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SUBMISSIONS

The GHR offers an exciting publishing opportunity for graduate students working on all fields and periods of history. We welcome original and innovative submissions from emerging scholars in history and related disciplines across the world.

PUBLISHING

The GHR is a peer-reviewed, open access journal published by graduate students at the University of Victoria. The journal is printed annually at Victoria, BC by the University of Victoria Printing Services.
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COVER IMAGE

The cover of this issue of *The Graduate History Review* is a 1968 photograph of Elvis meeting Swifty, a false killer whale housed at Marineland of the Pacific in Palos Verdes, California. The photograph shows Elvis posing with Swifty on the set of the 1968 musical comedy, *Live a Little, Love a Little*. Beginning on page 47 of this issue, Isobel Griffin examines how Marineland of the Pacific figures into the history of marine mammal captivity in North America. Griffin's work specifically historicizes the captivity of pilot whales and analyzes advances that this mid-century oceanarium made to the marine mammology field. Her work argues that the contributions of oceanariums to marine mammal research have been overlooked by historians. This image is located at the Point Vicente Interpretive Center Archives in Palos Verdes, California. It is housed in the Marineland of the Pacific Photographs Collection. It is reproduced with permission from the donor.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dean's Message

It's always exciting to read the innovative and engaged work of graduate students. Some of our most powerful and critical research is given voice by these emerging scholars, who grapple with historical issues in fresh and energetic ways. These are the voices that will give shape and meaning to an always-evolving discipline, and I'm proud that *The Graduate History Review* emerges from our exceptional Department of History at the University of Victoria.

The articles selected for inclusion in this particular issue showcase the diversity, range, and relevance of this expansive field. Moving from the Medieval to the contemporary, from Europe to North America, and through issues of gender, media, and the environment, this issue collects the stimulating and accomplished work of graduate students from the USA and Canada. In this way, it represents not only a particular constellation of talent, but also a snapshot into the future of the field as a whole. The editorial team deserves our thanks and congratulations.

As the public perception of the role, value, and meaning of the Humanities in general and History in particular comes under increasing scrutiny, open-access initiatives like *The Graduate History Review* take on a new importance. They not only provide a valuable forum for junior scholars to make a contribution to their field, but they also perform a public service, making the concerns, methods, and provocations of the field visible to the wider reading-public.

It's a real testament to the dynamism of the Department at UVic and of the wider field of academic History that the *GHR* has been able run for so successfully for so many years already; I wish it continued success in the years ahead.

Dr. Chris Goto-Jones, FRHist
Dean, Faculty of Humanities
University of Victoria

Chair's Message

There are so many reasons to be proud of the UVic History Department and for two entirely distinct reasons *The Graduate History Review* is at the top of the list.

First, the existence and sustenance of the *GHR* is a reflection of a vibrant graduate program and a graduate student culture that valorizes excellence, experience, and community. From experience, I know how much work goes into advertising, peer reviewing, selecting, editing, printing, and distributing a journal, and also that a community of people has to be drawn into the work of each issue. This volume is the result of that collective effort on the part of editors, reviewers, and authors who have chosen to learn the craft of editing and History in the hard work of doing of it.

Second, the *GHR* represents the best of the scholarship of a new generation of scholars from across North America. The five essays in this volume are the result of stringent peer review process and chosen because each is a blade on the cutting edge of contemporary scholarship, opening up historical themes that are not yet, but soon will be, at the forefront of scholarly attention. These include the history of human-mammal relations; the historiography of the history of disability and the differentially abled; gendered class analyses of medieval religious torture and modern country and western songs; and the interaction of sports, politics and war. The future of History is in this volume.

The publication of this journal celebrates the community who have embarked on this project for the reward of the experience itself and who, by their labour, have enriched us all.

With pride and thanks …

John Sutton Lutz
Professor and Chair
Department of History
University of Victoria

Editor's Introduction

It is my absolute pleasure to present Volume 7 of *The Graduate History Review*, a peer-reviewed, open-access journal based at the University of Victoria.

Each year, *The Graduate History Review* demonstrates its penchant for growth. This year, thanks to the hard work of the graduate students in the Department of History at the University of Victoria, we reviewed submissions from emerging scholars all over the world. We had authors and reviewers from Canada, the United States, and Europe. Moreover, the Editorial Advisory Committee opted to try something new this year: we distributed thematic calls for submissions. The result is a collection of five exciting manuscripts that prompt us to think about the history of religious discourse, disability in popular culture, captivity of marine mammals, football's role in World War I, and the working-class roots of singer Loretta Lynn.

These manuscripts are the result of a lot of hard work. The EAC has worked tirelessly alongside five brilliant scholars: Mary Andino from Washington University in St. Louis, Haley Ann Gienow-McConnell from York University, Isobel Griffin from the University of Victoria, Bart LaFaso from McGill University, and Jewel Carrie Parker from Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina. These articles are engaging, unique, and speak to the excellent graduate work being conducted at institutions throughout North America. It is my pleasure to present them to you as a collection.

I am grateful to the students and faculty who have contributed to this volume. The graduate students from UVic's History Department made up the majority of our staff, which included reviewers, advisors, manuscript editors, copy-editors, and proofreaders. Without their tireless work, this volume would not have made it to print. Special thanks is owed to Dr. Penny Bryden, our faculty advisor, who inspired us to change the methods used to gather submissions and to streamline our review process. These changes allowed us to review fifteen manuscripts in record time. Her expertise has proved invaluable to this volume. I also owe a huge thank-you to the entire EAC. Together we discussed how to best improve our review process, reviewed numerous manuscripts, and worked long hours to help revise the five impressive

manuscripts in this volume. Their commitment to this publication is what keeps it alive. I cannot wait to see what becomes of it in the coming years. I would also like to thank Deborah Deacon, Editor-in-Chief of Volume 6. She offered our team support and expertise. She helped to establish the standards of professionalism we now hold. *The Graduate History Review* will forever be indebted to her dedicated leadership.

Finally, and maybe most importantly, thank-you to Jill Levine. As my assistant editor, she has anticipated needs I did not even know I had. She has brought higher standards and her invaluable expertise in academic publishing to our team. It has been my sincerest pleasure to have worked beside her this year. I am confident that as Editor-in-Chief she will push *The Graduate History Review* to new heights with Volume 8.

Sincerely,

Alexie Glover
Editor-in-Chief
The Graduate History Review

Anxiety and Vulnerability: Women and Ritual Murder in Medieval Western Europe

MARY ANDINO

Abstract: "Anxiety and Vulnerability" examines Christian ritual murder and host desecration accusations against Jews in medieval Europe. Analyzing several charges from diverse locations reveals trends in conceptualizations of women in religious discourse between the two groups. Previous studies of these accusations have acknowledged the presence and importance of female characters, but have not treated them as a subject of study in and of themselves. This paper moves female characters from the margins of ritual murder and host desecration charges to the forefront, arguing for the necessity of examining gender in understanding the rhetorical power of these influential narratives. Andino argues that Christians viewed women as the weak links in their struggle against Jews, reflecting anxiety over marginal women and their ability to fulfill their roles in Christian society. In Jewish accounts of these events, representations of women centered on their bodies as sites of Jewish debility and Christian aggression. Both Christians and Jews conceptualized the vulnerabilities of their communities in terms of female weakness. Through their shortcomings, women offered the religious Other a point of entry into the community, enabling and legitimizing the danger of the Other.

> As the child-killer, the Jew becomes the destroyer of an important, vulnerable part of the Christian community. The Jew represents the outsider threatening the heart of the inside.
> — William MacLehose

As William MacLehose explains, medieval Christian authors of ritual murder accusations saw Jewish men as a grave peril to the Christian community.[1] Jewish sources on these events communicate a similar fear of Christian violence. Both Christian and Jewish sources on ritual murder and host desecration charges give insight into how male elites of each group viewed and understood the religious other.[2] Medieval ritual murder

[1] William MacLehose, *A Tender Age: Cultural Anxieties Over the Child in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 110.

[2] Accusations of ritual murder alleged that Jews abducted, tormented, and killed Christian children in order to reenact the crucifixion or collect blood to make matzo, the unleavened bread Jews made and consumed for Passover. Host desecration charges maintained that

accusations often share similar characters: the innocent, abducted child, the dishonest Christian betrayer, and the wise priest. Women also fulfill a variety of roles, as mothers, betrayers, baiters, and victims, and historians have yet to fully explore the dynamics of these characters. Analysis of female representation in ritual murder and host desecration charges allows us to obtain a better understanding of how ideas of gender functioned in Christian-Jewish discourse.

Historians have analyzed these supposed crimes in a variety of ways, including their origins, effects on Jews, and role in the spread of anti-Semitism. Examining these charges through the lens of gender may appear to be a tangential approach, considering that these accusations often had destructive and violent consequences for entire Jewish communities. However, I argue that gendered analysis of the sources allows us to move beyond focusing on cause and effect. As Joan Scott has shown, the construction and maintenance of hierarchies depend on widespread beliefs about gender.[3] By examining the role and perceptions of women in these narratives, we gain a more complex understanding of the way gender has shaped Christian-Jewish relations. This study examines accusations of both ritual murder and host desecration in medieval Europe. I argue Christian male authors thought that women made Christian communities susceptible to Jewish attack, reflecting anxiety over the ability of women to fulfill their roles in Christian society. In Jewish sources, representations of women centered on their bodies as sites of Jewish debility and Christian aggression. Both Christians and Jews conceptualized the vulnerabilities of their communities in terms of female weakness.[4] Ultimately, in discourses of inter-faith violence, women act as the cipher through which the threat of the religious other is realized.

In this study I examine several ritual murder and host desecration accusations. I include both kinds of charges because Jewish communities were frequently accused of both in the same narrative.[5] I rely on sixteen

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Jews stole, or bribed Christians to steal consecrated Communion hosts and then malevolently abused and stabbed them. The first ritual murder accusation was in Norwich in 1144, while the first host desecration accusation was in Paris in 1290.

[3] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 1069, 1073.

[4] This paper employs the categories of Christian, Jew, and woman in the same way(s) the authors of these narratives used them. Obviously, the historical reality behind these broad categories is far more complex. This paper analyzes the ways Christian and Jewish authors related and made sense of these terms.

[5] In this paper, I do not use the terms "accusation" and "charge" in terms of their formal legal definition. Both terms are used to communicate Christian belief in an alleged Jewish crime.

cases from 1144 to 1510 to illustrate the presence of enduring patterns in conceptions of women. I move thematically, rather than chronologically, in order to compare non-contemporaneous accounts. These documents are problematic as sources of historical fact. For example, Thomas of Monmouth's account of the death of William of Norwich was written six years after the event.[6] Thus, I rely on these sources not as factual representations of what actually occurred, but as windows into their authors' attitudes and beliefs.[7] Samantha Seal advocates this approach, arguing that as crafted literary narratives, these texts are sites of discourse that allow insight into each faith's conception of the other.[8] R. Po-Chia Hsia maintains that the historian's role with these documents is not to determine a historical reality, but to analyze the "significance of a particular mode of representation" and how it is "related to other representations of the same phenomenon."[9] This study examines the significance of representations of women in comparison to representations of men from both medieval Christian and Jewish perspectives.

While all of these studies add value and complexity to our understanding of the accusations, few have studied the significance of gender within them.[10] Miri Rubin focuses on the elements and characters of the narrative of the host desecration charge, but makes no comprehensive argument about gender. In her analysis of female characters, she only states that women served to introduce the domestic setting and children into the narrative. She focuses on the rationales behind the accusations, arguing that they were Christian efforts to differentiate Jews, and were a consequence of the increasing importance of the Eucharist to Christian identity. William MacLehose focuses his analysis of ritual murder accusations on the role of the child. He argues

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[6] Gavin Langmuir, "Thomas of Monmouth: Detector of Ritual Murder," *Speculum* 59 (1984): 820.

[7] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 8. Bynum takes a similar approach to saints' lives. With both saints' lives and ritual murder and host desecration accusation narratives, the authors chose to write about these events as they found them compelling, providing us "important evidence about the assumptions of the people" who wrote them.

[8] Samantha Seal, "Miraculous History: Fictions of Text and Body in a Ritual Murder Trial," *Religion and Literature* 44 (2012): 24-25. Seal focuses on the fictional Jews and holy saints' narratives created to convince Church officials that the Jews had committed ritual murder.

[9] R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 13.

[10] Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 34-35, 70-92.

that the child, as a symbol for Christ, concentrates the emotion of the story, while women take on Mary's role as mother and mourner. MacLehose maintains that the Christian mother is always an entirely positive character, an assertion that will be challenged in this study.[11] A gendered analysis of ritual murder and host desecration charges illuminates the narrative roles of women and goes beyond identifying misogynistic views in male authored texts or studying exceptional women. Through this approach we can identify the different ways religious discourses and conflicts were gendered.

The Fallibility of Women

In many accusations, Christian women primarily play the role of the aware, but incapable, observer. These women are frequently blind to Jews' actions, and even when they do recognize the threat of ritual murder or host desecration, they are powerless to stop it. In Thomas of Monmouth's narrative of the 1144 ritual murder of William of Norwich, a "treacherous fellow" bribed William's mother to allow him to take William away.[12] With William in tow, the man stopped at the boy's aunt's house. She became suspicious and sent out her daughter to investigate; she saw William with the Jews and reported this back to her mother.[13] His aunt, wise in her suspicion, had deduced the crime, but did nothing with this information. Later, a nun, Legarda, prayed for divine direction, saw a dead boy at the base of tree, and realized that his body was holy.[14] Legarda, however, is unable to make the connection between the body and the alleged crime of the Jews. This link is drawn by Henry the forester, who found William murdered in the woods, saw the torture he had suffered, associated this with the Jews, and then informed the priest.[15] The contrast between Legarda and Henry is stark: both are divinely guided to William and see the same scene, but only Henry reflects on the sight and intervenes.

The narrative of William's death presents women as possessing knowledge, but being unable to act upon it. Male actors, such as Henry, are the ones who move the narrative forward. Thomas of Monmouth, a monk in Norwich, wrote the text to persuade his fellow monks and

[11] MacLehose, *A Tender Age,* 107-175.
[12] Thomas of Monmouth*, The Life and Passion of William of Norwich*, trans. Miri Rubin (London: Penguin Books, 2014), 16.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., 24.
[15] Ibid., 25.

townspeople that Jews had killed William.[16] Thus, he wrote the narrative in a way he thought would be compelling. Monmouth builds on the larger societal view of women as the weaker, inferior sex to express concern over women in the polemic against Judaism. Their weakness and passivity are presented as indirectly allowing these horrible events to occur. Women are the chink in the armor that should protect Christian communities against Jewish crimes. Ultimately, Thomas's narrative was successful and news of the tragic story of William spread to France by 1204.[17]

In other narratives, women are even more explicitly and directly responsible for these crimes. Men and women both betray their fellow Christians, but do so for different reasons. Female actors give up their children or the host due to their circumstances, while male actors help Jews commit their crimes because of their character and personality. In the ritual murder and host desecration charges from La Guardia, Spain in 1491, the Jews are said to have bribed a woman to steal the host for them. According to the charge,

> Near them, there lived an old woman, who was very poor, much poorer than the nobleman, and they went to her and said, "Sister, it will be well worth your while to do what we are going to ask you ..." The poor old thing said that, if she could, she would willingly do it.[18]

Later, the Jews took the victim of the ritual murder, Christopher, from his elderly, blind mother.[19] In many other accusations, the women whose children are stolen or given up for bribes are poor, infirm, or old. In a 1510 ritual murder charge from Nuremberg, the author mentions that the Jews purchased one of many Christian children from a poor peasant mother.[20] The 1285 accusation from Munich emphasizes the old age of the female kidnapper who gave captured children to Jews.[21] This common motif expresses male Christian authors' worry over the economic and social

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[16] Thomas of Monmouth, *William of Norwich*, xi-xii.
[17] Ibid., xii.
[18] Sebastian de Horozco, "La historia del niño inocente de la Guardia, 1533," in *The Jews in Western Europe 1400-1600*, ed. John Edwards (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 111.
[19] Ibid., 112.
[20] "Publishing House of Hieronymus Holtzel, Nuremberg Host Desecration and Ritual Murder Charges Reported," in *Scattered Among the Nations: Documents Affecting Jewish History 49 to 1975*, ed. Alexis P. Rubin (London: Jason Aronson Inc., 1995), 116.
[21] Hermann Strack, *The Jew and Human Sacrifice* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1909), 184.

vulnerability of women. Single, old, and poor, these women were prime accomplices in Jewish crimes.

This characterization of women as vulnerable reveals elite male anxiety over women's marginal position in Christian society. These women did not neatly fit into the socially acceptable categories of lay and married, or single and religious. The texts present the existence of socially and economically vulnerable women as a destabilizing force in Christian communities. Medieval legal codes also evince this concern over women's security. Thirteenth-century Norman laws heavily protected women's dowries and ability to marry. If a woman's male relative would not arrange her marriage, he would be called to the royal court and made to do so.[22] If a woman's husband was exiled, she would still maintain her inheritance.[23] Similar laws existed in thirteenth-century Spanish and Sicilian law codes.[24] Just as law codes sought to ensure married women were economically secure, the Church attempted to control financially vulnerable religious women. When women joined convents, their families usually paid a considerable entrance fee, similar to a dowry, to provide for their material needs. The Church expressed an uneasiness towards religious women who lived in voluntary poverty outside the security of this convent structure. The Council of Vienne in 1312 castigated religious women who lived independently.[25] As a result, in the Low Countries in the fourteenth-century, the Church increasingly investigated and suppressed beguines, laywomen who lived in houses together and practiced charity.[26] Over time, the Catholic Church impinged on female religious movements and their ability to charitably serve in their communities, with the progressive installation of strict enclosure of convents that ended with the Tridentine decrees of 1563.[27] Although the

[22] Ernest-Joseph Tardif, "Coutumiers de Normandie, I: Le Très Ancien Coutumier de Normandie," in *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook*, ed. Amilie Amt (New York: Routledge, 1993), 59.

[23] Ibid., 53. These laws also protected a widow's right to her dowry.

[24] James M. Powell, "The Liber Augustalis, or Constitutions of Melfi, Promulgated by Emperor Frederick II for the Kingdom of Sicily in 1231," in *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook*, ed. Amilie Amt (New York: Routledge, 1993), 60; Colin Smith, "Christians and Moors in Spain," in *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook*, ed. Amilie Amt (New York: Routledge, 1993), 69.

[25] Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, "Holy Women in the Germanic Territories: A Survey," in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition*, eds. Alastair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 321.

[26] Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200-1565* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 122-133.

[27] E. Ann Matter, "Italian Holy Women: A Survey," in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition*, eds. Alastair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden (Turnhout: Brepols,

majority of the women in these narrative texts are not religious, the Church's negative response to the rise of unenclosed communities of religious women, who often practiced voluntary poverty, evinces the trepidation with which Catholic authorities regarded single, marginal women. The poverty of the women in these ritual murder charges was not merely a fictional rhetorical device, but had a basis in reality. Most of women's paid work was unskilled and unvalued and women rarely had access to the guild system. Additionally, the unexpected death of a husband and entrance into widowhood was a perilous economic situation.[28] Thus, these texts' anxiety over women on the periphery of communities fits within the larger economic realities in Christian society.

The strong contrast between the accounts' treatments of female and male traitors further demonstrates the apprehension around marginal women. Men who abduct children or steal hosts for Jews are described not in terms of their economic or marital status, but with moral language. Thomas of Monmouth describes the man who brought William of Norwich to the Jews as a new Judas, a "treacherous, detestable," wolf.[29] Paul Fromm, the host thief in the Nuremberg case, is presented as a "wicked Christian," and a "tinker and reputed murderer."[30] A Christian woodcut recounts the Passau host desecration charge of 1478,

> Christopher Eysengreisshammer, unmindful of his soul's salvation and lusting for temporal goods, made an agreement, Judas-like, with the Jews after inquiring whether, if he brought them the Sacred Host, the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, they would buy it.[31]

2010), 540. The Council of Trent decreed, "The holy council … commands … the enclosure of nuns be restored wherever it has been violated and that it be preserved where it has not been violated … No nun shall after her profession be permitted to go out of the monastery, even for a brief period under any pretext whatever." Rev. H.J. Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (Charlotte, NC: Tan Books, 1978), 224-225.

[28] Patricia Skinner, "Gender and Poverty in the Medieval Community," in *Medieval Women in Their Communities* ed. Diane Watt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 213-215. Most women in medieval towns worked as domestic servants, petty retailers, spinsters, or prostitutes. Maryanne Kowaleski and Judith Bennett, "Crafts, Guilds, and Women in the Middle Ages," in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, eds. Judith M. Bennett et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 11-13.

[29] Thomas of Monmouth, *William of Norwich*, 14-15.

[30] "Publishing House of Hieronymus Holtzel," 114.

[31] "From a Woodcut, ca. 1480," in *The Jews in Christian Europe: A Source Book: 315-1791,* eds. Jacob Rader Marcus and Marc Saperstein (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 173.

Christopher, although he also accepted the bribe like many female characters, was not demarcated in economic terms. In these stories, men are capable of self-interest and wicked deeds, while women can only be manipulated. While women in these texts are vulnerable characters tricked by Jews, in the Passau narrative, Christopher seeks out the Jews to make a deal with them.[32] Men, in the pursuit of their self-interest, play active roles in betrayal and deception, while women, as ignorant bystanders and victims, are passive participants.

This characterization may stem from the personage of Judas, often invoked in these narratives. Judas is an example and model of betrayal that is explicitly and exclusively male. Both men and women often betray for money, but like Judas, men do it out of greed, while women do so out of desperation. Male actors advance the narrative of these accusations and assist Jews as accomplices. Thus, their behavior can be identified, punished accordingly, and perhaps prevented in the future. On the other hand, victimized women, who give up their children out of poverty, betray not from free will, but of need. The poor virtue of these men can be more easily rectified than the widespread economic vulnerability of women or the passivity and ignorance of female bystanders. The contrast between male and female betrayers further exhibits the anxiety surrounding marginal women. Unlike men, women have little choice, and in the face of supposed Jewish child murder and host desecration, women's lack of autonomy and stability becomes an all the more frightening prospect.

Inattentive Mothers

These texts also demonstrate a worry over women as mothers and their ability to fulfill their familial duties. William's mother is an important figure in Thomas' account. When the messenger of the Jews arrives at her house in an attempt to take William away with him, "The mother resisted, her gut feeling warning her, fearing for her son with a maternal instinct."[33] The man begged and begged, and the stalwart mother continued to refuse. After several attempts at bribery, the "mother's spirit was severely shaken and her maternal devotion was already gradually wavering … and, thus convinced, she bowed to the very thing she did not want, willy-nilly."[34] This scene expresses the idea that maternal love, so greatly respected and lauded with the Virgin Mary, was susceptible to corruption by money. The

[32] Rubin, *Gentile Tales,* 77. Rubin writes "Women in the host desecration narrative were thus the weak and easily tempted accomplices of Jewish plans … Women in poverty were particularly vulnerable to seduction."
[33] Thomas of Monmouth*, William of Norwich*, 15.
[34] Ibid.

text casts the messenger as a wolf and the mother as a sheep, unable to protect her lamb.[35]

The implied criticism of William's mother and the concern over maternal devotion is further evinced by William's aunt. Throughout the story, Thomas, deliberately or not, paints the aunt as a better mother than William's actual one. To begin with, the aunt was suspicious enough of the messenger to send out her daughter to investigate and ascertain the situation, while William's mother did nothing but sell her child to the Jews.[36] Later, the aunt had a vision in which Jews attacked and beat her. After she heard about William's fate, she realized that the vision was a prophecy.[37] The aunt is blessed with a vision to warn of danger to William, but the mother is not. Throughout the narrative, the aunt is more mindful of William, and thus perhaps a more dutiful maternal figure.

The text describes the aunt's reaction to William's death: "for a long time, she could hardly contain her mourning, because she lamented him whom she loved most tenderly and with all her heart."[38] The aunt's mourning is in stark contrast to the mother's: "Here was a woman carried away by feminine and reckless daring ... Compelled by maternal suffering, she accosted everyone with horrible cries and asserted that her son had been ... killed by the Jews."[39] The mother borders on the edge of panic, while the aunt laments the person she "loved above all others."[40] The aunt weeps out of great love, but the maternal role is what drives her intense, undignified grief. Thus, these accusations not only demonstrate anxiety over women's capability to protect their children from Jewish abduction, but also over maternal love. Had money not compromised her maternal devotion, William's mother could have saved her child. This text argues that faithful and loving mothers are necessary to protect Christian communities against the imagined perverse practices of Judaism.

Other narratives further establish this critique of mothers' inadequate dedication. In 1255, Hugh of Lincoln was found dead in a well and his death was attributed to the Jews. The ballad of his life, found in the *Annals of Waverly*, presents Hugh's mother, Lady Maisry, as entirely unaware. She does not know where her child is, and is taken aback when he does not return home late in the day. She goes out to search for him

[35] Thomas of Monmouth, *William of Norwich*, 15.
[36] Ibid., 16.
[37] Ibid., 29.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid., 30.
[40] Ibid.

and eventually finds his body in a well.[41] The text implicitly argues that had Maisry been more attentive, Hugh could have been saved. Matthew Paris' account of Hugh of Lincoln's death very much resembles that of the *Annals of Waverly*.[42] Hugh's mother did not know where her child was and had to learn from neighbors that he had last been seen playing with a group of Jewish boys. After several days of searching, she finds her dead son in a well.[43] Once again, Hugh's mother is totally ignorant of her son's whereabouts.

The juxtaposition of this narrative with another Matthew Paris chronicle will further demonstrate the disparagement of Christian mothers. Matthew's accusation of ritual murder in 1240 in Norwich contains an unusual element: a father looking for his lost child. He recounts,

> The father of the boy, however, from whom the Jews had stolen him, after diligent search, at length discovered him, confined in custody of the Jews, and with a loud cry he pointed out his son, whom he believed lost, shut up in a room of one of the Jews' houses.[44]

Although the father is unable to prevent the Jews from circumcising his son, he catches the Jews in the act and prevents his son's murder. Unlike with the first account, here Matthew gives little detail about how the Jews managed to obtain the child, only vaguely mentioning that they had stolen him. Rather than censuring the father for losing his child, the author praises him for his daring rescue. Matthew Paris' description of Hugh's mother appears even more critical when viewed in comparison to the father in Norwich. Especially when compared to fathers, mothers were presented as inadequate parents.

In a 1550 account by Victor von Karben, a German convert, a Jewish child enjoyed playing with his Christian friends and went to church with them. His mother, disturbed by this, commanded him to stop going, but to no avail. The father strove to temper the mother's anger, believing their son's behavior was only a phase. She tried to get her husband to kill

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[41] "Sir Hugh, or the Jew's Daughter," in *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, eds. Helen Child Sargent and George Lyman Kittredge (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1904), 369.

[42] Matthew Paris was a Benedictine monk who lived from c. 1200-1259.

[43] Matthew Paris, "Chronica Majora," in *The Pinnacle of Hatred: The Blood Libel and the Jews,* ed. Darren O'Brien (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2011), 315.

