. Sometimes the films reflect these fears and anxieties overtly, or sometimes function through allegory. There have been moments when these films have resonated with audiences on powerful levels, even reshaping the culture.[9] They become the stuff not just of nightmares but of folklore, staining the fabric of cultural and national identity. Whether the viewer who watches the flickering images understands it or not, the horror film appears to understand *them*. The abyss gazes back and looks with recognition.

One period in which horror cinema clearly channeled newfound anxieties was in the alien and creature-features of the 1950s. The U.S. had closed the Second World War, humanity's bloodiest conflict, with two atomic detonations on Japan, unleashing an unprecedented terror upon the modern world. As the yield of these weapons increased, it seemed as though civilization was creating the means to its own end. The Doomsday Clock, introduced in 1947 in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, illustrated how close to "midnight" society was in terms of nuclear threat, meaning how close the world stood to destroying itself through nuclear means. In 1953, at the height of the Cold War, as the Soviet Union built its own arsenal, the clock stood at two minutes before midnight, the closest it had come during the time of tension between the aggressive superpowers.[10] In the fifties, it was no longer the figure in the dark that struck terror in people's hearts, but the blinding flash and what would follow. The nuclear bomb was a Pandora's box of deadly possibilities, and what it meant for humanity's survival no one could say with certainty. Enter Howard Hawkes's production of *The Thing From Another World* (1951), one of the first American horror films to be "no longer removed to the Gothic world of the past but placed squarely into the continuous world of the present."[11] A vegetable-based alien is a stand-in for

[9] Kendall R. Phillips, *Projected Fears: Horror Films and American Culture* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005), 7.
[10] As of this writing, in 2019, the Doomsday Clock has sat at two minutes before midnight for the past three years.
[11] Phillips, *Projected Fears*, 58.

the unknown scientific horrors that await society, and the film reveals the possibility that neither science nor the military may be enough to save us. Instead, it is the ability of unconnected individuals to band together that wins out. As Kendall R. Phillips writes, "Such good [personal] character could, the film suggests, overcome any invading threat."[12] This trend moves through the decade and sends a clear message: if Americans can stick together and not destroy the country from within, it may yet survive the unknown future. However, the anxieties persisted, seen more clearly in the giant creature films. While Japan was working through its nuclear trauma in the embodiment of a rampaging Godzilla in 1954, America was wrestling with its own atomic demons, displaying senses of guilt and anxiety about the monster it had created in the deserts of New Mexico in less than a decade prior. In *Them!*, the first "giant bug" feature, huge ants, products of atomic test radiation, have killed a number of citizens. The film closes with this telling exchange:

> Robert Graham: Pat, if these monsters got started as a result of the first atomic bomb in 1945, what about all the others that have been exploded since then?
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> Dr. Patricia Medford: I don't know.
>
> Dr. Harold Medford: Nobody knows, Robert. When Man entered the atomic age, he opened a door into a new world. What we'll eventually find in that new world, nobody can predict.

The preceding examples demonstrate the from every decade since the birth of the motion picture, horror has held a lens (and sometimes a mirror) to the dark dreams of its time. It is arguably the genre that reacts quickest to the occurring *zeitgeist*. It operates in the psychologically charged modes of allegory, expressionism, myth and folklore.[13] Yet despite its deep connection to human culture and society it has unfortunately been met with little respect. Horror, it should be clearly understood, deals with the negative emotions: fear, dread, disgust, paranoia, and terror. Its intention is not to coddle or reassure, but to confront and challenge, to shock and speak uncomfortable

[12] Ibid., 58.
[13] Carol J. Clover, *Men, Women, and Chain Saws: Gender in the Modern Horror Film* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 231.

truths. The horror genre does not necessarily create new fears for audiences, but rather exploits those which are already present. To be sure, most horror films are of low quality and formulaic, following the tired rituals set forth by superior predecessors, and these films generally aspire to heights no grander than the lowest common denominator. If these films tap into the fears of the time, it is likely accidental. Others seek to offer pure exploitation with little to no pretense of artistry. For these reasons, and despite horror as having been an integral part of cinema from its conception, the genre has been at most times reviled, ignored, or condescended to by mainstream Hollywood and film critics. The term "horror" as been seen as anathema to good taste and respectful standing, leading even some filmmakers to avoid identifying their disturbing and terrifying films with the genre. For instance, William Friedkin, director of one of the genre's most revered films, *The Exorcist* (1973), for decades refused to call the film horror. "It won ten Academy Award nominations," he once said. "How can that be horror?"[14]

Horror is undoubtedly the black sheep of cinema, yet therein lies its power to the historian. It is film unfettered by the niceties of etiquette. It is naked and raw, and it does not ask to be liked. The films are almost always of relatively low budgets, meaning lower financial risk and fewer studio heads interfering in the director's vision. In these ways, it is more honest than other genres, and offers the historian an avenue through which to view society in the places where it tries to hide. Blake has written that "horror cinema can be seen to fulfill a function that sets it apart from other more 'respectable' branches of the culture industry: providing a visceral and frequently non-linguistic lexicon in which the experience of cultural dislocation may be phrased; in which the dominant will to repudiate post-traumatic self-examination" and contemporary anxieties "through culturally sanctioned silence may be audibly challenged."[15] There are many possible reasons for this, though a compelling one is offered by Carol J. Clover, who has recognized that "horror is a marginal genre that appeals to marginal people…

[14] Quoted in Jason Zinoman, *Shock Value: How a Few Eccentric Outsiders Gave Us Nightmares, Conquered Hollywood, and Invented Modern Horror* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011), 236.
[15] Blake, *The Wounds of Nations*, 189.

who may not have the same investment in the status quo."[16] Regardless of the reasons, one lesson remains clear: where mainstream culture seeks to obfuscate, horror exposes. The historian who watches the skeletons on the screen need not look far to find them within the closet.

By way of example, we will examine Alfred Hitchcock's 1960 film, *Psycho*. There are several reasons for choosing this film. Firstly, it has been long revered and exhaustively studied. Indeed, analysis of this film helped to develop American film studies. Its story is ingrained within American culture as it "remains one of the most-seen black-and-white movies of all time,"[17] and the infamous shower scene the most studied sequence in film history.[18] *Psycho* is also a cultural touchstone within the horror genre and within American culture at large. During this period, films such as Michael Powell's *Peeping Tom*, Georges Franju's *Eyes Without a Face*, and Mario Bava's *Black Sunday* also saw their release, and with them "there seems ample support for the notion that this is the time when modern cinematic horror came into being."[19] As Stephen Prince has written on the film's role in creating modern horror:

> Things have changed in the modern period, with *Psycho* (1960) being one of the threshold films that mark a separation between eras. In that terrible killing in the shower, Hitchcock put horror in the here and now and linked it with graphic violence. It has stayed there since. As that film ended with the shot of Norman's (and Mother's) grinning face, Hitchcock suggested that madness and chaos endure because they are not explicable. This is a deeply disturbing admission, which undermines our belief in rationality and an existence whose terms can be controlled or, at least, understood. In its savage assault on the audience and its belief systems, *Psycho* furnished the signpost for modern horror and for our contemporary sense of the world. Monsters today seem to be everywhere, and they cannot be destroyed.[20]

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[16] Clover, *Men, Women, and Chain Saws*, 231.
[17] David J. Skal, *The Monster Show: A Cultural History of Horror* (New York: Faber and Faber, 1993), 323.
[18] Clover, *Men, Women, and Chain Saws*, 41.
[19] Stephen Jay Schneider, "Toward an Aesthetics of Cinematic Horror," in *The Horror Film*, ed. Stephen Prince (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 143.
[20] Stephen Prince, "Introduction," in *The Horror Film*, ed. Stephen Prince (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 4.

Within the horror genre, *Psycho*'s impact was profound. It had wide reaching influence, the most obvious being that the film "revolutionized the then small sub genre of serial killer movies"[21] and served as the "progenitor of slasher films."[22] More profoundly, though, it proved that horror could be found next door, and the monster could be us. It revealed a world in which there were no easy answers, or answers at all. This uncertainty affected the horror films that followed, for "post-1960s horror can be seen to actively discourage an easy acceptance of cohesive, homogenizing narratives."[23] Culturally, *Psycho* represented a transition in American culture. For Wheeler Winston Dixon, *Psycho* was "the film that truly put an end to the 1950s."[24] The fifties, a decade largely associated with rigid conformity, family values, economic security, and censorship, was directly assaulted by a knife-wielding crossdresser. In truth, the film could be viewed as both a culmination of that decade and a departure from it. Nevertheless, it served as the hinge by which cultural change swung. A historical reading can reveal why the film resonated with audiences and what anxieties were exploited.

Hitchcock's *Psycho*

Moviegoers walking out the theaters after seeing *Psycho* in 1960 didn't know what hit them. The film had defied expectations, challenged social norms, and pushed the boundaries of decency. It had also tapped into their creeping fears and validated them. They now believed that Alfred Hitchcock, a household name, was dangerous. "I felt raped," confessed filmmaker Peter Bogdanovich, who saw the film in an initial press screening.[25] Some critics turned against Hitchcock; however, it wasn't long before film theorists and general audiences alike began to see something truly revolutionary within the film.

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[21] Zinoman, *Shock Value*, 29.
[22] Caroline J.S. Picart and David A. Frank, "Horror and the Holocaust: Genre Elements in *Schindler's List* and *Psycho*," in *The Horror Film*, ed. Stephen Prince (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 212.
[23] Blake, *The Wounds of Nations*, 14.
[24] Wheeler Winston Dixon, *A History of Horror* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 75.

[25] Quoted in Zinoman, *Shock Value*, 41.

Hitchcock could have anticipated a backlash. Getting the film made posed its own challenge. As Robert Bloch, author of the novel upon which the movie was based, recalled, "Paramount absolutely didn't want to make it. They didn't like the title, the story, or anything about it at all."[26] David Thompson writes that "Paramount said they were frightened of *Psycho*. The killing was brutal yet ordinary. The setting was commonplace. The script called for a bathroom and a lavatory, as well as an extended slaughter!"[27] In the end, Paramount agreed, but there were catches, including providing a meager budget of $800,000 (compared to *North by Northwest*, Hitchcock's previous release, which had been given $3.3 million), and barring the director from using the studio lot for filming.[28] Hitchcock figured out ways to proceed, part of which involved using Universal's facilities on the cheap.