[44] Matthew Paris, "Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora," in *The Pinnacle of Hatred: The Blood Libel and the Jews*, ed. Darren O'Brien (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2011), 310-311.

their child, but he refused. Eventually, she poisoned and killed her son.[45] Although he is nominally Jewish, Karben presents him as a boy who is about to be brought into the Christian fold. The father is the rational, calm figure, while the mother is stringent, murderous, and cruel. She is the obstacle to the child's conversion, killing him before he can be saved with the cleansing waters of baptism. Once again, lack of maternal love harms Christian, or at least potentially Christian, children.

Interestingly, this story is a reversal of the tale of the "Jewish boy," common in medieval literature.[46] As in Karben's story, the Jewish boy shows an affinity for Christianity. However, usually, the father is the one who kills the boy by throwing him into an oven, but here the mother is the murderer. Miri Rubin maintains that "the sense of danger posed by Jews—linked so frequently to the utter vulnerability of children to any adult malefactors—was represented in a northern tale about Jews, children, and ovens."[47] Karben builds on this representation by reversing the roles. Instead of the story ending with the child miraculously saved and the mother converting to Christianity, it results in tragedy. It is possible that Karben's conversion influenced his escalation of the story. With its maternal violence, this depiction heightens the "strong fears of abuse and loss" that the original tale communicates.[48] This fear of female cruelty likely grew out of the Christian perception of Jewish women as more orthodox and devoted to their faith, and thus quick to kill children to prevent conversion, an idea supported by the mass murder-suicides in the accounts of the attacks of the First Crusade.[49] As a convert himself, perhaps Karben knew of these events and explicitly utilized this perception of Jewish mothers in his work. Regardless, these texts present Jewish and Christian mothers, with their inability to love their children and care for them as they should, as allowing the Jews to wreak havoc on Christian life.

The Role of Jewish Women

Thus far, analysis has centered on Christian men's perceptions of their female co-religionists' roles in the accusations, but Jewish women's presence also received attention. Jewish women, although they rarely actually participated in the physical violence allegedly inflicted on

[45] Yuval, *Two Nations,* 187-188.
[46] Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 7-10. The narrative of the Jewish boy was first recorded in the sixth-century.
[47] Ibid., 24.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Yuval, *Two Nations*, 189.

Christian children, often acted as accomplices to Jewish men. In the 1470 ritual murder trial in Endingen, Elias the Jew, who was already presumed guilty, confessed that "some poor people were resting on his lane and would have liked to have some lodging-they were a man, a woman, with two children … Whereupon his wife Serlin invited these poor people into the shed," where later a group of Jews came to commit the murder.[50] In another trial for ritual murder in Freiburg in 1504, a Christian accomplice to the Jews, Michael Hun, described his role in the event,

> The Jews told him that they had asked other people to kidnap children, whether in woods, fields or wherever, that if they kill them the Jews would make them rich … The old Jewess … [was] especially encouraging. One time when they were getting some eggs and hay from him, they entreated him to kidnap the children who may come his way.[51]

In Hun's account, the elderly, female Jew is persuasive and devoted to her cause, scheming to convince him to assist in the theft of children. In both cases, Jewish women bait participants or victims into the Jewish sphere of violence.

Obviously, trials do not give unimpeded access to the events that transpired. Witnesses and defendants were under pressure from officials who already believed that the Jews were guilty. Defendants were likely aware of the severity of their situation and attempted to prove their innocence. Logically, then, we can assume that they spoke and acted in ways that they thought would be convincing.[52] In her study of Inquisition trials, Lu Ann Homza argues that we can still use trial records, "to reveal what individuals thought was rhetorically effective, which in turn illuminates the range of their voices, their sources, and their reasoning."[53] Thus, these testimonies beg the question: why include Jewish women? Witnesses' stories of Jewish men abducting and killing Christian children fully function without the presence of Jewish women. Thus, their choice to include Jewish women as accomplices reflects that both Christians and Jews believed this was an important part of the story for the judges; those on trial thought that judges would find the presentation of Jewish women as baiters plausible. Perhaps this idea was effective because it capitalized

[50] Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*, 18.
[51] Ibid., 98.
[52] Lu Ann Homza, *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 6.
[53] Ibid. R. Po-Chia Hsia takes this approach in *Trent: 1475*; Hsia examines the magistrates' desired narrative imperative and the process of Jewish witnesses creating their testimony to match this vision.

on the medieval stereotypical ideas of women as seductresses and temptresses. In these trials and accusations, Jewish men allegedly performed the violence, but Jewish women assisted in these evil deeds, widening the circle of guilt. By applying stereotypically anti-female attitudes to Jewish women, these men presented a convincing picture to officials because they implicated more Jews, and thus the Jewish community more broadly.

The Jewish Female Body

Christians conceptualized the role of Jewish women from another angle as well: the body. Some accusations rely on gendered perceptions of the body to explain the rationale behind Jews' alleged ritual murder of Christian children. A number of Christians believed that Jewish men were cursed with menstruation, and that they ingested Christian blood to end their suffering. This belief had a long tradition, first expressed in writing in the thirteenth-century by Jacques de Vitry.[54] An account of a ritual murder in Tyrnau in 1494 states, "They [the Jews] had discovered as men and women among them suffered equally from menstruation, that the blood of Christian child is a specific medicine for it, when drunk."[55] Here, the author feminizes Jews to differentiate and demonize them. Sharon Koren explains the belief:

> The notion of Jewish male flux, conceived as an excessive blood flow from the anus, was justified in terms of humoral science and Christian theology. Medieval scientists noted that Jews, like women, were by nature pale because they suffered from an excess of cold and wet humors. These excess humors settled in the lower abdomen and were transformed into blood. In order to maintain homeostasis, Jewish men purged themselves of this excess blood through hemorrhoidal bleeding.[56]

Male Jews, with their unnatural, womanly menstruation, are clearly demarcated as the Other. Frequently, Jews were thought of as sexually dangerous. The myth of male menstruation added to this, because it made them effeminate, and thus, "unruly, unstable, and uncontrolled."[57] Menstruation was depicted as a dark and polluted curse, since Jews

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[54] David Baile, *Blood and Belief: The Circulation of a Symbol between Jews and Christians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 105.
[55] Strack, *The Jew and Human Sacrifice*, 201.
[56] Sharon Faye Koren, "The Menstruant as 'Other' in Medieval Judaism and Christianity," *Nashim* 17 (2009): 45.
[57] David S. Katz, "Shylock's Gender: Jewish Male Menstruation in Early Modern England," *The Review of English Studies* 50 (1999): 459.

supposedly had to use the blood of a Christian child as the cure. This cure was supposed to help both men and women, but one would expect the blood to assist the Jewish men alone, since only their menstruation is unnatural. In the Tyrnau accusation, two Jewish women assisted in the murder of a Christian child to cure their menstruation.[58] These types of accusations express a multitude of ideas about femaleness. First, that menstruation is contaminative and corruptive. Christian scholars, who inherited this fear from Greco-Roman natural philosophers, believed that sex during menstruation would harm the resulting fetus.[59] Some confessors' manuals even suggested that sex with a menstruating woman would give the man leprosy.[60] Accusations containing belief in male menstruation demarcate both Jewish-male bodies specifically and female bodies in general as abnormal. The application of menstruation to male Jews differentiates them from Christian men, while the association of this bodily cycle with Jews makes menstruation, and thus also the female body, dark and polluted.

While Christian sources rely on women's bodies to demarcate the Other, Jewish texts present female bodies as grounds of disputation between the two faiths. Ephraim of Bonn describes the events of the accusation of ritual murder in Speyer in 1196.[61] A gentile woman was found dead and the town believed her death had come at the hands of the Jews. In response to this perceived offense, some Christians "removed the corpse of the daughter of R. Isaac b. Asher Ha-Levi from its grave during the period of mourning and hung it naked in the market-place, with a rat hanging in the strands of her hair as a mockery and humiliation to the Jews."[62] The Jewish source communicates the dishonor done to the community with this act. By stealing, stripping, and violating the Jewish female body, the Christians attempt to avenge the death of one of their own. The corruption of one female body by death is traded for the

[58] Antonius Bonfini, "Rerum Hungaricarum Decades," in *The Pinnacle of Hatred: The Blood Libel and the Jews*, ed. Darren O'Brien (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2011), 330.
[59] Koren, "The Menstruant as 'Other'," 41.
[60] Jacqueline Murray, "Gendered Souls in Sexed Bodies," *in Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, eds. Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis (Rochester: York Medieval Press, 1998), 88.
[61] Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn was a Talmudist and poet who lived in today's Germany. He lived from 1132 to 1197. Jacob Rader Marcus and Marc Saperstein, eds., *The Jews in Christian Europe: A Sourcebook: 315-1791* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 92.
[62] "The Report of Ephraim of Bonn," in *Church, State and Jew in the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert Chazan (New York: Behrman House, 1980), 164.

debasement of another by public display. Jewish texts present women's bodies as the means of retaliation between Jews and Christians.

A Jewish chronicle of the First Crusade also focused on female bodies when discussing ritual murder. In Worms, the Christians took a dead body and paraded through the streets, proclaiming that the boy died at the hands of the Jews.[63] These public actions produced significant anti-Jewish violence in the town. With the threat of violence and forced conversion, many Jews committed mass murder-suicide; the chronicle explains that, "It was for Him and for His Torah that they were slain…and lay naked in the streets, for the foe stripped them and left them naked…the survivors saw their brethren lying naked and the chaste daughters of Israel naked."[64] Jewish men and women died honorably to preserve their faith, but the disrespect and ruin of their bodies put the survivors under "great duress."[65] Like in Ephraim of Bonn's account of the events in Speyer, the exposure and degradation of Jewish bodies, particularly women's, represents the dishonor the Jews suffer at the hands of Christians.

The motif of the female body as a site of revenge is present in Bonn's description of another accusation. In Würzburg in 1147, the Christians found a dead body and accused the Jews of murder. Bonn details that a Jewish girl

> was dragged to a church for she was to be baptized; but she hallowed the name of god and spat on the cross. So she was beaten with rocks and fists…but she didn't die and fell to the ground instead, pretending to be dead. They [the Christians] pinched her hands, beat her and burned her repeatedly and laid her on a marble stone, to see if she had died. But she didn't wake and didn't stir or move, not her hands and not her feet, and fooled her enemies until night time … Thus she was saved.[66]

Bonn gives special attention to this girl in his account, he specifically mentions two other murdered boys, but does so only in passing. As with Speyer, the female body is the nexus point for retribution through violence. The female form here is also a source of hope: the girl, through

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[63] "Mainz Anonymous," in *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades*, ed. Shlomo Eidelberg (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 102. The "Mainz Anonymous" is one of the chronicles written in the generation following the events of the First Crusade.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ephraim bar Jacob of Bonn, "Book of Remembrance," in *The Pinnacle of Hatred: The Blood Libel and the Jews*, ed. Darren O'Brien (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2011), 287.

her cleverness, outwits the Christians and lives. Bonn later notes that many of the Jews survived by fleeing to another town.[67] Perhaps the figure of the girl represents the wider position of the Jews in this situation: attacked and wounded, but still alive.

Narratives of the ritual murder charge in Blois in 1171 express concern over the consequences of female sexuality for the Jewish community. A soldier saw a Jewish man, and told his master he believed he threw a Christian child into a well. The master proceeded to tell this to the Count of Blois, because he hated Pulcelina, an influential Jewish woman.[68] Pulcelina had a close relationship with the Count and attempted to save the Jews, but to no avail. "His cruel wife, a Jezebel, swayed him, for she also hated Dame Pulcelina."[69] A different Jewish account of the same event, written by Baruch ben R. Meir, provides more detail on Pulcelina, and presents her as having an affair with the Count. After the accusation, "she remained confident, since she did not believe that the heart of the count had turned against her. For his love for her had been so strong for so long- how could it now change?"[70] Historians have generally agreed that Pulcelina was indeed the Count's mistress.[71] Meir's account explicitly condemns Pulcelina:

> She was harsh as a rock to her fellow-citizens because of the count's protection. She dealt arrogantly with all who came in contact with her, for the count loved her. She even dealt harshly with the countess and her guardian.[72]

Pulcelina's position of influence and her sexual activities led to the accusation, and her poor behavior continued the narrative. Meir's depiction clearly argues against Christian-Jewish sexual relations by foretelling the danger that can result.

Conclusion

Ritual murder and host desecration charges often led to the violent persecution, conversion, and expulsion of Jewish communities. Historians can only imagine their impact on the daily lives of Jews, who sometimes

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[67] Ephraim bar Jacob of Bonn, "Book of Remembrance," *The Pinnacle of Hatred,* 288.
[68] Ephraim bar Jacob of Bonn, "Book of Remembrance," in *The Jews in Christian Europe: A Source Book: 315-1791*, eds. Jacob Rader Marcus and Marc Saperstein (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 93.
[69] Ibid.
[70] "The Report of Ephraim of Bonn," 303.
[71] Judith Baskin, "Jewish Women in the Middle Ages," in *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective*, ed. Judith Baskin (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 113.
[72] "The Report of Ephraim of Bonn," 303.

remained at the sites of the accusations. Christian communities often glorified the supposed child martyrs, erecting shrines or pursuing canonization.[73] Given the grave and deadly consequences of these events, every approach to them merits consideration, including gender. These sources reveal a variety of anxieties about the consequences of female weakness that were part of the medieval world. Christian texts express concern over economically and socially vulnerable women and the strength of maternal love. In these accounts, women are the hole in the armor that should protect Christian communities against the perceived onslaught of Judaism. Although Jews were the ones supposedly killing Christian boys, women, as unfit mothers, enabled the murders to occur. These texts, with their attribution of menstruation to Jewish men, rely on femaleness to demarcate the Jews, and thus demonstrate wariness about femaleness in general. Jewish sources, on the other hand, focused on women's bodies, as susceptible to violence and sexual corruption at the hands of Christian men.

The accusations and accounts analyzed in this study employ common motifs and women are key to understanding the ways these discourses functioned. Medieval Christian and Jewish writings often share a similar theme: the frightening religious Other coming to take the community's children. Christians feared that Jews would abduct and kill children for their blood, while Jews were cognizant of the threat of Christians attempting to baptize Jewish children and remove them from the faith. The narrative idea of the evil religious enemy requires a delicate balance: the enemy has to be foreign and strange enough to be mysterious and malevolent. Yet, if the religious Other is too differentiated, too separate, it loses its rhetorical power and ability to be a believably dangerous threat. In these texts, through their vulnerability and failings, women and their bodies fulfill the crucial role of acting as a conduit between the communities. Women provided the religious Other a path into the community and its children, allowing the threat of the religious Other to be allegedly realized, and thus perpetuated.

[73] Simon of Trent is a particularly good example of this phenomenon.

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Images, Ideals, and Intentions: History and Disability on Screen

HALEY ANN GIENOW-McCONNELL

Abstract: Scholars of history, disability, and popular culture have spent the last few decades examining, critiquing, and unpacking the meaning and impact behind representations of disability in television and cinema, both past and present. While their source material varies, their basic arguments do not; scholars argue that the majority of incidents of disability on screen are reductive, inauthentic, stigmatizing, and repetitive. This essay examines CBS Television's The Waltons *as a case study in disability and American cultural history and contends that, by and large, representations of disability on screen are indeed problematic for the very reasons that scholars have so thoughtfully articulated. However, the following article argues that to properly understand the history of disability on screen and to effectively mitigate its stigmatizing legacy, scholars must look beyond the images of disability that have long graced television screens and consider the people and production processes that brought them to light [1]. Popular entertainment does not exist in a vacuum; the finished product of a television series is a visual artifact at the end of a long and complex production process.*

Disability on screen has a long and storied history, and understanding that history might be the key to creating more inclusive, representative, and nuanced portrayals of disability in the future.[1] In an essay originally published in 1985, disability studies scholar Paul K. Longmore urged

[1] Studies of disability and popular culture have not been limited to discussions of disability on screen. One of the most widely explored topics related to disability in popular culture is the pejoratively-termed 'freak show'. Leslie Fielder's 1978 work *Freaks: Myths and Images of the Secret Self* is among the earliest scholarly treatments of disability in popular entertainment and culture. Robert Bogdan's *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (1988), Rosemarie Garland-Thomson's *Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body* (1996), and more recently Nadja Durbach's *Spectacle of Deformity* (2009) have all advanced the discussion of society's relationship to disability through popular culture. Scholarly works that explore cultural representations of people with disabilities as found in art, imagery, literature, and public forum have also received scholarly attention. Edited works such as Eli Bower's *The Handicapped in Literature: A Psychosocial Perspective* (1980), Alan Gartner and Tom Joe's edited collection *Images of the Disabled/Disabling Images* (1986), David Hevey's *The Creatures Time Forgot: Photography and Disability Imagery* (1992), Dennis Casling's "Cobblers and Song-birds: The Language and Imagery of Disability" (1993), Tom Shakespeare's "Cultural Representations of Disabled People: Dustbins for

> representations of people with disabilities in television, film, literature, and the arts needs more detailed investigation … Such studies should draw upon psychological and social-psychological explorations of the dynamics of prejudice against disabled people.[2]

The value of this undertaking "would deepen our understanding of both the images themselves and the social and cultural attitudes they express."[3] Since then, a respectable body of literature has emerged which addresses Longmore's concerns.[4] Scholars of history, disability, and popular culture have spent the last few decades examining, critiquing, and unpacking the meaning and impact behind representations of disability in television, cinema, and other forms of popular culture, both past and present. While their source material varies, their basic arguments do not; most incidents of disability in popular culture are reductive, inauthentic, stigmatizing, repetitive, and produced by and aimed at the non-disabled. This essay contends that representations of

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Avowal?" (1994), Ann Pointon and Chris Davies' *Framed: Interrogating Disability in the Media* (1997), Sharon Snyder and David Mitchell's *Cultural Locations of Disability* (2006), Carol Poore's *Disability in Twentieth-Century German Culture* (2007), and the edited collection by Richard Sandell, Jocelyn Dodd, and Rosemarie Garland-Thomson *Re-presenting Disability: Activism and Agency in the Museum* (2010) have all advanced understanding of the way disability rightfully permeates broader culture.

[2] Paul Longmore, "Screening Stereotypes: Images of Disabled People in Television and Motion Pictures," in *Why I Burned My Book and Other Essays on Disability*, ed. Paul Longmore (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 146.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Lauri E. Klobas, *Disability Drama in Television and Film* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 1988); John S. Schuchman, *Hollywood Speaks: Deafness and the Film Entertainment Industry* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Guy Cumberbatch and Ralph Negrine, *Images of Disability on Television* (London: Routledge, 1992); Martin Norden, *The Cinema of Isolation: a History of Physical Disability in the Movies* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994); Susan Crutchfield and Marcy Epstein, eds., *Points of Contact: Disability, Art, and Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000); Christopher E. Smit and Anthony Enns, eds., *Screening Disability: Essays on Cinema and Disability* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2001); Steven Brown, *Movie Stars and Sensuous Scars: Essays on the Journey from Disability Shame to Disability Pride* (New York: Universe, Inc., 2003); Beth Haller, *Representing Disability in an Ableist World: Essays on Mass Media* (Louisville: Advocado Press, 2010); Marja Evelyn Mogk, ed., *Different Bodies: Essays on Disability in Film and Television* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc. Publishers, 2013).

disability on screen are, by and large, problematic for the very reasons that scholars have previously articulated. However, I push this thinking further and argue that to properly understand the history of disability on screen and to effectively mitigate its stigmatizing legacy, scholars must look beyond the images of disability that have long graced television screens and consider the people and production processes that brought them to light.

As an avid consumer of 1970s television, *The Waltons* had long been on my 'to watch' list. Yet, watching *The Waltons* turned out to be anything but an end-of-the-day retreat from the heaviness of my doctoral studies. I was instead struck that, from the show's outset, *The Waltons* put disability front and center in many of its storylines. Case in point, the premiere episode "The Foundling" (September 14, 1972) revolved around a young deaf girl and her family coming to terms with her deafness and learning sign language. The next week's episode "The Carnival" (September 21, 1972) featured Billy Barty, a well-known performer with dwarfism and advocate for disability rights. *The Waltons* premiere season concluded with a special two-hour episode entitled "The Easter Story" (April 19, 1973), in which matriarch Olivia Walton contracted polio and dealt with temporary paralysis. Such spotlights on disability continued throughout the series' run. The popularity of this critically-acclaimed TV program throughout its original run from 1972-1981 makes *The Waltons* a strong source on which to anchor a case study of disability in American culture.[5]

Methodology: Disability On and Behind the Screen

By the grace of the television DVD boxset, I was able to watch the entire series in sequence over a short period of time. I observed that disability remained a consistent theme throughout the series' original nine-year run. Having viewed all 221 original episodes of the series, I next rewatched and critically assessed all episodes relevant to disability. What I discovered in deconstructing these episodes supported my earlier

[5] Series creator Earl Hamner Jr. recalled fondly: "By the end of the [first] season *The Waltons* was number one in the ratings and when the Emmys were handed out in May of 1973, Cecil Smith wrote in the *Los Angeles Times*, '*The Waltons*, to nobody's surprise, was voted the best series and won five other awards' … The series would stay on the air for nine full seasons. On some Thursday nights it was seen by as many as fifty million viewers. It won many awards in the years to come." Earl Hamner Jr., as quoted in Earl Hamner and Ralph Giffin, *Goodnight John-Boy: A Celebration of an American Family and the Values That Have Sustained Us Through Good Times and Bad* (Naperville: Cumberland House Publishing, 2002), 64.

argument—representations of disability on television are problematic. Admittedly, the show did not propagate egregiously offensive or deliberately discriminatory images of disabled people. Rather, it appeared the opposite was intended by these disability-themed episodes. The issue was that these episodes relied on a series of tropes and inauthentic casting in their storylines that contributed to the legacy of problematic portrayals of disability on screen. I could not ignore the problems with the material before me, nor could I censure a television series without understanding how and why these transgressions occurred. Popular entertainment does not exist in a vacuum and the finished product of a television series or film is a visual artifact resulting from a multifaceted and complex production process. Each person involved in this process has a distinct job to accomplish, a chain of command to follow, and a set of personal and professional circumstances that inform the decisions they make and ultimately shape the final products for audiences. Thus, it is incumbent upon historians to examine more deeply the context behind some of the most enduring images of disability on screen.

This is precisely what I did in the case of *The Waltons*. I connected with nearly all of the surviving original cast members, as well as some writers, directors, producers, and production assistants of the series. I inquired generally about the work they did on the series and specifically about the series' disability-themed episodes. From these interviews, I unearthed the story of how and why, under unique cultural circumstances and at the hands of certain groups of people, specific ideas and images filled our television screens. Most significantly for me was that the binary, which I had naively presumed to exist between television as power structure and disabled people as its hapless casualties, eroded as I became familiar with the cast and crew and their stories. The rest of this article elaborates on these discoveries and demonstrates that the circumstances leading to the production of images and ideas are just as significant as the images and ideas themselves.

This case study advocates for a focus on lay Americans and their everyday encounters with disability rather than on individuals with disabilities, disability stakeholders, or events and things generally regarded as the purview of disability. The choice to produce a disability history in which historical actors with disabilities are largely absent is controversial. Among the most popular of theoretical frameworks for discussing disability is the social model, which centers the experiences of those with disabilities. The social model of disability is predicated on the belief that disability is experienced as a result of encounters with

systemic barriers, negative attitudes, environmental obstacles, and sets of assumptions made by the wider society in which the supposedly disabled individual operates. That is, disability is not the result of individual bodily impairments or specific functional limitations, but the result of a society which does not always account for disability. In placing disabled people at the center of the narrative, these issues become all the more cogent. That being said, I do not identify as a person with a disability. Therefore, I chose to comment on the non-disabled hegemony and its role in complicating and obscuring the disability experience rather than on that experience itself. Far be it for me to try to recreate the disability experience. The decision to frame my work in this way is also methodological. By rights, many disability histories describe actors who are either disabled themselves or are well-versed and/or invested in the social status of disability. As a result, these approaches reveal little about perceptions of disability among the uninitiated or how physical, mental, and/or sensory differences are represented and negotiated in the wider culture. Thus, I made the choice to frame this study around subjects who had a hand in propagating specific and sometimes erroneous ideas about disability. The majority of my subjects did not identify as disabled. Shifting the lens from individuals with disabilities to the non-disabled hegemony may appear counterintuitive in defining a new frontier of disability studies, but I contend that it is a necessary exercise in reconstructing and understanding the world in which disabled people live. As disability activist and scholar Frank Bowe explained in 1978 during the nascent days of the social model of disability:

> We must see that each of us—salespeople, merchants, bankers, architects, writers, lawyers, doctors, policemen, administrators, social workers, nurses, students, teachers, therapists, advertisers, disabled people themselves and their employers, co-workers, families, friends, and neighbours—has played and plays a role, however small, in creating these obstacles, and that each us can contribute to their removal.[6]

The disability experience is neither universal nor trans-historical, as it is rooted in and influenced by specific social and cultural conditions. However, while the forms of discrimination and stigmatization of disabled people change over time, their presence transcends and endures. If disability is defined as the everyday social experiences of an 'impaired' individual as shaped by the attitudes and approaches of the dominant

[6] Frank Bowe, *Handicapping America: Barriers to Disabled People* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1978), vii-viii.

culture, then historians must investigate the various processes by which these conventions are shaped. This paper isolates a specific historical interval—the 1970s—and examines this era's approach to disability through a popular medium—television—to shed light on how and why certain constructs of disability existed and persisted in the wider culture at the time. Scholars need to consider anew the relationships between the aggrieved—the disabled—and their historical aggressors—the non-disabled people who impinge on their world. A deeper understanding of the history of transgressions and microaggressions against disabled people in popular media is a fundamental step towards reconciling these issues.

Walton's Mountain: Scaling a New Mountain in Disability History

Created by Earl Hamner Jr. and based on his own family's history, *The Waltons* was an American television series about a multigenerational family living through the Great Depression in rural Virginia. The show aired from 1972-1981, but depicted events from 1933-1946, making it a unique television series positioned temporally in two distinct historical eras. As such, *The Waltons* represents a complicated meta-history of disability because it purported to be telling stories about the 1930s and 1940s, but its production was firmly ensconced in 1970s American culture. The result was a complex rendering of disability as both an historical experience and a contemporary topic.

Film historian Robert Niemi explained that treating film—or television, in this case—as an artifact means

> dealing with the aesthetic, personal, and political character of the people who conceived it, the historical moment in which it was spawned, the film's genre kin and antecedents, the resources the filmmaker had at hand, the commercial requisites that shape tone and narrative structure, the concrete circumstances of the film's production, and the sort of critical and popular reception it received.[7]

In other words, what audiences see on television is filtered through the various constraints and influences always acting on television production—time, money, competing visions and interests, personal experience and frames of reference, availability of resources, etc.—and therefore the final product is a mediated version of an artistic vision. In

[7] Robert Niemi, *History in the Media: Film and Television* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006), xxii.

the case of *The Waltons,* portrayals of disability were further mediated by the fact that storylines had to bear some historical authenticity per the show's setting. However, these narratives were crafted by people living through and experiencing the culture of the 1970s and were intended to resonate with the contemporary audience. Therefore, one cannot assume that a given portrayal of disability on *The Waltons*, or any other television series, is an accurate reflection of a production team's intentions and ideals. Rather, it is an amalgam of professional needs, interests, experiences, and constraints.

To effectively understand and critique on-screen images, scholars must know the context behind their production. Therefore, one must go beyond the images to consider their architects, or *mediamakers*.[8] According to Philip Elliott, who penned one of the first television production case studies in 1972,

> The self-denying ordinance which has kept sociologists from studying the artist, has led to a concentration on the artistic output … Simplification and generalization are inherent in this approach of examining artistic content for its social meaning.[9]

Considered only for its artistic output, *The Waltons* could be misconstrued as simply a discourse on life in the 1930s and 1940s. However, while the storylines themselves took place in the 1930s and 1940s and were meant to reflect the personal experiences of series creator Earl Hamner Jr., the series was not solely a commentary on the American family during the Depression and WWII. How could it have been, when it was conceived, financed, produced, and watched during the 1970s? I argue that a more complicated reading of disability on screen emerges from *The Waltons* than when its artistic output is taken at face value.[10] The show, in fact, was a unique *mélange* of storylines

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[8] Carlos E. Cortés, professor of history specializing in diversity, wrote that *mediamaker* is "a term that I adopted simply because I could not find another word for the idea that I wish to convey. By *mediamakers* I simply mean those people who contribute substantively to the process of creating media content … I have found no word that encompasses all of these contributors in all media. Therefore, I have adopted the term *mediamakers* as my shorthand to allow me to make broader generalizations about all of those involved significantly in the creation of media that deal with diversity." Carlos E. Cortés, *The Children Are Watching: How the Media Teach About Diversity* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 2000), xviii-xix.

[9] Philip Elliott, *The Making of a Television Series: A Case Study in the Sociology of a Culture* (London: Constable, 1972), 8-9. Coincidentally, Elliott published his study the same year that *The Waltons* premiered on television.

[10] Martin Norden explores both images of disability on screen, and the time periods and industries within which they were created. However, Norden focused only on physical

featuring historically-rooted disability experiences from the 1930s and 1940s, informed by the current events and sensibilities of the 1970s.

For example, in the final episode of *The Waltons* first season entitled "The Easter Story," matriarch Olivia Walton contracted polio and experienced paralysis of her legs as a result. It is common for television series to feature their most dramatic and engaging story-lines during the season's finale. The idea is to make an impression on viewers that will leave them wanting more and encourage them to tune in when the next television season begins.[11] Stretched into a two-hour special, "The Easter Story" was such a case, and the deployment of illness and disability for ratings was a success, as this episode was number one in the ratings that week.[12] Polio and paralysis made for good dramatic fodder but importantly, the experience of disability as a result of polio was a legitimate historical experience for many Americans in the 1930s. Incorporating historically-specific experiences and concerns into the narrative—such as the debilitating effects of polio—was as much about authenticating the story of an American family as it was about TV drama.

Of this episode, series writer John McGreevey recalled, "We researched polio and what treatments were available in the thirties."[13] Evidently, the production team were keen to recreate an authentic historical experience in which disability played a part. As stated, *The Waltons* was a fictionalized rendering of series creator Earl Hamner Jr.'s coming-of-age experiences; Hamner's own grandfather, like tens of

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disabilities in his work, and his work was concerned with the film industry, which, as his book makes clear, is in many ways distinct from the television industry. In Norden's words, he "attempted to account for the fluctuating relationship between mainstream American society and its physically disabled minority, how the movie industry's evolving portrait of people with physical disabilities has reflected and contributed to that relationship, the major movie-industry people responsible for this imagery, and a sense of the form (especially as it relates to issues of audience positioning), content, and general popularity of the films themselves." Martin Norden, *The Cinema of Isolation: A History of Physical Disability in the Movies* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994), x.

[11] In the 1970s, most season finales aired in May, which was a key month in a television industry invention known as 'sweeps'. Historian Sally Bedell explains that 'sweeps' are "Heightened ratings contests during the months of February, May, and November, when ratings services measure audiences in more than 200 cities to allow local stations to set advertising rates. Networks try to inflate sweeps viewing by larding specials"—and by extension, 'special episodes' featuring high drama—"and blockbuster movies." Sally Bedell, *Up The Tube: Prime-Time TV and the Silverman Years* (New York: The Viking Press, 1981), 313.

[12] John McGreevey, as quoted in Hamner and Giffin, *Goodnight John-Boy*, 86.

[13] Ibid., 85.

thousands of other Americans, contracted polio and lived with its physical effects for the rest of his life.[14] The use of disability in this case, even if manipulated for maximum ratings, was nonetheless an interpretation of a family's very real historical experience. Disability is often appropriated to infuse drama into television series, but the experience of contracting polio in the 1930s *was* a dramatic turning point in the lives of many Americans. Therefore, on the surface, "The Easter Story" was a sentimental and idealized depiction of disability, but it also portrayed a historically and personally-informed disability experience.

Predictably, Olivia Walton's ability to walk was restored by the episode's end. However, Michael Learned, who portrayed Olivia, revealed that the original resolution for her character was even more maudlin and unbelievable than the one that eventually aired:

> When [executive producer] Lee Rich told me that, "Olivia's paralyzed for life, and then we're going to have you wheeled up, up in your wheelchair to the top of Walton's Mountain as the sun is rising over the horizon, and the hallelujah chorus is singing in the background, and you will rise up out of your wheelchair and walk …" I just looked at him and said, "You're shittin' me."[15]

Producer Rich and writer McGreevey ultimately agreed to revise the script to mirror the experiences of Learned's own father, who also had polio as a child. According to Learned's father, the most effective therapy in learning to walk again after polio was having the urgent need to do so. He claimed that the first time he walked following his bout with polio was in the middle of the night when he woke up needing to use the bathroom. Only semi-conscious, and therefore not over-thinking the mechanics of walking, Learned's father got up, used the facilities, and never looked back.[16] Olivia's recovery in "The Easter Story" was much the same, but instead of a full bladder, it was the call of her child in distress in the middle of the night that roused her to walking. Learned admits that there was likely some exaggeration in her father's recollection, but it is nonetheless his impression of his own disability experience and therefore represents a real-life response to disability.

The idea of 'relevance programming' gained popularity in the early 1970s, and though in many respects this historically-situated family drama defied the tenets of such programming, *The Waltons* was not

[14] James Person Jr., interview with the author, September 2016.
[15] Michael Learned, interview with the author, July 2016.
[16] Ibid.

without its forays into 'relevant' social issues.[17] Premiering in 1972, the show aired Thursday evenings at eight o'clock and provided a welcome break between the six and eleven o'clock evening newscasts, which emphatically covered the Vietnam War, Nixon's scandal and resignation, and political protests throughout America concerning race, gender, sexuality, the economy, and the environment. The 1970s was also a watershed for disability civil rights in the United States. *The Waltons* held its position on the airwaves during the passage of the Rehabilitation Act by Congress in 1973, the passage of the Education for All Handicapped Children Act in 1975, the forging of the disability rights protest known as the '504 sit-in' in 1977 (so named for its protest against delays in implementing and enforcing section 504 of the aforementioned Rehabilitation Act), and the start of the Independent Living movement, which advocated for the right to independence and self-determination for those with significant disabilities.

In this context, no production team could entirely escape its presentist bias, and few audiences would have stayed tuned to a programme which bore no correspondence or relevance to their real lives. Due to a significant population of Vietnam veterans returning from service with disabilities throughout the 1970s, the rights and needs of Americans with disabilities became a national concern, just as they had been following the civil and world wars. Given the parallels between the injured WWII veterans of the on-screen *Waltons* world and the injured Vietnam veterans of the 1970s, the show inevitably evoked disability in storylines as a proxy for relevance. *The Waltons* writer Michael McGreevey recalled of the series "I did have a conversation, I think, with Ernie Wallingren [fellow *Waltons* writer], about … the fact that we were mirroring [the 70s], even though it was the 40s."[18] Wallingren's mother Claire Peterson, also a *Waltons* writer, noted "There were many parallels to returning Vietnam vets, and I'm sure Ernie, who was drafted very early in the war but flunked the physical, was aware of this as he wrote [for *The Waltons*]."[19] Notably, Wallingren later lived with and died from amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS) and in the intervening years he used his platform as a screenwriter to bring awareness to the disease and its physical affects.[20]

[17] Bedell, *Up the Tube: Prime-Time TV and the Silverman Years*, 47.
[18] Michael McGreevey, telephone interview with the author, August 2016.
[19] Claire Peterson, email correspondence with the author, September 9, 2016.
[20] Ibid.

In "The Obstacle" (January 11, 1979), *The Waltons* told the story of Mike Paxton, eldest Walton son John-Boy's former college roommate. Newly paraplegic due to an injury sustained during military service, Mike despaired that he might never fulfill the coveted roles of productive worker and romantic partner. Feeling hopeless upon his release from a veterans' rehabilitation center, Mike absconded to the Walton homestead, where he remained in a self-imposed exile. The storyline, which focused on Mike's feelings about his return from service, mirrored the experiences of many Vietnam veterans in the 1970s. This episode also bore similarities to some popular and critically-acclaimed films of the 1970s, such as *Coming Home* (1978), *The Deer Hunter* (1978), and *First Blood* (1982), all of which addressed the difficulties of readjustment to civilian life following the Vietnam War, and emphasised the challenges of physical and psychological disabilities resulting from military service. Whereas "The Obstacle" mostly focused on physical disabilities, *The Waltons* also explored the highly relevant and pressing matter of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in "The Tempest" (February 5, 1981), which chronicled the psychological effects that military service wreaked on Curtis Willard, husband of eldest Walton daughter Mary-Ellen.

Film critic Lauri Klobas argued that the problem with most portrayals of people with disabilities on screen is that "their social problems and individual idiosyncrasies are ignored, while easy emotional stories of 'bitterness', 'overcoming', and 'courage' abound."[21] Admittedly, *The Waltons* relied on certain reductive tropes to tell these stories. For instance, "The Obstacle" suggested a kind of redemption for disabled people who find the 'courage' to 'overcome' their disabilities. Though Mike Paxton despaired over his situation at the outset of "The Obstacle", with a bit of ingenuity and a lot of faith, the Walton family encouraged Mike to 'overcome' his disability by finding new ways to navigate the world as a wheelchair-user and thus to fulfill his desired roles. Audiences watched as Mike became a gainfully employed member of the Walton Mountain community and as his romantic prospects buoyed by a flirtation with middle Walton daughter Erin. By contrast, in "The Tempest," Curtis Willard remained committed to his feelings of 'bitterness', and therefore remained permanently estranged from his wife and her family.

Disability scholar Paul Longmore's work "Screening Stereotypes: Images of Disabled People in Television and Motion

[21] Klobas*, Disability Drama in Television and Film*, xii.

Pictures" demonstrates how these and other repetitious tropes on television have served to create reductive and often negative images of people with disabilities.[22] Scholars generally agree that disabled people's stories are largely presented with non-disabled audiences in mind. They are sometimes appropriated for purely dramatic purposes and other times invoked to assuage non-disabled audiences of their fear of disability. Such narratives are designed to entertain, educate, alleviate, or even to absolve non-disabled audiences of their feelings about disability, but they rarely aim to depict authentic and affirmative disability experiences. While the above examples make clear that *The Waltons* engaged in these kinds of problematic storytelling practices, nonetheless the series' relationship to disability was surprisingly complex. Given how the show deployed disability as both an historical device and as a proxy for relevance, it is clear that episodes revolving around disability were about the larger sets of historical circumstances of which disability was an important part.

Regardless of what inspired or what was intended by *The Waltons* disability-themed episodes, their reach was vast and the impressions they created were enduring. The lasting influence of *The Waltons* and its disability story-lines is evident. Specifically, in March of 2018, The Waltons' Mountain Museum, in partnership with The Walton-Hamner House, hosted an event in celebration of *The Waltons* premiere episode "The Foundling." This episode, in which a deaf character took centre stage, is regarded as both a strong storyline and a thematically congruous narrative in terms of the overall *Waltons* oeuvre. Waltons International Fan Club president Carolyn Grinnell recalled "in the Walton home there was always room for 'one' more whether it be a stray animal or a stray person."[23] The 'stray', in this case, was a six-year-old deaf child who was abandoned at the Walton's doorstep by an anxious mother overwhelmed at the prospect of raising a disabled child. Of "The Foundling," Grinnell went on to say,

> The home on Walton's Mountain was indeed a home where love permeated the atmosphere, as was evident in this very special

[22] According to Longmore, portrayals of disability in the media almost always ascribe to one of the following tropes: the maladjusted disabled person; an emotional education by a nondisabled character; the problem of disability resting squarely on the individual with a disability; compensation in the form of 'gifts'/'talents' for coping with a disability; the 'supercrip' and overcoming; a positive growth experience; the responsibility of the individual with a disability to educate; medical and technological advances; and/or stigma and sexuality. Longmore, "Screening Stereotypes," 131-146.

[23] Carolyn Grinnell, as quoted in Hamner and Giffin, *Goodnight John-Boy*, 66-67.

> episode for me. It was with 'hands of love' that a little girl learned to understand and be understood.[24]

Grinnell's recollection connects with the themes of love, family, home, and community commonly associated with *The Waltons*.

The resonance of this episode was apparent even at the time of its production. "The Foundling" was not originally intended as the premiere episode, but emerged as such a strong and appealing episode that the network and producers elevated its position in the line-up. Series lead Richard Thomas, who portrayed protagonist John-Boy Walton, recalled, "'The Foundling' was really a show that featured the whole family, it was more of an ensemble piece and so it was a good way to introduce everybody because everybody had good stuff to do."[25] He elaborated,

> in retrospect I thought it was a good show to begin with because … [o]ne of the recurring strains in the series was the family in relation to someone from the outside. Whether it was a different culture, a different religion, a different economic class, a different race, all that stuff we did a lot of.[26]

Some forty-six years after it originally aired, fans of the series gathered to meet the stars of this particular episode and to revel in its history. The legacy and impact of *The Waltons* on viewers' lives supports an in-depth re-examination of history's most enduring television artifacts, their portrayals of disability, and the circumstances shaping their production.

Following past approaches to historical analyses of disability on screen, it is easy to level criticism at "The Foundling" because this beloved episode featured problematic portrayals of disability on screen. For starters, the deaf protagonist of the episode, Holly, was played by hearing actress Erica Hunton, making the rendering of the deaf character neither authentic nor representative. Though, it bears noting that casting non-disabled actors in disabled roles was common practice at the time and not specific to *The Waltons*. However, this show also broke this mold with the casting of Billy Barty as a character with dwarfism and the continued casting of Ellen Corby in the role of Grandma Esther Walton, after the actress sustained a stroke mid-way through the series. It is no surprise that disability affected the ensemble cast at different times during the show's nine-year run, the most poignant of which being Corby's experience with disability. She acquired permanent speech and mobility disabilities as a result of the stroke and the reintegration of

[24] Carolyn Grinnell, as quoted in Hamner and Giffin, *Goodnight John-Boy*, 66-67.
[25] Richard Thomas, interview with the author, January 2017.
[26] Ibid.

Grandma Walton as a disabled character in the season six episode "Grandma Comes Home" (March 30, 1978) was a landmark event, both in television and disability history. In accommodating both Corby as a performer and Grandma Walton as a character, *The Waltons* production team has been credited for increasing the visibility of stroke survivors in particular and aging bodies in general.[27]

Returning to "The Foundling," the presence of a deaf character on Walton's Mountain lasted for only one episode. Deafness was deployed to add drama to one particular episode and then abandoned when the episode reached a pat conclusion about how best to address this disability. The deaf character's identity and experiences were limited to her ability to hear and as a result, viewers were given a one-dimensional and unsustained perspective of deafness. However, when one moves beyond what viewers saw in "The Foundling" and explores some of the stories behind its production, a different picture emerges. Preparation for this one-hour episode began well in advance. Many of the Walton cast members remembered being trained in American Sign Language (ASL) to film the episode and all recalled the experience fondly. In a 2016 interview with me, Kami Cotler, who portrayed the youngest Walton on the series, remembered,

> It was so exciting, this magical thing that I was learning! I just remember, I had my little cards with all the letters. And I loved it and I remembered it. Like, I held onto it, and if I was bored I would just sign the alphabet.[28]

At this, Cotler demonstrated her fingerspelling abilities and enacted the impact that early exposure to sign language had on the young cast member. Actress Erica Hunton, who played the deaf character in the episode, also remembered some of the signs she picked up while filming "The Foundling." She noted:

> I think it's stuck with all of us, I think that particular episode, this was the first big job for most of the younger actors in that show and then we all had to learn sign language as a part of the storyline. So, I think it just sort of left an impression on everybody.[29]

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[27] Ellen Corby, as quoted in Sue Reilly, "The Wonderful Walton Women: As Michael Sobs So Long, The Waltons Face Life as a One-Parent Family," *People*, 11, no. 4 (January 29, 1979), http://people.com/archive/cover-story-the-wonderful-walton-women-vol-11-no-4/.

[28] Kami Cotler, interview with the author, August 2016.

[29] Erica Hunton, interview with the author, 2016.

ASL had only recently been affirmed as a legitimate language following the publication of William Stokoe et al.'s 1965 *A Dictionary of American Sign Language on Linguistic Principles*, making the fact that the producers of *The Waltons* featured sign language positively on the series and educated the cast about the language extremely significant. When a deaf fan met actor Richard Thomas after a 2012 Broadway show, Thomas too was able to remember basic ASL, and communicated with the deaf fan—yet another testament to the positive and lasting effects of the cast's exposure to ASL while filming "The Foundling."[30]

Figure 1: *Gienow-McConnell and Richard Thomas in Schuyler, VA at The Waltons Mountain Museum in front of a replica of the Walton homestead*, 2017.

Though she was grateful for the job, Hunton agreed that casting a hearing actor in a deaf role in "The Foundling" was problematic. She recalled,

> For a number of years, because that episode still continues to air with some degree of regularity and it's sort of a very well-known episode, for many years after people would come up to me and asked me if I was really deaf.[31]

This assumption sometimes rendered her an outsider in school, as peers assumed she was deaf. In other cases, teachers familiar with Hunton's experience on *The Waltons* would pair her up with deaf students, assuming that her knowledge of sign language was sufficient to have a

[30] The author and her deaf husband attended a performance of Henrik Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* in 2012, after which they met the show's star, Richard Thomas, who then demonstrated his sign language abilities.
[31] Erica Hunton, interview with the author, 2016.

meaningful relationship with these students. Both of these scenarios made Hunton uncomfortable and they exposed her to a valuable lesson about affirmative and authentic casting. Hunton now works as a successful talent agent in Hollywood and an advocate for her disabled clients, in part because of her experience working on *The Waltons*. Of her disabled clients, Hunton explains,

> I'm willing to push the envelope for them so if it doesn't say that they should be able-bodied, that doesn't [trailed off] … If they are somehow physically disabled, or they're deaf, or they're blind, I'm not going to let that prevent me from submitting them on a regular role.[32]

As an example, Hunton revealed, "I used to represent a little person and she frequently auditioned and booked jobs that didn't initially call for a little person."[33] Once-upon-a-time, Hunton was cast as a disabled character, despite not being disabled herself. Presently, she is advocating for disabled actors to earn disabled roles, as well as advocating that disabled talent to be recognized for roles that do not specify disability. Hunton provides an ideal example of an individual recognizing how they contributed to a problem in the past—namely inauthentic representation—and learning from that mistake, as she currently uses her power to address and correct this problem.

The redeeming stories from behind the scenes of *The Waltons* do not negate that what audiences saw when they viewed this episode was an adorable little waif of a would-be deaf child, tugging at America's heartstrings with her silent stare and cherubic innocence. In this character, viewers saw that deafness was a noble problem to overcome and that sign language, sensitivity, and understanding were mechanisms for addressing that problem. Ultimately, viewers learned nothing about deaf culture or disability rights. According to "The Foundling," the main problems confronting deaf people stemmed from communication barriers and that with sign language and a little love the deaf could be redeemed. While the use of sign language and the presence of supportive parents can mitigate the challenges of deafness, they do little to combat fallacies about deaf people or stigma and discrimination in the wider community.

In an interview with cast member Eric Scott—middle son Ben on the series—I mentioned the tendency to dispense with disabilities and

[32] Erica Hunton, interview with the author, 2016.
[33] Ibid.

resolve their associated conflicts within a single episode. Making an important point, he replied,

> I think that's not giving a fair chance … We always said that the shows were filmed as individual movies, so you didn't look at the week before. You didn't look at the week after … It was its own story … So, you didn't have to have any backstory, you really didn't have to have any forward story. It had its beginning, it had its end.

He was keen to point out, "That was the formula they used on the show … I wouldn't put it as a disability thing."[34] Indeed, a 1973 *New York Times* review of *The Waltons* was hip to this formula and observed:

> The Walton show, which must produce a full-hour length story every week, has found a very successful formula for easily capturing our attention. To Walton's Mountain come all kinds of strangers, all of them troubled outcasts, fragmented or harmed by the value systems, the dizziness of the world beyond this sweet rural community … The single characters themselves are somewhat healed by their contact with the Waltons and the simple values the Waltons exude.[35]

While "The Foundling" and other disability-related episodes presented overly simplified commentaries on disability, one cannot say that this was a function of the cast and crew's feelings about disability. Rather, it was a specific product of terminal storytelling present in 1970s television culture, in which all plotlines, about job loss, first love, race-relations, a house fire, alcoholism, a land dispute, and so on, were hamstrung.

It would be a stretch to say that *The Waltons* presented the best possible televised representations of disabilities within the psychic and material constraints under which the show was produced. However, *The Waltons* undoubtedly deserves credit for devoting considerable attention to the topic of disabilities, for using real-world circumstances to shape its stories, and for creating positive reverberations in the television culture. Contrasting her experience on *The Waltons* to the status of deaf and disabled characters today, Hunton noted:

> If you compare the episode of *The Waltons* where it was … almost a pitiful story where Holly was an outcast because nobody understood what was wrong with her, she was deaf …

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[34] Eric Scott, interview with the author, August 2016.

[35] Anne Roiphe, "Ma and Pa and John-Boy in Mythic America**,"** *The New York Times,* November 18, 1973, http://www.nytimes.com/1973/11/18/archives/the-waltons-ma-and-pa-and-johnboy-in-mythic-america-the-waltons.html.

> to today, where you have kids and people interacting in normal everyday situations and the difference is that they talk with their hands … Wow.[36]

Hunton marveled that, "We've come a long way when you compare it, on a linear process. We still have a long way to go, but yeah, it's really kind of amazing when you compare the two ends of the spectrum there."[37] My analysis of this 'spectrum' has demonstrated that the path to positive disability representation on screen starts first with acknowledging its problematic history, then with understanding the reasons behind that history, and finally with eliminating the conventional barriers that create and preserve these issues.

Cultural theorist Marshall McLuhan famously declared that "the medium is the message," meaning that

> the personal and social consequences of any medium—that is, of any extension of ourselves—result from the new scale that is introduced into our affairs by each extension of ourselves, or by any new technology.[38]

In framing various media as extensions of humanity and arguing that the nature and status of said media conveys some kind of message independent of its content, McLuhan opened up the field of cultural studies to new forms of media. Television studies, in particular, benefited from McLuhan's analysis. Geoffrey Cowan, a specialist in communications studies, recalls that his award-winning television producer mother "was convinced that broadcasting, as a commercial mass-market medium, would never achieve true excellence."[39] Despite her successes in the television industry, Polly Spiegel Cowan struggled to reconcile her feelings about the medium, as did many others in the industry.[40] Considered purely for its content, it is easy to understand why early critics of television struggled to take the medium seriously. Let us not forget that one of the most successful television programs in TV's earliest years starred a freckle-faced, plaid-shirted puppet with the unlikely name of Howdy-Doody.[41] McLuhan argued, however, that such

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[36] Erica Hunton, interview with the author, 2016.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extension of Man* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964), 1.
[39] Geoffrey Cowan, *See No Evil: The Backstage Battle over Sex and Violence in Television* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979), 9.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Stephen, Davis, *Say Kids! What Time is It? Notes from the Peanut Gallery* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987).

content was a red herring for the deeper and more meaningful consequences of the (television) medium itself on human affairs. He stated that "Indeed, it is only too typical that the 'content' of any medium blinds us to the character of the medium."[42] In McLuhan's work, critics and scholars interested in the medium were freed from the constraints of its content, and able to conceive of television more broadly. I take umbrage with McLuhan's assertion that the contents of a given medium are immaterial and instead hold that the contents of a medium are signifiers of the larger cultural forces which gave way to the medium in the first place. Nonetheless, McLuhan's work made possible studies such as my own, which eschews a purely textual reading of television content, for a more holistic approach to television as a unique study. As this article has demonstrated, applying this logic to *The Waltons* reveals new and surprising things about the television industry and its historical relationship to disability.

Conclusion

The subject of this study is timely and relevant because today increasing attention is being paid to diversity, or lack thereof, in the media. For instance, the social media movement *#OscarsSoWhite* critiqued the 2016 Academy Awards for disproportionately favouring white nominees over nominees of colour. While the 2017 Academy Awards saw a marked improvement in the representation of people of colour, the Academy's attempts at increasing diversity overlooked disability. Disability activist Gregg Beratan laments,

> As long as Hollywood prefers caricatured performances by nondisabled actors cripping up, we will be denied the opportunity of seeing the many wonderful disabled actors display their talents and earn acting awards.[43]

Beratan went on to explain that, even in instances where characters with disabilities are featured in significant storylines, such stories inevitably default to one of three major tropes: "'You can't love me because I'm disabled!' 'Heal me!' or 'Better off dead.'"[44] Such statements show that

[42] McLuhan, *Understanding the Media*, 2.

[43] Gregg Beratan, as quoted in Maysoon Zayid, "Disability and Hollywood, a Sordid Affair," *Women's Media Center,* February 8, 2017, http://www.womensmediacenter.com/feature/entry/disability-and-hollywood-a-sordid-affair.

[44] Gregg Beratan, as quoted in Zayid, "Disability and Hollywood, a Sordid Affair." Some recent examples of these pitfalls include: the 2016 film *Me Before You*, based on the novel by JoJo Moyes, is a classic and injurious example of the 'better off dead' trope. The 2017 biopic *The Greatest Showman* is a version of the 'heal me' trope. It features

people with disabilities are not content with representation on screen—they desire authentic and affirmative representations of their experiences, as well as inclusive and representative casting of performers with disabilities.