Paramount had good reason to worry. Powell's *Peeping Tom* opened in March 1960, three months before *Psycho*. His tale of a young man who kills women with a spike attached to his camera was met with savage criticism and nearly ruined Powell's career. However, Hitchcock preempted criticism in a number of ways and helped to alleviate it before it erupted. While *Psycho* was his first true horror film and a departure from what audiences had come to expect from him in his already long and successful career as a maker of thrillers and crime dramas, those who watched him on his popular television show, *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, might have recognized similarities with the tales of killers which appeared on that program. Hitchcock used this familiar persona to introduce future moviegoers to the Bates house in a tongue-in-cheek trailer which starred himself touring the Bates Motel. In fact, he used the same film crew from the show. Due to his deal with Paramount he owned sixty-percent of the film and had final say on most things like the final cut and the advertising. He was able to enforce unprecedented rules upon the public such as, in order to preserve the shocking twist, not allowing audiences into the theater once the film had started. This went against contemporary practices of simply showing movies continuously and having ticket buyers

[26] Quoted in Phillips, *Projected Fears*, 61.
[27] David Thompson, *The Moment of Psycho: How Alfred Hitchcock Taught America to Love Murder* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 17.
[28] Phillips, *Projected Fears*, 62.

walk in at all times during the runtime. A clever businessman, Hitchcock had no doubt taken note the success of B-movie directors like Roger Corman and William Castle (who himself copied much from Hitchcock). For instance, Castle's fright gimmicks are reflected in Hitchcock's daring of audiences to enter the theater. Whereas Castle's audience was mainly kids and teenagers, however, Hitchcock's sights were set their adult parents.

Audiences knew they were in for something shocking, but they were still unprepared for how deeply *Psycho* would undermine their expectations and push the boundaries of accepted decency, in ways both large and small. An example of the latter is difficult for modern viewers to appreciate: Hitchcock showed American moviegoers the first flushing toilet on screen. To understand just how subversive this moment was, one should consider that the pilot episode of *Leave It to Beaver* in 1957 was nearly cut because its script called for a toilet - the censors compromised and only the tank was shown. Just a few months before *Psycho*'s release television comedian Jack Paar had a portion of his show removed by censors because a joke he told referred to a "W.C." (water closet), and he quit in protest. As Thompson has mused, "It really is quite exhilarating to see what tender creatures we were in 1960."[29]

"We all go a little mad sometimes"

Of course, audiences wouldn't have had much time to think about a toilet, for something far more shocking was occurring in the bathroom. The killing of Marion Crane (played by Janet Leigh) in the shower affected viewers on a number of levels. From the start of the film, she is shown to be the central character, and audiences would have fully expected her presence throughout the entirety of the film. But Hitchcock kills her, "removing our most beloved character and the apparent star of the film in one frenzy of violence - perhaps the most violent passage until then in American film."[30] Marion is attacked in her most vulnerable moment, as the water is washing away her guilt just as she has decided to return the money she had stolen.

[29] Thompson, *The Moment of Psycho*, 56.
[30] Ibid., 53.

Norman Bates takes not only her life, but her movie. Hitchcock at turns places the audience in the position of the voyeur, the killer, and the victim. For the shower scene, he wanted the audience to feel the blade. He wrote notes in the margins of the shooting instructions: "The slashing. An impression of a knife slashing, as if tearing at the very screen, ripping the film."[31] Death has come not just for our heroine, but for theatergoers. Harvey Greenberg has noted that "it is incomprehensible that Janet Leigh should simply cease to be. Never before had a star of such magnitude, a female sex goddess, been so utterly expunged in midstream. Thus Hitchcock drives home the incontrovertibility, the awesome finality of death… With Leigh gone, the comfortable conventions of the Hollywood suspense vehicle have been totally violated."[32] For Thompson, "the real measure of the breakthrough that had occurred - in the name of pure cinema - is in the bloodletting, sadism, and slaughter that are now taken for granted. In terms of the cruelties we no longer notice, we are another species."[33]

What Hitchcock understood, the censors denied: America was ready for violent entertainment. In fact, it had long been ready. For instance, during World War II American soldiers became the primary consumers of the cheap, portable, and escapist entertainment of comic books.[34] After the war they continued to read comics, gravitating especially to stories with mature themes of criminal violence and supernatural horror, like those found in the EC Comics titles *Tales from the Crypt* and *Vault of Horror*. By 1954 such comics were under attack, especially by the publication of Fredric Wertham's *Seduction of the Innocent*, which claimed that such entertainment damaged children's well beings and contributed to juvenile delinquency. To avoid outside censorship, comic publishers created the Comics Code Authority (CCA), which instituted a strict policy that, among other things, declared that "scenes of excessive violence shall be prohibited. Scenes of brutal torture, excessive and unnecessary knife and gunplay, physical agony, gory and

[31] Quoted in Clover, *Men, Women, and Chain Saws*, 52.
[32] Quoted in Clover, *Men, Women, and Chain Saws*, footnotes, 203.
[33] Thompson, *The Moment of Psycho*, 67.
[34] For more on this, see Cord A. Scott, "Comics and Conflict: War and Patriotically Themed Comics in American Cultural History From World War II Through the Iraq War" (Ph.D. diss., Loyola University Chicago, 2011).

gruesome crime shall be eliminated." In addition, "no comic magazine shall use the word horror or terror in its title," and "all scenes of horror, excessive bloodshed, gory or gruesome crimes, depravity, lust, sadism, masochism shall not be permitted."[35] While this effectively ended violent horror in comics, within a few years Americans could begin to see gore and bloodshed in the movie theaters via the imports of Hammer Film Productions, whose *The Curse of Frankenstein* (1957) and *Horror of Dracula* (1958) displayed blood in its full-colored glory. These films, while graphic for their times, were set in a distant past and were still seen as fantasy violence not intended to be taken seriously by American adult audiences. Hitchcock, however, brought it right to where Americans lived.

American adults in the fifties had real violence to worry about. Murder seemed to be everywhere. The growth of local television news may have increased the amount of stories reported of spree killings in rural America, making the violence seem more omnipresent.[36] The 1958 killings of the teenage Charles Starkweather caused an uproar in middle America. Reports about the quadruple homicide of the Clutter Family began appearing in *The New York Times* in 1959, the same year that Bloch's novel was published. Bloch had based Norman Bates on the crimes of Ed Gein, also known as the Plainfield Ghoul. In 1957 police in Wisconsin found a farmhouse of horrors. After Gein's mother died in 1945, he had boarded up parts of the house to leave them preserved as she had them, but the rest of the house contained human remains used as decorations, upholstery, and clothing. In addition to repeated grave-robbings, Gein had murdered two women: one of the bodies was found in a shed - headless, hanging upside down and sliced open as one would dress a deer.[37] Hitchcock sensed the American fear of, and fascination with, these real-life murders, and pushed against the censors to depict his extended, violent killing of Marion Crane. He may have been inspired by the lucrative B-movie trash of Roger Corman, whose horror and exploitation films targeted and starred young people, for "Corman had seen that rock and roll

[35] Scott, "Comics and Conflict," 275.
[36] Thompson, *The Moment of Psycho*, 15.
[37] Ed Gein would inspire the creation of other horror icons, notably the killers in *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (1974) and *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991).

signaled a teenage audience, ready for a new level of violence, splashy, gaudy, and lip smacking."[38] Whatever the indicator, time would quickly prove his instincts correct. In 1963 low-budget filmmaker Herschell Gordon Lewis released *Blood Feast*, which in the first two minutes gave audiences that which was denied to them in *Psycho*: female nudity, graphic gore, and bright red blood. Lewis had felt that the film had "cheated." He complained that "Hitchcock showed the results but not the action."[39] Lewis's film was poorly written and terribly acted, but it gave audiences a full helping of the violence that they had only tasted in *Psycho*, and it would go on to earn enormous profits. That same year Mario Bava in Italy released, *Blood and Black Lace*, an early example of a *giallo*, a horror subgenre which normally features a crime plot and showcases beautiful women being stalked and killed - themes brought to light in *Psycho*. It is therefore noteworthy that, as Jason Zinoman states, "With the possible exception of Hitchcock, no director working in the sixties had more influence over the horror genre than Bava."[40] American directors increasingly chafed at censors, inserting more sex and graphic violence so that by 1966 only 59% of movies released in the US carried the Production Code seal.[41]

And then there's the shower: a place of privacy where one is supposed to be hidden. Then, suddenly, the curtain is pulled back and a knife descends. This violation of assumed security cannot be understated. For Philip J. Nickel, "horror's bite is explained as a sudden tearing-away of the intellectual trust that stands behind our actions. Specifically, it is a malicious ripping away of this intellectual trust, exposing our vulnerabilities in relying on the world and on other people."[42] There has been much commentary regarding the scene of Marion washing as a baptism of sorts - a cleansing of her sins as she commits to making things right again. David J. Skal's analysis is typical and insightfully contextual:

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[38] Thompson, *The Moment of Psycho*, 17.
[39] Quoted in Zinoman, *Shock Value*, 33.
[40] Zinoman, *Shock Value*, 35.
[41] Ibid., 105.
[42] Philip J. Nickel, "Horror and the Idea of Everyday Life: On Skeptical Threats in *Psycho* and *The Birds*," in *The Philosophy of Horror*, ed. Thomas Fahy (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2010),
28.

> Marion Crane…who has impulsively stolen $40,000 and run away, decides to return the money and return to society. The shower is a transitional symbol of her purification, of her reinitiation into the social group. Her murder… became a powerful image of the collapse of basic social contracts and human relatedness: like us, Marion Crane wants advancement, security. She makes a mistake, but plays by the rules and seeks forgiveness - acceptance, only to have her cleansing transformation turned into bloody sacrifice. There is no God, it seems - at least not a just one. The disturbing scene became one of the most influential images in film history with good reason: it undermined all expectations and formulas - just as the sixties themselves were doing on almost every social, political, and artistic level.[43]

In addition, some have seen the shower as evidence of evoking past traumas, especially those involving the Nazi atrocities of World War II. Some commentators have claimed, for instance, that "the aesthetic of *Psycho*'s shower scene evokes images of the prototypical victim of the Holocaust gas chamber" and that, in the interpretation of Kevin Gough-Yates, the "sequence relates to the whole social guilt of mass murder and the propensity to pretend it does not exist."[44] Robin Wood makes another connection:

> *Psycho* is one of the key works of our age. Its themes are of course not new… but the intensity and horror of their treatment and the fact that they are grounded in sex belong to the age that has witnessed on the one hand the discoveries of Freudian psychology and on the other the concentration camps. I do not think I am being callous in citing the camps in relation to a work of popular entertainment… But one cannot contemplate the camps without confronting two aspects of their horror: the utter helplessness and innocence of the victims, and the fact that human beings, whose potentialities all of us in some measure share, were their tormentors and butchers.[45]

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[43] Skal, *The Monster Show*, 378.
[44] Picart, "Horror and the Holocaust," 210. Caroline J. S. Picart and David A. Frank also argue that *Psycho*'s shower scene had a direct influence on Spielberg's shower scene in *Schindler's List* (1993), which they believe should also be classified as a horror film.
[45] Quoted in Thompson, *The Moment of Psycho*, 146-147.