Recently there have been some authentic, multi-dimensional, and affirmative portrayals of disability in various entertainment media.[45] On television, ABC's *Speechless* and Freeform's *Switched at Birth* have contributed positively to the canon of disability on screen because they both feature major characters with disabilities, portrayed by disabled actors. While the former focuses most on the experience of cerebral palsy and the latter delves into deafness, both shows incorporate a variety of disabilities into their storylines in nuanced ways. They demonstrate how disability can represent a significant facet of a person's life, but they eschew the fallacy that disability is definitive. In other words, storylines

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Hugh Jackman as P.T. Barnum, cast as the able-bodied saviour of those performers with disabilities whom he employed in his circuses. Another common issue with disability on screen is that actors with disabilities are seldom hired to fulfill the roles of characters with disabilities. The films *Wonderstruck* (2017) and *Blind* (2017) received backlash from disability communities for hiring actors without disabilities for the principle disabled characters in the films. It should be noted that in the case of the former, a deaf youth was hired to portray the younger version of Julianne Moore's deaf character in the film. In television, the Netflix series *Atypical* (2017), about a character on the autism spectrum, received criticism for both its casting of an actor not on the spectrum, as well as its inauthentic portrayal of autism. ABC's drama *The Good Doctor* (2017) has raised concerns among disability activists. The network is quoted in Zayid's piece, saying that the titular character is "alone in the world and unable to personally connect with those around him" and he "uses his extraordinary medical gifts to save lives and challenge the skepticism of his colleagues." Critics have pointed out that this description is alienating, and marginalizing to people on the autism spectrum. Further, they cringe at the suggestion that disability is an 'extraordinary gift' rather than a matter-of-fact aspect of a person's identity.

[45] In television, *Sesame Street* recently introduced Julia, a muppet with autism, to its cast. *Sesame Street* is no stranger to the organic incorporation of disability on its series. Deaf performer Linda Bove was cast as Linda the Librarian in 1971, and held that role until 2002. A 2017 episode of Netflix's *Master of None* titled "New York, I Love You" garnered attention and praise for its portrayal of an ASL-using deaf character. The character was shown to be a woman of colour, a bodega worker, a New Yorker, a friend, and a lover, who just happened to be deaf. On stage, a wheelchair-using actor with muscular dystrophy was cast alongside Sally Field in *The Glass Menagerie* (2017) on Broadway. And for the first time in its professional stage history, *The Curious Incident of the Dog in The Night* (Indiana Repertory Theatre, 2017) will feature an actor with autism in the role of Christopher, himself a character with autism. In film, an actor with Down Syndrome has been hired to portray a major character in the Hollywood feature *The Peanut Butter Falcon* (2017), while deaf actor and comic C.J. Jones was recently seen in the blockbuster film *Baby Driver* (2017).

are rarely *about* disability but rather about family, education, economics, romance, current events, community, and the ways in which disability is delicately, and sometimes unconsciously, entwined in daily life. Such storytelling is accomplished by employing actors with disabilities and hiring disability consultants who ensure that the on-screen rendering is authentic and affirmative. Disability activist and father to a son with Down Syndrome, David M. Perry notes,

> the creators of *Speechless* and the family drama *Switched at Birth* … are talking to people with lived experience with disability, casting disabled people to play disabled characters, and using the structure of their respective genres to tell stories that ring true to a parent like me.

Perry explained,

> by incorporating unconventional families—which resemble my own in their battles over access and stigma—into classic American television genres, they are directing contemporary dialogues about disability straight at a mainstream audience.[46]

The significance of these kinds of portrayals cannot be underestimated. Citing a study conducted by psychologists Michelle Clare Wilson and Katrina Scior in 2014, *The Ruderman White Paper on Employment of Actors with Disabilities in Television* found that:

> Positive attitudes [towards people with disabilities] were contingent on exposure and interaction. The more time someone spent with people with disabilities, the more their implicit associations improved. These results contribute to the body of evidence that has been amassed since the 1950s, when Gordon Allport proposed the 'contact hypothesis'. Broadly speaking, the hypothesis "suggests that increased contact with out-group members can help to improve attitudes towards them."[47]

If positive portrayals of disability engender favourable perceptions of people with disabilities, then hostile or stereotypical images of the disabled negatively impact their status in society. Entertainment media which fails to include people with disabilities in its casting and

[46] David M. Perry, "The Shows Shaking up Disability Representation on Television," *Pacific Standard*, March 7, 2017, https://psmag.com/news/the-shows-shaking-up-disability-representation-on-television.

[47] Danny Woodburn and Kristina Kopic, The Ruderman Family Foundation*, The Ruderman White Paper on Employment of Actors with Disabilities in Television,* (July 2016), 4, http://www.rudermanfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/TV-White-Paper_final.final_.pdf.

production processes ultimately excludes people with disabilities from affirmative self-representation. Speaking on behalf of the Ruderman Family Foundation, Kristina Kopic and Danny Woodburn—a popular entertainer with dwarfism—articulated,

> This is nothing short of a social justice issue where a marginalized group of people is not given the right to self-representation. We must change this inequality through more inclusive casting, creating ability using Computer Graphics (CG), teaching the media to hold the industry responsible, avoiding stereotypical stories, and ultimately through the telling of stories that depict people with disabilities without focusing on the disability.[48]

The Ruderman Family Foundation (2002)—a philanthropic foundation which promotes disability civil rights—and USC Annenberg's School for Communication and Journalism (1971) through their Media, Diversity, and Social Change Initiative (2007) have been instrumental in identifying media shortcomings in representations of disability. The goal of these organizations is not simply to find fault but to provide practical solutions and support for media outlets to make proactive and meaningful change in their portrayals. Providing a roadmap for how to improve disability on screen is important, but it is difficult to convince people to change their practices without understanding why they initially engaged in those practices. As disability scholar Kim Sauder put it, "we need to know what happened so we can challenge it."[49]

Television continues to be one of America's key cultural forces. According to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics' 2016 time-use survey, "[t]elevision is America's number one leisure activity."[50] Given its prominence in our daily lives, "it becomes clear that television is not merely entertainment, but also a lens through which we view the world."[51] Therefore, those who make television ought to take care to create fictionalized worlds which appeal to and reflect the best of reality, but too often *mediamakers* fall short in this aim. By relying on *The Waltons* as a rich and representative case study, this article has revealed some of the forces that created a certain set of disability images at a

[48] Woodburn and Kopic, "The Ruderman White Paper," 2.
[49] Kim Sauder, "No, Bad TV Portrayals of Disability are Not Good Learning Opportunities," Crippledscholar, https://crippledscholar.com/2017/08/25/no-bad-tv-portrayals-of-disability-are-not-good-learning-opportunities/.
[50] US Bureau of Labor Statistics, as quoted in Woodburn and Kopic, "The Ruderman White Paper," 3.
[51] Ibid.

specific time in American history. Ideally the revelations contained herein will serve as a bridge between disability interests and rights, as well as media interests and commercial art, and will establish common-ground on which to predicate a new frontier of popular entertainment that welcomes people with disabilities.

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Figures

Figure 1: *Gienow-McConnell and Richard Thomas in Schuyler, VA at The Waltons Mountain Museum in front of a replica of the Walton homestead*, 2017. Photograph from author's personal collection.

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Psychotic, Depressed, or Just a Whale? Studying Whales in Captivity at Marineland of the Pacific, 1954-1967

ISOBEL GRIFFIN

Abstract: Prior to the onset of large-scale marine mammal captivity, marine biologists had limited access to whales and dolphins. Scientists were often forced to rely on inadequate wild observations, study whale carcasses from whaling ships or factories, collect stranded specimens, or hunt their own cetaceans. Opening in 1954, Marineland of the Pacific revolutionized the marine mammalogy field by providing unprecedented opportunities for scientists to closely observe, study, and interact with live whales. In addition to studying breathing rates, swimming speeds, and diving capabilities, scientists at Marineland also made advances in understanding echolocation, social structure, and emotional intelligence in cetaceans. Through examinations of scientific studies, changes in animal husbandry practices, and popular publications, this paper shows that the connection between oceanariums and marine research has been largely overlooked in historical scholarship, but is critical to understanding the transformation in the mid-twentieth century relationship between humans and cetaceans.

On February 2, 1957, after months of planning, Dr. Kenneth S. Norris and the capture crew from Marineland of the Pacific ventured out into the Catalina Channel off the coast of California to capture a pilot whale. Only days into the expedition, the crew shot and killed a young male pilot whale before hauling the animal aboard the collection boat. Norris proceeded to measure the whale and make notes of its anatomical features before dissecting it. "The procedure sounds cruel and was not pleasant for any of us," reflected Norris, "but we could rationalize our way out by remembering the works of whalers past and present, and the fact that the animal would die instantly from a shot in the head."[1] By killing and studying the whale, the crew gathered accurate measurements to construct a durable net for the future capture of live pilot whales. From a contemporary perspective, this event seems disturbing. For those familiar with Norris, it is not in keeping with the memory of the revered biologist who was instrumental in writing the 1972 Marine Mammal

[1] Field Notes, 1949-1960, 300-302, Box 36, Norris (Kenneth S.) Papers, University of California Santa Cruz Archives (hereafter UCSCA).

Protection Act, which made it illegal to collect, harass, or kill marine mammals in the United States. Yet, this event was a critical part of a much larger transformation in the mid-twentieth century.

When Marineland of the Pacific opened in August 1954, a decade before SeaWorld was founded, it was the first oceanarium on the Pacific coast of North America, the largest oceanarium in the world, and the lead institution in cetacean capture, entertainment, and marine mammal research.[2] Although bottlenose dolphins had been displayed and studied in aquariums around the world for decades, larger cetaceans were mostly absent from the display industry until Marineland's ventures. Marineland's eventual successful capture, display, and study of pilot whales, as well as several other firsts in the oceanarium world, allowed public audiences to experience cetaceans in new ways and eventually empathize with whales.[3] These days, marine mammal captivity is profoundly controversial, and research conducted in captivity is strongly critiqued, but at the time, whaling companies still operated up the coast in San Francisco Bay at Point San Pablo. The whaling industry's activities do not prove widespread social acceptance of whaling along the Pacific Coast, but popular media suggests that the public did not disapprove of hunting whales. For example, newspaper articles highlighted whale poaching by local fishermen, calling the killing of an orca in 1931 "Fisherman's Luck," while marine biologists reported finding pilot whales shot dead, their bodies left unharvested, throughout the 1940s and 1950s.[4] Furthermore, since marine mammalogists and the public knew little about cetacean physiology or cognitive abilities, ideas about ethical rights did not yet extend to whales and dolphins.

Through examinations of scientific studies, popular publications, and Marineland personnel journals, this article argues that Marineland's establishment and early years of pilot whale captivity revolutionized the

[2] Originally named Sea World, the company's name changed to SeaWorld in the late 1990s.

[3] Marineland of the Pacific is responsible for collecting a Cuvier's beaked whale and a pygmy sperm whale along with the first display of a false killer whale and a killer whale. Marineland Scrapbook 1950-1959, 39-48, Box 59, Norris (Kenneth S. Papers) UCSCA; "Rare Baby Whale Captured Near Catalina, Dies," *Los Angeles Times,* January, 1958, Marineland Scrapbook 1957-1959, 19, Box 60, Norris (Kenneth S.) Papers, UCSCA.

[4] "Fisherman's Luck," *Healdsburg Enterprise,* August 6, 1931: 7; "Fishermen Bag Killer Whale," *Torrance Herald,* August 13, 1931: 6A; Gordon Gunter, "Records of the Blackfish or Pilot Whale from the Texas Coast," *Journal of Mammalogy* 24, no. 4 (November 1946): 374-377; Andrew Starrett and Priscilla Starrett, "Observations on Young Blackfish, Globicephala," *Journal of Mammalogy* 36, no. 3 (August 1955): 424-429.

marine mammalogy field by providing unprecedented opportunities for researchers to closely observe, study, and interact with live whales. Prior to the onset of large-scale marine mammal captivity, biologists had limited access to live marine mammals; therefore, scientific knowledge of whales was restricted to a basic understanding of their anatomy and geographical distribution. As historian Kurkpatrick Dorsey explains, "whales did not have the decency to haul out on islands like seals, and dissecting one was not exactly lab work."[5] Instead, marine mammalogists in the early twentieth century were forced to rely on inadequate wild observations, study carcasses on whaling ships or at factories, collect stranded specimens, or hunt their own cetaceans during this era of what journalist Mark Leiren-Young refers to as "slice-and-dice science."[6]

In 1942, for example, Dr. Gordon Gunter—while working as a marine biologist for the Texas Fish, Game, and Oyster Commission—shot and killed thirty-seven bottlenose dolphins in the Gulf of Mexico to determine what the dolphins ate and whether or not they were a threat to the local commercial fishery. Gunter, a pioneer in fisheries science, discovered that the animals primarily fed on commercially unimportant fish. He concluded his research by stating "the population of bottlenose dolphins is not great and appears to have declined in the past 40 years on the Texas Coast. For these reasons the animal should be protected by Texas law."[7] In another instance, biologist Dr. Charles F. Yocom observed the location and colouration of wild Dall's porpoises from a U.S. Navy ship in 1945, but admitted poor weather and distance between the ship and animals made it difficult to discern any details.[8] Without reliable and continuous access to cetaceans, marine mammalogists struggled to learn more about whales' physiology, social behaviour, and intelligence. However, Marineland's displays allowed scientists to start researching and understanding these aspects of cetaceans. Consequently, Marineland and its displays played a critical role in creating new sites of interaction between cetologists and live whales, transforming scientific

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[5] Kurkpatrick Dorsey, *Whales & Nations: Environmental Diplomacy on the High Seas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 10.

[6] Mark Leiren-Young, *The Killer Whale Who Changed the World* (Vancouver: David Suzuki Institution, 2016), 31.

[7] Gordon Gunter, "Contributions to the Natural History of the Bottlenose Dolphin, *Tursiops Truncatus* (Montague), on the Texas Coast, with Particular Reference to Food Habits," *Journal of Mammalogy* 23, no. 3 (August 1942): 275.

[8] Charles F. Yocom, "Notes on the Dall Porpoise off California," *Journal of Mammalogy* 27, no. 4 (November 1946): 364-368.

understandings of marine mammals, and advancing the field of cetacean science.

Historical analyses of cetaceans tend to focus primarily on nineteenth and twentieth century whaling, the environmentalist movement of the 1970s, or contemporary technological advances used by wildlife biologists, but disregards the ways in which the early years of captivity advanced cetacean science. One of the few studies devoted entirely to the marine display industry is Susan G. Davis' *Spectacular Nature: Corporate Culture and the Sea World Experience,* which provides an in-depth analysis of marketing, programs, and performances from the 1970s to the 1990s. Davis shows how the corporately-produced space profited from public interactions with man-made "nature" and shaped popular understandings of the environment and science.[9] Although Davis provides insight into late twentieth-century marine parks, she neither acknowledges the origins of the marine mammal captivity and display, nor is she interested in the development of cetacean sciences in connection to marine parks.

In their recent works, Jason Colby and Etienne Benson examine how killer whale captures in the 1960s and 1970s provided opportunities for marine park corporations to partner with scientists to develop tracking and identification technologies, as well as how changing public values and legislation eventually restricted scientific research. Yet they concentrate solely on killer whales in the years when marine parks were already well established.[10] The era prior to killer whale captivity has been largely overlooked by historians but is essential to understanding how early whale captivity transformed the domain of cetacean science. Without the advancements in scientific understandings of whales which took place in captivity, contemporary environmental organizations known for their anti-whaling campaigns would not fully understand cetaceans' intelligence or cognitive capabilities, which serve as the driving force in many of their missions.

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[9] Susan G. Davis, *Spectacular Nature: Corporate Culture and the Sea World Experience* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 66-68.

[10] Jason Colby, *Orca: How We Came to Know and Love the Ocean's Greatest Predator* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Etienne Benson, *Wired Wilderness: The Technologies of Tracking and the Making of Modern Wildlife* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010).

The connection between early cetacean captivity and scientific discoveries has received little attention by historians. Instead, scholars have concentrated on the connections between whaling, international policies, and data collection. For example, D. Graham Burnett traces how whaling research and ecological management policies shaped cetacean science over the twentieth century. He claims that John C. Lilly, a well-known and controversial neuroscientist involved with questionable dolphin experiments in the 1960s, was largely responsible for inspiring the public to see whales and dolphins as intelligent creatures similar to humans.[11] While there is no doubt Lilly had an influential role in developing marine mammalogy, Burnett ignores how interactions at marine parks also changed public opinions and how scientific research was often conducted in tandem with oceanariums.

In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions,* philosopher Thomas S. Kuhn argues that science is not only the accumulation of facts, but rather, that fact-gathering is interrupted by fundamental shifts in scientific practice and thought. Such scientific revolutions cause scientists "to see nature in a different way," reinterpret available data, discover unfamiliar phenomena, and alter the way scientific work is accomplished.[12] The mid-twentieth-century development of marine mammal captivity caused such a revolution in cetology. As oceanariums allowed scientists unprecedented access to live whales and dolphins, marine mammalogists were no longer confined to only observing cetaceans' distinct physiological features or geographical ranges, spawning new questions about their abilities, behaviours, intelligence, and social structures. By

[11] D. Graham Burnett, *The Sounding of the Whale: Science and Cetaceans in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012): 532. In the late 1950s, Lilly, a psychoanalyst, became interested in human-dolphin communication leading to a NASA-funded research program in the Caribbean. To encourage intra-species communication, both Lilly and the lab's dolphins were given LSD and a young female research assistant was encouraged to live full-time, with the dolphins in a partly flooded home. The program was cut in the late 1960s, and Lilly continued his exploration into New Age practices. For more on Lilly see: John C. Lilly, *Man and Dolphin* (New York: Saalfield Publishing Company, 1963); Mark Werner, "What the Whale Was: Orca Cultural Histories in British Columbia since 1964," (MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 2010).

[12] Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions,* 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 53.

allowing unhindered, ongoing access to cetaceans, oceanariums provided scientists with the opportunity to revolutionize the marine mammalogy field and dramatically advance cetacean knowledge for scientists, animal display workers, and the general public.

Research and Discoveries

In 1953, Dr. Kenneth S. Norris applied for and obtained the position of curator at the newly conceived Marineland of the Pacific. With degrees in biology and desert zoogeography from the University of California, Los Angeles and two years into his doctoral work under renowned fish biologist Carl L. Hubbs at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, Norris still admitted, "I found myself in total terra incognita. Nobody knew anything about the marine mammals that went by our door."[13] For Norris, Marineland of the Pacific served as a scientific institution that promoted research and investigation into aquatic sciences, cetaceans, fish, and invertebrates. In his park operations journal, Norris expressed his belief that independent scientific investigators should be solicited and invited to conduct research at the park. Researchers were screened by Scientific Advisory Board members which included renowned ecologist Dr. W. C. Allee and ethologist Dr. Frank A. Beach. The selected researchers gained access to Marineland's animals, facilities and equipment and were expected to develop publishable material on water chemistry, husbandry techniques, and animal behaviour. Some visiting investigators were even funded by the oceanarium.[14] Norris established this vision of Marineland of the Pacific not only as a site of family entertainment but also–with his own research on the park's whales and dolphins–as an esteemed scientific institution.

In 1959, producers from *Conquest*, a CBS science television show, approached Norris about filming an episode on dolphin communication at Marineland of the Pacific. Norris rejected the offer; instead, he suggested they produce a show featuring a blindfolded dolphin navigating a maze. While working with dolphins at Marineland, Norris

[13] Randall Jarrell and Irene Reti, *Kenneth S. Norris: Naturalist, Cetologist, & Conservationist, 1925-1988. An Oral History Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 2-3, 16, 131-132.
[14] Marineland Notebook 1953, 171-172, Box 66, Norris (Kenneth S.) Papers, UCSCA.

had observed them emitting high-frequency sounds as they approached objects. He believed the dolphins were echolocating but had not yet conducted experiments to confirm the ability. The potential publicity from the television show convinced Marineland's general manager to provide Norris with the funding, space, and dolphin needed to test the species' echolocation abilities for the broadcast.[15] Echolocation is the ability to transmit sound waves that are reflected by objects and enables toothed whales to navigate the underwater environment and locate obstacles and prey. Echolocation in cetaceans is now a widely known fact but, in the 1950s, it was little more than a rumour in whale sciences.

Norris's first step in the experiment was to create a blindfold for a dolphin. After unsuccessful attempts using fabric wraps, adhesive tape, and harnesses, Norris's assistant, John Prescott, came upon a solution. "What could be better," Prescott wondered, "than to make the actual eye cup of that gay human deceiver, the all-American falsie?"[16] Using bra padding and a jar of casting latex, Norris and Prescott fastened the newly created blindfold to Kathy, an Atlantic bottlenose dolphin described as possessing "a peppery sense of humor," and a "blind and friendly attitude toward humans."[17] With the blindfold in place, Kathy easily maneuvered around her tank before returning to Norris and Prescott. Over the next few weeks, Kathy navigated mazes, detected differences between fish and gelatin capsules, and located an inch-wide target from thirty-five feet away, all while blindfolded.[18] In confirming, for the first time, echolocation in cetaceans, Norris's research and discovery serves as an example of how early cetacean captivity led to critical developments in the marine mammalogy field.

Three years earlier, while preparing to capture Marineland's first pilot whale, Norris realized how little information existed about the species in scientific journals or texts. In the months leading up to the cap-

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[15] Jarrell and Reti, *Kenneth S. Norris*, 83; Kenneth S. Norris, *The Porpoise Watcher* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1974), 100. William E. Schevill and Barbara Lawrence conducted echolocation experiments six years earlier, but the resulting conclusions were poorly published and understood. Norris came across Schevill's work after completing his own independent experiments.
[16] Norris, *The Porpoise Watcher,* 106.
[17] Ibid., 101.
[18] Ibid., 109-110.

Figure 1: *"Kathy" Presses the Lever Blindfolded*, 1959.

ture crew's venture, he gathered foundational information about pilot whales by observing their behaviour in the wild. Norris's discoveries included pilot whales' seasonal residence off the California coast, infant pilot whales' colouration, and schooling behaviour of large pods.[19] These findings revealed previously unknown information about the species, yet detailed observations about whale cognitive abilities and social interactions could not be obtained in the wild. For example, Norris noted that several species of dolphins accompanied the pod of pilot whales and believed the relationship between the species was based on the dolphins benefitting from the whales' efficient hunting techniques. Later in captivity, however, pilot whales and dolphins were observed interacting and developing a relationship not based on hunting. Close studies of Marineland's pilot whales continued to bring new revelations about the species and transform the way scientists thought about and studied cetaceans.

On February 26, 1957, Norris and Marineland's capture crew succeeded in catching a live pilot whale and transferring it from Catalina Channel to its new home at Marineland of the Pacific. Norris celebrated the animal's capture, boasting "[e]verybody was exultant. We, by golly, had caught a real, live whale, and were about to bring it in! We didn't

[19] Norris, *The Porpoise Watcher,* 72-74.

think many people had done that before us."[20] Norris was correct: No other aquarium in the world at that time held a live whale for public viewing. Pilot whales quickly became Marineland's biggest attraction, or as its advertisements stated, "the most famous salt water star in history."[21] Named "Bubbles," the young pilot whale was later joined by "Bimbo," "Squirt," and several other members of her species. The whales made headlines across the country, appeared in popular television shows, drew audiences to the park, and offered scientists unparalleled opportunities to closely study live cetaceans.

Several years prior to Bubbles' capture, aggressive behaviour by dolphins at Marine Studios caused the death of a pilot whale that the park had rescued from a beach stranding. Accordingly, Marineland personnel initially kept Bubbles isolated from other cetaceans.[22] For the first fourteen months of her captivity, Bubbles' only tank mates were turtles, rays, and human divers. At first, Bubbles displayed friendly behaviour towards divers entering her tank, gently taking fish from them and responding to commands, but after a year without the companionship of other whales, Bubbles' behaviour towards divers changed. Beginning in March 1958, she became increasingly aggressive. She snapped at divers when they attempted to feed the other animals in her tank and eventually started ramming humans who entered her tank. In one incident, Bubbles attacked visiting photographers, snapping her teeth at them and chasing them around the pool, causing them to abandon their equipment and retreat from the tank. Just days later, Bubbles rammed another diver, causing him to briefly lose consciousness in the tank before he was rescued. This final incident compelled Brown to suspend all diving operations indefinitely.[23]

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[20] Field Notes, 1949-1960, 308, Box 38, Norris (Kenneth S.) Papers, UCSCA. For more accounts of the capture see: Norris, *The Porpoise Watcher,* 78; Timothy Branning, "Whale Done," *Westways* (May 1980): 47-49, Point Vicente Interpretive Center Archives; Kenneth S. Norris, "The Big One Got Away," *Pacific Discovery* XI, no. 5 (October 1958): 3-8, Marineland Scrapbook 1957-1959, Box 60, Norris (Kenneth S. Papers), UCSCA.

[21] Marineland of the Pacific Brochure, File 422, Box 9, Millay Papers, University of Central Florida Archives.

[22] Kritzler, "Observations on the Pilot Whale in Captivity," 329; David H. Brown, "Behavior of a Captive Pacific Pilot Whale," *Journal of Mammalogy* 41, no. 3 (August 1960): 343. In 1948, Marine Studios in Florida rescued four stranded pilot whales from a nearby beach. One young male, Herman, survived for nine months but was never displayed to the public or heavily studied.

[23] Jake Jacobs, *Marineland Diver* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1960), 168-169; Brown, "Behavior of a Captive Pilot Whale," 347.

Figure 2: *Dave Feeds Bubbles for the First Time*, 1957.

Jake Jacobs, Marineland's head diver, thought Bubbles had lost respect for human divers and was trying to establish dominance in the tank. He believed the divers just needed to "show her who was boss," by striking her with a metal rod when she attempted to attack a diver, so she would remain "under control."[24] Jacobs was content with the idea that whales were insentient beings to be mastered by humans, and thus failed to consider the psychological consequences of this treatment on the whale. David Brown, who would eventually become Marineland's curator and director, instead consulted with Marine Studios and learned that one of their bottlenose dolphins had also exhibited aggressive behaviour towards humans after being kept in isolation. Following this discovery, Brown researched the social structure of dolphins and discovered that "enforced solitude of this nature may prove disagreeable to the species" and "social behaviour in pilot whales was just as well developed as in smaller species and enforced solitude may prove equally disquieting."[25] By July, Brown moved Bubbles to another tank containing two striped dolphins and a recently captured female pilot whale, Squirt. In the wild, Norris had observed pilot whales swimming with large pods and other dolphin species. Yet, in captivity, the small dolphins appeared to tease or 'torment' the pilot whales by biting their fins and swimming away, but Squirt and Bubbles were frequently seen

[24] Jacobs, *Marineland Diver,* 171.
[25] Brown, "Behavior of a Captive Pilot Whale," 347-348.

swimming side by side, rubbing against one another, and vocalizing.[26] With Bubbles no longer exhibiting aggressive behaviour towards divers, Brown reinstated diving operations and Marineland personnel started recognizing how critical companionship was to cetaceans as both commercial entities and conscious beings.

When Bimbo joined the other pilot whales at Marineland in 1959, staff and researchers were excited about the prospect of observing mating behaviours between pilot whales, as well as the commercial potential of owning a breeding pair. Although Marineland's pilot whales never became pregnant, Bimbo's addition to the tank clarified a behaviour Bubbles frequently displayed. In a seemingly hostile act, Bubbles often headbutted divers who entered her tank, but Norris offered an alternative interpretation after he observed similar behaviour with Bimbo. In an unpublished report, he described Bubbles and Bimbo making loud calls to each other from opposite sides of the tank before swimming straight towards each other and ramming into one another head-on. Norris noted, "the impact was so great that shock waves could be seen travelling down the bodies of both animals, and the smaller female was forced back a few feet."[27] While this behaviour could still be seen as aggressive, the whales were later spotted exhibiting overt sexual behaviour, but this behaviour has yet to be confirmed in the wild.[28] Through observing Bubbles and Bimbo's interactions, Marineland staff realized Bubbles' earlier behaviour was not aggressive but may have been affectionate, or "a whale's way of making love."[29] By closely observing and reinterpreting whale behaviours, Marineland personnel launched an era of scientific studies focused primarily on understanding whale and dolphin social interactions, studies that were impossible in the wild because of limited observation techniques and equipment.