The all too human capacity for evil marks Norman Bates as the iconic monster of the era. He didn't arrive from outer space or from the misty Gothic past. He was a human killer whose murderous instincts could be understood through ordinary psychology (at least the film's version of the science). Mankind's most feared monster is, in the end, itself. We are our own worst enemy. Even the Norman's name is suggestive. Noël Carroll believes Norman stands for *Nor-man*, meaning that he is "neither man nor woman but both. He is son and mother. He is of the living and the dead. He is both the victim and the victimizer. He is two persons in one. He is abnormal, that is, because he is interstitial."[46] This duality harkens back to Wood's assessment of abuser and abused. However, perhaps more useful is Nickel's assessment where he suggests that Norman stands for *normal*: "Norman represents an everyday person whom we find, in the journey of the film, to have an abnormally dark side. The paranoid scenario in the film is about the dark side of seeming everymen."[47] Norman's crimes are monstrous, yes, but just like the seemingly unassuming Ed Gein, perhaps what is most disturbing about him is just how damned ordinary he otherwise is. This helps to understand the effectiveness of the film, for "if there was a crucial edge in the casting, it was that both Perkins and Leigh were appealing, and like people from next door."[48] Both victim and perpetrator are us. *Psycho*, therefore, "enables us to confront the fact that this Monstrous Other, Norman Bates, lurks within each of us, with our voyeuristic and violent impulses."[49]

Mental illness and psychiatry were subjects of great interest in postwar America, especially as soldiers returned home from an environment of extreme stress and trauma. There was also, more significantly with regard to *Psycho*, a movement towards deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill. Nazi euthanasia practices gave pause to Americans and led them to examine their own mistreatment or neglect of mental patients. Photo essays in *Life* magazine, such as "Bedlam 1946," and the 1948 film *The Snake Pit*, based on

[46] Noël Carroll, *The Philosophy of Horror, or Paradoxes of the Heart* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 39.
[47] Nickel, "Horror and the Idea of Everyday Life," 25.
[48] Thompson, *The Moment of Psycho*, 19.
[49] Picart, "Horror and the Holocaust," 217.

the semi-autobiographical novel by Mary Jane Ward, depicted the horrid conditions of asylums. The film, in particular, led to reforms in the American institutional system.[50] Norman references the negative view towards institutionalization when Marion innocently suggests he have his mother committed, and responds defensively, "What do you know about caring? Have you ever seen the inside of one of those places? The laughing, and the tears, and the cruel eyes studying you? My mother there?" Mental illness suddenly seemed far more prevalent than before, or at least more readily acknowledged within public discourse. By 1963 American psychiatrist Karl Menninger could declare, "Gone forever is the notion that the mentally ill person is an exception. It is now accepted that most people have some degree of mental illness at some time, and many of them have a degree of mental illness most of the time."[51] As Norman puts it more simply to Marion, "We all go a little mad sometimes. Haven't you?"

"You make respectability sound disrespectful"

If *Psycho* had only played upon the fears of human violence and insanity, it would have been enough. Yet Bloch's story and Hitchcock's adaptation play into other more subtle contemporary anxieties. The fifties was a decade marked by economic prosperity and conspicuous consumerism. One's status could be easily read by the suburban home and appliances on display. However, the pressures of keeping up with this capitalist race proved to be stressful and burdensome for many. *Psycho* explores economic anxieties through its two main characters, even from the opening scene of Marion and her boyfriend, Sam. The camera pans through their window into a drab rented room just after they've had sex. The conversation quickly turns to money problems and respectability, which Marion desires. Sam says that he is "all for" respectability, "but it requires patience, temperance, with a lot of sweating out. Otherwise though, it's just hard work." He is currently in financial straits due to alimony payments and is living in a room behind a

[50] Cynthia Erb. ""Have You Ever Seen the Inside of One of Those Places?": *Psycho*, Foucault, and the Postwar Context of Madness," *Cinema Journal* 45, no. 4 (2006): 45-63.
[51] "Menninger's Thoughts on Mental Illness, Freud, War," *Associated Press*, July 18, 1990, https://www.apnews.com/9b1f6df687fedbe000e64d15bdd35ce1

hardware store, and this is keeping the two from marrying and fulfilling the societal expectations that their intimacy demands. Thompson makes the point clearly:

> And here we need to stress one quite remarkable thing: an American film has begun (in the famously developing city of Phoenix - a miracle of new urban life) in which the hopes and desires of two mature people are overshadowed by lack of money and social freedom. Look at a hundred other films from the '50s and you will not find the same cramped air. As a rule, the rooms are larger and brighter than they would be in reality, waiting to be filled by the hopes and energies of the era. Most films of the '50s are secret ads for the American way of life. *Psycho* is a warning about its lies and limits.[52]

It is the desire for social conformity - to become a wife with a home - and the respect which accompanies it that motivates Marion to steal the money. When she comes across Norman, she finds that economic anxieties exist in the countryside as well as within the city. The Bates Motel has fallen on hard times as the highway has moved customers away. Norman and Marion talk of being in traps. When Norman says he doesn't mind it anymore, Marion says he should. He responds, "Oh, I do - but I say I don't." The two characters serve as stand-ins for Americans who felt trapped by circumstances and expectations, though few at the time were willing to admit their feelings.

The modern world also bred new anxieties. Cities were crowded but impersonal. New highways not only moved people away from traditional centers but also isolated them within their own cars, away from the elbow-rubbing of public transit. The sought after suburban home was separated from its neighbors, and frequently the picket fence served as divider both functionally and symbolically. This had negative effects, for "unlike either the urban neighborhood or the rural farm, the suburban home was founded on its separation from both the world of work and from the world of others… Having achieved domestic seclusion, however, the suburbanite was seen as both isolated and confined."[53] Bloch drew on the disquieting suspicion that such

[52] Thompson, *The Moment of Psycho*, 24.
[53] Phillips, *Projected Fears*, 66.

settings cultivate, for he "places his novel within the context of the modern world, a world composed of isolated strangers who know little of one another, a world in which people are unpredictable and hence potential threats."[54] These fears are essential to the film, and it is for this reason that "*Psycho* is the keystone of modern horror, articulating the dread of ordinary people feeling trapped and immobilized in a world otherwise full of rapid change."[55] It reveals that we can never truly know a person, that each person we come across can have a hidden existence - potentially vile - that they keep behind closed doors. For instance, Marion had worked for her employer for seventeen years and had earned his confidence, thus he never believed she would have taken the money he had entrusted to her. Additionally, when the sheriff is approached regarding Norman as a subject of suspicion, he thinks he knows the young man well enough that he can call him on the phone and take him at his word. *Psycho*, in essence, reveals that "the idea of community is hollow."[56] The seclusion promised by suburbia also came with its own anxieties, as shown through Norman's story. As Phillips writes, "The Bates family and their creepy Gothic home suggest the reality lying behind the optimistic veneer of suburbia. The family, left in isolation, becomes twisted and distorted."[57] Ed Gein served as an extreme example. Perhaps the often dreamed of "house in the country" isn't so appealing a prospect after all.

It is little wonder, then, that the theme of surveillance would play such a large role in a film which exploits fears of The Other in our fellow man, especially in the context of Cold War anxieties. This spying is shown to deal "will almost all aspects of society."[58] The act of watching and being watched took on a new dimension in American homes in the fifties as more households began gathering around television sets. Suburbia, as noted above, was a new concept, and the rules and expectations were therefore unclear. Television shows set in that environment, in essence, allowed suburbanites to watch idealized depictions of themselves. Phillips drives the point home: "Television

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[54] Mark Jancovich, *Rational Fears: American Horror in the 1950s* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), 257
[55] Skal, *The Monster Show*, 378.
[56] Thompson, *The Moment of Psycho*, 155.
[57] Phillips, *Projected Fears*, 74.
[58] Jancovich, *Rational Fears*, 297.

functioned as a kind of mirror - albeit an unrealistically positive and optimistic mirror - into which suburban Americans could spend hours gazing. The narcissism of television was also, of course, voyeuristic. Television allowed families to spy through the window of other people's lives, seeing their dramas and tragedies, their foibles and follies."[59] *Psycho* is replete with examples of spying and voyeurism. Marion is a character seemingly under continual surveillance - from city life which can view her at her desk through the large windows where she works, to the lustful gaze of the wealthy Tom Cassidy, to the patrolman in mirrored sunglasses who trails her, to finally Norman spying on her through a peephole as she undresses. Thompson takes it further, suggesting that "even as the picture ended - with the whole thing made clear; too clear, perhaps - there was another face gazing back at us, grinning or enduring. A face that knew we were watching, with a mind sensitive or cunning enough to know that maybe the whole thing had been about watching."[60]

The trend toward suburbanization went hand-in-hand with the primacy of the idealized vision of the nuclear family. Through this search for security, however, new fears were discovered. Eric Avila writes that:

> Suburbanization… inspired a cultural emphasis on the stability and coherence of the nuclear family. The primacy of the detached, single-family dwelling provided a space in which postwar Americans could cherish their idealization of the nuclear family… Yet the concerted attempt to preserve the primacy of the nuclear family faced many obstacles. Communists, homosexuals, and racial minorities, for example, were viewed as dangers not so much to the individual or to the society at large, but rather to the stability and coherence of the American family.[61]

For *Psycho*, however, the threat to the American family comes not from without, but from within. Norman, after all, committed matricide after finding his mother in bed with her lover. He could certainly be seen as an example of

[59] Phillips, *Projected Fears*, 68.
[60] Quoted in Picart, "Horror and the Holocaust," 217.
[61] Eric Avila, *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 100.

the juvenile delinquency which so spooked fifties' popular culture: a young man unhinged - Ed Gein in the boyish body of Charles Stockweather, who had murdered his girlfriend's parents and strangled her two-year-old sister. Family values, indeed.

"A boy's best friend is his mother"

However, Bloch and Hitchcock turn to another contemporary anxiety to explain Norman's insanity: that of the persona which occupies and ultimately dominates his psyche - Mother. While many look back at the fifties as an era which revered the mother figure and the mother's role in raising children, the cult of domesticity is really a product of an earlier era. Looking upon mothers as the ideal cultivator of patriot sons had long since passed, replaced within the war years by malicious suspicion and condemnation. Instead, psychologists of the 1950s "warned against the 'Momism' that would result from sexually frustrated mothers who would turn their sons into passive weaklings, 'sissies,' potential homosexuals, 'perverts,' or easy prey for the communists."[62] Stephanie Coontz, writing in *The New York Times*, explains further:

> Stay-at-home mothers were often portrayed as an even bigger menace to society than career women. In 1942, in his best-selling "Generation of Vipers," Philip Wylie coined the term "momism" to describe what he claimed was an epidemic of mothers who kept their sons tied to their apron strings, boasted incessantly of their worth and demanded that politicians heed their moralizing.
>
> Momism became seen as a threat to the moral fiber of America on a par with communism. In 1945, the psychiatrist Edward Strecher argued that the 2.5 million men rejected or discharged from the Army as unfit during World War II were the product of overprotective mothers...
>
> According to the 1947 best seller "Modern Woman: The Lost Sex," two-thirds of Americans were neurotic, most of them made so by their mothers.
>
> Typical of the invective against homemakers in the 1950s and 1960s was a 1957 best seller, "The Crack in the Picture Window," which described suburban America as a "matriarchal society," with the average husband "a woman-bossed,

[62] Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 102.

> inadequate, money-terrified neuter" and the average wife a "nagging slob." Anti-mom rhetoric was so pervasive that even Friedan recycled some of this ideology in "The Feminine Mystique" — including the repellent and now-discredited notion that overly devoted mothers turned their sons into homosexuals.[63]

Norman appears quintessentially symptomatic of many of these fears. It should be recognized, of course, that the audience never gets to meet his real mother, only the version of her which Norman has created in his mind. Therefore, the film should be viewed as an exploitation of Momism, and not as an actual condemnation of mothers.[64] Nevertheless, his version of Mother, according to Dr. Richmond after he has examined Norman, "was a clinging, demanding woman, and for years the two of them lived as if there was no one else in the world." Before the viewer is shown the twist, Norman comes off as a shy, sensitive, reclusive, slightly effeminate young man, who declares that "a boy's best friend is his mother." He seems entirely unthreatening to Marion (let alone to communists). At a time in which mothers were being characterized as dangerous to young men who must reject their influence to achieve normal hetersexual independence, Norman proves unable to do so. His failure is so complete, in fact, that he *becomes* Mother.

Significantly, Mother is the only actual mother in the film. Marion and her sister, despite being in their thirties, are childless. Marion mentions that her mother's picture is on the mantle, suggesting that she has passed on. The sheriff and his wife appear to also be without children - highly uncharacteristic of the idea of family in the late 1950s.[65] It is this and only this version of motherhood that the film wants us to focus upon, and that version is decidedly old fashioned, tapping into the changing mores of the time, especially those involving sex. Elaine Tyler May writes that "during the postwar years, sexual values as well as sexual behavior were in flux… these years marked the widespread acceptance of 'sexual liberalism,' which included tolerance for noncoital forms of premarital sex, some measure of 'intimacy

[63] Stephanie Coontz, "When We Hated Mom," *The New York Times*, May 7, 2011, https://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/08/opinion/08coontz.html
[64] Jancovich, *Rational Fears*, 300.
[65] Ibid., 296.

with affection,' a heightened expectation for erotic fulfillment in marriage, and an explosion of sexual images in the media."[66] The latter can he seen in Hitchcock's advertising for *Psycho*, which overtly emphasized sexuality. There is no sign of Norman (likely to protect the film's twist), yet one sees Janet Leigh in her underwear and John Gavin shirtless. If one did not read the print, they might be excused for thinking these were still images from a pornographic film. Truly, the story does not appear to find its fears in sexual feelings, but rather in their repression. It reveals characters who, like Marion and Sam, feel that they must bear the burden of shame and hide their coitus in a rundown apartment, or like Norman, whose sexual attraction to Marion drives Mother to killer her. Indeed, Mother is the personification of traditional prudery, as when her voice carries from the Bates house as she chastises Norman, "No! I tell you no! I won't have you bringing strange young girls in here for supper - by candlelight, I suppose, in the cheap, erotic fashion of young men with cheap, erotic minds… I refuse to speak of disgusting things, because they disgust me! Do you understand, boy?" Hitchcock gives us architectural indicators to reinforce this, making Mother's domain the old Gilded Age mansion - a representation of old fashioned values and sentiment - while Norman finds respite in his cramped office at the modern motel (his room in the mansion is like a child's room, once again recalling fears of Momism). Visually, the vertical mansion on the hill dominates the horizontal motel, just as Mother dominates Norman. Just as Hitchcock was pushing at film sensors, so the film seems to be warning audiences against the moral guardians among them.

"He was always bad"

Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho* assaulted audiences not only with a knife in a shower, but with their own fears. It tapped into the anxieties surrounding violence, financial stress, security, familial relationships, and changing sexual attitudes. The film inspired future directors in the horror genre, both for what it did and didn't do. It showed that America was ready for on-screen violence, that audiences desired acts more graphic and gruesome to satiate their

[66] May, *Homeward Bound*, 102.

morbid curiosities and to confront their own fears about death and violence. Countless imitators followed, including Francis Ford Coppola's first full directorial effort, *Dementia 13* (1963), and helped give birth to the slasher and *gialli* subgenres. It also served to inspire other filmmakers to tackle fears of rural America, such as Tobe Hooper's *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (1974), which serves to represent "the inexhaustible rural slasher genre that has done so much to make the American hinterland a gothic haunted house for paranoids on the road."[67] Like Norman Bates, the character of Leatherface was also based loosely upon Ed Gein. John Carpenter's *Halloween* (1978) makes direct reference to *Psycho*, naming Dr. Loomis after the character of Sam Loomis and casting Janet Leigh's daughter in the lead role. Yet these directors were as much inspired by as frustrated by Hitchcock's work. Many believed that he diminished the film's power by over-explaining Norman at the end (which is also in the novel).[68] Peter Bogdanovich, for instance, who had felt "raped" upon seeing the film in 1960, purposefully did not give his killer a motive in his 1968 horror film, *Targets*, in direct rebellion against the esteemed director.[69]

Whatever its possible faults, *Psycho* and Hitchcock's follow-up, *The Birds* (1963), resonated with an American culture in transition in the 1960s. Nickel states that "these films initiate a new era of the horror genre in contemporary film, and each epitomizes different strands of that genre. The films are landmark horror films in part because, unlike some of their predecessors, they offer no moral reassurance that humans can dispel or effectively fight against the threats they represent."[70] This futility characterizes modern horror (or New Horror), notable for using familiar settings and demonstrating that evil can exist in even the most civilized minds. It showed, too, that evil can exist without explanation.[71] The enemy may not come from beyond, but from within. Hitchcock helped to take horror to the next step by showing America a vision of itself through a lens darkly. A

[67] Thompson, *The Moment of Psycho*, 126.
[68] Zinoman, *Shock Value*, 31.
[69] Ibid., 43.
[70] Nickel, "Horror and the Idea of Everyday Life," 19.
[71] Zinoman, *Shock Value*, 208.

historical analysis of the film reveals a culture struggling to reconcile expectations with reality and losing faith in its own optimistic narrative. The belief in community and cooperation that marked American horror films of fifties crumbled into the disunity and defeat of sixties horror films such as *The Last Man on Earth* (1964) and *Night of the Living Dead* (1968).[72] America, like Norman, was going through a crisis of identity, struggling between traditional conservatism and liberal change. And like his victims, there were bodies in the swamps.

[72] An Italian production but based on the American novel *I Am Legend* (1954) and starring American actor Vincent Price.

On Strike: The Rhetorical Anatomy of a Contemporary Protest Song

Joseph D. Oliveri

Introduction

The study of music's rhetorical or persuasive properties occupies a unique space in the field of communication research. Distinct from music's nature as a means of communication is the way in which it transcends the modes of transfer and perception common among other media such as literature, film, or television. Popular song form is (though not exclusively) a composite of abstract language (the lyrics) and sensory (auditory) stimuli devoid of an inherent visual component. This has led communication professionals to approach the study of songs in a communication context to draw on several analytic strategies in order to determine how music as a means of communication should be studied, as well as how and when the results of such research should be applied. Music's pervasive role in modern mass culture has, like other forms of art and media, allowed it to assume a significant presence in dissident political and social movements throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Songs of this nature—with contextually specific narratives—were written, composed, and performed with varying but unifying rhetorical strategies and persuasive methods. Communication scholars Richard Gregg and Charles Stewart used earlier rhetorical studies to develop analytical criterion specifically for this, describing it as the ego-function and self-persuasion, respectively. While many of these songs are now somewhat regarded as cultural artifacts due to their association with opposition to norms now seen as antiquated, they have retained a certain degree of relevance due to the enduring legacy of structural forms of oppression. As such, the purpose of this study is to apply these and other modes of analysis to determine the function of self-persuasion as it pertains to a contemporary example of dissident protest behavior in the form of a protest song.

Historically, labor strikes have, not unlike other dissident movements, employed song in order to reinforce an atmosphere of solidarity among intergroup members. In keeping with this trend, a review of literature has proven that in protest music studied in communication as an academic discipline, a sort of self-persuasion prevails as the primary behavioral dynamic in the power construct-protestor dynamic. In light of the recent United Auto Worker's strike against General Motors in October of 2019 on behalf of temporary and part-time employees, Detroit-based rapper and former auto worker GmacCash released a track, "On Strike." The music video has recently reached nearly 30,000 views on YouTube. Despite being a brief, three-verse song, liberally employing vernacular pejoratives, "On Strike" is nonetheless a declaration of solidarity with the nearly 50,000 UAW workers on strike demanding a fairer salary for starting employees, demanding GM expedite the eight-year period it takes for new hires to reach the maximum $13 an hour. Therefore, the analysis here aims to take the discursive and non-discursive attributes of the rap (its lyrics and beat, respectively) into account and will assess how the attempts at self-persuasion might be characterized and what that implies.

A synthesis of foundational communication theses regarding persuasive strategies and the communicative values of protest music reveals that selected literature details the framework on rhetoric and persuasion, along with the uses and gratifications perspective on the motives for seeking out particular mediums of media in order to justify this particular theoretical context. In what follows, I will use that theoretical foundation to provide a close textual analysis of the lyrics of protest music. Finally, communication research focused specifically protest music is included to detail the ways in which these analyses are combined and applied.

Foundational Framework: Rhetoric and Persuasion

As the means by which groups or individuals are persuaded, it is necessary to understand the concept of the rhetorical situation, the circumstances which allow for the process of persuasion to occur at all. Because this study will seek to understand the persuasive rhetorical nature of

a contemporary protest song, an overview of this concept, which undergirds the analysis is included. Contributions by rhetoricians Lloyd Bitzer and Richard Vatz established that rhetorical devices and modes of analysis can contextualize the concept of rhetoric and persuasion in the communication field and represent opposing interpretations, while some reconciliation between the two is not impossible. Both, however, deal with the "situation" phenomenon. Bitzer characterizes the rhetorical situation as defined by circumstances unrelated to the rhetoric itself. When persuasive behavior or speech does take place, it is stipulated under the influence of the specific situation, or "exigence."[1] Therefore, rhetoric is deployed as an agent of change in response to a situation so that the conditions brought on by the situation can changed or used in some way. Some rhetorical behaviors are impeded by the interference of "constraints;" other people or other circumstances which the rhetor can sometimes to circumvent either by in order to persuade.[2] These rhetorical situations are "real."[3] Vatz's refutation of Bitzer posits that rhetoric itself stipulates Bitzer's exigences, claiming that the former perspective absolves the rhetor of their moral agency[4]. The rhetorical situation is not just defined but created by rhetoric by assigning "salience" to specific variables within social environments, thereby allowing the rhetor to manipulate their audience's attention and perception one way or the other.[5]

The Ego-Function

According to Richard Gregg, the normative "rhetorical transaction" takes place when speakers and listeners are both consensually engaged in "psychological interdependence" wherein the speaker assumes a listener's ability to comprehend messages.[6] For protestors, the phrase *ego-function* refers to the opposite dynamic. First, the rhetor's audience is the rhetor