In 1960, Norris left Marineland to teach at the University of California, Los Angeles and Brown took over as park curator, continuing to emphasize research on social interactions among cetaceans. The whale tank at Marineland provided multiple opportunities for him, along with

[26] Brown, "Behavior of a Captive Pilot Whale," 348-349.
[27] Research: Globicephala, "Pacific Pilot Whale," 1956-1965, File 22, Box 82, Norris (Kenneth S.) Papers, UCSCA.
[28] David H. Brown, "Further Observations on the Pilot Whale in Captivity," *Zoologica* 47, no. 1 (May 1962): 60.
[29] Jacobs, *Marineland Diver,* 168.

Figure 3: *A whale nips divers' flipper*, 1959.

cetacean behavioural studies specialists Melba C. Caldwell and David K. Caldwell, to conduct comprehensive investigations into whale social structures. An opportunity came in the early morning of March 8, 1960, when staff entered the whale holding area to find Bimbo grasping the lifeless Bubbles, by her flippers and towing her around the tank. One diver entered the tank to remove Bubbles, but Squirt and Bimbo—the latter having never exhibited aggression towards humans before—attempted to strike the diver. The whales repeatedly rejected efforts to lure them away from Bubbles, and only after multiple attempts was the diver successful in removing the deceased whale from the tank.[30]

At the time of Bubbles' death, she, Bimbo, and Squirt had all lived together for more than a year. They appeared closely bonded as they frequently swam together, vocalized, and rubbed against one another. Yet, Marineland staff were surprised at the behaviour displayed by Bimbo after Bubbles' death, since long-term aiding behaviour is significantly rarer in male cetaceans than in females. Similar behaviour between cetacean mothers and calves had been observed often in the wild, but Bimbo's response was unique since he was a mature male and not related to Bubbles. Brown initially proposed that Bimbo's behavior was a direct response to the stressful and confining quarters of captivity, but later interactions caused the curator to reassess his conclusions.[31]

[30] Brown, "Further Observations on the Pilot Whale in Captivity," 63. Another female pilot whale was later renamed Bubbles, she lived in captivity at Marineland of the Pacific and SeaWorld until her death in 2016.
[31] Ibid.

Several years after Bubbles' death, "Debbie," a striped dolphin who had lived with Bimbo and Squirt for over three years, died in their shared tank. Marineland personnel reported Bimbo swimming around the tank, holding the deceased dolphin by its fins and tail for hours. When a diver entered the tank to remove the dolphin, two female pilot whales tried to block his access to Bimbo and Debbie. The diver was able to successfully harpoon Debbie, but when the dolphin was hauled out of the pool, Bimbo launched himself out of the tank, grasped Debbie, and pulled her back into the tank. A second attempt to remove the dolphin was also blocked by Bimbo. On their third attempt, Marineland divers managed to harpoon and remove Debbie from the tank. Bimbo reportedly responded with loud, shrill cries but calmed within an hour and resumed performances the next day.[32]

Marineland researchers made several observations based on Bimbo's reactions to the deaths of Bubbles and Debbie. Most notable was the idea that cetaceans could recognize and form attachments not only to individuals from their own species, but to other species as well. One article published about Debbie's death noted that Bimbo displayed several signs indicating an emotional connection to the dolphin. First, Bimbo's gentle handling of the body was "particularly striking and showed the most careful deliberation."[33] Despite carrying the dolphin around for hours, the only marks on her body came from the moments when Bimbo prevented divers from removing Debbie from the tank. Second, Marineland personnel observed Bimbo's startled expression, an automatic response to emotional stress exhibited in both humans and animals. Finally, before Debbie's death, another female pilot whale died in the same tank as Bimbo. Yet, Bimbo had only known the whale for ten days and completely ignored the body. These observations together suggested that cetaceans could form long-time attachments with individual animals and can exhibit both affection and grief for other animals.[34]

The complex social interactions observed at Marineland spurred a dramatic paradigm shift in marine mammalogy as scientists expanded their studies beyond physiological research. While pilot whales' adaptation to captivity and quick responses to training were apparent from Bubbles' first days of captivity, the social complexity of the species

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[32] Melba C. Caldwell, David H. Brown, and David K. Caldwell, "Intergeneric Behavior by a Captive Pacific Pilot Whale," *Contributions in Science* no. 70 (October 1963): 4-8.
[33] Ibid., 9.
[34] Ibid.

was less understood.[35] After several years of captivity and research, cetaceans were now understood to form connections and bonds with other individuals, and were no longer seen as indistinct, mindless members of a pod. The information was valuable to Marineland personnel from a commercial point of view since it justified their capture of more whales, but it also transformed how scientists thought about cetaceans. From their observations, Marineland researchers started seeing whales and dolphins not only as anatomically unique, but also as socially and emotionally complex, an unfamiliar idea in cetacean science.

By the end of 1962, Marineland staff and researchers acknowledged the importance of social interactions among cetaceans and shared it with the public. For example, Norris starred on a University of California radio program entitled *Moby Dick's Cousins,* in which he discussed his echolocation experiments and the discovery of cooperation in whales and dolphins. Listeners learned that cetaceans were "not dull, lumbering creatures but animals of unusually high mental dexterity."[36] Yet doubts about cetacean emotional intelligence persisted and the majority of researchers and Marineland personnel did not extend their discovery of this intelligence to consideration on the ethics of captivity. To do so would require both researchers and oceanariums to acknowledge their own role in the "violent exercise of power" embedded in captivity and to question the balance between moral obligations and commercial or scientific potential.[37]

Complications in Captivity

In December 1963, Marineland captured a Pacific common dolphin, who joined Bimbo, along with a female pilot whale, a false killer whale, and several species of dolphins in the oceanarium's main pool. Two months later, to the surprise of Marineland staff, the dolphin went into labour and struggled to deliver a stillborn calf. One striped dolphin exhibited familiar aiding behaviour by pulling the calf free from the mother. The mother brought the dead calf's body to the surface, but she was interrupted by Bimbo who grabbed the calf, carried it around the tank for

[35] Brown, "Behavior of a Captive Pilot Whale," 346; Brown, "Further Observations on the Pilot Whale in Captivity," 60.
[36] "Moby Dick's Cousins," University of California: Radio-Television Administration, Broadcast #5051, April 29, 1962, Marineland Scrapbook 1957-1959, Box 60, Norris (Kenneth S.) Papers, UCSCA.
[37] Werner, "What the Whale Was," 22.

Figure 4: *Dave Brown & Ken Norris*, 1954.

over thirty minutes, and eventually devoured the carcass. The mother dolphin appeared distressed for several minutes as she whistled and swam around the tank, before calming and delivering the afterbirth with the help of a false killer whale. Bimbo's behaviour was especially puzzling considering he had previously shown cross-species mourning behaviour, but Brown, Caldwell, and Caldwell mention Bimbo's volatile behaviour had increased over the previous year, culminating with him attacking and killing one female pilot whale.[38]

When Bimbo was initially captured, Jacobs described how the whale's calm demeanor surprised Marineland personnel. Although the large male was "unmistakably a bull," he was not aggressive and appeared far more "placid and tractable than Bubbles."[39] Bimbo, however, seemed to never fully recover from the loss of Bubbles and Debbie. Months after Debbie's death in 1962, Marineland personnel described Bimbo as behaving in "a psychotic manner," with "aggressive asocial activity."[40] He lost his appetite, refused to perform, and lashed out at tank mates with whom he had previously lived peacefully. Brown's first attempt in administering antidepressants to the whale seemed successful, but after one week of calm behaviour, Bimbo attacked and killed a female pilot whale, throwing the 780-pound whale

[38] David H. Brown, David K. Caldwell, and Melba C. Caldwell, "Observations on the Behavior of Wild and Captive False Killer Whales, with Notes on Associated Behavior of Other Genera of Captive Delphinids," *Contributions in Science* no. 95 (April 1966): 7-12, 25.
[39] Jacobs, *Marineland Divers,* 175.
[40] Brown, Caldwell, and Caldwell, "Observations on the Behavior," 25.

out of the water and causing heart damage and multiple bone fractures.[41] Brown then turned to other cetaceans to help soothe the distressed whale.

Brown partly drained Bimbo's tank, stranding the pilot whales and allowing the dolphins to swim and nuzzle against Bimbo in an "obvious attempt to help and soothe him."[42] Marineland personnel believed "a common stress conjointly shared might re-establish the strong relationship normally so evident in this gregarious species."[43] Not only did researchers recognize how essential the complex social structure of cetaceans was to their well-being, they also believed these social bonds could help heal emotional distress. Their theory was correct to an extent. Aside from the incident with the dolphin calf, Bimbo displayed no further aggressive behaviour towards other animals, yet he still refused to eat and was removed from daily performances. Brown then returned to medication in hopes of curing the whale's apathy. By the end of 1963, Bimbo had lost over 500-pounds, becoming dangerously underweight. Consequently, Brown administered the whale 6,000 milligrams of an antidepressant in hopes of boosting his appetite. Within a day, Bimbo's spirits improved and he began eating again.[44]

Bimbo was the first cetacean to receive antidepressants at Marineland of the Pacific. Although his treatment initiated the now-routine procedure of administering mood stabilizers to captive cetaceans, the idea that whales were aware of their captivity and could feel depressed had gained traction among researchers and the public throughout Bimbo's treatment. While in the twenty-first century there is little doubt about whales' cognitive abilities, the belief that cetaceans have a conscious mind of their own and do not just react instinctively, was uncommon half a century ago. The belief that cetaceans could respond emotionally to their surroundings was, however emerging in the mid-twentieth century. The idea was reaffirmed in *Wonders of an Oceanarium,* when Jacobs explains that Bimbo was given "the same kind [of medications] doctors give to people with mental breakdowns," and that for Bimbo, "life in captivity seemed to have affected the whale's mind" since after some time, "a tank may begin to seem like a prison."[45] Although scientific articles were more restrained, they also recognized that Bimbo's apparent depression could not be attributed to any disease

[41] Brown, Caldwell, and Caldwell, "Observations on the Behavior," 25.
[42] Duane Valentry, "Big Star All at Sea," *Sea Frontiers* no. 15 (1969): 223.
[43] Brown, Caldwell, and Caldwell, "Observations on the Behavior," 25.
[44] Valentry, "Big Star All at Sea," 223.
[45] Lou Jacobs Jr., *Wonders of an Oceanarium: The Story of Marine Life in Captivity* (California: Golden Gate Books, 1965), 67.

or infection. Instead, Marineland researchers suggested that Bimbo's volatile behaviour came from the environmental stress caused by participating in performances.[46]

Bimbo's erratic behaviour continued, and on June 6, 1967, instead of performing his usual leap and splash at the end of the whale and dolphin performance, Bimbo charged an observation window in his pool and crashed through the double-paned glass. Four visitors were knocked down, over 300,000 gallons of water drained from the whale tank, and Bimbo suffered several lacerations. The American Humane Society investigated the collision, and a spokesperson suggested Bimbo had been frightened and, similar to a spooked horse, reacted instinctively. In response, Bill Monahan, Marineland's general manager, stated that Bimbo could not be compared to a horse since he was more intelligent and reasonable. Rather, Monahan believed Bimbo's collision was "just a freak error." After all, "why should he want to escape?"[47] The tank was repaired and performances soon resumed, but behind the scenes, Marineland staff were hard at work planning Bimbo's future.

With Bimbo noticeably struggling in captivity, Marineland personnel decided it would be best to release him back to the wild. His erratic behaviour, along with his large size, placed Marineland at risk, both financially and with its public image. Staff moved Bimbo to isolation and he underwent a multitude of physical tests to get him ready for release.[48] In early July, Bimbo was brought back to the Catalina Channel—his capture site eight years earlier—and released into the open ocean. The release seemed successful with Bimbo immediately joining a pod of pilot whales. Although other research facilities released several dolphins in earlier years, none conducted follow-up studies and the animals' survivals were never confirmed. Marineland employee John Prescott claimed to spot Bimbo swimming off the California Coast in 1969 and 1974. While it is possible that Prescott recognized Bimbo, pilot whale pods traverse the Pacific Coast and cetacean identification through scars and markings was uncommon in cetacean sciences until the 1980s. It is likely that Prescott did not see Bimbo, but instead, another large pilot whale, and sought to improve Marineland's standing by capitalizing on growing save-the-whales and anti-captivity movements of the early

[46] Brown, Caldwell, and Caldwell, "Observations on the Behavior," 26.
[47] Dial Torgerson, "Why did Bimbo Shatter Glass Window?" *Los Angeles Times,* June 6, 1967.
[48] Valentry, "Big Star All at Sea," 223.

1970s.[49] Yet some believe that Marineland of the Pacific's release of Bimbo was the first successful reintroduction of a cetacean back into the wild.[50]

By the late 1960s, increased competition from other marine parks led Marineland of the Pacific to struggle financially. In an attempt to improve their finances, the park further emphasized entertainment at the cost of research and education efforts. Although SeaWorld's opening in 1964 caused Marineland of the Pacific's revenue and popularity to decline, Bimbo's release in 1967 could have reaffirmed the oceanarium as a leader in cetacean research.[51] His reintroduction showed potential opportunities for breeding and release and endorsed life in captivity as comparable to the wild since Bimbo could survive in both environments. Years earlier, Marineland managers and employees prided themselves on cetacean research and education, but by 1967, personnel appeared concerned about what scientific research or behind-the-scenes information was released to the public. Marineland published little about Bimbo's behaviour, training program, or reintroduction; instead, Marineland personnel's focus shifted to ensuring the park had effective animal husbandry techniques and entertaining shows. Since Bimbo no longer enhanced Marineland's image of wholesome entertainment, he was largely ignored and then quietly removed from the oceanarium. Furthermore, the oceanarium likely kept Bimbo's removal hidden from the public because of possible angry reactions to the park giving up on and ejecting a beloved whale from its home.

Less than a decade of whale captivity had caused a complete transformation in scientific and public understanding of the social and emotional intelligence of cetaceans. At a time when active whaling was taking place only hours away from Marineland and marine mammalogists were often required to hunt and kill their own specimens, Marineland personnel were not only considering the social bonds among whales and dolphins but also the psychological harm captivity and death could do to cetaceans. While Marineland and other oceanariums continued to capture and display cetaceans despite evidence about the

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[49] Dorothy Townsend, "'Psychotic' Bimbo Banished, Returned to Old Sea Haunts," *Los Angeles Times,* November 23, 1967; Jim Patryla, *A Photographic Journey Back to Marineland of the Pacific* (Lulu Books, 2005), 44.
[50] Patryla, *A Photographic Journey,* 44.
[51] Economics Research Associates, *An Economic Plan for the Revitalization of Marineland* (Los Angeles, June, 1972): I-1, Millay Papers, Box 9, File 423, University of Central Florida Archives.

psychological and physical harm it causes, many other marine mammalogists, such as Alexandra Morton and Paul Spong, learned about the intelligence and needs of whales from their work in the industry, and were then inspired to rally against captivity and whaling in later years.[52] Today, the notion of emotional and social intelligence in cetaceans is often taken for granted, yet scientists and ethicists have debated the idea of animal consciousness for centuries. While Marineland researchers were starting to consider cetaceans' mental states in the 1960s, it took until 2012 for a group of neuroscientists, in the presence of Dr. Stephen Hawking, to sign the Cambridge Declaration on Consciousness and confirm that non-humans were conscious beings.[53]

Contemporary Oceanarium Research

In the 1950s and 1960s, Marineland of the Pacific inspired leaders in the field of marine mammalogy, provided unprecedented opportunities to study cetaceans, and expanded fundamental knowledge about whale physiology and social structure. Yet the trend of valuing entertainment over education and research in oceanariums has continued to grow throughout the late twentieth century and into the present day. While Craig Phillips, the former director of the National Aquarium, hoped that oceanariums would "begin to place less emphasis on 'show business,'" and instead display "such natural wonders as bioluminescence, animal sonar, color-changing, protective mimicry, and convergent and divergent evolution," contemporary oceanariums have failed to encourage such research and education.[54] Despite many marine parks boasting about their scientific programs, close investigation of financial records suggest present-day oceanariums continue to expand the field of animal husbandry while marine mammalogy research dwindles.

In the 1980s, the Whale and Dolphin Conservation Society commissioned Erich Hoyt, a cetacean activist-writer, to conduct an in-

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[52] Alexandra Morton worked at Marineland in the 1970s studying killer whale vocalizations before shifting her focus to wild killer whales. Paul Spong studied killer whales at Vancouver Aquarium in the late 1960s. Following his discoveries at the aquarium, he became a leader in the anti-captivity movements in the Pacific Northwest. For more see: Alexandra Morton, *Listening to Whales: What the Orcas Have Taught Us* (New York: Ballantine Book, 2002); Frank Zelko, *Make it a Green Peace!: The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[53] Philip Low and Christof Koch, "Cambridge Declaration on Consciousness," (signed at Francis Crick Memorial Conference on Consciousness in Human and non-Human Animals, Cambridge, UK, July 7, 2012), http://fcmconference.org/img/CambridgeDeclarationOnConsciousness.pdf.

[54] Craig Phillips, *The Captive Sea* (Philadelphia: Chilton Company, 1964), 271.

depth examination of oceanariums across North America. Hoyt interviewed politicians, marine park managers and curators, scientists, and animal trainers to uncover the scientific and educational value of whale captivity, as well as the health and safety of both orcas and their human trainers at the parks. In his report, Hoyt revealed that although "scientific programmes of most marine parks are used as arguments to support keeping orcas and other dolphins... the portion of the budget devoted to science is very small," and averages around 1% of the total operating budget at most oceanariums.[55] Hoyt noted that while some parks, such as Vancouver Public Aquarium and Marineland of the Pacific, provided insight on the natural history of their animals during performances, other oceanariums largely focused on playing music and exciting the crowd. Overall, the oceanariums he studied focused more on developing performances and personalities for their animals rather than educating audiences. Hoyt's report concluded that most oceanariums use science to legitimize their enclosures, and none were "in a position to boast to the public about its scientific mission."[56]

In recent years, oceanariums have come under intense criticism regarding the ethics of captivity and usefulness of research conducted on animals in captivity. Since contemporary marine research often focuses on ensuring sustainable wild marine mammal populations and the discovery of cetacean culture in those populations, the behaviour displayed by captive animals contributes little to understanding innate animal behaviour.[57] Yet modern advancements in technologies, such as cameras, boats, and drones, that allow for noninvasive field research require massive amounts of funding that scientific institutions often lack. SeaWorld's for-profit parks, for example, allow the SeaWorld and Busch Gardens Conservation Fund (SWBGCF) to provide financial assistance for institutions such as the Hubbs SeaWorld Research Institute, Wilderness Foundation Africa, and dozens more. In 2013, however, SeaWorld made a net profit of $50 million but only contributed $669,422 to the SWBGCF, roughly 1.3% of the park's total earnings.[58] Despite

[55] Erich Hoyt, *The Performing Orca-Why The Show Must Stop: An In-depth Review of the Captive Orca Industry* (England: Whale and Dolphin Conservation Society, 1992), vii.
[56] Ibid., 76.
[57] For more on cetacean culture see: Hal Whitehead and Luke Rendell, *The Cultural Lives of Whales and Dolphins* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).
[58] U.S. Department of Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, *Form 990PF: Return of Private Foundation: SeaWorld and Busch Gardens Conservation Fund (2013).* Retrieved from ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer database; U.S. Securities and Exchange

promoting conservation and research as one of oceanariums' main missions, Hoyt's conclusions about the tenuous connection between oceanariums and research remain valid today.

Early research at Marineland of the Pacific not only allowed scientists to gather foundational information about cetacean anatomy, swimming speeds and echolocation—information we often take for granted now—but also encouraged scientists to rethink the social life of whales. By observing close interactions, social bonds, and expressions of grief and apathy, marine mammalogists recognized whales and dolphins as emotionally and socially complex animals, an idea rarely considered in the 1950s. While cetacean intelligence was well known, especially in terms of their ability to be trained, the discovery of emotional intelligence and unique personalities revolutionized both marine mammalogy and the way public audiences understood and perceived whales, and especially the park's iconic pilot whales. Yet, research in captivity has limits, and in the twenty-first century, both animal ethics and the marine mammalogy field call for non-invasive field research, not continuous studies of captive animals, to expand knowledge about marine life.

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Figure 1: *"Kathy" Presses the Lever Blindfolded*, 1959. Photograph. Located in Marineland Scrapbook 1950-1957, Norris (Kenneth S.) Papers, Box 59, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Santa Cruz.

Figure 2: *Dave Feeds Bubbles for the First Time*, 1957. Photograph. Located in Marineland Scrapbook 1957-1959, Norris (Kenneth S.) Papers, Box 60, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Santa Cruz.

Figure 3: *A Whale Nips Divers' Flipper*, 1959. Photograph. Located in Norris (Kenneth S.) Papers, Box 65, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Santa Cruz.

Figure 4: *Dave Brown & Ken Norris*, 1954. Photograph. Located in Marineland Scrapbook 1950-1957, Norris (Kenneth S.) Papers, Box 59, Special Collections and Archives, University of California, Santa Cruz.

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The Pitch of Public Opinion: Debating Professional Football's Place in Wartime Britain, 1914-1915

BART LaFASO

Abstract: "The Pitch of Public Opinion" examines the public discussion and debate regarding the cancelation of professional association football in Britain during the First World War. Using the phrase, 'the Football Debates' to refer to the discourse, this paper argues that the concepts of social standing, masculinity, and class especially, shaped opinions on professional football's value in British wartime society. I demonstrate that the criticism of professional football coalesced around two arguments: that British football fans shirked their duty by partaking in sport, and that the playing of professional sport during wartime harmed Britain's reputation among its allies and enemies. In turn, I highlight how football's supporters combatted these critiques, and argued for the necessity of the institution of professional football during the tumults of wartime. "The Pitch of Public Opinion" pinpoints this almost yearlong debate about professional football's wartime fate as the culmination of more than sixty years' worth of tension between the professional and amateur models of sport in Britain. Drawing from a primary source base that includes contemporary newspaper coverage of 'the Football Debates' and recruitment posters aimed at the working-class Britons who partook in football culture, this article elucidates the social and political factors that affected British perception of professional football during a time of national crisis.

In the three decades before the First World War, professional football flourished in Britain, attracting thousands of fans and solidifying its standing as the nation's de facto winter sport. While the 1863 adoption of the Cambridge Rules as the standards for playing football signaled the birth of the modern game, the rise of professionalism in the 1880s accelerated the growth of the game, as well as its footprint on British society. On the eve of the war, the Amateur Football Association, the Football Association's (FA) strongest, most vocal rival, ceded what little momentum it gained and reconciled with its professional counterpart.[1] King George V even took part in Britain's new sporting craze; his

[1] Dave Russell, *Football and the English: A Social History of Association Football in England, 1863-1997* (Preston, England: Carnegie Publishing, 1997), 41.

attendance at the 1914 FA Cup Final seemed to signal royal approval of the professional game's primacy in British sporting culture. Not all Britons tolerated the ascent of professional association football. During the thirty years between the adoption of professionalism and the outbreak of the First World War, many middle-class and aristocratic Britons critiqued professional football's growing place in society. These Britons, who played sports in public schools in order to develop physical strength and moral fortitude, were shocked to see victory and monetary gain become legitimate reasons to play football. They argued that professionalism stripped away the moral benefits of playing sport, and made victory the only valued outcome of playing. Critics railed that the victory-at-all-costs ethos of professional sports was particularly uncivilized, arguing that it encouraged cheating, deception, and other practices that tainted the spirit of the game.[2]

At the turn of the twentieth century, upper- and middle-class Britons pushed more vigorously for the use of professional sport for societal development. As sports like football became more ubiquitous in society, elite social reformers recognized the utility of sport for creating stronger, healthier, and more patriotic working-class men. While physical education had been a staple of Britain's public schools for almost two centuries, disciples of muscular Christianity, the view that physical education was critical to the cultivation of an upright, moral character, set their sights on spreading the physical and moral benefits of organized sport to working-class institutions.[3] These reformers were especially concerned by the poor health of British recruits for the Boer War. The poor health and unfitness of the urban men who volunteered for the war shocked British elites, sparking concerns about Britain's ability to achieve its imperial aims.[4] In the ensuing decade, private organizations like the Boy Scouts strove to cultivate health, morality, and patriotism among urban, working-class boys.[5] At the same time, state-run schools began to formally introduce organized sport into their curricula, further strengthening the case for sport's utility to the British state.[6] This increased use of sporting culture for the cultivation of health

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[2] Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915* (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1980), 223-224.
[3] Ibid., 12-13.
[4] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 13.
[5] Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health and Fitness in Britain, 1880-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 84.
[6] Ibid., 29-30.

and patriotism came at the same time as professional football's rise in popularity. The simultaneous growth of the professional model of sport and the moral model of sport during the twentieth century set the stage for the clashes between supporters and detractors of professional football during the Great War, as they war's outbreak demanded sacrifices from the working-class men who had been involved in both institutions.

Football came under critique at the beginning of the First World War because it, like many other forms of leisure, was seen as a form of frivolous cultural excess that jeopardized the British war effort. Unlike other leisure activities, such as theatre and popular music performances, professional football was in a unique position to receive criticism.[7] Football received vocal criticism because adult men, those expected to serve in the war, overwhelmingly comprised the demographic of those who played and spectated the game. Professional footballers were labeled as unpatriotic shirkers who preferred to use their physical strength to play sport for money instead of serving in the British Army. Fans were maligned for their choice to fill the stands every Saturday instead of volunteering for the war. Compounding these criticisms of professional football as an institution, its players, and the spectators was the underlying class tension present in the sport. British historian Colin Veitch perfectly sums up how class factored into the wartime debate on professional football, writing,

> football proved to be the medium through which vocal elements of the middle and upper class launched an embittered literary attack upon the working-class reaction to crystallization of strong feelings over the social changes which had occurred in football in the previous thirty years.[8]

Professional football was without a doubt *the* sport of Britain's working class. While the middle- and upper-classes were the ones who "athleticized" British society by incorporating organized games into boys' school curricula, the working class had made professional games their own by the end of the nineteenth century.[9] As seen above, the proliferation of professionalism in sport was anathema to middle-class

[7] Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 72.
[8] Colin Veitch, "Play Up, Play Up and Win the Game: Football, the Nation, and the First World War, 1914-1915," *Journal of Contemporary History* 20 (1985): 367.
[9] Varda Burstyn, *The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 46.

and aristocratic preference for amateurism, a philosophy of sport that valued the moral aspect of playing the game above all else. The overwhelmingly working-class support for the professional game was derided by much of the public-school class who used moralistic arguments to rail against the emergence of professionalism in sport.