[1] Lloyd Bitzer. (1968). "The Rhetorical Situation." *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1, no. 1 (1968): 5
[2] Bitzer, 9.
[3] Bitzer, 11.
[4] Richard Vatz. (1973). "The Myth of the Rhetorical Situation." *Philosophy and Rhetoric,* 6, no. 3 (1973): 158.
[5] Vatz, 157.
[6] Richard B. Gregg, "The Ego-Function of the Rhetoric of Protest." *Philosophy & Rhetoric,* 4, no. 2 (1971): 72.

themselves and those who share their beliefs and goals, i.e., fellow protestors. Second, rhetoric in the ego-function is "establishing, defining, and affirming one's self-hood."[7] Personhood is contingent on the ego, which, in the perspective of protestors versus aggressors, is "ignored, or damaged, or disenfranchised" in various contexts of oppression. Concurrent among protest movements is rhetoric that seeks to either expunge or correct "intense feelings of self-deprecation and ego-deprivation."[8] The construction of archetypal characters (protestors and their "enemies") is also necessary in understanding how to ego-function works; identifying who a movement is up against allows the rhetor and their allies to "ego-affirm" easily.[9] Implicit in this analysis and the establishment of this criteria is the premise that the central function of the rhetorically creating or identifying these "characters" or "actors" (whether it is done by means of aesthetic or linguistic design) is to reduce more complex and abstract figures or structures down to the qualities which solidify its relationship to other actors. Overall, the "symbolic control" the ego-function equips the protest-rhetor with allows some degree of persuasive advantage.[10]

Intergroup Communication

A communication perspective on music necessitates scholarly justification for its relevance in the field. The dynamic between protest movements and their targets can be categorized as an intergroup relationship. Gallois, Giles and Watson define intergroup communication as the interactions between two or more groups which may be opposed in some way, and that historically this has been the most prominent in social and cultural movements.[11] Similarly, research by Jake Harwood explains music's role as intergroup communication, which is defined by contact which occurs when the member of a group "encounters an outgroup member." [12] Gallois, Giles and Watson termed members of two different groups which are adversarial to

[7] Gregg, 74.
[8] Gregg, 81.
[9] Gregg, 84.
[10] Gregg, 87.
[11] Cindy Gallois, Howard Giles, B.M. Watson, "Intergroup Communication: Identities and Effective Interactions." *Journal of Communication* 68, no. 2 (2018): 311.
[12] Jake Harwood, "Music and Intergroup Communication." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication. (2017):* 8.

each other as "interlocutors" with whom communication can be a source of conflict because the communication can takes place can be conducted by one or the other to subvert the opposing group in some way.[13] Harwood purported that music is a form of communication because like both verbal and non-verbal communication, it is received via stimulatory reception.[14] Additionally, because "lyrics imply language," lyrics can "be categorized into language groups."[15] When the mode of communication is music, Harwood argued, a "humanizing effect" can occur where the preconceptions between the in and out group members can be reconciled.[16]

Music Consumption

James Belcher and Paul Haridakis identify four "background characteristics" used to explain the music preferences of people within certain groups using the uses and gratifications theory as a theoretical touchstone. First, "Opinion Leadership" is used to describe how people tend to be drawn to peers who display easily notable opinions within their own social group. They seek their media out more frequently than non-leaders, and about "topics of personal interest."[17] "Involvement" describes the nature in which people with shared media tastes discuss and build interpersonal connections with peers around this mutuality.[18] "Music training," (whether or not individuals can actually play musical instruments themselves) is less significant, but the perception of peers' musical interests are also taken into account.

Uses and Gratifications Theory

[13] Gallois, Giles and Watson, 313.
[14] Harwood, 3.
[15] Harwood, 4.
[16] Harwood, 10.
[17] James D. Belcher, Paul Haridakis, "The Role of Background Characteristics, Music-Listening Motives, and Music Selection on Music Discussion." *Communication Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (2013): 377.

[18] Belcher, Haridakis, 378.

Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz wrote that one particular kind of media can serve "a multiplicity" of needs or wants.[19] Their study questioned existing uses and gratifications material to interrogate whether the type of media affected how or why it was consumed. In their critique, they detail the concern that that media studies were confined to the belief that media only served people's unconscious desires or vicarious activities and solely driven on what an audience or consumer wants.

Methodologies Developed for Analyzing Music

The following contributions to the communication field concerning music are characterized by attempts to join the auditory stimuli and written diction of song lyrics. Walter Kirkpatrick and James Irvine distinguished "rhetorical" (written lyrics) and "expressive" (instrumental, sonic) properties of music but directly drew from Bitzer's perspective about the rhetorical situation.[20] They named the audience as tacit judges of a song's true effect and meaning. They posited that for authors of songs, the *act* of composition and an audience's reaction both measure the impact of music but the *performative* aspect and the *content* itself are distinguished by "interaction function through familiar and/or unfamiliar variables."[21] Pretexts like the shared or individual experiences, preferences, and/or biases of the listener(s) determine real meaning. Irvine and Kirkpatrick acknowledge instruments have an effect also, but argue it is not worth discussing what effect they might have unless you differentiate *what kind* of instrument, because the specific sound implies a certain potential perception; for example, electric versus acoustic instruments, etc.[22] G.P. Mohrmann and Eugene F. Scott provided an early example of a model for quantitatively studying music in a communication context specifically using songs in an analysis of popular songs during World War II meant to reinforce popular opinion about the United States' role. However, they admitted that they "refer to the restricted

[19] Jay G. Blumler, Elihu Katz, Elihu. "Uses and Gratifications Research." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (1974): 517.
[20] Walter G. Kirkpatrick, James R. Irvine, "The Musical Form in Rhetorical Exchange: Theoretical Considerations." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 58, no. 3 (1972): 274.
[21] Kirkpatrick, Irvine, 276.
[22] Kirkpatrick, Irvine,

discursive potential of the popular song," leading them to inaccurately characterize the songs as "an unsuitable medium for complex persuasive appeals."[23]

Analytical approaches and nomenclature developed by Deanna and Thomas Sellnow were inspired by Kirkpatrick and Irvine and demonstrate justifications for categorizing music as communication and continue to build from the rhetorical research analysis framework. They treated lyrics and sound somewhat more equally than Kirkpatrick and Irvine and characterize the two variables as a "dynamic interaction."[24] They referred to the instrumental, non-discursive makeup as "aesthetic symbolism."[25] Music is meant to emulate abstractions like human emotions, their byproducts and/or expressions how they are expressed. Kirkpatrick and Irvine write that these are conveyed through "intensity-release patterns," and "tragic" and "comic" rhythms; abstract portrayals of emotion.[26] Therefore, the symbolic functions of each both contribute to how the message of a song is perceived; in terms of non-discursive rhetoric, rhetorical meaning is *felt* instead of understood. Kirkpatrick and Irvine make a point to say that effects of both lyrical ("linguistic") and sonic ("aesthetic") characteristics must be interrogated for comprehensive rhetorical analysis to be credible and holistic.[27] With both of these facets taken into account, the authors characterized music as a "virtual experience" that creates the "illusion of life," (implicitly proving that music is a media medium in the sense of the uses and gratifications perspective offered by Blumler and Katz), accounting for people's attraction to it as a means of catharsis. [28]

Alex Bailey synthesized Kirkpatrick and Irvine, the Sellnows, and Stewart's work (exercising it in an analysis of "Victory Day," a song by a now defunct white nationalist band composed of preteen twin girls, Prussian

[23] G.P. Mohrmann, Eugene. F. Scott, "Popular Music and World War II: The Rhetoric of Continuation," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 62 (1976): 146.
[24] Deanna Sellnow and Timothy Sellnow. "The 'Illusion of Life' Rhetorical Perspective: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Music as Communication." *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 18, no. 4, (2001): 396.
[25] Sellnow, Sellnow, 398.
[26] Sellnow, Sellnow, 398.
[27] Sellnow, Sellnow, 398.
[28] Sellnow, Sellnow, 407.

Blue), but most closely aligned with Vatz regarding rhetoric. Bailey's work is congruent with Irvine and Kirkpatrick's assertion that instrumentation and lyrics do not always share the same denotative meaning.[29] Juxtaposing the song lyrics, (which *discursively* extol the efforts of impending ethnic cleansing by the Aryan artists) with the aesthetic-symbolic effect of the seemingly precocious children's amateurish and endearing sound is meant to deflect attention from the lyrics' otherwise deeply offensive implications.[30]

Applications to Activist Music

Stephen Kosokoff and Carl Carmichael (1970) hypothesized that protest songs produce "attitude change," and predicted that, coupled with other forms of activist behavior such as speeches, protest music would reinforce the efficacy of a group's intended messages.[31] They monitored the attitude changes of 97 students based on listening to original songs composed for the experiment about the Vietnam War, and whether they would cohere with the students' perceptions of spoken speeches which shared essentially the same diction. Kosokoff and Carmichael's contribution is unique in that it quantified the persuasive effects of the song lyrics in varying contexts; the most significant changes in opinion occurred due to the juxtaposition of songs *and* speeches. They concluded that "songs can add to the attitude change resulting from a speech of social action."[32] Identifying a relationship between discursion and the creation of an attitude reinforces the maxim that songs are an important component of an overall movement. They are auxiliary means of galvanizing solidarity contingent on the preexisting foundation of collective acknowledgment of a specific ideological premise.

Like Kosokoff and Carmichael, Charles J. Stewart focused solely on discursive persuasion, and applied the ego-function perspective to analyze protest songs and extracted "five points of contrast" that refer to the method of characterization protestors rely on which Gregg previously described. These

[29] Alex Bailey, "The Rhetoric of Music: A Theoretical Synthesis. *Rocky Mountain Communication Review* 3, no. 1 (2006). 1-12.
[30] Bailey, 12.
[31] Steven Kossokoff, and Carl W. Carmichael, "The Rhetoric of Protest: Song, Speech, and Attitude Change." *The Southern Speech Journal* 35:4 (1970): 298.
[32] Kossokoff, Carmichael, 301.

include “innocent versus wicked victimizer,” “powerful and brave versus separate and divided,” “important and valuable versus unimportant and worthless,” and “Virtuous and moral versus sinful and immoral.”[33] In a qualitative study focusing strictly on the discursive-symbolic component, Stewart performed a comprehensive rhetorical analysis of 705 songs from dissident political and social movements and documented how many times these archetypal dynamics occurred, and which were the most characteristic of which songs.[34] Sixty-nine percent of songs portrayed protestors as victims to some degree. Fifty-three percent referred “explicitly” to an archetypal “villain” character in the person of the oppressor.[35] While the prominence in lyrical representation of the other archetypes varied by movement, Stewart noted that, despite the variations, overwhelmingly, “The self appears to be the primary audience of protest music,” objectively upholding Gregg’s ego-function.[36]

The following scholarly discussion of communication and rhetoric in activist music suggest two dominant forms of persuasion exist. In addition to the traditional rhetor-audience dynamic of Bitzer and Vatz, Gregg and Stewart’s *self-persuasion* is also identified and examined, and the non-discursive/aesthetic value of instrumental sound is more liberally explored as a legitimate rhetorical property. Kerran Sanger (in 1995 and in 1997) and Robert Francesconi, in the context of American slavery and the civil rights movement respectively, dealt with “rhetorical self-definition” rather than strictly persuading an audience. In both instances, Sanger categorized civil rights songs and slave spirituals as not only historical relatives, but transcendent of self-expression. In both periods, the performers of the songs sought to persuade themselves of their own humanity in order to psychologically escape the dehumanized identity their material conditions had constructed for them.[37]

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[33] Charles J. Stewart, “The Ego Function of Protest Songs: An Application of Gregg's Theory of Protest Rhetoric.” *Communication Studies*, 42, no. 3 (1991): 241.
[34] Stewart, 242.
[35] Stewart, 243.
[36] Stewart, 252.
[37] Kerran L. Sanger, “Slave Resistance and Rhetorical Self-Definition: Spirituals as Strategy.” *Western Journal of Communication* 59, (1995): 179.

Sanger's 1997 study of music's role in the civil rights movement largely dealt with individual activists' perspectives on the role that singing songs like "We Shall Overcome" had on their morale personally and collectively.[38] Sanger's study aggregated written interviews and accounts with former civil rights activists, and wrote that the majority of them seemed to recount that singing in public during demonstrations and protests allowed for "generating positive emotional support for the movement," helped "manage negative emotions" and imbued them with a "sense of spiritual commitment" to the movement. Troy Murphy's analysis of "We Shall Overcome's" transformation from a slave song to the more well-known civil rights anthem concluded that the vocabulary of the lyrics changed from an individual to a more collective perspective throughout the century. For example, the word "Shall" replaced "Will" over time, because it was a more open, easier sound to sing, which made it more appealing to larger groups.[39]

Considering Francesconi's study of the free jazz movement (all African American artists) in the context of the civil rights movement, Bitzer would agree that the rhetorical situation of the dominant white culture having a monopoly of sorts on musical expression created the boundaries that free jazz artists sought to breach. Francesconi's broader findings established that as a social phenomenon, free jazz was also an attempt to (through the aesthetic or non-discursive symbolism per Kirkpatrick and Irvine) actively disavow white and European influences of preceding trends of bebop and swing. Rhetorically, free jazz musicians embraced a more decidedly African identity marked by the instruments and a sonic approach to improvising, an uncontrolled approach to harmonic systems as opposed to Western music.[40] Without coincidence, Sanger notes that slaves used spirituals to establish an "alternative definition of self that challenged white claims."[41] In both examples of identity, ego-function's role and self-persuasion is the dominant conceptual parallel.[42]

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[38] Sanger, 181.
[39] Troy A. Murphy. "Rhetorical Invention and the Transformation of We Shall Overcome." *Qualitative Research Reports in Communication* 4, (2003): 4.
[40] Francesconi, 47.
[41] Sanger, 179.
[42] Gregg, 74.

Sheryl Hurner applied the Sellnows' discursive versus aesthetic symbolism methodology for rhetorical analysis of 31 songs associated with the women's suffrage movement in the United States. According to Hurner, suffragists actually catered to preexisting cultural notions about women to persuade.[43] This aligns with Bitzer's perspective on rhetoric, and Kirkpatrick and Irvine's as well. Hurner inferred that with the interests of the audience in mind, the songs would be the most effective. In this case, that audience context happened to be the gender *logos* within a patriarchal era. Hurner's analysis included a uniquely Vatz-esque characteristic of suffrage music: many songs' lyrics *and* instrumental components were meant to convey that a militant-like "victory" was near, which framed the situation to the preference of the suffragists themselves.[44]

Songs Specific to Class Struggle

David Carter identified two central "themes": "*separation* and *oppression*."[45] Rhetorically framing for the Industrial Workers of the World 's project was crucial. The Wobblies strove to erect their public image as saviors of society, not unlike the suffragists. The IWW's rhetorical approach also hinged upon their appeal; unlike the American Federation of Labor, they sought to organize both skilled and unskilled laborers.[46] The IWW's songs were designed to both portray worker's lives as accurately as possible, but also parody charity organizations such as the Salvation Army as not necessarily antagonistic, but inadequately aligned ideologically with the labor movement. "Solidarity Forever" was melodically adapted from "The Battle Hymn of The Republic" to portray the proletariat as responsible for the creation of wealth and the backbone of the U.S. economy. This is not unlike how Hurner discussed the way the suffragists characterized themselves through songs as being responsible for raising the men that made the U.S. a great nation in the

[43] Sheryl Hurner. "Discursive Identity Formation of Suffrage Women: Reframing the Cult of True Womanhood Through Song." *Western Journal of Communication* 70, no. 3 (2006): 248.
[44] Hurner, 250.
[45] Carter, David. A. "The Industrial Workers of the World and the Rhetoric of Song." *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 66. (1980): 369.
[46] Carter, 368.

first place, or as good Americans who were being denied the agency to fulfill their nationalistic potential.[47] Identifying an easily identifiable, archetypal "enemy" (the capitalist), however, was unique to the IWW's songs, highlighting the distinction between the IWW's aspiration to reclaim the means of production from their enemy and the suffragists' demands to be treated as equals within the framework of the Constitution.

Ralph E. Knupp examined the "patterns of thematic choice-making" in protest songs focused on a "macroscopic" overview of protest music.[48] Knupp's content analysis also focused on the tendency of protest songs, particularly those from the labor movement, to forgo language concerning the concept of the past. Instead, all issues and aspirations are portrayed as ongoing struggles, fortifying a sense immediacy in an effort to maintain relevance in addition to boosting morale and solidarity.[49] In the same sense, Kunpp characterized the lyrics as sharing a predisposition to active rather than passive behavior. Instead of simply representing an ideology, songs detailed actions. Songs identified specific solutions to presented problems.[50]

Throughout a mostly qualitative selection, the literature selection is marked by the prevailing facets of communicative relationships between diametrically opposed groups. The confluence of music and lyrics (sonic and discursive symbolism, respectively) is shared and draws from a diverse spectrum of historical and socio-political contexts united by the power structure-dissident relationship. In terms of rhetoric, concurrence of self-persuasion through the ego-function is equally represented in the specific examples. The literature suggests that the rhetorical framework proposed by Bitzer and Vatz are not mutually exclusive. Scholarly material on protest music implies that while the agenda-setting perspective of the latter can illustrate how situations are manipulated to support or confront a particular means to an end, the aspect of power dynamics and structure do not confine the rhetorical situation to that interpretation.

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[47] Hurner, 249.
[48] Ralph E, Knupp, "A Time for Every Purpose Under Heaven: Rhetorical Dimensions of Protest Music." *Southern Speech Communication Journal*, 46, no. 4 (2009): 379.
[49] Knupp, 385.
[50] Knupp, 387.

Methods

A qualitative research approach that scrutinized both the and non-discursive attributes of the rap (its lyrics and beat, respectively) was used to determine how the attempts at self-persuasion might be characterized. In practice, the following sequence of analyses was performed by listening to "On Strike," then reading its lyrics, listening to the song again while reading the lyrics, and finally using the lyrics to extract information.

RQ1: "Which self-persuasion techniques are the most prevalent in GmacCash's song 'On Strike'?"

Discursive Elements

This reading of the lyrics was done in order to pinpoint the establishment of "characters" to create a narrative. This was performed by employing criteria present in studies such as those by Hurner and Stewart ,who looked specifically at *who* the rhetor was talking to and/or about. Stewart specifically noted the use of adjectives and figurative language that compared the subjects of songs to archetypal "villains" and/or "heroes," per Knupp. I identified the number of "actors" in the hypothetical "story" (in Hurner's terminology, "the illusion of life") the song sets up for the listener. I employed Kupp's practice of examining "Temporal Orientation," and counted "references to past, present, or future actions or events." This method was included in order to assess Cash's outlook on the strike itself in terms of urgency and mission, questioning the reality of an explicit victory or consequence.

In order to do this, I looked at pronouns; *who* was being talked about, in *what* context, and what adjectives or actions they were coupled with. Along with this, I sought to apply Hurner's assessment of how the broader movement was characterized by the rhetor or the performer singing the song. What responsibilities or duties does the rhetor (Cash, the rapper) identify that the strikers have as a part of the conflict with their employer? In this context, that broader movement is the conceptual archetype of the worker against the employer.

Non-discursive Elements

I then assessed whether, per Irvine and Kirkpatrick, the lyrics and instrumentation of the song could be characterized as congruent, meaning that cohesion between them is such that the "intensity-release pattern" that is created is one that either punctuates or distracts from the symbolic value of the lyrics.

Results & Discussion

Song Structure and Pronoun Choice

A distinct structural pattern built upon the "actors" in the song's narrative is established. The pronouns used in the song have meanings specific to their context: the word "they" is used a total of 8 times, "we," 4 times, and "you," once. Notably, while a refrain of "We goin' on strike" is used a total of 6 times to preface the first verse of the song, the title— "On Strike"— of the song itself neglects to point any fingers at a particular "actor." Nonetheless, the narrative scheme of the song points to a stylistic strategy meant to characterize the strike itself as broadly as possible: as a multi-faceted movement with a range of causes, dynamics, and implications. The first verse of the rap refers to the strike primarily using the pronoun "we," twice: "We goin' on strike so you better listen/We ain't bout to keep workin' under these conditions."

In the second verse of the rap, the focus shifts. Cash uses "they" to speak about the temps, whose cause the UAW strikers are fighting on behalf of, and calls out plant supervisors specifically for exploiting underpaid temp labor as a means to reach sales goals. The third and final verse of the rap, while using the pronoun "they" twice, does so in effect to detail the collective, metaphysical nature of the strike as a movement and a concept as opposed to a literal struggle or embattlement, as it does in the previous two verses where "we" and "they" are deployed as signifiers. The verse begins with the lines,

"The union gotta stick together/Do this for each other." This has a peculiar effect in that the first phrase refers to the union as being detached from any kind of personal or humanizing qualities, but as an object that needs to retain its status as a monad. Juxtaposing it with the following line, however, gives the union a transcendental, suddenly human nature. Cash's rapping assigns the union both human and non-human qualities, but whose non-human qualities are contingent on the cohesion and solidarity that underpin its human ones. As such, the last line of the verse implies a sense of urgency, but also one of responsibility: "*We* need a change right now or *we* ain't goin' further." This implies, (but takes care not to overemphasize) the importance of the success of the strike, invoking visions of a future in which the higher wages for temps is not achieved.

In summary, this discursive approach gives the song a nuanced foresight and consciousness about the importance and relevance of the UAW-General Motors conflict. It acknowledges the structural roles of the corporation and the bargaining power of the union, while pinpointing the specific, smaller alliance and representative responsibility for which the UAW workers are tasked.

Archetypal "Actors:" Familial Metaphor

While "On Strike" has two main "actors" in the narrative its lyrics create, the song's discursive value is more accurately qualified by the relationships it portrays: the adversarial relationship between the UAW strikers and General Motors and the relationship between the strikers and each other. The primary contrast can be categorized as the difference between being a part of "the family" or not being a part, in Cash's own "illusion of life."