With the outbreak of the First World War, detractors of professional football had an incredibly strong argument for their position. In this paper, I argue that the debate to cancel professional football took on the characteristics of the divisions between Britain's upper classes and its working classes. The divisions were sparked by differing opinions on how Britain needed to respond to the outbreak of the Great War. For upper- and middle-class Britons, sport's role in society was to strengthen and exalt values like bravery, resilience, and male solidarity, and not threaten them. For the working classes, professional football had become an institution around which many structured their leisure time, social lives, and local identities. Coming approximately thirty years after the legalization of professionalism in football, the outbreak of the First World War caused the Football Debates to be more urgent and spirited than ever before.

Even though the urban working class in Britain received the brunt of criticism for their participation in football, they volunteered at a high rate in the opening months of the war. More than 100,000 men volunteered to fight between August 8-22, 1914.[10] Despite their steady enrollment for military service, working-class men remained the target of upper-class Britons, government officials, military leaders, and ordinary citizens who viewed professional football as the chief vice that prevented men from fulfilling their duty to their country. The written record of the Football Debates that is preserved in the pages of Britain's newspapers demonstrates the discord between the expectations placed on the working class by middle- and upper-class Britons and the reality of working-class life.[11] Despite the relatively positive response of working-class Britons to the call for war, their group's general affinity for professional football seemed to negate their overwhelming participation in the recruitment effort during the first year of the Great War. Pressure on British men came from national and local governments, employers, other men, wives, and other female family

[10] Burstyn, *The Rites of Men*, 31.

[11] I have created and employed the phrase 'Football Debates' to refer to the public, printed discourse on football's place in British society that occurred between 1914-1915. For the purpose of this paper, the phrase specifically refers to materials published in the public domain, namely newspaper articles and recruitment posters.

members.[12] Parliament even debated the necessity of passing legislation to suspend professional football during wartime, a demonstration that these debates had come to a head in the British socio-political realm. As will be examined, professional football's overwhelmingly male and working-class fan base ensured that recruiters and the pro-war upper and middle classes pressured the sport to step aside in the face of war.

It is important to acknowledge that professional football's eventual postponement in 1915 was also influenced by the business considerations of the game. When the decision to cancel the football season was finally made, the steadily waning revenues from the game were often just as influential as the almost constant drum beat of critique leveled at the professional game.[13] As early as September 1914, revenue from ticket sales had decreased compared to receipts from the previous season, correlating with the noticeable drop in attendance numbers after the outbreak of the war.[14] The variety of arguments made regarding professional football, and the multiple factors that influenced the cancelation of the professional game in 1915, help to provide a more nuanced understanding of the role sport played in society, and how British citizens acted within the various communities that made up their society.

The steady publication of anti-football news, editorials and opinions placed great pressure on the professional football during the first year of the war. Whereas the print media played a large role in the growth of professional football's popularity, Britain's newspapers quickly became the venue where detractors argued against professional football's place during wartime. Both editorials and non-opinion reporting featured critiques of the professional game, though opinion pieces became the most common venue for critiques that lambasted professional football. National newspaper circulation was at an all-time high during the war years, with *The Daily Telegraph* reaching an

[12] For a discussion of the societal pressure placed on men to volunteer for military service, see: Nicoletta Gullace, *The Blood of Our Sons: Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), specifically the chapter "Conscription, Conscience, and the Travails of Male Citizenship." For more see: Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, especially the chapter "Malingering."

[13] Multiple newspaper editorials that I have consulted argue against the claim that football was ruining the recruiting effort by citing attendance figures that suggest a prominent drop in crowd size during the first year of the war. See: "Football in the War," *The Manchester Guardian*, January 13, 1915.

[14] Mason, *Association Football and English Society*, 253.

audience of 300,000 at its peak.[15] Provincial publications such as *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Hull Daily Mail* paid close attention to the fate of football. Newspapers kept their readership up to date on the fate of football. *The Times* and *The Manchester Guardian* published the results of the concurrent FA and Football League meetings, at which the official decision to cancel professional football for the duration of the war was made, on July 20, 1915, one day after the meetings took place.

Even if certain Britons did not engage with the Football Debates by reading editorials in the newspaper, they had access to the arguments against football through other forms of media. Recruitment posters often utilized the same patriotic, moralistic, and masculine arguments that were published in anti-football editorials.[16] Some posters even made mention of the relationship between the battlefield and the playing field, highlighting the middle- and upper-class view of participation in organized sport as a means by which boys learned how to "practice masculinity."[17] While only a handful of recruitment posters made explicit reference to football and other team sports, almost all of them utilized the theme of masculine patriotism to convince men of their obligation to volunteer. Local recruiting meetings and larger recruiting drives, including some that took place at football grounds, exposed working-class British men to the appeals that espoused the honorable character of war service and their obligation as men to come to the nation's aid.[18] Whether Britons read them in newspapers, saw them on posters, or heard them at recruiting drives, the language and campaigns that disparaged football and promoted "the Greater Game" were easy to find during the first year of the war.

The first and most broad category of editorials and articles on the football question consisted of opinions that criticized the continued playing of professional football during wartime, and considered it a dereliction of duty by those young men who continued to play the game. These articles most often discussed how the physical prowess of footballers was wasted on the playing field and would be of better use in service to the British Expeditionary Force. The second-most frequent anti-professionalism argument claimed that Britain's insistence on

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[15] Kevin Williams, *Read All About It! A History of the British Newspaper* (New York; Routledge, 2010), 135.
[16] John Patrick Stewart, "Mobilizing manliness, masculinity and nationalism on British recruiting posters, 1914-1915" (MA thesis, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, 2012), 9.
[17] Burstyn, *The Rites of Men*, 66.
[18] Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 75-6.

playing professional football during the war disgraced the sacrifices of their allies, and revealed that Britain was not fully committed to participating in the war effort. This argument against football took on even greater significance after the British press propagandized the "Rape of Belgium," an atrocity whose press coverage provoked many Britons to sympathize with the plight of "brave little Belgium" at the hands of the Germans. Pro-war voices argued that the invasion of Belgium made the need for unwavering British involvement more urgent, and contended that distractions like professional football could not continue. The third classification of opinions on professional football are those that came to the defense of the game. Some guardians of the game framed their defense through a discussion of class, considering the anti-football voices to be overtly biased against the working class. These authors claimed that the aristocracy and wealthy Britons did not sacrifice their luxurious lifestyles, nor their actual lives, in response to the war, yet expected the working class to divest themselves of leisure in the name of the war effort. Not every voice defended football by attacking the upper classes, though. Authors who did not argue through this framework pointed out how ingrained professional football had become in British society and, thus, how disruptive it would be to abruptly put an end to the sport. Though these defenses of football did not always include a defense of professionalism, they did defend the right of Britons to enjoy leisure, especially during the uncertainty of wartime.

A Matter of Duty

The concepts of duty and service to one's nation were referenced in almost all of the editorials that addressed the 'football question'. The importance of rendering service to Britain and ensuring that the nation's needs were met during wartime was even referenced in some of the editorials that defended the professional game. This sense of duty was without a doubt gendered, as the burden of fighting fell squarely on the shoulders of men. The appeals to masculinity made by critics of professional football comprised a critical aspect of their overall rhetorical strategy. Leveraging of masculinity as part of the pro-volunteering message reflected what historian Joanna Bourke has called "the price for male citizenship."[19] In her definition of this phrase, Bourke discusses the dissonance between the privileged societal status that men had compared to women and children, arguing that this high status was predicated on the notion that they were required to risk death, disease,

[19] Bourke, *Dismembering the Male,* 77.

and mutilation in order to defend their country.[20] Indeed, the pressure placed on able-bodied British men to volunteer for military service was immense, as it came from municipal governments, their employers, and even their own families.[21] These forces were so strong that they seemed to force a realignment of societal divisions. Whereas society had traditionally been divided between the "classes and the masses," Britain's entry into the war changed that dichotomy by pitting those in favor of the war against those who did not support British involvement.[22] This recalibration of societal divisions had a profound effect on men of military age, as they were expected to be in favor of the war or, at the very least, assent to fight in the war.[23] Specifically, the outbreak of war caused a shift in opinion about the British Army. Previously distrusted as a dishonorable institution for men with no other options in life, the working-class men who began to fill the ranks began to more favorably view the British Army as an institution, as the war provided a tangible and prescient reason to fight.[24]

The Football Debates show that despite the change in how British society was divided, class remained an important metric through which society ordered itself. One could certainly be a member of the working class and pro-war.[25] As historians have shown, the working class's rate of volunteering for the war effort was substantial, a demonstration of the fact that many members of the working class were at least willing to assent to fighting in the war, no matter their political allegiance.[26] The attack on football, though, demonstrates that class division remained relevant during wartime. The perception that adherence to football culture constituted a dereliction of duty drove a fair amount of the anti-

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[20] Bourke, *Dismembering the Male,* 77.
[21] Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 77.
[22] Nicoletta Gullace, *The Blood of Our Sons*: *Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 111.
[23] The minimum age for British Army recruits was nineteen years old. However, in the first years of the war, thousands of boys under the age of nineteen entered the army by lying about their age to recruiters. See Greg James, "How did Britain let 250,000 underage soldiers fight in WWI?" *BBC iWonder*. http://www.bbc.co.uk/guides /zcvdhyc.
[24] Silbey, "Their Graves Like Beds: the British working class and their enthusiasm for war, 1914-1916" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1999), 269-270.
[25] Ibid., 267-8. Importantly, Silbey mentions that the sort of patriotism that working-class men often displayed in response to the war tended to be filtered through a local lens. Men felt a duty to protect the people and institutions with which they had a relationship, and not the larger institutions that defined a more national conception of patriotism.
[26] Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 74; Silbey, "Their Graves like Beds," 271.

football discourse, despite evidence that demonstrated the opposite. For the game's critics, professional footballs effect on the creation and strengthening of local identities in urban environments clashed with the need for a unified national response to the war. The pro-volunteer, anti-professional football rhetoric demanded that working-class football fans participated in something bigger than themselves, their football team, and their city.

The demand for allegiance to a greater identity is vividly encapsulated in the famous recruitment poster "The Greater Game." This poster, published by *Punch* on October 21, 1914, featured Mr. Punch, the mascot of the satirical magazine, sternly deriding a professional footballer by claiming that, "No doubt you can make money in this field, my friend, but there's only one field to-day where you can get honour."[27] This poster, and others like it, served as ever-present reminders that Britain's ruling elite saw football as an impediment that stood in the way of the honor that one could achieve by fighting in the Great War. Referencing football matches played by soldiers at the front, the author of an editorial entitled "The Greater Game" wrote,

> there will be a more genuine pleasure about this game played in mud-stained khaki than will ever be felt on the League club grounds at home during these days when the Empire is calling as never before on her sons.[28]

Those who espoused this rhetoric of duty to nation and empire expected all Britons to debase their local identity in the service of a greater British identity. As will be shown, members of the football community were quick to ensure that the public record reflected that team owners, players, and fans were not the shirkers that the anti-football voices portrayed them to be.

Parliament Addresses Football

Detractors of the professional game often implored Parliament to use their power to stop the playing of the professional game for the benefit of the war effort. Parliament remained fairly quiet about football, in comparison to the fervent discussions of professional football that took place in the editorial pages. Members of Parliament were cognizant of the strong negative opinion on football, an opinion reflected in some of their debates. However, their rhetoric and stances on football tended to

[27] Poster reproduced in Stanley Weintraub, *Silent Night: the story of the World War I Christmas Truce* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 97.
[28] G. E., "The Greater Game," *The Times*, November 30, 1914.

be more moderate than those of the professional game's most staunch opponents. The British Parliament's most discussed solution to 'the football question' was to levy a tax on the price of entry for professional games to dissuade attendance. On December 20, David Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was asked about the possibility of levying a tax on the price of entry at football matches, a prospect that reportedly received noticeable support in the House of Commons.[29] Similarly, the prospect of ending the practice of offering discounted rail fares for travelling football fans was briefly debated on November 24. Conservative MP W.C. Bridgeman asked whether the practice still existed, assuming that the government's wartime control of the railway meant that the practice had ended.[30] Indeed it had not. Bridgeman would go on to advocate for a scheme that called for using the money raised from football fans travelling by rail to directly fund the war.[31] During the same question period, Colonel C.E. Yate, another Conservative MP, asked a question about levying a tax on the price of entry for all non-uniformed football spectators, yet was unanswered.[32] Short of ending the professional game through the nationalization of football fields, using taxes to increase the price of football was the best option available to Parliament for dissuading participation in the game.

More radical than the tax solutions were Parliament's limited references to the notion that they should vote to nationalize football grounds in order to put a definitive end to the professional season. Parliament's limited debate on the potential nationalization of football grounds reflected a larger trend among opponents of professional football. Critics who argued for the nationalization of professional football grounds wanted Parliament to take definitive action against those professional teams who, in their view, ignored the gravity of the war by continuing play. Their desire for a parliament-imposed solution mirrored the stance of critics who advocated for a "gate tax" solution. One editorial in *The Times* that was published on November 24, 1914 called for Parliament to pass an act that would dissolve the professional game outright by making the collection of gate money illegal.[33] Despite

[29] "Parliamentary Correspondence: War Exemptions," *The Manchester Guardian*, November 20, 1914.
[30] "House of Commons, War Business Only," *The Manchester Guardian*, November 24, 1914.
[31] Mason, *Association Football and English Society*, 252.
[32] Ibid.
[33] "Football and Fighting," *The Times*, November 25, 1914.

their discussion of potential solutions, direct Parliamentary intervention did not result in the cancelation of the game.

International Respect and Image

For critics of the professional game, participants in football culture not only shirked their duty to the British war effort by remaining loyal to the game, but disregarded the war efforts of Britain's allies as well. In this second genre of anti-football editorial, detractors of football argued that the continuation of professional football actively hindered Britain's ability to stand in solidarity with France, Belgium, and to a lesser extent, Russia. Many critics were also embarrassed about what their German enemies might have thought of the British obsession with professional sport. Anti-professional football voices argued that their allies would be rendered incredulous by a nation whose obsession with sport was so strong that it had the potential to hinder its war effort. Critics of the game framed their objection to football through this language of embarrassment. They were ashamed of what they perceived to be a lackluster, unpatriotic response to Britain's declaration of war, and it was the continuation of professional football that embodied their embarrassment and disappointment. Language such as "disgrace" and "national scandal" was used to qualify how anti-football Britons felt about the game's continuation during wartime. These negative descriptions were often applied to other sports as well, including horseracing, a pastime that received almost as much criticism as professional football.[34] Football, though, received the most vocal critiques. One editorial writer called it "a hypnotic obsession which occupies their whole mind and makes everything else seem relatively unimportant."[35] In critics' minds, the outbreak of the First World War obligated Britons to relinquish unnecessary frivolity and place all their energy behind the war effort.

Those who invoked the language of embarrassment to characterize their distaste with professional football did so in order to defend the reputation of their nation among their allies, who had already suffered greatly before Britain had fully committed to the war effort. One author found it shameful that Britain had not followed the lead of Germany and France by implementing a draft, instead allowing thousands of young men to spectate horse races and football matches.[36]

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[34] "Racing and the Press," *The Times*, March 6, 1915.
[35] "Hypnotic Football," *The Daily Mail*, November 26, 1914.
[36] "A Plea for Compulsion," *The Times*, November 24, 1914.

The idea that Britain had not yet implemented a draft perplexed many more authors whose opinions were published, especially since they argued that the obsession with football was the key reason for the failure of recruitment campaigns. In one letter to the editor published in 1915, a man who argued for the implementation of the draft claimed that the football question never would have existed if "British manhood had done its duty and insisted on national service."[37] Other editorials echoed this opinion, and argued that the question of leisure's place during war would have been solved by the implementation of compulsory service.[38] In the eyes of those Britons who sought conscription, their nation's response to the war lacked resolve, and professional football's continued existence was a manifestation of that glaring deficiency.

Those who argued that Britain's continuation of football during wartime was tarnishing its reputation among its allies and was an affirmation of its inferiority to Germany were strengthened by the German invasion of Belgium. Germany's invasion of "brave little Belgium" received a great deal of coverage in the British press, coverage that blended accurate reporting with overtly anti-German sensationalism.[39] Indeed, Germany's invasion of Belgium and its treatment of Belgian civilians were markedly brutal, but the pages of British papers highly exaggerated their cruelty: stories of Germans using the fat of corpses to make soap, and the oft-repeated story of German soldiers crucifying a captured Canadian soldier quickly became parts of the anti-German canon of stories published by British newspapers.[40] The British government also used the sensationalism of the "Rape of Belgium" to appeal to potential recruits. Depicting women and children fleeing a burning village, a poster emblazoned with the slogan "Remember Belgium" implored British men to "Enlist To-Day," to ensure that no more innocents would be harmed in such a vile way.[41] Historian John Patrick Stewart argued that the portrayal of suffering and scared non-combatants in this poster was meant to remind British men of their prescribed societal role as defenders of the domestic realm, as well as illustrate that by enlisting, they could personally prevent such a tragedy on British soil.[42] Such tragedy did occur; the 1914 German naval raids on the seaside towns of Hartlepool and Scarborough demonstrated

[37] W. Heron Maxwell, "Sport and the Nation," *The Times*, March 15, 1915.
[38] "Compulsory Service," *The Times,* May 15, 1915.
[39] Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 49.
[40] Ibid., 53-54.
[41] Stewart, "Mobilizing Manliness," 36.
[42] Ibid., 37.

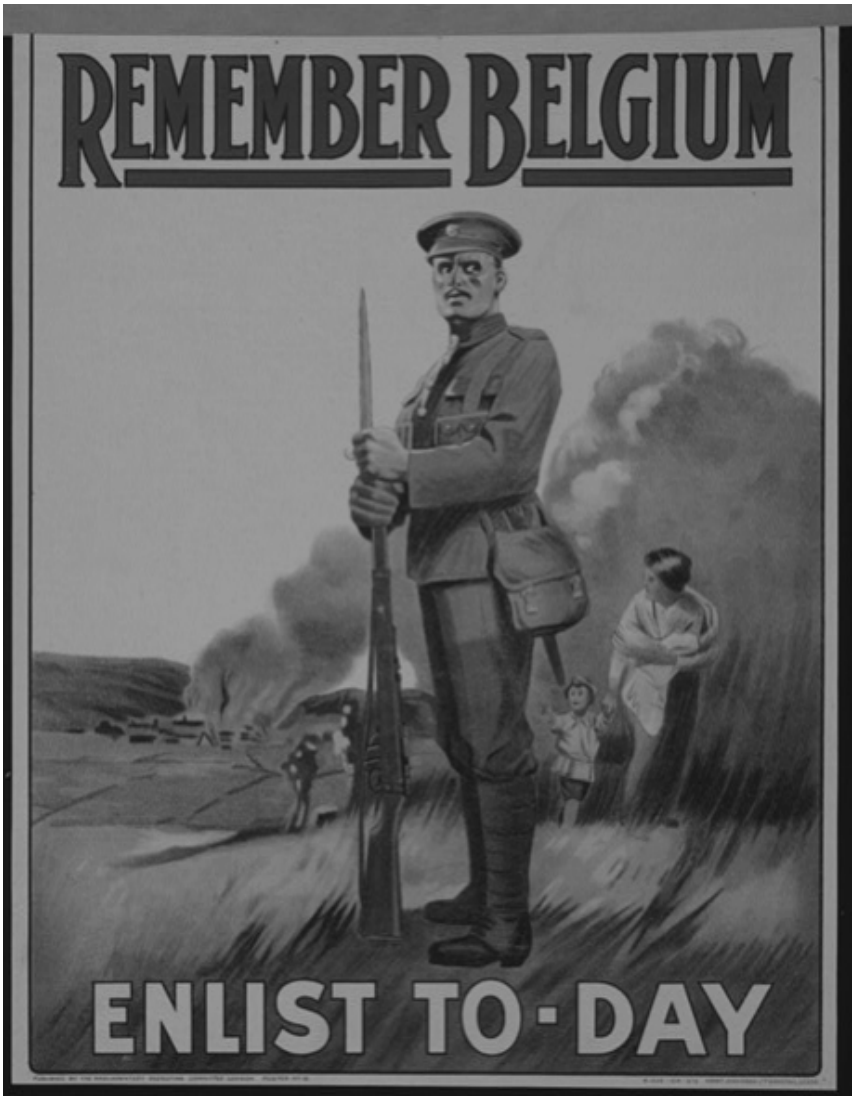

Figure 1: *Remember Belgium—Enlist to-day,* 1915.

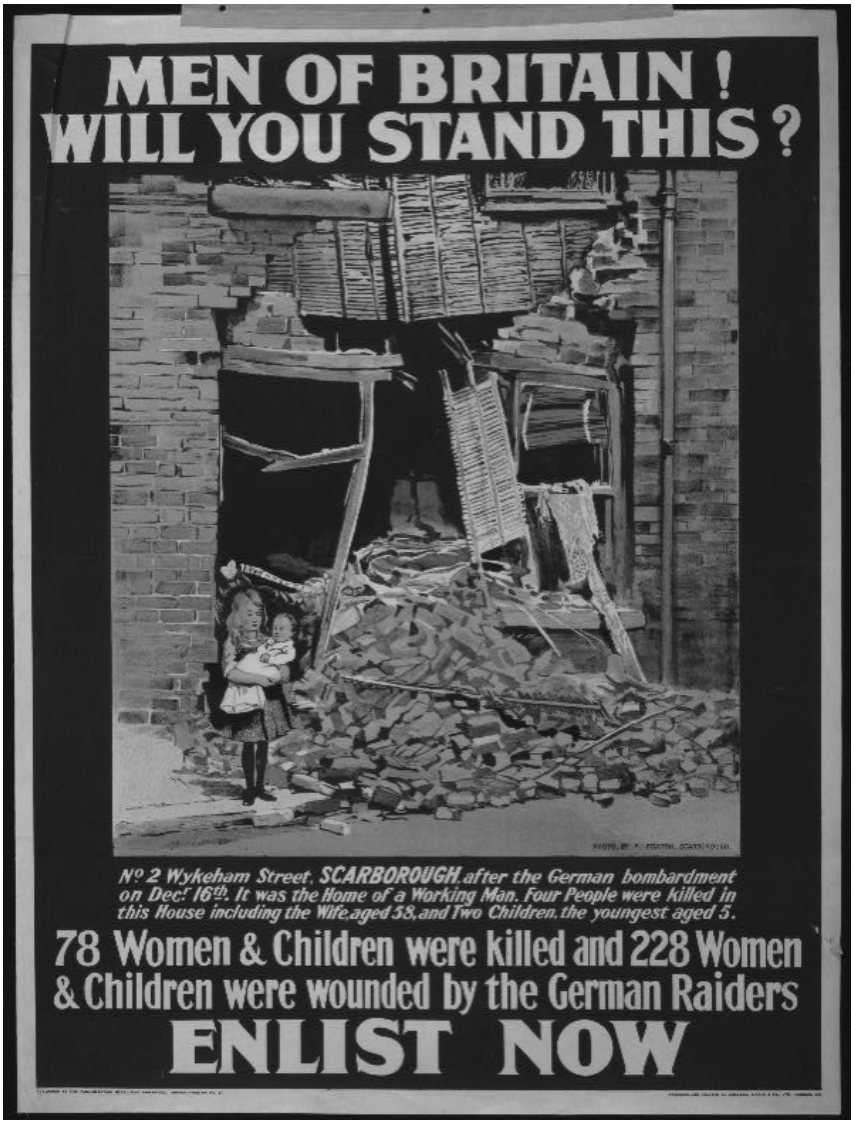

Figure 2: *Men of Britain! Will you stand this? 78 women & children were killed and 228 women & children were wounded by the German raiders. Enlist now*, 1915.

that British civilians indeed needed protection from British men. Again, recruitment posters reminded British men of their duty to defend domesticity. The most famous to use imagery from these raids depicted a young girl holding a baby, standing outside the remains of her bombed-out house, with the caption "Men of Britain! Will you stand this?"[43] This poster directly appealed to men, as it challenged them to join the war effort, or risk their families becoming casualties like those at Scarborough and Hartlepool. British women and children who had previously been sheltered from the horrors of war had now become casualties. As historian Joanna Bourke argued, the rights that British men exercised were conditional on the potential destruction of their bodies during wartime. Posters such as these reminded British men that the time had come for them to take up the duties expected of those who had been afforded a privileged place in society.

Football and sport more generally were used as subject matter for recruitment posters that discussed how Britain was viewed internationally. The most famous poster, advertising for the Football Battalion, used the words of the *Frankfuter Zeitung*, a German newspaper, to directly challenge football players and fans. In an article, the paper claimed that "The young Britons prefer to exercise their long limbs on the football ground rather than to expose them to any sort of risk in the service of their country."[44] The poster juxtaposed this quote with a depiction of British soldiers in the heat of battle, remembering the football matches that they had left behind, saying "We know you'll come" to the football players and fans who have yet to enlist. The effects of this poster were multiple. Primarily, the German newspaper excerpt maligned the place of sport in wartime society. The poster also addressed fears that the British male obsession with football during wartime highlighted the "decadence and femininity" of British manhood, as historian John Patrick Stewart put it, at a time when Britain needed its men to risk life and limb in defense of the homeland.[45] And for those sportsmen who were not convinced by the barbs of the Germans, recruitment posters reminded them of the sacrifices of their fellow sportsmen. One poster highlighted the positive response of Rugby Union

[43] Stewart, "Mobilizing Manliness," 42.
[44] Johnson, Riddle, & Co., Ltd., *Young Men of Britain! The Germans Said You Were Not in Earnest. "We Knew You'd Come- and Give Them the Lie!" Play the Greater Game and Join the Football Battalion*, 1915, POS - WWI - Gt Brit, no. 252, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C., http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003675290/.
[45] Stewart, "Mobilizing Manliness," 69.

players, claiming that at least ninety percent of players had volunteered for the army. More importantly, the poster highlighted that all of the rugby athletes, who had played for the English national team in the previous year, had volunteered for service.[46] If the athletes who had the most to lose could volunteer, lesser-known sportsmen and the men who supported them surely could too.[47]

Critiques that invoked the language of national embarrassment did not subside once professional football was cancelled. The eventual cancelation of the professional game did not even appease some Britons, as, in their mind, football had already done its damage to the war effort. Quoted in an editorial written by noted social reformer Frederick Nicholas Charrington, a detractor of the game wrote,

> The citizens whose team holds the English Cup during the great war will be branded for ever [*sic*.] as the people who stood round [*sic*.] and urged on young men to play, while their fellows went forth to fight for their homes and their women.[48]

In reference to a popular political cartoon, Charrington stated that it would be more fitting for Kaiser Wilhelm II to present the 1915 FA Cup instead of the British Lord Derby, due to what he and many others perceived as professional football's profound hindrance of Britain's war effort.[49] While this opinion is one of the most extreme of those that invoke the language of national embarrassment, it does follow the pattern of those who argued that professional football's continuation meant that Britain was at least one step behind its allies and enemies in the First World War.

Combatting the Critique of Football

The editorial sections of Britain's newspapers did not universally condemn professional football during wartime. Although defenses of the professional game made up the minority of newspaper editorials, the articles that defended professional football's place in British society

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[46] Publicity Department, Central London Recruiting Depot, *Rugby Union Footballers Are Doing Their Duty. Over 90% Have Enlisted. British Athletes! Will You Follow This Glorious Example?*, 1915, POS – WWI - Gt Brit, no. 144, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C., http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003668167/.

[47] Stewart, "Mobilizing Manliness," 71.

[48] Quoted in Frederick N. Charrington, "The 'cup Final' in Manchester," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, April 1, 1915.

[49] "The 'cup Final' in Manchester," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*.

Figure 3: *Young Men of Britain! The Germans Said You Were Not in Earnest. "We Knew You'd Come—and Give Them the Lie!"* 1915.

Figure 4: *Rugby Union Footballers Are Doing Their Duty. Over 90% Have Enlisted. British Athletes! Will You Follow This Glorious Example?* 1915.

were keenly aware of the rhetorical landscape in which they existed, offering spirited rebuttals to the anti-football arguments that dominated the newspapers. One theme that defenders of football touched upon was the relationship between class dynamics and the critiques of professional football, namely the upper-class attacks on the professional game. Those who defended professional football's role in society were cognizant of the upper class's traditionally negative attitude toward the game, an attitude that defenders of the game felt was reflected by the upper-class belief that football was singularly responsible for poor recruiting results.

Accusing wealthy and well-off Britons of hypocrisy, one author proposed a tax on the labor of servants, chauffeurs and groundskeepers in the hope that the aristocracy and upper classes would sacrifice their luxury just as working- and middle-class Britons were expected to do.[50] This author viewed the persuasion of servants to retain their posts during wartime to be particularly hypocritical, because working-class men in most other professions were often heavily pressured by their employers to volunteer.[51] Those who defended football considered upper-class defenders of horseracing to be extremely hypocritical. One author wrote that the double standard that football faced would prompt working-class men to ask, "Why should we stop our football whilst the horse-racing people still hold their meetings?"[52] At the very least, those who defended football wanted all sports to be subjected to the same standard to which football was being held. Even after professional football was suspended, some critics of the upper classes felt that they were resisting their own call to "play up" and sacrifice leisure for "the Greater Game." Writing an editorial about a dozen chauffeurs he saw "lounging about" at a golf course, a man whose sons had volunteered for the army considered the "retention by private persons of these men to be a public affront."[53] To many in the working class, it was clear that the sport they loved was being judged by a different set of rules.

Some defenders of professional football classified the game as the lesser of two evils. A letter to the editor, written by the Reverend W.H. Ashton in December of 1914, communicated this view of the game. Though this author opposed the continuation of the professional game, he argued that a decision like the cancelation of football would force spectators to fill their free time through pastimes more morally

[50] "The Recruiting Problem," *The Observer*, November 22, 1914.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Charles Bright and Leigh Grauge, "A Protest," *The Times*, March 4, 1915.
[53] "Chauffeurs Who Ought to Be in Khaki," *The Observer*, June 6, 1915.

obnoxious than football, namely the consumption of alcohol in public houses.[54] Reverend Ashton further argued that professional football should not be singled out and labeled as the most odious form of leisure.[55] Although he, like others, remained critical of the sport, their critiques were not blind to the fact that professional football had become an integral part of England's twentieth-century working-class culture, and its absence would not go unnoticed by those who enjoyed it. Despite a disdain for the sport in principle, a utilitarian argument existed for the professional game's perceived ability to order the working class, and divert them from more destructive pastimes.

Affiliates of professional football clubs, alongside their supporters, took to the pages of the editorial sections to defend their place in society. David Calderhead, the chairman of Chelsea Football Club during the war and a former player himself, outlined what his club was doing to support the community during wartime in a September 14, 1914 column entitled "What Football is Doing." Calderhead mentioned how Chelsea was quick to offer monetary resources to hospitals and charities involved in the war effort, as well as offering the club's grounds and offices to aid in the recruitment and training of soldiers.[56] More important than the actions his club took, though, was the case that Calderhead made for what professional clubs like Chelsea could do for the war effort. He argued that the continuation of professional football could mean that the local businesses that benefited from professional football would continue to prosper.[57] In addition, he promised that Chelsea FC would provide 100 jobs to unemployed men with families who could not participate in the war or in other forms of employment.[58] Indeed, the board member's discussion of how his club cooperated with the war effort is reflective of a greater trend across Britain that saw football clubs attempt to demonstrate their value to a society at war.

Like Calderhead, many who defended professional football recognized the game's potential value to the war effort. Published correspondence between War Office Secretary B.B. Cubitt and FA Secretary F.J. Wall revealed a deference on the part of Wall to the recruitment effort, even admitting a willingness to cancel football, and an understanding on the part of Cubitt that professional football had the potential to boost the success of enlistment drives and the training of

[54] "Football, Drink and the War," *The Manchester Guardian*, December 2, 1914, 3.
[55] Ibid.
[56] David Calderhead, "What Football is Doing," *The Daily Mail*, September 12, 1914.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

new recruits.[59] These two leaders appeared to be much more cordial than the firebrands on their respective sides, as they acknowledged how each could work with each other. On September 28, 1914, a football referee chastised critics for their indiscriminate critiques of the game. Though the author agreed that the idea of playing football during wartime did have an air of absurdity to it, he asserted that the cancelation of the season would disrupt the livelihoods of thousands of footballers, many of whom used professional football to provide for their families.[60] Most importantly, like other authors, he demanded to know why football was being singled out as the *only* form of deleterious leisure, arguing that if football deserved to be suspended, then all other forms of public leisure should suffer the same fate.[61] Another football executive took to the opinion pages in order to defend his sport's place in wartime society. Writing under the name "A Football Director," this individual agreed that football should be suspended during the war, as he believed it hindered the success of recruitment efforts.[62] However, he critiqued those who claimed professional football was making large profits at the expense of the war, pointing out that his club, and many other professional clubs, held large amounts of debt, and, as a result, barely paid dividends to shareholders in the club. Bristling at the idea that directors like him pocketed massive revenues while Britons died in Europe, the author argued that the continuation of the season helped to prop up local economies by employing footballers who supported their families.[63]

While this director had no sympathy for footballers with no dependents who continued to play, he understood the motives of footballers who played to support their families, arguing that three-quarters of the players who earned "above average wages" were married men who with wives and children.[64] The author argued that many footballers used their salaries to ensure that their families remained safe and comfortable during wartime, instead of supporting frivolous bachelor lifestyles. As well, the director discussed how many of these players' contracts could not be terminated until the end of the season,

[59] F.J. Wall and B.B. Cubitt, the Secretary, "Football and the War," *The Sunday Times*, September 13, 1914.
[60] "Football and the War," *The Daily Telegraph*, November 28, 1914.
[61] Ibid.
[62] E. V. Speller and A Football Director, "Football in War Time," *The Times*, November 27, 1914.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.

forcing owners like him to honor them during the first year of the war.[65] From this perspective, professional football and its players were not acting malevolently by playing, but simply trying to make the best of a complicated situation.

The notion that the attack on professional football was indiscriminate or undeserved was often repeated by defenders of the game, especially in the face of critiques that overtly blamed the sport for the failure of recruitment efforts. One editorial author writing in December 1914, found it incredible that professional football players were blamed simply because their profession required physical strength, especially since, as he argued, football clubs were encouraging their players and fans to volunteer.[66] This author, who wrote under the pseudonym "Not a Killjoy," argued that the attacks on football acted as a concession that delayed the implementation of conscription yet satisfied the need for recruits.[67] There were also arguments about the value of allowing professional sport to continue in order to ensure that morale at home remained high. Although these arguments did not specifically speak to the value of professional football to society, they did recognize that football and other recreations had become entrenched institutions of British social and cultural life. One author, who wrote in defense of football, claimed "Now, in my opinion, the news of a really great German victory would act less as a fillip to the spirit of the German nation than would the news that all recreation in England had been stopped."[68] Professional teams often cooperated with recruiting efforts and, more generally, sought to enumerate the ways that they could remain beneficial to a society at war, even in the face of critics that maligned them as harmful to the war effort.

The refusal of the Football Association to outright cancel the season often overshadowed support for the war exhibited by professional footballers, clubs, and staff. Compared to other sports, professional football remained an obstinate outlier, especially given that the Rugby Football Union, one of association football's main competitors, suspended play shortly after the declaration of war.[69] Even more embarrassing for professional football was the fact that the rugby leagues and teams that cancelled play were amateur, a point that further sullied the reputation of the already maligned professional game. Indeed,

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[65] Speller and A Football Director, "Football in War Time."
[66] "Killjoys and Football," *Hull Daily Mail*, December 4, 1914.
[67] Ibid.
[68] "The Moral Value," *The Daily Telegraph*, March 16, 1915.
[69] Russell, *Football and the English*, 75.

anti-football editorialists often used the example of rugby to shame professional football, praising rugby as the sport that had "done its duty." As a December 1914 column pointed out, the reported rate of enlistment among members of rugby clubs was noticeably higher than that of members of football clubs.[70] In addition to this setback, rugby's status as a sport played more by the middle class than the working class added an additional twinge of tension to a debate whose battle lines had already been shaped by class considerations.

The Final Decision

The Football Association's decision to finally cancel play at the end of the 1914-1915 season was influenced by a multitude of factors. As has been addressed, the numbers of working-class men that did volunteer for the army caused a reduction in revenue for individual football clubs, making the game less profitable. Financial concerns were both part of the FA's decision to continue play during the war and cancel play beginning in Fall 1915. Cited in a *Manchester Guardian* article, F.J. Wall, the Secretary of the FA, claimed that the abrupt declaration of war in 1914 made it difficult to cancel play, as contracts for that year's games had already been negotiated and agreed upon with the players.[71] He argued that it was much easier for the FA to cancel the upcoming season because they had not entered into any contracts in anticipation of cancelation.[72] However, financial considerations were a secondary concern when public opinion had turned against football. The FA's official history states that although they had been advised by the War Office to sanction the 1914-1915 season in the name of maintaining public morale, they nevertheless received criticism for the continuation of play.[73]

Meeting separately from, but on the same day as the FA, the Football League passed a measure to suspend league play. This decision forbade the payment of players' wages, even for those who had volunteered for the war.[74] The decision allowed for clubs "to arrange matches without cup medals or other rewards, to suit local conditions,

[70] H. Jeafferson Brewer, "Rugby and the War," *The Daily Telegraph*, December 3, 1914.
[71] "An End of Football: No Cup Ties or League Games Next Season," *The Manchester Guardian*, April 20, 1915.
[72] Ibid.
[73] "The History of the FA." The Football Association. http://www.thefa.com/about-football-association/what-we-do/history (accessed July 14, 2017).
[74] "Football or No Football During the War: No Official League Competition," *The Manchester Guardian*, July 20, 1915.

provided that they do not interfere with the work of those engaged in war work."[75] However, the Football League's decision to cancel its season did not come easily. Representatives from four clubs, Arsenal, Everton, Lincoln City and Bradford, spoke against the original resolution, with Arsenal's representative, Mr. Norris, and Bradford's representative, Mr. T. Maley, arguing for the necessity of sport as leisure during wartime.[76] Reportedly, Mr. Norris specifically "wished to dissociate himself from those who said that football interfered with recruiting."[77] Despite these critiques of the resolution, professional football was not saved, succumbing to the pressure of public opinion. Professional football did not return until 1919, a full year after the war's conclusion. Due to the suspension of play and the war service of players, it took some time for teams to adjust to peacetime and prepare for a new season.[78]

Conclusion

Professionalism in football was a casualty of the Great War. The sport of football was not. After the 1915 decisions by the Football Association and Football League to cancel their competitions, amateurism became the model by which the game was played during the war. At the front lines, football quickly became the favored pastime of the British Expeditionary Force. Games of football were played during the "Christmas Truce" and a football was punted into no man's land during both the Battle of Loos in 1915.[79] The Battle of the Somme in 1916 enshrined football's place in the history of British participation in the war.[80] Indeed, after the suspension of professionalism, editorial sections were no longer filled with critiques of the game, but with appeals from British soldiers at the front asking patriotic Britons to donate the footballs so they could play.[81] The professional game remained an object of enhanced scrutiny even after the war's conclusion. Leeds City Football Club was dissolved in 1919 because the club continued to pay

[75] "Football or No Football."
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] With specific regard for the administrative side of the game, an article in the *Manchester Guardian* from August 31, 1919 mentions how, due to the war, some teams did not maintain their membership with the Football Association, and thus had to re-enroll as participants. A Special Correspondent, "The Football Association: Meetings in London To-Morrow," *The Manchester Guardian*, August 31, 1919.
[79] Mason, *Association Football and English Society*, 255.
[80] Veitch, "'Play up! Play Up! And Win the War!'" 363.
[81] Pte. H. Webster, "Who Will Give a Football," *Hull Daily Mail*, October 20, 1915.

the salaries of its players who volunteered to fight in the war, going against the decision to suspend all professional football activities during the war.[82] Football as a pastime was never the main problem. Football as a professional sport and a financially lucrative industry was the main target for critics.

When placed in the greater context of British history we see that the Football Debates were about much more than curtailing societal excesses during wartime. At their core, the Football Debates addressed the question of what it meant to be a British man during wartime and what the nation expected of its citizens. The conflict between those expectations and the way members of the working class situated themselves in society led to the discord that defined the Football Debates. Informed by close to one hundred years of organized sport's evolving role in British society, the question "to play or not to play" asked much more than whether professional football had a place in a society at war.

[82] "Leeds United History," Leeds United. https://www.leedsunited.com/club/leeds-united-history (accessed July 14, 2017); "Leeds City Expelled," *The Daily Mail*, October 14, 1919. Leeds City's board of directors were given the opportunity to produce financial documents in order to prove their innocence, but their refusal resulted in their suspension from the Football Association and their demotion to the Second Division.

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Loretta Lynn's Lyrics: Songwriting for Women and the Working Class

JEWEL CARRIE PARKER

Abstract: This article argues that country music singer, Loretta Lynn, performed songs reflective of women's issues throughout the second wave feminist movement. However, Lynn did not identify as a feminist; she believed mainstream feminism ignored working-class issues. Her beliefs, conveyed in her lyrics, reflected her working-class experiences during her childhood, marriage to Doolittle Lynn, and musical career. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Lynn performed songs supportive of women who lived in poverty, endured abusive spousal relationships, and observed the significance of traditional working-class gender roles. Though Lynn did not always agree with feminist thought, her songs reflected pro-feminist perspectives, including demanding men's respect for women and women's access to birth control. Her ability to write songs about working-class women's lives increased her female fan base and ultimately contributed to her success as a country music star. This article analyzes Lynn's lyrical messages and contributes to the scholarship of country music history by providing a detailed account of how music affected working-class women. This work also describes what working-class women thought of the feminist movement.

> Yeah, I'm proud to be a coal miner's daughter
> I remember well, the well where I drew water
> The work we done was hard
> At night we'd sleep 'cause we were tired
> I never thought of ever leaving Butcher Holler.[1]

These nostalgic words belong to country music star Loretta Lynn. Lynn worked her way to stardom as a singer and songwriter at the urging of her husband Doolittle Lynn. Her life experiences influenced the messages portrayed in her songwriting. Lynn's songs brought fans together in a variety of ways, with both sentimental songs about family and working-class struggles. Yet, the most controversial of her song lyrics appealed specifically to women. Even though many of her songs were about topics that coincided with the 1970s feminist movement,

[1] Loretta Lynn, "Coal Miner's Daughter" in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 83.

Lynn did not claim a feminist identity. The feminist movement advocated for women's access to public jobs, daycare, and contraception, while also prompting for greater respect for women, though the movement failed to equally represent the interests and perspectives of the lower class. Lynn's songs reflected on women's issues, inspired by her own childhood, marriage, and musical career, but she did not identify as a mainstream feminist because the movement ignored the issues of the working-class.

Doolittle gave Lynn a guitar for her eighteenth birthday; by the time she reached twenty-four, he introduced the idea of her becoming a professional singer.[2] After playing in a few clubs and in a music competition on the *Buck Owens* show, Lynn caught the attention of Norm Burley, a wealthy lumber businessman who offered to pay for Lynn to record a song. Lynn recorded her song, "Honky Tonk Girl," and on July 25, 1960, *Billboard* listed her recording as number fourteen on the country music chart.[3] Following the success of her music, Lynn went on a concert tour. Lynn wrote songs to express her emotions. She stated, "I guess when you boil it all down, every song is about me. It's my eyes that are seein' what I write about. And my heart that's feelin' all those things."[4] Lynn's intended audience were working-class women who related to the emotions articulated in her music. Lynn noted that working-class women "felt I had the answers to their problems because my life was just like theirs."[5] Referring to working-class women's issues more broadly, she stated, "They could see I was Loretta Lynn, a mother and a wife and a daughter, who had feelings just like other women."[6]

Lynn's autobiographies, *Coal Miner's Daughter* and *Still Woman Enough: A Memoir,* as well as the biographical film *Coal Miner's Daughter,* contributed to her success as a female country music star. Her memoirs detailed how her life affected her music. She also shared her belief that the second-wave feminist movement failed to address working-class women's issues. Country music historian Jocelyn Neal has explained that Lynn's contemporaries "Merle Haggard, Hank Williams, Jr., … and George Jones, for instance, infuse their songs with an autobiographical meaning that transcends the lyrics' interpretive

[2] Loretta Lynn and George Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn: Coal Miner's Daughter* (Chicago: Regnery, 1976), 71.
[3] Ibid., 70-79.
[4] Loretta Lynn, *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 3-4.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 113.

potential."[7] According to Kate Heidemann, Lynn's lyrics were noteworthy because they explicitly noted issues of hunger, poverty, physical labor, emotional hardship, and gender roles.[8]

Lynn was from Butcher Holler, a working-class coal mining community in Van Lear, Kentucky.[9] Charles Wolfe has argued that the core of Lynn's best songs were formed from the values she developed growing up in this community.[10] The goal of this analysis is to further examine Lynn's lyrics to uncover and explicate specific aspects of her life which were influential in her music and worldview. Growing up in poverty was a formative experience for Lynn which shaped her opinions about the women's movement. Lynn reminisced in "Coal Miner's Daughter" that her father worked in the mine, recalling,

> We were poor but we had love,
> that's the one thing that daddy made sure of
> He shoveled coal to make a poor man's dollar.[11]

The song "Coal Miner's Daughter" and her autobiography of the same name demonstrate that Lynn remembered what it was like to live in poverty. Her nostalgic songs reflected her perceptions of how women were supposed to act, in marriage and society. The major themes of Lynn's songs are poverty, spousal abuse, and alcoholism. While spousal abuse and alcoholism were issues that transcended the confines of any particular social class, Lynn seemed to believe the mainstream feminist movement failed to adequately represent the ways working-class women encountered these issues.

Lynn's Working-Class Beginnings

Lynn felt that the mainstream feminism of the 1970s failed to represent working-class women who frequently embraced a traditional, patriarchal culture rather than progressive, feminist ideals. Myra Marx Ferree uses sociological research from the late 1950s and early 1960s to

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[7] Jocelyn Neal, "The Voice Behind the Song: Faith Hill, Country Music, and Reflexive Identity" in *The Women of Country Music: A Reader,* eds. Charles K. Wolfe and James E. Akenson (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003), 112-113.
[8] Kate Heidemann, "Remarkable Women and Ordinary Gals: Performance of Identity in Songs by Loretta Lynn and Dolly Parton," in *Country Boys and Redneck Women: New Essays in Gender and Country Music*, eds. Diane Pecknold and Kristine M. McCusker (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2016), 167.
[9] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 1-2.
[10] Charles K. Wolfe, *Kentucky Country: Folk and Country Music of Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 162.
[11] Lynn, "Coal Miner's Daughter," 83.

suggest that patriarchal ideals resonated deeply within working-class culture. Ferree argues women who worked outside the home related to feminist ideas more than housewives who were financially dependent on their husbands. Though working-class women worked outside the home during the 1960s and 1970s, working-class people who held on to patriarchal ideals firmly believed it was ideal for women to remain home while men worked outside jobs. The Women's Movement strove for workplaces to overcome this stereotype. However, many working-class women believed that this concept only applied to middle-class women who had reliable options for childcare and contraception.[12] While many held to these patriarchal ideas, working-class women did work outside the home. A famous example of this is the employment of working-class women in factories during the Great Depression. In this period, girls typically started working around the age of twelve and continued through their early twenties.[13] However, when they married, many women left their employment to stay home and care for their children while their husbands worked.[14] In all, Ferree's findings suggest many working-class women, such as Lynn, believed the women's movement did not relate to traditional working-class culture.

Lynn's lyrical reflections on her parents' behavior show her deep connection to traditional working-class patriarchal culture. In her autobiography, she recalled:

> Daddy worked the night shift. He left home around four o'clock every afternoon and walked down the holler. We kids, we hardly said good-bye to him. But looking back, I can see the worried look on Mommy's face. She would keep busy with the kids all afternoon and evening. She had her hands full.[15]

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[12] Myra Marx Ferree, "Working Class Feminism: A Consideration of the Consequences of Employment," *The Sociological Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (1980): 173-174; Nancy Maclean, "The Hidden History of Affirmative Action; Working Women's Struggles in the 1970s and the Gender of Class," *Feminist Studies* 25, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 44-46.

[13] According to Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "Most [women] were under twenty-one, but many were as young as twelve, or more commonly, fourteen." Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "Disorderly Women: Gender and Labor Militancy in the Appalachian South," in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past,* 2nd ed., eds. Linda K. Kerber and Jane DeHart Matthews (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 345; Hall cites U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Manufactures, *Working Conditions of the Textile Industry in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee,* 71 Cong., 1 sess., May 8, 9, and 20, 1929.

[14] Ferree, "Working Class Feminism," 173-174; Maclean, "The Hidden History of Affirmative Action," 44-46.

[15] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 11.

She emphasized her father's traditional role as a proud breadwinner. Lynn sometimes chose to sing songs written by others if she identified with the lyrics. One such example is songwriter Jerry Chestnut's "They Don't Make 'Em Like My Daddy Anymore" about a dad who never took handouts.[16] Lynn later recalled that the song described exactly how she felt about her father.[17] The song portrayed a proud man who did everything he could to support his family even though it was not enough to provide them with luxury food items. Through Lynn's accounts of her parents, we can infer much about the power working-class men held over their wives. In her first autobiography, *Coal Miner's Daughter,* she said of her father, "he wasn't one of those men that's gone half the time either—he didn't have no bad habits. He was always teasing Mommy but in a nice way."[18] This quote implies other working-class men may have been both absent and violent with their wives.[19] Lynn recalled in her song, "Little Red Shoes,"

> And Daddy always kept a big stick
> Behind the door
> Just in case somebody was to come in
> That was drunk on moonshine.[20]

Lynn's father was prepared to protect his family from violent, drunken men who could possibly stumble into the wrong household. Lynn's lyrics and memories of her father give a nuanced portrait of working-class men, but her frame of reference is firmly rooted within traditional working-class society.

In comparison, Lynn's mother was the caretaker of the children and represented the moral ground for the family. In "Coal Miner's Daughter," she wrote, "Mommy rocked the babies at night and read the Bible by the coal oil light."[21] Just like Lynn's father, her mother did everything she could for her family. In "My Angel Mother," Lynn stated, "I love you more day by day and I could never repay all the things that you've done for me."[22] In her lyrics, Lynn recalled her mother's domestic

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[16] Loretta Lynn and Patsi Bale Cox, *Still Woman Enough: A Memoir* (New York: Hyperion, 2002), 17.
[17] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 8; Wolfe, *Kentucky Country,* 162.
[18] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 10.
[19] Heidemann, "Remarkable Women and Ordinary Gals," 167.
[20] Loretta Lynn, "Little Red Shoes," in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 130.
[21] Lynn, "Coal Miner's Daughter," 83.
[22] Loretta Lynn, "My Angel Mother," in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 57.

work with a sense of reverence:

> Mommy scrubbed our clothes on a
> washboard ever' day
> Why, I've seen her fingers bleed. To
> complain, there was no need,
> She'd smile in Mommy's
> understanding way.[23]

Lynn also recognized the hardships faced by her mother and other working-class women. These issues are reflected in Lynn's lyrics. In "Your Squaw Is On the Warpath," Lynn laments, "Well you leave me at home to keep the teepee clean[,] Six papooses to break and then wean."[24] She used the song to draw attention to the stereotype in which working-class women were confined to the house whereas men could leave and do as they pleased. She also drew attention to the constant cycle of pregnancy, birthing, and nursing that women endured. The woman in "Your Squaw Is On the Warpath," was angry that her husband went out drinking when she constantly cleaned up after him and had his children. Lynn's experiences with her own mother and exposure to issues of other working-class mothers shows her complex relationship with traditional working-class culture.

Lynn's own experience with traditional working-class culture began as a young child. As the oldest daughter in her family, Lynn's parents tasked her with caring for her younger siblings. This role helped prepare young girls for motherhood.[25] Women were expected to marry young and often went straight from living with their parents to living with their husbands. Historian Nicholas Syrett argues,

> Although early marriage could be detrimental for working-class girls, it was the daughters of the bourgeois or professional class who might have the most to lose by marrying young, because they had greater access to the protection afforded by childhood.[26]

In other words, upper-class girls had more time to be children whereas working-class girls were more likely to work, even as children.

Lynn married young, as was stereotypical of working-class

[23] Lynn, "Coal Miner's Daughter," 83.
[24] Loretta Lynn, "Your Squaw Is On the Warpath," in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 63.
[25] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 22.
[26] Nicholas L. Syrett, *American Child Bride: A History of Minors and Marriage in the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of Chapel Hill Press, 2016), 102.

women. By the 1960s, upper-class women married at an older age because they had the opportunity to go to college or work outside the home. Conversely, lower-class women married earlier because marriage afforded them the opportunity to be financially supported by a male protector.[27] Lynn's experience as a young bride might have been typical for many working-class women. At age thirteen, Lynn did not know if her husband expected her to have intercourse on the night of their honeymoon.[28] When she was first married, Lynn never refused her husband's requests for sex, but did not enjoy it. She later recalled "looking back, I'd say that sex didn't mean much to me for a long time. I think I picked up the old woman's attitude that sex was fun for men—but not for women."[29] Moreover, she believed that her aversion to sex and nescience of sensual pleasure influenced Doolittle's infidelity. She explained, "I can see where having such a young wife would give a man ideas about straying. But still, at the time, it hurt me bad. I could tell Doo wasn't happy with me. I didn't know what sex was all about."[30] Lynn's young marriage clearly shaped her opinions on the working-class' normative expectations for martial sex. In all, her personal experiences and relationships with her mother, father, and husband helped create the framework for her later views on feminism and working-class women.

Lynn and Motherhood

Lynn's lyrics about motherhood were also influenced by the social and economic situation in Appalachia during her childhood and young adulthood. While some industry had come to the South, married, working-class women did not have access to childcare or education about contraception. Leslie Reagan has explained that the Great Depression led to the end of the Comstock Laws against contraception, which helped legitimize birth control methods, such as the availability of condoms in drug stores. However, she admits that

> middle-class married couples had greater access to contraceptives than did the poor or unmarried. They could afford douches and condoms and had family physicians who more readily provided middle-class women with diaphragms.[31]

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[27] Syrett, *American Child Bride*, 253.
[28] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 50.
[29] Ibid.*,* 50-51.
[30] Ibid., 52-53; Lynn and Cox, *Still Woman Enough,* 33.
[31] Leslie J. Reagan, *When Abortion Was a Crime: Women, Medicine, and Law in the United States, 1867-1973* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 40-41.