General Motors, as an "actor" in the song's narrative, is mentioned indirectly three separate times. The company is never mentioned by name, and instead Cash relies on characterizing the dynamic both literally and metaphorically. In the first time in the first verse, Cash raps: "Working in a hot plant with no air conditioning/ And they got the nerve to tell us that there's fair conditions." The second mention comes in the second verse: "The supervisor don't care if they get tired/They just trying to make sure them sales

get higher." Lastly, in the third verse, Cash says, "Do this one for all my sisters, for my brothers/Cause they tryna treat us wrong but they say they love us." The initial two references invoke the imagery of unfair working conditions, but they are only a literal description of what goes on day-to-day while working at the plant. The final mention, however, re-introduces the concept of familial love, and it is here that Carter's mention of separation and oppression can be identified. This is a figurative rhetorical stylistic choice Cash uses in order to emphasize the emotional and empathic degree of "separation" between GM and the UAW strikers. The temps—who are their own separate actors in Cash's illusion and who the strikers are seeking to protect and fight on behalf of—and the union members are characterized as a family. The phrase "they tryna treat us wrong but they say they love us," invokes the image of a gaslighting or abusive "family" member; a deceitful fraud whose superficial gestures mask cynical ulterior goals. Cash's use of an accessible, easy-to-relate to abstraction illustrates the "oppression" the strike is happening in response to.

The use of ad-libbed lyrics which complement Cash's rapped verses is a distinct feature of the song, used at specific junctures. Much like the repeated refrain of "We goin' on strike," in the beginning of the song, this is done to serve as a rallying cry and capitalize on the collective, familial nature of the strike that Cash seeks to establish in the song. It allows the rap to take the form of an imagined conversation, echoing the call-and-response form of former iterations of protest music. The initial refrain is met with disembodied exclamations of "Yeah!" and "For real!" This can be interpreted as an effort by Cash to imbue the song with a collaborative authorship. In effect, he is not the only rhetor in this rhetorical setup. Rather, true to self-persuasion fashion, the communal group of the strikers themselves share the rhetor status.

Tense: Temporal Orientation

"On Strike" overwhelmingly relies on the present tense and current, ongoing actions or events. Cash relies on specific, declarative phrases in reference to very specific actions, and the present tense is used a total of 15 times. As Knupp established, this creates a sense of urgency and immediacy,

rather than seeking to simply tell or recount. The manner in which these actions are phrased ("We *goin* on strike," "The union *gotta* stick together," "*Do this* for each other,") allow the listener to immediately and indiscriminately associate what they are hearing with the actions Cash is describing; the act of striking and the sudden scrutiny and vulnerability to which you become subject. The verses are terse and punctuated by exclamatory, direct diction. A future event is only implied once, at the closing of the song with the final line, "We need a change right now or we ain't goin' further." However, this dissents slightly from the categorization provided by Knupp, as it refers to no specific outcome or goal. Instead, the demands are made implicitly, through the conversation Cash is initiating by rapping to other strikers. This "conversation" is less of an exchange between the rhetor and the audience in the traditional sense and supports the in-group focus characteristic of self-persuasion analysis.

Non-Discursive Elements: Intensity-Release Pattern

Juxtaposition of the sonic and "On Strike" lyrical elements denotes an obvious congruity between the two. The lyrics of "On Strike" are rapped over a mid-tempo yet upbeat synthetic instrumental track. The beat is a typical trap-style midi hi-hat percussive sound, and has a repetitive, hypnotic meter that is significantly subdued beneath Cash's rapping. This allows the listener's primary focus to be the lyrics and Cash's delivery. His tone is equally measured but noticeably louder in volume, just behind the beat of the song. A simple 6-note synthetic piano hook is used throughout the verses. The hook is also softer in volume, subdued behind the beat and Cash's voice. However, the beat fades out when Cash begins the second verse: "If they don't work their ass off, they're gonna get fired/Temps workin' like slaves and don't get hired." The subtle, yet abrupt change in the non-discursive makeup draws immediate attention to the verse: the listener is left hearing the soft, high-pitched, simplistic piano hook as Cash raps. Then, the beat suddenly comes back in when the chorus of "We goin' on strike" resumes before the next verse. Implicitly, this is Cash's way of exploiting Irvine & Kirkpatrick's concept of the intensity-release pattern. He emphasizes the meaning of that specific verse by

coupling it with an arresting sonic quality. This in turn, highlights the discursive value the aforementioned familial role of the temps occupy in the rhetorical dynamic Cash uses to illustrate the struggle.

Conclusion

Primarily, the analysis established that rhetorical strategies found form the bedrock of the discursive strategy Gmac Cash used in composing and performing "On Strike." An overarching summary of the rhetorical makeup apparent in "On Strike" can be framed using Knupp's criterion for the qualities shared by the majority of labor songs: they are "(1) reactive (2) simplistic (2) expressive [sic]." Interestingly, in line with Knupp's analysis, is the "goals" of the song and the strike are the extent to which self-persuasion is apparent in the "Simplistic portrayal of the world for rhetorical advantage," but arguably, Cash's song cannot be described as "simplistic" alone. Despite the song's brevity and relatively simple diction, the preceding analysis proves that "On Strike" is an exercise in the potency of language and its ability to function outside traditional conceptions of "sophisticated" language; therein lies the key to Cash's rhetorical efficacy of self-persuasion. The song manages to capture the broad, structural significance of a labor strike and the power of a union, demonstrating an acute awareness regarding the value and social capital feelings of solidarity depend on, and acknowledge the success of the strike

It can be argued that the analysis is limited by some aspects of this paper's design. Notably, a more nuanced and comprehensive study would require a wider variety of songs, and perhaps abide by a more rigidly structured set of criteria for analysis (although "On Strike" is unique in being a semi-high profile labor strike related song in the 21st century). While this study focused on a qualitative, rhetorical analysis, many previous communication studies interrogated their song lyric data quantitatively in order to more precisely identify trends, frequencies, and develop more concrete, informed conclusions. With regard to the non-discursive aspects of "On Strike," musical professionals or those versed in independent music production should probably be counseled in order to provide a more informed

judgement on the value and rhetorical effects of the stylistic choices the artists make. Hurner, for example, relied on transcriptions of suffrage songs by a professional musician, and had songs too old to have been recorded performed and taped in order to analyze them.

The performance of future analyses related to the topic of self-persuasion are incumbent on the resurgence of material like “On Strike,” which in turn depend on the socio-economic contexts which allow them to develop. In the event that such material maintains relevance, its standing in the field of communication will demand thorough attention.

The Revolution Shall Not Be Televised, but Heard and Streamed

Satil Moni

American protest music has been around for as long as music has been a vessel to express human emotion. Over time, advancements in communications technology were largely responsible for the spread of protest music. But within the last fifteen years, it is the creation of social media platforms and video/audio sharing and streaming services like YouTube that have not only empowered entire movements more quickly and efficiently but have also brought the concept of protest music to other shores around the world. This was most effectively achieved through the genre of hip hop and rap, which is known for its anti-establishment and rebellious theme. The protest music of this past decade is remarkably unique because of how much it has changed regarding spread and geopolitical range, but it lacks the ability to unify people, a quality that has made songs in the past iconic and everlasting. Instead, it draws upon the characteristics of music of decades past, begging the question of what the future of popular music in protest culture will be like.

Protest songs, also known as resistance songs, are songs that are strongly associated with a social movement. It is a form of music that strives to fight against the status quo. It does not conform to a certain style or emotion or issue – there are many ways for humans to express their discontent, which means that there is great variety in protest songs, from music genre to the emotions attached to it. The primary reason why protest songs are so critical for sociopolitical movements is because of its association with "collective singing". According to Yale sociology professor Ron Eyerman, "collective singing helps transform a loose collection of individuals into a more cohesive group, one that is better prepared to act collectively." Collective action is more effective against conflict with authorities or opponents.

While the subgenre primarily identifies with liberal causes that lean politically and/or culturally, far-right groups have created their own form of protest music as well, as exemplified by the genre of white nationalist rock

music and authoritarian rulers attempting to co-opt rap for themselves. Liberal protest songs are typically aligned with more significant social movements of history, from the enslavement of black people to the Vietnam War. For the sake of simplicity, this paper will concentrate on protest music that is largely impacted by the rise of social media and streaming music services, which primarily focuses on liberal social movements.

The American History of Protest Music

In America, what eventually evolved into protest music influenced by on-demand streaming services evolved from advances made in communications technology. Basically, the earliest form of protest music has been around since the Revolutionary War. “Yankee Doodle," now a children’s song, was a ditty originally used by the British to mock the colonists. The colonists in turn adopted the song to counter the British.

The enslaved Africans and their descendants had their own songs: “hymns with themes of freedom or escape.” The songs of the enslaved were borne of familiar rhythms and phrases. One song, “Go Down, Moses,” even served as code to help Harriet Tubman guide slaves on the Underground Railroad. During the Civil War, the Union Army sang the song “John Brown’s Body.” The song was about the legendary abolitionist who attempted to raid Harpers Ferry. For much of America’s early history, protest songs were simple in lyric and structure. The songs were shared orally, dependent on rhymes and repetitive lines for easy transmission. They possessed a practical function that encouraged unity and motivation from its singers and listeners.

As time passed, and new genres of music came into existence, protest songs became an art form as much as any other form of music. They became a more widespread phenomenon throughout the country thanks to the invention of electrical music and radio. Thus, pop music was born. People could now recognize and connect with a song “outside of the oral tradition” of sharing songs by performing them live and learning them by ear. Because radio ensured that songs could be played again and again from time to time, songs could now adopt a more complex, stylistic structure, and thus convey more complicated themes and messages. Billie Holiday’s “Strange Fruit,” a song about Southern lynching, exemplified these characteristics for the first

time as a protest song and may as well be considered the mother of modern protest music. Radio brought songs like "Strange Fruit" to an audience spanning the nation. Although "Strange Fruit" was banned from public airwaves for being too controversial for the time, too many people had already heard the song, and its censure only made it more popular.

The mid-twentieth century was something like a golden era for protest songs with the popularity of folk and soul music coinciding with the social movements that swept the nation. The protest songs of these genres in this era grew very popular thanks to the invention of the television, which introduced live visual performances on late-night TV. Also, concerts became a new forum where artists and fans could interact with each other more directly, ensuring that the message was delivered to a huge crowd of people, in person, all at once. In this manner, Woody Guthrie's "This Land is Your Land" became an anthem for the working class, as listeners considered him to be an honest voice, a person who did not "pander" to the crowd. Guthrie's work went on to inspire Bob Dylan. Yet unlike Guthrie, Dylan did his best to never "[suggest] that he was a movement leader." Despite Dylan's efforts, the civil rights movement and Vietnam War protesters embraced his songs "Times They Are a Changin'"and " Blowin' in the Wind" to the point that today Dylan is almost exclusively known for his folk protest music. His songs were immortalized in history as the anthems of the 1960s. At the same time, soul music took off and became almost synonymously known as "freedom music," because the genre was strongly influenced by the music of black artists whose concerns were directed towards those of racial injustice. The tones of soul music varied greatly, from the angry "Mississippi Goddam" by Nina Simone to the "melancholy hopefulness" of Sam Cooke's "A Change is Gonna Come."

Likewise, the commonly heard phrase, "the revolution will not be televised," came from a song by the same name written by Gil-Scott Heron, a black artist who incorporated poetry and jazz together to make the song. The true meaning of the song was that the revolution would not be watched on television because everyone would be protesting instead. And once if the revolution is successful, then the television networks that once misnarrated or ignored the revolution would be taken down and replaced. The song

essentially argues that protest movements not a thing of the media or the government, but "the activists and those who wanted to make a change." Heron's song has become a major influence for many socially conscious rappers, like Public Enemy, who quote the iconic phrase in their own song "Countdown to Armageddon" in 1988.

In the 1980s and 1990s, those visual and musical performances on TV evolved, and the music video was born on MTV and VH1, thus allowing artists to express themselves through a visual means as well. This visual element is critical, as it contributes to how the song is recorded into history as the artist intended. As social justice movements faded into the background, protest songs of this era were primarily social and political commentary. Rap music went mainstream, and it continued the ongoing narrative of the struggle of being black in America, such as dealing with police brutality, best exemplified and anthemized by N.W.A.'s "F--- Tha Police." At the same time, the punk-rock scene established the "first concentrated feminist rock movement" - the riot grrl genre. While it was very short lived, the riot grrl scene was one of pure frustration. The music of this era generally spoke for the underdogs of society, the poor, the neglected and victimized by those in power, and sought to empower them. This practice of giving voice to those who did not have it in the past and empowering them proved to be a critical form of dissent on the global scale and continues today.

At the turn of the 21st century, the political climate of the United States was tumultuous following the 9/11 attacks and President George W. Bush's decision to invade the Middle East. The 2000s were starkly marked by the aftermath of 9/11, and the proliferation of the 24-hour news cycle only amplified the fear and paranoia that the American people felt. Despite this transformation in the media industry, several artists were critical of the political climate. Rock singer Neil Young released "Let's Impeach the President" over a music video that entirely consisted of critical TV news headlines, while Green Day released their iconic album American Idiot, a direct, biting criticism of President Bush. But these songs were merely isolated, standout expressions of an angry and frustrated attitude that clouded over the nation. The decade did not see an actual social movement – there

was no formal, nationwide "organized [group] that [strove] to work towards a common social goal" that protested the actions of the media and the government. While people were indeed shocked by devastation wrought upon the world as a consequence of the Iraq War, they never consolidated their frustration into a centralized movement the way the American people had done in the 1960s in protest of the Vietnam War and civil rights injustice.

But this lack of a substantial social force did not persist into the next decade. With the election of the nation's first black president Barack Obama, more niche, national affair issues such as wealth inequality, race, feminism and queer identity rose to popularity, just as it had done in the 1980s and 1990s through the short-lived riot grrl genre and the rise of hip hop and rap. With a Democrat, and a black man at that, in the White House, liberal artists were finally able to find their catharsis and bring about a new style of songwriting in response to social and cultural issues. Beginning in the early years of Obama's presidency, songs more focused on empowering the audience began to proliferate and motivate people, as opposed to the condemnatory nature of songs relating to sociopolitical issues during the Bush administration. This stark contrast in the tone of protest songs in these two periods could be attributed to which party possessed political power in the District of Columbia, but this obvious difference could also be due to the major shock, confusion, fear and feeling of powerlessness that Americans felt during the 2000s.

Streaming Like Wildfire All Over the World

For one to realize just how efficient and easy it is for a song to reach the ears of millions of people, they must look at social media's impact on the music industry. Platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, and Twitter rose to popularity during the Obama era. Their activities and influence skyrocketed since then, and their relationship with music streaming services is now stronger than ever in today's political climate. Social media allows consumers a space to discuss and provide opinions on the music they listen to and to provide ways to share that same music with others. For example, Instagram lets users share a sample of a song on their Instagram Story feature. Its parent

company, Facebook, also introduced a “Listen with Friends” that allows for real-time music sharing. Snapchat periodically introduces a new filter that comes with the latest trending song. A significant portion of the content on the newest social media phenomenon, TikTok, consists of lip-syncing to popular songs both old and new, like its predecessor Musical.ly. All these ways of sharing music through social media work incredibly well thanks to their partnership and compatibility with music streaming services.

Music streaming services are simply “a way of delivering sound — including music — without requiring you to download files from the internet.” Users typically find, listen, save and download their music from services such as Spotify, Apple Music and Soundcloud, just to name a few. The marriage of social media platforms and streaming music services has quite predictably made a significant contribution to the music industry, which had been struggling economically up until the proliferation of said music streaming services .

Despite this mutually productive marriage between these two industries, one platform stands out in the fact that it is not exclusively considered a streaming music service: YouTube. In 2018, the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) conducted a survey that revealed 46% of all global on-demand streaming time (excluding China) is spent on YouTube, compared to 23% on paid streaming services, and 22% on free streaming services. It is free and does not require downloading. Yet while YouTube’s free, legal video streaming service has a huge impact on the global dissemination of the genre of rap and hip-hop, it is SoundCloud that aspiring rappers and artists use to start their career, all the while keeping an eye and ear out for their American music idols. They take note of the rebellious theme and the commentary on social and political affairs that pulsates through the lyrics and apply it to their own lives and environments.

From there, music artists in general, not just rappers, depend on virality to spread their message best catalyzed by the music video that typically accompanies protest songs. Thanks to social media, consumers are now capable of protesting and supporting a cause simply by sharing, retweeting, reposting, liking, and commenting on the song. The more views,

streams and interactions that a song garners, the more people are likely to support the cause the song makes a case for. From Lil Dicky's "Earth" regarding climate change to Childish Gambino's "This is America" regarding gun violence, school shootings, racism and police brutality, today's protest songs rely on virality and a timing that aligns with current events to gather support, firstly from the artist's fan base, then to other consumers. This is achieved through trending lists on YouTube or on popular, curated playlists like ones that can be found on Apple Music and Spotify. This model is quite reliable, to the point that it seems, from a consumer viewpoint, as though many music artists can count on the political sensibilities of their fans to make a viral song.

In recent years, the sociopolitical climate is centered around President Donald Trump. The liberal catharsis of Obama's era accelerated and intensified into a surge of unified protest that fed off virality. This virality was so potent that singer-songwriter MILCK was able to teach her song "Quiet" to a group of protesters *over social media* before performing it at the Women's March on Washington. The march not only set the stage for the #MeToo movement, but also was a direct response to the misogynistic, bigoted comments and behavior that Trump made. Trump's words, actions and policies make him an easy target of political songs.

Even rap, a genre that initially looked up to Trump first as a wealthy figure, then as a manipulative moneybag, dramatically changed its tune to condemning Trump with Nipsey Hussle and YG's "F--- Donald Trump." The song is significant in its blunt, daring chorus, which effectively works as a marching chant. Artists like Fiona Apple and the Cold War Kids refer to his "locker-room talk" and "small hands." A Tribe Called Quest calls out Trump for his Muslim ban, views on deportation and stance on police brutality in "We the People…" And this is not the only way music artists have protested Trump. Adele, Neil Young, and even Queen have banned Trump and his campaign managers from playing their music at events. This national, unified response to a singular issue that brought about actual, collectivized action is reminiscent of the social movements of the 1960s. Yet the very injustices that they tackle are more in line with the issues of the protest songs of the 1980s

and 1990s: race, feminism, and immigration.

This virality across social media and music streaming services influences artist-activists across the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans, in Thailand, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, and Japan. Many have been using rap specifically to speak out against military regimes, human rights violations, and nuclear waste production because of its rebellious reputation. But as rap becomes "a dominant form of dissent against repressive regimes," nations around the world such as Turkey, Tanzania, Angola, Iran, Malaysia, Morocco and even Spain have been arresting rappers for vocalizing their protests since 2010.

In Spain, rappers have been arrested for criticizing the monarchy and denouncing the police. They are then convicted under Article 578, a very broad and vague law forbidding any acts encouraging terrorism. An interesting aspect of this issue is where these rappers cite their influences – they mention Snoop Dogg shooting Donald Trump in a music video, Eminem wanting to see presidents dead in "We As Americans" and Ice-T's song "Cop Killa." After the Spanish government convicted 12 rappers in 2017, other rappers released a song together in protest on YouTube, and consequently "made rap even bigger." Across the Pacific in 2018, Thailand's people were protesting their oppressive military control. A rap group called Rap Against Dictatorship released a fierce, biting music video on YouTube that gained over 20 million views in two weeks. This music video is a flagrant violation of the strict censorship laws that the military had imposed, but also demonstrates just how oppressive the government had become at the time. These foreign rappers are making similar statements that their American counterparts have made, and only gained the bravery to do so after encountering them through music streaming services.

And these governments should be afraid: pop music – not just rap – does a very good job at priming a population's attitude towards a certain issue. Case in point: "Born This Way" by Lady Gaga. A study conducted in 2014 yielded evidence that "popular music affects public opinion by altering the standards for subsequent political judgment." The study observed subjects who listened to Gaga's song at different levels: being shown the lyrics as it

played, simply listening to the song, listening to the instrumental version, and a control group where the subjects did not listen to the song. The researchers then evaluated the participants' stance on homosexuality and on policies regarding gay rights. They found that "upon listening to Lady Gaga's song (either with or without lyrics presented), individuals tend to take into account genetic explanations to a larger extent when they form their attitudes toward gays and related policies."

This, according to the researchers, was evidence of classic media priming. Priming is a psychological effect where exposure to a certain stimulus affects how one responds to a subsequent stimulus. Media priming is a phenomenon where exposure to certain topics in the media stimulate certain ideas, which can then affect the standards by which people make political decisions. In other words, it's exactly what the Thailand military government was afraid of. Thailand's first democratic election since the military took over was set to occur in the few months after Rap Against Dictatorship's music video came out. They were afraid of the influence that the song's searing lyrics might have on the election results. However, as valid as their fear was, the people of Thailand remain in the grip of the military as of December 2019.

So, what is the future of protest music? In America, at the very least, it does not seem it will be very critically acclaimed. Despite all the sociopolitical upheavals occurring in the Trump era, and all the music artists lashing out, critics in more recent years find very few songs that possess that same remarkable quality that truly inspires change in the same way Woody Guthrie's work did. According to pop music critic Chris Richards, "contemporary protest pop feels increasingly prominent, deeply unimaginative and embarrassingly insufficient." Today's protest music invokes the songs of old, attempts to tap into the collective sense of nostalgia too much, and focuses on changing people's opinions as opposed to taking collective action. The closest that any song has gotten to do that in recent years is Kendrick Lamar's "Alright" - it strives for a very real optimism and possesses a real chantable chorus that has been shouted in the streets. But if innovation and novelty in protest music is non-existent in this era, social

media and music streaming services have certainly brought the subgenre to other places in the world where basic democracy and freedom of speech is threatened at a more severe level than in America. Perhaps, in the future, we'll be taking pointers from them instead.

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