Despite the industrial boom of World War II, the greatest concern for working-class women continued to be economic survival. Middle- and upper-class women during this period had opportunities for better education, homes, healthcare, and childcare. However, the Appalachian region did not significantly benefit from improvements in infrastructure and education, and many children continued to walk several miles to and from school each day.[32] The closest hospital to Lynn's childhood home was ten miles away. Lynn explained,

> I do remember Mommy saying that as long as she was nursing, she couldn't have another baby. That's about the only kind of birth control they had in the mountains in those days. And the truth is, that's the only method I knew until after I had my first four.[33]

The birth control pill was not approved by the Food and Drug Administration until 1960, and Lynn did not have money to purchase other forms of contraception.[34] Reflecting on this, she stated,

> Sometimes in my show I make a joke about how I stopped having babies every year: "I keep my legs crossed now instead of my fingers." But it wasn't funny back then. I was so ignorant, and women didn't have what they do today. I love my kids, but I wish I had the pill when I was first married. I didn't get to enjoy the first four kids, I had 'em so fast. I was too busy trying to feed 'em and put clothes of them.[35]

When the Lynns moved to Washington, Lynn begged her doctor to help her not have any more children. She recalled,

> By that time, I was eighteen years old and had four babies. After one miscarriage, I went to the doctor to ask how to stop having babies, and he said, "Honey, you should be thinking about having your first baby, not your last." Then, he gave me a diaphragm.[36]

Lynn's interest in birth control often focused on the working-class issue of access to contraception. She also believed that women should have access to abortion. Concerning the birth control pill, she stated,

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[32] Syrett, *American Child Bride*, 220.
[33] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 21.
[34] Susan J. Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media* (New York: Random House, 1994), 61.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 61.

> I'm glad I had six kids because I couldn't imagine my life without 'em. But I think a woman needs control over her own life, and the pill is what helps her do it. That's also why I won't ever say anything against the abortion laws they made easier a few years ago. Personally, I think you should prevent unwanted pregnancy rather than get an abortion.[37]

In 1976, concerning abortion, she similarly stated,

> I don't think I could have an abortion. It would be wrong for me. But I'm thinking of all the poor girls who get pregnant when they don't want to be, and how they should have a choice instead of leaving it up to some politician or doctor who don't have to raise the baby. I believe they should be able to have an abortion.[38]

Although she was pro-birth control and pro-choice, Lynn did not align herself with the mainstream feminist movement. In her co-written autobiography, *Loretta Lynn*, Lynn recalls making a snide comment to women's rights activist Betty Friedan when they both appeared on the *David Frost Show*.[39] Lynn might have included this anecdote in her autobiography to highlight her rift with the mainstream feminist movement.

Jennifer Terry argues middle- and upper-class women relied on post-war psychiatric literature to tell them how they were the source of their own martial problems and failure to be good mothers. This literature emphasized that women were responsible for their own unhappiness—it was not their husbands' fault. Such ideology paralleled Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique,* in which she claimed mothers felt guilty for their unhappiness since they had access to material possessions made for making lives easier, such as modern appliances, that most working-class and lower-class women still did not own by the 1960s.[40]

Lynn did not identify with the 1970s feminist movement because she felt that it did not reflect the experiences of working-class women. Lynn argued middle-class women had more opportunities because they had the choice to stay at home rather than get a job.[41] This idea ran counter to Friedan's argument that middle-class women experienced

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[37] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 61.
[38] Ibid., 62.
[39] Ibid., 152.
[40] Jennifer Terry, "'Momism' and the Making of Treasonous Homosexuals," in *"Bad" Mothers: The Politics of Blame in Twentieth-Century America,* eds. Molly Ladd-Taylor and Lauri Umansky (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 185.
[41] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 5, 58.

similar situations as mothers who stayed home with children while their husbands worked.[42] Moreover, middle-class women had easier lives because of household appliances, such as dishwashers, that would not have been available to the isolated people of Van Lear, Kentucky. Friedan observed issues such as women marrying young, having many children, or giving up on their education, such as in Lynn's case.

Friedan argued that throughout the 1950s and 1960s, middle-class women were happy with their lives.[43] If middle-class wives were ever unhappy, Friedan believed their unhappiness stemmed from problems within their marriage or with themselves. Friedan's solution was to have women correct themselves to eliminate their unhappiness.[44] To a degree, Lynn had a similar idea. Her songs often addressed her marital problems, which she believed stemmed from men's natural urges to drink and have sex, even as husbands and fathers. She thought negative behaviors, such as infidelity and violence, were natural for men and wifely behaviors, such as honouring one's husband, were more natural for women.[45] Regarding Doolittle's infidelity, she stated, "Doo let me know he wouldn't stand for me changing my values. I know that sounds like a double standard, but that's the way it is."[46] However, a quote from *Loretta Lynn* demonstrates that her perspective on power dynamics in relationships changed over time. She said, "I guess I always felt Doo was in charge of me, just like my Daddy, because he knew better and was older. Maybe then I believed that a wife was her husband's property."[47] Her use of the past tense indicates that her opinion changed later on. Lynn might not have allied herself with the mainstream feminist movement, or agreed with them on all issues, but some of her beliefs resemble those of Friedman and other feminists.

Lynn's lyrics gave women insight into her life. She explained her desire to write songs for working-class women:

> they [women] could see I was Loretta Lynn, a mother and a wife and a daughter, who had feelings just like other women. Sure, I wanted men to like me, but the women were something special. They'd come around the bus after the show and they'd ask to

[42] Betty Friedan, "The Feminine Mystique," in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past,* 2nd ed., eds. Linda K. Kerber and Jane De Hart-Mathews (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 436.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Lynn and Cox, *Still Woman Enough,* xvi, 58-59.
[46] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 131.
[47] Ibid.

> talk to me. They felt I had the answers to their problems because my life was just like theirs.[48]

Bill C. Malone observed that "Loretta Lynn had sometimes written and performed songs that questioned the older hierarchies of patriarchal dominance," raising awareness of other options.[49] For example, in her song "Adam's Rib," she declared, "From Adam's rib to woman's lib[,] We've come a long way from cookin' and rockin' the crib."[50] She furthered,

> The Lord made man, and man made
> His woman to do what he wanted her to
>
> Hey, hey, girls, we're catchin' up
> With him
> Lord it's good for us and it's good for them
> It's from working hard and working late
> If there's lovin' on his mind, he'll just have to wait.[51]

Reflecting on the biblical story of Adam and Eve, Lynn explained that by working outside the home, even late shifts, a woman could be more independent. Lynn felt this independence could allow women the freedom to refuse sex with their husbands, resulting in fewer pregnancies.[52] Lynn herself began to work outside the home, singing professionally and touring. She realized, however, most women could not relate to her career as a singer and songwriter. Thus, Lynn began writing inspirational songs about everyday issues that impacted working-class women's lives such as poverty and marital struggles. Through her songs, Lynn led other women to understand that she had been through similar issues and struggles as a working-class woman.

Lynn was also an inspiration to many working-class women and female singers. Mary A. Bufwack and Robert K. Oermann doubted Lynn and other singers she influenced during her early career, such as Jeannie C. Riley, Melba Montgomery, and Norma Jean, "would ever call themselves 'feminist,' but all of them reflected working-class women in

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[48] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 113.
[49] Bill C. Malone, *Don't Get Above Your Raisin': Country Music and the Southern Working Class* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 249.
[50] Loretta Lynn, "Adam's Rib" in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 114.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

song."[53]

Lynn's Marriage and Appeal to a Working-Class Audience

The issues of working-class women were furthered in Lynn's lyrics about her adult life and marriage to Doolittle Lynn. The first time Doolittle had a relationship with another woman was when Lynn was two months pregnant with their first child in 1949. Lynn thought Doolittle kicked her out of their home because he did not like her cooking.[54] When Lynn found out Doolittle was seeing another woman, she expressed her feelings of jealousy in a letter to his mistress; this so enraged Doolittle that he claimed to no longer love her.[55] Despite her husband's infidelity, Lynn did not let it get her down. In regard to Doolittle's first act of infidelity, she stated, "I think the seeds were sown that very day that would grow into songs like 'Fist City' and 'You Ain't Woman Enough'."[56] Regardless of Doolittle's infidelity, she stayed with him, and in 1949 supported his decision to move to Washington state for a job.[57]

Working-class audiences recognized and related to aspects of infidelity, alcoholism, and spousal abuse in Lynn's song lyrics. Lynn's beliefs about alcoholism and abuse resembled those of the working class rather than the beliefs found in feminist discourse. Paula J. Caplan believes scholars, particularly psychiatrists, misunderstood twentieth century women who stayed with abusive and alcoholic husbands. Just as Lynn stayed with Doolittle, many women stayed with abusive husbands because despite their behaviors, they still loved them, wanted their children to have a father figure in their life, and/or needed their husband's income to adequately provide for the family. According to Caplan,

> Men who try to stop their addictive behavior, find it physically and/or psychologically difficult, and all too many take out their frustrations on their families, including subjecting their wives and their children to severe beatings or verbal abuse. When the wives bemoan this worsened behavior, many therapists say,

[53] Mary A. Bufwack and Robert K. Oermann, "You're Lookin' at Country: Loretta Lynn and Working-Class Pride," in *Finding Her Voice: Women in Country Music, 1800-2000* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2003), 279.
[54] Lynn and Cox, *Still Woman Enough,* 35-37.
[55] Ibid., 38.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid., 41.

> "Aha! She doesn't *want* him to stop drinking!" They ignore the fact that the wives wish the men would stop both the drinking *and* the abuse.[58]

While mainstream feminism recognized the relationship between alcoholism and abuse in this period, other issues, like gender equality, were more important to the movement. It was more acceptable to critique the choices available to women rather than the violence of individual men.

Though Lynn disagreed with several main aspects of the mainstream feminist movement, she seemed to agree to an extent with the feminist idea that women should be equal partners with their spouses. Lynn supported working-class women by writing songs that demanded respect for women, especially in relationships. For example, when Lynn first started singing publicly, she noticed a woman who frequently cried at her performances. After this occurred several times, Lynn asked her why she would come to the club to drink and cry. Lynn then wrote her first released single, after the woman told her that her husband had left her and their seven children for another woman.[59] Entitled "I'm a Honky Tonk Girl," the lyrics told a story similar to that of the woman's plight. The last stanza intoned:

> So fill my glass up to the brim
> To lose my memory of him
> I've lost everything in this world
> And now I'm a honky tonk girl.[60]

In many other songs, Lynn had addressed the concept of the 'other woman', such as in "Slowly Killing Me."[61] The lyrics proclaimed, "Oh what's this other woman done to you[,] why she can't ever love you like I do."[62]

Lynn's hit song "Fist City" concerned itself with the 'other woman', as well. Lynn wrote the song after her children came home from school one day to explain that their school bus driver was in love with their father. Lynn recollected that her children exclaimed,

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[58] Paula J. Caplan, "Mother-Blaming," in *"Bad" Mothers: The Politics of Blame in Twentieth-Century America,* eds. Molly Ladd-Taylor and Lauri Umansky (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 140.
[59] Loretta Lynn, "I'm a Honky Tonk Girl," in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 9.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Loretta Lynn, "Slowly Killing Me" in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 43.
[62] Ibid.

"Mommy, that old girl school-bus driver tells us that she's in love with Daddy and that she's going to take him away from us."[63] Lynn asked the woman to meet with her and Doolittle to discuss the alleged romance. Both Lynn's husband and the school bus driver denied that they were seeing each other, but Lynn wrote the song anyway so the woman would know how she felt.[64] Lynn declared, "You'd better close your face and stay out of my way if you don't wanna go to Fist City."[65] The song referenced Lynn's intention to fight the other woman. These tough lyrics were working-class in spirit and did not reflect the tone of the 1970s mainstream feminist movement.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, mainstream feminists believed women should have the right to divorce their husbands.[66] However, Lynn declared in her second autobiography that during the 1940s, residents of Kentucky's mountains determined that divorce was not acceptable. She explained, "If you married a man, you entered his life forever. There weren't no back doors—not even if he beat you, cheated on you, or mistreated your children."[67] A 1966 study of working-class women divorce applicants, explained that after mental cruelty, "for wives, the next most frequent complaints were physical cruelty, handling of financial problems, drinking, verbal abuse, infidelity, lack of love and sexual incompatibility."[68] Lynn never divorced her husband, even though he expressed many of these characteristics, especially infidelity. Once, just after Lynn had just given birth to their second child, Doolittle had a relationship with her brother's wife. Doolittle's mother wanted his marriage with Lynn to endure, despite his misdeeds. Lynn remembered the moment,

> Doo's mama dragged me back to Doo, and like a goodwife, I stayed. The way I looked at it, even at fifteen, when you get knocked down, you get back up, dust yourself off, and get on with it.[69]

Deborah Dinner argues the rise in divorce rates was the greatest

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[63] Loretta Lynn, "Fist City" in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 47.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Deborah Dinner, "The Divorce Bargain: The Fathers' Rights Movement and Family Inequalities," *Virginia Law Review* 102, no. 1 (March 2016): 89.
[67] Lynn and Cox, *Still Woman Enough,* xvi.
[68] Judith Long Laws, "A Feminist Review of Marital Adjustment Literature: The Rape of the Locke," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 33, no. 3 (1971): 506.
[69] Lynn and Cox, *Still Woman Enough,* 51.

contributing factor toward women's support of the feminist movement.[70] Lynn might not have agreed with this, as she was taught to stay with her husband no matter his wrongdoings.

Lynn's controversial song about divorce, however, shows a more nuanced perspective. "Rated X," released in 1973, was Lynn's attempt to stand up for divorced women who were perceived as easy by single men.[71] Many of Lynn's fans misinterpreted the meaning of the lyrics in "Rated X," possibly because the notion of divorce was so controversial for the time period. The song had a sarcastic tone; for example, she wrote, "Well nobody knows where you're goin' but they sure know where you've been."[72] Lynn later stated, "after the show [*Hee Haw*] was on the air, we got some mail saying the song was dirty and putting down women. But that is one thing I'll never do."[73]

Lynn did not believe women should be unfaithful either. She stated, "all I know is there's no double standard in the eyes of God. It's just as bad for any man as it is for any woman."[74] She knew that both men and women were unfaithful, and thus wrote about how working-class people perceived the sexes' infidelity differently. "Girl That I am Now" addressed the double standard amongst working-class people that accepted cheating by men, on their spouse, without consequence.[75] Lynn wrote, "I cheated and I'm guilty[.] My heart can't stand the pain."[76] She also addressed female infidelity in "I Got Caught," which proclaimed,

> Yeah I got caught but honey you're
> A pro
> There's not a thing about cheatin'
> You don't know.[77]

Lynn further addressed this topic in "God Gave Me a Heart to Forgive."[78] The song reflected the specific standard working-class people had for men. The lyrics read, "you hurt me as much as you

[70] Dinner, "The Divorce Bargain," 80-81.
[71] Loretta Lynn, "Rated X," in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 98.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Lynn and Vecsey, *Coal Miner's Daughter,* 131-132.
[75] Loretta Lynn, "Girl That I Am Now," in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 12.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Loretta Lynn, "I Got Caught," in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 40.
[78] Loretta Lynn, "God Gave Me a Heart to Forgive," in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 43.

can/Then you tell me that you're just weak like any other man."[79]

While Lynn recognized the issues working-class women faced regarding divorce and unfaithfulness, Kate Heidemann writes that Lynn blamed women for male infidelity. Heidemann notes Lynn's contemporaries portrayed similar ideas in their lyrics. This includes country singer Dolly Parton's "Jolene," in which she begs the other woman not to tempt her man to infidelity.[80] Heidemann explains working-class culture allowed men to be promiscuous but not women. If women had multiple sexual partners or had a relationship with a married man, society assigned them a crueler reputation than men because they thought men's sexual urges were natural.[81] Working-class society expected women to partake in sexual intercourse only to procreate and satisfy her husband; working-class people did not entertain the idea of women's sexual pleasure.[82] Lynn stated, "Men will usually stick up for each other. Especially if they are protecting a friend's right to run around on his wife."[83] Lynn believed men would always support other men rather than condemn them for infidelity.[84]

Lynn also wrote songs about alcoholism among the working class. While the second-wave feminist movement fought against domestic abuse, a lot of abuse suffered by working-class people was due to the effects of alcohol. Since traditional working-class culture tolerated men's bad behaviors, women often suffered the consequences of drunken husbands and physical violence as a result of intoxication. Working-class people also generally accepted husbands beating their wives under the pretense of disciplining them, since men expected their wives to obey them.[85] Political and feminist theorist, Carole J. Sheffield observed that for centuries, "several [southern] states had statutes that essentially allowed a man to beat his wife without interference from courts."[86] Sheffield argued that this code of law stemmed from the belief that women were the property of men, and therefore allowed wife beaters to "often cite their right to discipline their wives" in cases

[79] Lynn, "God Gave Me a Heart to Forgive," 43.
[80] Heidemann, "Remarkable Women and Ordinary Gals," 170-171.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid., 180-181.
[83] Lynn and Cox, *Still Woman Enough,* 59.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Dinner, "The Divorce Bargain," 144; Heidemann, "Remarkable Women and Ordinary Gals," 168.
[86] Carole J. Sheffield, "Sexual Terrorism," in *Women: A Feminist Perspective,* 4th ed., ed. Jo Freeman (Mountain View: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1989), 7.

brought to court.[87] When Doolittle told Lynn's parents that he was marrying Loretta, Lynn recalled, "Daddy made Doo promise not to whip me, and not to take me too far from home."[88] Heidemann argued that because of her upbringing, Lynn thought herself responsible for her husband's abusive behavior. She saw a pattern in the storylines of Lynn's lyrics and believed that the songwriter helped women navigate the complexity of their relationships through song lyrics. Heidemann concluded, "the fact that women are the main actors in these dramas reflects a social hierarchy in which women are limited in the ways they can 'talk back' to men."[89] Women did not feel that they could stand up for themselves when their husbands treated them badly.[90]

Working-class people viewed excessive alcohol consumption as a normal part of life.[91] In a song titled "God's Country," Lynn recalled that, "white lightning [moonshine] flowed like the fountains," meaning that working-class people frequently made and drank liquor.[92] Lynn recalled that in the absence of entertainment,

> Doo liked to go out with the boys and have a few beers. It was them days that gave me the idea for the song, "Don't Come Home A-Drinkin' (with Lovin' on Your Mind)," which I wrote with my sister Peggy Sue.[93]

Once, when Doolittle came home drunk, Lynn had been canning green beans all day and had not cooked dinner. Upset that there was nothing ready to eat, Doolittle threw the jars all over the kitchen, breaking the glass. It was not unusual for him to have regular drunken tantrums such as this.[94] Lynn's personal experience with spousal alcohol abuse is one of many possible scenarios that working-class people faced.

Working-class people drank for a variety of reasons. Roderick Phillips has argued that throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Americans associated drinking straight liquor with masculinity. Drinking alcohol became so normalized following prohibition that "drinking at home became more public, too, in the sense that there was no longer any need

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[87] Sheffield, "Sexual Terrorism," 15.
[88] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 48.
[89] Heidemann, "Remarkable Women and Ordinary Gals," 169-170.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Roderick Phillips, *Alcohol: A History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 301.
[92] Loretta Lynn, "God's Country," in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012)*,* 122.
[93] Lynn and Vecsey, *Lorreta Lynn,* 63.
[94] Ibid., 56-57.

to pretend that it was not done."[95] This "presented different kinds of dangers," other than threats to one's health, including:

> heavy drinking and alcoholism, but one of the worst effects of these behaviors—domestic violence against women—was scarcely mentioned until the 1970s [with the women's rights movement].[96]

Lynn also sang songs about drinking to describe problems that arose as a result of alcoholism. She thought that if a man failed to consider the woman's feelings, then he should have stayed out for the duration of the night rather than come home drunk.[97] "I'm Gettin' Tired of Babyin' You" and "What's the Bottle Done to My Baby," are two of Lynn's songs that address alcoholism.[98] Lynn believed that her husband drank because, as a singer, she made more money than he did in a time when men were expected to be the breadwinners.[99] She wrote lyrics to raise awareness about the negative effects of alcohol on relationships and families. In "Bartender," the bartender warned:

> It's not too late so stop and think
> Before all of your pride is gone
> You can end up like all the rest with
> A barroom for your home.[100]

Rural women related to Lynn's songs because they too wanted to prevent abuse influenced by alcoholism. Yet, Lynn crossed a boundary by actually condemning alcoholism as the cause of bad behavior whereas other women only criticized the bad things one did while intoxicated. For example, Dolly Parton, who grew up in the working-class community of Sevierville, Tennessee, recalled that

> it was not within the bounds of the man/woman relationship of that time and place for her [mother] to criticize the drinking that had caused him [her father] to pee off the porch, so she had to

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[95] Phillips, *Alcohol,* 282.
[96] Ibid., 301.
[97] Loretta Lynn, "Don't Come Home a Drinkin' (With Lovin' on Your Mind)" in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 39.
[98] Loretta Lynn, "I'm Getting Tired of Babyin' You" in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 67; Loretta Lynn, "What's the Bottle Done to My Baby" in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 77.
[99] Lynn and Cox, *Still Woman Enough,* 106-107.
[100] Loretta Lynn, "Bartender" in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 41.

> confine her complaint to the act itself.[101]

While working-class women drank alcohol too, working-class people thought addressing the negative aspects of alcoholism was taboo. In fact, working-class wives commonly believed that "they were to understand how stressful jobs might lead their husbands to drink heavily."[102] Lynn gained the attention of working-class women when she wrote and sang songs that addressed the negative effects of alcohol anyway.[103]

Abuse, in its emotional and physical forms, was an element in Lynn's own life. In "Two Steps Forward," she sang: "These tears in my eyes they're not so real I'm just puttin' on a show."[104] The song relayed multiple times that one had to stay strong and move on rather than spend so much time hurting. Lynn's sad lyrics conveyed messages to other women about how to handle despairing situations or problems with their husbands. In "Darkest Day," she wrote:

> Oh how I wish that old saying is
> True
> It's always the darkest just before dawn
> Then I'll know soon I'm gonna see the sun-shine
> I just can't take this darkness on and on.[105]

Lynn never went to marriage counselling, but writing songs provided her an opportunity to voice her feelings and her own experiences of emotional abuse. She recalled that sometimes following arguments with her husband she would get headaches so painful she would have to sleep for twelve to eighteen hours straight. However, in cases such as this, she recommended that women in similar situations think happy thoughts, and rather than escape their problems, try to confront them.[106]

Lynn experienced many instances of physical abuse from her husband. Once she saw Doolittle kill a dog because he thought it barked too much. She remarked on the incident, "I don't believe in force, unless you're really pushed. I think you can do things with kindness."[107] According to Lynn, when people witnessed Doolittle and her in an

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[101] Dolly Parton, as quoted in Kate Heidemann, "Remarkable Women and Ordinary Gals," 168-169.
[102] Phillips, *Alcohol,* 301.
[103] Heidemann, "Remarkable Women and Ordinary Gals," 168-169.
[104] Loretta Lynn, "Two Steps Forward" in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 19.
[105] Loretta Lynn, "Darkest Day" in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 31.
[106] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 134.
[107] Ibid., 133.

argument, it scared them into thinking the fighting would escalate physically.[108] Lynn had hit her husband before. Though she did not approve of spousal abuse, she viewed violence as a way to protect herself because she saw violence in relationships as an inevitable part of life. Consequently, her lyrics argue that people did not understand violence in working-class society. Violence was so common in Van Lear that the school teacher taught children to sing a song about a woman named Luly Barrs who became pregnant. The father of the child would not marry her, so he wrapped a piece of railroad steel around her neck and threw her in the Ohio River to die.[109] Lynn recalled not thinking badly about the content of the song because she learned it at school. Even though themes of abuse and violence were conjured up in many of Lynn's lyrics, she never played the victim. She wrote about crying a lot, but most of the time, she told the man that she simply would not accept his behavior. Typically, Lynn fought back. In "You Didn't Like My Lovin'," Lynn told the lover, "far as I'm concerned you can turn and walk out that door."[110] Similarly, in "From Now On," she wrote: "You better shape up or start shippin' out, big man, I'm warnin' you."[111] In "Women's Prison," Lynn sang of a woman who was put in prison and sentenced to death for murdering her husband after seeing him with another woman.[112] In her songs, Lynn encouraged fighting back, both verbally and physically. These lyrics evoke the same images of tough working-class women as those in "Fist City." While she did not agree with several tenets of mainstream feminism, Lynn's lyrics reveal a more unique brand of feminism inspired by issues faced by working-class women.

Conclusion

Although Lynn did not completely agree with the women's rights movement because it did not appeal to working-class women, Lynn did express feminist perspectives in her music, particularly in terms of demanding respect for women and advocating women's access to birth control. Lynn's upbringing influenced her opinions about working-class women's lives, a heritage to which she stayed true. However, while she

[108] Lynn and Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn,* 134.
[109] Ibid., 30.
[110] Loretta Lynn, "You Didn't Like My Lovin'" in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 50.
[111] Loretta Lynn, "From Now On" in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 92.
[112] Loretta Lynn, "Women's Prison" in *Honky Tonk Girl: My Life in Lyrics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 142-143.

believed women should respect the men in their lives, she also demanded respect for women. Lynn once stated, "I'm not a big fan of Women's Liberation, but maybe it will help women stand up for the respect they're due."[113] Lynn was a voice for working-class women. She shared her opinion and advice for working-class women best when she observed, "That is what 'still woman enough' means to me: taking responsibility for what you feel, for what you are."[114]

Lynn reached an audience desperate to feel understood. She appealed to women because she wrote about her life as a working-class woman. Her female audience was able to relate to memories of her childhood, motherhood, and marriage. Lynn was exceptional as a performer not only for talents in singing and songwriting, but also for her ability and courage to write about all aspects of her life. Her honesty and desire to be there for other women going through similar situations has become part of her life legacy. Wolfe stated of Lynn's musical career, "many of these hit songs Loretta wrote herself, and many of them began to chronicle working-class life from the fresh perspective of women: the house-wife, the mother, the lover."[115]

[113] Loretta Lynn, as quoted in Mary A. Bufwack and Robert K. Oermann, *Finding Her Voice,* 267.
[114] Lynn and Cox, *Still Woman Enough,* 228.
[115] Wolfe, *Kentucky Country,* 165.

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Songs

"Adam's Rib"
"Bartender"
"Coal Miner's Daughter"
"Darkest Day"
"Don't Come Home a Drinkin' (With Lovin' on Your Mind)"
"Fist City"
"From Now On"
"Girl That I Am Now"
"God Gave Me a Heart to Forgive"
"God's Country"
"I Got Caught"
"I'm a Honky Tonk Girl"
"I'm Getting Tired of Babyin' You"
"Little Red Shoes"
"My Angel Mother"
"Rated X"
"Since I've Got the Pill"
"Slowly Killing Me"
"Two Steps Forward"
"What's the Bottle Done to My Baby"
"Women's Prison"
"You Ain't Woman Enough"
"You Didn't Like My Lovin'"
"Your Squaw Is on the Warpath"

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